

FIGHTEERING

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JULY, 1962

TALK

June 26th- Freedom Day



**SALUTE TO FREE
ALGERIA**

THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT

**THE MEN THE NATS
HAVE BANISHED**

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

It is twelve years now since the people established June 26th as South Africa's Freedom Day; twelve years of tough and bitter struggles; twelve years of increasingly oppressive laws, culminating in the Sabotage Act.

Do not forget, fellow South Africans, that these years have been the ones in which the non-White people themselves have, powerfully and determinedly, claimed an equal place in the sun.

June 26th

— People's Day

Freedom Day

On May Day, 1950, mass demonstrations were held all over the country, in an atmosphere of peaceful protest. But in the evening, police shot at and killed 9 people in Alexandra Township. This was the incident that gave rise to the first Freedom Day.

THE YEARS OF RESISTANCE

1950

A day of mourning for those assassinated was called by the African National Congress together with the Indian Congress, the Communist Party, and other organisations. It was also to be a day of protest against the Suppression of Communism Act, then before parliament — the founder and forerunner of all later Acts destroying liberties and rights. This was the first June 26th, the first Freedom Day, marked by a general stoppage of work and mass meetings throughout the country. The widespread mass opposition to the Suppression of Communism Act was a recognition by the people that fundamentally it was a general attack on the rights of the people.

and suspend virtually all laws, and allowing for arrests and indefinite detention without trial; and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act (father of the Sabotage Act), a companion measure designed to prevent any more campaigns of Defiance. It increased penalties for this type of protest, for offences in support of campaigns against any law; it made it an offence to organise such campaigns; and to organise financial assistance for such resistance to South Africa's laws. These Acts, together with the Separate Amenities Act, closed the door on any Defiance campaigns of the future.

THE CHARTER

1955

1953 was a turbulent year of great campaigns against the removal of the people from the Western Areas, and of determined opposition to the Bantu Education Act. The following year, the Congress Alliance mapped out the campaign for a Congress of the People, and the Congress was held on that most glorious of all Freedom Days, June 26th, 1955, when three thousand delegates from all over the country adopted the Freedom Charter, the embodiment of the demands of the people collected for months previously. Armed police who cordoned off and raided the Congress did not dampen the atmosphere of courage and unity. While the mammoth task of searching and taking the names of every single delegate went on, the Congress continued, and when it had concluded in the evening and the police were still busy, delegates sang their Freedom songs in the darkness until the search had been completed.

DEFIANCE

1952

The Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws was launched on June 26th 1952, seeking the repeal of the Suppression of Communism Act, the Group Areas Act, Bantu Authorities and Separate Representation of Voters Act, and of the Pass Laws. "As defenceless and voteless people we have explored every avenue without success," stated the petition to the government. The campaign took the form of mass contraventions of pass laws and general apartheid regulations. Those participating offered no defence. Nearly 10,000 had been arrested by the end of the year.

The government retaliated by action against non-White leaders and the banning of the newspaper *The Guardian*. Twenty leading Africans and Indians were arrested, and later convicted of 'Statutory Communism'. And two vicious new Acts were introduced: the Public Safety Act, empowering the government to declare a state of emergency

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THE WOMEN

1956

The next year was the year of struggle against passes for women. "Oh, what a law! We are refusing totally!" said one memorandum from women in East London. Nation-wide demonstrations culminated in the historical rally of 20,000 women to Union Buildings. Freedom Day that year was marked by a mass meeting at Kliptown, attended by so many Special Branch and other police that their cars formed a barrier on one side of the ground. They came with flash cameras, tape-recorders, and a provocative banning notice handed to Gert Sibande at the meeting.

STRIKE

1957

At the end of 1956 came the Treason arrests, followed by the great bus boycott. June 26th of 1957 was marked by

a Stay-At-Home in Johannesburg, observed by 80 to 85 per cent of the workers. Although police seized thousands of leaflets and rushed reinforcements to Johannesburg, and every possible form of intimidation was used against the people, it was a great and deeply impressive demonstration.

BOYCOTT

1958-1959

20,000 people at Curries Fountain in Durban met on Freedom Day, 1958, in the greatest mass protest against Group Areas. The economic boycott was launched on Freedom Day in 1959, and the potato boycott was well under way, a protest against ill-treatment and hardship on the rich potato farms.

FROM JAIL

1960

1960 was planned by the African National Congress as the year of struggle

against the pass laws, but on Freedom Day, 1960, many were in jail, and sang Freedom songs softly in the yard listening for the voices of their fellow prisoners of other races on the other side of the fence. Everywhere detainees organised their own Freedom Day programmes of speeches, plays and songs. It was a moving and sad time.

THE CONVENTION

1961

When June 26th came last year, 1961, it was on top of the campaign for a National Convention, and against the Nationalist Republic. There was a bus boycott on that day in Port Elizabeth, and the secretary of the Continuation Committee, Nelson Mandela, was living as an outlaw, sought by the police, yet continuing his activities in the face of their frenzied efforts to arrest him.

THE PEOPLE...

These are only some of the bare bones of the great struggles for liberation launched on and around Freedom Day each year for the past twelve years. They cannot convey the amount of sheer hard work, personal sacrifice and organisation that went into them; the endless committees that hammered out policies and mapped out strategy, the arguments, the late nights after long days, dodging the Special Branch, avoiding informers; it does not tell of the people who drew up leaflets, wrote pamphlets and articles, designed posters, turned the handles of duplicating machines, rushed bundles away for distribution before they could be confiscated.

It does not tell of the volunteers, prepared to go out at any time, anywhere, slipping leaflets under doors, pasting posters on walls, talking to groups in homes, in factories; the technical work, the typing, proofing, collating, transporting. It does not tell of the enormous efforts to raise money, not only to conduct the campaigns, but to assist the families of those imprisoned in the Defiance and other campaigns, to conduct legal defences.

THE SACRIFICE

It does not record the countless acts of great courage and sacrifice, from Chief Luthuli, to the children who were arrested with their teachers for singing songs and learning rhymes in the clubs set up to combat Bantu Education; from leaders almost permanently under arrest or with the threat of charges hanging over them, to the wives who took double jobs to keep families going, and the children in the homes of every freedom-fighter, as familiar with the tenseness of raids and arrests as their parents, suffering the frequent separations as well.

It does not tell of the blisters on the feet of bus boycotters and the rain on their shoulders; of the classes and discussions and studies that turned bleak jails into schools of political education. It does not tell of the pennies and tickles given by the very poor; of the struggles in the countryside where, lacking experience and assistance, the people moulded their own leaders and made their own heroes.

It does not tell of the 2 a.m. awakening, the listening to car doors and heavy

THE EFFORT...

feet up the path, the banging on homes; the endless thumbing through books, the taking away of piles and piles of literature; being watched, being followed, being listened to, being raided, being arrested. Arrests, arrests, arrests. The threats and intimidation, the lost jobs, the lost families, the lost homes. The banning orders, the banishment orders. The court cases, the planning of defences, the hours wasted in courts and jails. The baton charges, the assaults.

IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM

Why did they do it?

Because, in circumstances that threaten all, such as those we find in South Africa through apartheid laws and discrimination, moral values can only be preserved, asserted and developed by open, conscious engagement in the struggle. To remain passive is to become part of this wrong and hated system. For non-Whites to stand aside is to accept poverty, racial oppression, degradation of body and of mind; for Whites to stand aside is to accept and participate in White supremacy.

The organisations of the people are outlawed; yet their principles spread

continuously over the country; people seek them, hungry to learn, thirsting to find the truth.

The leaders are silenced and restricted, exiled or outlawed; yet their prestige continues to grow and spread, the ideals they stand for exert a fundamental strength, influencing attitudes among every section of the people.

THE CAUSE.

The slogan they once shouted is illegal. But still, on June 26th, they remember the stirring days that are past, and the goal of freedom that is still ahead.

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The Forgotten Men

Eye-witness interviews with some of those the

Verwoerd Government has banished

BANISHMENT — an ugly word and an uglier reality. It was not until I could go myself to seek out the banished Africans that I really understood the human tragedy of it all, that I could uncover the callous treatment, the stark neglect that has been the lot of so many of these people, banished without trial, all of them, exiled to endless years of desolation.

I thought I knew something about banishments; I had been deeply moved by letters that we had received. A lonely wife had written, "What sort of prisoner are you? Prisoners go to gaol and they come home again but you don't come home." I had thought that these words revealed the essence of this inhuman yet legalised system, but today I realise that I knew nothing — until now. And I am still an onlooker, for it hasn't happened to me.

Deep in the northern Transvaal, hundreds of miles from Johannesburg, we visited the wives of men who had been banished ten, twelve years ago. The day was bright and shining as we drove around the rocky hills to meet these lonely wives—and widows. They had put on their brightest headscarves and their gayest beads to welcome us, but as one by one they told their tragic stories, the sky seemed less blue and the gay colours served only to deepen the lines of sorrow in these dark faces. Sometimes the tears rolled down their cheeks as they told us how their husbands had been taken away so long ago. Of them all, only one had ever returned.

One Came Home

"An agricultural officer came on a motor bike and told my husband to go to the police station at Sandfontein. I do not remember what year this was. He was taken away by train from Pietersburg and I did not get a letter from him during all the years afterwards until the day he walked into the house. I did not know where he was and I thought it was a ghost and I got a shock. This was on a Monday in June 1961. He collapsed on the floor and then he struggled to his feet and asked, 'How are you? How are the children?' He said he was well but he wasn't well and he fell down again. He lay in bed for a week and then he died. He did not speak again after that first day." When we asked how this dying man had reached his home, his wife told us that he had walked a few yards and then he had sat down. Then he had struggled and got up and walked a few more yards. It had taken him nearly all day to walk

the five miles from the bus to his home.

We knew that Sibija Matlala had been released from Driefontein banishment camp, a thousand miles away in the northern Cape. He had been visited there and we had known him to be a sickly man for many years, too ill to work, to move about. What inhumanity put that dying man out of the camp to struggle home alone? Could he not have been given transport for those last few miles of agony.

Far From Home

Four other banished men from Matlala's Reserve have died during these long years of banishment, in the Transkei, in Zululand, in Hectorspruit, but they died far away from their homes and their families. Others are still eating out their hearts in this endless exile, their wives left helpless, alone, destitute. Maema Matlala is an old man now, in his eighties, but he is still in exile in Bushbuckridge. His wife told us, "We were at home when the agricultural officer came in a government car and said to my husband, 'Stand up! Let's go!' They wanted to take me too, but when my husband knew that he was going to be banished he would not allow them to take me. He said that I must remain, for a soldier does not take his wife to war, she waits for him to come home. It was after five years that I first heard that my husband was still alive and in Bushbuckridge, but now I do not hear from him at all." When we asked if she would like to go to her husband, a slow faint smile appeared and her face lighted up with emotion, incredulous. Then it fell back into the former lines of sorrow, until we said again, later on, "Don't look so sad, you are going to visit your husband." Then she really smiled for the first time.

We visited her husband, gallant old Maema Matlala, who has spent the past twelve years banished to Bushbuckridge, hundreds of miles away from his home. He had served in the 1914-1918 war; he had been to East Africa; he had seen Mount Kilimanjaro; he told us he was already a grown man in the Boer War. He had been in Pretoria at the time of the wedding of President Kruger's

daughter. Maema Matlala's hair is white and he is wrinkled and old, but his spirit is still that of a leader of his people and he waits for the day when he will go home again to Matlala's. "When I go to heaven, that will be the third kingdom, for the second kingdom will be when I go back to Matlala's." He did not complain about what he had endured in the beginning and it was only when we asked him that he told us the story of how he was alone when he first came there, living in an empty room behind government buildings, the very same room that he lives in now; he had no bed, no blankets, no food except a few mealies, and no pot to cook them in, no spoon. It was only after years that he had managed to get any sort of bed, the broken wooden structure that is still in that tiny room, his home for so many long years. Will he too be released in time to go home — to die?

And The Living

Twelve have been banished from Sekhukhuleni and six of them are still in exile. Here is the pattern of banishment straight from the gates of the gaol where sentences have been served for political offences. William Sekhukhune is over seventy and his wife is in her sixties. Her face is sad and wrinkled and she wept a little as she told us of her sad and lonely life. Her husband had been convicted for holding an illegal meeting and she had been expecting him to come home after he had served his sentence. The people in the village had said that he would be coming home soon. But then she had been told by a government official that he was banished and would not return at all. Now she lives alone, except when her grown up sons come to help with the ploughing. She had only one letter from her husband, just to say "How are you?" He did not write about himself except to say that he was "alright.."

Alright? He lives alone, uncared for in his old age. He works in the fields in far off Zululand, this aged exile, who was not even allowed to go home from the gaol when he was banished.

'We Are Not Worried'

Only five months ago three men were banished from Sekhukhuneland; two of them huddle in dilapidated huts in the Xalanga district of the northern Transkei, where the frost lies deep in the morning and the icy winds blow through the broken doors of the huts. Day after day they sit, these men, for they have not been given any work and the endless days drag past. They do not speak the Xhosa of the Transkei, only the Sepedi of the northern Transvaal. Their rations reminded us of the gaols, mealie meal and mealies, condensed milk and peanut butter but no tea, no meat, no sugar, no coffee. These men are at the very beginning of their banishment and the monotonous hopeless years stretch ahead. Our visit was like some-

thing from another world, the world that once they knew. We told them of gallant Stephen Nkadimeng who had spoken from the lonely mountains and forests of northern Zululand, "Nkadimeng is not worried. The struggle of my people goes on." And these two men had said, "We too are not worried." The words rang in my ears for many days.

To see the banished people takes many weeks of travel, for they have been flung into the furthest corners of this land, from the northernmost tip of the Transvaal to the heart of Zululand, from the borders of Swaziland to the Ciskei and the Transkei. We covered more than seven thousand miles on this journey just to see thirty three of the forty eight people who are still in banishment. Our anger has been aroused by what we have seen and heard, as the

cover has been ripped off and the festering evil of this banishment system shown for what it is, a slow torture of the soul, a living death. It is a crime against humanity and a savage violation of the rule of law, of fundamental human rights.

Sometimes the plight of these people, the stories of what they have endured was almost too unbearable to behold, to hear. There are no words which can really tell how deeply these banished people have suffered. And yet the abiding memory of our visits, our talks with them, is not pity, but inspiration, for the courage of these lonely exiles is undimmed, their spirit unbreakable. They are amongst the greatest heroes of our struggle and after we had left them, we would be silent for a little while, humble before their indomitable strength.

For Unity in the Struggle for Liberation

An extract from a speech by President Kwame Nkrumah to the
Conference of African Freedom Fighters, in Accra, June 4th, 1962.

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

Moreover, the sectionalism of separate organisations within a single territory, for instance, apart from its fissionable dangers, is wasteful in the extreme. The endeavour to enlist mass support for a multiplicity of organisations avowedly dedicated to the attainment of independence can only lead to tribalist and religious communalism, on which so many good intentions have foundered. It provides greater opportunity for the employment of imperialist divide and rule tactics. It creates a diffusion of much-needed organisational manpower, which could be more tactically deployed if encompassed within a single organisation. Furthermore, a single organisation could embrace the whole popular support and channel its enthusiasm around one programme, instead of dividing its attention and its allegiance to the disadvantage of the struggle.

Sometimes the impression is created that in certain

places the struggle is for leadership per se and not so much for independence. This is unfortunate, and I say it with grief and reluctance. It is regrettable when some leaders appear to be more concerned with being leaders than with understanding what we are leading for and what we are leading against.

I hope that I have made clear to you here the nature of the struggle as I see it. As I have said, it is our African struggle, and it is taking place here in Africa. Many of our freedom fighters have been forced out of their countries as a result of the militant part they have played in the struggle, and they are continuing to play their part in many different ways.

But they will understand me when I say that the struggle for independence of each territory will, in the final analysis, be fought out within that territory. Therefore, the freedom fighters outside must keep their links with those at home and be guided to some extent by the closer knowledge of the state of things of those who have been left to carry on behind.

Moreover, they must not be surprised if other new leaders are thrown up in the course of battle, as it will not always be convenient for those at home to wait upon the word from the exiled leaders. What you have to do here is to examine all the aspects of your struggle and the forces within and without and plan for the final assault. The struggle may be long. It will certainly not be easy, and you must not allow yourselves to be deflected by such extraneous issues as border differences and other contentious disputes which can have no relevance as long as your independence is in doubt, and which will disappear within a unified Africa. What you must be prepared to defeat are the designs of the colonial powers to divide up your territories so as to deprive you of portions that are essential to your viability and economic development.

THE RISE OF STATE CAPITALISM

by G. FASULO

Previous articles have dealt with Oppenheimer's empire, foreign capital, and organised white agriculture. Now the story of the rise of state capital into a major instrument for industrialising South Africa and winning white working class support for the Nats is told.

The role of the state is increasing in all capitalist countries as it is found increasingly difficult to run a modern economy on strictly private capitalist lines and as war becomes the leading form of activity. In South Africa state economic activity began very early, developed unusually widely and has been used by the Nats to implement special political aims to strengthen and to perpetuate the existing social system.

The development of state capitalism in South Africa can be divided into four periods. In the earliest of these periods state capitalist activity arose out of simple necessity, as described by F. J. van Biljon in his book "State Interference in South Africa." The first form of state ownership of productive resources was that of land and forests (Crown land). State postal services were set up and telegraphs, telephones and the Post Office Savings Bank were later added to this department. The Railways, too, were state owned because there was not enough sure profit in them to attract adequate private capital and in time the harbours, long distance road transport and the airlines came under the same administration. For similar reasons large scale irrigation projects were always a state responsibility and eventually broadcasting was taken over (the SABC), and the state entered the field of electric power generation through a nominally independent corporation, Escom. The water supplies to the main industrial and populations centres are provided by another such corporation, the Rand Water Board.

To this category of necessary state activities belongs the national road system which is planned and financed by the National Roads Board and built and maintained by the Provincial Administrations. The South African Reserve Bank, which controls the currency, the reserves and the banking system of the country, and the Land and Agricultural Bank and the State Advances Office to give white farmers financial help represent state incursions into the banking field. Afforestation and the early saw-milling facilities were provided by the state but now Engelhard has moved into timber in a big way. The Public Works Department builds buildings and bridges for the central government and for some of the provincial administrations and public corporations. There is a government printing works and a mint, which undertook large scale arms and ammunition manufactured during the war. Under the control of local authorities and municipalities are many local bus services, power stations and other utilities.

A Growing Sector

These activities are widespread and on a large scale and they already gave

the government great power over the economy as a whole. State capital became even more powerful and took on a marked political character in the second period, the period of the first Nationalist government, the Nationalist-Labour Pact Government. This came into power in 1924 and immediately took several very important steps. It adopted protective tariffs in 1925 to encourage secondary industry and thereby won the support or at least the friendly neutrality of many small industrial capitalists.

This is an attitude which continues to this day because the Nationalists are recognised to be a pro-industrialisation party within the ruling class. They also adopted the 'civilised labour policy' of industrial colour bar and highly paid jobs for poor whites at the expense of non-European workers. These policies were mainly implemented in the civil service, the Post Office and the Railways. These policies together with the Industrial Conciliation Act which encapsulated the white trade unions and the coming into industry of the Afrikaners which was followed by persistent and largely successful Nationalist attempts to capture the trade unions have turned the white workers and especially the state employers into a most important social support for the Nationalist movement.

Heavy Industry

However, in relation to the development and nature of state capital, the most important thing that happened in this period was the struggle to establish ISCOR, the state iron and steel monopoly. This has been dealt with by C. S. Richards in "The Iron and Steel Industry in South Africa" and by ISCOR in its book "Steel in South Africa 1928-1953". The bill to establish ISCOR was introduced into Parliament by the Nationalists on 10th February, 1927. It was supported with nationalistic arguments about South African industrial independence and the jobs which ISCOR would create for whites. It was bitterly opposed by the SAP (the predecessors of the UP) on the grounds that business should be left to the capitalists (there were two small iron and steel works in private ownership then). They

also saw the subversive, socialistic scheming of the Labour Party behind the measure. The fear that it might cost the mines some money was also behind their opposition. The bill was passed by the House on 4th April, 1927 and rejected by the South African Party controlled Senate. It was re-passed by the House and again rejected by the Senate on 23rd March, 1928. It was finally forced through at an unprecedented Joint Session of both Houses on 30th March, 1928.

This struggle made the Nationalists the champions of state capital and made state capital the means for turning the poor whites into well-paid and influential Nationalist supporters. In this development the Nationalists were in part following the lead of Kruger's Republic which had already used a policy of monopolistic concessions to build up through state intervention the economic independence of the country against the wishes of the locally dominant imperialists. Kruger had called in rival Dutch and German capitalists to balance British influence. This policy, too, the Nats followed in the ISCOR affair in which their plans were based on the report of a commission from the Gutehoffnungshutte firm in Germany. This development also gave the state firms an almost exclusively Afrikaans management and white labour force.

Spreading Out

ISCOR soon swallowed up the two private firms USCO (Union Steel Co.) which had belonged to Lewis and Marks, the mining magnates, and AMCOR (African Metals Corporation). USCO has two plants one of which manufactures copper cables as well as steel and it controls SABAN (South African Bolts and Nuts) together with Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds the big British steel firm. AMCOR whose blast furnaces at Newcastle are to supply large quantities of pig iron to Japan, has in addition a ferro alloys plant and a phosphate fertiliser plant (Langfos) in the Cape, dolomite and manganese mining interests. ISCOR has substantially spawned a number of other subsidiaries. These include VECOR, by far the biggest heavy engineering firm in the country, which in turn is building a subsidiary car parts factory in association with Rubery Owens in response to the government measures to promote the eventual production of a South African car. VECOR has also taken over the South African boiler making factory of Babcock and Wilcox. Other ISCOR subsidiaries are Fowler Taspraying and Industrial Minerals Exploration (Imex).

With the depression came the Hertzog-Smuts coalition and the "purified" Nationalists went into opposition and

(Continued on page 9)

AGAINST THE WINDS OF CHANGE

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

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

Not long before, a political refugee from South Africa, Mr. Jordan, who had been living in Bechuanaland since 1960, was offered a post in Salisbury. On his arrival in the Federation, he was met by Immigration officers who said they had instructions to return him to the Republic. Fortunately for him, he escaped from his escort on the train, and managed to

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

The truth is that the intransigence of the white Governments in Southern Africa has at last made them a serious embarrassment to their traditional allies — the Western powers. For direct help, they must now turn to each other, and whether the alliance is based upon the formal signed agreements, or simply upon the informal recognition of identity of interest, it is a reality. But to understand the extent of their interdependence, one must analyse not only the expressions of sympathy for each other appearing in the Press, or the sudden rash of consultation at Government and military level, but the economic bonds that unite them.

THE TRADE IN MEN

One look at the map makes the first point — that the Federation (and Katanga) have no port of their own, and depend

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE — 1.

Verwoerd	●	South Africa
Salazar	●	Portugal
Welensky	●	Rhodesia

by ROSALYNDE AINSLIE

get back to safety in Bechuanaland. Ordinarily, a Prohibited Immigrant would have been given the choice of being returned either to the country of his birth or to the country from which he came — in this case, a British Protectorate.

SINISTER SUPPORTERS

There are other stories that betray a degree of co-operation between police and civil authorities in South Africa, the Federation and the Portuguese colonies well beyond the requirements of courtesy between friendly Governments. The Rev. Willie Simango, a Dutch Reformed Church missionary from Mocambique who was living at the beginning of this year in Salisbury, has alleged that he was so harassed by agents of the Portuguese political police who questioned him in Southern Rhodesia about the political activities of Africans from Mocambique in Salisbury, that he had to flee with his family to Tanganyika. And the Rev. Wendell Golden, an American Methodist missionary expelled from Angola, has been refused permission to reside in the Federation, it is believed on representations from the Portuguese.

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

THE MERCENARIES

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

upon Beira and Lourenco Marques on the one hand, and the Benguela railway to Lobito, on the other. The Portuguese claim that increased traffic on the Benguela railway since Katanga secession has actually compensated for loss of taxation during the Angola war; and as for Mocambique, the R52m annually paid by South Africa and the Federation for the use of Mocambique ports and railways more than meets the annual trading deficit of about R44m.

The Portuguese territories also supply nearly 200,000 migrant workers annually for the mines on the Rand, and for the farms and industries of Southern Rhodesia. This trade in human beings brings a valuable income to the Portuguese Government — and supplies, for example, some 20% of the total labour force of the Rand.

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

CAPITAL CAUSES

These are reasons enough for an alliance; but beneath the flesh of common interests, lie the bare bones of the matter — the skeleton of private capital. The great gold and diamond companies of South Africa are the centre of a network of companies and their subsidiaries which control copper mining interests in Northern Rhodesia, Katanga and South West Africa; diamond mining and selling in South-West, Angola and Tanganyika; transport, real estate and financial interests throughout the sub-continent.

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

Katanga. Tanks also control the Benguela railway. While De Beers controls both diamond mining and selling practically throughout the area, sells 80% of the total Western diamond output, and has subsidiaries in real estate, industry (including African Explosives and Chemical Industries, which is setting up three armament factories for the South African Government), and finance. Both Anglo-American and De Beers are linked with the British South Africa Company in the Federation and Bechuanaland. That these interests have played their part in the unholy alliance is clear from the record of the Union Miniere in Katanga and the part played by directors of Tanks in the Katanga lobby abroad; from the role of British South Africa directors in the pro-Federation lobby in Britain; and from the armaments factories deal in the Republic.

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE — 2.

THE CASH BASIS OF CO-OPERATION

- Verwoerd
- Salazar
- Welensky

A careful study reveals elements of a common political and economic structure in the territories constituting the Unholy Alliance: white minority Governments (in Katanga, a black Government acting largely as agent of white capital interests), industrial and agricultural enterprise in white hands needing plentiful unskilled cheap labour, and common methods of ensuring such labour, such as the alienation of land, cash taxation, pass systems for Africans. A common pattern of economic inequality, industrial and social colour bar, and political repression of those who demand change, logically follows.

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

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

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

THE CAPE-TO KATANGA MINERS

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

Each group discussed here is vast by itself, but the groups do not act in isolation or in competition with each other. There is a complex set of intercommunications between the Cape-to-Katanga Miners: there are few secrets where directorships interlock, and although a group may act independently in fields which do not impinge on the interests of the

THE ARMED THREAT

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

others, on most questions it must have at least the tacit agreement of the rest.

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

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

All diamonds in Angola, about 3½ per cent of Western production, go to the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola on whose Board sit Harry Oppenheimer and H. J. Joel (both of De Beers). This company recently loaned the Portuguese Government R27 million at only 1 per cent interest to help bail Angola out of its economic crisis. A sum which offset the increased military expenditure incurred in suppressing the Angolan Nationalist movement.

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

CHEAP LABOUR — HIGH PROFITS

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

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

Loans from America have been important. The Export-Import Bank, a U.S. Federal Agency, has lent more than R66 million to South African gold companies at a low interest of 4 per cent. Millions of rands of this were lent to Anglo-American subsidiaries, which then used their own funds to

get a higher interest rate, making a good profit on the transactions.

The Northern Rhodesian copper companies have fairly close connections with South African gold companies. Copper of course dominates the whole economy of the Central African Federation and is its major source of wealth.

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

TSHOMBE'S TREASURE

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

The Katanga mines are almost entirely in the hands of one company, the Union Miniere, which is closely associated with Tanganyika Concessions (TANKS), an old British Company. Tanks has widespread interests in forestry, property, and mines in Katanga, Tanganyika and Central Africa. The R20 million capital is British, and in 1959-60 dividends were R6m. Tanganyika Concessions performs an important function in Southern Africa, connecting Belgian and Anglo-American groups financially. Some of the directors are among the most powerful political pressure groups in the U.K. parliament, and they were especially active in the Congo crisis. They have also lobbied successfully on Central African Federation and other issues.

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

There are many second and third rank companies of some political and economic importance, which have not been discussed here; but of all the big groups in Southern Africa, Anglo-American is outstanding. Oppenheimer, the Anglo-American tycoon, is the chairman of many other companies,

and he is on the boards of two big gold groups other than his own, one Rhodesian Selection Trust copper company, and Tanks. He has a hold in nearly all of the important groups, and thus is in position to know what his rivals are doing. Often his control reaches much further and influences or even controls decisions of other companies. Oppenheimer has his friends in the U.K., just as the other groups have friends in the U.S. and the U.K., and is perhaps the single most powerful person in Southern Africa.

THE WORLD STAKE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The western powers are involved in Southern Africa up to their necks. By the end of 1958, total foreign investment in South Africa alone was R3,160m., of this R1,000m. was British, R400 m. American, and the rest mainly French, Swiss and West German — Germany's share is increasing.

Investment takes place either through British Companies with Southern African subsidiaries, or directly through British individuals with shares in Southern African companies. Of the companies discussed, Tanks has more influential British directors than any other: Lord Robins of Rhodesian fame ("why should it be supposed that a black African just because he washes, speaks English, and wears European dress, must of necessity be accepted in the society of white men of the top grade?"); Captain Waterhouse, the chairman, Suez rebel and leader of the Katanga lobby; Lords Selborne, Cochrane and Alexander; and the ubiquitous Oppenheimer. De Beers directors include a British ex-Ambassador to Greece and Argentina, Sir R. Leeper, and Lord Robins again. Consolidated Gold Fields has two prominent British Conservatives on its board, and the Union Corporation has Sir Charles Hambro, as well as two Conservative peers with close connections with the leaders of their party. The British South Africa Company, which has large property interests in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but no substantial mining interests, has been extremely active, especially over the Central African Federation. Lord Robins is the chairman of a board which includes Lord Salisbury, Oppenheimer, Hambro, Annan, Viscount Malvern of Rhodesia ("all Africans, until they are very much advanced, are liars,"), and other prominent Conservatives.

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

STATE CAPITAL . . .

(Continued from page 6)

began building up their basic network of organisations covering all aspects of Afrikaans life and working out and propagating their version of fascist ideology as described in Hepple's booklet "Trade Unions in Travail" and S. Paterson's "The Last Trek." A major role in their ideology was played by Mussolini's corporate state idea. This says that class conflict can be eliminated by making the employers and the employees in a particular branch of industry co-operate in a fascist-dominated "Corporation". These Corporations, covering the entire economy, are then united with the state for the aggrandisement of the state and its empire. Inspired by these ideas the Nationalists set out to build up Nationalist capital and to capture the trade unions and to make use of state capital for their purposes as soon as they could gain power. This

development will be discussed in a later article on Nat capital.

Boosted by War

In the meantime the UP controlled the state and the Second World War led to further extensions of state economic activity. KOP (Klipfontein Organic Products) was established as a very large scale insecticide manufacturer to make use of a plant originally set up to make poison gases. The CSIR (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research) and the SABS (South African Bureau of Standards) were established to help solve the technical problems of private and state industries. The IDC (Industrial Development Corporation) was set up to establish new industries which were intended to be sold to private capitalists as soon as they proved profitable. In the present Nationalist phase, however, IDC has become an apparently permanent major-

ity shareholder in such giant enterprises as Zwelitsha textile mills in Kingwilliamstown, SAICCOR (South African Industrial Cellulose Corporation) in partnership with Courtaulds, SASOL (South African coal and oil company), and SAFMARINE the only large South African shipping line.

Thus by the time that the Nationalists came to power in 1948 state capital was already a major factor in the economy and the main prop for the white labour policy. The story of the rise of Nationalist capital and the way in which Nationalist capital and state capital have worked to strengthen each other, to stabilise the economy against the effects of foreign disapproval and are now beginning to implement large scale plans of "separate development" will be told in the next article in this series.

SALUTE TO FREE ALGERIA!

ALGERIA'S SEVEN-YEAR WAR OF INDEPENDENCE HAS ENDED — WITH VICTORY FOR THE PEOPLE. ANOTHER FREE NATION IN AFRICA FACES THE PROBLEMS OF INDEPENDENCE, RECONSTRUCTION, AND SELF-RULE.

On March 19th of this year, representatives of the Algerian people signed the cease-fire agreement with the Government of France at Evian. The agreement paved the way for a referendum of the Algerian people, in which they have voted overwhelmingly for independence. We publish below a speech to the Algerian nation broadcast on the 9th May, by the President of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic,

BEN YOUSSEF BEN KHEDDA

The Evian agreements put an end to one of the longest and most murderous colonial wars of our era. At the same time, they symbolised the triumph of our national cause. These agreements have received an enthusiastic welcome from our people, who see in them the dawn of the new era which they have been earnestly looking for since the beginning of our Revolution.

As it was proclaimed on the 18th March, the cease-fire is not yet peace. The battle for independence is not yet completely won. Having now taken a peaceful turn, our fight must be pursued with no less strength and courage than before. Today, we are facing an exceptional situation which requires great energy and an earnest vigilance from every member of the nation.

The Evian agreements are a victory which remains incomplete as long as we have not fully given a concrete form to our independence, and sealed our sovereignty with the building up of a State of Algeria.

The war which has ended has left dreadful remnants. There are ruins of battle which are still smoking, razed villages, the burnt land, two millions of our brothers and sisters in the "Camps of regroupment" as well as hundreds of thousands of refugees for whom we must secure the return to normal life. In the towns and the countryside, wretchedness and destitution are becoming general, unemployment is growing worse, epidemics are threatening.

To these scourges must be added the ultra-colonialist thugs whose acknowledged aim is to exasperate our population and to breed disorder and anarchy.

These tragic consequences of the war, this situation could make difficult the implementation of the Evian agreements; they can not in any case prevent it. The ultra colonialists have banked on the economic and social difficulties to frustrate our people. They have not taken into consideration our people's maturity and their revolutionary unity. The fascists could not imagine that, despite the gravity of their problems, our people could overcome new hardships and follow firmly the lines of action shown by their leaders.

The exemplary attitude of the F.L.N. militants and of the A.L.N. units, of the national organisations and the entire people have won world admiration.

In terms of the procedure for self de-

termination accepted by the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and France, the Evian agreements provide for a transitional period between the cease-fire and the proclamation of the Algerian State.

This period will allow for the taking over of the interests of Algeria by a Provisional Executive, whose aim is to direct and transform the French colonial administration in a way which will prepare for the effective transition of our country to independence. In addition, this Executive has the duty to prepare for the voting on self determination through which our people will confirm its devotion to independence, and to prepare to elect a National Assembly which will provide Algeria with her State institutions.

Despite its shortness, the transition period has a vital importance for the future of Algeria. One of the principal duties of the Revolution now is to ensure the success of this transition. Implement the Evian agreements in the transition period! This is the pass-word which will guide the Councils and the organisations of the masses during the weeks to come.

Concretely, this pass-word means:

● To give our support to the Provisional Executive. This body has been set up by common agreement between the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and France. In the framework of its duties, it enjoys our confidence and must benefit from our support. It must purge the administration, 'Algerianise' it at all levels, ensure its good running, and clear it of

saboteurs.

● To contribute effectively to the maintenance of order by safeguarding the security of our people, and by protecting public buildings and strategic points.

Our efforts must show themselves in a refusal to listen to provocations. In this respect, F.L.N. organisations and A.L.N. units have already achieved some positive results. All our organisations, must each in its own sector, pursue relentlessly their tasks of political education and organisation. To counteract the tireless enemies of our people, we must at all times show restraint and courage which will prove our strength and our confidence in the future.

Our efforts to maintain order must be shown, in the second place, by our support for the local force provided for in the Evian agreements. Unfortunately, this local force has not as yet entered into action.

We are told that this is due to some difficulties experienced in the recruitment. This is not the case. Algerian Officers, sub-Officers and Soldiers who at the moment are under French command, are all ready to fulfill their task within the local force. These Algerian Officers, sub-Officers and Soldiers, wherever they may be, have a positive national mission to carry out within the framework of the Evian agreements.

The struggle against the extremist networks which operate daily in Algiers, Oran and other Algerian towns is a crucial task. In carrying this out as best they can, Algerian Officers, sub-Officers and Soldiers of the local force will

ALGERIA . . .

be serving their motherland and regaining their right place in the new society.

What, in this situation, will be the role of the A.L.N. (Army of National Liberation)?

Steeled in the liberation struggle, the A.L.N. under the leadership of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, is the guarantee for the agreements which must pave our way to independence. In this objective, its mission since 19th March is to preserve its strength and to continue ceaselessly with political education among the people. It must also foil the manoeuvres of certain French army-men who are on the look-out for incidents, and it must facilitate the work of the joint Executive. The A.L.N. in the implementation of the agreements, and for that matter in its relation with our people, must continue to avoid all acts which could be used as pretext by our detractors and the enemies of our people; to that end, it must scrupulously respect the security of the Europeans and of their belongings.

The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic is determined to implement the Evian agreements and that it will certainly do. All organisations of the Revolution will do their duty.

But the success of the Evian agreements is not the concern of the Algerians alone. It falls also on Europeans and on France to shoulder their responsibilities in this matter.

Europeans have a place in the future Algeria; it is for them to decide whether or not, they wish to deserve consideration. The extremists daily bring death to dozens of Algerian families; they multiply systematic destruction, and they pile up ruins.

Europeans of Algeria! These crimes do not speak in your favour as far as your future in our Country is concerned. It is high time for you to break away from this desperation and to open your eyes to present realities in Algeria.

As for the French Government, it is up to them to give full support to the agreement. The principal obstacle to implementation of the agreement, is that group of colonialist extremists who

continue to plunge our cities into bloody shambles. No doubt, certain spectacular steps have been taken against some of these extremists leaders. Nevertheless, these fascist elements continue to indulge in collective assassinations with a more or less overt helping hand from some French military authorities. The anger of our masses is rising. This state of affairs can no longer continue to be. It menaces the fate of the Evian agreements, and of future co-operation between Algeria and France.

People of Algeria! The decisive stage of our struggle makes it imperative that all Algerians unite their forces around the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, to strengthen the struggle in unity and discipline, and to re-double our vigilance so as to foil the provocations and intrigues of our enemies.

Our tasks ahead are immense but the faith in our destiny will make it possible for us not only to realise our independence which is near, but also to build, in a restored peace, a democratic, strong and prosperous Algerian society.

SALUTE TO FREE ALGERIA

The Tasks Before Us

A statement made on April 24th, 1962

by

AHMED BEN BELLA

Vice-president of the Algerian Provisional Government.

Question. One of the main chapters of the Evian agreement concerns the guarantees to the Europeans in Algeria; what is the policy of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic as regards the implementation of these agreements?

Answer. In regard to this problem, I must say that the solution reached at Evian gives solid guarantees to the European population and it is practically impossible to conceive more reasonable solutions. However, these guarantees will only have their full value where they are taken up by the people concerned in a positive manner, particularly, where the rights and the duties which derive from the agreements are loyally accepted and without reluctance.

In this respect, it is necessary to underline that the pursuit of the O.A.S. operations would seriously compromise the purpose of these agreements.

On our part, we will safeguard every

opportunity for the loyal and sincere implementation of these guarantees.

Every one will have noticed that our people fully endorse the meaning we wish to give to these agreements; they have shown a courageous restraint which, in itself, is an exemplary attitude as against the O.A.S. terrorist activities.

Isn't this a valuable testimony for the future prospects which are open to the Algerians of all races as well as to those French who would like to live in Algeria?

The Moslem-Arab character of Algeria can not be an obstacle to the common life of all Algerians without racial and religious discrimination. The importance of our national culture, which was historically shaped from the source of Moslem-Arab civilisation, is not exclusive, and remains wide open to any other human contribution in our time.

Question. What are the prospects opened by the cease-fire for the unification of the Maghreb?

Answer. The Unity of the Maghreb is a deep aspiration of our masses. As a result of the dreadful experiences they have gone through, the Algerian people attach a great importance to this Unity.

We conceive the building of the Maghreb as one of the stages which will lead us to African Unity.

As matters stand now, it behoves us to handle the administration of Algeria in the best possible manner, to enable us to build up the State on solid foundations and prepare the development of the country.

For this reason, we expect from our Moroccan and Tunisian brothers the same solidarity they have shown towards us throughout the war. It is through the consolidation of this solidarity that we will be able to build, step by step, a viable Arab Maghreb.

"I'm for a total boycott by overseas artistes!"

ALGERIA . . .

POPULATION OF ALGERIA:
12,000,000.

In Algeria:
Algerians 10,000,000
Europeans:
French 390,000
Other European 450,000
Jews 160,000

1,000,000
Outside Algeria:
Algerian workers in
France 400,000
Algerian workers in
Germany & Belgium 100,000
Algerian refugees in
Tunisia & Morocco 500,000

INCOME AND STANDARD OF LIVING

National Revenue Milliards
 old francs
Total in 1954 580
Share of 800,000 Europeans 480
Share of 9 million Algerians 100

Average Annual Income Old francs
Algerian 12,000
European 450,000

Wages: In agriculture they vary
from 317 old francs to 407 old
francs per day.
In industry they vary from 74
old francs to 91 old francs per
day.

MEDICAL SERVICES

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

EDUCATION

90% of the Algerian people were
illiterate before the war commened,
while only 6.3% of the Europeans
in Algeria were illiterate.

University of Algiers, 1954

Faculty	Total Students
Law	1,713
Europeans	1,528
Algerians	179
Others	6
Medicine	824
Europeans	714
Algerians	110
Pharmacy	427
Europeans	369
Algerians	34
Arts	1,347
Europeans	1,175
Algerians	172
Science	835
Europeans	762
Algerians	62
Others	11

L. N. Terry's article in *Fighting Talk* of May encourages me to write on a subject which I have felt strongly about for a number of years. How right he is when he says that we should boycott segregated performances even if it means that we shall be depriving non-whites of the little they may get through concessions for one or two performances by visiting artists. Mr. Terry suggests that only when we the victims of discrimination have purged ourselves of our weak-kneed attitudes and excuses about total boycott can we impress upon outside artists the seriousness of our request that they do not visit South

formances. But, except when we performed in African townships, we insisted on appearing in halls where multi-racial audiences were allowed. We also opened membership to all races.

When we applied to the Government for a grant, we were told that we could not get anything as our constitution laid down that we were interested in artistes, no matter whether they were black or white, and our membership was mixed. This naturally clashed with Government policy and what is often called the "South African way of life."

The Johannesburg City Hall does not allow mixed audiences. When whites

Zeke Mphahlele enters a controversy

Africa until concerts can be desegregated. It is important to note that to the best of our knowledge no Africans, Coloureds or Indians ever promote of their own volition a social function, concert or cinema show where they keep out whites. So if non-whites conduct shows in their own areas, it is not their fault as it is the fault of whites when they keep us out, for most of them are psychologically on the side of the law.

And now there is the sickening Stravinsky affair. No-one can dare make excuses for this octogenarian for coming to South Africa in spite of letters asking him not to visit the Republic because of its racism. Once Yehudi Menuhin was in South Africa in the late 1940's, he defied "our traditional way of life" by coming to perform at the Donaldson Centre, Orlando. Today we should ask him not to come at all, even if his contract allowed him an excursion or two into our ghettos. And we have a right to expect Igor Stravinsky to be sufficiently informed about countries like South Africa, as Equity and the British Musicians Union are.

It may be worth recounting some facts about the dialogue of cultural boycott some of us carried on a few years ago. This dialogue has never been publicised before.

When the Union of South African Artistes was formed in Johannesburg, it was preoccupied with the promotion of music shows (mainly jazz) in Johannesburg and districts. Quite rightly, too, because there were a number of singing troupes which were not united and were often exploited by several companies. I was at the time deeply involved in the Syndicate of African Artistes which we had formed earlier to harness talent among our singers and instrumentalists (classics mainly). We ran also, as part of the Syndicate, a dramatic group which staged several per-

use it, non-whites must not be there, and vice versa. The Union insisted on using it to promote African shows for separate audiences on separate days. By then we had asked the British Musician's Union and Equity (English theatre union) to boycott South Africa unless they were allowed to entertain multi-racial audiences. The Union of Southern African Artistes argued that if we pressed the proviso too far, non-whites, who could otherwise be entertained in their own location halls by visiting British singers, actors and orchestras, would suffer, as there was not the remotest chance that the Government would relax its social apartheid. We should thus not see British artistes who decided to boycott at all.

Our reply was that no world actor or singer who respected himself or herself could dare perform to segregated audiences and continue to feel that he or she was contributing much to world culture. The Union replied that if South Africa were boycotted totally on such drastic terms, it would rob the underdog of even the little that he could get from actors and musicians who might want to entertain them in separate halls. Our answer was that the whites would lose, too, in the event of a total boycott. It could isolate South Africa culturally, and this would not only recharge the morale of the underdog but also drive the whites into a defensive position, as they are so dependent on outside artistes.

Mr. Bernhardt won the day, and his union settled for crumbs in the form of promises from Equity and the British Musician's Union to send their members down on condition that contracts with theatres (which are closed to Africans, Indians and Coloureds) allowed them to make a certain proportion (still to be fixed) of appearances before non-whites.

The Union went further. It promoted

top-ranking African artistes for appearances before European audiences. A series called "Township Jazz" drew large crowds of ecstatic white people at the Johannesburg City Hall. They had non-white patrons on separate days in the same hall. Not much support could be expected from these patrons for our boycott because (a) non-white South Africans lap up popular cultural entertainment in huge chunks and this corresponds with their creative zest in music and dance; (b) the people who controlled the African Press were in turn influenced very strongly by liberals who always have views such as those of the Union of Southern African Artistes management had at the time. So we could not publicise our campaign.

The Union thought up another argument to rationalise its activities. The management said by entertaining whites (even on segregation terms) our artistes would be bridging the cultural gap between the various races. A healthy motive, certainly. This, they concluded, would go a long way in resolving race conflicts in South Africa. The case of the Negro artiste in America was cited as an instance in which race barriers were broken down by persistent efforts on the part of the Negro to reach out for a white public.

Granted that we also wanted and still want to help bridge the gap between our streams of culture — not only in South Africa but in the whole of Africa — why should we be the only ones to be doing this? White artistes in South Africa do not make sufficient effort to come over to us. Our Syndicate of African Artistes managed to obtain the services of a few white musicians, but they forsook us when they felt that the

sacrifice was too painful; they did not want to provoke the Government's displeasure. Night after night, the whites who came and enjoyed themselves at "Township Jazz" shows went back to their comfortable, clean, plush existence in their bright and well-lit suburbs and forgot all about us, and did not lift a finger to press for our admission to their theatres, cinemas and restaurants and concert halls. Why, why, should we make all our efforts to crawl up to them with our art and go back to our dark shanty towns, to our dirty streets, to our draughty houses, to an existence that is littered with pieces of shattered ambition, aspiration and unrealised hope?

The case of the American Negro is a totally different one from ours. Negroes did not withhold their music because that would not have advanced their cause of freedom, they being a minority swamped by at least 97,000,000 whites who could create their own music, anyhow. Our boycott can be felt because we are a majority group; and everything vibrant and dynamic that exists in South African culture is to be found among the non-whites. Secondly, American whites generally have a conscience which can better be, and has been, exploited in other ways to win freedom. South African whites, on the contrary, are stubborn, and their conscience has short legs.

In order to get things clearer in my mind about all our cultural matters, I accepted Mr. Bernhardt's invitation to comper the second "Township Jazz". Again, it ran in the City Hall, which meant that audiences could not mix. But I thought if I did the compering, I should get the feel of it, and my psycho-

logical reactions to this position would help test our belief that it is immoral not only to be a spectator among a segregated audience, but also to give one's art on such terms.

Night after night I sat near the stage and the theme of apartheid played itself out before me in black and white as the Europeans listened for part of the week and the Africans and Indians and Coloureds took their turn on different nights. They warmed the seats for one another, but would not be tolerated next to each other! And the agony of those nights told me we must be right not to want to be associated with segregated performances. And the knowing it made me ask myself several times why I ever thought it might be otherwise. I wondered then what those artistes thought who appeared and reappeared on the stage. They could not be thinking like me. They seemed too absorbed in their music, unplugged by the thoughts that beat about in my mind.

That was six years ago.

But now, South Africa is not what it was six years ago. Several events have passed which have shaken several structures of complacency and self-deception like houses during a violent gale. African audiences are now dictating what they shall hear, and where. They will not allow anyone to entertain them in a hall which permits their entry only when the cat (the white man) is not around. The artistes themselves are catching the hint, too. Mr. Bernhardt, on his own admission, now feels the Union has compromised itself and its audiences. The whites in turn have hardened, and even the proverbial drop of water on the rock is like a drop that fizzles out on hot steel.

NEW WRITING

ABE

An extract from a forthcoming Novel — 'Emergency' — by Cape Town writer

RICHARD RIVE

It was one of those apricot-warm afternoons which can only be found in the Southern Suburbs, those balmy September days before the Christmas heat, when people tire sooner and tempers just start becoming frayed. De Jager had informed Andrew and Abe that he would be remaining late after school, which meant that they would have to take a train.

The ticket-box on the station had the usual two windows, one for Europeans, and another with a detachable board overhead, prominently displaying the legend, "Non-Europeans Only." The latter window faced the South Easter and the soot from the railway line, whereas the Whites-only window looked into a neat, though austere furnished waiting-room. Abe rolled his green eyes in mock despair.

"It's hard being a non-White."

"I don't see why you should grumble," Andrew replied. "You can easily pass for white if you made the effort to."

"It's my mother's fault. I cannot be held responsible for my charming freckles and luxurious blonde tresses."

"How Coloured can you get!" Andrew replied sarcastically.

The two joined the queue outside the non-European ticket box. They had heard quite a few complaints from their students about the new clerk. Apparently he treated all dark passengers with absolute contempt. On the railway timetable someone had scrawled in pencil, 'Don't throw the tickets at Coloureds like dogs, you big white gorilla.'

"I don't admire the style, though I appreciate the sentiments," Abe said laughingly.

"Some mute, inglorious Milton." An-

drew replied, "It's obviously constructed in very free verse."

"The spelling is atrocious. Only a member of 10b could spell gorilla like that."

"Alright we can't all be English masters at a third-rate high school."

"The more's the pity."

"I believe there have been complaints about this monkey in the ticket box."

"Yes. Serves the whites first, then sees to us black folks at his leisure."

"The insolence of office!"

The queue slowly moved forward.

"It was reported that he swore at some of our senior students the other day."

"I wouldn't be at all surprised. This is South Africa, in case you don't know

it, and these specimens form the aristocracy of labour."

"White labour?"

"Of all labour."

It was Abe's turn to be served. The clerk was a heavy man, sallow complexioned and sporting a Groucho Marx moustache. The unknown bard had been right. There was something distinctly simian about his appearance.

"One first-class single to Cape Town please?"

The clerk looked up slowly, puzzled by the unfamiliar accent.

"Other side please," he said politely.

It was Abe's turn to look surprised.

"Excuse me?"

"Round the corner, sir. This is the non-European side."

"Oh, I see," said Abe amused as the realisation struck him that the clerk had been taken in by his fair complexion.

"That's alright. I'm Coloured or so-called Coloured."

"Other side please," said the clerk firmly.

"Now let's not be difficult," Abe began, "I prefer to be served here."

"I'm not allowed to serve Whites at this counter."

"Excuse me?"

"I'm not allowed to serve Europeans here."

"I'm not a European. I've never been to Europe in my life."

The clerk crossed over to serve an over-dressed brunette at the other counter.

"Of all the giddy things!" said Abe amazed.

"Damn fool," Andrew agreed.

"So I have to fight in order to establish my non-White status."

"It's the shape of things to come."

"How crazy can one get."

The queue was lengthening behind them and people, mostly housewives and builders, were becoming impatient at the hold-up. Abe tapped angrily at the counter-sill with his money.

"I'm sorry but I'm not serving you here."

"I would like a first-class single to Cape Town please."

"I only serve Coloureds on this side. Europeans are around the corner."

"Well, if you prefer it that way, I am Coloured. I have a mother with bushy hair and thick lips. I teach at a Coloured high school. I am ostentatiously Coloured. Hundred per cent pure mixed breed."

"I am not here for your insults!"

"Then stop acting silly. One first-class single to Cape Town."

"It's against the law to serve you at this window. I'm afraid you must go round to the European section."

"Like hell. I'm staying right here!"

The clerk served three more Europeans, then sat down pretending to be engrossed in a copy of "Farmers Quarterly". He made a great show of being completely indifferent to Abe's hostile glare. The queue was becoming longer and people's tempers more frayed. A train pulled in and left amidst shrieks and whistles, picking up very few non-white passengers.

"Come on, Abe", Andrew pleaded, "You've had your fun. You might as well pretend to be white and get this silly business over with."

"I don't find this funny, and I refuse to be anything other than myself."

"Alright. I'll buy your ticket."

"I get my own thanks."

"There are many waiting behind us. We've caused them to miss one train already."

"They might as well miss a few more."

"Is it fair to them? Surely we're wasting the time of innocent people."

"I'll explain to them."

Abe turned around and cleared his throat. He threw a stray lock of hair out of his eyes.

"Ladies and gentlemen!"

He had to raise his voice to make himself heard.

"My friends, may I have your attention! There is a delay here because the clerk refuses to serve me. The reason is because he has apparently taken it upon himself to declare me a European. I assure you that I have never left South Africa. He has therefore asked me to join the white queue, which I have no intention to do. I refuse to be anything other than what I am, one of you. Therefore I'm staying right here until I'm served. Are you with me or against?"

Those who could hear him agreed. The rest murmured sullenly. Abe turned back to Andrew.

"Does that satisfy you?"

"Your little speech was totally unnecessary."

"You asked for it."

"Smacks of exhibitionism."

The clerk continued to concentrate on his magazine serving white customers only. Another half-empty train pulled in and left. The crowd was growing impatient again.

"If you refuse to come around to the other side I won't serve you," he said without looking up from his desk.

"Is it legal to serve non-Whites at a non-White counter? I see a notice above my head."

"Yes."

"Well I'm a non-White."

"I'll serve you around the corner."

"And break your own laws?"

A white railway constable arrived amidst mingled boos and cheers from the impatient crowd. He entered the ticket office and had a quick whispered

conversation with the clerk. Then he peered at Abe through the window.

"Now what's all the trouble about?"

"I'm waiting to be served. I've waited over half an hour."

"The clerk says you're in the wrong queue."

"Is this the non-White queue?"

"Can't you read?"

"Is this the non-White queue?"

"Yes!"

"Well then I'm in the right queue."

The constable took in Abe's green eyes and freckled face.

"Sure of that?" he asked suspiciously.

"Quite, quite sure."

The policeman returned to the desk and whispered intensely to the clerk, then he left, pushing his way through the crowd. Protests were becoming quite loud and threatening by now. Another ten minutes passed. The clerk looked up slowly, his eyes filled with hatred. Abe met his gaze unflinchingly.

"Alright," the clerk said at length, "I'll serve you."

He slowly rose and left the office; once outside he came to where Abe watched him closely. Andrew wondered what the hell the clerk was up to. The latter reached for the "Non-European Only" notice and withdrew it from its socket. The crowd watched expectantly. He then reversed the sign, displaying the "Europeans Only" printed on the other side. He glared at the crowd, then slipped it back into its socket.

"What a transformation!" Abe remarked, surveying the new sign. The clerk maintained a hostile silence as he went back into his office. Then he served Abe. He left his window for the second time and reversed the notice. The crowd roared with laughter.

"So we're back where we started," Abe remarked.

"How damn silly," said Andrew.

"Next!" the clerk ordered gruffly.

"One single first-class to Cape Town," said Andrew. "It's quite safe I'm not a European!"

The clerk glared at him.



The Reverend Ndlovu...

An excerpt from THE MARABI DANCE

by MARKS DIKOBÉ RAMITLOA

Marks Dikobe Ramitloa is a new writer. He is secretary of the Shop and Office Workers' Union. MARABI DANCE is his first novel and is now nearing completion.

The funeral bell rang and rang and rang, and beat sorrowfully into the hearts of hundreds of people who had to bid a last farewell to Vusi Musi, the son of Madondo, the first husband of Ma-Ndlovu, and the second husband of Ma-Khumalo.

"Gong! . . . gong! . . . gong! . . . gong!"

"He who is born of man and woman shall not live for ever on this earth. God so loveth his only son and was crucified to save our sins."

"Gong! . . . gong! . . . gong! . . . gong!"

Reverend Ndlovu was born in Northern Rhodesia and came to the Union of South Africa as a contract labourer to a farm. He was illiterate and had learned to "read" the Bible by memorising what he had heard. When conducting a service he hid his illiteracy by looking closely into the bible from his place behind the pulpit; he never made the mistake of "reading" anything that was not written in the Book. He was greatly helped in his work by the street corner services and funerals which he attended. He never failed to be at the funeral services conducted by others and was often called upon to assist.

No Minister of religion doubted his profession or minimised his ability. "Mfundizi-Moruti", they reverently addressed him. Those who had no ministers to go to when there was a death in the family, engaged the services of the Right Reverend A. D. Ndlovu. In appreciation of his offerings he was given a couple of pounds by the bereaved persons.

His proper name was Tshirongo. He changed to the name of Ndlovu when the police had organised a swoop on "Foreign Natives" whom they sent home in their thousands. He had married one of the daughters of the foreman on the Bethal farm where he worked his contract of service. When he was free to leave, he loitered about for a short period, studying the way the services of the Apostolic Faith Church of Zion were conducted. After gaining the confidence of some of the leading members of the farm, he led a deputation to the Native Commissioner. Under oath — "I swear that I am telling the truth," — he was given an exemption pass under the name of Ndlovu. Again under oath, he gave them to understand that he had been ordained a priest by the Right Reverend Tembuku of the whole Bethal District and witnessed by three Church Elders.

Reverend Ndlovu walked out of the office of the Native Commissioner in ecstasy, waving the Exemption Certificate in the air, his white teeth on the photograph showing whiter than the paper on which it was printed. That night the bells in the African quarters rang tumultuously, and a service was held attended by ten thousand people. Five oxen and several head of cattle lost their lives that week-end.

The fame of the man spread far beyond the borders of Bethal and the Prospect Township Church circuit requested his services. There he performed ceremonies and attended 'stokfels' and parties and Marabi Dances, and won many members for his church.

"Gong! . . . gong! . . . gong! . . . gong!"

"He that believeth in God shall not die."

Reverend Ndlovu did not puzzle his listeners, for he always explained to them that only the flesh dies and the soul ascends to heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.

He was not requested to officiate at this funeral. But he knew that the woman had had a Marabi party dance and a brandy gathering of well dressed men, as well as a beer kgotla. So he made it his business to assist at the proceedings. In doing this, he well knew that he might solve his other problem of going back to Rhodesia.

"If I win her confidence, my next step is to make love to her, then my way to wealth will be easier. I am going to spend every night at the vigils and preach and preach," he planned.

"If I get the money, I shall take the first train to Rhodesia. I want to be called Mr. Tshirongo. Damn Ndlovu! That is not my proper name."

He had sent his wife and children to Rhodesia during the mass raids against the "foreign natives" and remained behind to make a few more pounds before he joined them.

He was much relieved when Ma-Ndlovu called on him after the funeral to ask him to help her calculate her ex-

penses. She made the invitation on the understanding that he would act officially as her brother since they bore the same surname.

"Uncle," Ma-Ndlovu had said to her brother-in-law, "my brother, Reverend Ndlovu will take over the responsibility of paying the funeral expenses."

"Since when has Reverend Ndlovu been your brother?" inquired the old man.

Hau! Baba meane — small father, Reverend Ndlovu is my father's younger brother's son, just like you and Vusi."

"You should have told me before," insisted the old man.

"How could I speak to you about my relatives when I had to sit at my husband's head?" said Ma-Ndlovu angrily.

"I undertook to buy two sheep and an ox. Is he going to refund me the money?"

"Uhloho — surprising. How can you as a father expect to be refunded the money you spent on your child?"

"Ma-Ndlovu! Now I realise why you demanded the body of my son. To make money out of it! Eat that money with your new brother. The spirit of Madondo's will haunt you until you go to the grave!"

The old man banged the door, "Isifebe — prostitute!" he called out to her as he left the house.

Soon afterwards, Reverend Ndlovu arrived to help count the money. Ma-Ndlovu cleared a table and the count began. She took out notes from all over her body, her clothes, her pockets, from her blouse and headgear, from under the mats upon which she was sitting. Pound notes, moulded with perspiration, some of them disfigured, fell to the floor. The pillows had been so crammed with money that they were as hard as bricks, and still she produced more. Reverend Ndlovu wiped his brow and rushed in excitement to secure the door which he barricaded and locked. Then they began counting and counting and recounting. They argued between themselves and disputed the totals. Ultimately they counted in fives and calculated from the five fingers of the hand, placing the money aside in two groups to represent two hands and finally they arrived at the right figure: forty five pounds and ten shillings.

"How much have you still to pay for funeral expenses?" asked Reverend Ndlovu.

"It's all paid," replied Ma-Ndlovu. She tied the money in an old rag and

fastened it on her waist, inside her dress. When she had completed this, she lifted a dilapidated and torn mattress and removed a pile of paper packets in which more pound notes were crammed. As before they began counting and recounting: twenty seven pounds was the final figure they arrived at. This she placed in the shirt of her blouse. Then from a corner of the room she fetched two syrup tins from which she poured the pennies and the silver.

"Rapp—Rap . . . Rap." There was a knock at the door.

"Ma-Ndlovu vula — open!"

"Ngovane — who is it?" inquired Ma-Ndlovu.

"Umama uka George — George's mother. I want the money you owe him." She began banging the door and kicking it, and when this was not successful, she picked up a brick and threw it against the window pane, breaking the panels and the glass.

"It is George's mother," said some of the girls who had been at the Marabi Dance eight days before. A crowd gathered to see what had happened.

"Wo—o We— let her open the door. She has locked herself inside with Mfundizi — Reverend!" they screamed.

"Haaaaaa — shame. Her husband was buried yesterday," roared the mothers and the kids.

The window had been completely broken and both Ma-Ndlovu and the Reverend hid behind the furniture. George's mother peeped through the window and hurled another brick which caught the Mfundizi on the head and the blood flowed freely onto the floor.

OF FOLKS I THINK ARE COMMUNISTS

I have no proof of anyone,
And yet the lists are loads
of fun.
All friends of foreign aid, I think,
Must be set down as rather
pink.
A little pinker, not far off,
I list perforce the college prof.
And pinker yet the college crowd
That lauds the Bill of Rights
out loud.
U.N. supporters as I've said,
Are also ipso facto red;
And redder still on my red lists,
Are all the integrationists.
Just for good measure in my
labours,
I add a few of my good neigh-
bours.
Thus I rejoice that loyalty
Resides alone in you and me—
Although before my work is
through,
You may, good friend, be
listed too.

—Jewish War Veteran,
February, '62.

Ma-Ndlovu unfastened the door and threw it wide open and flung a full tin of silver coins to George's mother.

"Hamba — go! We are Christians. We don't want to rob anybody," she shrieked.

George's mother opened the tin but was not satisfied and threw it back at her. "I want paper money, I want paper money!" she roared and puffed like a tigress, and rushed inside hauling out

the Mfundizi like a twenty five pound bag of mealie meal. The Mfundizi, an active agile man, sprung quickly to his feet and darted back into the room.

"Wait mama — kahle mama. Ma-Ndlovu give her five pounds," the Mfundizi was breathless.

Ma-Ndlovu turned to a corner of the room and took out from her shirt blouse the required money and handed it to George's mother.

PEACE PLAN FROM ACCRA ASSEMBLY

The Accra Assembly on "The World Without the Bomb" ended in Accra with an appeal to all Governments to apply nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes. The Assembly, which met for eight days, was opened by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana. It was attended by more than 130 people from about 40 countries. The participants included atomic experts, journalists, eminent scholars, politicians and university professors.

The Assembly accepted the recommendations of its five main commissions and another suggestion by its council that a copy of the Assembly's proposals should be sent to the United Nations-sponsored disarmament talks in Geneva. It endorsed the concept of a nuclear-free Africa and welcomed the initiative taken by the people of Africa. The Assembly proposed the creation of nuclear-free zones in other areas, such as South-East Asia, Middle East and Latin America.

It also proposed that all lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic should be restored in all organs of the United Nations. It asked that the charter of the United Nations should be reviewed.

On easing of tension, the Assembly believed that it should be the duty of non-aligned States to take every possible initiative to assist in the process of general disarmament. On the need for economic co-operation between nations, the Assembly suggested that world trade should know no ideological frontiers and that discriminatory economic practices should be opposed and abolished.

The 73-page report embodying the recommendations of the commissions called for the prevention of NATO and Warsaw Pact organisations from themselves becoming nuclear powers. The delegates believed that to solve the problem of disarmament and other fundamental problems of hunger, disease, ignorance and servitude, a substantial part of the resources which disarmament would make available for international aid to the under-developed countries should be channelled through international organisations. They recommended that re-

gional research centres with central reactor facilities be developed in collaboration with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

On control inspection of disarmament, the Assembly believed, among other principles, that a treaty on general and complete disarmament should be concluded and should include a system of control and inspection. The text of the treaty on general and complete disarmament should be open to signature by all States, should contain concrete provision for methods and forms of inspection which should be adjusted by agreement as technical experience is gained.

Ghana offered facilities for the establishment of a secretariat in Accra to implement the results of the Assembly and to plan future conferences. In a message to the Assembly, the Government said it would provide the secretariat with all the necessary accommodation and other facilities. In order that sufficient funds might be available for the efficient organisation of future assemblies, it said, the Government was appealing through the Assembly, to other Governments and to organisations and private individuals to contribute towards the cost of future assemblies. The message said the Government would, if the Assembly so desired, invite delegates to meet in Accra again next year at a date which was considered convenient by participants.

The governing council of the Assembly decided to send a two-man delegation to represent the Assembly at the World Congress on Disarmament and Peace which opens in Moscow on July 9th. The two men are Mr. F. E. Boatman, Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee of the Assembly, and Dr. R. P. Baffour, Vice-Chancellor of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi.

The council decided that the next congress of the Accra Assembly should be held in Accra in September, 1963. It also named Dr. Baffour and Sean MacBridge, former Irish Minister of External Affairs, as the Assembly's official delegates for the Geneva 18-nation conference on disarmament in the first week of August.