

loans.* There is no reason to believe that another and similar depression would not have similar results. And here then, in the threat to our economic expansion, lies the second danger sign.

As we stated in the first part of this article, it is not the function of this article to prophesy, but rather to assess the facts. And the facts are clear. A crisis is patently developing in the economies of the great citadels of capitalism overseas. From that crisis, the capitalist world is passing into a period of depression which may well be severe, but whose duration and depth will be determined in part by political action against armament drives, cold-wars and military adventures, and by political action to ensure large-scale measures of social welfare and the expansion of East-West trade. South Africa, cushioned though it may be by the gold mining industry, assisted though it may be by a rise in the price of gold, cannot fail to be affected by such a depression. And those who will feel its effects most sharply in South Africa will be, as always, the unorganised sections of the working class, who are least able to protect their own interests.

If there are morals to be drawn then, they are these. Capitalism in the year 1956 is unable to control the great genie of industrial and economic might which it has developed. A change in the social order is on the agenda everywhere in the capitalist world, South Africa included. But until that change is made, let the working people look to their own organisation, to their trade union solidarity and strength. For that is their only defence against the cold winds of depression that are beginning to blow. The writing is on the wall!

* Sir Robert Kindersley: "British Overseas Investment." Economic Journal 1935.

GOLD COAST INDEPENDENCE

By KOFI BATSA (Gold Coast)

ON April 20, 1956, the Gold Coast Government issued a White Paper which "embodies the proposals of the Gold Coast Government on the final constitutional arrangements to be made to enable the Gold Coast to achieve its independence."

The Gold Coast Government envisages the following legal measures:

"(a) An order in council removing the Governor's reserve and discretionary powers;

(b) an act of the United Kingdom Parliament conferring upon the Gold Coast Legislature law-making powers which cannot be conferred by order in council;

(c) Letters Patent creating the office of Governor-General; and

(d) Royal Instructions to the Governor-General to replace the existing Royal Instructions to the Governor."

The White Paper sets out in detail the matters which must be considered in drafting the proposed amendments to the existing Gold Coast Constitution.

The Government proposes that at independence the Gold Coast should become a member of the British Commonwealth and its name should be changed from "Gold Coast" to "Ghana."

It must be mentioned that before this White Paper there had been negotiations between the Gold Coast Government and the United Kingdom Government and the present White Paper was designed for "the limited transitional period which was necessary in order that the requisite constitutional and administrative arrangements for independence could be made."

In the introduction to the "Constitutional Proposals for Independence," the Gold Coast Government states: "It is gratifying to observe that with the full co-operation of His Excellency the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies it has been possible to effect, during the present transitional period, most of the constitutional and administrative arrangements which must precede Independence."

A study of the White Paper shows clearly that the Gold Coast Government has already completed its negotiations in chambers with the British Government.

But it must be mentioned that there is a lack of "general agreement" on the Government White Paper in the Gold Coast.

There is the right-wing view that the White Paper does not command that "measure of general agreement in the Gold Coast which is a prerequisite for granting independence."

This view is clearly reflected in the editorial of the British Conservative "Daily Telegraph" of the 20th April, 1956. The "Telegraph" thinks that because the Gold Coast Government feels that in the present temper of the country elections would lead to violence, "it acknowledges the Gold Coast's disunity and unreadiness for independence at the pace Dr. Nkrumah plans."

The Left-wing view is that since 1951 there have been agreements between the present leaders of the Gold Coast Government and the British Government to determine the pace at which Gold Coast should advance to independence. A lot has been given out to Britain through these agreements.

The extent to which the Gold Coast Government is committing itself to the Volta River Project which gives away 168 million tons of aluminium to British and American interests as "Gold Coast's contribution to world peace" must be mentioned in this respect.

The fight of the Government against progressive movements and honest and sincere trade union and youth leaders must be cited further.

The willingness with which Britain has been dishing out constitutional concessions to the leaders of the Gold Coast Government on a "silver platter" without any friction of any sort, must be stated.

In this wise Dr. Cheddi Jagan should be quoted: "If power is likely to be transferred to honest, sincere leaders, the constitution is

designed to place effective control with the Colonial Office. But if leaders can be found who will stooge to, and do the dirty work of the imperialists, then 'advanced' constitutions will follow."

If the Gold Coast Government's White Paper should be credited with any seriousness as a genuine document on independence for the Gold Coast, the negotiations during the "transitional period" should be made clear.

The demand of the Gold Coast is that full independence should be achieved right now. It must be independence without strings. The masses and the youth of the Gold Coast have been paying dearly for this independence and they are not prepared to accept selling out of any kind.

THE ROLE OF CAPITALISM IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

First Attacks of Colonialism on African Society

By H. LAWSON

**The first two articles in this series appeared in previous issues
of LIBERATION**

BOER CATTLE STEALING

The wealth which enabled the nations of Western Europe to develop capitalist industry was to a large extent drawn from the peoples of Asia, Africa and America by the most ruthless methods of robbery and violence. We have illustrated some of these methods of "primitive accumulation" by quoting some of the practices of the Dutch East India Company (See Liberation, Feb. 1956), and we have also indicated how the white settlers at the Cape applied these methods to the Hottentots whom they robbed of their land and their cattle. (See Liberation, No. 17.)

The economy of the Boers was of such a primitive nature that theft constituted almost the only means known to them of increasing their herds. When the trekboers reached the eastern parts of the Cape towards the latter part of the eighteenth century they turned their attention to the vast herds and lands possessed by the African people. These they tried to obtain by the same methods of robbery, treachery and violence that had defeated the Hottentot tribes.

In 1770 the boundary of the Colony was officially established a'