



# Voice of AFRICA



FOR over one hundred years we longished under the heel of the colonial oppressors.

I need not go into the details of our sufferings, and the indignity and degradation endured by us.

All I want to say is that when our people at last arose in disgust and resentment against the inhumanity and degradation perpetrated against them the colonialists reacted in their usual state pattern of action, and some of us were imprisoned, others were prosecuted and others suffered death. We were undaunted.

We went forward, fighting until we achieved victory and attained our independence and sovereignty.

Consequently, we declared to the world that the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent.

We are not fighting for African liberation only. We are fighting also for the political unification of Africa, for without unity there can be no future for the African people.

We are seriously anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist, and we shall never compromise in this struggle.

—DR. KWAME NKRUMAH.

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# Voice of Africa

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## EDITORIAL

### The Belgrade Conference

"WHY yet another force?" Some ask the question, with an implied sneer. "Is it not foolish to suppose that the two world powers would allow their policies to be influenced by the number of nations which met in Belgrade?" they ask.

But for most of the people in this world the Belgrade Conference of Neutral States means a moral response of majority of mankind to the facts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and to the possibility of their reoccurrence.

One moral issue is that nuclear weapons may annihilate or destroy not merely innocent civilian populations, but also the absolutely innocent, those still to be born.

For the majority who were represented at Belgrade, whoever embarks upon nuclear warfare, may possibly have taken a decision which could lead to the extermination of the human race, and to rendering this earth uninhabitable. One fact is clear: whoever starts an H-bomb war today is really bringing about incalculable genetic damage, or he is bringing human history to an end.

From Belgrade it has become clear that any government which makes preparation for war, does so without the consent or even the passive acquiescence of a goodly number of the people of the world.

On colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, the Belgrade Conference stated emphatically that:—

Lasting peace could only be achieved if colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations were radically eradicated.

From Belgrade it has become clear to mankind that the sands of time have already run perilously low; for truly the portents in the skies spell dreadful calamities.

Any action which should be taken now should better be taken in dead earnest, lest the light of PEACE be totally extinguished and mankind be made to plunge once more into the darkness and terror of the past instead of into the peace and the glory of the future.

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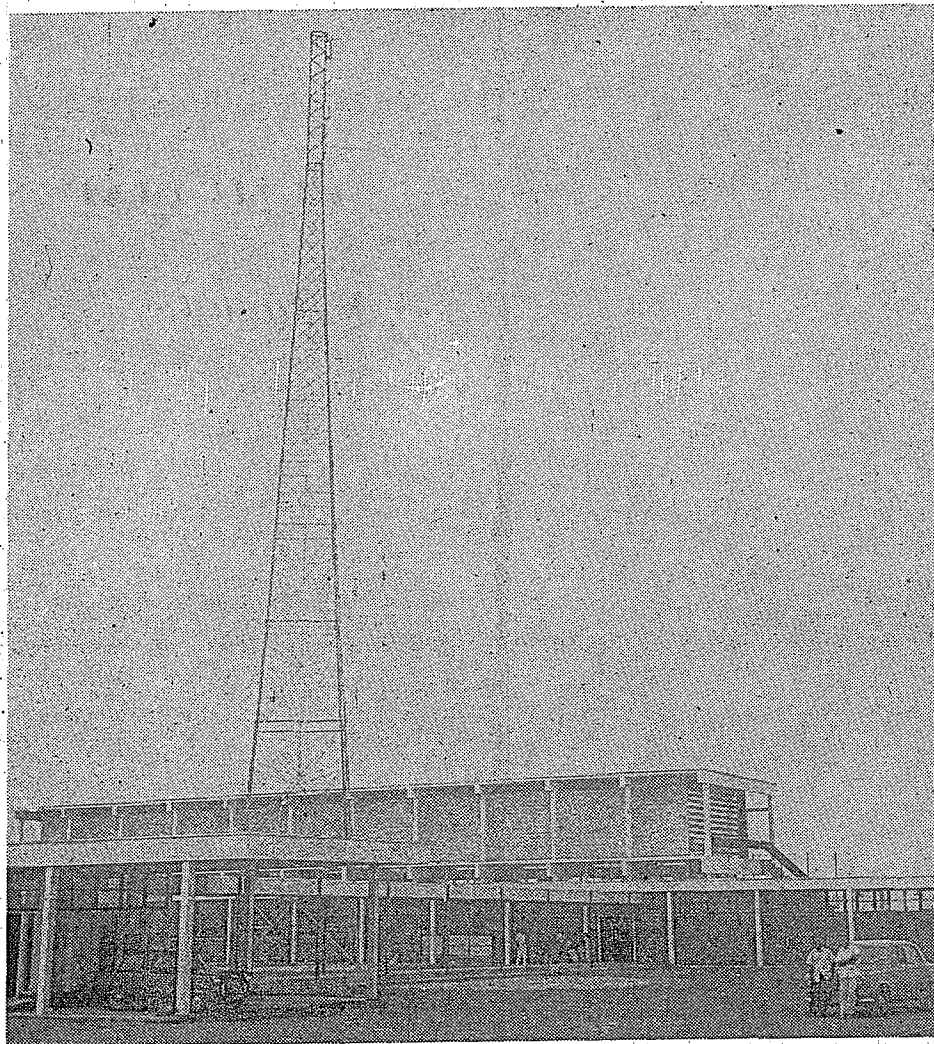
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## An Important Link



The tall mast in this picture which is at Tema, has an important part to play in Radio Ghana's External Service. A programme from an External Service studio is fed into a programme link or an ultra high frequency transmitter which is a small power transmitter.

From its base in Tema, the tall mast shown here collects the programme from a similar ultra high frequency transmitter in Accra. It then feeds the programme into the transmitter at Tema. The programme is next amplified and fed into transmitter aerials from where it goes to the outside world. (See p. 32 for Transmission Times & Wavelengths)

## The African Struggle

by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

WE in Africa today are engaged in a relentless struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. The continent is in a great nationalist ferment and the chains of oppression are breaking down everywhere. In nineteen fifty-seven, when Ghana became independent, there were only eight independent African States; today there are no fewer than twenty-eight, with many others still to follow. The struggle is hard and fierce. The events in the Congo, in Angola, in Algeria and more recently in Tunisia, are clear indications of the determination of the colonialists and imperialists not to give up.

It is also a clear reminder of the necessity for the political unification of the African Continent. We are confident, however, that the days of colonialism are numbered and that the evil which it represents will be crushed once and for all.

In addition to the preservation of world peace, the two basic aims of our foreign policy are African Independence and African Unity. The one is inextricably bound up with the other. I repeat here what I told the Ghana Parliament on July 4, 1961 "the people of Africa have learnt to their cost that independence is not just a matter of political constitutions or changing of flags. There are subtle and surreptitious ways by which the colonial powers can maintain their grip of the subjected peoples even after the visible trappings of foreign sovereignty have disappeared. So long as the peoples of Africa are divided into so many wholly artificial political units arbitrarily fixed for them by their colonial masters, it is not possible to attain true independence or economic equality.

"If we in Ghana are so much in favour of Pan-Africanism, it is not on account of any selfish motive of

increasing our own importance but because we are so deeply convinced that it is only through African unity that the peoples of this great continent can really free themselves from foreign domination and rule."

Our struggle against colonialism is part of the struggle for world peace; for the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism means the positive removal of the fundamental causes of war. This is why we support all efforts aimed at establishing the fundamental rights of all peoples, and the promotion of peace and security throughout the world. It is also for this reason that we have persistently supported the just demand of the Chinese People's Republic for admission to the United Nations. It does not make sense to us that over six hundred million people should be excluded from the only international body dedicated to the pursuit of peace.

## Depressed

## Stooges

42-year-old depressed thrice commercially and chronic politically bankrupt Moise Kapenda Tshombe, arch-tribalist and arch-imperialist stool-pigeon and self-styled President of Katanga, Congo Republic, together with 22-year-old equally depressed, agricultural demonstrator, Albert Kalonji, Katanga-tribalist leader and self-styled King of the Mining State of Kasai.

"President" Tshombe (right) and "King" Kalonji are here seen ruminating over their manifold political sins and crimes against Africa and the African people.



# Imperialism is

## Weakening Says Non-Aligned States' Conference

THE following are extracts of the communique issued by the non-aligned conference, which took place in Belgrade, Czechoslovakia last month. The communique said:

NEVER before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations.

"Imperialism is weakening, colonial empires and other forms of foreign oppression of peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are gradually disappearing from the stage of history. Great successes have been achieved in the struggle of many peoples for national independence and equality.

"In the same way, the peoples of Latin America are continuing to make an increasingly effective contribution to the improvement of international relations. Great social changes in the world are further promoting such a development.

"All this not only accelerates the end of the epoch of foreign oppression of peoples, but also makes peaceful co-operation among peoples, based on the principles of independence and equal rights, an essential condition for their freedom and progress.

"Tremendous progress has been achieved in the development of science, techniques and in the means of economic development.

"Prompted by such developments in the world, the vast majority of people are becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that war between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity.

"This awareness of peoples is becoming a great moral force, capable of exercising a vital influence on the development of international relations.

strengthening of the confidence among peoples and their full support to countries who were endeavouring to secure the evacuation of these bases.

They supported the declaration of the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples, adopted at the 15th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and recommended the unconditional termination and final abolition of colonial rule.

The participating countries deplored that the struggle of the people of Algeria for freedom and self-determination to be "just and necessary" and said Algeria would be given all the possible support and aid.

They demanded "the immediate termination of all occupation and the restoration of the territorial integrity to the rightful people in countries in which it has been violated in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the withdrawal of foreign forces from their national soil.

"The immediate evacuation of French armed forces from the whole of the Tunisian territory in accordance with the legitimate rights of Tunisia to the exercise of its full national sovereignty.

"The tragic events in the Congo must not be repeated and that it is the duty of the world community to continue to do everything in its power in order to erase the consequences and to prevent any further foreign intervention in this young African State, and to enable the Congo to embark freely upon the road of its independent development based on respect for its sovereignty, unity and its territorial integrity."

They condemned "the policy of apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa and demand the immediate abandonment of this policy.

They further stated that the policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the world constitutes a grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

They condemned the imperialist policies pursued in the Middle East and declared their support for the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

They condemned the establishment and maintenance of foreign military bases of the people and declared

their full support to countries who were endeavouring to secure the evacuation of these bases.

The conference re-affirmed its conviction that:

All nations have the right of self-determination, and independence by virtue of which right they can determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without intimidation or hindrance.

All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out

of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law.

In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

The participants considered that "Disarmament is an imperative need and the most urgent task of mankind. A radical solution of this problem, which has become an urgent necessity in the present state of armaments, in the unanimous view of participating countries, can be achieved only by means of a general, complete and

strictly and internationally controlled disarmament."

The Heads of State or Governments pointed out that "general and complete disarmament should include the elimination of forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms as well as elimination of institutions and installations for military training, except for purposes of internal security."

They also demanded "the total prohibition of the production, possession and utilisation of nuclear and thermonuclear arms, bacteriological and chemical weapons as well as the

elimination of equipment and installations for the delivery and placement and operational use of weapons of mass destruction on national territories."

The participating countries, called upon "all states in general, and states exploring outer space at present in particular, to undertake to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes."

They expressed the hope that the international community will through collective action, establish an international agency with a view to promoting and co-ordinating human actions in the field of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space."

The declaration urged that non-aligned nations should be represented at all future world disarmament conferences and requested for guarantees by an effective system of inspection of control of a general and complete disarmament.

The countries asked the United Nations General Assembly "to find a solution to the question of expanding the membership of the Security Council and of the



G. J. G.

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## "Rod of Iron" Rule in Rhodesia

*Troops and armed police are out in the streets of Salisbury and other towns of Southern Rhodesia. In Northern Rhodesia there is alarm among Africans at the way they have been let down by the British Government.*

*Reports from Salisbury say that the colony "seems headed for a major clash." Sam Russell gives the background to this tense situation.*

BRITAIN has been warned. We are now committed to "rod of iron" rule in Southern and Northern Rhodesia in an attempt to impose on the African people constitutions which flout democracy in every line and letter.

The threat of the "rod of iron" was made by the Premier of Southern Rhodesia Sir Edgar Whitehead. Behind him stands the Premier of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sir Roy Welensky.

### Trust Betrayed

Welensky, Whitehead and the other exponents of white domination in Rhodesia, are opposed by the overwhelming majority of the people of Northern and Southern Rhodesia—the African people.

These African people are led by the National Democratic Party in Southern Rhodesia (President, Joshua Nkomo) and by the United National Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia (President Kenneth Kaunda).

Nkomo put his trust in the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Duncan Sandys, and was betrayed and left in the lurch. Kaunda trusted the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, and was sent home with a cooked constitution.

Now arms are to be used to try and impose these cooked constitutions. No wonder Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., warned in House of Commons the other day: "As a result of the policy of the present Government in Central Africa, we are likely to have a situation there which may repeat some of the terrible consequences which have happened in Northern Africa."

Mr. Brockway hoped that this may not happen and that the Tory Government might "reverse the disastrous policies which are leading to these conclusions."

But if the British people are not to be faced with a Bizerta in Bulawayo, Salisbury, Lusaka or in the Rhodesian copper-belt, then much more must be done to alert the labour movement to the danger of which Mr. Brockway warned.

It was the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, who stated at a dinner given in his honour by Portugal's fascist dictator in Lisbon: "Both British and Portuguese doctrines of colonial Government are based on respect for the human personality. Both reject racialism."

### Cat Out

The world has seen how "our oldest ally" understands "respect for human personality" in Angola.

Much play has been made about the alleged "progressive" attitude of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, compared with the Tory backwoods-men, 100 of whom signed a motion against the Macleod proposals for Northern Rhodesia.

This constitution, as that for Southern Rhodesia, is a plan devised to keep the white settlers with their farming and mining interests in power. The scales are weighted on the side of Sir Roy Welensky and his United Federal Party.

In Southern Rhodesia, much play has been made about the so-called "Bill of Rights" which is supposed to ensure a fair deal for the Africans.

But Sir Edgar Whitehead let the cat out of the bag when he declared his acceptance of the scheme, because

according to him, it will ensure that no future Labour Government will be able to introduce changes which the whites of Southern Rhodesia would not accept.

### Home's Homely

In its present state Southern Rhodesia has been described by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salisbury as a Nazi State. The "Bill of Rights" will not apply to the discriminatory laws already on the statute book in Southern Rhodesia.

Not so long ago, during a visit to the U.S. the Foreign Secretary Lord Home, held forth at great length in speeches at Harvard University and in Chicago about the wonderful benefits brought by British colonialism to Africa.

"I am not sure," he said in Harvard, "that the manifest justice of British Colonialism is not the example which will clinch the case against Communism in the minds of the neutral and unaligned. The contrast between the British Commonwealth and the Russian Empire cannot be ignored."

There are eight million African and 300,000 white settlers in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. At the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland of the 23 students enrolled this year, only 6 were Africans.

When the University College was opened in 1957 it was said that the number of African students should not be more than the number of white students, in order "not to lower civilised standards."

Since then, Lord Home's "manifest justice" has been shown by maintaining a ratio of one to four in the enrolment of African to white students and by the continued limitation of educational facilities for Africans.

In the whole federation there are only four high schools, of which two have only recently been opened where African students are prepared for university entrance examinations. In Salisbury, the federal capital, there are only two secondary schools for an African population of over 150,000 to 14 secondary schools for just 65,000 whites.

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## Nationalistic Role of

## Mau Mau

by Aleks Ukut

IT is safe to say that although many people have received the news of Jomo Kenyatta's release considerable joy, a lot more have done so with a grain of salt, or with some mixed feelings.

I am however not having in mind the Kenya European settlers, or the Conservative British Government or even the imperialists generally. I am thinking of true African patriots who have demonstrated their welcome attitude to Jomo's come-back to leadership in various ways.

### Ascending Mount Kenya

Underneath the congratulatory messages and invitations, runs a deep undercurrent of righteous indignation against the repressive British colonial policy in East and Central Africa that, among other things, led to Jomo's detention and imprisonment.

Although we all welcome the news and the event, we cannot help feeling that such belated action cannot atone for the grave injustice done to African nationalism in that part of Africa. However, when we remember that it is better late than never, we cannot but heave a sigh of relief. More especially because we cannot have Comrade Lumumba back in the same way. We wish we could.

Let us endeavour to ascend Mount Kenya.

From there, we will take a bird's eye view of the past, present and future of this great and heroic African state facing Mount Kenya.

Clearly in our view are poster questions: What really was Mau Mau? How did it operate? Was Jomo really party to it? What is the present and future political situation in Kenya? What part will Kenyatta

play? And indeed, staring us straight in the face is—just how hot still is the "Burning Spear?"

### The Blunders

In order to appreciate Kenya, or any other African state for that matter, we must invoke memories of the past. In other words, was there any form of civilisation before the coming of the white man? Or was it truly a "primitive" society (whatever this means) as some Europeans would have us believe?

Commenting on the social and economic situation in Kenya that led to the Mau Mau Resistance Movement, Mr. F. D. Corfield, the one-man Commission appointed by the Governor of Kenya as "a primitive race who had stagnated for centuries." In his view, the Kenyans rose not because they suffered social injustice, but because "a new civilising influence impinged on them with suddenness." To say the least, this is a complete negation of truth and history.

And it is this type of narrow, self-conceited frame of European mind that is chiefly responsible for the blunders of all colonial governments. If the colonialists had taken the trouble to leaf through the histories of Egypt, Malta, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Congo, Uganda and Kenya, to mention only a few, they would have better appreciated their role, and, perhaps, modified their arrogant approach.

### Great Zimbabwe

In the first century A.D., an Egyptian-Greek sailor-trader wrote an account of his trade with the East

African Coast. The Azanians as they were called (whence Zanzibar and Zan-ghibar, meaning the coast of the black people; now Zanzibar) exported ivory, rhino-horn, tortoise-shell and some oil in huge quantities, as far as Egypt and Phoenicia. In return, they imported hatchets, daggers, awls and glass. As civilisation leapt forward, iron was smelted in the East African interior and stone buildings of indigenous African skill sprang up.

Zimbabwe is the most lively testimony of that great, glorious past in East and Central Africa. And people like Corfield need to go there on an educational excursion.

Kenya as we know it today is a triplet brother of Tanganyika and Uganda. The present borders, like all colonial boundaries, are artificial. Not long ago, a number of Masai chiefs and elders led a delegation to the Governor of Kenya demanding that they be merged with their brothers in Tanganyika, which has a larger population of the Masai. As usual, they went back frustrated.

Kenya has an area of 225,000 square miles, and a population of 6,500,000 people. Of these, there are 6,200,000 Africans; 170,000 Asians; 66,000 Europeans and 37,000 Arabs.

### Stolen Lands

Before the Europeans stumbled down the Kenya Highlands, the system of land ownership among the Kikuyu and other tribes in Kenya was communal. It was called the Githiaka, and control was patriarchal.

European immigration started actively around 1902. There was so much scramble for the rich, cool highlands that a Land Committee had to be instituted in October 1904 to implement the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 to the letter. The Ordinance declared that "land not in beneficial occupation" (by the natives), at the time was at the disposal of the Crown. And thus Ngong, Kabete, Karura, Kiambu and Ruiru areas were stocked into the Crown.

"Before the Masai who were mostly herdsmen could drive home their sheep and cattle, their chief had been cornered into signing an agreement which herded them into two "reserves," leaving the Rift Valley and the beautiful plains of Nairobi empty for European settlement.

The Masai and the Kikuyu had been constantly at each other's throat. And so when the Governor promised the Masai protection from their "enemies," they signed away their rights, little knowing they were signing death warrants, not only for themselves, but for the whole of Kenya. Signing continued progressively; and by 1913, a spadeful of Europeans found themselves tilling and golfing about on 10,000 square miles of land enveloping Laikipia and Nanyuki.

It was not to be too long after that before the "natives" trooped up to demand their stolen lands.

After the 1914-18 war, the African soldiers found themselves the odd men out in Kenya's social and economic life. Population in the reserves had begun to bulge to such an extent that the reserves were overflowing.

World prices collapsed—and Kenya's coffee price fell headlong with them. At home, consumer prices jumped together with poll tax.

The ex-servicemen marched aimlessly about the streets, and the few that had fished some jobs found their pay-packets thinning.

It was an entirely different case with the white soldiers and settlers. Many of them had the land and plough waiting before they could peel off their war uniforms. Revolt among the Africans was therefore a foregone conclusion—a just effect of an unjust cause.

### Driven Underground

In the midst of all this, a young soldier shouldered his way to the front.

He was a Kikuyu, called Harry Thuku, who unfortunately was to turn the colonial guns towards his people years later. Starting to hear him launch the Kikuyu Association. This became the East African Association in 1920.

Following a riot in which three Africans were killed in Nairobi, the leader of the Association was sped away in a police van. His deportation and the shootings drove the revolution underground, although not for too long. For it soon raised its head again as the Kikuyu Central Association.

This time, a young employee of the Nairobi Town Council, Johnstone

Kenyatta (he became Jomo in 1938 while in Europe) was the dominant figure. Johnstone became the Association's secretary and editor of its journal *Mwigwithania* in 1928.

We must now pause to glance at the life of a man who has become a myth, not only in his own country, but also in all Africa.

Kenyatta's grandfather was a man of great influence in his tribe Kikuyu. Young Kenyatta pranked about on the grazing grounds, herding cattle. At 10 years of age, he fled the field for a Church of Scotland Mission school. On leaving school, he served one Mr. J. Cooke a European as a domestic servant. His brilliance was easily spotted, and Kenyatta soon found a job in the local government. By 1921 when about 28, he had acquired sufficient guts to bolt his job for political meetings.

### The Lenin School

Under his leadership, the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) became a big thorn in the colonialist flesh. Injustice over land tenure was the major issue. In 1929, he led a KCA delegation to the United Kingdom to demand political rights and an enquiry into the Kenya land situation. Their petitions fell on deaf ears, and Jomo decided to stay on in Europe. He did not return to Kenya till the next sixteen years.

While in Europe, he studied anthropology in U.K. and wrote his scholarly, historic *Facing Mount Kenya*. He married an English girl and had a son. He worked actively with African nationalists who visited the United Kingdom. Some of his colleagues included Dr. W. E. Du Bois, George Padmore and Dr. Nkrumah. He visited the Soviet Union in 1929-30 and in 1933, studied in the famous training ground for Marxists, the Lenin School.

### Naughtiest and Knottiest

While he was away, the KCA was proscribed in 1940 for "subversive activities." But in 1944, a well educated teacher, Eliud Mathu formed the Kenya African Study Union which in 1946, became the famous Kenya African Union that was destined to absorb all the shocks in the Mau Mau affair.

James Gichuru held the chair of the Union till the return of Jomo Kenyatta in September 1946. On June 1, 1947, Jomo Kenyatta was hoisted leader of the Kenya African Union. And so began the greatest battle for freedom ever waged in Africa.

The colonialists found the Burning Spear so hot that the Kenya African Union was also banned in June 1952, four months before the declaration of the emergency that led to the mass arrests and imprisonment of Kenya African leaders, including Jomo.

We now come to the naughtiest and knottiest question of our time: the Mau Mau. Just what was it and how did it operate?

### The Philosophy of the Revolution

You cannot tell the Kenya or Kenyatta story without braving, as daringly as possible, the Mau Mau issue. There is no point in dodging the question even if this is done on the grounds that it is a bygone issue. The truth is that it is not. The thing to do is to tackle the question—with an absolutely detached mind. No sentiment must blur our judgment.

Whatever our judgment over it may be it is bound to influence the philosophy of the Revolution in Africa, for good or for ill. More important still, Kenya is, to this day, shadowed by both colonialism and Mau Mau. Not until Kenya, and indeed, all Africa is free—completely free from old and new colonialism—can we conveniently and safely close the Mau Mau file in our history casebook. It will be crass folly to do so now.

Ever since the two words "Mau Mau" filtered into Kenya's political air in 1948, no one has really known their meaning—to this day. For one thing, there is no such word in any of the Kenya dialects. The Mau Mau was commonly associated with the Kenya African Union of which Kenyatta was leader.

But what really was Mau Mau? A Police Intelligence Report in October 1951 attempted to define Mau Mau: "This is a Kikuyu secret society which is probably another manifestation of the suppressed Kikuyu Central Association. Its objects are anti-European, and its intention

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# ONE-PARTY VERSUS TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

by Ndabaningi Sithole

IN this article I wish to examine as objectively as humanly possible the two-party and one-party system as they affect present political thinking inside and outside Africa.

The biggest complaint the West have against the newly independent African States is that the Opposition is not effective enough. They fear that these States are heading for one-party system which, they conclude, is another form of dictatorship. In other words, they fear that many of the independent African States are in danger of becoming dictatorships.

In a sense, dictatorship means the loss or absence of democracy, and democracy means the absence of dictatorship. What guarantees democracy? What guarantees dictatorship?

It would appear that most Europeans believe, rightly or wrongly that the two-party system is an effective guarantee to democracy, whereas the one-party system promotes and fosters dictatorship.

A few lessons from history will help us here. Italian Fascism and German Nazism, both of which are European dictatorial systems, were born and crystallised under the very nose of the European-cherished two-party system. Historically, the two-party system has not, in some Western countries, prevented the birth of dictatorship; just as the latter has not prevented the birth of democracy in other Western countries.

In European-ruled Africa the two-party system has not prevented dictatorial rule. Over the last fifty years the two-party system in South Africa has been used to whittle down the liberties of the majority of the people, to deny that majority the right to vote in their own country. For the last thirty-eight years the Opposition and the Ruling Party in

Southern Rhodesia have been unanimous on keeping the majority of the Africans out of the Voters' Roll. They have effectively resisted the establishment of a truly democratic government in the country. In both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia the two-party system has been used from start to finish to stop democracy from extending to the majority of the people. If the two-party system were the magic formula of democracy, then we should have had democracy long ago in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and other European-ruled African countries which follow the same system.

The recently-emancipated African countries do not place great importance on the two-party system, partly because it does not in itself guarantee democratic processes, and partly because, at this particular stage of their development, and when it is realised that the former *master* countries are only too eager to return by hook or by crook, the Opposition may only be African in appearance but European in fact. The Opposition may have its remote controls in London, Washington, D.C., or in Paris. African political thinkers, while accepting the opposition in principle, do not readily accept it in practice unless it demonstrates quite clearly its freedom from puppetism or imperialist manipulation.

But their fears go deeper than this. The Opposition, in the Western sense, to justify its existence, must continue relentlessly to find the loopholes in the Ruling Party, not for the purpose of keeping the Ruling Party in power, but for the sake of overthrowing it at one point or another. Between the Opposition and the Ruling Party there is a grim struggle for the leadership of the nation. To cause the downfall of the Ruling Party is the alpha and omega

of the Opposition. The newly-independent African States, obviously, cannot afford this Western luxury which was developed over a long period of history. There is a strong feeling that if the newly-independent States followed this luxury, the unscrupulous members of the Opposition would be financed by foreign countries to wreck the Government and in this way bring the country under foreign control.

Perhaps this point needs further elaboration. Today the European Powers that have had to give up their *African possessions* are looking for ways of returning to Africa so as to control her destiny in one way or another. The African people who have suffered and sacrificed much in order to gain their independence are alert to the many attractive forms of *neo-colonialism*. Europeans are looking for military and economic pacts, and an unscrupulous African Opposition which is power-hungry could be used as a foreign agent.

At any rate, it is felt by most African political thinkers that the independent African States cannot afford the political upheavals of France, the political fireworks of Britain, and the capitalist politics of the United States of America. There is yet too much to be done rather than indulge in the fine politics of a long-established country. It is obvious that even in the newly-independent African States the two-party system cannot be the surest guarantee to democracy since the Opposition at this stage may only be in a foreign hand.

This, however, does not mean that the new African States can ensure democracy by following a one-party system. Neither it nor the two-party system can guarantee democracy to the peoples of Africa and to the peoples of the world. The two-party system may be European imperialism's gateway to African countries, and equally so, the one-party system may be dictatorship's first eggs in Africa.

Now we must answer the question: What is this democracy about which the West cares so much? In the words of President Abraham Lincoln, democracy is "government of the people, by the people, for the people." It follows then that a two-party government or a one-party gov-

ernment which is not "of the people, by the people, for the people" is not democracy. But if it is "of the people, by the people, for the people" it is democracy in every sense of the word.

A "government of the people" means a government consisting of the people, reflecting the people of a specific state. Hence European governments in African countries are not government of the people. They are government "of Europeans." This is why they exclude the African. If they were government of the people they would include the African also. "By the people" means a government that is carried on by the people themselves, the people of that country. In any European-ruled country "by the people" means "by Europeans," "for the people" refers to the government which is carried on for the benefit of the people of that country. In a European-ruled African country "for the people" means "for Europeans."

In the final analysis, democracy, all over European-ruled Africa, has come to mean, "government of Europeans, by Europeans, for Europeans." Hence the truth that European rule in Africa is the very antithesis of democracy, and this is why the African gives no serious attention when Europeans say, "African States may jeopardise democracy." If there is anyone who has seriously damaged the cause of democracy in Africa, it is the white man himself who has unsuccessfully fought hard to deny it to more than 200,000,000 people. The white man has paid lip service to democracy, but has denied it to others except to himself.

Perhaps his real fear is that the African who is now in the saddle of political power may visit his iniquities and deny him democracy. But of course the African political thinkers cannot be influenced by such fears which are merely the projections of the white man's mind.

Democracy is something that the African, like his European counterpart, loves. The African is democratic almost to a point of inaction. Every one else must have his say; every one else must agree before a decision is taken by the group. "A decision that disturbs the heart of another is not a wise one" speaks

well of the African sense of democracy.

In a one-party or two-party system, democracy is assured if the following principles are adhered to. It is not the form but the content that counts, and that content is the will of the majority. If the one-party or two-party system expresses the will of the majority, that is democracy. If neither the one-party system nor the two-party system expresses that will, neither of the system is democratic in the right sense of the word.

## The Principle of Election

In a truly democratic country the leaders are freely elected by the people. The right to elect leaders carries with it the right to reject leaders. In any European-ruled country where Africans are not given the vote the right to elect leaders is not there, and the question of rejecting leaders constitutionally does not arise. In South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, for instance, the right to elect leaders is confined only to Europeans, but not extended to the African people. Constitutionally recognised leaders are rammed down their throats. Traditionally, Africans are used to choosing their leaders. They never had their leaders chosen for them by a foreign power.

## The Principle of Representation

This is another basic principle that can ensure the survival of democracy. Free elections are useless unless the intention is to get the right representatives of the people to represent the needs and the aspirations of the people in different parts of the country. In South Africa the white electorate chooses white people to represent African interests in Parliament. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland a predominantly white electorate chooses African representatives to the Federal Assembly. This is a mockery of the democratic principle of representation. Objecting to these leaders thrust upon them, Africans say, "The so-called African representatives do not reflect the views of the African people. They reflect those of the white electors." How true!

## The Principle of Discussion

In any African tribal group, this principle was adhered to very strictly.

The chief and his men met together, discussed and arrived at important conclusions. They exchanged views freely. They did not come together in order to agree with one another. Nor did they come together in order to oppose each other. They came together to discuss—to examine the *pros* and *cons* of what was before them. The thesis was clearly stated, the antithesis carefully examined by everyone, and a synthesis cautiously sifted, and thus the conclusion represented the will of the people—the very essence of democracy.

In a predominantly white parliament, as is the case in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, the African people who form an overwhelming majority are excluded from any parliamentary discussions that finally affect them. There is no exchange of ideas, insights, experiences and conclusions between black and white. The white people just refuse to discuss with the African people, and there ends the matter.

## The Principle of Compromise

In all discussions at the Chief's place conflicting points-of-views of the various members were resolved by the application of the principle of compromise. Each man was ready to give up a certain point of view in the light of the discussion. He was prepared to meet other men half-way, and the other men also met him half-way. The spirit of compromise is something like this: "I am willing to surrender so much if you also surrender that much. I can't get exactly what I want, and you can't get exactly what you want. But if we are to make any progress both of us have to leave our present positions." Right from the beginning the African learnt to compromise with other people.

On the other hand, however, predominantly white parliaments which never discussed with the African people never learned to compromise. They did everything their own way. They were never prepared to compromise with the African. Between black and white there was to be no compromise. It is impossible to imagine national discussions without compromise. To a large measure democracy depends for

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# The Basutoland National Struggle— Historical Background

by Molapo Qhobela (Associate Editor, "Voice of Africa")

THE Basuto did not come into prominence as a nation until 1818, when King Moshoeshe of the Bakoena tribe in Northern Basutoland gathered together remnants of some tribes that had been scattered by the raids of other African tribes in Southern Africa. It is for this reason that people of all major language groups can be found throughout Basutoland.

The new nation had to contend with a series of conflicts with Africans, emigrant Boers of Dutch descent and as well as with the powerful English armies of the time commanded by such notorious Generals as G. Cathcart in 1852 when the British were thoroughly routed by the Basutos for the first time and for many other times thereafter.

Then there was a series of wars between (1852-1868) the Basutos and the Dutch settlers now occupying this parts of Basutoland called "The Orange Free State." At last in 1868 Great Britain accorded Basutoland "protection", and the terms of the Treaty between the King and Queen Victoria being that Basutoland would enjoy complete internal self-government with Britain responsible for her defence against the land and blood-thirsty armed tyrants of Dutch descent.

It should not surprise anybody if it is stated here that the terms of this Treaty were naturally not honoured because of the well-known British attitude towards anything which is not British. The result was that during these wars, 49,000 square miles of

the most fertile part of Basutoland was lost to the Dutch settlers because of the vacillating policy of the British towards critical colonial issues.

## Briton Condemned Britain

It was because of this strange attitude towards Basutoland that even Englishmen themselves like D. D. Buchanan during the 1863-1868 wars had to come out and criticize the British attitude in Southern Africa towards Basutoland. Before quoting relevant excerpt of his famous dispatch to the then British High Commissioner in Southern Africa on March 27, 1867, it would be useful to observe that the Basutos were then without a press through which to communicate their grievances (if they had any at all) and appeal for aid to those who loved justice as well as peace. It would again be fitting to observe that the Basutos had no authorised agency to give utterance to their claims to consideration; and that on the contrary, their enemies lost no opportunity of vindicating themselves and securing the support of their fellow countrymen. Buchanan had this to say about British "neutrality" of the day:—

*"Then again our Government lends itself to facilitate the supply of ammunition to the Free State, while it declares a neutrality, which leaves the Basutos defenceless, and exposes them to the barbarity of a well-armed and heartily encouraged foe. Every*

*feeling of justice revolts at such a state of things."*

And about Basutoland D. D. Buchanan again wrote:—

"Never was there a field more ripe for the harvest of civilization than is this nation, and never could England fulfil her mission with greater prospects of promoting civilization preventing oppression and war, without the risk of any outlay whatever."

I deemed it wise to quote these historical documents at length, first to drive home our contention that Basutoland has never yielded to foreign and colonial aggression; and also as an illustration of the fact that we have had to go through hard times to keep it a 'Blackman's country,' as Moshoeshe called it, and lastly to prove that we shall disregard the outcome of our actions if, only we are convinced that our actions aim at keeping it Black.

## The Statesman and the King

Moshoeshe was his name. Much can be written about this man who was so able in handling national issues in times of crisis. Much can be written about this man who had always burned with a desire for the preservation of peace. As early as 1830, his Constitutional Monarchy was easily one of the best in the African Continent. It is because of this man's attributes of national leadership that the course of Southern African history has had to follow its present trend. "Moshoeshe was one of the most remarkable Africans of historical times . . . and his just rule and love of peace won the praise of his European contemporaries."—*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

Sir Godfrey Lagolen in his *The Basutos* (2nd Vol.) writes of him:—"It was well that he was granted the honour of rejoicing, for the burden of Kingship bore heavily upon him through the ages, affording him few of the pleasures of life or the rewards of hard labour. Stirred by intense patriotism, a virtue possessed in no small degree, he burned with a desire to make his people into a nation. It is impossible to recall the story of his life without admiration for the untiring energy of the man; simple by nature, toughened by crude

associations, contending for life with Dutch settlers or British armies, yet all the while staggering under the weight of intrigues domestic or foreign. If loyalty to one's country and life in its service together with the charity of a kind heart, count towards salvation, Moshoeshe could claim it."

And lastly:—"His name is impressed in the memory of all the natives of Southern Africa as one who was faithful to them, and who possessed a singular genius for successful dealing with whitemen."

## Commentary

It should therefore be clear to anybody that in as far as the land issue was concerned, the British had always assisted the Dutch descendant of Jan van Riebeeck who was expelled from Holland because of theft. England has always maintained this strange attitude towards Basutoland and her sister so-called protectorates of Swaziland and Bechuanaland, with this peculiarity that while White Hall regards Basutoland as a colony, this territory is governed not from colonial office but from the Commonwealth Relations Office.

The reason for this stupid arrangement is too apparent for any simple minded person to see. It is that the British again had always conspired against Basutoland with the foreign settler government of South Africa that Basutoland by virtue of her geographical position would one day become part of the Union of South Africa. *But time is proving it to be the conspirators that if they think that Basutoland (and the other two protectorates) will ever become part of the fast demoralizing Union of South Africa, then they are not only suppressing their conscience but are also swimming against the tide of history in the African Continent.*

## Future Unpredictable

Much can be written of the historical past of Basutoland. Much can also be written, perhaps, about the future trend of affairs in Basutoland, but little is being written about the present quiet and fast peaceful revolution taking place in this country. Inevitably, the rhetorical question is "why"? It is not for anybody even to make an attempt to reply this important question but only wait for time to pronounce an impartial verdict, taking into account the fast rate of political advancement in the country.

## Unpardonable Ignorance

Because of its mountainous character, Basutoland has been given all sorts of clumsy and ill-conceived names ranging from such peculiar things as "The Kingdom in the clouds" and "the Switzerland of Southern Africa." To the majority of people (both in Africa and outside), this country is just one of these so-called "little" countries of the vast continent to which much importance may not be necessarily attached, or about which much may not be said. These negligent attitude and ignorance are unpardonable.

We would indeed accept this negative outlook towards Basutoland if the present geographical demarcations imposed on this country by the protagonists of white and foreign domination who thrive on the threadbare principles of racial superiority and arrogance, would be unconditionally accepted. And yet contrary to what some people think, the Basutoland Congress Party and the people of Basutoland in general do not, and never will, allow themselves to view such an important question from so negative an angle.

## Physiography

Geographically, the country consists of volcanic mountains which

have acquired the name Drakensburg. They overlie some horizontal beds of sandstones, with the highlands dissecting the plateau between 6-11,000 ft. The western edge rises sharply into peaks which plunge Eastwards with valleys cutting them from North to the South at the Basutoland-Natal border. The valleys are well watered and very fertile and can be cultivated up to about 7,000 ft. They are evenly populated.

Basutoland is entirely surrounded by the Union Territory. Its boundaries run with those of Natal to the East, the Cape of Good Hope Province to the South, and the so-called Orange Free State to the North-west. The country lies between latitudes 28° 35' and 30° 40' South, and longitudes 27° and 29° 30' East. The total area is 11,716 sq. miles, (the size of Belgium), the quarter of which comprises the lowland in the west with between 5,000-6,000 ft. above sea level. The remaining three quarters are highlands rising to more than 11,425 ft in some parts of the Drakensburg. The Drakensburg mountains form the area from which three largest rivers in South Africa have their sources. This has caused Basutoland to be rightly called the "Sponge of South Africa."

## Climate

Rainfall is a bit variable and averages 28" a year over the greater part of the country. Rain falls mostly between October and April with an average of 1" for every other month of the year. Serious droughts are very rare and there is a large number of perennial streams. The lowland temperatures vary from a 90° F maximum in summer to a winter minimum which sometimes drop to below 20° F. The highlands ranges are much wide and temperatures below zero are usually recorded in winter months.



# Renasant Africa

by Frederick S. Arkhurst

IT is, perhaps, inevitable that Africa is today a centre of world attention and interest. With Asia rid of colonialism, Africa has become the last continent over which western European nations still seek to perpetuate their control. Yet even in Africa dramatic changes are taking place which are rolling back the frontiers of imperialism. After

## Nationalistic Role Continued from page 9

is to dispossess Europeans of the White Highlands. Its members take oath not to give information to the police and may also swear not to obey certain Acts of Government." There are two observations in this police report.

First, the Police Force was imperialist-minded. And so its report could only reflect the imperialist mind.

Second, no mention whatsoever either by allegation or implication was made of intention to kill. The oath was administered for reasons which were obviously nationalistic. The Kikuyu had the right, the natural right, to team up in order to demand their lands from the robbers.

The second point is very important. For it is worthwhile to emphasize that three years after the operation of the Mau Mau, an imperialist Police Report saw no real "evil intention" in the organisation, as Corfield later claimed.

### Terrorist Government

It is also interesting to note that up to the appearance of the Police Report in 1951, there were no serious Mau Mau incidents. No killings, no assassinations. There were of course

tolerating European colonization and the arrogance of white settlers for scores of years, Africa is now reawakening and demanding those rights to which all men are heir.

The reawakening of Africa has found expression particularly at the level of political and constitutional advancement. But this will only come to fruition with the redefinition by the African of his real place in his continent—his role in the political, economic and social life of Africa. This redefinition is already taking place and it is quite clear today that the African knows that his destiny can only be decided by himself in Africa and not by foreigners in other countries. The Africa of today symbolises hope; it is the continent of optimism and change. Indeed, not since the period which followed the

cases of beatings, and scattered incidents of arson. The major content of the Mau Mau up till that time was oathing with the sole intention of collective bargaining for their rights.

The only attempt on someone's life was on December 13, 1950 when an assailant thrust a spear into the bed of Chief Waruhiu in the dead of night. He missed the mark, and was caught. Investigations later proved that Chief Waruhiu had convicted the assailant's wife for an illicit gin offence. It was later clear that there was no political motive in it, although the Chief had engaged in a lot of anti-nationalist activities.

It is therefore difficult to see why, all of a sudden, there appeared such a horror cloud over a purely nationalist movement.

My observation and analysis prove that it was the Colonial Government, and not the Mau Mau that was terrorist.

To begin with, oathing is a traditional custom in nearly all Africa. But the Colonial Government outlawed it. This was the first major blunder. How could they outlaw a custom that ran in the very blood of the people and had been

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signing of the Berlin Agreement of 1884 has the continent of Africa experienced such swift and dramatic changes as it has since the Second World War. The important problem now facing the African is to define his own political, economic and social objectives in these conditions of rapid change.

### The Decline of Colonial Power in Africa

The "Scramble for Africa" which followed the Berlin Agreement resulted in the establishment of western European domination over most of the continent. But while that period was characterized by the carving of the continent into a mosaic of meaningless enclaves, protectorates and spheres of influence, the upsurge of African nationalism and independence movements after the second World War has marked the beginning of a rapid process disintegration of European power on the continent, and the beginning of the end of the economic exploitation of the resources and peoples of Africa in the interests of western European nations.

The "revolution of rising expectations" which has fired the imagination of millions of Africans is the result of three major factors whose cumulative effect finds expression in the rise of new states in Africa and agitation by the still dependent territories for their political and economic emancipation. These factors are themselves in the process of evolution and thus defy evaluation in precise and concrete terms. First is the whole political and intellectual climate of the twentieth century which had its beginnings in western Europe and which finds expression in the concept of self-determination and the right of all peoples to govern themselves.

It is also exemplified by increasing concern for the dignity of the human personality and the right of all men to equality of opportunity and treatment in all spheres in which they operate within the society, the nation or the international community.

This more enlightened atmosphere has made possible the full operation of a second factor: the increasing awareness of the African peoples of their potential and the translation of

this awareness into effective positive action. Naturally, the type of action adopted by Africans in achieving their objectives has been influenced by the availability or absence of constitutional machinery; in any particular territory, for the redress of grievances and for the initiation of orderly political and constitutional changes.

Where such machinery has existed and where the colonial power has been sensitive to the demands of the changing times, the transition from colonial rule to full sovereignty and independence has been comparatively peaceful and orderly. This is what happened in Ghana. On the other hand, where the colonial power has frozen its policies within the context of the nineteenth century, it has had to resort to repressive colonial wars to maintain its domination of an unwilling people. In this respect a lot of the discussion, particularly in the western press, on "nonviolent action" as the sole desirable method of bringing about change in a colonial environment, has been irrelevant.

The third important factor is the dramatic shift in the world balance of power following two world wars, which has resulted in the decline of the strength and influence of the western European powers and their replacement by new power structures. Western Europe no longer has the military and economic strength to perpetuate the imperialism which it has been able to maintain during two centuries by virtue of its military and economic predominance in the world.

### Definition of African Objectives

It is against this background of a receding colonialism still capable of vicious rearguard action that the peoples of Africa—especially those of the new independent nations—have to define the imperatives in the African situation and to decide upon a kind of realistic policies that must be adopted. The overriding objective of Africans is to ensure the earliest possible liquidation of colonialism and racialism from every corner of the continent. As Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, said on the occasion of the movement of Ghana's independence: "The independence of Ghana will be quite meaningless unless it is

linked with the emancipation of the whole continent." Africans are also anxious to impress upon the rest of the world that the days of the Berlin Agreement will never return.

Henceforth, the future of Africa will be decided primarily by Africans in Africa. This is a very important fact which those who are disposed to be friendly to the new countries of Africa will have to bear in mind. They will now have to develop their policies towards Africa as a separate entity and not as a political and economic appendage of Europe. Africa will have to be regarded as a continent whose main interests and aspirations do not often coincide with those of the colonial powers. The quest for independence and racial equality by Africans is the expression of a universal desire for freedom and dignity. Once independence has been assured for all Africa the formidable task of promoting the economic and social advancement of the continent will become a more manageable problem.

For the achievement of these major objectives, certain prerequisites of effective action have to be clearly defined. First, the new states of Africa must safeguard their independence by strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and by the development of strong ties of friendship, solidarity and unity among themselves. Individually, none of the new African states can exert significant influence in international affairs collectively, they form an important body of opinion which cannot lightly be ignored. The preservation of unity and solidarity will not come about by mere chance but must be the outcome of conscious effort on the part of all the states of Africa deliberately to make unity possible in spite of the differences which may arise in their day-to-day intercourse.

The problem here will be complicated by those vested interests in Africa which will leave no stone unturned to disrupt good relations among Africans and to play one country against the other. The classic technique of imperialism will have to be constantly guarded against. Unity cannot be merely an inert state of existence; it must be a dynamic and positive force projected into all

spheres of activity. This is the most effective way of developing an African outlook and an "African personality" in international affairs.

The other prerequisite to effective action in the achievement of African aims is the development of an independent foreign policy untrammelled by any commitments and alignments to great-power controversies. The reason for such a policy is that the new states of Africa are too small in terms of military and economic power to presume to judge between the great powers on an ideological basis. This does not, of course, mean that they may not have their sympathies. They may, and most of them certainly do. But they should be allowed to make decisions based on the objective assessment of the merits of a particular issue and they cannot be expected to take predetermined positions which may leave them naked in the cross fire of the cold-war conflict.

There is an African proverb which says: When the bull elephants fight, the grass is trampled down. It may be advisable for all small countries to ensure that they do not get trampled with the grass. But such a policy does not prevent the firm and unequivocal stand to be taken on particular issues when necessary. In the United Nations some of these new states have taken such firm stands even at the risk of compromising their own immediate interests. This, after all, is the most that can be demanded of these nations, and it is under these conditions alone that genuine friendship among nations can properly develop.

### Progress Toward Unity—The African Conferences

The development of closer association among the new African states is now a reality. In April 1958 a conference of plenipotentiaries was convened in Accra at the initiative of Ghana to find ways and means of bringing the independent African states closer together. The Accra Conference also decided that the eight independent African states—Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic—should coordinate their policies insofar as the

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questions of colonialism and racialism are concerned.

The conference also pledged its support to the United Nations Charter and to the principles enunciated at the Bandung Conference in 1955. All the resolutions adopted at this conference dealt with African problems in the wider context of international affairs. The significance of this conference lies in the fact that for the first time in the history of the continent Africans had come together in their own right to decide their future. The Accra Conference finally decided to establish at the United Nations Headquarters a permanent machinery composed of the permanent representatives of the participating governments to consult on all African matters, to examine and make recommendations on concrete and practical steps which may be necessary to implement the decisions of the conference and of similar future conferences, and to be responsible for the arrangements necessary for such conferences.

In the autumn of the same year, missions composed of representatives of the eight independent African countries—toured Latin America, Scandinavia and Canada to solicit support for measures aimed at revolving the repressive war in Algeria on an equitable and democratic basis. It was also decided at Accra that these conferences should be held regularly at two-year intervals without prejudice to the possibility of *ad hoc* conferences being convened as and when necessary.

The second conference to be held in Accra was the All-African People's Conference in December 1958. This conference, unlike the previous one, was attended by members of political parties and nationalist movements from all over Africa. It endorsed the resolutions of the previous conference and reaffirmed the determination of all Africans to ensure the liquidation of colonialism and racialism, in all their forms, from every corner of the continent. The conference also resolved to give practical and concrete aid to all movements in Africa struggling to free their countries from colonialism.

In line with these resolutions the trade unions of Ghana and Kenya have enforced a boycott of South African goods by refusing to handle

any cargoes emanating from the Union of South Africa. It is interesting to note that immediately after this decision by the African trade unions was implemented, the trade unions of Jamaica followed suit. This is an encouraging example of solidarity which transcends the barriers of distance. It is the hope that in the near future all African trade unions and other sympathetic movements in other parts of the world will support this unique expression of the concern of many people regarding the racialist policies of the South African Government.

Apart from the concrete achievement of all these conferences, they also afforded opportunities to leaders and rank-and-file members of governments and political movements in Africa to get to know each other and to exchange ideas on common problems. This kind of person-to-person intercourse is extremely important and I hope that it will continue to develop not only among African leaders but also among all Africans.

#### Democracy in Africa—New Approaches?

Another important preoccupation of the new states of Africa will be the development of a philosophy framework within which political and constitutional changes can take place. In short, these new nations will have to decide for themselves what type of Government will best suit their needs and be responsive to the aspirations of the majority of their peoples. This immediately raises the question of democracy in Africa. The new African governments have often been criticized, particularly in the western press, for certain acts which did not appear to the West to be in consonance with western forms and techniques of democracy. Most of these criticisms appear to be naive.

While it is true that most of the new nations in Africa have been introduced to modern forms of democracy and individual liberty through their association with the western world, it is equally true that the concept that a government must properly express the people's will is not alien to many of these countries. Certainly, among the "Akan" of Ghana forms of democracy existed

long before the white man set foot in Africa.

But while western democracy has in theory, been atomic in the sense that it is supposed to revolve around the individual as the centre of the political universe, political organisations in Africa have been geared essentially to the needs of the community as a whole. While the West begins from the premise that the totality of individual freedoms accrue to the benefit of the whole society of nation, the African idea presupposes that the greatest good of the community will redound to the good of the individuals who compose it. One can readily see that mechanical superimposition of the western on the African idea will, in the initial stages, result in conflict—conflict which no doubt can be resolved in time. But there need not be any fundamental difference in the end results of the two approaches.

The main problem is whether effective techniques can be devised either case to ensure that freedom for the individual and the achievement of the aspirations of the community are both realised. That why it is so unrealistic to assume that the type of democracy which emerges in these new nations of Africa will be in the exact image of democracy as it is practised in Great Britain or the United States. The new nations will have to develop their historical background, their own institutions based on their experience and their traditions. The development of democracy in a country is slow and painful process. It took England several centuries of effort and suffering to evolve the democratic institutions which are today the greatest heritage of Great Britain. The new countries of Africa, on the other hand, have hardly been allowed enough time to work out their problems in this area and those of their friends who may have misgivings about the future may be drawing conclusions from insufficient evidence. It is quite obvious that there are no shortcuts to democracy; there is only a painful process of evolution, of trial and error.

The dynamism of change in Africa and the direction of such change is

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### Call to African Workers

*Since the inception of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) several, sinister forces have been at work to break up that solid foundation towards the establishment of African working class unity.*

*The encouragement which the ICFTU is shamelessly giving to the Dakar group of recalcitrant trade union leaders, to form a splinter group is a classic example of the working of such forces.*

*We publish below an article by Jack Woddis, the journalist of world repute. It was first published in June, 1954 but it is still useful to the cause of African working class unity.*

## United Action—the way Forward

THE only way in which African workers can secure independence and social justice is through unity: unity in their own ranks; unity between African workers and other exploited sections of their people. Unity between African people and workers in the metropolitan countries; unity of African workers with workers throughout the world.

All colonial peoples suffer exploitation. The imperialists have seized their territories by fire and sword—and are trying to maintain their hold by these same violent methods. They plunder the colonial territories of their minerals and agricultural products; prevent the creation of local heavy industry; flood the colonies with expensive goods; invest huge sums in order to exploit cheap labour and draw off super-profits.

#### Blood and Tears

The African people pay a heavy price for this policy—and they pay in blood and tears. They live in conditions of dire poverty. They suffer labour, racial discrimination, violation of Trade Union rights and democratic liberties. Their national culture is stifled. And their dignity, as human beings, is daily assailed by their oppressors.

The imperialist preparation for a third world war have led to further ruthless attacks on African peoples, whose strategic ores; communica-

tions, and youth are destined, in the plans of the imperialists, to serve the purpose of war. In their attempts to carry out these plans, the imperialists are trying to stifle every expression of the people's will. African workers know only too well that the only way to bring about a lasting improvement in their conditions is to end the colonial system that exploits them.

It is colonial oppression which is the basic cause of the poverty and repression of African people. As long as this system continues there can be no future for African workers. African workers must therefore fight against every manifestation and aspect of colonial rule. The demands and rights of every section of the people oppressed by imperialism must be taken up and defended. In the course of these daily struggles the whole system of colonial exploitation must be constantly exposed. Every success in these struggles, even of a limited character, is an important step forward for the African people, because it makes it possible to help the people learn from their experience of struggle, and build their unity against the whole colonial system.

#### Patriotic Forces

Colonial exploitation is so widespread and deeply rooted that it affects every important section of the population—workers, peasants,

artisans, professional people, students, shopkeepers, and even local manufacturers whose efforts to develop native industry are thwarted by the heavy hand of the big foreign monopolies. This the workers are not isolated in their struggles, but can gather around them, and under their leadership, a vast army of all the democratic and patriotic forces in the country. These forces constitute the overwhelming majority of the nation.

The workers in Africa must never allow themselves to be divided from the other democratic forces of the nation. *The national front of the people against colonial oppression must be led by the working class, but it must embrace all those who are oppressed by imperialism and who are anxious to support the struggle for national independence.*

But the working class can never cement all these sections in unity, and give them leadership, if it has disunity in its own ranks. Therefore the primary task of the workers and their Trade Union Organisations must be to strengthen the unity of the working class. Only a united working class can win the support of the rest of the people and lead them in their struggle for freedom.

To achieve this working class unity, the Trade Unions must maintain close daily contact with the

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# Colonialism and Imperialism X-rayed

by A. K. Barden

AFRICA, no doubt, is now the last large site of colonialism. In this connection, it has become the arena of a sharp conflict of two opposite trends; the irrepresible urge of the African peoples for unfettered independence, and the combined efforts of the imperialists at all costs to consolidate their shameful and ill-gotten positions in Africa in order to postpone indefinitely the final collapse of colonialism.

Despite these efforts the people of Africa, especially the youth, are wide awake and fully conscious of their national patriotic duties. The giant of Africa is wide awake from his long stupor and is marching courageously towards his goal. And along his trail have sprung up dynamic national liberation movements struggling, with bull-dog determination, in the face of untold hardships, to liquidate now and forever the last vestiges of colonialism and imperialism from their motherland.

For over 150 years Africa has been the colonial preserve of gluttonous European masters. Some of the monarchs of certain European countries had the effrontery at one time, to claim certain parts of Africa as their private domains.

But the present century has ushered in good tidings and hopeful signs for Africa. A large group of independent African States have made appearance here and there. The greater part of the north of the

continent save Algeria, whose people are fighting heroically for their freedom against the French colonialists and their allies, has thrown off the neck-breaking burden of colonialism. Sudan, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and a number of other states in Central Africa have won their independence. This achievement, remarkable as it is, must not, in anyway, lure us to sit on our oars but must rather spur Africans everywhere to throw in their might in the fray until the whole continent of Africa is freed from her chains.

Millions of Africans are still colonial slaves today. In Angola, the two Rhodesias, South and South-West Africa the African nationalists are in the thick of the battle for freedom. The Portuguese colonialists ignominiously aided and abetted by their NATO allies, are ruthlessly suppressing by armed force the national liberation movement in the territories they illegally hold in abject bondage. As the salvoes of deadly napalm bombs of the Portuguese echo over the mountains and valleys of Africa the blood of the falling brave martyrs of Angola beckons and stimulates the living ones into action and furiously the battle rages on bringing untold sufferings to our brothers, yet impregnated with an unflinching determination for freedom and with the battle cry "forward ever and backward never" on their lips. The struggle for liberation continues unabated.

They are sacrificing their lives not for personal gains but rather that the living and the unborn may live happier and dignified lives worthy of the African; and that in their sober and sombre moments they may lift their hearts in prayer, adoration and thanksgiving to those who gave their lives in order that they, the living, may enjoy eternal freedom.

## Racial Discrimination

The protracted delay in achieving independence in many parts of Africa cannot so much be attributed to inadequate organisation by the various Nationalist movements as to the terrible economic backwardness as well as the repressive laws imposed by the colonising authorities. There are, however, other factors such as tribalism and cruel racial discrimination which play a significant role. The colonialists adroitly take advantage of the low political development of the population which in many regions continue to endure under conditions of feudal and tribal relations.

The evils of colour bar are as varied and wicked as the tentacles of an enraged octopus. The so-called monstrous "colour bar," embodies a whole system of racial discrimination which besides belittling the ability and capacity of the African to administer his own affairs, humiliates him and ensures a number of privileges for the white settlers. It also serves to consolidate foreign domination in Africa. Racial discrimination, a bed-fellow of colour bar, is an instrument for disuniting Africans and foreigners who on their own volition have chosen to live in Africa. Furthermore it serves as a springboard for the exploitation of the indigenous citizens by the colonialists and their henchmen, the white settlers.

It is not possible in a short article as this to catalogue the character of most of the white settlers who have inundated poached and pillaged most of the fertile lands of Africa on the pretext of "a civilising mission." The only fair and liberal assessment of their character that could be given to most of them by an impartial assessor is a "pack of incorrigible bandits, never-

do-wells, who have been rejected by very borstal and reformatory institutions in their own countries."

Since the historic conference held in Accra in 1958 the latent forces of African nationalism were unleashed and given dynamic impetus. The liberation forces everywhere in Africa since that time have aligned themselves in a manner favourable to the struggle for freedom and complete independence. Ever greater number of Africans who hitherto behaved as fence-sitters have now thrown in their lot with their brothers to deal once and for all a deadly and final blow to colonialism and imperialism.

Trade Unions, youth, women and other organisations have solidly organised themselves behind the liberation crusade and, on their forward march, have developed with exceptional rapidity a mood of resentment against discrimination and racial oppression, humiliation and inequality. Millions of farmers, for the most part, driven off like herded cattle into a kraal from the fertile lands they had cultivated for years and now restricted to areas absolutely impossible to eke out any substantial living, also refuse to tolerate any longer this terrible man's inhumanity to man.

Africans are by nature, humorous, peace-loving, kind and law-abiding. But there is a limit to human endurance. As a result of crass humiliations, terrorism, and manifold restrictions introduced in most of the colonies, Africans can do no more than develop a deep hatred for the imperialists. The courageous deeds of Africans in Kenya in the past and now in Algeria and Angola show what sharp forms of resistance Africans may develop to the brutal domination of the colonialists.

In Kenya imperialist military forces had to conduct extensive ruthless operations for many months against the tribes who had dared to ask for freedom; in the course of the operations both sides suffered great losses. Despite the cruel police terror, the use of napalm bombs, indiscriminate banning of nationalist organisations one after another, the European colony in Africa is shaken by extensive popular uprisings. Whoever thought Africans in Angola would ever dare to ask for freedom? The warning is written in

blood on the walls. The wind of change has changed into a hurricane but before it reaches South Africa it will have developed into a formidable and devastating cyclone sweeping Verwoerd and his henchmen forever into the forgotten abyss of bygone history.

## Colonialist Maneuvres

Frightened by the indomitable upsurge of the African national liberation movement, the colonial powers are manoeuvring behind the scenes to lure some weak-kneed Africans pseudo nationalists and a number of bourgeois into their fold. The imperialists hope to induce these puppets whom they are tactfully leading by the nose to make a deal with them and to have their support in the struggle against the masses. With this end in view they are giving a certain measure of encouragement to the local few salaried clan and opportunists minor promotions, financial and political concessions. The imperialists are now seeking to veil their rule in the colonies by announcing grandiose constitutions and the granting of a semblance of self-government which they can manipulate.

However, none of these measures essentially alters the condition of the Africans. Thanks to the timely arrival on the African political scene of the uncompromising African nationalist Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the scarecrow of the imperialists and colonialists. Poised on the mountain top of Kilimanjaro he directs, guides and pinpoints to his confident lieutenants of the liberation movement the concealed traps of the wary wily enemy.

## Neo-Colonialism

In the two Rhodesias and other parts of Africa the imperialists are maladroitly planning to give fake independence to the nationalists in order to perpetuate their position. In these territories, the advantages of self-government go first of all to the white settler minority and to the negligibly small number of African millions who in their selfishness have made common cause with the colonialists.

The imperialists stubbornly refuse to reconcile themselves to the fact

that the end of their abominable power is here. They are searching high and low, and by fair or foul means for ways of saving colonialism and will stop at nothing. These searches have given rise to numerous theories of "neo-colonialism", a new colonialism which is claimed to be free from all the defects of the past and which cunningly attempts to reconcile the interests of the oppressed and those of the oppressors. Actually this new colonialism is nothing but an effort to attain the usual imperialist aims by indirect control of the countries that have formally won their independence.

In the practice of colonialism, the method of indirect control is not new. The new feature is the attempt to make it the chief instrument of present day colonialism since the old methods of direct coercion of the peoples are so exposed and discredited that not even the imperialists especially those with any sense of shame dare defend them.

In those regions of Africa with rather large white populations, such as in the Settler Republic of South Africa, Ruanda Urundi, Swaziland and in the Portuguese colonies, colonial rule not only remains as it was but increasingly assumes terroristic forms much more ferocious in their brutality than the Nazi and fascist regimes.

The imperialists' lack of confidence in the stability of their position is evident from the appearance of various plans for joint exploitation of the African States (both dependent and independent). Thus the Eurafrika, European Common Market and Franco African Community plan have been brought into being. These are plans for organising a super trust of the European powers to plunder the natural resources of the African continent and keep its inhabitants as hewers of wood and drawers of water and under perpetual subjection. But it is much easier to formulate plans than to carry them out. Greediness, one of the cardinal virtues of exploiters is already causing dissension in their camps.

It is indeed painfully unfortunate that most African countries have irremediably compromised themselves with imperialists by entering

*Continued on next page.*



into defence pacts with them and allowing foreign bases on their sacred lands.

Of late the ideological bases of colonial policy have also undergone a certain accelerated revision. Under present intolerable conditions the imperialists have more and more often to refrain from open propaganda of racism and outdated theories of the whiteman's "superiority." In trying to fall in with the prevailing social moods, even the most inveterate imperialists are now not averse to discarding the question of multi-racialism. The new signboards serve as a cloak for the old aims of colonial enslavement.

#### Understanding and Unity

The present circumstances facilitate the struggle of our cause for total emancipation. More than ever before we enjoy the sympathies and have at our disposal a considerable fund of goodwill of all peace-loving and truly democratic people all over the world. We have also unconditional valuable support from most of the young yet progressive African States that have already thrown overboard the shackles of colonial yoke.

In this connection it is pertinent for me to quote one of the basic cardinal pillars of the African policy of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah: "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of the whole African continent."

The first progressive African Conference in the history of the African Continent was held in Accra in 1958 under the aegis of Osagyefo. Never in the history of the African liberation movement have so many leaders come together in unity and to declare in unison one common objective. The delegates solemnly declared among other things that the young African States were a guarantee of the complete liberation of Africa. The declaration continued, "We further assert and proclaim the unity among ourselves and our solidarity with the dependent peoples of Africa as well as our friendship with all nations. We have extensive possibilities for organising a broad anti-imperialist front as well as jealously guarding our hard won independence by marrying our

various countries in a spirit of goodwill, understanding, equality and unity. Barriers demarcating our various countries are solely artificial."

Balkanisation is the arch weapon of the imperialist to sow disunity among us. Let us lift our eyes and stretch our imagination beyond the narrow confines of our vision. In unity lies our salvation. To my brothers in South Africa and other parts of Africa still on the battle field I say racial discrimination, despite the calculations of its advocates who cannot see further than their noses, fosters unity among the different strata of the oppressed nations, accentuates national feeling and stimulates the people to undertake decisive struggle against the oppressors.

Conduct successful campaigns of civil disobedience, sit-downs, non-violent demonstrations, organise effective strikes, positive actions and boycotts of the colonial authorities. There can be no doubt that the continuation of the policy of oppression however ruthless the form it may take will evoke more active forms of struggle and will raise the national liberation movement to a victorious end. The liberation of the African continent is proceeding at a neck-breaking speed however much the colonialists may resist it and any tycoon who hazards a guess and dare stands in its way will be run down into atoms.

#### Collective Colonialism

The colonialists and imperialists pinned steadfastly to the wall by the irresistible force of resurgent African nationalism are bringing ideological novelties to dull the vigilance of the masses.

This new form of colonialism aims at replacing the rule of individual European powers in the colonies by joint exploitation of the colonial countries. Of course, the oppressed peoples have no reason to expect any more relief from this than a person could feel on finding out that he was being robbed by a gang rather than a single robber. A vivid example of collective colonialism is what is now happening in Angola. For instance the London *Sunday Telegraph* wrote in May that the war in Angola is "a war Portugal can neither afford nor win."

This view stems from an appraisal of Portugal's financial, economic and military potential. A colonial war is a heavy burden even for economically highly developed countries, as France's war in Algeria has shown. And an economically backward and poor country like Portugal is altogether unequal to it. Portugal has neither a war industry of her own nor sufficiently trained manpower resources. Yet assisted on all fronts by collective colonialism (NATO) Portugal continues to pour troops into Angola.

Salazar assured of unlimited supply of napalm bombs from his NATO clique and taking demagoguery to its limits has been ranting and bragging that the Angolans will be exterminated in no time. It is pertinent here to ask who supplied him with war-materials? It is easy to recall that one of the undercover arch imperialists has given him gratis 10,000 Uzi tommyguns which she has purchased from Israel. Arms, warships, and troops are being offered freely to Portugal. Officially the British Government sits on the fence, "deplures" the conflict and doesn't take sides. But this is like the "non-intervention" policy in Spain in the 1930s.

It is impossible, inconceivable and the height of crass stupidity to be neutral between the murderer and the victim, between aggression and self-defence. Many European powers, seeking to misrepresent and minimise the importance and seriousness of the situation in Angola, are scoring tricks among many of which is the submission that the situation in Angola is the internal affair of Portugal. Without quoting sources of its information the Lisbon press has attempted to conjure up a hair raising story of vice, murder and depravity brought about by the Angola liberation movement. These conjurations can only bamboozle the crass dullard.

The London *Daily Telegraph* by egotistic and imperialist considerations speaks quite frankly of what is behind the assistance given Portugal by NATO members. "Why," it brazenly demands, "should our oldest ally be ostracised and outlawed for endeavouring, as we have done in Kenya and elsewhere, to repress an

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## Dark Clouds Over Mozambique (Part 2)

# Slave Labour Camp for Union Mines

THE present Governor-General, Correia de Barros, is described by almost every Portuguese and foreign resident I ask as "honest." It is revealing that honesty can be such a noteworthy characteristic of a public official. The corollary—that most officials are dishonest—may help to explain why almost every company has a full-time executive for political relations with the government, without which you may as well close down. Portugal does have able men in most of the top positions in Mozambique. But most of them are paralyzed by fear of those above them in the territory or in Lisbon.

The information service is so afraid to move that it can scarcely put its best foot forward. Suppose I had been encouraged to talk with the Governor of Beira who has just been removed, then the information

chief would be unsure of holding his job. This fear and tension inside the Government handicaps an effective defence of the territory. A host of minor decisions are left to the Governor-General, who cannot attend to them all no matter how honest and energetic.

A veil of silence over "white politics" extends to almost all local Portuguese. Foreign businessmen and consular representatives usually encounter discreet replies when political questions are asked, unless they are talking to a really intimate friend. Such a situation gives rise to biting humour.

One joke Portuguese whisper among themselves involves a mythical agreement of the Portuguese Navy to send *Santa Antonio* (Salazar) to the Vatican if Brazil will return *Santa Maria*. A pun involves a delay in the construction of a bridge because the engineer is afraid to use galvanized (Captain Galvao) iron.

Former Chief Colonial Inspector, Henrique Galvao, was a popular figure in Mozambique and may still be if the truth could be known. He led the first wave of "white opposition" with his scathing 1947 report—suppressed until published by the opposition in 1951. It is worth digressing for a moment to consider it because his criticisms are still at the bottom of the reform movement in Mozambique.

Galvao emphasized the grave "demographic anaemia" resulting from the flow of countless thousands of Africans out of Portuguese territories. He said sarcastically that those few who did return were "propagandists for emigration." In

Mozambique, Galvao pointed to the dwindling village populations along the borders as a sign of clandestine emigration. (Heavy migration from Mozambique is currently contributing to a severe unemployment—80,000 Africans—in Southern Rhodesia and has led this month to a special employers tax of 2.80 dollars monthly for each Mozambique worker employed).

Galvao's report stated that health services for Africans in Mozambique—both those paid for by the state and by private industry—did not exist "except for a very few local exceptions." He criticized the Department of Native Affairs for "supplying" labour on written orders from settlers "in the same way as if one were buying goods." He described this as worse than slavery because "the native is not bought—he is simply rented from the government; though he may have the status of a free man. His master could scarcely care less if he falls ill or dies as long as he goes on working while he lives."

Like many critics over the last century, Captain Galvao singled out for condemnation the practice of corporal punishment. The dreaded *palmataro* apparently still beats African palms into pulp in every part of the country. Police usually deny it exists, but a foreign acquaintance told me of taking his beaten servant to the station and seeing the perforated wooden bowl on a policeman's desk.

But Galvao was also stinging in noting opposition to fair wages, the poor housing, labour wastage, the poor moral character of labour recruiters, extortion of African consumers by Portuguese and Indian merchants, and a survival of the "exterminating spirit" from earlier warring eras. At the time he wrote his report, Galvao said the facts had been known for a decade without "a single effective measure to solve the problem," and took full responsibility for proving "all I say is true."

Captain Galvao is remembered in a kindly light in Mozambique by those who recognized that his deep sense of Portuguese honour and his burning zeal to do what was right for Mozambique underlay his trenchant criticisms. I dare not mention new



"I've always said they shouldn't have been taught to write!"

anti-Salazar but pro-Portuguese Galvaos in Mozambique.

In the Portuguese presidential election three years ago, the opposition candidate, General Delgado, received 67 per cent of the ballots cast in Beira and a majority in every town except Lourenco Marques. Many people believe he also gained a majority here, but that a desperate last minute juggling of the ballot boxes saved the face of the administration. The 30 days of "free speech" before the last election will not be repeated in Mozambique under present policies.

Anti-Salazar feeling is especially strong among the younger generation of Portuguese. An acquaintance leaned across a secluded restaurant table to remark, "When my daughter heard I was talking with an American, she told me not to leave out the 'bad things'." Young people are not blind to what is happening in Africa and have a sense of urgency. Paradoxically, some of them gained a taste for free speech as students at South Africa's Witwatersrand University.

One said the administration tries to limit copies of South African newspapers. (Many local Portuguese and foreigners rely on the Johannesburg *Star* for uncensored world and Mozambique news.) Another grievance is Lisbon's persistent refusal to agree to a local university. Consequently, it is alleged that the local youth lack professional training and that plum jobs go to people from metropolitan Portugal.

A Mozambique cultural organization, including many young Portuguese and some Africans, was going strong last year and offering scholarships to Europe when, I am told, the Government suspected the leader was trying to turn it into a political movement. The leader was forced out and an assistant to the Governor-General was named to run the association's affairs. In the last decade, a series of organizations have started, taken on political overtones, and have been destroyed. Successive waves of anti-Salazar people have been imprisoned or sent to Portugal. So far, the Communist Party of Portugal has been quite unsuccessful in Mozambique.

In some, there is an unorganized Portuguese feeling that is anti-Salazar, anti-American, anti-clerical, and anti-African domination. At the same time it is pro-Portuguese, pro-West, pro-Catholic, pro-Mozambique, and pro-African advance. These Portuguese, like the English-speaking Natalians in South Africa, are against the Government but want power only to make limited changes. The prospects are not bright for starting a "white revolution" or of limiting it once it does start.

#### Military Defence

Downtown Lourenco Marques is now spotted with "paratroopers" in their mottled jungle green and brown uniforms. I am dubious as to how much actual jumping these very young men have done. Since there are neither the transport planes nor the technical equipment here for air-borne operations, it occurred to me that the support they offer to the worried Portuguese may be more psychological than actual.

Considering that radio communications are spotty and supply routes are poor, a unified defence would be difficult to maintain. The country could break up into isolated commands within days.

There is no serious sea protection: a well-armed corvette could command the coast. If it were a question of contending against Communist sea power the South African Navy, the small British force based in Simons-town at the Cape of Good Hope, and the U.S. Navy vessels that have been showing the flag in these waters could be counted on for assistance.

But these ships are unlikely to take action against small boats of nationalists moving along the coast. The Portuguese Navy did commandeer a tug to bring in a South African sailboat suspected of arms smuggling, and stripped it almost plank by plank in a futile search. The owner is still plaintively asking the Navy to put his boat back together again.

It is doubtful how much the defence of Mozambique can be strengthened in the face of internal pressures within Portugal and the savage fighting in northern Angola.

Portugal now spends 32 per cent of her slender budget on her armed forces and is strained economically. Except for a handful of troops and some arms, Mozambique would seem to be left to its own limited resources.

#### Internal Uprisings

Portuguese authorities will probably be able to maintain internal order for a while. The extent of the opposition is extremely hard to estimate. A Mozambique African National Union spokesman told me it is not possible to maintain much of an organization inside Mozambique because of strong police control and the use of torture to force out information.

An apparently reliable member of the underground left a few weeks ago for a town on the Witwatersrand where the MANU has a branch. He related details about 28 Africans being killed in rioting outside Lourenco Marques and of 208 Africans arrested and flown to Sao Tome in the South Atlantic and to Mozambique Island. I have failed to find any supporting evidence—wounded in hospital, fresh graves, etc.—except the story believed by local Portuguese that some 40 hostile Africans surrounded a policeman a month ago until an army unit arrived and fired on them. It is unlikely that many would be flown to Sao Tome because of the lack of planes required for such an airlift.

The Africans greatly fear being sent as "contractors" to work on Sao Tome. Captain Galvao reported that involuntary workers died on a scale of 20-30 per cent. From my own investigations on Sao Tome in 1955—admittedly under severe difficulties and in the face of hostility—conditions are not as bad as those for some labour in Mozambique itself.

To some government officials, there are only two kinds of people: devout Catholics who support Salazar, and Communists. Protestant missionaries who teach English are especially suspects here as in Angola. A Swaziland African Minister of Assemblies of God Mission has just been released after ten days in jail for, he says, "teaching Protestant pro-

paganda." T. C. Sukati, Swaziland Government Secretary reportedly intervened to explain that the minister and his brother had been visiting friends on the border. Their host, Mr. Makomo, was not released.

Rumours of violence inside Mozambique are so virulent that the Governor-General has just threatened rumourmongers with imprisonment. Was it sabotage when a large up-country mill was burned down a few weeks ago? In this atmosphere of tension one can scarcely check the rumour. I do know it is untrue that a "large mob attacked the home of Consul General William Taft III" because I followed the small deputation which went to the American's house and made patriotic speeches. Suppression of news makes the citizenry apprehensive and receptive to exaggeration.

One violent outbreak the authorities will tacitly acknowledge was the shooting of some 200 Makonde tribesmen last July near the now closed Tanganyika border. The north is particularly restless. Former Governor-General Teixeira once put it succinctly to me: priority can be given to conversion of northern Muslims as demanded by the Cardinal, or to peaceful administration and economic development in the interests of the state. In either event it is hard to police miles of savanna with a handful of men. If Tanganyika co-operates indirectly with the Mozambique nationalists, whose leaders now enjoy hospitality in Dar-es-Salaam, a terrorist situation will arise.

The borders with the Rhodesian Federation and the Union are unlikely to shelter terrorists but arms may come across them. To block this the Mozambique police have just set up a double check line some 25 miles inside these borders. Suspicious cars are searched for arms which may have been "walked across" the border to avoid customs posts. The 200 carbines recently stolen from a Transvaal school could conceivably wind up in Mozambique. Foreigners are legally prohibited from owning land within six miles of a frontier but so much of it is open that this means little.

Crucial to the question of defence is the loyalty of African troops.

African nationalists have tried to work on colour and tribal feelings with unknown success. When I talked with a Portuguese infantry captain in Macao a few years ago, he expressed full confidence in the loyalty of his Mozambique African troops patrolling the colony's border with Communist China. But even then he had major reservations about their loyalty in their "home province." The African guards at the residence of the Governor-General are fierce enough looking but the Portuguese themselves seem to be in a dilemma over whether to trust large numbers with stores of arms and ammunition.

My estimate is that African troops will be effective in terrorizing their fellow Africans in Mozambique as long as there is no sign of resistance. But their lack of education and technical training does not add up to a real fighting force. A vigorous defence appears to rest on the metropolitan troops plus the largely untrained "civilized" population of 150,000, many of them of doubtful loyalty. Overall, Mozambique resembles a fruit pie which looks solid from the outside until a probing finger breaks the crust and the juice squirts out.

Portugal has so far held on to every piece of its foreign real estate from Timor to Damao to Cabinda with remarkable tenacity considering the hostility against it. Five centuries is a long period of rule. One must be cautious in considering the ability of Portugal's leaders to find a way through present difficulties. However, on balance, the odds are against Mozambique riding out this storm as a "province" of Portugal.

#### Territorial Break-up

One imminent possibility is that Mozambique will lose its identity and will be partitioned *de facto*. To the 1,200 miles of Tanganyika and Nyasaland border, one must add another 1,200 miles of boundary with the Rhodesias, Swaziland, and the Union of South Africa.

Mozambique is economically part of a greater southern Africa. The port facilities of Beira are an absolute necessity to the Federation. If there is chaos in central Mozambique, it will be extremely difficult for

the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, to stand idly by only a few hundred miles of tarred road away in Umtali and see his critical link with world markets cut. Rhodesian troops will neither, in my view, join Portugal in putting down an uprising nor support a white or black rebellion. But Beira must be in reasonably friendly hands, Portuguese or African, and must be operating.

Lourenco Marques on Delagoa Bay is important, but not vital, to the Union of South Africa. Access to the ample harbour from the Transvaal has played a major geopolitical role in the Union's history. At the turn of the century M. G. Jesset's book, *Delagoa Bay: The Key to South Africa*, advanced strong arguments for South African possession which came close to reality. Troops from Durban actually landed here once when an African uprising threatened the town. Although South Africa could scarcely afford to see Lourenco Marques—with its easy route to the gold mines—in hostile hands, its loss as a port could be compensated for. In fact, South African ports are perpetually complaining of lost traffic. East London raised the cry last month.

Under the Mozambique Convention of 1909 as revised, Lourenco Marques is guaranteed 47.5 per cent of the transit traffic for a major part of the Transvaal. Traffic exceeded this when South Africa was booming a decade ago. Now the Union manufactures many products formerly imported over this route and could, at a pinch, dispense with it. In return for the traffic guarantee, Mozambique allows the Union to recruit 65,000 to 85,000 African mine-workers annually from the area south of Latitude 22°.

The Union mines are more dependent than ever on Mozambique labour because of a reduction in miners from other foreign territories due to (1) local economic development and (2) official prohibitions, such as in Tanganyika. Most Union Africans, with their greater sophistication and relatively high wages, refuse mine work. Thus long-term labour rather than short-term port

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# Pour L'Indépendance

## La Guerre de Libération en Angola

LE vote de l'O.N.U. du 21 avril dernier a prouvé qu'aux yeux des grandes puissances coloniales même, le colonialisme maintenu dans ses structures anciennes n'était plus défendable. Seules, l'Union Sud-Africaine et l'Espagne ont naturellement soutenu le Portugal. Mais la France, la Belgique—qui étaient aux côtés du Portugal lors du précédent vote de novembre 1960—la Grande-Bretagne, la Hollande, se sont abstenues. Et c'est par 73 voix contre 2 qu'a été décidée la création d'un COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE CONTROLE SUR LE PROBLEME DE L'ANGOLA.

Une Angola qui n'est plus seule. Déjà, après le bloc afro-asiatique qui présenta la motion de l'O.N.U., la conférence africaine du Caire s'est prononcée, le 30 mars dernier pour l'indépendance de l'Angola. Une indépendance que le peuple est en train d'arracher par les armes.

### Les Maquis Contrôlent Le Nord

Préparée par les événements de février dernier l'insurrection s'est développée avec une telle ampleur que déjà tout le nord du pays est contrôlé par les maquis. La zone "d'insurrection" descend jusqu'à Pango Aluquem, à 180 km. au sud de Luanda, la capitale, et, Quixexa à l'intérieur du pays. La pointe extrême avance jusqu'à Malange.

Toute la frontière angolo-congolaise est contrôlée par les maquisards: Bembe, Maquela do Zombo, Damba, Sanza, Pombo, Mucata.

Plus au nord, dans l'enclave de Cabinda, de sanglants accrochages ont lieu: des soldats angolais inscrits dans les troupes portugaises ont déserté en armes pour rejoindre les maquis.

Luanda a été le théâtre de combats dans le quartier résidentiel de Samba, combats qui, selon les propres termes du gouverneur général, ont obligé le "commandement à maintenir dans la capitale, des forces qu'il

pourrait employer là où elles seraient plus nécessaires."

Les combattants angolais, bien équipés—certaines unités ont déjà un uniforme—et pourvus d'armes automatiques, harcèlent villes et villages par groupements de plusieurs milliers. Mucaba, libérée pendant un mois n'a pu être réoccupée qu'après que les Portugais eurent fait appel à leur aviation. Partout on signale des embuscades où tombent des convois militaires, des accrochages menés selon une tactique élaborée. Et c'est précisément cet aspect organisé de l'offensive angolaise qui effraie le gouvernement colonial. Les troupes de Salazar en sont réduites à une tactique défensive.

### Le Front de Libération Angolais

D'autant plus que, derrière les maquis, ils sentent une organisation politique solide.

L'Union des Populations de l'Angola, derrière M. Gilmore a tenté, depuis 1954, "une conciliation entre le peuple portugais et le peuple angolais, mais déclare à présent ne pas reculer devant l'emploi de la force pour s'opposer au Portugal et faire confiance à l'autorité morale de l'ONU pour se faire respecter du Portugal."

A côté de l'U.P.A., le M.L.P.A. présidé par Mario de Andrade qui séjourne en Guinée, a adopté les mêmes objectifs: lutte armée pour la liquidation du colonialisme. Ce Parti a participé le 19 avril dernier, à Casablanca aux premières assises du F.R.A.I.N. (Front Révolutionnaire Africain pour l'Indépendance des Colonies Portugaises), réunion où furent étudiées les possibilités d'action conjuguée.

### Salazar S'accroche

Devant cet adversaire organisé et encadré, le Portugal acculé à la défensive, n'entend pourtant pas s'incliner. Il développe tout son appareil répressif pour tenter de

maintenir cette possession coloniale essentielle à l'économie portugaise.

Selon les diverses sources d'information on parle de 10.000 à 25.000 soldats de renfort envoyés sur les lieux. Outre un pont aérien Lisbonne-Luanda, deux cargos le "Sao-Tome" et le "Mozambique" ont débarqué d'importantes quantités de munitions et d'armes en même temps que des hommes de troupe. L'armée de l'air portugaise pilonne les zones des maquis aidée de commandos parachutistes. Un important réseau de surveillance contrôle par ailleurs le Mozambique dont Lisbonne craint l'insurrection.

Au Portugal même, Salazar multiplie les décisions gouvernementales: Deux remaniements ministériels en quinze jours font la preuve de sa nervosité. Après avoir pris personnellement en main la défense des provinces d'outre-mer en s'attribuant le portefeuille de ministre de la Défense Nationale—et remanié les ministères de la guerre, des armées, il vient de remplacer les ministres, des Affaires étrangères, de l'Intérieur, de l'Éducation, et des Corporations. Les secrétaires d'Etat au Commerce, à l'Industrie et à l'Agriculture ont été également changés. "s'il faut un mot pour expliquer ces mesures, ce mot est Angola" a déclaré le dictateur Salazar.

Faut-il comprendre que tous les postes clef du pays étaient occupés par des ministres peu disposés à exécuter les ordres dictatoriaux? Faut-il en conclure à une opposition, clandestine mais présente dans le pays? L'opposition du général Delgado, l'épisode du "Santa-Maria" en permettent l'espoir. Par contre la timide intervention des intellectuels portugais témoigne de quel poids peut peser une dictature sur les esprits. Le manifeste libéral de ces intellectuels réclame en effet des mesures d'adoucissement de la condition de l'Angola "dès que sera intervenue la pacification de l'Angola."

Comme dans toutes les guerres de libération nationale, une telle position ne résistera pas aux faits: les libéraux disparaîtront pour passer, soit aux ultras, soit à l'opposition ouverte et à la solidarité active aux combattants angolais.

C'est pourquoi, c'est non seulement un "grenier" et une "banque"

que Salazar risque de perdre, avec l'Angola, c'est son régime même qui est menacé.

### L'Afrique Avec L'Angola

A cause de ce passé, l'Angola ne peut pas ne pas vaincre. Jamais un régime colonial n'a maté une révolution populaire. L'Angola n'a rien à attendre de tardives réformes de la part du régime portugais.

Seule la force armée peut venir à bout des intérêts coloniaux. A Alger, Johannesburg, comme à Luanda, c'est le seul langage qui soit compris de nos ennemis communs. Nos frères angolais ne sont pas seuls dans la lutte. A leurs côtés, ils ont l'Afrique libre qui, non plus seulement par les appuis diplomatiques, mais par les armes, par une aide matérielle massive, saura lui prouver sa solidarité.

Salut à la lutte héroïque du peuple de l'Angola!

### Travail Forcé

Nous avons déjà analysé comment l'Angola jouait ce rôle de grenier et de banque. Indigénat, travail forcé, vastes exploitations coloniales telle la "Caompanhia agricola do Cassequel" ou la "Campanhia Açúcar de l'Angola" autant de "caractéristiques" angolaises—en fait coloniales—et qui sont ou furent aussi bien, Agériennes, Guate-Maltèques, Cubaines ou Sud-Africaines.

Dans cette "province portugaise" considérée comme "parcelle du territoire national" (le Portugal ayant rejeté le terme de colonie...) la ségrégation sévit avec un curieux raffinement.

En effet l'Angolais qui a le statut "d'indigène" peut devenir "civilisé" en passant certains tests: il doit démontrer, devant une juridiction locale qu'il s'exprime en portugais, qu'il est catholique, qu'il dispose de certaines ressources et qu'il est prêt à troquer ses habitudes de vie africaine pour celles de l'Europe.

Il devient alors "assimilados." Cette tentative pour créer une bourgeoisie angolaise—quelque troisième force... a naturellement échoué: 0,7% d'assimilados en Angola (30.000 sur les 4.370.000 non Européens).

Quant aux 4 millions d'Angolais, ils "doivent être dirigés et éduqués par les européens... Il est indispen-

sable de leur inculquer l'idée de travail." Du travail forcé naturellement! Et le personnage aussi tristement célèbre que le policier est le "ANGARI ADE" le recruteur de main-d'oeuvre, qui touche un pourcentage sur le recrutement. Mais le système est perfectionné: on organise

de déportations périodiques de 18 mois dans les mines de l'Union Sud-Africaine. Exportation humaine qui représente pour le trésor portugais une considérable source de devises, et raffermi les liens de solidarité entre les colonialistes portugais et les racistes sud-africains.

## La Première Charte de la CSP

Cette charte déclare notamment: Le 1er Congrès Syndical Panafricain, réuni le mois dernier à Casablanca a adopté une Charte où se trouvent condensées les grandes lignes d'une doctrine africaine de l'action syndicale.

Les représentants des travailleurs d'Afrique réunis au Congrès à Casablanca du 25 au 30 Mai 1961, proclament solennellement l'INDEPENDANCE et l'UNITE des syndicats africains, et leur commune volonté de respecter et défendre les principes d'action fondamentaux du syndicalisme en Afrique.

Les travailleurs d'Afrique, ouvriers et paysans sont engagés dans une lutte implacable contre le colonialisme, le néo-colonialisme, l'impérialisme, la féodalité, et la réaction.

### Unité et Solidarité

Mais c'est le principe de l'indépendance des syndicats et de la non-immixtion dans les affaires syndicales qui constitue la condition essentielle et la garantie la plus sûre de l'unité ouvrière et chaque fois qu'une brèche est à colmater dans les rangs des travailleurs d'un pays c'est parce que, en réalité le principe de l'indépendance des syndicats est mis en cause par une immixtion des ennemis de la classe ouvrière, ceux-là même qui pour mieux asservir les travailleurs, n'hésitent jamais à détruire l'unité aux cris de "Vive l'unité des travailleurs."

Ainsi l'unité des travailleurs d'Afrique s'appuie sur des conditions de combat particulières au Continent Africain, elle implique donc le rejet de toute idéologie étrangère et la création d'une doctrine d'action syndicale adaptée aux situations

spécifiques des sociétés africaines.

### Les Temps des "Métropoles" est Revolu

Cette indépendance syndicale postule notamment:

- la non-ingérence des gouvernants et des partis politiques dans les affaires syndicales africaines;
- la non-limitation des moyens d'action syndicale, et en premier lieu celui de la grève;
- la non-immixtion d'organisations étrangères dans l'orientation, la gestion et l'action syndicale en Afrique. Le syndicalisme africain doit être une expression authentiquement africaine et non pas une version africaine d'une optique syndicale étrangère.

Ces principes de non-ingérence dans le domaine syndical ne doivent pas être considérés comme des positions tactiques mais comme des normes intangibles devant permettre l'exercice de la liberté syndicale et la reconnaissance du droit d'association.

### Les Relations Internationales

La FEDERATION SYNDICALE PANAFRICAINNE est une organisation indépendante qui rejette toute ingérence étrangère dans les affaires syndicales africaines.

Par ailleurs, la Centrale Panafricaine entretiendra des relations fraternelles et égalitaires avec tous les travailleurs du monde. Notre lutte est celle de tous les démocrates du monde et de même que les forces d'oppression et d'exploitation ignorent les frontières et les nations, de même nos objectifs sont ceux de tous les travailleurs du monde quelle que soit leur race ou leur sexe.



## Colonialism and Imperialism

Continued from page 20

armed uprising?" *The Daily Telegraph* has soon forgotten that when the neck of its glorious Empire which is now being pawned in the Common Market pawnshop was under the Nazi jack-boot and on the brink of collapse it was the blood of the Africans in the jungles that saved her.

### Meaning of Sovereignty

The value or importance one places on a thing is determined by the real understanding of what the thing really is.

In recent times the word sovereignty has become a byword in most of the newly independent African States. But one wonders whether this word so commonly used has been subjected to objected analysis. To understand the real worth of a thing determines the importance and value one places on it. Sovereignty, as defined by one of the most outstanding nation builders "is the complete independence of a state in deciding all questions relating to its internal life and foreign relations. A state is therefore sovereign when it exercises supreme unfettered power on its territory independently, and when this freedom of action cannot be restricted by anyone from without. Sovereignty serves, as it were, as a rampart under the protection of which individual peoples are able to build their state, develop their economy and culture, and enter into equal and voluntary relations with other peoples."

The principle of sovereignty is an accepted international law binding both the smaller and the bigger, the weaker and the stronger nations. However, this has never prevented the colonial powers from encroaching with impunity on the territorial rights of the newly emerged African States. The imperialists have demonstrated by thousands of brutal examples their total disregard for the principle of sovereignty when applied to an African State.

It is not given to all great men to prophesy and realise the results of their prophecies during their life time.

But recent developments in Africa have proved beyond every reasonable doubt the naked truth of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's brotherly warnings and admonitions to his brother African leaders not to be cajoled by imperialists in entering into frivolous defence pacts and allowing them to use their sacred lands as military bases thus plunging their countries into a jumping off ground for global warfare and their people into a reserve for cannon and napalm bomb fodder.

Osagyefo, with an instinctive premonition as to what will happen to all African States, has given timely warning that we should not remain complacent with our achievement of independence and allow the imperialists to dismember our solidarity.

A terrible danger like the sword of Democles hangs by a hair's breath over all Africa. The only panacea that will save us from this dilemma is breaking of all artificial barriers, coming together in an atmosphere of brotherliness, letting bygones be bygones, submerging our personal, groundless animosities and planning

### Slave Labour (Continued from page 23)

facilities have priority for South Africa. Because of the world opprobrium and the intense hostility such an act would incite, the South African Government would need unusual provocation to move troops either to aid Portugal or to restore order.

Swaziland, the British protectorate, is counting on an extension of its rail link with Lourenco Marques for shipping of iron ore to Japan under a new mining contract. But Swaziland and the British Government would sit out any interruption in the working of the port and draw supplies from Durban.

From the foregoing, it is suggested that if Mozambique reaches a state of imminent capture by outside forces or draw out chaos, the country will be at least temporarily partitioned. Tanganyika, would occupy the north, Nyasaland's

concrete ways of forming ourselves into a political union leading ultimately to the Union of African States. United we stand divided we fall.

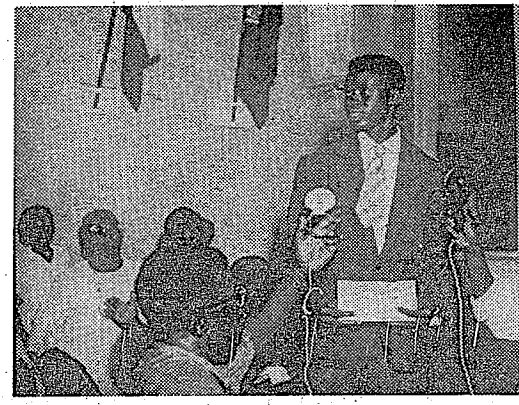
Let us all forget our personal misconceptions and lift our eyes over the African horizon and see what is happening in Tunis a country which a day ago was as peaceful and serene as any African country could be. But alas hardly could we get up from our beds and clear our eyes from our slumber than the radio all over the world poured into our ears tragic news about the callous massacre in cold blood by the French imperialists of peaceful demonstrating Africans. The streets which the day before were filled with colourful scene bright dresses of young babies and the sweet song of birds from twig to twig, are now carpeted with the blood of the brave who stood the ground that their country might be free of colonial usurpers. Africa has learnt her lesson but in a tragic way.

To my brothers in the French African Community States I say: this is the time for you to consider seriously the so many pacts you have signed with the devil. You have nothing to fear than fear itself. The French Atom Bomb in which you pride yourselves as equal owners will soon put your countries into everlasting conflagration.

influence would permeate the north-east. Troops under direction from Salisbury— would occupy Beira. Finally, South African armoured cars might drive the one hour from the border to Lourenco Marques.

Such moves might involve partial or total United Nations intervention. In that event, India could enter the picture. The lack of love between India and Portugal would reach a new depth. Last time I was here, Secretary John Foster Dulles' defence of Portugal's legal position in Goa made Americans at least tolerated. The new antipathy for the United States is all the more bitter for its suddenness. The second "enemy"— as the Government ships up local Portuguese opinion—is the United Nations. But in a gale of change, Portuguese protests at UN action will not be heard.

## Gambian Youth Meet Ghana Young Pioneers



Master Landing Brameh, leader of Gambian Youth studying techniques in Ghana, giving an address at a reception given in their honour by Ghana Young Pioneers at Young Pioneers Centre, Accra.



Some members of Young Pioneers are seen here dancing one of Ghanaian traditional dances to entertain the Gambian Youth at the reception.

**"Place the youth at the head of the awakened masses. You do not know what strength, what magic influence the voice of the young have on the crowd. You will find in them apostles of the new social order. But youth lives on movement, grows great by example and emulation. Speak to them of country, of glory of great memories."**

—Kwame Nkrumah

IN the onward march of Africa to complete independence and Unity, we cannot afford to do without training the youth who after all will stand firm for the new African Age.

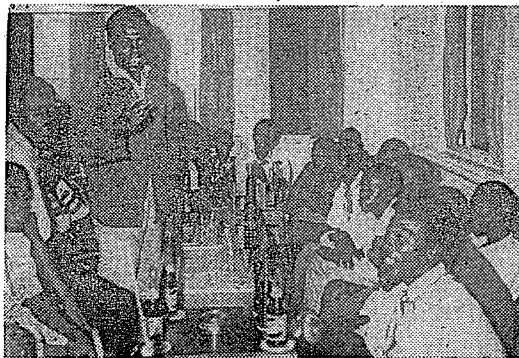
In Ghana and many parts of Africa youth movements are emerging with vitality and strength.

The Ghana Government has established the Ghana Young Pioneers. Apart from inculcating into the youth the love of

country, devotion, sense of duty to the state, and ideals of world peace and African Unity, the Pioneer Youth provides basic technical training in trades requiring long term preparation, such as aviation, seamanship, radio and marksmanship. Thus it aims at not only emphasising the need for being patriotic and developing one's talents

to the full, but also for gearing the outcome to the benefit of society as a whole.

Today there are 45 Gambian Youth in Ghana to study youth work. The Ghana Pioneer Youth Authority, has organised programmes covering the major part of supplementary education in reading, physical education, photography, modelling, weaving and other arts and crafts for the Gambian Youth.



Mr. Z. B. Shardow, National Organizer of the Ghana Young Pioneers, addressing Gambian Youth at a reception given in their honour at Accra Airport Hotel.



A Young Pioneer is seen trying a Young Pioneers' neckerchief on Mr. Jahumpa, a Gambian Leader.

# Scapegoat of Sharpeville

by George Pollock

IF he had chosen, Mangaliso Sobukwe could have avoided going to jail. He knew the consequences. So you might ask: Why raise a fuss about his being in prison?

The answer lies in the personal story of this tall, well-built 36-year-old father of three young children, Methodist lay preacher and university lecturer.

So far, the picture is of a very solid citizen, a man—and he is academically brilliant—who would rate considerable respect in any civilised country. But his homeland is South Africa, where the rules are different, at any rate for Africans, however gifted.

As a member of the faculty of Witwatersrand University, Mangaliso Sobukwe's talents earned him a good income.

He could have lived very comfortably—a fine house, a car, servants and all the middle-class trimmings which, in the minds of most Africans, bear a reservation ticket, "For whites only."

Instead, he and his wife, a trained nurse, chose to live in a standard municipal African dwelling in the township of Mofolo, Johannesburg.

And to go to the university, about 18 miles away, he travelled by train on a third-class season ticket, exposing himself to the daily demand to produce his identity pass as he left the station. By car, he could have avoided this pass check.

But because he is an African he could not have avoided possessing a pass. Every African, regardless of ability, must carry a pass.

## Beliefs

It is the badge of humiliation, the stamp of second-class citizen for having been born with a certain pigmentation of the skin.

It was the carrying of these passes,

and the indignities of the enforcement laws, to which Mangaliso Sobukwe objected.

Apart from anything else, as a practising Christian he could not have done otherwise: it would have made utter nonsense of the Methodist beliefs inherited as a boy from his preacher father in Graff-Reinet, a wine-growing area in Cape Province. (One of his brothers, incidentally, is an Anglican priest.)

From mission school he won a scholarship to the University College of Fort Hare, took a degree and taught in an African high school until he was dismissed for taking part in the 1952 defiance campaign (he was later reinstated at the demand of local townspeople); and then came his appointment to Witwatersrand.

His political activities had started at Fort Hare when he joined the African National Congress Youth League.

But he and others, dissatisfied with the pace at which Congress was prepared to go in its fight for African rights, created an active wing called the Africanists.

They broke away, formed the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1959, and Mangaliso Sobukwe was elected national president.

Any money left after his modest personal needs were met went to the movement, and so it was with the other members of the 12-man executive.

The aims of the Pan-Africanists are socialist, their call "Africa for the Africans." Inevitably, this had led to their being dubbed anti-white. But they deny it. When they talk of Africans, they say, they mean those with the true interests of Africa, whatever their colour.

What they refuse to accept are the so-called Bantu and white areas decreed by apartheid. As Africans, they do not see why eleven million people should be pushed into corners of their own country by a white minority and told to stay there.

## Surrender

Their decision to challenge the pass laws was planned for March 21 last year. Their followers would go without passes and surrender themselves for arrest at the nearest police station.

For some time before the day, Pan-Africanists went from house to house canvassing support, clerks and teachers who put case soberly.

One pamphlet distributed was the copy of a letter to the Police Commissioner signed by Mangaliso Sobukwe.

His letter promised co-operation with the police in any orders they might give, including orders for crowd dispersal, but urged that reasonable time should be allowed for this when crowds were large.

A second pamphlet stated that they were not fighting against anybody but opposing the myth of racial superiority, the "Calvinistic doctrine that a certain nation was specially chosen by God to lead, guide, and protect other nations. That is our fight."



MANGALISO SOBUKWE

Enlisting the printer's aid with capital letters, Mangaliso Sobukwe emphasised:

"Our people must be taught NOW and CONTINUOUSLY THAT IN THIS CAMPAIGN we are going to observe ABSOLUTE NON-VIOLENCE the only people who will benefit from violence are the Government and the police."

The day came, a Monday. Suddenly, in just over half-a-minute—the time taken to discharge 705 rounds of ammunition from police Stenguns and revolvers—67 men, women and children were dead, 186 wounded. All, needless to say, Africans.

And the world vocabulary acquired a new, sickening word for horror: Sharpeville.

## Different

Two versions of events at Sharpeville give extraordinarily different impressions. One is by Lieut-Colonel G. D. Pienaar, the police officer in charge, the other is from evidence gathered by Dr. Ambrose Reeves, the Bishop of Johannesburg, since expelled from South Africa.

According to the colonel, the police had their backs to the wall and were surrounded by "a frenzied mob of 20,000 natives."

According to the bishop, the crowd around the police station was nearer 5,000 than 20,000, and it was good-humoured, not riotous.

The colonel said he had given an order that there was to be no shooting without a specific order from him.

He had not at any time, he said, given any order to fire, although when the shooting began he was preparing to give an order to open fire at a bunch of Africans who were forcing their way through the police station gate.

Then, he said, two shots rang out from the mob, followed by a barrage of stones.

Next he heard two shots from the left flank of the police line, and then the whole line opened fire. He jumped in front of policemen who were using their weapons, waving his arms and ordering them to cease fire.

## No Stoning

According to the bishop, there was no stoning that threatened danger to

the police, and there was no adequate evidence that shots had been fired from the crowd. Nor was there evidence that the crowd had left weapons behind when they fled—unless a few walking sticks and umbrellas can be classed as weapons.

At the public inquiry, the colonel was asked: Did the shooting continue after danger had passed?—I calculated that after five or six seconds the necessity for firing had ceased and I ordered the men to stop.

So the shooting continued after the need had passed?—You cannot stop firing as if with a press-button; the men are human.

Under cross-examination, the colonel said that he had in mind the firing of a few well-directed shots at the leaders in the event of a rush, but had made no arrangements for this with his men.

During the half-hour you were there, you did nothing to disperse the mob? I had no time.

You had not time; the first ten or fifteen minutes you did nothing at all, and the next quarter of an hour you spent deploying your men?—I was concerned with my men; I could not apply my mind to anything else. I was waiting for a moment of calm.

Why did you not detail an officer to deploy the men while you occupied your mind with methods of dispersing the crowd?—I thought my place was with the men.

If you did not climb on a Saracen (armoured vehicle) and try to address the crowd yourself, why did you not detail another officer to do this? I did not think of it.

## Summed Up

You did not inquire if there was anybody who knew and could speak to the leaders?—I did not expect anybody to know them.

In fact, Colonel Pienaar, you thought of nothing but shooting?—No. That is not so.

Mangaliso Sobukwe's letter to the Commissioner of Police promising Pan-Africanist co-operation over crowd dispersal, might never have been written.

The inquiry commissioner summed up the evidence but did not consider it part of his duty to establish responsibility.

On the evidence he had gathered 70 per cent of the casualties shot

in the back as they fled, one woman hit after running 100 yards—Dr. Ambrose Reeves considered it was his duty to establish responsibility.

He reached three conclusions: the firing by the police was unnecessary force; the firing was deliberately continued into the backs of the fleeing crowd after all semblance of danger to the police had vanished; the firing was punitive and not in self-defence.

## Arrested

On the same day, at Langa African township, Cape Town seven Africans were shot by police and 46 injured.

That morning, Mangaliso Sobukwe and other Pan-Africanist leaders were arrested. When they had conceived the anti-pass campaign, they knew they must expect arrest. To prevent their organisation being entirely destroyed, two executive members had been sent into exile to carry on the fight: one to Ghana, one to London.

But there was a personal problem Mangaliso Sobukwe had to consider. His wife had just given birth to twins. If he had to leave home, she would be faced with bringing up three young children alone, the family income gone.

All along, Sobukwe could have chosen an easier path for himself, enjoying the economic privileges of his position as a university lecturer. Instead, he identified himself completely with the struggle of less fortunate Africans.

He had not doubt about his duty in the anti-pass campaign. Whatever the consequences to himself, the protest had to be made.

At his trial for incitement, he refused to plead—"the law under which we are charged is a law made exclusively for the whiteman, and the officers administering the law are whitemen. We do not see how justice can be done in the circumstances."

Before sentence was passed, he told the court:

"The history of the human race has been one of struggle for removal of mental, moral and spiritual oppressions, and we should have failed had we not made our contribution to that struggle."

Continued on next page

## United Action—the way Forward

Continued from page 17

workers. They must know what their grievances are, and be prepared to take them up. They must defend the interests and react to the demands of all workers. In carrying out their work to secure justice for the workers they must at all times choose forms of struggles which the majority of the workers are prepared to support, and not advocate actions to which only the most advanced and most militant will respond.

### Union Policy

A united working class is only possible where the workers have full democratic control over their organi-

sation and its leaders. Weaknesses in colonial Trade Unions must be eradicated where they exist, as for example, the tendency to have matters in the hands of one or two individual leaders instead of insisting on democratic discussion of union policy, and on the democratic control of union finances and union leaders. Trade Unions are not to be regarded as occasional, temporary organisations, or glorified strike committees, which do nothing for their members between strikes, but must maintain constant activity in defence of the daily and long-term interests of the workers.

## "Rod of Iron"

Continued from page 6

In the Soviet Union, what Lord Home is pleased to sneer at as the "Russian empire," and which before the advent of Soviet power, was known as "a prison house of peoples," educational opportunity is open to all.

If one takes the Central Asian Republic of Tajikistan, with a population of two million, there are now 370,000 children studying at general educational schools, with another 32,000 studying at schools of higher education and specialised secondary schools.

### Patience Gone

Before the advent of Soviet Power Tajikistan did not have single person with higher education. Today there are over 42,000 specialists working in the economy of the Republic with higher education, while the Republic's research establishments and higher schools employ over 2,000 research workers, mostly Tajiks.

Yet Lord Home considers that "British colonialism is already an

example in freedom which may be used to prise the communist empire wide open."

The African people of Rhodesia are still battling for the basic "one man, one vote," which the former oppressed peoples of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan obtained 40 years ago.

They are still fighting for equality of educational opportunity which the Homes, Sandys, Macleods, Whiteheads and Welenskys are still denying them.

Men like Joshua Nkomo and Kenneth Kaunda have shown patience in the past, some will think perhaps too much patience, with their colonial oppressors.

The British people must now know that patience is at an end.

If the African people in these colonial territories are to differentiate between the ordinary people of Britain and the Government which is perpetrating these latest constitutional swindles on them, then the British people must make their voices heard now.

## The Party System

Continued from page 11

its existence on the practice of compromise which is foreign to any dictatorial system.

In all discussions in African councils each man was at liberty to affirm or to oppose. He did not have to play rigidly this or that role. There was no division between those who supported and opposed the measure. The whole thing was discussed in the context of *wisdom* rather than of *cleverness* as European politics are apt to do. The pleasure of the men was sought: "So-and-so, do you agree to this?" Or, "so-and-so does not agree. Let us hear him."

A perusal of many of the discriminatory laws of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia reveals that the whole aim of legislation is to neutralise African opposition. The African is denied the vote so that he may never get to a point where he would oppose the whiteman. The constant banning of African political parties under one pretext or another, is a determined, subtle effort to exterminate African opposition.

Now to come back to our subject: Is it the one-party system or the two-party system which ensures democracy? What really ensures democracy is any system which allows free elections, free representation, free discussions, free compromise and free opposition. The essence of democracy is the free will of the people, not this or that system.

## Scapegoat

Continued from previous page

Of the 23 accused, four were found not guilty and discharged, 14 were sentenced to 18 months, four to two years, and Mangaliso Sobukwe received three years' imprisonment.

### Ruling

Dismissing the appeal against severity of sentence, the judge ruled that the magistrate's court had been entitled to take into account the

repercussions outside the area where the acts had been perpetrated.

In short, Mangaliso Sobukwe and the others were scapegoats for the police outrages at Langa and Sharpeville.

This is why protest must be made to the South African authorities, who cannot be allowed to forget that, in all this, they are the guilty men.

## Nationalistic Role

Continued from page 14

running for centuries? It was outlawed because it was "non-co-operative," and because it was "pagan" (whatever this means).

To call an African custom pagan, and therefore unchristian, shows clearly how very narrow and self-conceited an imperialist mind can be. What is lost sight of is that the "Pagan" worships the same God as the Christian, as the Muslim (Allah), as the Buddhist (Holy Mother) or as the Hindu. Commenting on this, a prominent Kenyan leader, Ochieng Oneko said in July 1952: "We do not know God. What we know is Ngai. We believe in Ngai whether the missionaries say we are pagans or not."

### It Served Them Right

He was speaking the mind of Africa. Our forefathers knew and worshipped Nyame (Twi), Nyongbo (Ga), Chuku (Ibo) or Oluwa (Yoruba) before the Europeans came. They also took oaths, and that did not make them any less holy than their European counterparts who swore by the bible. More so when their intentions were holy.

It will therefore be seen that there would have been no terrorism in Kenya if the Colonial Government had sat down to redress the social wrongs that had become mounting unbearable, rather than take negative and suppressive steps like banning political parties and legitimate traditions like oathing.

In fact, right from the onset of oathing in 1948, which itself was the

## La Leçon de Bizerte

LA crise de Bizerte est un résumé de la lutte menée par la Tunisie en vue de consolider son indépendance et s'assurer une réelle souveraineté.

La crise en effet est une preuve justificative sans équivoque de la politique de neutralisme positif et de non alignement avec aucun des deux grandes puissances.

La Tunisie a été pour l'Occident et en fut très fière. Ceci pourtant ne l'a nullement protégée contre une agression de la part de son ancien patron colonial et ne lui a non plus valu l'appui et la solidarité de l'Occident pendant ces heures cruciales de son histoire.

Si au demeurant la Tunisie appartenait à la grande famille des Nations Africaines, son ancien patron n'aurait aucunement osé lui déclencher cette attaque non avenue et idiot. Si en effet la Tunisie avait accepté les propositions pour la mise sur pied d'un Haut Commandement auquel participeraient tous les Etats Africains, France se serait énormément repentie de son action.

Nous sommes heureux d'entendre Les Etats Unis ont refusé de nous

vendre des avions de guerre et France et l'Ouest nous ont decu. Nous avons perdu confiance en eux. Mr. Mohamed Masmoudi déclarer "Bizerte nous sert de leçon; la l'attitude de l'Occident à l'ONU démontre leur appui au colonialisme".

Cette tentative denote une seconde convoitise pour l'Afrique. Elle souligne la nécessité de la réalisation rapide d'une Unité Africaine. Une Afrique unie pour un seul peuple ayant un but et un destin communs.

L'épisode démontre clairement l'utilité de l'établissement accéléré d'un Haut Commandement Africain en vue d'écarter ces bravades aux intérêts et honneur des peuples Africains.

Du Cap au Caire, du Maroc à Madagascar, nous devons aussitôt nous unir pour promouvoir et protéger la liberté et l'indépendance de l'Afrique.

Seule l'unité peut sauver l'Afrique. Seul une Afrique unie peut efficacement gagner la cause de ses peuples et sauvegarder sans défaillance leurs intérêts.

only way out of the restrictions on freedom of association, the Government did not carry out any practical reform to meet the people's wishes. Instead, they flung thousands of oath takers into jail, often under untold sub-human conditions.

Even women who sang religious hymns in prayers for their husbands in jail were catted into the same jails.

The Colonial Government spent thousands of pounds buying spies and informants—most of whom were political "moderates" and Chiefs. The natural reaction was that these informants were treated as black-legs and punished in various ways. In most cases, they were beaten up, or their houses were burnt. Which served the spies and traitors right.



# RADIO GHANA VOICE OF AFRICA

Transmission Times and Wavelengths

## ENGLISH SERVICE

### (i) SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, SOMALILAND

1415—1500 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres
1830—1915 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres

### (ii) EAST AFRICA

1500—1545 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres
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### (iii) SOUTH, SOUTH WEST AND SOUTH EAST AFRICA

1500—1545 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres
2000—2045 GMT	15.285 Mcs	19.62 Metres

### (iv) WEST AFRICA

1500—1545 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres
1700—1745 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres
2000—2045 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres
2130—2215 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres

## FRENCH SERVICE

### (i) CONGO, CENTRAL AFRICA, MADAGASCAR

1745—1830 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres
1915—2000 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres

### (ii) WEST AFRICA

1745—1830 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres
1915—2000 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres
2045—2130 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres

## PORTUGUESE SERVICE

### (i) ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE

1415—1500 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres
1630—1715 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres

### GUINEA ANGOLA

1630—1715 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres
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## HAUSA SERVICE

### (i) WEST AFRICA

1545—1630 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres
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## ARABIC SERVICE

### (i) UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, SUDAN, LIBYA

1630—1715 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres
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### (ii) MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNIS

2000—2045 GMT	11.805 Mcs	21.41 Metres
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## SWAHILI SERVICE

### (i) EAST AFRICA

1715—1800 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres
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### (ii) EAST AFRICA, NORTH EAST CONGO

1830—1915 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres
	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres

## SPECIAL ENGLISH SERVICE TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AND EUROPE

2045—2130 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres
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## Imperialism Weakening

Continued from page 5

economic and social council to bring them in harmony with the needs of the organisation and with the expanded membership of the United Nations."

They also asked for a re-organisation of the United Nations secretariat and the admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations.

They requested that the German problems should not be solved by "resorting to or threatening the use of force."

## Renascent

## Africa

Continued from page 16

great importance not only to Africans but also to all men of goodwill. Africans have the obligation to develop those policies which will command the respect of the world. Our friends in other parts of the

world will also have to understand the real and staggering problems which face the peoples of Africa. The time at the disposal of Africans to develop their institutions in the depth and magnitude to meet our changing times is very limited, and for decades Africans will need the moral and material assistance of the advanced countries.

More important still, the great powers must appreciate that the old order in Africa is dead. Any attempt to delay the process of change or to preserve the *status quo* in Africa cannot but lead to very strained relations between themselves and all Africans.