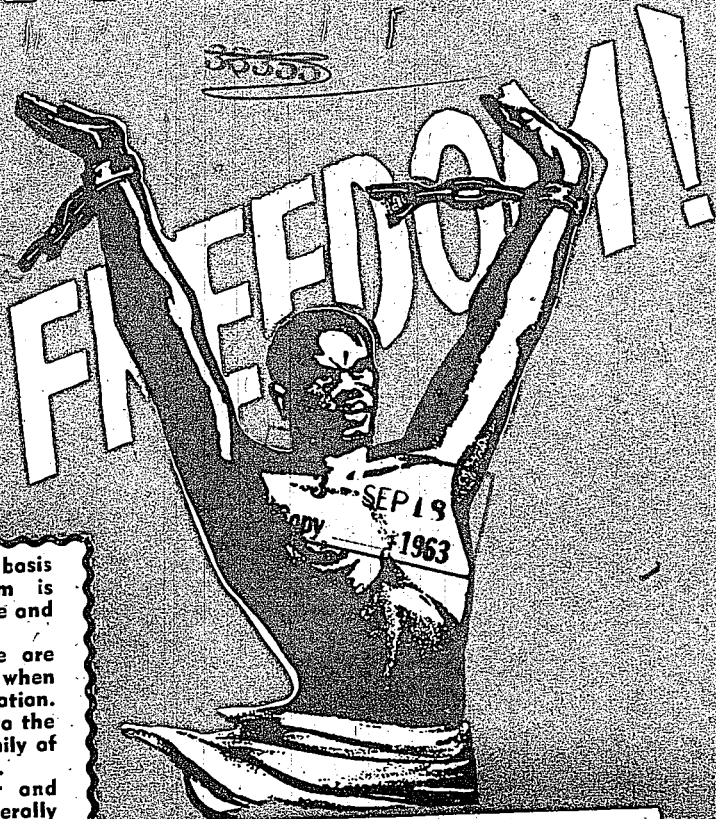


Voice of AFRICA



SENSE of brotherhood and fellowship is the basis of African humanism. This humanism is revealed daily in every African family, village and community.

When children are born, when people are named, when people are indisposed and when people die, we all show our concern and obligation. We give a present to the child's parent or to the married couple, or to the sick or to the family of the dead: we share our joys and sorrows alike.

Again, we have always lived together and helped one another—and the community generally—by communal labour. As we built our houses, as we cleared the roads and paths, as we dug wells for water or put out a fire or, with the drum, searched for a missing brother, relative or friend or marshalled our men for action, we were discharging our obligations heartily and joyfully to the community and the State.

This spontaneous fellow feeling, this sense of obligation and the belief that we are our brother's keeper, has held us together and preserved our solidarity and integrity. It constitutes the material, moral, spiritual and cultural bedrock of our communal life.

—KWAME NKRUMAH

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VOICE OF AFRICA

Radio Ghana

Transmission Times and Wavelengths

ENGLISH SERVICE

(i) SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA			
1415—1500 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
1630—1915 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	
(ii) EAST AFRICA			
1500—1545 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
(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	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
	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	
	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	

PORTUGUESE SERVICE

(i) ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE			
1415—1500 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	
1630—1715 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	

(ii) 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	
1830—1915 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	

ARABIC SERVICE

(i) UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, SUDAN, LIBYA			
1630—1715 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
(ii) MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA			
2005—2049 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	

SWAHILI SERVICE

(i) EAST AFRICA			
1415—1500 GMT	15.285 Mcs	19.62 Metres	
1715—1800 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
1830—1915 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	

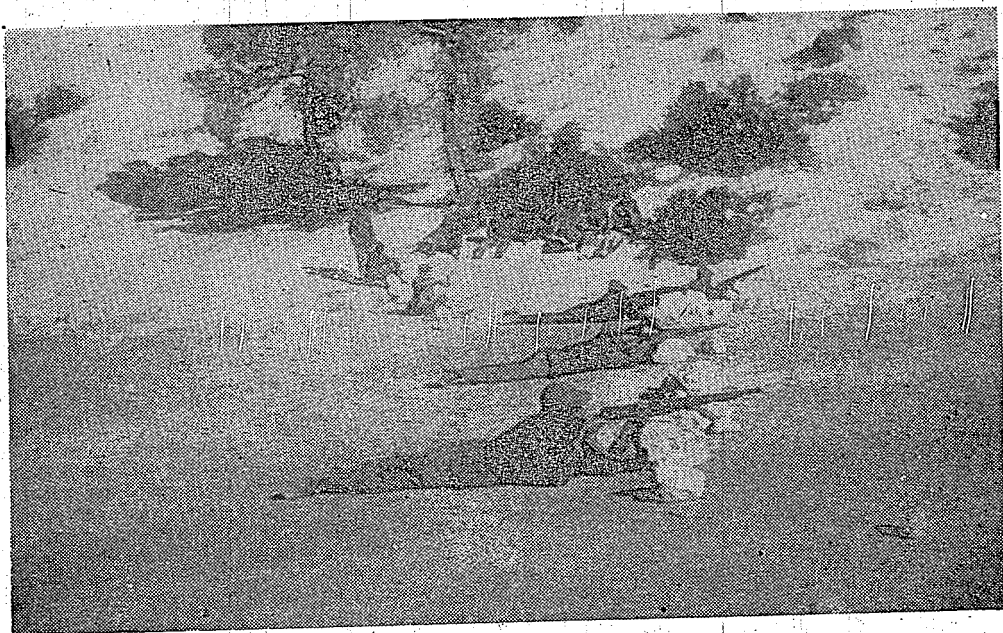
SPECIAL ENGLISH SERVICE—U.K. AND EUROPE

2045—2130 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	
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SUR 25.41 METRES 11.805 Kcs. (AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE); 31.43 METRES 9.545 Kcs. (AFRIQUE CENTRALE, CONGO).

AORAIRE	DIMANCHE	LUNDI	MARDI	MERCREDI	JEUDI	VENDREDI	SAMEDI
1744			INDICATIF D'APPEL (ICI LA VOIX DU GHANA)				
1745	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information
1755	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour
1805	Le Disque des Auditeurs	Album Musical	Rendez-vous musical avec	Musique Populaire	Musique du nouveau monde	Voyage musical	Voulez-vous danser?
1820	Le Disque des Auditeurs	Un Continent Un Peuple	Afrique d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui	Tribune africaine	Magazine du Journa Parle	Ghana d'Aujourd'hui	Voulez-vous danser!
SIGNAL D'INTERVALLE							
25.41 Metres 11.805 Kcs. (Afrique Occidentale); 31.43 Metres 9.545 Kcs. (2) Congo—Afrique Centrale—Madagascar							
1914			INDICATIF D'APPEL (ICI LA VOIX DU GHANA)				
1915	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information
1925	Commentaire du Jour	Commentaire du Jour	Commentaire du Jour	Commentaire du Jour	Commentaire du Jour	Commentaire du Jour	Commentaire du Jour
1932	Les Grands Musiciens	Vos Highlifes preferes	Musique africaine	Chants du Ghana	Musique africaine	Orchestre a Cordes	Vos Highlifes preferes
1950	Magazine du Dimanche	Ghana d'Aujourd'hui	Tribune africaine	Pour votre Plaisir	Afrique d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui	Un continent Un Peuple	Vos Highlifes preferes
1959			SIGNAL D'INTERVALLE				
31.43 METRES 9.545 Kcs (3) AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE							
2047			INDICATIF D'APPEL (ICI LA VOIX DU GHANA)				
2045	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information	Bulletin d'Information
2055	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour	Commentaire du jour
2105 preferes	Les Grands africaine	Vos Highlifes Ghana	Musique africaine	Chants du Ghana	Musique africaine	Orchestre a Cordes	Vos Highlifes preferes
2120	Magazine du Dimanch	Ghana d'Aujourd'hui	Tribune africaine	Pour votre Plaisir	Afrique d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui	Un continent Un Peuple	Vos Highlifes preferes
2128			FIN DES EMISSIONS				

A Warning



PORTUGUESE brutality in Angola and Mozambique stands out as the most savage act of the month of December 1961. The "Voice of Africa" therefore has utilised all its resources to assess the up-to-minute position, employing top political and diplomatic correspondents plus an observer on the scene, to give a clear picture of "the little war" which could have such world-wide after-effects.

The grim determination of the Angola freedom fighters to rid their land of the Portuguese vampires, is clearly shown in the picture which appears on this page. We took the picture at the battle front. We have decided to publish it because it clearly shows the price the African is prepared to pay for his freedom. The target date for the total liberation of every inch of the African continent is December 31, 1963. No part of Africa (not even the off-shore islands) will remain under the influence of a colonial power after this date. We know the price is expensive but the soul and the flesh of the modern African is willing. We can pay. Any African who thinks otherwise is in the opposite camp. Surely, he will be smashed with the enemy.

To us the frantic moves by die-hard colonialists like Verwoerd, Welensky and Salazar only show their awareness that there are forces in Africa powerful enough to reduce them to a mere lump of quivering jelly.

The bell of destiny which down the centuries has tolled for all tyrants, is about to toll for these vampires.

Backward the march of men can never go. A calamity present is gliding irresistibly away from the past towards the future of free Africa, where the captive aspirations of those vast liberties for which the contemporary African is clamouring, for himself and for his descendants, shall sparkle like gems in all the glory of the oncoming African golden age.



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KOFI BATSA

EDITORIALS

Unjustified and Filthy

THE Southern Rhodesian crisis has hardly come to an end for the country is still seething with discontent as a result of a totalitarian, unjustified and filthy step of suppressing the most popular nationalist party in the country—The National Democratic Party.

To those foreigners who temporarily hold the reigns of governmental power in Southern Rhodesia, we might as well give a friendly warning that the noble ideas for which the N.D.P. stood can never be trampled under foot by a frustrated clique of foreign exploiters whose only permanent interest it is to heap insults and injuries on the integrity of the oppressed African people in Southern Rhodesia as long as they are able to enrich themselves at our expense and thus manage to feed the starving semi-naked millions of barren England.

We thought the enemies of African self-determination and freedom, in the form of British capitalistic exploiters, had learned that the brutal murder of Patrice Lumumba by the Western imperialists did not in any way contribute towards the destruction or retardation of progressive force of African nationalism in the Congo.

Yet because they are so thick-headed as a result of colliding with every form of trouble and misfortune arising out of their wicked colonial policies, the incredibly arrogant British have learned nothing from past experience! Today Edgar Whitehead has managed to deceive himself and lull his fellow colonial exploiters into a sense of false security by giving them a dangerous impression that the British colonial slavery in Central Africa will last for ever!

On the contrary, the star of African liberation is fast rising and this to the horror of neo-colonialists who are painfully aware of the fact that their NATO backed regime in Southern Rhodesia will be permanently relegated to the background for the simple reason that Africa can never be an experimental ground of British colonial manoeuvres.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union has taken over the sacred task of upholding the cherished ideals of the African freedom struggle in Southern Rhodesia. We deem it wise to give a friendly warning to Whitehead while the going is good that his negative efforts aimed at suppressing popular nationalist movements are bound to fail!

It appears it would be wiser of Africans in Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere to render as much assistance as we possibly can to the disgruntled British capitalists so that they may be able to dig their graves faster than they are doing at the moment.

The Liberation of South-West Africa

BY an overwhelming majority the 16th session of the United Nations General Assembly solemnly proclaimed the inalienable right of the people of South-West Africa to independence and national sovereignty.

The declaration is historic. It gives a positive interpretation to the ruling of the International Court of Justice that settler South Africa cannot modify the international status of that state without the consent of the United Nations. It asserts the undoubted right of the UN to modify that status.

The decision clears the fog and mist which have, for over forty years, clouded the issue of the destiny of South-West Africa. It puts an end to all the glib talk about the actual conditions in South-West Africa which, valuable as it was, tended for fully fifteen years to obscure the issue of the right of self-determination for the people of that state.

The dissolution of the UN Committee on South-West Africa set up in 1952 to facilitate representations from the African people and other freedom fighters marks the passing of an era. It marks the partial ending of all doubt and uncertainty on the real issues at stake. A stage has now been reached where the unfitness of settler South Africa to continue her rule over South-West Africa is an accepted fact.

The setting up of a new seven-man committee charged with the task, of arranging the take-over with settler South Africa is an indication of the earnestness with which the UN is now trimming its own sails. The committee is to deal with such topics as the expulsion of Verwoerd's armed thugs, the release of detained freedom fighters and the holding of a general election under the auspices of the United Nations.

The recent refusal of settler South Africa to grant visas to the UN Committee on SWA of all UN members on the value of making arrangements with the barbarians of the Pretoria regime.

Britain's refusal, how be it on technical grounds, to issue visas to that committee reveals the futility of hoping to obtain British co-operation in the task of liberating South-West Africa. After all SWA is Britain's 'gateway' to her treasure-trove: Settler South Africa where she has invested £1,000 million.

It can safely be predicted that more and more NATO arms and vehicles are bound to find their way into settler South Africa via Britain and France. The sole purpose of such armaments is to facilitate the intensifying of the butchering of the African people because they have dared to demand their freedom NOW.

The NATO worshippers of the mammon of materialism can be expected to make, a last ditch stand in South-West Africa.

Today all the world knows that the only language settler South Africa speaks and understand is one of naked crudity and organised violence as witness the effusions of the erratic Eric Louw and the bloody massacres of Bondelswarts and Windhoek as well as of Sharpeville and Langa.

It will soon dawn upon the UN that the only effective method for the liberation of SWA is that of armed intervention. The Independent African States and their allies must brace themselves to spearhead such intervention.

The UN adoption of the SWA liberation motion is a credit to the dynamism and impact of the people's movement for freedom in SWA itself.

The liberation of SWA from the vicious clutches of the desperate race-ridden colonialist oppressors of the Pretoria regime must be viewed as a priority task. The African people demand freedom and independence NOW. Their patience is well-nigh exhausted. The UN must act and act NOW.

Modern "Piracy"

IN October 1961, we published the British master plot against Africa. The British Press and a spokesman of the Commonwealth Relations Office played down the authenticity of the document. Today the role of Britain in Katanga has clearly proved that the document was an authentic one.

We quote from page eleven of the document: "the possibility of the inclusion of Katanga copper interests in any future federation is not forgotten. But it simply cannot be mentioned now in view of the situation in the United Nations. It was almost disastrous that Welensky should have let this cat out of the bag at the beginning of the Congo crisis. However, with luck the public have forgotten this indiscretion. But I can assure you that H.M.G. and the colonial office have not forgotten this plan. I beg you, however, to say nothing about this at present. It would be disastrous to future plans if these possibilities leaked."

Is this policy not in line with the role of Britain in Katanga today?

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, former head of the U.N. in Katanga, tells us that the "British Government policy, as I have experienced it

Continued on page 39

Britain Backs Tshombe

by Dr. Conor O'Brien

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, who is 44, was educated at Sandford Park School and Trinity College, Dublin, where he got a first in modern literature and a first in history. He entered the Irish diplomatic service in 1942, became second secretary in 1946, first secretary in 1948 and counsellor in 1949.

In 1955 he went to Paris as counsellor and in 1960 was promoted to the assistant secretaryship of the Political Section in Dublin. During recent years he regularly visited the United Nations. In June last year Mr. Hammarskjold, then Secretary-General of the UN, asked for Dr. O'Brien to be released for two years to become one of his principal political advisers. In May of this year Mr. Hammarskjold appointed Dr. O'Brien as head of the UN operation in Katanga. And a few weeks ago he resigned. Here he tells why.

MY resignation from the United Nations and the Irish Foreign Service is a result of British Government policy. That policy, as I have experienced it in practice, has been to give all aid covertly possible to the secessionist regime in Katanga while paying—in an attempt to delude the United States and the Afro-Asian Commonwealth—lip-service to the unity of the Congo.

In pursuit of this opportunist policy, carried out under the slogan of "conciliation and negotiation," the British Government has allowed the Security Council to pass resolutions which it would have vetoed had it possessed either honesty or courage. Its vote in favour of the resolution of February 21 is probably the least creditable—not excluding the Suez vote—ever cast by Britain at the UN.

By that resolution the UN was committed to withdrawal and evacuation of the foreign officers who were—and in a disguised form still are—the backbone of the regime for which Mr. Tshombe is the spokesman.

Dangerous

To carry out this difficult and dangerous task the UN forces needed the determined and wholehearted backing at least of the members of

the Security Council. The Force Commander (General Sean McKeown), has now confirmed that he and his troops did not get it.

In the Katanga context the resolution of February 21 was completely revolutionary in its implications. Nobody knew this better than the British Government and nobody was more opposed to such a revolution. Yet the British voted for the resolution in question.

It is hard, in relation to such a vote, to frame any other hypothesis than that they voted on the assumption that the resolution would not be implemented. My experience suggests that they made that assumption and did their best to make it come true.

My offence is that on August 28 I was responsible for the first major breakdown in the assumption—the arrest of more than 200 of the mercenaries.

From that date on, the British delegation at the UN with help from various other quarters, tried "rashness" and "imprudence." Now their wish has come true. The "obstacle to conciliation" has been removed and as a British Government spokesman said the other day, "the path to negotiation is opened."

Now that fighting has begun again in Katanga and while the US

is loyally helping the UN forces in a practical way, a British Government spokesman has said that a solution ought not to be imposed on Katanga by force.

That statement, made in such circumstances, is a betrayal of the UN soldiers who are now risking their lives in an attempt to implement resolutions which the British Government lacked the courage to veto.

This is a matter on which all honest men, whatever their views on Katanga, should be in agreement. It does not depend on one's opinion of the merits of the resolutions.

Principle

If the resolutions represent a wrong policy in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, then Her Majesty's Government should have instructed its delegation to vote against them.

If they present a correct policy which the British delegation can support (Security Council resolution, February 21), or even a harmless policy which the British delegation refrains from opposing (Security Council resolution, November 24), then Great Britain as a responsible member of the Security Council, fulfilling its obligations under the Charter has an imperative

duty to give real support, not covert opposition as at present, to the UN officials and soldiers in the field, who are there for the sole purpose of carrying out the Security Council's resolutions.

To act otherwise is to undermine the foundations of the UN. It is a fact that these foundations have been undermined and that the structure is in danger. The present Government of Great Britain carries a heavy share of the responsibility for this grave situation.

It is being said that the mercenaries ought not to be removed by force, the thing ought to be done by negotiation and force ought to be used only "in the last resort", whenever that may be—the basic Security Council resolution on mercenaries is now nine months old.

But Mr. Tshombe has repeatedly and firmly stated that there are no mercenaries left; he has got rid of them all. This makes it rather hard to see on what basis the UN can negotiate with Mr. Tshombe about the removal of mercenaries.

However, even the British Government does not appear to believe Mr. Tshombe on this point. Nor does the *Sunday Telegraph*, which admits the presence of mercenaries and even carried recently a rather maudlin article on these heroes, culminating in a quotation from Housman.

The British Government knows what I know—that the mercenaries are there and that they cannot be removed without the use of force. By its acquiescence in the Security Council it has consented to the use of force. And then, when the UN is obliged to use force, it protests that force ought not to be used.

At my Press conference in New York I referred to the present British Government as showing to the world at the UN on behalf of Britain, the face of Pecksniff. On reflection I think I was wrong. Pecksniff would have blushed had he been forced to make some of the recent declarations of British spokesmen about Britain's support of the UN effort in the Congo.

Important

All this is of very great importance for the UN, for the Congo and, I should have thought, for the people

of England who are interested in knowing what kind of Government they have got.

It is also important for the Indian, Irish and Swedish soldiers whose lives are placed in greater jeopardy by reason of the duplicity of the present British Government.

These are great public issues. My own case is of no intrinsic importance. I have no desire to be treated as a martyr or to be reinstated or anything of that kind. I feel absolutely no sense of personal grudge against the British Government or anyone else.

Indeed, far from having reason to cherish resentment against the Government or any of its officials, I have good grounds for believing that on two occasions British officials saved my life, unintentionally of course.

I was not in Elizabethville on November 28 when Mr. Tshombe's allegedly mutinous para-commandos broke into a party in honour of US senator Dodd and brutally beat up my brave and witty friends, Brin Urquhart and George Ivan Smith. I am quite certain that if I had been at that party I would now be dead.

'A Beast'

I have been presented to the Katangans by Mr. Tshombe's radio and controlled Press, as something like the Beast in *Revelation*. The daily vituperation of the Katangan Press against me constituted, in the Congolese context, incitement to murder. (This is what a British spokesman was referring to the other day when he said there was a "lack of confidence" in me in Katanga).

The result is that the para-commandos, if they had caught me, would certainly have murdered me and would have taken their time about doing it.

The reason why I was not in Elizabethville for this festive occasion is that I was at the UN in New York, where I was "detained for consultations." The reason I was "detained for consultations" is that Sir Patrick Dean, Britain's UN Ambassador, felt very strongly—in the interests of the UN—that this man of blood should not go back to Elizabethville.

When Sir Patrick feels something strongly he just has to speak out and he had been speaking to U Thant, the Acting Secretary-General, rather forcefully along these lines.

The other English functionary who saved my life is Lord Lansdowne, a peer whom I have not the honour to know. The last time UN forces were in action in Katanga it seems that Lord Lansdowne was in Leopoldville; among the questions he put to Mr. Hammarskjold was how many Permanent Members of the Security Council he thought he could afford to offend.

Two Ideas

Lord Lansdowne, who was visiting the Congo as British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had two ideas, if no more.

One was that the Secretary-General of the UN should fly to Ndola in Northern Rhodesia for a conference with the provincial president of Katanga (Mr. Tshombe, who was then defying the Security Council and fighting UN forces). The other idea was that I should be sacked. Both ideas he urged upon the Secretary-General with considerable persistence.

During this time (the first fortnight in September) I was in Elizabethville and the messages reaching us from Leopoldville were beginning to puzzle my colleagues and myself considerably.

It is not yet the time to tell the full, complex and surprising story (as far as I know it) of what must now be called the First Battle of Katanga and of what led up to it. That will come later. It must suffice to say here that we felt there was some serious misunderstanding, the nature of which we could not quite grasp, between ourselves and Mr. Hammarskjold.

It was much later, and far away from Elizabethville, that I found to my horror how deep that misunderstanding had been.

At the time of the battle, I just wanted to be able to talk to Mr. Hammarskjold. But it would not have been appropriate for me, as UN Representative, to have left Elizabethville, for consultations in Leopoldville at the height of the hostilities.

I did not know anything about Lord Lansdowne or give the slightest thought to his presence in Leopoldville. The things that were in my mind, and in all our minds in Elisabethville at this time, were rather different.

One was the failure to arrive of the Ethiopian jet fighters which we had been told were on the way. We learned later that they had been held at Entebbe, Uganda, because the local Administration of that British Protectorate found technical difficulties in clearing them.

Another thing on our minds was the fate of the Irish garrison at Jadotville. We had been obliged, at the insistent demand of the Belgian, French and British Consuls in Elisabethville to place this company in Jadotville, which is right beside Shinkolobwe, the main Katangan gendarmerie camp, with a garrison of more than 2,000 reasonably well-trained troops. This put them in a most perilous position.

The European population at Jadotville who were in no danger whatever, had greeted the arrival of their protectors with hoots, jeers and missiles and had done their best to whip up the hostility of the African population against the Irish. The garrison was now surrounded by an overwhelming gendarmerie force.

Refusals

A third thing that worried us was curious hesitancy, much in contrast with previous instructions, which had crept into the cables from Leopoldville—but I will have more to say about this in my second article.

Not only was there no tendency to urge us on, but any suggestion for new initiatives was met with sharp refusal. The word "not" was much in evidence in the telegrams reaching us and the bleak phrase "not without prior authority" occurred in one of them. Statements we made to the press and on the radio, in explanation and pursuance of the policy directives which had been enjoined on us, were met with harsh reprimands.

Staunchness

Knowing that everything we had done was done under precise and

explicit instructions from UNOC (United Nations operation in the Congo) headquarters in Leopoldville, and knowing Mr. Hammarskjold's staunchness in defence of subordinates who came under fire while carrying out their instructions, I could not understand the cold current of the telegrams. Nor could my colleagues, civil and military who then knew what I knew.

Knowing what I know now, that astonishes me is precisely Mr. Hammarskjold's staunchness in not recalling me on the facts of the situation as he then thought he knew them.

I felt at this time some distress of mind, mitigated, however, by the gymnastics imposed on me as a result of Mr. Tshombe's command of the skies. Our jets were still at Entebbe.

I am not at the moment sure whether it was on September 17 or 18 that Mr. Dunnett, the British Consul at Elisabethville called to say that Mr. Tshombe wanted me. I think the Consul said Mr. Tshombe was "prepared" to meet me at Bancroft in Northern Rhodesia.

This came at the end of several abortive attempts to bring about a meeting between Mr. Tshombe and me. It could, for example, have been arranged with the greatest of ease and with momentous results at six o'clock in the morning of September 13, if Mr. Dunnett—with whom Mr. Tshombe had taken undivulged refuge—had then been interested in such an idea.

Fantastic

I cabled Mr. Dunnett's suggestion to Leopoldville with the recommendation that it be rejected. I was ready to meet Mr. Tshombe, without escort, anywhere in Katanga. To meet in Rhodesia seemed—as I said at the time in my telegram—perilously like accepting the mediation and even the arbitration of Sir Roy Welensky.

The answer that came back was so surprising, and so enveloped in Mr. Hammarskjold's delphic prose, that I had to read it several times before I understood him to be saying that he himself was prepared to go to Ndola to meet Mr. Tshombe. This took our breath away.

It seemed a fantastic "Canossa." To me the thing seemed absolutely inconceivable. But as I said I knew nothing about Lord Lansdowne.

Key Post

It seemed to me essential that I should see Mr. Hammarskjold. I wanted to beg him not to go to Ndola. I wanted to explain to him the full situation in Elisabethville and answer his questions.

And personally I wanted very badly to clear away the thunderous cloud of disapproval which I knew was over me in Mr. Hammarskjold's mind.

I knew that when he had picked me for Elisabethville he had picked me for the key post in the UN's most crucial operation. And I knew, from the tone of the telegrams, that he thought I had let him down.

Rebellious

I know now—though I would certainly not have so expressed it at the time—that I felt then somewhat as a son feels if he is under the displeasure, for reasons unknown and inexplicable to him, of a revered father.

I was rebellious, uneasy and sick at heart. But whatever I felt, I knew it was wrong for Mr. Hammarskjold to go to Ndola to meet Mr. Tshombe. That had to be stopped.

I knew there was no point in cabling. My cabled advice, which would not have been ignored before September 13 would be ignored now. I cabled proposing that the Secretary-General's plane should touch down at Kamina Base, that I should join him there and go on with him to Ndola.

On the way I could explain to him—officially—the situation in Elisabethville and—privately—I could find out what on earth was wrong.

The cable came in a bad time. Lord Lansdowne had been hard at work in Leopoldville and Mr. Hammarskjold, most imperfectly informed (if indeed he had been informed at all) of the instructions conveyed to us, could not defend me effectively against Lord Lansdowne's charge and his insistence on my elimination.

Continued on page 31

New Year With Good Intentions is Better Than With Nothing at all

Says Osagyefo



OSAGYEFO

The following is the full text of Christmas message delivered by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah when proposing a toast at a dinner given in honour of Ambassadors and Cabinet Ministers last month at the Ambassador Hotel, Accra.

WE have arrived at a time of the year when a large proportion of mankind makes a determined effort to be nice to their fellow men.

Suddenly this topsy-turvy world seems rather a wonderful place to live in. Debtors cease to be hounded by their creditors and quarrels are patched up.

The cost of living, nuclear weapons and even party politics become matters of secondary importance.

And suddenly a great change comes over man. He forgets himself and his worries.

He is suddenly seized by a frantic urge to do good to others and instead of saying "What can I get," he says "what can I give."

Each year when this happens to him, he discovers anew, with the same thrill and freshness as though he had never experienced it all before, the great joy and happiness that he derives from doing all this good.

Well—no matter whether we are Christians or not, we really cannot help but be grateful for Christmas.

For, if Christmas can achieve this miracle of love and goodwill among so many different types of men—even if it only lasts for such a regrettably short period in each year—then, surely it deserves to be encouraged and celebrated.

It is an excellent thing that such an opportunity should be regularly afforded man to escape temporarily from the rut of selfishness, aggressiveness and other anti-social and unpleasant habits that usually make up his daily life.

And if we are somewhat disappointed that this upsurge of loving kindness and good words—to say nothing of those well-mentioned New Year resolutions—rarely survive the first few days of January—Take Heart! for as sure as night follows day, it will all come back again in full measure next December.

Whether we are Christians or not, we should be glad to associate ourselves with the flow of good cheer that Christmas brings.

Those of us here tonight are representatives of many different nations with different outlooks and different creeds.

And yet I am sure I am right in saying that there is not one of us who is not caught up in this whirlwind of goodwill.

We all sincerely desire peace and friendship with everyone around us and feel deep down in our hearts, the desire to do as much as we can to foster such noble sentiments.

Very shortly we will enter upon the New Year. A fresh start is offered to us, a chance to take stock of ourselves, to sift the good things about us from the less desirable things, our successes from our failures.

We will start off with a large credit balance of good intentions.

In spite of the old saying—the road to hell is paved with good intentions—I think that it is better to start the New Year with good intentions than with nothing at all.

One thing that we tend to overlook is that goodwill, peace and friendship require an equal amount of give and take, and sincerity on both sides.

Maybe we are too proud sometimes or too sensitive to pour out our hearts; instead, we hold back our innermost and best feelings, or stifle them with so much pride that they go unrecognised.

I feel that mankind can do well in the coming year to do some serious soul-searching. I think every man and woman, every leader, every nation, should ask themselves this question: "DO I HONESTLY desire peace and friendship throughout the world?"

If the answer is sincerely in the affirmative, then we must bend our wills, and concentrate our energies on working to bring this about.

It has given me a great deal of pleasure to entertain you all tonight.

I shall see to it—and this is not just empty New Year resolution—that we have such dinners regularly year by year.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to propose a toast: a toast to goodwill, to friendship and to peace among the nations and throughout the world!

Labour in Chains

by Malcolm McVeigh

MUCH to the dismay of Portugal, and in spite of all her attempts to regulate and control news, world attention has been increasingly focused on her West African colony of Angola. Angola is virtually in a state of civil war. Conservative estimates list 1,000 whites and about 50,000 Africans dead already, and the rebellion continues. It is reported that 130,000 African refugees have fled to the Congo. Strange as this may seem, observers who have watched the evolution of events in recent years are not surprised at these results.

The tragic situation which has developed in Angola seems merely to prove further the truth of the words: "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." Portugal has sown the seeds of hate, violence and social injustice for centuries. In the face of increasing agitation and discontent, she had adamantly refused to compromise, to recognise past errors and institute reforms. She has followed the blind policy of sanctioning the *status quo* of thinking and saying that what was possible 500 years ago is still possible. She has completely refused to come to terms with the 20 century and recognise that a new era has dawned in Africa. The seeds of this great failure are just now coming to their violent maturity.

The underlying causes of African unrest are amazingly numerous and all-encompassing. Every phase of life seems to present some great social problem, gnawing at the very fabric of human relations and demanding reform. It is impossible to single out any one of these problems and say that it is the most important of all the rest. They all contribute to

the cancer. Nevertheless, I think that it is fair to say that this is no social or economic practice in Angola which is more decisive or abusive of fundamental human rights than is the forced labour system.

On the international level Portuguese officials quite often deny that forced labour is still practised in Angola, and it is not unusual for them to produce a mountain of official documents to prove that the system was abandoned many years ago. Of course this is pure and simple propaganda issued for world consumption. The willful distortion of reality can be justified, they argue, by the fact that the world in general would not understand the truly benevolent character of Portugal's "realistic" colonizing policies.

Interestingly enough, in Angola itself no one would ever think of denying that it still exists because it is so common. Practically no economic activity takes place anywhere without the use of forced labour. In Angola not only is its existence admitted, but it is defended as something good. The Portuguese boast of the system as a great blessing, not only for the whites, who would be destitute without it, but also for the Africans themselves. Some, in their more idealistic moments, look upon it as a kind of school where naturally "lazy" people are learning to work. I remember speaking with an Administrator in Caxito, a small African town near Luanda, in March; he strongly defended the forced labour system as the only way "to get the men to stop living off their wives." He was careful not to mention the fact that women also have their place in this programme.

According to the system, everyone must work and must show the

produce of his work. Most Africans live on and from the land. Therefore one of the major tasks of the African in Angola is to make manifest that he is a productive unit in his own right. He has to prove this to the local authorities. If he is fortunate he may be classified officially as a private farmer and receive a paper, called Modelo J, establishing his status. Anyone who has Modelo J, is free to go about his business and develop his farm. Everyone who does not have Modelo J must seek an employer; if he does not find one, one is found for him. It is very difficult to get Modelo J, and for this there are several reasons.

Sometimes there is a real shortage of good land available in a particular area. Certainly if the whole of Angola is considered, 14 times larger than Portugal, with a population of less than 5,000,000, there is no national land shortage. But in certain areas, notably in the coffee country, land has become a considerably problem. In Northern Angola, for instance, where most of the heavy fighting is going on, hundreds of white plantations have been carved from African holdings by the simple expedient of the whites registering officially with the Government any land that looked good to them, disregarding completely any African claims to title and ownership. The result is that in many areas there is a considerably shortage of good land, and the Africans are forced to work for those who have it.

In other cases, an African may be producing enough from his own land to qualify for Modelo J, but the local administrative authority, under pressure from the European planters' desire for cheap labour, may refuse to give it to him. According to the law, for instance, an African with 5,000 coffee plants is eligible to be classified as a private farmer. However, throughout the Dembos area, where I travelled extensively last year, I found Africans with 10,000 to 12,000 coffee plants who were still waiting for their Modelo J.

They had to work for the European plantation owner, receiving about 35 cents a day, sometimes less, until they finished the daily task. Then if time and energy permitted they would go to their own plantings.

In most cases the only thing that really assures the African of receiving Modelo J is the outright permission of the European employer, something which he naturally is very reluctant to give.

Consequently most Africans find themselves in the iron grip of a vicious circle in which they serve as unwilling and poverty-stricken servants, contributing to the growing wealth of a white man whose riches are made possible by both their land and their labour.

Local plantation owners usually maintain a very close relationship with the administrative officials. When a new Administrator or Chefe de Posto arrives, he is courted and given gifts to make him feel "at home." Most officials freely admit that their salaries are inadequate and that extra income is necessary to maintain their families. Acceptance of gifts soon puts even the more well-meaning officials in a compromised position, and later when the call for more labourers is made, it is virtually impossible to refuse.

When the coffee harvest begins, the Chefe de Posto spends almost all his time "satisfying" the needs of plantation owners for workers. He sends out calls to the villages, either to the local soba (an African chief elected by the village) or the regedor (an African appointed by the Chefe to take charge of the administrative affairs of the village), asking for a certain number of workers listing the desired number of men or women.

If the soba or regedor fails to supply them, he is usually taken to the Post and given corporal punishment. I talked with a soba in Quiculungo last year who received 200 palmatorios (a hard hit on the palm by a flat wooden mallet with holes in it) until his arms swelled up to his shoulders and his hands became a bloody mass. He was unable to work for two months afterward.

This happened because he had failed to produce the required number of workers. Without effect was his plea that he had already sent everyone available and that it was absolutely impossible to fulfill the demand because there simply weren't so many people. If a soba or regedor is "clever" (he is not generally considered dishonest) he may gain

quite an income protecting his "friends" from the forced labour system.

It would be bad enough if the labour programme include only men. In some ways, however, its most insidious element is that women and children are also involved. Again in regard to practices in the coffee country, during the harvest, which begins in June, it is common for women and children to spend up to six months working on the European plantations. Generally the first three months are given over to picking the coffee and the other three to separating out the bad beans after they have passed through the mechanical sheller. As one might well imagine, it is extremely difficult to carry out a school programme under such a system.

The students start their studies late in the year and often cannot go to the examinations (generally held in July) because of their work on the plantations. In more recent years we have been able to get "concessions", allowing the students to complete their examinations before being taken for the coffee harvest.

It is not uncommon for women and older children to be separated, some working on one plantation while others working on another. Spiritual degradation is one result of the forced separation of families and the unhealthy moral life on the plantation compounds. This is especially a problem for young teen-age girls who become the victims of the desires of unscrupulous whites, mulattoes, or blacks. As if all this were not enough, usually women and children are not paid a fixed wage but are given a sort of "tip" at the end of the coffee season, sometimes as little as 50 escudos (less than \$2.00).

When I was in Ucuia in March I was informed that last year was the first time that women had ever received a regular wage in that area. They received two and a half escudos (about 10 cents) a day for picking a bag and a half (about 200 pounds) of coffee beans. It is little wonder that the coffee country of Northern Angola was the scene of the most violent anti-colonial attacks ever witnessed in Africa.

The work of women and children is not confined merely to the coffee

country however. They still serve as the unpaid instruments for the building and repair of most of Angola's roads, and play a vital part in the cotton programme. The cotton programme is one of the most notorious of the Government's forced crop programmes and merits some special mention. Sometimes the system follows the general lines of the practice in the coffee country, the Africans becoming the employees of the large cotton companies.

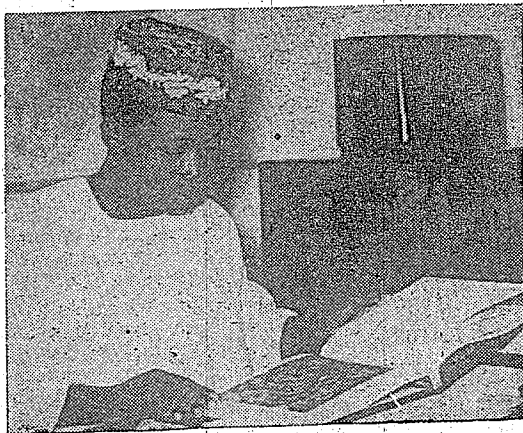
More often, however, the Africans remain private growers working plots of land assigned to them by Government or company officials and are paid a price for their product. The Portuguese Government reserves the right to decide what the people will grow. Sometimes the crop chosen for a particular area is corn, or beans, or peanuts, but most commonly cotton. Overseers are sent to mark out the plots and supervise the planting and cultivating. Having a cordial relationship with the overseer, who is generally noted for his cruelty to "unfriendly" workers, is looked upon as essential. His friendship is gained by gifts of goats or chickens or money if it is demanded.

Cotton presents a special problem in that it does well only on certain types of soil and quickly exhausts the mineral resources of the land. In most areas of Angola, since very little fertilizer is used, two years is the maximum time that a particular plot can be used for cotton without a rest. The victims of the cotton programme may begin by cultivating near their own village. The following year, however, they may be moved to another area ten miles away.

Later they may be moved 50 miles away or even farther. Sometimes they are forced to grow cotton in an area where there are no streams or springs to provide water for personal use. Then they must either carry the water long distances or buy it from merchants who have the means of transportation. Lack of water is a common complaint in cotton areas. Food presents a similar problem. Two homes must be maintained or the original one abandoned.

Generally the African who is caught in this system, whenever possible, divides the family, leaving

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KOLA BALOGUN

Africa Forgives: May She Forget

by Balogun

Chief Kolawole Balogun was born in 1922 in Oshun Division, Nigeria. He is a lawyer, journalist and politician. He founded the Zikist Movement in 1946 and was its first President. In 1951 after returning from Britain he became National Secretary of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons until October 1957. He was Federal Minister of Research and Information from 1955-1958. He was Commissioner and later High Commissioner for Nigeria in Ghana from 1959 to 1961. At present he is Acting Chairman, N.C.N.C. Western Working Committee.

O patient Sufferer of prodigious wrongs!
O victim, O martyr for lucre slain!
Crucified oft for greedy love of gold,
Deceived, despised, betrayed, renounc'd and ruin'd
Yet smiling these attempts you view with scorn,
Conscious of wisdom and ne'er by whim
Waiting as great gods do, appointed time;
When like larks wings your children's hands shall spread,
And up as high as the ethereals fly,
With sonorous hymns and hallelujah loud,
With tunes of harps and flutes by freemen play'd,
With banners borne in pageant grand and gay,
What joy at last your children proud and free
To hold their own God-Given fatherland
And build a peaceful glorious heritage.

'Tis not our whim or pleasure to disturb
The tranquil state, the better frame of mind
You chose from ages past as best to face
The guileful ways those strangers know so well.
Great land, we know your secrets' dwell in you.
More still, we know that age-old tact abounds
But chiefly land of our fathers revered:
That the memories of those sons of yours,
Their courage crowned with spirit to resign
To will of Fate, and thus shame the shameless:
Thus plunge eternal dagger to their hearts
That lacked remorse and just for lust of gold
Swore inhumanity to fellow man!

Or should we to present ways be enured?
And fail to praise and mingle tears of love
In honour of those noble ilk of men
That gave their wealth their lives to heal our wound,
And thus transformed you our afflicted land
From hell on earth to place of peace and hope.
How great their sacrifice only esteemed,
If we the work they did envisage well.

So Providence pray guide my footsteps weak
Along this narrow path I hope to tread

With noble mind to call a spade a spade.
To praise the just, to deal the wrong his share
Honour the brave and leave my soul at peace.
Ye brooks! Ye hills! Ye dwellers in the wilds!
Ye landscapes of our ancient land! Ye stars!
Ye who saw, sigh'd and wept at that mishap!
I beseech then that ye grant me foresight,
On obscure paths, pray shed illumining rays.

When first the Whites our Afric shores beheld,
Though huge the woods with pois'nous snakes infest,
And rivers courses rocks and mangroves plugged,
They fought those odds against their quest for gold.
In peace they moved but soon as trust was won,
Poor Blacks born bred to deal in simple faith
To their sorrow learnt friendship had its hues.

Just then great lands of Reds in Western Ind,
In conquest fell to hands of Spanish state.
Their farms they got plantations made of them
The Reds poor preys were worked with chain and whip
Those acres wide to till from morn till night,
While heat and hunger worse torment inflict.

Since man is flesh and blood not metal made
There's bounds to hardship that he can endure.
So group by group like falling leaves in cold,
Those victims fell and ne'er to rise again.
Who knows how gland on heaven's narrow way,
Where freedom the very air permeates.
Where none there was to cheat the weak of land,
And ease his conscience still to slave the prey.

Yet those to whom He gave His charges moped!
"Feed My Lambs, Feed My Sheep," unheeded Voice!!
When earthly powers scarce wield the rod of power,
But Chosen Ones to princely states aspired,
Small wonder half His lambs were slowly kill'd
To make a fatter dish for lucky half.

Immense and steady fell the Reds apace,
That soon that land of labour would be short

Thus enterprise per force would face its end,
Which plight La Salle foresaw an early cure
That moment seal'd the doom of Afric rare,
While they in peace unalloy'd state of mind,
Discuss'd and trade with new-found foes as friends

Salle's theory like fire in Europe spread.
And straight in eagle flight they crowd our land;
This time to seize the spice, the tusks, the gold,
And precious more the owner wife and child!
Hawkins three hundred with a swoop he roped
By force and threat and shipp'd to Spanish Main.
Nor was that lot the first and last of all:
As cargoes sold like goods were cargoes fill'd.
And profits made more traders join'd the chase
Till every ship deemed fit to brave the waves
Felt sure slave trade would serve her masters end.
Would raise her trade immensely lofty height,
If fifty reached in every hundred slaves.

Were it to buy and sell in peace those slaves,
The horrors known were not as half as great.
Great wars the Arabs caus'd by fraud and guile.
Big price they gave for so-called prisoners got;
That warriors strong soon to caprice fell.
Relentless turned to slay or sell their mates!
No quarrel's small but needs must turn to war.
Old feuds too resurrect to claim redress.
Alas, our land great pandemonium turned
Red war its trail destruction grimly traced:
Sack'd villages burnt and erased to ruin.
Farms wasted and some barren slept for years.
Survival weaklings women cut to bits.
Unwilling trekkers left to feed the wolves
Their skeletons a thoroughfare made
For caravans in deserts' pathless march.

Yet mere play all these were to what they saw
When coastal towns they reached to sail away.
Their backs were stripp'd and mark'd with iron red
To ease the sorting at their journey's end!
Those heartless merchants their marks must imprint.
Then hundreds pack'd like sardines thick in ship
To lands unknown to lands undreamt in chains.
Sea sickness, hunger, thirst, anxiety, heat,
Their number must at least by half reduce.
While rest inert like sheep await their fate.
Oh Misérables! How poignant how dreadful
And agonising many sudden breaks:
Children from parents and husbands from wives.
No leave taking, a last gasp, and no more!
Since there was death none more sinister looked!

Yet those that reach'd went through all shades of death:
Cold, heat, hunger, chains, whip, ignominy!
Lastly death in bondage unarmoured but cursed:
"That lazy drone had hardly served his worth!"
As one set died at last to rest from toil,
Some others came to fill and raise the lot.
And bondage-stamp'd were children born by them:
Condemn'd to servile labour all their days.
One group to toil and one to laze in bliss.
Yet both "His own image and likeness made!"
Africa sigh'd, Africa mused and pray'd

Just when eternal seemed that woeful plight,
When laissez faire its highest zenith reached,
Like bolt from blue few Samaritans rose
A helping hand they bodily swore to lend
"All sham incredible tale," Negro smiled.
Those groups in part were those of Quarkers sect.
Some under Wesley's banner marched with zeal.
At last His World was preached with genuine heart.
Here there all cried that mankind should be free!
Investigations made and books written.
Dire horrors miseries to all sight exposed,
Aid of Christian conscience to invoke.

Mansfield ruled England could not harbour slaves!
That slaves on English soil their freedom gained!
Then Negro felt all might be true at last.
More rules the transport ameliorate.
So step by step redemption knocked at door,
While guilty hearts hot indignation filled.

But Wilberforce champion mightiest of all,
Ill-treated oft in streets and in Commons.
With smiling gaiety scorned all wicked views.
And gripped tenacious to his Master's task.
Though bold in mind was slight and weak in frame,
The struggle his health always undermined.
Faith in mission panacea every ill,
Like armour shelter gave his fragile frame.
Parliamentary motions endlessly moved.
But every one with equal fate was met:

Free slaves labour in Western Ind to end?
Our trade our purse to suffer untold collapse?
Merchantism at an end fore'er?
What loyal son of England thou art then
If these you ken persistent still remained!

Again again more scorn they poured on him
While prelates claimed the trade pag'nism check'd
So like small children's hope the rock to break
By hawling pebbles with their puny strength,
Or like a lone voice in a wilderness,
Hard our saviours fought through thick and thin
God's time expecting, when truth must prevail.

And when it came a dream it seem'd to all:
All feud allay all felt an urgent call.
To make amends for all that gold had wrought.
All rose to bless their sword for the new call.
Denmark swore the traffic to stab to death,
Which action England saw and blushed to red.
Then up she rose and yawned and stared around,
And blushing still she sank in ponder deep:
Had she not gone too far to beat retreat?
Leave gold and plenty and abandon ease?
Champion that right cause though foremost in wrong?
One act of grace to blot a book of crimes?
Resolved, she heaved, she rued she smil'd and girt
Her loins to good than to bad she had done.
England dealt heaviest blow on Africa.
Yet she it was that cured our dreadful wound.

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Role de L'Allemagne au Katanga

SUITE à une communication non sollicitée de Mr. Eichborn, Chargé d'Affaires de l'Allemagne Fédérale au Ghana, lettre dans laquelle le sieur ci-dessus nommé donnait un "Aperçu détaillé" du point de vue du G.E.A. au sujet d'un avion appartenant à une compagnie privée allemande qui a été mis en fourrière à Léopoldville le 10 Avril parce qu'il transportait des armes et des munitions, le Directeur du Bureau des Affaires Africaines au Ghana a écrit à Mr. Eichborn le 5 juin 1961, l'informant que les Portugais utilisent des "ouzi" automatiques étudiés exclusivement par les allemands de l'occident et manufacturés en Israël.

Beinvenu au Tanganyika

LE neuvième jour de Décembre 1961 marque encore une page importante dans le caléidoscope Africain. Ce jour là, Tanganyika devient le 28 eme Etat Indépendant d'Afrique. Plus de 22 pays Africains sont encore sous la férule colonialiste. Nous souhaiions au Tanganyika la bienvenue parmi les nations indépendantes Africaines. Par son accession à la liberté, il devient une partie intégrale dans la lutte massive pour l'indépendance et l'unité de l'Afrique et une arme efficace contre l'impérialisme, le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme.

Le mouvement de libération du continent Africain s'est fixé sans réserve l'année 1963 comme date limite pour le renversement complet et total du colonialisme et de ses séquelles. Cette date doit également

Voir pages 35-38 pour d'autres articles en Français

Le Directeur a fait ressortir que bien que le Gouvernement Federal Allemand ait décrété une loi interdisant le commerce d'armes et des munitions de guerres par des individus allemands, les faits ont prouvé que des avions d'Allemagne Occidentale sont utilisés dans un trafic contrebandier d'armes vers le Congo.

Le 7 juin 1961, Mr. Eichborn a écrit encore au Directeur le remerciant de la façon dont il s'est saisi de la question et a promis de l'entretenir une autre fois du sujet.

Donc le 10 juin, Mr. Eichborn expliqua l'épisode disant que les avions qui transportaient les armes au Congo avaient quitté Ham-

marquer le début du règne de la liberté l'indépendance et de l'unité Africaine.

Pays de l'ancien état d'Azania, Tanganyika a vu le jour dans un tournoi sans fin d'activités politiques marqué par une révolution sociale sans pareille destinée à balayer pour finalement entasser dans le sillon des débris de l'histoire, tous ceux qui à l'instar de l'homme préhistorique de l'Afrique, ne veulent pas s'adapter aux conditions toujours changeantes de la vie.

Nous acclamons le Tanganyika indépendant. C'en est un puissant vainqueur. Il servira sûrement à consolider les forces de libération des peuples Africains dans leur lutte sans merci contre les forces de l'oppression.

bourg pour Bruxelles où ils ont chargé du "Cargo" à destination de Kolwezi au Sud du Katanga sans que l'équipage allemand sache ce que contenait le cargo. Il a souligné "qu'il a toujours été de la politique du gouvernement de l'Allemagne Fédérale d'interdire au mieux qu'il le peut la livraison d'armes dans des pays où sévit un conflit international"

Nous n'avons aucune alternative et en conséquence avons cru Mr. Eichborn. Hors, des preuves tangibles nous font croire que le gouvernement de l'Allemagne Occidentale a vendu 61 "duo helices" marque Dornier au traître Tchombé de la province du Katanga au Congo et que ces avions sont pilotés par des français et des belges.

Une douzaine des "duo hélices" ont quitté Munich avec de lourds chargements de bombes "napalm", des fusées air-terre et d'autres explosifs de ce genre. Ils ont fait une brève escale en France, firent le plein en combustible à Sardinia, Bone et Algiers pour survoler finalement le Sahara, le Nigeria et le Cameroun. Ils se sont posés pendant 71 minutes à N'gaouderé pour s'envoler vers Port Moire au Congo. A Luanda en Angola, ils ont fait le plein et se sont à l'instar des autres avions qui ont approvisionné le Katanga en armement en Mars 1961, ces avions atterrirent finalement à la base aéronautique de Kolwezi près d'Elisabethville le 21 Octobre 1961 à 21 heures.

Ces ignobles découvertes nous prouvent clairement que l'Allemagne Occidentale aide le traître Tchombé dans sa honteuse marche aveugle vers le désastre. Nous avons la conviction que l'Allemagne Fédérale agit de façon à compromettre gravement l'histoire de l'Afrique. Et nous avons toute raison de tirer pareille conclusion. Nous croyons en toute sincérité que les autorités allemandes doivent répondre de leur prestige cet acte criminel et ignominieux.

A leur intention, nous disons: "Nous sommes prêts à arrêter et punir toute personne enclin à blesser notre mère patrie l'Afrique. Nous sommes également prêts pour résister par la force et encore, que nous ne nous reposerons pas avant d'avoir vu périr tous les ennemis de la Nation Africaine.

Lumumba's Murderers Exposed:

Anti-UN Demonstrations Justified

Tshombe and Belgians Accused

ON February 15, 1961, following the announcement of Premier Lumumba's foul murder some 60 Afro-Americans demonstrated their passionate concern for Africa's freedom in the UN's Security Council. They were bodily ejected from the Security Council chambers, but continued their demonstration for several days before the UN Building, where their ranks were swollen by hundreds of Americans of all races.

The American press, radio and TV denounced us for being agents, fanatics, black nationalists, etc. They denounced Premier Patrice Lumumba as erratic, fanatical, anti-white. Such "liberal" writers as Max Lerner of the *New York Post* called him "shadowy, ambiguous, violent and amoral," Eric Sevareid suggested that the world was better off without him, that those who killed him had rendered a service to the world and that it was time for the "white" world to stop worrying about black Africa, since all of black Africa was still steeped in the tradition of the jungle.

American Ambassador, Stevenson, opposed the investigation of Lumumba's death as being "negative recrimination." These are only some of the sentiments expressed by that great fraud known as the white liberals. It is not necessary to repeat here the reporting of the reactionary press.

We Africans feel now as we felt then that our vigorous protest over the death of Premier Lumumba has been vindicated by the United Nations Investigating Commission.

This will not bring him back to his wife and family and the Congolese people, but it will rally all peace loving peoples and freedom fighters to demonstrate throughout the world, demanding that Kasavubu, Tshombe, Mobutu, the Belgian Government and her Western allies be brought to the bar of justice for the savage murder of Premier Patrice Lumumba. Nothing less than this can still the cries for justice that are being heard around the world.

Following are the conclusions of the special UN Commission established to conduct "an immediate and impartial investigation... in order to ascertain the circumstances of the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues."

The weight of evidence is against the official version of the Government of Katanga Province that Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo were killed by certain tribesmen on February 12, 1961.

"On the contrary, the Commission accepts as substantially true the evidence indicating that the prisoners were killed on January 17, 1961, after their arrival in a village not far from Elisabethville and in all probability in the presence of high officials of the Government



LATE LUMUMBA

of Katanga Province, namely Mr. Tshombe, Mr. Munongo and Mr. Kibwe, and that the escape story was staged.

"A great deal of suspicion is cast on a certain Colonel Huyghe, a Belgian mercenary, as being the actual perpetrator of Mr. Lumumba's murder which was committed in accordance with a pre-arranged plan and that a certain Captain Gat, also a Belgian mercenary, was at all times an accessory to the crime.

"Regarding Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo, the evidence is not clear as to who actually murdered them, but the indications are that they were murdered about the same time as Mr. Lumumba.

"The Commission wishes to put on record its view that President Kasavubu and his aides, on the one hand, and the Provincial Government of Katanga headed by Mr. Tshombe, on the other should not escape responsibility for the death of Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo. For Kasavubu and his aides had handed over Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues to the Katanga authorities knowing full well, in doing so, that they were throwing them into the hands of their bitterest political enemies.

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Africa Forgives

Continued from page 11.

And when at last the Freedom Act was passed,
All stood and cheer'd the heroic of the piece.
By passion overcome as stone he sat,
Wondering that was true or Utopian dream.
As roaring cheers the truth of it confirm'd,
He raised his face then streaked by joyous tears
To Him great Ruler Author that event.
With suppliant knees and snowy standing hairs,
With radiant eyes and glorifying arms,
He sent encomiums thanks to Him above.
While Negro danced and Negro joy'd profound,
And deified his name that freedom gave:
"Willyfoss, Willyfoss, Negro thankee!"

That victory won yet on to nobler ones
Our saviour strove anon with toil and sweat.
'Twas true the trade in slaves its doom had taste,
Yet earlier slaves in chains for'er must be
To taste no part of that great grace bestowed.

Cruel death his noble frame like timber fell'd
Ere his new dream for them materialized.
But those he left his work they shouldered high.

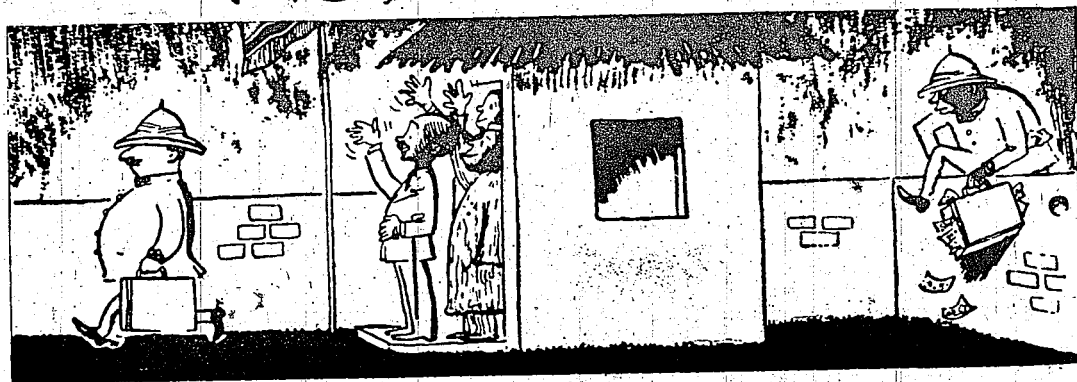
Loyal they stood to fend his cherished cause,
And lo! to dawn that date a morn soon came
When Afric race once more their freedom gained.
Young and old emancipated both!

And when that news was told to Negro race,
Sans bound was glad delirium far and wide,
Great drums were beat till echoes fill'd the woods.
The caves resound, the seas, the brooks, the vales,
With treble force that joyous strain proclaimed,
The breeze-caught it and sound it round the world.

The giant Africa in stately gait:
Beheld the sun its sparkling rays display'd
In colours many congratulating.
Beheld her home: laid waste burnt and barren,
Captivated but now at length released.

Then smiling spoke: 'Tis true they sinn'd yet great.
Attends they made. My tears I'll wipe away.
My hollow cheeks, disfigur'd skin I'll nurse.
My children dear console. Those dead we'll mourn.
As great martyrs of light our dark abode
Must spare the chains of ignorance to break.
Yet as one brethren in our Saviour Christ,
If Europe light had given and saved our woe,
This recollection dire had not existed!
Watch, o ye gods, ye know my heart is clean;
But help, ye gods, help to efface this past.

Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism



Basutoland's Territorial Integrity Violated

*kidnapped in Basutoland on 27/90
at 10.30 p.m. by 6 policemen from
the Union. We were three of mine
and now in K.D. + we appeal
to friends. We know + can identify
our kidnapers.
Yours Powers*

THE neo-colonialist intrigues of the British are fast ceasing to be shielded by an opaque barrier of empty and meaningless statements usually made by the British to give the people of the High Commission Territory of Basutoland a false sense of national security.

Some underhand dealings between the British Government and the arrogant foreign South African Government are gradually being exposed to the critical and angry eye of world public opinion.

One of the most flagrant violations of international relations which is without parallel in the history of Southern Africa, occurred on the 26th August, 1961, in Basutoland, which theoretically enjoys British "protection."

Since November, 1959, when the first political refugee from the fascist South Africa came into the country, Basutoland has been the home of many other refugees from the Union.

Consequent upon the declaration of a state of emergency in Pondoland, where thousands of defenceless Africans were ruthlessly bombarded by the jet planes of the South African Air Force for protesting against the implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act, hundreds of refugees from Pondoland streamed into Basutoland, and were granted political assylum by the Basutoland Government.

Mr. P. Bolofo and the two Ganyile Brothers were among the people who were granted political assylum by the British Government, and on the above mentioned date (26/8/61), the South African Security Police entered Basutoland secretly and kidnapped Bolofo and Ganyile Brothers.

Subsequent investigations showed that there had been a violent struggle between the police and the refugees for it is reported that everything in the house where these people lived was in disorder and that the walls were stained with blood.

This barbarous act on the part of the South African Government clearly shows one thing—that the British Government is not capable of handling the Basutoland defence and foreign relations in a satisfactory manner. It is for reasons of these nature that the world will agree with the Basutoland Congress Party that it is a matter of great urgency that the British administrative authority be completely and immediately removed from Basutoland so that a democratically elected government of the Africans in that country can be in a position to honour international obligations of according unconditional protection to the political refugees from any part of Southern Africa, in particular those fleeing from the smouldering pot of persecu-

tion in tyrannical South African Republic.

Apart from violating the territorial integrity of Basutoland, this act must be considered worse than the act of criminals who kidnapped Eichmann from the Argentine Republic.

Nor is this the first time that the South African Security Police have attempted to 'debase the refugees' freedom of movement in a country which will never be governed by its clumsy and unprincipled foreign government.

Just before he left Basutoland, Mr. P. Kgosana of the mighty Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa narrowly escaped a similar kidnap from the same Union police.

What surprises us is the free way in which these people move up and down Basutoland without even a faint cry of protest from the British Government Officials in the territory.

Can the British convince the world that there is not some secret and sinister agreement between the South African Government and the Governor of Basutoland (the British High Commissioner in South Africa) about allowing the Union Security Police to move about freely in Basutoland, when the Basutoland Police cannot be allowed to do the same thing in South Africa?

Even in compliance with the provisions of the Fugitive Offenders Act of 1881, the High Commission Territories Police have to obtain permission from the Union Government before entering the Union territory in pursuit of criminal offenders from the territories.

If the British authorities in Basutoland and elsewhere can deny the fact that secret agreements exist between them and the Union of South Africa, we will publish a full text of a Declaration by Political Refugees in Basutoland which will show among other things that the blankets of one kidnapped refugee were stained with blood, and that arrangements were made to have them (the stains) analysed by the South African Institute of Medical Research and that reports indicate that the British High Commissioner's Office in Pretoria deliberately sabotaged that move.

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African and Arab Nationalism at Work in Zanzibar

by Othman Shariff

WHEN I was asked to write on this subject, I knew that I had accepted to embark on one of the most controversial and sorest subjects which would not only rouse violent criticism but also probably bitter personal attack from the Arab Nationalist in Zanzibar. I accepted the offer, however, mainly because it was an opportunity to let the whole world know the FACTS about Zanzibar, not facts as I know them or as I understand them; but FACTS as they are.

The subject itself may sound ambiguous and even preposterous and yet it is real. It may sound ambiguous because it is strange that in one and the same country especially one as small as Zanzibar there should be dual NATIONALISMS, African and Arab Nationalisms; preposterous because with the exception of Egypt and probably some parts of North Africa it may not only seem a geographical absurdity to some people but also illogical to have Arab Nationalism at work somewhere in East Africa; and yet real because Arab Domination in the name of Arab Nationalism is, and in fact has been, in existence and at work in Zanzibar for a very long time and certainly longer than African Nationalism.

It should be remembered that Zanzibar, unlike Egypt, is near the Equator and also nearer Central Africa, that is, it is true Africa and

to think in terms of Arab Nationalism in Zanzibar is as absurd and remote as trying to establish African Nationalism in the heart of Asia or Europe.

To substantiate the existence of Arab Nationalism, it should be noted that as far back as 1933 when the Africans of Zanzibar attempted to form the African Association the *Al-Falag*, mouthpiece of the Arab Association, expressed derogatory surprise and even wrote that: "It is too premature for an African to form an Association!"

Probably in the mind of the Arabs the Africans then were still in their primitive savagery. Since then the word "African" itself has been to the Arabs not only a nightmare but also an obsession. This is so to such an extent that finally words like ZANZIBARISATION had to be quickly coined to hide the intentions which, before the "wind of change" started blowing over the continent of Africa, were freely expressed in Zanzibar.

I must admit that the word Zanzibari, descriptive as it is of a citizen or a national of Zanzibar, is a fitting one, but unfortunately it is not the word or phraseology that matters. It must also be understood that the attitude of an average Arab of Zanzibar on the African problem is totally different from that of other Arabs that I have met elsewhere.

Thus, what really matters is what people really see happening in practice day by day, month by month, year by year.

What has happened in Zanzibar through all these years has proved to the African that Arab Nationalism exists in its most virulent form. With the springing up of the new sophisticated Arab youth the old crude Arab tactics have undergone the most polished metamorphosis resulting in terms like ZANZIBARISATION. This has a lofty and fine meaning but at the same time gets the majority of the Zanzibaris no where and no further.

The invention of the word "Zanzibari" has had the effect of suppressing African Nationalism and Arab Personality in all aspects of life.

Origin of Communal Nationalism

Before 1956 there were no political parties as such in Zanzibar, but there were communal associations which served both as political and social organisations. These were not only to look after the social interests of the respective communities but also mainly to claim and to maintain and preserve the social dignity and respect of the individual community thus accentuating communal feelings and attitudes.

In many cases official invitations and even private invitations lead and still lead to a strong cold war and even caused hard feelings if more of one community were invited than the other.

These communal bodies were:

- The Shirafi Association
- The African Association
- The Arab Association
- The Muslim Association
- The Indian Association
- The Comorian Association.

The very creation and existence of these communal or clannish associations provided a hot-bed for the breeding and growth of communal or racial feelings. Worse still, these communal associations created a good media not only for the colonialists to establish themselves more firmly, but also to use these associations intentionally or unintentionally as an instrument to widen the bridge between the various communities.

By the tail end of 1956, these communal associations had to assume a new phase because a Bill was

passed which did not allow communal associations to put up candidates for the general elections which first took place in 1957. Thus, the African Association joined with the Shirazi Association and formed the Afro-Shirazi Party.

The Arab Association evaded the decree by inventing a new name, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party which is a gross misnomer because in practice, the leadership of the Arab Community have not shown or practised true nationalism, they have not worked for the benefit unity and solidarity of the majority of the true Nationalists of Zanzibar.

They have mainly worked for the advancement of the Arab Community or of the alien elements of Zanzibar and one needs only to visit Zanzibar and look around to prove this.

It is my firm belief that any one who tries to disrupt or overthrow the majority is neither a nationalist nor a patriot and if the Zanzibar Nationalist Party were true nationalists, they would long have joined forces with the majority party and thus work for the independence and national good of the country.

Instead of doing so, they have worked very hard to establish a Government of the minority. Thus even in the last elections A.S.P. polled 49.9 per cent, Z.N.P. 35 per cent and Z.P.P.P. 13.7 per cent of the total votes and therefore even with the formation of a coalition Government, the Opposition still represents the voice of the majority.

The Indian and Muslim Associations, curiously enough, did not merge but the Muslim Association was allowed to put up a candidate and also managed to win one seat out of six, five of which were all won by the majority party, the Afro-Shirazi Party in the first election.

It was at this juncture that the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, the projection and true image of the Arab Association, realised the danger lying ahead of them, and having seen the red light as manifested in the results of the first general elections, they took full advantage of the then educationally disadvantaged position in which the leadership of the Afro-Shirazi found themselves and used all the resources they could

muster to disrupt and split the majority Afro-Shirazi Party.

They were convinced that unless they could engineer a split among the Africans they could never, ever hope to form a Government. The odds also were in their favour because they controlled almost everything. They heard of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa, (PAFMECA) and they grabbed the opportunity, for they knew that their plans could work quicker and easier from within than from without and in no time they had the leadership of Afro-Shirazi in their grasp and some of the Afro-Shirazi leaders started preaching unity with the settlers who had never proved their identification, let alone sympathy with genuine African Nationalism.

Up sprang the Zanzibar African Youth Movement (ZAYM) under the leadership of Jawal Nasib Ramadhan to protest strongly in public meetings against the formation of a PAFMECA Committee in Zanzibar at that stage which in actual fact almost amounted to the merging of these two political parties, one truly African Nationalist and the other subtly colonialist but masquerading under the name of Zanzibar Nationalism.

Working from within, the Nationalist Party got the leadership of the Afro-Shirazi so confused that in no time there was a tragic split in the Party, a split which dealt a staggering blow at the Afro-Shirazi Party and from the dazing effects of which it is only now recovering.

I am stating these facts not to show the ignorance or incompetence of the Afro-Shirazi leadership, or even to discredit it but to prove that the Zanzibar Nationalist Party is not a truly Nationalist Party, for if it were, it would have worked for the unity of the mass and the majority of the people of Zanzibar and not for the disunity of the African people.

That the Zanzibar Nationalist Party is not an African nationalist movement, emerges further from the fact that having seen unhealthy signs of a split within Afro-Shirazi Party, instead of intervening to bring about reconciliation, they started courting the splinter group, the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, (the Z.P.P.P.) Today an unhappy marriage exists

between these minority parties in the form of a minority Government in which only the Chief Minister can be termed an African, the other four Ministers being either Arabs or other aliens, all of whom refuse to be identified as Africans, and would rather go to great lengths in attempts to prove that they are anything but African. God bless their souls!

Some people may pay tribute to the Z.N.P. for appointing an African as Chief Minister, but it must be remembered that an African stooge in an attempt to prove his worth could be worse than the master whom he serves and the Arab Nationalists know this fully well.

In their attempt to deal another staggering blow upon the Afro-Shirazi Party, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party took part in the formation of the so-called "Freedom Convention Committee."

The venom of this viper also did some damage to African unity.

A true African nationalist is one who considers himself as an African, who identifies himself with the Africans, who fights for the unity, amity and solidarity of the Africans and the cause of Africa, who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who behaves practically and acts practically as an African. One does not and will not qualify as an African nationalist by merely being in possession of a manifesto and party policy written in pseudo-revolutionary language.

We have now passed the theorising stage and entered into the practical stage, a stage of positive action to prove what we really stand for.

All that I have written so far merely goes to prove that Arab and African Nationalism exist and are at work in Zanzibar. But they do not only exist, they are also at variance with one another, the former struggling for the maintenance of its own unjustified existence and the latter confident in the knowledge that no power on earth can stem its mighty tide.

The Effects of Arab Domination

Arab Domination which today finds concrete expression in the ZNP has brought about definite economic, educational and social disparity between the Arabs and the Africans. This has in turn widened

the difference between them and brought about a great deal of dissatisfaction.

The economic disparity existing is seen in the fact that 80 per cent of the fertile land in Zanzibar is in the hands of the Arabs. Whether this land was all acquired justly or unjustly, is not for me to say and that, in any case, does not fall within the scope of this article.

Educational disparity exists because Colonial Administrators in pursuance of their policy of Zanzibar being an Arab State found it fit to give more educational facilities to the Arabs than to the Africans. They have, for instance, offered generous bursaries and short courses of instruction to the Arabs and other alien elements. Some of these pupils have only the standard VII education to their credit. They are used for the mass production of half-baked Arab officers who were intended to fill most key and responsible posts before the African masses woke up from their deliberately drug-addicted slumber.

The social disparity exists because although in Zanzibar there is no official colour discrimination the African people are in practice subjected to vicious, though subtle, forms of social degradation. The alien elements in our midst regard themselves as superior creatures to the African people.

It is interesting to note here that Arab Domination in Zanzibar is so vicious and virulent that in the whole police force there is not a single African gazetted officer; in the whole judicial and legal departments there is not a single African in the higher cadre; in the whole of the secretariat not a single African has been employed in the higher stratum; in the whole of the Administration Department only about five Africans have been employed; in the whole of the Administrator-General's Department there is not a single African in the higher cadre. And all this is true not only of all other government departments in Zanzibar but also of the private companies.

It is a common practice now in Zanzibar to talk about Zanzibarisation when the Government means in effect Arabisation of posts. That is what is happening even now. And yet the colonial rulers and the local

government in power have the cheek and audacity to suggest the formation of a National Government to the Afro-Shirazi Party.

There is today only Arab Domination at work and not a sign of any national attitude or of interest in a nationalist front. Such is the Arab Domination at work in Zanzibar.

It should be appreciated also that because the Arab leadership holds the reins of government, because of the privileged position in which they have been placed by the colonial rulers in the sense that they have been made to occupy all the responsible positions especially in the Administration and Police Departments, it has been easier for them not only to have their way almost invariably but also to bring undue pressure to bear upon the people, so that they may accept what serves their own interests even at the expense of the interests of the mass of the people.

Given the police and administration of the country the Arab leadership is in a better position not only to make Arab Domination felt, but also to rig the whole general election by resort to such unsavoury methods as the use of threatening propaganda to scare potential voters favouring the rival party. These are often induced not to register for election to say nothing of the alleged attempts on their part to use the Royal Family to achieve their political end.

One of the members of the Arab Royal Family, takes a keen interest in politics and thus further proves that Arab Domination exists and is at work more than imagined or estimated.

I must emphasise that although the Sultan of Zanzibar is an Arab yet he is merely a constitutional monarch and all that I have stated above neither affects him nor other Members of the Royal Family who have done their best to be above party politics and who are extremely popular with the majority of the people of Zanzibar.

Finally, it is because of the sum total of these numerous disturbing factors of these pressing and depressing circumstances that the majority of the Afro-Shirazi Party is moving a Motion for complete Independence in the Legislative Council of Zanzibar and that demand will continue to be made and made uncompromisingly.

Basutoland's Territorial Integrity Violated

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We can further prove that one South African again attempted to have the blood stains analysed and that again the High Commissioner's Office in Pretoria refused to grant permission for that analysis.

The fate of these people will not be known for a very long time unless we can all make a demand for their release forthwith from detention in the Transkei and have them returned to Basutoland where they were granted political assylum by the British Government.

The British authorities in Basutoland, too, must have a sense of shame and immediately drop their dangerous impression that the people of Basutoland are not aware of what is going on between Maseru and Pretoria.

Thriving on the conviction that everything has got a limitation, the British-Basutoland authorities must have realised by now that the people of Basutoland are on the verge of defining a limitation of their criminal activities against the African people in the territory.

There are several important points arising out of this case, chief among them being that the principle of defending Civil Liberties and fundamental freedoms is observed by the entire Human Race which believes firmly in the inviolability of the individual personality.

Needless to add, however, that in the history of racist and fascist South Africa, the above-mentioned principle has never been observed for the last 309 years.

If there is an issue upon which the Nations of the World must take positive action against South Africa, this is the one!

We make a demand, therefore, that since these people have not committed any criminal act by seeking political assylum, they must be immediately set free.

British Racist Imperialists Exposed in Northern Rhodesia

by Munukayumbwa Sipalo (Associate Editor: "Voice of Africa")

THE political stalemate in Northern Rhodesia enters the twelfth month and all that the British Colonial Secretary has to say is that "he will look at the problem again."

Our people resorted to resolute struggle last August; the imperialist settler Government with the disgraceful sanction of the British Government replied with fire and terror of the waste kind. Sixty of our people were murdered in cold blood and over 2,000 imprisoned in the most inhuman fashion.

It is sorrowfully recognised that our miseries are the outcome of the ungodly activities of the British capitalist class, the idle-rich who "own" our copper mines, the railways and all other industries. The culprits in this whole mad-game are Lord Salisbury, Lord Robinson, Lord Kilmuir and Captain Waterhouse, to mention just a few. These men also control British politics today. They have sent their own kith and kin to our lands to manage the affairs for them. The arrogance in this arrangement is clearly exposed when one remembers that these men—the British rentier class—are sons of the very people who sliced Africa into bits for the sake of carving out spheres of influence.

The scum of England has been pouring into Northern Rhodesia, briefless barristers, broken down merchants, ruined debauchees, the offal and offscouring of every calling

and profession are now luxuriously crammed in our fatherland.

The present political crisis is the culmination of a series of insidious political plots which the British colonialist imperialists have from time to time introduced in Northern Rhodesia.

Can Britain explain why it is that from 1890—1948 they never allowed any African (not even a stooge) to sit in the Legislative Council?

Can they explain why they forced the bogus "Federation" on us in spite of the solid opposition from us which even the most blind fool would never fail to recognise?

We charge the British on these three counts:

- Since 1890 they have swindled us into believing that they are a civilised and responsible people who could be trusted in the process of state craft;
- Since 1890 they have engineered the economic machinery of the country leaving the African a pauper—a perpetual hewer of wood and drawer of water for the whiteman boss;
- To cement their sinister aims they have created a very diabolical and unconstitutional union of the three countries of Central Africa in an effort to emasculate and

for ever suppress the legitimate aspirations of the African people. This is the spurious logic of the hind-thinking Briton.

The passage of British time dulls the age of the most intolerable crimes, transforms aggression into adventure, murder into warfare and loot into treasure—this is present day Northern Rhodesia.

Our country's history reveals a saga of British barbarity, greed, fraud and betrayal, venality and utter ruthlessness that is unequalled, taken all in all, to anything even in Satan's Kingdom.

We argue with facts that the activities of the British in Northern Rhodesia are only fit for the catalogue of pirates.

Facts of the Case

The British Colonial rule got into Northern Rhodesia in 1924 when the British South Africa Company got itself thoroughly tied to its commercial activities. The British got into Northern Rhodesia allegedly to "civilize the natives" and "teach them good government." But the facts of history produce a shocking reversal of these ostensibly noble aims. From 1924 up to 1948 there has been no single African in the Legislative Council. From 1948 to date there have been Africans in the Legislature put there by Europeans—a shameful political window dressing.

Thus up to the present day the African people have no say whatever in the Government of their country. The present Macleod proposals are intended not only to preserve White Domination in Northern Rhodesia but to secure a complete White Dominion for all Central Africa.

Politically the British have failed us: They got Northern Rhodesia through devious ways of treaties with Chiefs—treaties of very dubious validity; they maintain their rule over us by means of cunning tactics of intricate public relations.

Economically, they have starved us in the midst of plenty.

Educationally, they have imposed a system which profits them and leaves us with nothing but a teasing torture; the system of turning out small clerks, Boma messengers and constables whose only knowledge is

to read the details of a Citupa (identity certificate).

Socially, they have made us a separate and distinct race of inferior beings whose only right to survive is to maintain the rights and privileges of whiteman boss! Every avenue to improvement is effectually closed against us. We find ourselves strangers in our own Land! Oh Yes!

The small D.Os from Oxford, the white road-foreman or garage boys have more power than the true owners of the soil—the soil that God gave us without our having applied for it. God gave them Europe, let them go back to it! They have brought us nothing but misery, torture and death. They have planted hatred among a peaceful people, let them reap it!

The present Welensky-Macleod Plan has the following intentions:

- That there should be United Federal Party controlled Government in both the Rhodesias so that when the Federal Review Conference comes up, UFPs will be in the majority and will then be able to pull the conference into accepting Dominion Status for Central Africa.

- The Welensky-Macleod Plan is intended to kill African nationalism in Northern Rhodesia, because on the basis of it the UFP can put a majority of black faces in the Legco who will interpret their policies. It is because of this that Lawrence Katilungu openly came up with the UFP, because he knew that his chances of aiding the entrenchment of white supremacy were brighter than they were two years ago.

On this very plan, reactionary Africans can be in majority in the Legislature and the British Government and their cousins will stand up and tell the world that Northern Rhodesia Africans are in majority in the Legislature and yet those Africans are the driving belts for European imperialists. This is the most dangerous aspect of the Welensky-Macleod Plan.

- If this plan is implemented it will be impossible to start and maintain a popular party. The reactionary Government will work through the House of

Chiefs to muffle the yearnings of their people in the rural areas and settlers will use their legislative powers in the urban areas.

In the final analysis this plan is a step backwards. If allowed in, we are sure of another South Africa in two years time. To kill it we must! The argument is that we have a settler community of 72,000 whites. In fact the 72,000 whites are all birds of passage. Half of them are wage earners on the Copperbelt, when the copper slumps they all go away; a quarter of them are businessmen who have come in from Europe and South Africa to get rich-quick and go back to settle in Harlem. The remainder are expatriate officers who keep on being shifted from territory to territory. These have no home in Northern Rhodesia. Who is the Settler?

We say to the British Politically:

- They have not respected treaty obligations, for, Northern Rhodesia is a Protectorate by Treaties. By virtue of these legal contracts Northern Rhodesia was not supposed to be unilaterally thrown into a white dominated Central African Federation. These treaties envisaged the political development of Northern Rhodesia into a separate and distinct territory whose only destiny, as per Devonshire Declaration of 1923, would be ultimate African Independence.

- The British have not only annulled these treaties unilaterally but have by means of cunning interpretations reduced the powers of the Chiefs to those of a head messenger or head constable.

- Since the inception of the unconstitutional Federation, the British Government have abdicated their responsibilities over us to their 72,000 white-birds-of-passage. It is becoming increasingly clear that they want to establish another South Africa. The details of the Federal constitution are not different from the Treaty of 1910 which brought about the Union of South Africa. At the

beginning of the Dominion of South Africa, Africans, Coloureds and Asians were left on an allegedly common voters roll—where are they today—Voteless!

- Since the Copperbelt strike of 1935, anybody who has challenged the misdeeds of the British in Northern Rhodesia has been killed, imprisoned, tortured or exiled. One need not go into details over this fact. At each Boma there is a concentration camp, for every ten Africans there is a British Security Agent bought by them to further their interests. The prisons are full to capacity with people jailed for saying "I WANT FREEDOM!" This is the political record of the British. YOU WOULD BE A FOOL TO ALLOW A HYENNA TO WALK INTO YOUR HOUSE!

Economically

The annual output from our copper is over £100 million. There are only three million Africans in the whole Northern Rhodesia. How does our poverty come about? Why do we starve in the midst of plenty? In fact it is not only copper which produces public revenue. We have other sources such as timber at the Zambezi Sawmills, hides and skins, milk, maize and tobacco.

- The British have planned the economy of the country in such a way that three quarters of all this money goes out of the country; part to the Federal Government (in this case Southern Rhodesia), part to the shareholders in London (people paid for doing no work at all—absentee landlords) and fat salaries to the white workers in Northern Rhodesia who also bank outside. The average wage of a European worker is £100 per month and that of an African is £5. In fact according to the former Northern Rhodesia Government Financial Secretary, this £5 comes from very uncertain sources.

- The Briton has deliberately kept our education low so that we can never claim technical

status in industry. From 1890-1961, they have produced only one African engineer, only one lawyer, whom the white lawyers have disallowed to practise in the country. Have we really failed to produce intelligent people all these 70 years? The answer is NO! As long as you have NO VOTE you have NO VOICE and your educational status which is a necessary precursor to your income, will always remain low! The white man will give only that amount of education which can allow him to use you for his benefit! Not even one African knows how to make a pin in the whole of Northern Rhodesia.

- The railways are only found in the area that the whites inhabit. Good roads and all other means of communications are found in the European settled areas only. The whiteman doesn't want us to sell even the bit we produce. His pricing system is discriminatory may be because maize grown by a white man is good maize and that grown by an African is bad maize!

This is the root cause of British colonisation. The colonialists want your soil not for the sake of it but for what it produces. Your wage is kept low so that your savings remain low; in this way you will always look for a job from him. In this way you are tied up to his cash and carry system—no economic freedom.

The 1953 Fiscal Commission recommended that 16/8½d. of every pound (£1) of revenue from Northern Rhodesia should be diverted to the Federal Government; thereby leaving Northern Rhodesia with only 3/3½d in every £1.

In 1954 the Federal Government increased its budget portfolio by multiplying our due share of £30 million by 16/8½d. This is how we are made paupers! NO VOTE NO VOICE!

The British Government is aware of these indisputable facts. As long as Federation exists Northern Rhodesia is going to face these harsh realities.

Socio-Culturally

The British social philosophy in Northern Rhodesia has been based on colour of skin. The Briton discriminates against you everywhere because you are "dirty" and "stinking". But when you drive his car, cook his food, maintain his security (if you are a soldier or a policeman) then you are a "good native". Policy contradictions of this nature have always made Britain survive.

- Town planning continues to be based on colour. All Africans who live in Lusaka are there as workers only and not as citizens of LUSAKA. These watertight compartments go far to discriminate residentially, socially and even religiously.

- We go to separate clinics and hospitals and even when we are dead we are taken to separate burial places because we will pollute the good air for the "Bwana" even in the graveyard.

- If a white ambulance finds you hurt on the road it leaves you. You are better dead than alive. The treatment given you in the hospital is worse than that given to a European's sick dog.

- If we are taken to jail for identical crimes with a white man, the white criminal is given shoes, better convict clothes, better accommodation and excellent food.

- If a European runs over an African with his car the court discharges him, relatives and friends are placated by the white magistrate in the usual colonial court parlance: "it was death by misadventure".

- Schools both high and low, are purely run on racial lines. European schools are not only sufficient but are far better equipped than African schools. See the difference between Gilbert Rennie Secondary School (European) and the Munal Secondary School!

- Look at the constables, white and black—you need not go to college to note the difference. You are inferior even in this profession to which the Euro-

pean looks for his security. When you ask for simple shelter, it is the African constable who is instructed to arrest, torture, (in certain cases "kill") and imprison you.

- African teachers, clerks, instructors and supervisors, know for certain that semi-illiterate white female typists get more money per mensem. Not that female whites know the job nor have better education, never! They have the right colour! This is our lot my dear countrymen!

- Today our fishing-nets are taxed, the trees are taxed; our bodies taxed (the poll tax), there is an African burial fee in urban areas. Yes; they milk us both dead and alive!

After a meeting at Blantyre (Nyasaland) on 10th October, 1889, the missionaries got up and lustily sang "RULE BRITANNIA". This is our lot my dear countrymen.

Belgians Accused

Continued from page 13

"The Government of the Province of Katanga in turn not only failed to safeguard the lives of the three prisoners but also had, by its action, contributed, directly or indirectly, to the murder of the prisoners.

"The record of the Commission's work bristles with evidence indicative of the extensive role played by Mr. Munongo, the Katanga Minister of the Interior, in the entire plot leading to the murder of Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo.

"The Commission again repeats that the attitude of the Government of the Republic of the Congo had prevented it from going to the scene of the crime to carry out its investigation. Nevertheless, the Commission hopes that the results which it has managed to obtain can, to some extent, serve as a basis for a further investigation in the Congo, and also in judicial proceedings which, in its view, should be instituted as soon as possible."

Spanish Guinea

THE Spanish Territories of the Gulf of Guinea comprise:— Continental Guinea (Rio Muni) area 26,000 sq. kilos, population 130,691 (1936 estimate); Isla de Fernando Poo area 2,071 sq. kilos, population 34,204; Isla de Córiscó, Great and Little Elobey and Annobon 34.20 sq. kilometres population 2,107. Total area 28,105 sq. kilometres (11,000 sq. miles) Latest population estimate 200,000.

For administrative purposes, Continental Guinea is divided into nine demarcations (subdivisions) with district headquarters at Bata, Rio Benito and Kogo on the coast.

Communications

Communications are generally poor. Spanish Guinea is a "closed door" territory and there are only few air and ship connections with the Nigerian and Cameroons mainland. There are two small metre gauge railways to privately owned timber plantations in Rio Muni. There are a few metalled all weather roads in the coastal regions; earth roads link the main plantation centres in the interior. Inter-territorial communication is by Spanish airlines and steamers.

Brief History

The people are of the Bantu Group, akin to both Cameroons and Congo. In the dim past, they were supposed to have migrated in small groups from the Congo northwards. The Official Mission of 1941 admits in its Report: "That the native life before the appearance of the European, maintained an order, is undeniable."

For a small area like Rio Muni, there are 100 listed groups and sub-

groups, which were autonomous one from the other. Fernando Poo Island was "discovered" by the Portuguese explorer Fernando Po in the 1470's. It was made Portuguese by the Treaty of Tordesilas of 1494. Ceded to Spain in 1778. Occupied by the British 1884. Effective Spanish occupation of Guinea from 1845 onwards. In all these transactions, there seems to have been no regular treaty of protection signed with the African people; it was a clear and simple question of military conquest.

Administration

Arizcuny Martinez de Pons in his Memorandum of 1935 states: "Interest of the colonising nation and the colonised is to maintain the existing native political organisms, to use them as intermediaries between the natives and the colonial authority with modifications wherever fiscally possible so that they may render maximum utility."

Thus in Rio Muni, where the indigenous community is still largely intact, the rule is "indirect" and the natural chiefs have to dance to the tune of the Spanish Administrators who have got the armed Gurandia Colonia at their disposal. Elsewhere, especially on Fernando Poo, where the indigenous population the Bubes are fast dying out and now number only about 20,000. The rule is pretty direct. Africans have no voice in the town administration.

The Gobernador-General (Governor-General) with his seat at the gay beautifully modern town of Santa Isabel, Fernando Poo Island, is complete boss, subject only to Madrid. He is assisted by Sub-Governor residing in Bata, the sleepy backwoods capital of Rio Muni. The Governor-General is "advised" by a

Cuerpo Consultative (Consultative Body) consisting of Spanish Officials, representative of Spanish big Business and a few hand-packed African *emancipados*.

Colonial Policy

The policy of Metropolis and the Colonial Administration is to "absorb or control.....the activities or directions of individual activity."

For this reason, the 1941 Mission recommended the rapid assimilation and orientation towards the metropolis, the recognition of the human dignity of the "native," limitation of private concessions and exploitation; and for the Mission was assigned the task of moral, intellectual, "citizenship" and "patriotic" (i.e. assimilationist) instruction of the people.

Racialism

By a series of Decrees dating from those of Lopez de Ayala of 12 November, 1868 to the Ordenanza Colonial of December, 1938, the Spanish have set up racialist barriers in the territories of the Gulf of Guinea contrary to the popular impression about Latin racial liberalism. Africans have been divided into the "emancipados" and the "none emancipados."

The Europeans too (about 4,000), are in a special class, a privileged class. By the Statute of Native Justice of 10 November, 1938 and the Statute of European Justice of 22, December, 1938 (still in force), no European can be tried in an African court. Europeans have got certain exclusive high class schools, bars, hospitals, etc. The African "emancipados" are those who possess professional title conferred by a University Institute or other Official Spanish centre have been employed for some years in an establishment of agriculture or industry, and earning more than 5,000 Ptas annually.

Only people who have these qualifications (and they are few indeed), and have reached some "grade of culture, education or morality" can qualify for the "Carta de emancipation" (Charter of Rights of Emancipation). Even the Economic Mission sent to the territories in the second semestre of 1941 by the Director-General of Morocco and

Colonies admitted that "the policy of the naturalization of the natives is timid, though the reality of the Colony does not permit big progress."

The workers have to carry a "carnet" (identity card or pass), the employers a "Registro" (Registration Card). Unemployed people are liable to be arrested and sent to work building roads.

A new "Patronato de Indigenas" (Permanent Commission for the Protection of Natives) was set up by the Franco "Decreto" (decree) of 29 September, 1938, with the ostensible purpose of protecting African population and the workers in particular.

The President and other members (representing Spanish officialdom and big business and plantation magnates) are nominated by the Governor. Unfortunately, this body has so far not implemented fully the

"social law" outlined in the Decree of 30 July, 1940, for the various "Boletin Oficial" of the Colony. Rapacious exploitation continues unabated.

There are a few African Reverend Priests and Sisters; but so far we have no information that any of them has been lifted to a place of authority like Bishop. But catechists are freely trained!

Spanish Inquisition

"Next to bodily physique for Health," states a Spanish official document, "the religious Mission and the school are elementary essentials of colonization.....for a Catholic, the Mission is the essential fundamental value of colonization, for Spaniard especially. Without the Catholic Mission, one cannot

conceive of Spanish Colonization." Today, with the exception of a few Protestants and Baptists who survived the inquisition leading to the expulsion of the English Missionary, Alfred Sackar, in 1858, most of the Islands inhabitants are Catholics. Catholic Missionary work started in Rio Muni in 1897 and 1939 an estimated 50 per cent of the population were converted Catholics. Today, there are very few "pagans" in the inaccessible interior.

Forced Labour

In a speech before the General Assembly of Spain in June, 1939, the Governor-General admits that the indigenous people have to give one day every week for "prestacion personal" (forced labour). This forced labour is mostly utilised in constructing and repairing roads as also setting up plantations. According to an official Spanish publication, each "Native" Chief must furnish such free African labour as may be demanded by the official of the Colonial Administration on tour.

According to an official estimate in November 1941 workers in the plantations and forestry industry come from Spanish Guinea (78.2 per cent), Nigeria (19.5 per cent) and Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa (2.3 per cent). At the outbreak of War II in 1939, the French put an embargo on their subjects going to work in Spanish Guinea.

Nigerian labour is recruited chiefly via Calabar, Eastern Nigeria. There are at present about 20,000 Nigerian workers in Spanish plantations of which 12,000 are "Treaty labourers." Their conditions of service, housing, health remittance, etc., are governed by the Agreement of 1943 as amended in 1957. Horrible stories of forced labour in Spanish Guinea still percolate to the outside world and the Nigerian public has long been campaigning for the cessation of the recruitment of labour in the country for "Panya."

A special branch of the Nigerian Labour Dept. in Santa Isabel ensures that the Agreements are observed to letters. The Federal and Eastern Nigeria Governments received a capitation fee of £5 per labourer formerly it was 15/-. From time to time, and especially during the war



years, there have been disturbing information about children kidnapped for work in "Panya" so scarce is the labour available in Spanish Guinea.

Education And Health Services

Most schools are run by the Catholic Mission. There are a few 'Escuelas Oficial' (Government schools) in the main towns. The total number of school children is very small. In the Escuela Oficial de Mikomeseng in 1941 there were only 270 scholars on the roll and this in spite of the five time "notable incremento" claimed by the French regime. Girls now attend school in larger numbers, in some places forming 20 per cent of the total enrolment. Most of the school teachers and Headmasters are Spanish (in contra-distinction to what obtains elsewhere in Africa). The few African school masters belong to the Bube, Kombe and Pamue communities (which seem to be the leading sections of the African population).

The schools are concentrated around Bata and Santa Isabel. The level of educational advancement is very low. By 1941 only two sons of the soil were studying in Santa Isabel to become magistrates.

Out of a total Budget of 19,200,000 Ptas in 1941 only 245,100 was spent on African Education (official and missionary Islands of Carisco, Elobey Grande and Elobey Chico) Exchange: 25.22 Pesetas = £1 Sterling.

After the scanty schooling they get, the Africans are only fit to work as carpenters, teachers, nurses, blacksmiths, clerks. The only "technical" training work available is in the Post and Telegraphs Service or Guardia Colonial (Police) or the Agricultural Research Station in Evinayong (Rio Muni) where new grains of cocoa, coffee, etc. are developed. No African, no matter how "advanced," can be enrolled in the Civil Service.

Hospitals, dispensaries, are few and inadequate. Filaria malaria and trypanosomiasis take a heavy toll of lives.

Economic Potential And Spanish Exploitation

Animal wealth (1939 data): Horses few; cattle 31,000; sheep 300; pigs

100. Food has to be imported to feed the workers. That is why a flourishing trade in contraband goods exists with the Nigerian coast. There are at least 1,300 Nigerian "licensed" traders in Fernando Poo for this purpose.

Chief exports in order of importance are: timber (mahogany and ebony chiefly), Cocoa (13,400 tons in 1939 and 23,400 tons in 1956-57). Coffee (2,500 tons in 1939 increased tonnage since then). Other important export crops are palm oils, palm kernels (nuts), copra and coconuts.

There are few factories mostly soap and timber milling. Rio Muni is very rich in "white coal" (from waterfalls), minerals and timber; but these are still largely untapped. African wages are very low. According to official Spanish sources, the average basic monthly salary of a labourer is 30 Pras (2522 Ptas = £1), of which 50 per cent is "retained" for him! Africans own only a few retail shops and plantations (farms).

All major business, banking, shipping, export-timber trade are monopolised by the Spanish. The plantations are owned by Spanish "absentee" gradees and economic tycoons. They are managed and supervised by Spanish Agents who live on the estates.

So vigilant and efficient is the Spanish secret police that they promptly threw out non-Spanish Africans who wanted to stage strikes for better wages in the post 1945 years. Some Spanish subjects who had migrated to the mainland were hunted and forced to return home for fear that they might get infected with the nationalist tide then sweeping West Africa like a fever.

Journalists (the lucky few who are given visas) who visit S. Guinea are fetted and taken on conducted tours; but returned workers narrated their tales of woe on the mainland.

Prospects For Freedom

The people of this corner of Africa had their first big break during the Republican regime in the 1928-36 era. By a series of decrees, the concessions were suspended in 1930 and in 1932 by the Agrarian Reform limited to 20 hectares each (1 hectare = 2,471 acres). Further alienation of African land was stopped. In 1933 African markets

were re-organised and economic exploitation was eliminated by arranging for the marketing of cash crops through quasi co-operative African village establishments.

A "Codigo de Trabajo" (Labour Code) was drawn up benefiting from the strictures passed on the treatment of Liberian labourers by the League of Nations Enquiry. The Labour Inspectors and Patronato became more active in the protection of African interests. Unfortunately this interesting experiment in the liberalism of a European colonialism was ended when the Francofascist clique overthrew the Republican Government in the 1936-38 Civil War.

When the Franco regime came to power, it resorted to the status quo ante. Spanish capital benefiting from this carried out vast expansion programmes under the impetus of war and the embargo. If Metropolitan Spain itself is not rid of totalitarian rule, we cannot expect much help by way of internal "evolution" or "liberalism."

That these territories can achieve their freedom by way of passing under another European Power is not likely. Since Spanish Guinea is today a great economic asset to Spain the prospect of sale is remote (although in that case, Spain has promised France first preference).

The only prospect for freedom, difficult though it is, lies in internal awakening at a historically ripe moment, supported and continually sustained in all ways by external African co-operation. A simple glance at the map will show that Fernando Poo is a loaded pistol at the heart of Cameroons. The strategic importance of Spanish Guinea was amply shown during World War II when German submarines using the islands as secret hide-outs sank many allied ships of the West African coast.

It is a moot point whether a free and strong Cameroons whose Yasa, Fang, Mabea and Kpe peoples have got blood relations in these territories would long let them remain or fall into hostile hands. Spanish Guinea may well be liberated like Ifni.

Continued on page 31

South Africa and United Nations

by Peter H. Molotsi

IT has become clearer than ever before that Settler South Africa is fighting a losing battle against African nationalism in particular, and against humanity in general.

During the current session of the United Nations, as in the past South Africa has, true to type, come under fire and all-round condemnation for its brutal fiendish policies, aimed at the perpetual enslavement of the indigenous people. The blinkers are being mercilessly torn off the settlers' eyes and the writing is on the wall for all to see.

Since the founding of the United Nations, the membership of South Africa has been an uneasy one precisely because the settler minority who have arrogated to themselves the right to steer the ship of state have been uncovered and their true shape of masqueraders has been fully exposed.

It has been established beyond shadow of doubt that the South African settlers have no modicum of right to lord it over the indigenous people, consequently countless resolutions have been passed calling on the delinquent government to abandon their obnoxious apartheid policy. With unflinching regularity and scorn these resolutions have not failed to find their way into the waste paper baskets of the colonialist Pretoria regime.

The patience of the U.N. is beginning to wane fast and its reaction is becoming more violent as evidenced by the recent un-

precedented vote of censure on settler Minister, Eric Louw, who recently attempted to insult the intelligence of Africans by emitting crude fabrications in yet another abortive bid to sell apartheid to the United Nations. This belated ill-mannered and ill-timed move boomeranged sharply on poor Eric and it was correctly dismissed as "offensive, fictitious and erroneous."

Remarked one African delegate: "South Africa has shown by its behaviour that it is not fit to associate with decent states and decent peoples. Mr. Louw has supplied us with abundant nails with which to nail his regime into the coffin. It is only a question of time to bury it." We endorse these sentiments. The wrath of the United Nations has of late risen in intensity against settler South Africa and the signs are that she is heading for a fall. This trend is inevitable because in the present era when the whole of mankind is taking strides to progress and shedding the chains of colonialism and imperialism, settler South Africa alone has exposed herself as an anachronism.

Settler South Africa is the only country in the whole wide world which has made the primitive doctrine of "racial supremacy" part and parcel of a declared state policy by which the masses of people are denied fundamental civic, political, social, economic and cultural rights.

The ruling foreign minority in this set-up has arrogated unto themselves

exclusive and absolute juridical, military, economic and political power which they exercise ruthlessly to maintain their ascendancy and reduce the indigenous people to helotry and virtual slavery.

Settler South Africa is the only country in the world in which a primitive caste system is protected by semblance of legality and in which human fragmentation is lauded as upright state policy.

The decrying voice against South Africa has now risen to a fortissimo with the accumulated resentment almost at the bursting point.

The Special Political Committee of the U.N. recently recommended political and economic sanctions against settler South Africa and consideration of her expulsion from the U.N.

It gave overwhelming approval to a resolution that would have the General Assembly urge all states to take such separate and collective action as is open to them to bring about an abandonment of apartheid.

Amendments to this resolution added to it a call for an embargo on petroleum shipments to that colonialist fascist country and for a bar on any support and assistance which may be used for the purpose of intensifying the violence of the settler regime against the indigenous population of South Africa and causing further bloodshed.

Is it surprising that the U.N. tone is hardening? Why is it that South Africa is becoming a stinkard and being systematically ostracised by the international community? Are the African delegations in particular for no good cause sadiistically enjoying the spectacle of the Verwoerdian maniacs squirming and groaning under a perennial barrage of criticism?

The record of South Africa has been a very bleak one indeed, particularly in the last twenty-four months and has aroused such revulsion as may lead the perpetrators of this evil to certain doom and disaster.

The tragedy of the situation is that in the same period the bipolarisation of forces in conflict in South Africa itself has been thrown to new wider dimensions and brought into sharper relief.

January, 1962 • 25

I am convinced that as the struggle for national liberation gains in momentum and in intensity it will be within this content that victory will come our way.

And now a glance at the events of the last twenty-four months, and world reaction to them:

It will be recalled that following Mangaliso Sobukwe's call to the African people to take final positive action against the Pass Laws "as a first step to independence," thousands of our kinsmen were brutally massacred at Sharpeville and Langa. The world community was stung with shock and indignation.

It is to be noted that what made the protests over the Sharpeville shootings and subsequent events so different from those which had taken place before was their widespread extent and the universal denunciation and condemnation expressed.

The United States Department took the unusual step of "interfering" in the domestic affairs of a country with which it enjoyed normal diplomatic relations. The House of Commons passed a resolution in condemnation, a move which was duplicated in various forms in many other legislatures throughout the world.

In Norway flags flew at half-mast on the day of the funeral of the victims. The Brazilian Ambassador in Pretoria was recalled and a football match against a settler South African team was cancelled in Rio de Janeiro. Numerous heads of state made trenchant comments while the United Nations Security Council convened in a special session. Meanwhile Mangaliso Sobukwe lay chained hand and foot by that blood-thirsty settler regime in their jails as he is up to the moment of writing.

Members of the Security Council of the U.N. when solemnly assembled in April, 1960, were in a sombre mood, and after examining the situation, resolved that the council:

(a) Recognises that the situation in the Union of South Africa is one that has led to international friction and if continued might endanger international peace and security.

(b) Deplores that the recent disturbances should have led to the loss of life of so many

Africans and extends to the families of the victims its deepest sympathies.

(c) Deplores the policies and actions of the Government of the Union of South Africa which has given rise to the present situation.

(d) Calls upon the (settler) Government of the Union of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur and to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination.

(e) Requests the Secretary-General in consultation with the (settler) Government of the Union of South Africa to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the principles and purposes of the Charter and to report to the Security Council whenever necessary and appropriate.

It was against this background that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers conferred in May 1960, the year of Africa's destiny. And although apartheid, as an item "falling within the domestic jurisdiction of a member state," was not on the agenda, it hovered in its most sinister form like a cloud over conference and overshadowed the proceedings. It was on everybody's lips.

People said policies that could result in Sharpevilles were a menace to Commonwealth solidarity and a threat to world peace. South Africa, a growing number of observers felt, did not appear qualified for membership in a club whose reputation was the upholding of human rights and the promotion of the social well-being of its multi-coloured members.

The feeling of exorcising South Africa from the club rose to fever pitch. African nationalists in South Africa had already declared their intention of isolating settler South Africa politically, economically and culturally from the comity of nations. The outcome of that conference was in the nature of things bound to weigh heavily on the United Nations which watched the proceedings with rare interest.

Eric Louw, settler Foreign Minister, returned from that conference a disappointed man, a sorry spectacle. He had gone there to secure the assurance that if South Africa became a republic she would still remain a member of the Commonwealth. It was also his divine mission to establish that apartheid was the sole concern of himself and his ungodly colleagues and therefore outside the pale of discussion by the outside world.

But the pressure of the forces at work was such that he had to consent to discussing it in a series of informal meetings. And it was exactly there where the principal clashes with wide repercussions occurred.

At one point Tunku Abdul Rahman reminded him that he (the Tunku) was Prime Minister of Malaya and at another Dr. Kwame Nkrumah summarily cancelled his projected visit to Ghana.

Upon his return Eric Louw reported in detail to his colleagues who then resolved afresh that, since the whole world was wrong and since only they, the white minority, were right, they would not be influenced from outside the borders of the country of their conquest.

With characteristic intransigence they reaffirmed their worn-out argument that any discussion of the explosive situation in South Africa by people other than themselves was a contravention of Article 2 (7) of the UN Charter the terms of which read as follows:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any member state or shall require members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII." Chapter VII deals with "action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression."

The UN generally and the Afro-Asian Group countries in particular have held the widely supported view that Article 2 (7) is never read in isolation but in conjunction with Articles 55 and 56 which read:—

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples the U.N. (of which S.A. is a member) shall promote:

(a) Higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

(b) Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

Article 56 states that all members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations for achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the white settler Government chooses to turn a blind eye to these articles for every phrase therein is an indictment of their myopic suicidal policies.

It is not contested that they have over a long period sucked the lifeblood out of the African people and battered on their sweat and tears, blood and labour. They have enacted legislation the aim and effect of which has been to perpetuate the slavery of the African masses. By a system of unbridled economic exploitation they have ensured not only starvation wages for the African people, but also unprecedented political oppression and unparalleled social degradation of these masses.

By a vile system of job-reservation these Christian saints of the much-deformed Dutch Reformed Churches have barred the indigenous people from the most lucrative categories of employment which are exclusively reserved for themselves—the superior race. They have set up a vicious spy ring whose ignoble task it is to enforce these measures ruthlessly and to report on sections of industry which may tend, for whatever reason, to ignore the draconian provisions of this decree.

Numbers of unemployed Africans have spiralled to astronomical figures. They are generally dragged to forced-labour camps where they are under whiplash the whole day. There is no indication that these conditions will ever improve until the total

overthrow of white domination in South Africa has been effected. It appears the U.N. itself is slowly coming around to this same conclusion.

The misguided arrogance and persistent affront to the world by the settlers has spilled over to South-West Africa which has long been subject of dispute between the colonialist Pretoria regime and the U.N.

It will be remembered that on December 17, 1920 the Council of the League of Nations conferred upon His Britannic Majesty the right to administer S.W.A., a former German colony, in terms of the Mandate which was later passed on to South Africa by His Britannic Majesty. The following are some of the salient points from the terms of that Mandate:

(a) The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate.

(b) The Mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited and that no forced labour is permitted except for essential works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration.

(c) The supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives shall be prohibited. (Jariretundu, Kozonguizi, President of the South West Africa National Union states that this provision is the only one that has been fully and ruthlessly enforced by the colonialist S.A. regime).

(d) The Mandatory shall ensure in the territory freedom of conscience and free exercise of all forms of worship, and shall allow all missionaries to enter into, travel and reside in the territory for purposes of prosecuting their calling. (The Reverend Michael Scott, outstanding Anglican clergyman veteran campaigner and champion of human rights has been declared prohibited immigrant by the colonialist regime).

(e) The Mandatory shall make an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, contain-

ing full information with regard to the territory indicating measures taken to carry out the obligations assumed in terms of the Mandate.

The Pretoria regime has tenaciously refused to submit these reports to the U.N. Trusteeship Council. The regime holds nothing but contempt for the Council.

The colonialist regime has, with impunity, extended its apartheid policies with its concomitant evils to the territory. It has denied the indigenous people rights of ownership of land, refused to recognise their popular organisations, refused to grant them a share in civic government, denied them democratic rights which are the exclusive preserve of the settler minority, denied them fundamental rights of free movement, association, assembly, thought and expression. It has systematically subjected the indigenous people to extreme humiliation, denying them a living wage to ensure human level of existence.

The U.N. was most indignant at the pig-headedness of the South Africa settler regime but did not seem to know what action to take.

The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa in 1960 gave a lead in considering this situation afresh. It concluded that the international obligations of South Africa concerning South-West Africa should be submitted to the International Court of Justice for judicial adjudication. This move was to be spearheaded by Ethiopia and Liberia who had indicated their readiness to act for the African Continent in this matter. The U.N. subsequently endorsed this line of action.

The Third All-African Peoples' Conference meeting in Cairo in 1961 emphatically condemned the settler South Africa Government and its policies in South-West Africa and demanded the Pretoria Administration to quit the territory at once. Conference called on the U.N. to act against South Africa with uncompromising firmness and utmost immediacy.

At the current session of the U.N. a report by the nine-nation South-West Africa Committee declared that the whole line of

Towards an African Philosophy (Part II)

by Rev. Father Mongameli Mohama

WHAT then exactly is the meaning of this triangle or cone and circle? The biological significance is the most obvious. In fact the phallic characteristics of the Ethiopian obelisks, for example, are painfully clear. Yet it would be trifling to stop only at this level of reality. A true symbol is always a springboard into different planes of reality (cf. Mircea Eliade: *The Structure of Symbols in Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Sheed and Ward, London and New York). The first mound of creation

stood in the centre. This was sometimes also represented by a tree—remember the sacred sycamore of Egypt, or also the ancestor-tree that often stood in the circular courts of some Bantu tribes.

We cannot, therefore, content ourselves with just the obvious meaning of the signs in consideration. To take the Ethiopian obelisk again as an example, we see that it was meant also to symbolise a temple. In the issue of the Ethiopian Magazine Africa which was devoted

to the first Accra Conference, an Ethiopian writer made this point very clear.

In fact, at the bases of these obelisks one sees an engraved altar, while the whole length of the column, up to its summit has the different stages of the Temple building sculptured on it. The Egyptian pyramid too had a temple connected with it, while inside it lay the dead kings, queens, and princes. At the same time the pyramid contained the most precious records. The Egyptian obelisk is not only a symbol of life as its Ethiopian counterpart, is but also a record of the works and achievements of man in writing. Monoliths, cones, and trunks of trees are also put to this use.

Gamut of Symbols and Myths

Though we may not have exhausted all the significant functions of this symbol in African culture, we feel justified to say that it stood for creation, for the contrast and unity between life and death (cf. Kurt Lange and Max Hirmer, *L'Egitto*, p. 15 Sansoni Editore, II edizione Italiana, 1957), the contrast and unity between the rational and irrational elements in the universe. In fact, the place of sacrifice and prayer was the mountain, and the mountain was regarded as the centre of the world. This is well demonstrated by Frobenius on pages 152—154 of his work quoted above.

To leave the geometrical field and proceed to symbolism on the organic level, we want to remark at once here that there is a whole gamut of symbols and myths running almost through the whole animal kingdom. In order to put some order into this medley and to follow what we think to be a reasonable course in the interpretation of the remarkable relations established by the African mind between man and beast, we will adopt the teaching of Ogotemmel as propounded in Griaule's book, *Dieu d'Eau*:

"L'animal, dit enfin Ogotemmel, est comme le jumeau se l'homme. Et c'est de lui que ce servait l'ancêtre demiurge (parentheses mine) pour se faire connaître des vivants qu'il voulait aider, car l'animal était comme son jumeau; certes distinct de lui, ne en d'autres zones, de

forme apparemment heterogene, mais de meme essence et apparemment a la meme promotion repercutée jus'au ciel chaque famille d'hommes vient en tête d'une classe entière d'animaux" (Griaule, *Dieu d'Eau*, pp. 154-155). In the Egyptian counterpart of this concept, the Ogdoad, that is—the group of the first eight ancestors or demiurges, enter into the bodies of all the things that grow on Pthah the Earth-god. In the light of these facts we understand the blood relationships supposed to exist between man and animal throughout Africa.

The Whole of Reality

The two fundamental animal symbols are the bird and the snake. It is easy to lose oneself in trying to follow the intricacies of the language of symbols. Let me explain. There are four basic African colours; red, yellow, white, black. These are to be seen both in Bushman painting and in Egyptian designs. Guernier and Kurt Lange Hirmer demonstrate this fact.

There were at the same time four animals to mark the four cardinal points; the bird for the east, the snake for the west, the bull and ram for the north and the lion for the south. In colours, red meant the west, yellow meant the east, white meant the north, black meant the south. Red was used to paint male figures, yellow was used to paint female figures. Though the black colour was used to paint things and the white one mainly for contrast, it is interesting to note that the animals of the North—bull and ram—designated the moon, and the animal of the south, the lion, signified the sun.

I say this is interesting because one can thereby understand Ogotemmel's remark that the northerners are people of the moon whereas the southerners are people of the sun, all the more interesting since the doctrine about the colour scheme and the animals of the compass is not expounded by him.

According to Egyptian mythology, the snake represents the eye of Atum, the high god; and the eye represents the wisdom of the god. On the other hand, a bird—the falcon or Horus—represents his heart. Yet it is clear

that the snake is not only a symbol of the male element, as seen from the fact that it is considered to signify the west, but also stands for the whole of reality, because it is also the symbol of the primordial element: water.

Symbolistic Themes

The convolutions of the snake in movement are the eternal rhythm. Moreover they are regarded as uniting the two fundamental symbols of semicircle and triangle or cone. This can be seen by the fact that they are put in many objects of art to the same use as the horns to surround the solar disc or the world-globe, or, in some instances, the figure of a bird stands in each convolution. As a typical example of the latter, we refer the reader to the figure on page 69 of F. H. Lem's book, *Sudanese Sculpture*.

Thus we see that the two main symbolistic themes of African art and literature, that is—the circle and the triangle, and the confrontation of bird and snake or woman and dragon—do not only refer to linear or biological realities, but signify at the same time the contrast between death and life, the confrontation of humanity and reality, of the irrational element and the rational, and the mutual transformations of these realities one into the other. At the last moment, the snake turns into a man and saves the woman (who represents humanity in its moral qualities).

Dialectical

The above examination leads us to the conclusion that, as we have classified other racial groups by what seems to be the dominant characteristics of their mentality revealed in their specific attitudes or concepts especially as expressed in mythology, art and literature, in the same way we are justified at this point to characterise the African as symbolistic, universalist or transcendentalist in his mentality. His basic tendency or orientation is towards Being as One.

We say he is transcendentalist, because he does not take the principle of contradiction or identity, with their sequel of almost infinite distinctions as the starting point of his thought, but adopts rather the dialectical and polyvalent principle

of the Oneness of Being. This principle is not arrived at logically, otherwise it could have been just another form of monism.

The subject of the African sense of rhythm is an enticing one. I refer the reader to the treatment—a most skilful and exhaustive treatment—given it by Mr. Sedar Senghor in his two papers to the first and to the second Congress of African Writers and Artists. Here I wish only to remark that just as the African mind expresses itself in symbols, so also African emotions express themselves naturally in rhythm. It is the expression of the same basic metaphysical attitude at the mental and at the emotional level.

Generative Repetition

If you come to think of it, the circle is a rhythm of triangles. Rhythm is generative repetition as opposed to mere progressional repetition: Progressional repetition is a mere juxtapositioning of units, whereas generative repetition is a repetition of actions or the juxtapositioning of identical or almost identical units in such a way that they form a new pattern, a new whole, a new meaning. That is the sense of so much repetition in African literary and artistic forms.

The terms metaphysics and abstraction cannot mean the same thing for the symbolistic and for the logical mind. What the logical mind calls abstractions, for instance, can only be regarded as aspects of the same reality by the symbolistic mind. For symbolistic mentality, abstraction would be realized when a given concept is applied only to one determined level of reality at a given moment, though in fact it embraces more levels.

According to this way of thinking it is an abstraction, for instance, to use the word high only in connection with a building or a mountain, because that term, metaphysically speaking, is equally applicable to such realities as honour or ideas. There is nothing in the words themselves to predetermine their use at this or that level. The metaphysical plane is the point at which the mind finds a platform from which it can launch into different levels of being.

South Africa and United Nations

Continued from previous page.

South Africa policy was in contradiction of the Mandate, the U.N. Charter and the "enlightened conscience of mankind."

The Committee, further, said the situation in the territory had grown from bad to worse and only intervention by the U.N. could obviate "armed racial conflict." It referred to the ruthless application of apartheid in all aspects of the life of the indigenous inhabitants. It also stressed the obviously criminal attempt by the Verwoerd clique to annex that territory for their own benefit instead of developing it towards self-determination and

independence in accordance with the expressed wishes of the indigenous people.

Finally, the Committee warned that the situation has given rise to deep-seated resentment among the African peoples and that only timely intervention by the U.N., with all authority at its command, could prevent armed racial conflict in Africa. It declared South Africa unfit to continue administering the territory and urged the U.N. to study ways and means of terminating S. A. maladministration of South West Africa while instituting a "U.N. presence" there.

All that is necessary is that the thinker should not allow a gap to develop between things as observed and things as thought. In other words there should be no separation between theory and practice.

I think this objectivisation of reality is the reason why the Egyptian always remained a calculator and not a scientific mathematician. This is the reason why African music vibrates with the urgency of life and is not a sublimated and highly processed product like synthetic food. This objectivisation is the reason why principles such as 'art for art's sake' or 'you've got a soul to save and I've got a soul to save,' strike the African as dissonant and are unacceptable to him. I call this objectivisation, because the African thinks of experience in terms of a tense confrontation of person and reality. The African therefore closely and attentively watches reality.

A Ride on the Eternal Rhythm

These are exaggerated positions, but they give more or less the outline of what we feel to be the tempers or attitudes of the different races in this matter: the notion of law cannot be the same among all peoples, as it depends on the idea each has of freedom and responsibility. The notion of freedom and responsibility in its turn depends on the concept of the human person.

Let me dramatise the different positions hoping not to offend anybody, as I do not mean to do so. The Aryan being the son of a god arranges the universe and thus faces reality with borrowed pride and borrowed strength—all borrowed from (his idea of) the gods. The Indian is as one with the centre of reality and, therefore, can face the latter with equanimity, calm. The Mongol knows that everything is balanced and in order, therefore he knows no fear. The African says he is brother to the animals and has definite blood bonds with members of the species.

The world for him is bad and good and he watches it attentively with wide-open eyes. He does not in any case seem to draw the world out of the bag of his mind, or of desire, or of his moral sense. It is just 'there' for him and he faces it with ambivalence. The African

habit of taking himself as an integral whole and reality as a whole, makes him experience life as always something fresh and new, and he leaps on for a ride on its eternal rhythm clothed in the skin of a baboon and wearing the tail of an ox.

Man is

Life is the dynamic resolution of a high tension; it is the merging and transmutation of irreconcilable contrasts. A void is the exile from both life and death, an unthinkable isolation beyond all the rhythm of reality. 'Freedom for freedom's sake' or 'I've got a soul to save' is an impossible principle. Society is a real vital entity with the instinct to defend itself and guard its interests, but so is also the individual.

Again in this trend of African thought we are at grips with the characteristic tendency of this mind to objectivise to the extreme, thus coming close to absolutising every term of thought. Man is. He must bear his responsibility, or in other words, he must face the cosmos with only his animal brother to help him and the uncertain temper of his ancestors to rely upon in extreme cases.

The above African view of responsibility seems to, as it is sometimes accused of doing, exclude the concept of Divine Providence. We will not delay to explain why we think this accusation to be a misunderstanding. Rather, we go on to point out that it is a matter worth marking that such a heresy as Pelagianism, though actually born outside Africa, became strongest in that continent. We may do well also to remember Donatism and the rigorism of Tertullian.

Naked Realism

On the other hand we wish to contrast this with Jansenism, Lutheranism, Calvinism. I have tried to show that the European faces the world with faith, the Indian with resignation and calm, the Mongol with hope and optimism, the African faces the world with naked realism. Nobody can judge what is best in each case. Who can know whether by his faith the Aryan does not actually get divine help on his side? Who knows whether by his devotion the Indian does not enjoy in a special way the divine presence

in himself? Who knows whether the Mongol by his unshakable hope does not draw upon himself divine favours?

The African, with his wise and humble realism has merited to suffer for the world. There is no race on the face of this planet that has suffered as the African race has suffered, neither are there records, in the long history of mankind of sufferings such as this race has undergone. The African, like Job, challenged the divinity. He has enriched the world more by his suffering in these later centuries than he did before in thousands of years of culture prosperity.

Extraordinary Forms

What was said with regard to the African idea of individual responsibility applies as well to his idea of corporate responsibility. Society is to a certain extent absolutised so that morality becomes almost entirely anthropocentric. Moreover, since society, conceived in this way, is experienced as a more living reality with urgent and important needs, the individual willingly cedes part of his sovereignty in the face of this reality.

The feeling of responsibility absorbs the tension between the demands of duty and individual freedom. Individual actions are viewed in relation to the whole of life and not just in themselves alone. The African dance is the classic example of complete individual freedom and full co-operation, because in it anyone can follow his own inspiration as to rhythm, but harmony is never lacking.

In art, the African mentality being symbolistic, we naturally find the African having predominantly surrealist tendencies. We explained earlier that the symbol unites different planes of reality, so that in it different strata of meaning overlay each other and reveal themselves at the same time, thus cancelling each other successively as the mind passes from one to the other. The African artist, whether he is dealing with wood, with words, or with sounds, has the tendency to massacre the material and mould it into extraordinary forms.

This is quite understandable because matter is naturally mute

and in this way it is made to speak i.e. to carry meaning. In language, in sounds, and in plastic material the gestures are not direct but are merely allusive and suggestive so that they become capable of various interpretative meanings. Rhythm forms the background to all African art and expression. Though I would gladly do it, I will not elaborate further on this point for lack of space and time.

In the field of metaphysics we will for the sake of brevity take two principles of African thought and use them to develop the scheme of being. We have the principle of generative repetition and the vibrational principle of Sudanese philosophy. Vibration, I must explain means contained or internal movement as opposed to local external movement. According to our principles every being must go on asserting itself or repeating its act of being, otherwise it ceases to be.

Change of Orientation

Now, this by itself is already a kind of vibration, an internal movement. Since, however, the difference between beings can be brought about only by modifications of this primary movement or vibration, the question arises as to what kinds of modifications this movement can be subjected to.

Movement which remains basically the same can be changed appreciably only by change of orientation. Now, the first conceivable mode in which being can move itself, so as at the same time to preserve its identity, is by vibrating towards its own centre. The being thus deposits itself in itself. This is therefore also the order of simple interiorisation. The being does nothing else but preserve itself. This is the self-preservation level of being.

The second conceivable movement of being, necessarily pre-supposing the first kind of vibration, is movement outwards. Here there is a simultaneous or integrated inwardly and outwardly oriented vibration. Thus the being vibrates integrally or organically outwards since the outward movement is dominant: or

specific in this order. Such organic outwards vibration of being is called growth.

Thirdly, the being may be considered as returning to itself, no more merely by a primary pull of its energies towards its centre, but as an organic whole, that is, as an object. The presentation of being to itself as an object is called consciousness.

The fourth conceivable movement of being in this scheme would be an outward bound vibration by which the being would present itself to the outside as an object. The second order of being was constituted by the organic or integral exteriorisation of itself as a system of centrally orientated vibration or energy i.e. the exteriorisation of a merely self-preservation system shot through with a new vibration that gave another dimension to its being. The fourth order, on the other hand, is the self-exteriorisation of being as an object. This kind of self-exteriorisation is called expression. Here we meet for the first time the word "I" or its equivalents.

Thought—Structure

The four movements or orientations can be characterised as: *in se*, *extra se*, *ad se*, *ad extra*. It would be interesting now, as well as rather enlightening, to examine each of the four orders more closely so that all philosophical questions would be touched upon. It is quite clear that since the above formulas for being would form the basic structure of the resultant system, the different disciplines would not follow one another in the usual order under such envisaged treatment.

I feel rather sure, moreover, that such subjects as cosmology, for example, would receive a fresh, vigorous and interesting recast. I may assure my readers that much preliminary work has been done in this regard. It is to be hoped that African young men will examine more and more deeply the thought-structure which underlies African culture in the whole extent of its millennial history and of its area of diffusion.

African Religion

Interesting as it is, the question of African religion has been left untouched in this attempt to reveal the

principles of African thought in different fields. There are, however, a few remarks to make. All African religions have the idea of a Creator-High-God, who may be conceived or not conceived of as creating subordinate deities.

Due to the absolutising or transcendentalising tendency of the African mind of which we have spoken most amply above, the Creator-God is put almost beyond the reach of human affairs and cares, and other deities or ancestors are supposed to supervise the affairs of the world. I propose to give this subject a separate and fuller treatment at a later date. Now we close our study with a hope that more detailed treatments of principles touched upon will be developed and published in the future.

Spanish Guinea

Continued from page 24

Democracy is a process of evolution. It cannot be given as a gift to another man. It must be won. The quickest and the surest way to achieve democracy by a dependent Nation is Nationalism. "This is my country, I must rule it" is purely a nationalistic statement. 1959 is an age of common people; progressive mankind is marching forward and colonialism is on the verge of decadence.

Britain Backs Tshombe

Continued from page 6

To include me in the party would have been a red rag to the people who were pressing—the word is a wak one—the Secretary-General to go to Ndola. There could be no question of it.

The answer came back, polite and cool. The Secretary-General proposed to deal with this matter outside the framework of UNOC. There was no need, therefore, for the Representative in Elizabethville to join the flight to Ndola.

Mr. Hammarskjöld and the others in the plane died in the crash outside Ndola. Lord Lansdowne had saved my life.

Portuguese in Angola

A resistance that lasted over five centuries, then an uprising that was boiling for a long time have in the recent months developed in Angola into an armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialism.

Another African country thus joined the ranks of those who, in Africa, have chosen direct action for a complete liquidation of colonial and imperialist domination.

All over Angola, armed actions are being waged against Portuguese settlers, who are the usurpers of the land and the national wealth belonging to the people. In Portugal, the Angolese upsurge has deeply alarmed the Government which is concerned over the future of this small state which, in spite of exploitation of a wide colonial empire, remains a backward underdeveloped country.

Angola is a large and very rich country but yet unknown to the Afro-Asian reader. We present you first a brief study of this country, as published by the Department of Propaganda and Culture of the Popular movement for the liberation of Angola. This will help you to understand the present struggle of the Angolese people.

Geographic and Historic Survey

Angola is situated between the 4th and 18th parallels. It lies between the ex-French (Congo Brazzaville) and the Congo Republics (Leopoldville), in the north, and Northern Rhodesia on the east, South-West Africa in the south, and the Atlantic Ocean in the west. It covers a surface of 1,246,700 square kilometers.

Angola is a very abundantly irrigated country composed of numerous hydrographic basins totalling a surface of 1,065,070 kilometers.

The most important and most navigable river that takes its source in Angola is the Quanza (960 kms.) along with a navigable extension of 258 kms.

The climate, varies from moderate tropical to dry temperate, favours agricultural production in African countries and in temperate European areas.

The population of Angola is, according to the last estimates 4,362,246 inhabitants divided as follows:

In 1961, the white population amounted to 200,000. Only about seven per cent of the population lives in the cities. Fifty-nine per cent of the white population lives in the cities, together with 51 per cent of the half-breed population and 5.6 per cent of the black population.

The most important cities are: Luanda (the capital) with 189,590 inhabitants; Huambo (Nova Lisboa) with 37,381 inhabitants; Lobito (31,630); Banguala (15,399); Sa da Bandeira (13,867) and Malange (12,215). Lobito, Luanda and Mocimedes are the main ports.

The Portuguese occupation goes back to June 1482, when Diogo Cao reached the Zair river (Congo). However, it was only in 1484, that the King of the Congo, Nzinga Nkuma, received a diplomatic mission from the King of Portugal. An agreement was concluded by which Portugal was to grant technical assistance to the Congolese Kingdom in exchange for trade facilities.

The first technicians sent to the Congo were real agents of imperialism trained to torpedo the Congolese economic structure. They established the bases for foreign penetration in the country. And as from that time,

Portuguese expeditions became more and more regular.

Thus, using political intrigues stimulating the ambitions of a section of the Congo aristocracy, and interesting local officials in slave trade, the Portuguese ruined standing institutions, weakened the country and created favourable conditions for military action.

Although the Portuguese consider the military conquest of Angola to have been achieved in 1922, the armed resistance of Africans has never ceased after that date. Revolts took place in Porto Amboim (1924), Ambiz (1925) and among the Mucubais (1939).

Economic Survey

Agriculture occupies the first place in the economy of Angola. However, light industries, electric energy and the wealth and a variety of Angola's sub-soil predict a prosperous future for this country in the domain of production and economic development.

Here is a data on production. In the agricultural domain, Angola produces coffee, maize, cotton, tobacco, rice, sesame and other products in lesser quantities. The breeding of all kinds of livestock constitutes an important aspect of Angolan production. There are also industries of extraction and transformation in Angola such as the industries of sugar, alcohol, cement, beer, shoes, paper, soap, fishing, bags, tobacco, cloth, diamonds, mica, copper, petroleum, salt, iron, pork, cheese, butter and oils.

Angola, like all colonised countries, exports nearly everything she produces and imports nearly everything she consumes.

The principal products exported in 1959 are:

Coffee (90 per cent of the production bought by the U.S.)
Diamonds (100 per cent of the production bought by the U.S.)
Sesame (Portugal was the biggest buyer) Maize (Exported, mainly to England).

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Labour in Chains

Continued from page 9

some to look after the livestock and cassava fields while others cultivate cotton at a distance. Perhaps the most discouraging part of all is that the reward of their work and sacrifice is usually so meagre, because of dishonest scale weights and the low prices paid by local merchants or the cotton companies, that most Africans end the year in debt.

This type of situation was the direct cause of the revolt in the Baixa de Cassange (an area near Malange extending from Quela to Marimba) in February of this year. It was a spontaneous demonstration against the abusive practices of the Cottonag Company, and even most of the Europeans who fled the area expressed sympathy for the plight of the Africans. But the Portuguese army and air force bombed and strafed villages throughout the area, and hundreds or perhaps thousands of Africans were killed.

Some publicity has been given in the international press to the use of "contract" workers in Angola. The Portuguese maintain that they are hired on a purely voluntary basis; they deny that force is used in their enlistment. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the principles which govern the Portuguese labour policy are the same everywhere. In many areas there are no nearby European plantations, and in such areas villages are liable to raids in which Africans are picked up and sent off for work in other areas.

These "migratory" workers form the backbone of the Angolan labour force and are considered essential to the coffee and sisal crops as well as to the manganese mines, the diamond industry, the railroads, etc. When a Portuguese businessman or farmer needs more labour he generally asks the local *Chefe de Posto* or Administrator. Sometimes the latter pro-

cures workers through official channels. More often he gets them through his own contacts, thereby making a little personal money on the side. Local graft and the use of the bribe flourish under such circumstances. The most common term of service for a *contratado* is one year at work and six months at home. Following this period (the exact time is not too carefully observed) he is eligible to be taken off for another year somewhere else.

One might have expected that the Portuguese would institute radical reforms following the attacks which have rocked Angola in recent months. Observers, however, have looked in vain for any recognition of error or signs of reform. The fact is that forced labour not only continues but has increased in recent weeks. The Government has rounded up thousands of African "voluntarios" in Luanda and South Angola for the difficult coffee harvest. They still insist that the Portuguese are the only people who know how to colonize properly.

This is the second of two articles by Malcolm McVeigh.

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Portuguese in Angola

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Fish-Flower (Biggest buyer, Germany).

Thus in 1959, the principal buyers were the U.S. (25.3 per cent of the total production), England (18.32%), Portugal (18.19%), Holland (6.91%), France (3.12%), etc.

Angola imports textiles (83 per cent from Portugal or 12 per cent of the total imports), machines and industrial equipment, material for railways, cars, tires, tractors, iron and steel, medical stuff, etc.

These latter products came from West Germany, England, the U.S.A., Belgium, Switzerland, Italy.

In brief, Angola imported chiefly from Portugal (46.56%), followed by West Germany (11.56%), England (9.57%), the U.S.A. (9.22%), Belgium (3.23%) and from all the other countries with 19.16 per cent.

The commercial transactions with Portugal are naturally not favourable to Angola, for Portugal imports only 18.9% of raw materials and comes third among the countries importing from Angola. At the same time, Portugal exports products to Angola made of Angolan raw materials and tops the list of suppliers to the colony with 46.56 per cent of the total imports of Angola.

Health

Angola, among other African countries, has the most backwards sanitary services. There are about 174 doctors in the country and more than 90 per cent of them live in the towns. Thus, for every 25,070 persons there is only one doctor and only one nurse for 13,890 inhabitants. The official statistics indicate that there are 57 Government hospitals without mentioning the total number of beds. 93.71 per cent of the population die of undiagnosed illnesses, 53.9 per cent of infections are

parasitic which include tuberculosis (30%) and malaria (25%).

Thirty-eight per cent of the population suffers from degenerative diseases particularly those that are caused by ill-nourishment, they are 65 per cent of the victims.

Among the African population 87.86 per cent of people die of undiagnosed diseases and more than 90 per cent die of infectious and parasitic diseases.

According to the official statistics 84 per cent of the children up to the age of five, die of this strange sickness premature senility (Annual statistics of Angola—1953).

Education

In Angola, there are two kinds of education: missionary education exclusively designed for the so-called "uncivilized population" (99.3 per cent of the Angolan population) and confined to Catholic missions according to an agreement between Portugal and the Vatican signed on May 7, 1940. This rudimentary education has only an elementary programme of Portuguese language. The other kind of education is designed for Europeans and blacks and the Portuguese authorities call it "civilized." This includes primary, secondary and technical education. There is no education on University level in Angola.

The Portuguese record in civilizing Angola needs no comment. The illiterate total 99 per cent. From among 800,000 children, only 68 per cent are accepted in the schools. More than 80 per cent of students from among "the civilized" are whites. As for blacks in secondary and technical schools, they do not exceed 3.3 per cent. The Angolan budget for education is only one per cent. Moreover, more than 30 per cent of the whites in Angola are illiterate.

Angolan Nationalism

The Portuguese administration established discrimination between "natives" and the "civilized" and it was the latter that were able to express certain social and political demands. Since the twenties, the Angolans—most of them employ-

ees, small landowners and workers assembled in the towns—started a reformatory programme within the legal associations that exist.

After May 28, 1926 a *coup d'état* prevailed and a fascist regime followed in Portugal. This imperialist administration controlled every aspect of Angolan life. Meanwhile, in 1948, a new generation appeared on the political stage. "This new generation utilized, for a certain period, legal associations to accomplish certain cultural tasks with a national colour." The Portuguese Administration directed such brutality against Angolan youth, who were the vanguard of this struggle, that the people's struggle was forced to go underground. Thus a group of Angolan youth considered the formation of political organisations of a revolutionary character, with the masses as their base and freedom as their objective.

The first political organisation were born in 1955. Various parties and movements were formed carrying various slogans. But we can say that the first political movement, with a definite programme, was the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola which started in December 1956. The manifesto the movement issued invited the Angolan people to organise themselves and to struggle on all fronts for the liquidation of imperialism and Portuguese colonialism in order to make Angola an independent state and in order to establish a democratic government. It also called for a coalition of all forces fighting against imperialism.

We must also mention the activities of hundreds of thousands of Angolans who live in the Brazzaville and Leopoldville Congo Republics. A national force was born—the Union of Angolan Peoples (U.P.A.) the Association of Cabinda subjects (AREC), and the alliance of the Zombo subjects (ALLIAZO). We can also mention the religious national movement of Simao Toco. This leader, born in Angola in 1917, immigrated to the Congo (Leopoldville) and there he formed and developed the movement named after him. These are the forces which are carrying on struggle against the Portuguese imperialists in different ways.

L'exploitation Coloniale en Afrique et le Probleme Terrien

par "African"

CET article est principalement basé sur l'oeuvre "Africa, the Roots of Revolt" par Jack Woddis.

L'exploitation coloniale prend une forme particulière pour chaque pays donné. Elle dépend des conditions géographiques, économiques, et sociales de la contrée. En Afrique, on peut distinguer trois formes principales à cette exploitation nommément; l'expropriation de la main d'oeuvre, et des ressources minérales et agricoles de la terre. Aujourd'hui, la lutte de libération de par l'Afrique n'est pas seulement celle de la liberté politique seule mais elle a pour but principal; la liquidation sous toutes ses formes de l'exploitation coloniale fermant ainsi la porte à tout autre genre de cet ignominieux état de chose. Dans cet exposé, nous nous limiterons essentiellement au problème terrien.

Quand les impérialistes ont commencé leur intrusion dans certaines parties du continent au soir du dix-neuvième siècle, leur première préoccupation était de s'arroger les terres riches et fertiles; et pour ce faire, ils ont eu recours à toutes sortes de méthodes: d'oppression cruelle, de terreur, de fourberie et d'escroquerie. Aucune n'était exclue. La conséquence de cette expropriation est qu'en Union Sud Africaine, 80% des terres fut confisqué des Africains et exclusivement réservé aux Européens. En Rhodesie du Sud, au Swaziland et quelques autres

parties, le pourcentage est de 50. Au Congo, au Kenya au Ghana etc. bien que le pourcentage de terre dérobée aux Africains soit comparativement moindre, la proportionnalité d'acquisition d'un européen dépasse largement celle d'un Africain. Au Kenya par exemple une surface de 18.000 kilomètres carrés de terre représentant près de 30% de terrain fertile cultivable a été monopolisée par quelques 4.000 colons et les six millions d'Africains doivent se contenter de la mauvaise portion tout comme il en est le cas dans d'autres colonies.

Pire encore est le fait que les Européens se saisissent des bonnes terres fertiles et laissent aux Africains la portion la plus stérile et aride. Les Africains ne peuvent disposer ni de facilités d'irrigation pour améliorer leur production ni de possibilités d'élever des troupeaux afin de se contenter quelque peu de cette minime portion qui leur est concédée. Il résulte donc qu'une vaste superficie demeure inculte et le problème terrien devient la question clé dans la lutte pour la liberté au Kenya, en Rhodesie et dans d'autres colonies.

La Misappropriation

Les faits narrés ci-dessus sont tels que personne ne peut les nier de nos jours. Si nous nous penchons sur la question d'expropriation de terre, nous découvrirons quelques données fort intéressantes.

Il va sans dire que dans les premiers jours les colons qui s'étaient lotissés ces terrains entendaient spécialement en utiliser les produits minéraux et agricoles pour leurs propres bénéfices mais nous remarquons qu'une petite portion seulement de ces terres mal acquises et réservées aux Européens était utilisée et que de très larges fractions d'ou les Africains ont été délogés sont restées incultes et inhabitées.

Des raisons motivent une pareille expropriation en gros de terre en Afrique: Premièrement, empêcher le cultivateur Africain devienne un concurrent du fermier européen ou propriétaire de plantation et deuxièmement plonger la masse Africaine dans la pauvreté de sorte que la plupart des hommes soient obligés de travailler pour les colons, dans les mines ou sur les plantations.

Il s'ensuit donc que la politique colonialiste est non seulement d'enrichir la poignée d'Européens mais aussi d'introduire la misère chez l'Africain. Cette politique en conséquence, sauvegarde à l'avantage du blanc, l'exploitation des ressources du sol et permet de trouver une main d'oeuvre "bon marché" pour l'exploitation des richesses minérales. L'Européen a ainsi donc deux issues pour s'enrichir. Avec la découverte de l'or, du diamant et d'autres minerais, le développement du chemin de fer et d'autres moyens de communication, la porte se trouve largement ouverte aux colonialistes dans l'exploitation en gros des richesses africaines; et ceci ne pouvait être sans une main d'oeuvre "bon marché" voilà donc la raison pour laquelle les procédés d'appauvrissement de la paysannerie Africaine ont été intensifiés ces dernières années avec plus d'ardeur, de barbarie et de cruauté. A cette fin, des formules d'esclavage, d'imposition par la force, de taxes diverses et même la force tout court ont été inventées.

Destruction de l'Economie Africaine.

Tous les moyens possibles ont été utilisés pour détruire l'économie Africaine et certaines mesures ont même été adoptées visant à empêcher un développement futur de l'économie. Seule une partie de l'Afrique Occidentale et de l'Uganda a été en danger car les Européens n'y ont pas élu domicile sur une grande

échelle. Cette piraterie terrienne n'a pas eu lieu seulement aux premiers jours de la colonisation mais elle s'est développée tout au cours de ce siècle et n'a encore pas cessé de ce faire.

Quand l'état d'alerte fut annoncé au Kenya en 1952, des centaines de paysans africains furent délogés, leurs huttes incendiées ou mises en poussière, leur bétail et récoltes confisqués ou ravagés. En 1957, quelques 45.000 Africains de la Rhodesie du Sud furent renvoyés des terres que l'on supposait réservées aux européens et qui néanmoins sont restées incultes. L'histoire du continent Africain est jonchée de pareille éviction.

Conséquence de la Politique Colonialiste.

La politique esquissée par les impérialistes et les colonialistes pour l'Afrique, la politique de misappropriation et de la destruction de l'économie agraire de ces impérialistes ne peut qu'avoir une conséquence à savoir: Plonger la plupart des populations dans un ignoble état de pauvreté et de misère. Cette politique se traduit également d'une part par le surpeuplement de lopins de terres et la transformation de vastes terrains en espace aride et inculte; sinon fertile pour la population blanche exclusivement. Cette politique de destruction de la production Africaine découle également de l'émigration en masses des peuples de place en place; ce qui accentue d'ailleurs la misère des populations.

L'Afrique, avec de si vastes terrains fertiles et une si petite population a été réduite en un petitin de pauvreté extrême. Selon un rapport des Nations Unies, dans la plupart des territoires d'Afrique la viande constitue un luxe exceptionnel et que hors les pays grands éleveurs de troupeaux, les enfants ne boivent même pas du lait "A certains endroits" cinq ou six pourcent seulement des nouveaux-nés atteignent l'âge de cinq ans.

Selon un rapport de l'Assemblée Britannique, au Nigeria "à peu près 20 millions de personnes vivant de ressources agricoles souffrent de malnutrition et d'autres maladies similaires." Une enquête effectuée en 1945/46 dans la partie Nord du

Ghana a révélé que la consommation alimentaire par tête est seulement de 10% de ce qu'il faut normalement pour une personne. Voilà donc la situation au Ghana et au Nigeria où pendant les récentes décades, plus sieurs fermiers Africains ont pu acquérir du terrain pour la plantation industrielle. Même dans ces pays, de riches planteurs africains emploient de la main d'oeuvre africaine.

Nouvelle Politique Agraire

Pendant ces quelques dernières années, la ligne de conduite des colonialistes vis à vis l'agriculture africaine a été au pire et mit le continent tout entier à un brin de désastre national. Alors mêmes les colons les plus endurcis se sont trouvés forcés de réviser leur politique agraire. Ils ont donc commencé à une échelle fort limitée en encourageant la formation d'une classe de fermiers Africains qui ont pu acquérir du terrain pour la plantation industrielle. De cette façon, ils escomptaient transformer la terre africaine en une commodité marchandable.

Cette politique a en effet fait dans certaines parties du continent, un petit groupe de riches fermiers paysans en general; mais au contraire augmenta leur misère et pauvreté.

Les colonialistes, pendant les dernières années, se sont concentrés sur les cultures industrielles avec un changement périodique de site. Cette méthode a été si vigoureusement appliquée avec le seul objectif de faire fortune le plus rapidement que possible d'une part par les planteurs européens et de l'autre par les grandes firmes d'exploitation marchande. Ceci de plus aggravé la crise agraire.

Dans cet effort de s'enrichir au plus vite, le système de la monoculture a été adopté. Des territoires entiers ont développé une ou deux cultures seulement—du cacao au Ghana, du coton à l'Uganda et au Soudan, du café au Kenya, des palmiers à h ile au Nigeria et du tabac en Rhodesie du Sud. En voici donc un caractère type de l'exploitation coloniale.

Ce système a en plus détruit de vastes terrains forestiers magnifiques et donné naissance à plusieurs mala-

dies arboricoles. Il a fait de toute l'économie de ces pays, une source automatique de matières premières pour les puissances coloniales; réduisant ainsi la culture des denrées consommables de céréales; et de grains pour ouvrir la porte à la famine et au sous alimentation.

Les produits industriels fournis par les fermiers européens et africains sont achetés par de grandes entreprises commerciales européennes. Ces compagnies achètent aux prix dérisoires les produits fournis par les Africains mais paient beaucoup plus aux fermiers européens d'autant plus que ces derniers ont une influence notable dans les cercles des gouvernements coloniaux. Le fermier blanc jouit de toutes sortes de concessions, de facilités et bénéficie suffisamment pour se permettre une vie luxueuse et prospère. Ces colons des plantations et des fermes s'entendent avec les grosses monopoles et les compagnies minières pour s'arroger le pouvoir de contrôle sur la vie économique de l'Afrique.

Maintenant que la situation politique change de figure, ils s'efforcent à se concilier, l'affection du petit groupe de riches fermiers africains pour vu que ceux-ci co-opèrent sans réserve dans l'exploitation des peuples et des richesses africaines. Dans les pays de l'Afrique Occidentale, même au Ghana et au Nigeria etc; ; où très peu de colons possèdent des plantations et des fermes, les impérialistes s'exercent à introduire une telle idée.

Au Nigeria par exemple depuis 1942 quarante nouvelles possessions immobilières couvrant une superficie de 125.000 are ont été développées et on attend à ce que d'ici 1962, il y ait une augmentation de 600% de cette réalisation.

Nous ne pouvons donc que conclure que les systèmes agraires imposés par les colonialistes étaient tous désignés à garder l'Afrique sous le bâton économique des colonialistes en passant par les gros propriétaires et les monopolistes. Une réelle émancipation ne peut être qu'à la condition de briser les chaînons économiques et politiques de ces grands propriétaires, compagnies minières et du gros commerçant en général.

Vers L'union Proletarienne Africaine

DEPUIS la conception de la Fédération Pan-Africaine de Syndicats (C.P.S.) plusieurs forces sinistres se sont fait sentir tendant à faire breche dans la fondation solide de l'établissement d'une classe unitaire, des travailleurs Africains.

L'encouragement que la Confédération Mondiale des syndicats Libres accorde sans vergogne aux Syndicalistes recalcitrants de Dakar qui s'efforcent de former un autre groupe est en effet un exemple classique de ces forces. Nous publions si-dessous un article de, Jack Woodis le journaliste renommé. Cet article a été déjà publié en 1953, mais dans la conjoncture actuelle des choses nous trouvons qu'il s'avère nécessaire de le reproduire ici. Unite d'action—La Voie de L'Avant.

Le seul moyen par lequel les Africains peuvent s'assurer une indépendance et une justice sociale se trouve dans l'Unité: L'Unité dans leurs propres rangs; l'unité parmi les travailleurs Africains et les autres sections exploitées de leur peuple. Une Union solide entre les peuples et les travailleurs des pays de la Metropole, Union des travailleurs Africains avec les autres travailleurs du Monde. Tous les peuples colonisés souffrent de l'exploitation. Les impérialistes se sont saisis de leurs territoires par la force de l'épée et à coups de fusil.

Ce qui est pire c'est que ces mêmes impérialistes essayent de maintenir leur domination dans ces territoires par la force et d'autres méthodes de violence. Ils pillent les ressources et les richesses minérales et agricoles de ces territoires et empêchent l'établissement d'industries lourdes dans ces

pays. En dehors de tout cela ils exportent vers les colonies de larges proportions, d'articles très chers, y investissent de fortes sommes afin d'exploiter une main d'oeuvre "bon marché" et s'assurent ainsi un sur-profit énorme.

De Sang et de Larme.

C'est à un prix très cher que les peuples colonisés survivent cette politique qu'ils paient de leur sang, de leur larme et de leur sueur. Ils vivent dans des conditions affreuses de pauvreté; ils sont forcés au travail et aussi de la discrimination raciale instaurée honteusement par les colons. Il faut ajouter que non seulement on leur refuse la formation de syndicats et la jouissance des libertés démocratiques mais aussi leur propre culture nationale est bannie. Leur dignité humaine assujettie par les oppresseurs. Les préparatifs des impérialistes pour une troisième guerre mondiale a occasionné de plus fortes attaques sur les peuples Africains dont la stratégie en richesses, en communication, et en arme humaine est convoitée par les impérialistes dans leurs préparatifs. Comme ils s'efforcent de matérialiser ces projets, les impérialistes sont décidés à empiéter sur la volonté des peuples.

Les travailleurs Africains sans aucun doute reconnaissent que pour eux le seul moyen de sauvegarder un meilleur avenir est de mettre fin une fois pour toute au système colonial qui les exploite. C'est un fait indéniable que l'oppression coloniale est la cause essentielle de pauvreté et de misère des peuples d'Afrique. Et

serait-il superflu d'ajouter, qu'aussi longtemps que ce système demeurera, les travailleurs africains ne connaîtront pas le bonheur? Dans ces conditions les africains se doivent de lutter et de combattre la domination coloniale dans toutes ses formes et manifestations.

Le besoin et les droits de toutes les sections des peuples opprimés par les impérialistes doivent être réclamés avec instance et défendus même ment. Tout le long de cette lutte journalière le système entier de l'exploitation coloniale doit être mis à nu. Tout succès remporté dans ces batailles, aussi minime qu'il soit est un pas important des peuples colonisés car ceci permettra à d'autres de suivre leur exemple, de s'inspirer de leur expérience et d'unir leur forces dans une lutte implacable contre le système colonial tout entier.

Les Forces Patriotiques

L'exploitation coloniale est si étendue et si profondément enracinée quelle touche toutes les sections importantes de la population: Les travailleurs, les planteurs, les artisans les hommes de profession, les étudiants, les magasiniers et même les entrepreneurs locaux qui s'efforcent de développer les industries indigènes sont étouffés par les gants de fer des grandes monopoles étrangères. Bien entendu, les travailleurs ne sont pas isolés dans leur lutte. Il faut qu'ils se réunissent tous sous un étendard autour de leur leader, constituant ainsi une grande armée de forces démocratiques et patriotiques du pays. Incontestablement, cette armée embrassera la presque totalité des masses.

Les travailleurs en Afrique ne doivent pas se permettre des divisions dans le front démocratique de la nation. Le front nationale des peuples contre l'oppression coloniale doit être conduit par la masse des travailleurs et ils doivent aussi embrasser tous ceux qui sont opprimés par les impérialistes et qui sont néanmoins déterminés à appuyer la lutte pour l'indépendance.

Mais la classe ouvrière ne peut jamais réunir en un seul limon toute les sections de la communauté, se faisant les guider si au sein même de son organisation; il subsiste la désunion.

En conséquence, le devoir préliminaire de tous les travailleurs de tous les syndicats, est de consolider l'union entre les classes ouvrières. Car, un seul front uni des travailleurs peut jouir de l'appui et de la confiance des masses et peut donc conduire ces derniers vers la victoire dans leur lutte pour la libération.

Afin de parvenir à ces résultats, il importe que la classe ouvrière, que les syndicats maintiennent un contact quotidien avec les travailleurs. Ils se doivent de connaître leurs peines, leurs doléances et être prêts à les aider. Ils doivent aussi défendre les intérêts des travailleurs aussi bien que de leur prêter une oreille attentive. Dans leurs efforts d'acquiescer la justice pour les travailleurs, ils doivent à tout moment choisir des moyens de lutte que la majorité des travailleurs pourra approuver et non avoir recours à des mesures susceptibles d'avantager seulement la section privilégiée de la communauté.

Union—Un Moyen Efficace.

L'Union parmi les classes ouvrières n'est possible que dans la mesure où tous les travailleurs ont un pouvoir de contrôle démocratique sur leur Organisation et leur Chefs de file. Les faiblesses du syndicalisme colonial doivent être systématiquement déracinés partout où elles existent comme par exemple la tendance de confier aux mains d'un ou deux individus les affaires du syndicat est à remplacer par une discussion de forme démocratique des problèmes et de la ligne de conduite du syndicat.

Les travailleurs doivent également avoir le contrôle des finances de l'Organisation et de ses Gérants. Les Organisations Syndicales ne doivent pas être occasionnelles, temporaires ou pire encore des comités anodynes de grèves qui ne font absolument rien à l'avantage de leurs membres. Les Organisations Syndicales doivent être constamment en alerte et défendre au fur et à mesure les intérêts de tous les travailleurs.

En effet, tous les travailleurs sont des frères. Ils ont les mêmes problèmes et les mêmes aspirations. Ils sont tous opprimés tous exploités par le même ennemi: l'impérialisme. Il va sans dire que tous les travailleurs quelque soit leur penchant religieux ou politique, lettrés ou ignorants souffrent au même degré de la pauvreté et de la misère. Il est donc possible d'unir toute la classe ouvrière contre l'exploitation afin de combattre efficacement la pauvreté, la misère et l'obscurantisme. L'union de tous les travailleurs est donc pas seulement une possibilité mais un facteur déterminant.

C'est le sang même de la classe des travailleurs et aussi des organisations syndicales. Pour les travailleurs l'union est la seule garantie de leur indépendance et de leur bien-être car, de par cette union dans la lutte contre l'oppression coloniale ils pourront non seulement accélérer leur propre libération mais aideront efficacement les autres travailleurs de par le monde dans leur lutte pour la paix, la liberté et un meilleur devenir

Ghana au Conseil de Sécurité

LA 16ème session de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies a élu le Ghana au Conseil de Sécurité par 88 voix au scrutin secret.

La victoire du Ghana n'est pas seulement une glorieuse justification de ses principes et de son esprit militant mais aussi de son objectivité dans les problèmes internationaux et le triomphe spectaculaire de son influence toujours grandissante dans les forces de libération au sein des Conseils mondiaux.

Comme nous le savons tous, l'année 1963 est la date limite de l'indépendance totale du continent africain, les années 1962 et 1963 décideront donc du destin final de ce continent.

De part l'Afrique tout entière, les combattants pour la liberté se réjouissent que leur porte parole-en-chef au Conseil mondial soit un pays dévoué à la cause et aux intérêts des masses populaires.

ternatif de la guerre est l'abondance de vie qui n'est qu'une des possibilités sans nombre—d'utiliser l'intelligence et les capacités humaines à déraciner la pauvreté.

Nous nous sommes toujours demandés: Comment avec un si magnifique succès de la science et de la technologie, un humain de cette terre puisse encore souffrir de la pauvreté; ne serait-ce que pendant une seule journée?

Une des causes principales de pauvreté en Afrique est que la plus grande partie du potentiel mondial de nos jours, et partant les plus grandes richesses du continent africain, sont exploitées et utilisées dans ces préparatifs de guerre. Nous devons en conséquence dire aux leaders du monde de réajuster leurs ambitions et celles de leur nation aux intérêts du monde entier.

Il nous est plus que de droit de crier. L'Afrique veut la paix.

L'Afrique Recherche la Paix

C'EST fort dommage que le monde soit au seuil d'une guerre destructive imminente. C'est écoeurant de voir qu'il existe encore ce que l'on peut appeler le complexe de "Samson au Gaza" (Voir les Juges Chapitre 13 à 16.) Des hommes qui préfèrent voir le monde entier périr que de s'accommoder à des circonstances qui leur déplaisent. Pourquoi donc tous ces préparatifs de guerre? Pourquoi cet échange d'insinuations peut obligeantes entre les grandes puissances?

Sans nul doute cet état de choses n'est pas dans l'intérêt de l'humanité. Les préparatifs de guerre dérobent à toute chose son essence. Les industries les plus rentables, les meilleures méthodes techniques, les hommes de sciences et tout l'appareillage scientifique sont mis à pied d'oeuvre dans ces préparatifs belliqueux. Même si les sombres nuages de guerre s'éclaircissent, les dépenses d'armements restent les plus déconcertantes.

Quand à nous Africains, nous sommes conscients du fait que l'al-

Voice of Africa

Radio Ghana

Transmission Times and Wavelengths

ENGLISH SERVICE			SPECIAL ENGLISH SERVICE—U.K. AND EUROPE		
(i) SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA	1415—1500 GMT	21.545 Mcs 13.92 Metres	2045—2130 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres
	1830—1915 GMT	11.805 Mcs 25.41 Metres	PORTUGUESE SERVICE		
(ii) EAST AFRICA	1500—1545 GMT	21.545 Mcs 13.92 Metres	(i) ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE		
(iii) SOUTH, SOUTH-WEST AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA	1500—1545 GMT	17.740 Mcs 16.91 Metres	1415—1500 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres
(iv) WEST AFRICA	2000—2045 GMT	15.285 Mcs 19.62 Metres	1630—1715 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres
	1500—1545 GMT	9.545 Mcs 31.43 Metres	(ii) GUINEA, ANGOLA	1630—1715 GMT	9.545 Mcs 31.43 Metres
	1700—1745 GMT	9.545 Mcs 31.43 Metres	HAUSA SERVICE		
	2000—2045 GMT	9.545 Mcs 31.43 Metres	(i) WEST AFRICA		
	2130—2215 GMT	6.070 Mcs 49.42 Metres	1545—1630 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres
			1830—1915 GMT	6'070 Mcs	49.42 Metres
FRENCH SERVICE			ARABIC SERVICE		
(i) CONGO, CENTRAL AFRICA, MADAGASCAR	1745—1830 GMT	11.805 Mcs 25.41 Metres	(i) UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, SUDAN, LIBYA	1630—1715 GMT	21.545 Mcs 13.92 Metres
	1915—2000 GMT	11.805 Mcs 25.41 Metres	(ii) MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA	2005—2049 GMT	11.805 Mcs 25.41 Metres
(ii) WEST AFRICA	1745—1830 GMT	9.545 Mcs 31.43 Metres	SWAHILI SERVICE		
	1915—2000 GMT	9.545 Mcs 31.43 Metres	(i) EAST AFRICA		
	2045—2130 GMT	6.070 Mcs 49.42 Metres	1415—1500 GMT	15.285 Mcs	19.62 Metres
			1715—1800 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres
			1830—1915 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres
				11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres

Modern "Piracy"

Continued from page 3

in practice, has been to give all aid covertly possible to the secessionist regime in Katanga while paying lip-service to the unity of the Congo."

We know why Britain is interested in Katanga. She must grasp the copper. She must loot the land. She must plunder everything.

It is in recorded history that the first great accumulation of capital which marked Britain's transition from feudalism to capitalism were acquired on the high seas, under the flag of the British Jolly Roger. But the wheel has turned full circle. Now that the sun is virtually setting on the British Empire and no part of the world can be taken with broadsides and cutlasses, Britain resolves to device a new system of robbery. But it is too late.

The world has taken on a new look. Damn the decadent British diplomacy, Katanga is bound to be an integral part of a united Congo.

January, 1962 • 39

Africa and Europe

First Encounter (A new History of Africa)

by Basil Davidson

FIFTEENTH century explorers from feudal Portugal found in West Africa, in the Congo and Angola, a feudal Africa. That Africa, which according to one school of thought has no history, had developed a social system of fiefs and vassals, liege-lords and serfs or retainers, duties and obligations up and down the social scale.

But while the feudal system in Europe was coming to an end to be replaced by capitalism, the feudal system in Africa "had reached a social equilibrium and evolved a society that was largely balanced in itself, any overflow of discontent being allowed to disperse across the endless lands."

The history of some of the peoples of Africa can be traced back to a period five centuries B.C. when their Stone Age ended and they moved into the Iron Age. (Later the techniques of smelting copper and iron developed in Africa were carried by slaves across to Brazil).

From the time of the first Portuguese discoveries until early in the sixteenth century, Europeans dealt with Africans on terms of equality. "And if European attitudes to Africans in the early times displayed a wide range of contrast, they were generally uniform in one important respect. They supposed no natural inferiority in Africans, no inherent failure to develop and mature. That was to be the great myth of later years."

40 Million Slaves

The author asks, and answers, a question of the greatest importance.

If at the time of their first contact, feudalism was the prevailing system in both continents, how was it that Europe developed and became industrialised while Africa stagnated?

The answer is to be found in the slave trade, in the tremendous consequences of this trade for the people of Africa. It is estimated that about forty million were sold as slaves. How many times this number were killed in obtaining so many slaves cannot even be guessed at. In exchange for slaves the sellers received "luxuries and the means of war," firearms, gin, beads, trashy goods and whatever could be ostentatiously consumed by the rulers and rich men of the tribe. The firearms were used to capture more slaves.

The wise and far-sighted among the African rulers, for example the Mani-Congo in 1526, opposed the slave trade but then found that they could not get firearms to defend themselves—and to be defenceless among slave dealers meant to become a slave yourself.

The first white dealers in slaves had only limited markets to supply—the small domestic requirements of their home countries. "In the sixteenth century neither France nor England had any significant interest in slaves... A royal declaration of 1571 stated that 'France, mother of liberty, permits no slaves. . . . Then came the development of sugar and tobacco plantations in the West Indies, and 'A royal order of 1670 threw open the slave trade to any Frenchman who wished to engage in it. The

King's desire declared this order was to promote in every way possible 'the trade in Negroes from Guinea to the Islands'"

The dealers left the European ports with cargoes of trade goods for Africa and loaded up with slaves, the survivors were sold in the West Indies and the ships loaded with sugar, tobacco, rum, etc., and returned to the home ports often showing profits of 300 per cent on the round trip.

Many Europeans believed that all Africans were cannibals—that the slaves they bought were saved from the stew pots; they would have been surprised to learn that it was commonly believed in Africa that the Whites bought slaves in order to eat them.

Basil Davidson throws a clear light of reason on many beliefs that are hallowed by age, and debunks them. Supporters of apartheid should read this book. It is their common argument that they have thousands of years of civilisation behind them; they will find from it that this also applies to Africans. Slavery existed in Africa, as it did in Europe, but the slave was able to grow rich and to obtain his freedom.

In the heart of darkest Africa, at the time of their first contact with the explorers from Europe, there were men wise in statecraft and great in civilisation, genuine leaders of their people, who wished to gain from Europe teachers and technicians, carpenters and boatbuilders, and begged for them to be sent, but in vain. At that time white slave dealers were throwing overboard sick slaves because if they died on board the insurance money would be forfeited.

"In the nineteenth century there were many cases of slavers who threw their whole living cargoes into the sea when pursued by British anti-slaver patrols, the impounding of their ships."

The Leopard Society, which has enjoyed fame in a certain type of story book and occasionally in the press, one finds to be not very dissimilar to a Chamber of Commerce.

This is a most instructive book. It is arresting at first reading but one ventures to suggest that its main value will be in use as a work of reference and as a stimulus to further reading.