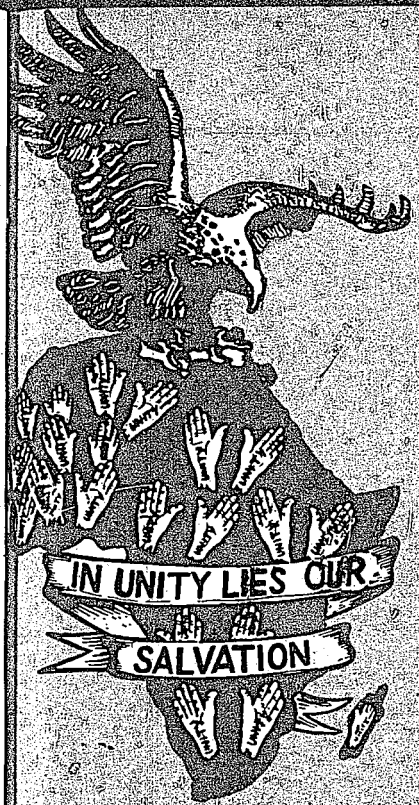




Voice of AFRICA



4th JUL 27
 Copy 1962

THE new hold on Africa by neo-colonialism, which is fighting desperately to control our very existence and development, must be shattered. But our only hope of succeeding in this is by a united mutual effort. That is why we must constantly think, speak and work towards African unity. Whether it comes today, tomorrow or the day after, it must come if Africa is to survive.

As I said sometime ago, enemies of African progress and prosperity have a vested interest in misinterpreting our motives in order to confuse African nationalist leaders on this question of African unity.

Socially, economically and culturally we are inter-connected. None of us, for instance, is economically independent. As things stand, three possibilities are open to us: to look to each other and pool our resources, to look to one or other of the foreign powers and become dependent upon them, to isolate ourselves and regress.

—KWAME NKRUMAH.

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Towards **AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE** *and* **UNITY**

VICTORY may be delayed or obstructed, but it can never be snatched away. You the patriotic sons of the Motherland now engaged in a glorious struggle at home to dislodge the wily foreign oppressors must realise this; you must not let yourselves be distracted by side shows and imperialist sponsored fissiparous tendencies. Keep the flag flying; the flag of African Independence and Unity. You have got many friends and sympathisers abroad. You are therefore not alone in your struggle. At the same time you must be sure that by doing this you are keeping up the sound and time-honoured tradition of fighting your own battles yourselves; excessive reliance on outside supports is delusive and dangerous. The torch has been lighted; it will burn on for ever and ever. FORWARD EVER BACKWARD NEVER.

Those of you, sons and daughters of Africa, who are fortunate to be abroad, have a special duty in fully girding yourselves for the struggle which awaits you at home. At the cross-roads, where we find ourselves, we have no room for ideological differences. You must close your ranks and strengthen the foundations of monolithic pan-continental fraternity dedicated to the immediate liberation of the African Motherland and the ushering in of a bright and glorious New Order—A United States of Africa.

Above all read; read. Read everything, something of everything. It will enable you to break the one-sided indoctrination to which the Motherland has been subjected by the stubborn imperialists. It will enable you to develop a critical acumen, to increase your vigilance; to sharpen your sword for the rapidly approaching final show-down with the foreign oppression. Furthermore, it will enable you to see Africa in her true setting and the role the imperialists and their agencies have been playing therein since the last century. Africa must be liberated. Remember always that you have four stages to make:—

- THE ATTAINMENT OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE;
- THE CONSOLIDATION OF THAT FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE;
- THE CREATION OF UNITY AND COMMUNITY BETWEEN THE FREE AFRICAN STATES;
- THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AFRICA.

**FORWARD THEN TO INDEPENDENCE. TO INDEPENDENCE NOW.
TOMORROW THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA.**

Towards AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE and UNITY

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TOMORROW THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA.

Profile of Guilty Men

Harry Frederick Oppenheimer

"It is a great misfortune that the slogan 'one man one vote' should have taken such a hold on liberal opinion," declared Harry Frederick Oppenheimer as Chairman of the Rhodesian Anglo-American Ltd. on November 17, 1960.

"Far from being a guarantee of democracy, experience suggests strongly that in present conditions in Africa, it is a guarantee that there will not be a democracy."

The 53-year-old Harry Oppenheimer who was born in Kimberley, the first South African industrial city to exploit the African people ruthlessly, is today the richest settler in Africa.

Harry's Politics, Philosophy and Economics learnt at Christ Church, Oxford never include definition of the essence of democracy as rule by the majority.

Today Harry controls one-quarter of South Africa's gold mines and ninety-five per cent of the world diamond market.

In 1896 Harry's gold mines paid the African worker 3/- per day while today they pay him 3/4 per day. The 4d. rise in 66 years to which the African has been subjected is the only real "democracy" that Harry knows.

In 1946 when the African miners went on strike for better pay and improved living conditions, Harry and his father, the late Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, called upon the South African settler regime, which they virtually controlled, to mow them down. And they did—with a vengeance.

Harry is *inter alia* Chairman of the Anglo-American Co-operation, the De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. and the Rhodesian Anglo-America. These control most of the Orange Free State Gold Mines, the total diamond output of African diamonds and the whole marketing of world diamonds and a substantial slice of the Copperbelt both in Katanga and Northern Rhodesia. And hence the headache of both Cyrille Adoula and Kenneth Kaunda.

These three concerns have a subscribed capital of £336 million and total reserves of £268 million.

Officially he has belonged to the settler opposition United Party to which he has contributed £250,000 through the United South Africa Trust Fund.

The United Party, like Harry himself, is against 'apartheid' but all out for 'segregation' the original version of apartheid. Since apartheid is mainly directed at curbing the influence of non-Afrikaner capital and industry in the "Bantu" homeland, it is understandable why Harry and Verwoerd should differ on these details.

After November 1959, Harry identified himself with the Progressive Party, a splinter group of the United Party.

Oppenheimer is the worst exploiter of the African masses and the various colonial governments including that of Dr. Verwoerd merely exist to help him to exploit the Africans more. That in itself is a grave crime although it has often been glossed over.

Oppenheimer's latest crime cannot be easily glossed over. This crime is his decision to manufacture arms for the South African settler Government for the purpose of shooting the African people who demand the implementation of the principle of universal franchise which he scornfully denys the slogan of 'one man, one vote.'

Through his African Explosives Company he has entered into contract with the settler Government of South Africa to build arms factories both on the Rand and in the Cape. This fact has been confirmed by his fellow criminal J.J. Fouche, the settler Minister for Aggression against the African people and by a spokesman of Imperial Chemical Industries, the parent company of African Explosives.

Harry Frederick Oppenheimer, you stand charged with the crimes of sucking the blood of the African peoples, of murdering African workers and now of making the tools for murdering more just because they have dared to seek 'one man, one vote,' in their own country. Whatever changes you want for the African people it is within the framework of their enslavement.

You are found guilty on all three charges.

***** **Release Them:** *****

Humanity Sent to Gaol?

SIX British citizens—Michael Randle (formerly working with *The Voice of Africa*) Patrick Pottle, Trevor Hatton, Ian Dixon, Terence Chandler and Helen Altegranza—have been sent to gaol in Britain for the organisation of the Wethersfield demonstrations against the Nuclear Bombs.

Professor Bertrand Russell told the Cannon Row Police after the trial that: "The trial was a farce. The defence was not allowed to state its case. Our witnesses were muzzled. I feel that these six young people were unjustly selected for victims of a selective justice."

As we see it, these six young people have been sent to gaol for accusing the British Government of nuclear policies prejudicial to the safety and interests of mankind.

The mood of contemporary man is dark, self-questioning, gloomy and despairing. Threat of a nuclear war has shaken his confidence and dispersed his illusions. The twentieth century, earmarked to be the apotheosis of his ascent, has turned into the nightmarish aberration of a dark hallucinatory underworld.

His conquest of space by flight and radio, his mastery of nuclear power and all his spectacular technical advances have let loose, not the millennium, but the great deluge.

Man's scientific achievements have not only transformed his external existence, they have changed his relation to matter and stultified his old ideas of the universe.

Today, it appears, modern science has filled man's life with a sombre incertitude and his future with disaster. Today man is wrapped in a tempestuous semi-darkness.

Overriding all other issues, one stark and momentous question faces him: peace or war in the world?

Throughout the length and breadth of the earth hundreds of millions of people are determined to maintain peace. But the future of man hangs round the necks of the world's leading statesmen. We make a fervent appeal to them to save man from doom. The dark clouds of war must pass-by.

We see no reason why these young British lads should be held in jail.

Their voice is the voice of humanity. Humanity cannot be jailed. No jail on this earth can contain humanity.

The Voice of Africa joins the millions of people in demanding the release of the six British youth.



Published by the

Bureau of African Affairs

and

Printed in the

REPUBLIC of GHANA

by the

Guinea Press Ltd., (and reduced), Accra

Subscriptions:

Subscription fee is 9/- or its equivalent in other currencies per annum (postage inclusive)

A copy of the VOICE costs 9d.

Subscriptions should be addressed to BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

P.O. Box M24, Accra, Ghana

Editor-in-Chief:

KOFI BATSA

Voice of Africa

Vol. 2 No. 4

April, 1962

A MAGAZINE OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

EDITORIALS

The Monster

THE signs point to a new show-down in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Sir Roy Welensky, the monster nurtured by racists and backed by some British Conservative MPs and Peers mostly connected with companies exploiting Rhodesias' natural wealth, is battling to preserve at all costs, even resort to violence, the obsolete colonial order in Central Africa.

Today Welensky is openly criticising the British Government for indecision in Central Africa. Though this unbridled racist is a mere pawn in the big game, the support he has from the extremely influential British financial magnates has encouraged him to bleat that: "I shall do all in my power to defend federation. And I will use force if necessary." And what he really means by that is: "I shall do all in my power to perpetuate the enslavement of the African and I will use brutal force if necessary."

Roy is flying his boxing gloves at the throats of everybody.

The monster is growing stronger than his masters. In 1960 this 300 pound heavy-weight boxer battered paper-weight Macleod out of the ring. This wild boxer, grinning in confidence, flings a flurry of body blows at Reginald Maudling. Though poor Reg is conscientiously avoiding some of the blows, he does need old RAB. Buttler to manage him.

Two months ago Roy rushed to London and demanded the British Government to give guarantees that the "Federation" would be preserved. Welensky triumphantly returned to Salisbury and declared for all to hear that

the British Government had given its approval to the plan of preserving colonialism in Central Africa.

To dramatise his victory over the liberals in Britain, he called his settler parliament and declared his intention of dissolving it and going to election for more power from his fellow white planters to suppress and where necessary to kill Africans. Meanwhile puny Edgar Whitehead plays second fiddle to him. He busily projects Duncan Sandys' view of forming a "federation of Rhodesia and Barotseland."

The die-hard Tories in the British Government should not be under the delusion that the Africans of Central Africa do not comprehend the diabolical devices they employ against them. The Africans have learnt through bitter experiences what the true nature of colonialism is.

The shocking trend of affairs in Central Africa shows how justified the Africans are to struggle against the regime which Sir Roy, with powerful Tory support, wishes to maintain throughout the whole Central Africa.

See Cartoon on page 12

African Working Class Unity

MAY 29, 1961, the day on which the All-African Trade Union Federation was launched, fulfilled the cherished dream of leaders and workers of many parts of Africa. That day the African working class openly kicked against attempts by imperialist-minded trade union leaders in Africa and abroad to make the African workers' movement a football in the game of power-politics and the cold war.

The AATUF is barely a year old but it has to contend with powerful reactionary forces inside and outside its ranks.

There is a malignant growth of hostile ideologies. These reactionary ideologies are aimed at directing the attention of the African working class from its real aim—to stimulate and co-ordinate the African struggle for freedom and to win higher standards of life and labour for Africa's teeming exploited millions.

The rise of these hostile ideologies is the concrete manifestation not only of material but also of immensely profound moral problems facing the working class movement in Africa.

This fact embodies a harsh reality that we cannot ignore.

To get out of this situation the African worker must place the overall interest of Africa before him. He must realise that Africa as a whole is headed for a great and brilliant future, and that he has a substantial role to play in the realisation of this future. He must always be ready to meet new attacks, new tactics and new attempts "to divide and rule" him.

A revolution strides the continent of Africa with the steps of a giant. Nobody can arrest its powerful forward march. Those who are eager to resist the advancing force must be warned that the African working masses are increasingly rejecting leaders who are not devoted to the great African cause. Anybody dedicated to the cause of enslaving them is bound to fail. Any attempt to force untenable ideologies on them is bound to collapse. Throughout the ages the bell of destiny has always tolled the knell of traitors to cherished and noble causes. In our own day it is bound to toll the knell of all traitors of the great cause of African working class unity as expressed in the All-African Trade Union Federation.



A Call to African Workers

by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

THE Trade Union Movement in Africa is indissolubly linked up with the struggle for the political freedom, independence and unity of our continent.

A trade union movement in a colonial territory cannot divorce itself from the national struggle for political independence.

Indeed, in a colonial territory, the struggle for freedom and independence is inextricably linked up with the success of the Trade Union Movement.

Experience in Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, and last, but not least, Algeria, are demonstration of this fact.

Political freedom and the rights of workers are indivisible.

It is only under genuine conditions of political freedom that the workers can have the opportunity to assert themselves as human beings and defend their rights for better conditions and for a better way of life.

The first duty of all organisations existing in a colonial territory is for these forces in that territory to unite in the fight for the nation's liberation.

It is almost axiomatic that the nationalist movements that have borne the brunt of the struggle for independence have never ignored the trade unions.

Everything possible has been done to draw the working classes and the masses of the common people into the struggle as the only effective challenge to the oppressive forces.

In the past, because of the participation and domination of Africa by colonial powers, some African trade unions have been tied up to the trade unions of the metropolitan countries of these colonial powers.

Another important factor was that African trade unionism for the last quarter of a century has suffered splits and divisions as a result of the cold war, about which we are less concerned.

The Conference of Independent African States and the All-African



OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKUMAH

Peoples' Conference gave a new ideology to the African peoples to re-discover themselves, their continent.

Today, there is a new African in the world, a proud African, free and independent, who is determined, despite all obstacles, to assert his personality within the community of the world.

The African nations, having learnt their lessons from the past, are no longer prepared to be pawns to foreign nations and to allow their independence and freedom to be sold on the altar of international politics.

The desire of the African people themselves to unite and to assert their personality in the context of the African community has made itself felt everywhere.

The trade union organisations of the African countries who have found themselves always in the vanguard of the national movements, can no longer keep themselves aloof from this upsurge which

is permeating the whole of the African continent.

We understand and support the desire of the African workers to be on their own. It is my hope that the world will understand your aspirations.

We see in an All-African Trade Union Federation, an independent and united African organisation not affiliated to either the World Federation of Trade Unions, or to the International Federation of Free Trade Unions, a positively neutral federation, friendly to all international organisations, but holding allegiance to none, except to Mother Africa.

The Government of Ghana fully supports the desire of the African workers and, as in the past, we shall give every support and encouragement to the formation of such a federation.

This federation should seek consultative status with the United Nations and its specialised agencies.

Continued on page 7

Ceasefire in Algeria (News Talk)

IT was with a sign of relief that we heard the news for which we had waited breathlessly for over a week, that a ceasefire had been proclaimed by the Algerian and French Governments. And so a war which started in October 1954, and carried through over more than seven long years, at the cost of untold suffering, cruelty and bloodshed, comes to an end.

Everyone in Africa, and indeed the world, rejoices over this happy event except of course the men of the OAS, the extremist European Secret

Army Organisation. Those men are bent upon sabotaging the result that has been so painfully and laboriously won, bitter fighting and several days of anxious parleying. But will they succeed? Hardly likely, because now they will have to reckon with resistance such as they have not yet had to face.

Martial courts have been set up both in France and Algeria to deal with them. They represent a threat indeed not only to Algeria, but to all independent African States. And that is why we expect that the full strength of the law will be unleashed upon them, until they are completely brought to heel.

As a matter of fact, the main reason for the delay in the negotiation leading to the ceasefire, centred around the question of the re-organisation of the security forces, and their ultimate strength. In Algeria, the security forces are under the control of a Provisional Executive, and their main duty will be to eliminate any organisation which is not prepared to respect the ceasefire and the general line of settlement reached between France and Algeria.



BEN YOUSSEF BEN KHEDDA, Prime Minister of Algerian Provisional Government

What does the ceasefire mean in effect? It very definitely ushers in a period, a brief period it is to be hoped, which will lead to the independence of Algeria. This will be achieved during the transitional period, when the Algerian people by means of a referendum, will confirm their independence and sovereignty. The ceasefire does not mean peace in the sense of sitting back and taking one's rest after strenuous exertions, because apart from the problem of the OAS, which has already been indicated, the Algerian people are entering upon a new stage to complete independence, which will claim all their vigilance, physical and mental energy.

As Osagyefo has said, the ceasefire is but a stage on the road towards complete independence. He was sure that the sacrifices endured by the Algerian people made them very conscious of their main objectives

which are a complete and total transformation of the colonial pattern of society.

There is no doubt that Algeria because of her hard-won experience and genuine political consciousness of her people will bring great strength in the future as it did in the past, to

the movement for national independence, and African unity, which has gripped Africa from end to end.

The ceasefire in Algeria will go down as one of the great pivotal dates in history. It will recall the struggle of a heroic people who held life of little worth, when compared

with the dignity of man as an independent being. This date will long be remembered and indeed can never be forgotten for when the story of the end of colonialism comes to be written, the war in Algeria, will be seen as one of the most important factors in quickening the movement for independence, and planting the conviction in the hearts and minds of those who doubted it, that Africa is conscious of her destiny and is determined to be free.

And can we end without a word about France? It was Osagyefo, I believe, who in one of his speeches hoped that as soon as France had abandoned nuclear testing in the Sahara and has put an end to the war in Algeria, a new era of fruitful co-operation with Africa would dawn. A page of history has been turned. May the events of the future transcend our wildest dreams and justify our hopes in the peaceful brotherly co-existence of all nations on the earth, in the framework of independence and sovereignty.

Call to African Workers

Continued from page 5

that will speak for the workers of Africa in the manner that the workers of Africa wish their voices heard.

This new African Trade Union International has an important part to play in the struggle for African political freedom and in economic and social development.

The national movements that are emerging in Africa today are decisive proof that our continent cannot be kept much longer in a state of political and economic dependence.

From a purely trade union point of view, it should be one of the main objects of this new African federation to develop a strong trade union movement throughout Africa.



This is how one of the biggest advertising agencies in South Africa recently informed its customers that it was moving to new premises. They obviously think they are being amusing, eye-catching.

Eye-catching it certainly is—BUT QUITE DISGUSTING. And an interesting sidelight on how a wealthy firm like this possibly sees South Africa's economic set-up of wealth for the whites as the result of the exploitation of the African.

If this had happened in one of the independent African States like Ghana, Guinea, Mali or Tanganyika, the 'Boss' (holding the umbrella on the left) would probably have been out on his ear—but fast!



MOHAMMED BEN BELLA, Vice-Premier

Independent African States

	STATE	Area in 1,000s of sq. miles	CAPITAL	FORMER STATUS	Population in 1,000s		HEAD OF GOVERNMENT	HEAD OF STATE	DATE OF INDEPEND.
					Total	Non-African			
1.	Algeria	855	Algiers	Former Overseas Province of Republic of France	10,930	1,250	Ben Youssef Ben Khedda	Ben Youssef Ben Khedda	Sept. 1950
2.	Cameroun		Yaounde	Former French and British Trust Territories of Cameroun and Southern Cameroons	4,846	16	Charles Assale	Ahmadou Ahidjo	Jan. 1, 1960
3.	Central Africa	238	Bangui	Former French Colony	1,185	6	David Dacko	David Dacko	Aug. 13, 1960
4.	Chad	495	Fort Lamy	Former French Colony	2,730	2.6	Francois Tombalbay	Francois Tombalbay	Aug. 11, 1960
5.	Congo (Bra.)	129	Brazzaville	Former French Colony	795	11	Fulbert Youlou	Fulbert Youlou	Aug. 15, 1960
6.	Congo (Leo.)	139	Leopoldville	Former Belgian Colony	13,653	120	Cyrille Adoula	Joseph Kasavubu	June 30, 1960
7.	Dahomey	.44	Porto Novo	Former French Colony	2,000	2.5	Hubert Maga	Hubert Maga	Aug. 1, 1960
8.	Egypt (U.A.R.)	286	Cairo	Ancient African Kingdom since 3,000 B.C. and Former British Protect.	26,000	250	Gamel Abdel Nasser	Gamel Abdel Nasser	Feb. 28, 1922
9.	Ethiopia	400	Addis Ababa	Ancient African Kingdom	21,000	40	Aklilu Habte-Wolde	Haile Selassie I.	1,000 B.C.
10.	Gabon	102	Libreville	Former French Colony	420	5	Leon M'ba	Leon M'ba	Aug. 17, 1960
11.	Ghana	92	Accra	Former British Colony	6,691	7	Kwame Nkrumah	Kwame Nkrumah	Mar. 6, 1957
12.	Guinea	246	Conakry	Former French Colony	3,000	9	Sekou Toure	Sekou Toure	Oct. 2, 1958
13.	Ivory Coast	128	Abidjan	Former French Colony	3,103	5	Felix Houphouet-Boigny	F. Houphouet-Boigny	Aug. 7, 1960
14.	Liberia	43	Monrovia	Ind. Republic since 1847	2,000	1	W. V. S. Tubman	W. V. S. Tubman	July 26, 1847
15.	Libya	679	Tripoli	Former Italian Colony and British-French Trust Territory	1,172	—	Mohamed Ben Othman	Idris El-Senussi I	Dec. 24, 1951
16.	Malagasy	228	Tananarive	Former French Colony	5,239	25	Philibert Tsiranana	Philibert Tsiranana	June 26, 1960
17.	Mali	463	Bamako	Former French Colony	4,300	7	Modibo Keita	Modibo Keita	June 20, 1960
18.	Mauritania	419	Nouakchott	Former French Colony	730	2	Moktar Ould Daddah	Moktar Ould Daddah	Nov. 28, 1960
19.	Morocco	154	Rabat	Former French Protect.	11,598	350	Hassan II	Hassan II	Mar. 2, 1956
20.	Niger	490	Niamey	Former French Colony	2,850	3	Hamani Diori	Hamani Diori	Aug. 3, 1960
21.	Nigeria	373	Lagos	Former British Colony of Nigeria and British Trust Territory of N. Cameroons	40,000	17	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Elizabeth II (Dr. Azikiwe)	Oct. 1, 1960
22.	Senegal	76	Dakar	Former French Territory	2,550	50	Mamadou Dia	Leopold Sedar Senghor	June 20, 1960
23.	Sierra Leone	28	Freetown	Former British Colony	2,400	2	Milton Margai	Elizabeth II	April, 27, 1961
24.	Somalia	266	Mogadiscio	Former Italian Colony and British Protectorate	1,990	33	Abdiraschid Ali Scarmake	Aden Abdullah Osman	July 1, 1960
25.	Sudan	968	Khartoum	Former Anglo-Egyptian Condominium	11,615	—	Ibrahim Abdoud	Ibrahim Abdoud	Jan. 1, 1956
26.	Tanganyika	362	Dar-es-Salaam	Former British ruled Trust Territory	9,238	123	Rashidji Kawawa	Elizabeth II	Dec. 9, 1961
27.	Republic of Togo	22	Lome	Former French ruled Trust Territory	1,642	2	Sylvanus Olympio	Sylvanus Olympio	Apr. 27, 1960
28.	Tunisia	79	Tunis	Former French Prot.	3,965	250	Habib Bourguiba	Habib Bourguiba	Mar. 20, 1960
29.	Upper Volta	106	Ouagadougou	Former French Colony	4,000	3.5	Maurice Yameogo	Maurice Yameogo	Aug. 5, 1960

Price of Freedom In South Africa

THE second anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre which aroused wave upon wave of national and international indignation and protest is likely to coincide with the release from jail of at least five of the top leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa who have been jailed since March 21, 1960.

The five leaders are: P. K. Leballo S. T. Ngendane, J. D. Nyaoase, Z. L. Mthopeng and B. Mfana, who are all members of the National Executive Committee, the supreme executive and policy-making organ of the PAC.

They were all jailed for two years with no alternative of fine for their role in the Positive Action Campaign, organised by the PAC against the Pass Laws in March 1960.

For some inexplicable reason they have, during the course of their imprisonment been moved from jail to jail. They have been confined in such jails as the Johannesburg, Boksburg, Stofberg and Winburg jails.

While ordinary criminals are entitled to and do receive some remission of their sentence or fine, these political prisoners are compelled to serve the full course of their term without the comfort of any such luxury.

Under normal circumstances the country's change of status from settler monarchical state to settler republican state would have meant added remission for them but the Pretoria settler regime was not disposed to grant any such privileges to "agitators."

The 37-year-old Potlako Kitchener Leballo, National Secretary of the PAC, is a former school master, a former army sergeant, and a former business executive.

During the 1952 Defiance Campaign of the African National Congress Leballo took French leave from his teaching post to lead a defiance batch into action for which action he was fired from his post of school principal and banned from entering the Orange Free State.

Leballo played a vital role in the ANC Youth League and was Chairman of its largest branch the Orlando Branch which led the move towards the emergence of the Africanist Movement within the ANC which on April 6, 1959 became the Pan-Africanist Congress proscribed exactly a year later on April 6, 1960.

A terrific rabble-rouser "P.K." as he is affectionately called, is very popular with "the forces," as he himself styles all PAC members. To the Press he is almost invariably referred to as "the fire-eating Potlako Leballo."

The 29-year-old Foreign Secretary, Selby Temba Ngendane read history and political science at the University College of Fort Hare where he was a leading member of the ANC Youth League, the progenitor of the Pan-Africanist Congress. He is a former business executive.

Dedicated to the struggle—and to his clothes—"S.T." enjoyed the reputation of being the PAC's most immaculately dressed top leader at all PAC meetings and at the subsequent "incitement" trial.

Jacob Dum dum Nyaoase, the PAC Labour Secretary is regarded in labour circles as the most skilful African trade unionist in South Africa. "J.D." who is Secretary of the Bakers' Union and President of the FOFATUSA—the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa is forty six years old and a

former member of the ANC Youth League executive.

The 48-year-old Zephaniah Lekwane Mthopeng is former high School Teacher and a famous music conductor. The African Teachers' Association reached the climax of its militancy and the acme of its political maturity under his presidency.

The settler-controlled Education Department fired him from its teaching service for alleged "subversive activities." He thereafter served the imperialist-controlled Basutoland Education Department which also discovered that it could not contain him. It fired him together with Ntsu Mokhehle, now Leader of the Basutoland Congress Party for political activity.

Mthopeng, who has completed his articles for the Side Bar of the Supreme Court of South Africa, is Judicial Secretary of the PAC. He is a former leading member of the ANC Youth League and one of the most consistent militant and courageous freedom fighters in the African liberatory movement.

Bachelor Mfana, the PAC National Organiser was recently reported paralysed in the Stutterheim jail where he is confined.

Among the fatal casualties that the top leadership suffered since Sharpeville was the death of G.Z. Siwisa and H. Ngcobo. George Zwidi Siwisa, Vice-President of the PAC, died in the Boksburg jail while National Executive Committee member Howard Ngcobo died in an accident shortly after serving his sentence at the Durban jail.

Abednego B. Ngcobo, PAC National Treasurer, Hughes Hlatshwayo, Finance and Economic Development Secretary and H. Ngcobo were among the luckiest of the PAC top leaders in that the Natal courts sentenced them only to five months imprisonment with hard labour.

A.B. Ngcobo has since been re-arrested and charged this time under the Unlawful Organisations Act. He is now serving three years imprisonment with hard labour. Makwetu and Sokhanyile, Vice-Presidents of the PAC, have also been re-arrested under the Unlawful Organisations Act and are now being detained indefinitely under the State of Emergency existing in the Transkei.

Nkomo's Plea Before the United Nations' 17-Man Committee on Colonialism

(Usually referred to as Watchdog Committee)

Your Excellencies,

IN a series of original compacts, our hereditary rulers, did under pressure from the British Government and representatives of the British South Africa Company; grant certain mining concessions in the late eighteen eighties to the said Company. The operation of these concessions brought a considerable number of immigrant races (mainly of British stock) to our motherland.

The immigrant races quickly organised themselves into powerful economic and political groups, so that in 1922 the British Government granted self-government status to these minority settlers.

May it be stated here that the Chiefs and the African people were never consulted on this major constitutional step.

Thus for the past thirty-eight years the European immigrant races have been ruling Southern Rhodesia without the consent of the majority of the people—the African people. Throughout these years no African has ever set foot in the Parliament of the land. No African has ever held a senior administrative office in any of the branches of state machinery.

The African people have been debarred by laws from all rights and privileges of men; European settler sentiment, more powerful than law frowns us down. We are everywhere shut out from all senior Civil Service Offices. We are compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gives us no protection. We are denied freedom of speech, the right to assemble and petition, except with police consent and supervision. We are taxed without consent.

This has been our lot for thirty-eight years! Southern Rhodesia has a population of three million Africans and 280,000 European settlers!

Your Excellencies,

We wish to state that self-government is the last stage of any country's political evolution, and the British Government in a singularly shameful



JOSHUA NKOMO

manner decided to hand us over to the whites and caprices of a minority settler community.

The significant fact about the self-government status of Southern Rhodesia is that for thirty-eight years the British Government have been shy to advance Southern Rhodesia to independence because they are and still are conscious of the moral mistake they committed in 1922.

For the past one and half years, we have been involved in some constitutional negotiations with the British Government and the European settler Government of Southern Rhodesia.

At the end of it all, the British Government and the settlers brought out a Constitutional Scheme which has within its embryo seeds that would germinate into another South Africa within a few years if implemented.

They propose a Parliament of 65 members elected through a dual

Roll system. That is, there shall be an "A" Roll and a "B" Roll, both based on a high qualitative franchise.

The "A" Roll voters will elect 50 of the 65 members. So far, of the 280,000 Europeans, 84,000 qualify for and have registered on the "A" Roll, of the three million Africans only 1,000 qualify for the "A" Roll. The disparity is too obvious to demand an explanation.

To qualify for the "A" Roll one needs:—

- Either (a) Income — £720 per annum
or (b) Property — £5,000.
and (c) Education — able to read, write and comprehend the English Language.

Further See Annex No. 1.

The 15 other members of the 65 members legislature shall be elected by the "B" Roll voters. May it be stated here that the Constitution does not state that the fifteen shall be Africans. It merely stipulates that these shall be elected by the "B" Roll voters.

The settlers maintain that at least 50,000 Africans can qualify for the "B" Roll, but our estimates show that hardly 15,000 Africans can qualify for the "B" Roll.

It may be stated here that from the total of 280,000 settlers, 84,000 are on the "A" Roll and 196,000 are unregistered and what is there to stop them from registering on the "B" Roll. In that event the 196,000 Europeans would easily swamp the African voters even if they number 50,000 or 15,000.

Your Excellencies,

The above analysis does show that either on "A" Roll or "B" Roll, the African people can never hope to be really represented.

The political plot is very obvious. The British Government intend to grant independence to the European minority settlers in Southern Rhodesia by the back-door. Their basic aim is to have a Parliament in which the settlers will be in absolute majority with a few black stooges. Then Her Majesty's Government will urge this pseudo multi-racial Parliament to move a motion for

independence; excusing themselves that the motion has been supported by peoples of races.

This is the most dangerous aspect of the present constitutional proposals for Southern Rhodesia.

Your Excellencies,

Because of the aforesaid reasons, we the 3,000,000 African people of Southern Rhodesia have thus resolved; (a) To reject the present Constitution for Southern Rhodesia. (b) We have organised that no African in our motherland—Southern Rhodesia should register as a voter on the basis of the present arrangements. Because of this stand and the support given to us by the toiling 3,000,000 African masses, our nationalist movement, the National Democratic Party, was banned on December 9, 1961 and not only was the Party banned, but the National Leaders plus Provincial and District as well as Branch Leaders numbering 5,000 are prohibited to appear in public nor address any public gatherings.

See Annex 2 and 3

Apart from all this the settlers went further with the paternal sanctions of the British Government and confiscated our Party property valued approximately at £80,000. On December 17, 1961 we created a new Party—the ZIMBAGWE AFRICAN PEOPLES UNION under the banner of genuine democracy—the principle of "ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE". The ZAPU stands clear on this particular principle including the boycott of elections and the refusal to get any African on the fake Voters Roll, not only do we dispute this as being impolitic, but we dispute it fundamentally on the basis that Southern Rhodesia is an African country. And as such, we stand for no compromise, but universal franchise.

Your Excellencies,

We have uttered our complaints to the British Government but they have been unattended to but met only by alleging the peculiar circumstances of the country. All hope of a favourable change in Government of our country is thus extinguished in our bosom and we are now beginning to look to you to help by:—

- Bringing this serious matter openly in all the Commonwealth Councils.
- Bringing it up immediately at the United Nations with a view to urging the world body to put pressure on the British Government and the settlers, and that a United Nations Commission be set-up for this purpose.
- That the present proposed Constitution must not be proceeded with and that a fresh Constitutional Conference be convened to draft a Constitution transferring power to the majority on the basis of "ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE".

Our demand is simple: A Constitution based on the principle of "ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE". Therefore, in the name of humanity, in the name of freedom and justice, in the name of peace and security, we appeal to Your Excellencies; and earnestly and respectfully, ask that our case be regarded with the urgency consideration to which the peculiarities of our struggle entitled us.

In the name of our suffering peoples and their Party, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, we humbly submit this our Memorandum for your consideration.

ANNEX I

New Franchise Qualifications

The proposals provide for an "A" Roll and a "B" Roll.

2. The following requirements will be common to both Rolls:
 - (a) Citizenship: Citizen of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
 - (b) Age: 21 years or over.
 - (c) Residence: Two years' continuous residence in the Federation and three months' residence in the constituency and electoral district concerned immediately preceding application for enrolment.
 - (d) Language: Adequate knowledge of the English language and ability to complete and sign the prescribed form for registration (except in the case of duly appointed Chiefs and Headmen).

3. The following are the different additional qualifications respectively required:

"A" Roll

- (a) Income of £720 during each of two years preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £1,500.
or
- (b) (i) Income of £480 during each of two years preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £1,000; and (ii) completion of a course of primary education of prescribed standard.
or
- (c) (i) Income of £300 during each of two years preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £500; and (ii) four years' secondary education of prescribed standard.

or

(d) Appointment to the office of Chief or Headman.

"B" Roll

- (a) Income at the rate of £240 per annum during the six months preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £450.
or
- (i) Income at the rate of £120, per annum during the six months preceding date of claim for enrolment of ownership of immovable property of value of £250; and (ii) two years' secondary education.
or
- (c) Persons over 30 years of age with—(i) Income at the rate of £120 per annum during the six months preceding date of claim for enrolment or ownership of immovable property of value of £250; and (ii) completion of a course of primary education of a prescribed standard.
or
- (d) Persons over 30 years of age with—Income at the

rate of £180 per annum during the six months preceding the date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of £350.

between one or more sections of the community on the one hand, and any other section of the community on the other hand would be roused, or that subversive statements are likely to be made, or that passions and emotions are likely to be roused which might occasion or lead to serious public disorder if you, the said

- or
- (e) All karaal heads with a following of 20 or more heads of families.
- or
- (f) Ministers of Religion.

JOSHUA MQABUKO NKOMO
were to attend a public gathering;

NOW, THEREFORE, in terms of subsection (1) of section 11 of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, 1960, I do hereby prohibit you from attending any public gathering (other than a gathering in respect of any bona fide sport or entertainment, or a bona fide religious gathering)

ANNEX 2
JOSHUA MQABUKO NKOMO

To
WHEREAS I have reason to believe that feelings of hostility

within the following area for a period of three months reckoned from the date of the service of this order upon you.

The area comprising the Magisterial Districts of:—

**BELINGWE
BULAWAYO
CHARTER
GWANDA
GWELO
HARTLEY
LOMAGUNDI
MARANDELLAS
QUE QUE
SALISBURY
UMTALI
VICTORIA**

excluding any reserve or other tribal area as defined in the Native Affairs Act, Chapter 72.

Given under my hand at Salisbury this 20th day of December, 1961.

Signed: **STUMBLES**
**ACTING MINISTER OF JUSTICE
AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS.**

ANNEX 3
**NOTICE IN TERMS OF
SECTION 53A(4) (b) OF THE
NATIVE AFFAIRS ACT
(CHAPTER 72), AS
AMENDED.**

To **JOSHUA MQABUKO
NYONGOLO NKOMO
R. C. NO. 18334 MATOBO
4100 New Highfield**

SALISBURY

Take notice that under the provisions of paragraph (b) of sub-section (4) of section 53A of the Native Affairs Act (Chapter 72), as amended, I do hereby prohibit you from entering or remaining in any reserve or other tribal area, unless travelling through such reserve or area along a public road.

Failure to comply with this Notice renders you liable to prosecution. The Notice will remain in force until it is revoked.

Signed: **MORRIS**
Chief Native Commissioner

Date 20 Dec. 1961.

Africa Survives

by S. A. Nti

AFRICA, Mother of Ancient Civilizations,
Greedy vampires out of strange lands
Have attempted to assassinate you
Blind to Nature's rules they resolved
And plotted darkly to destroy you,
To satisfy their own greed and need.

Your assassins came Bible in hand
And pretended to be God's own angels
With hearts whiter than their complexions.
O poor innocent Africa
Ignorantly you stretched to them
Your hand of welcome.

Their claims were false and full of lies;
Their hearts blacker than coal-tar,
And filled to the brim with deeds mischievous
O poor innocent Africa!
Ignorantly you stretched to them
Your hand of welcome.

What lies behind this treachery?
In the days of yore you knew
Neither suppression nor oppression
Of man by man;
You dreamt neither of aggression
Against others nor against their land
O Africa, Mother of Ancient Civilizations,
Praise be to your boundless patience.

The vampires came and beheld your wealth;
Dressed in gorgeous attire they saw you;

Your garment regal were woven out of
Natural resources of many kinds;
Such as copper and gold and diamonds.
The vampires' need and greed for these was great.

In dark corners they planned to rob you of your wealth;
Their ways and means were sly and fraudulent;
You took their Bible and they your land:
You had little or no choice.
The Bible could be a weapon strong, you thought.
O Africa, cunningly you were duped.

This Bible in hand policy won them land and victory;
Missionaries preached the word of God;
Merchants traded in ivory and blood
While their governments falsely sought to "civilize" your children.
O poor innocent Africa,
Ignorantly you stretched to them
Your hand of welcome.

Their crimes accomplished they left for joy;
Africa assassinated, all was over;
Your children began to suffer enslavement
On board of ships some were taken to unknown destination.
O innocent Africa,
Ignorantly you were duped!

Grabbing for wealth the vampires instantly commenced;
Imperialism and colonialism, arch-enemies

Of your children had been born;
Exploitation of man by man upsurged;
O Africa, Mother of Ancient Civilizations,
Cunningly you were deceived.

Racial discrimination, humiliation, injustice
And other innumerable vices
Your innocent children began to suffer.
Forgetting their Bible quotation with which they lured thee
That "all men are born equal,"
The vampires showed cruelty which knew no bounds.

Your innocent children endured the hardship in calmness,
Hoping all would be well one day;
You would survive your assassination, they knew.
And crush the vampires once and no more
Freeing them from the iron hands of the monsters.

What is the topical news of the day?
Why your children rejoice all days on end?
Why the vampires begin to shake with fear?
Africa survives assassination at last!
O Africa, Mother of Ancient Civilizations,
No more will you be duped!

Africa, you are awake and shall sleep no more.
We hear you are moving
With volcanic force, crushing everything before you,
Your chains are broken everlasting—
Deceiving, luring and duping no more.

Oppression, suppression and injustice
Will cease to function;
Colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination
Will be deposed;
Enslavement and exploitation of man by man
Will be forgotten.
Progress, peace and unity of your people
Will reign for ever!



The Future of African Law

by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

LONG before the foundation of the universities of the European continent, from which the modern civil codes of Europe have been involved and long before the establishment of the universities and Inns of Court in the United Kingdom where the common law was taught and developed, law schools existed on African soil.

The Maliki School of Legal Thought, which had started as one of the more conservative trends, assumed a radical form. The universities South of the Sahara, like the great University of Sankore at Timbuctu, were centres of university life and learning. In the fourteenth century a teacher of law who came to Timbuctu to teach law, returned to the University of Fez in Morocco saying that the city of Timbuctu was full of black lawyers and juris consults who knew more law than he did.

These centres of learning were of importance not only because they were among the foremost centres of culture of the day, but also because they taught a system of law more advanced at that time than that existing in feudal Europe. In particular, they established the principle of the linking of law to social progress. The conception that law was a part of religion and therefore must serve all men equally, was an essential part of their contribution. African thinkers developed this idea into something larger and wider.

Ibn Khaldun, a great African scholar who was also a distinguished lawyer and a Maliki chief justice in Cairo, had, as early as the fourteenth century, pointed out the importance of law being based upon what he called "social solidarity," but what we, in our day, would call "on the support of the masses."

This theory of his is as true in our day as it was in his. Law, to be effective, must represent the will of the people and be so designed and administered as to forward the social purpose of the State. In Ghana we believe that it is only by socialist planning that we can industrialise and transform our country. Our lawyers therefore, if they are to understand the spirit of our laws, must understand the basic principles upon which the State is directed and why certain laws are enacted, repealed or amended by Parliament. The teaching of law is totally incomplete if it is not accompanied by a background of economic, social and political science, and even politics, science and technology.

The teaching of law in Africa would also be totally incomplete if it did not include a study of African law. The understanding of the basic principles of customary law is particularly important in that it is necessary to grasp the process by which this law has responded to economic and social changes, and the valuable contribution which it can make to legal thinking.

Well over fifty years ago, one of the greatest of our lawyers, John Mensah Sarbah, contributed a preface to a book on Colonial Gold Coast Law published at the expense of Sarbah and his Ghanaian friends, and written by a British colonial judge of the day, Hayes Redwar. Sarbah began his preface with these words:—

"The African social system is communistic and has been built up gradually, and, as a race should grow its own laws just as an animal must grow its own skeleton, so as to meet its own special requirements, so has native customary law grown."

"The conflict between African communism and European individualism confronts the legislative reformer in the British West African Colonies, who, when he essays destroy, to should either provide an adequate substitute, or give the people

affected by his new enactments facilities to invent their own restraints suitable to their changed condition.

"It is doubtful whether the official mind has yet grasped thoroughly the fact that the underlying principle of the aboriginal social system is the sense of duty to be performed, respect to be paid to the aged, and obedience to the man in authority whether head of family, headman of a town or chief of a tribe.

"To encourage the individual to compete with his neighbour in the performance of work, and to continue to take interest in the progress of his community is wise: but to insist on individualism to the extent of encouraging selfishness, and destroying what is undoubtedly good and beneficial in the native's institutions, is hardly commendable.

"In the African social system the formation of a pauper class is unknown, nor is there antagonism of class against class. Indeed, recognition by promotion to office and public position in the community is to many a sufficient incentive to effort and perseverance. Dealing with individualism, one should not fail to develop all the various sides of the native's character. In other words, aim at levelling up; divert to proper use the energy and enthusiasm shown in company fights; and definitely get rid of the idea that aboriginal administration is hopelessly saturated with cruelty and inextricably permeated with corruption, one should recollect that the ancient Britain at a certain period seemed to the Romans no less unpromising.

"In fact Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, recommends him not to procure his slaves from Britain, 'because they are so stupid and utterly incapable of being taught, that they are unfit to form a part of the household of Atticus.'"

All that Mensah Sarbah is trying to say is that our law must embody our traditional social attitudes of communal endeavour, of a classless society and of mutual self-help so as to avoid the narrow interpretation of man's duties to the community and the State, found so often in Western law.

For example, the emphasis laid by nineteenth century judges in Britain and in the United States on the rights of property, are entirely inappropriate in Ghanaian conditions.

There is a ringing challenge to African lawyers today, African law in Africa was declared foreign law for the convenience of colonial administration, which found the administration of justice cumbersome by reason of the vast variations in local and tribal custom. African law had to be proved in court by experts. *But no law can be foreign to its own land and country, and African lawyers, particularly in the independent African States, must quickly find a way to reverse this juridical travesty.*

The law must fight its way forward in the general reconstruction of African action and thought and help to remould the generally distorted African picture in all other fields of life. This is not an easy task, for African lawyers will have to do effective research into the basic concepts of African law, clothe such concepts with living reality and give the African a legal standard upon which African legal history in its various compartments could be hopefully built up.

Law does not operate in a vacuum. Its importance must be related to the overall importance of the people, that is to say, the State.

Application of Law

Law, like all other subjects and perhaps more than most, must be practically applied. I am convinced that its application, like that of other subjects, must be relative. No absolute application of the knowledge of law could therefore be of use either to the lawyer himself or to his client or clients.

Two Ghanaian lawyers trained in the United Kingdom were once arguing on property in my presence. It was Ghanaian property. One of them, newly arrived, referred to something called Fee Tail. At once the other exclaimed: "Fee Tail? Here in Ghana? You must be dreaming!" The Fee Tail lawyer knew of Fee Tail in English Law and believed therefore, that there must be a Fee Tail in Ghanaian Law. Our lawyers must do their utmost to serve Africa in the context of our own conditions and circumstances, our traditions and culture, our hope and aspirations.

It is important, that we realise the great advantages which may result from a progressive and organised development of common law legal institutions. In this matter I took the initiative early this year of proposing to the United Kingdom Government that there should be some much more organised method for the giving of legal technical aid and for the making known of the law reform taking place in various parts of the Commonwealth.

In making these proposals I had in mind the great quantity of legal reform and investigation which we have carried out in Ghana since

independence. These have all been based upon a close study of Ghanaian conditions and are therefore likely to contain ideas and principles suitable for other emergent common law countries. I hope, indeed, that all our visitors from abroad will take away with them copies of our reports on the reform of Company Law and on the establishment of a new law of insolvency, which are examples of the constructive legal thinking which is being done in Ghana today and which also illustrate how we have been able to utilise the experience of foreign experts to assist in solving highly technical and difficult legal problems.

I have recently received a letter from Mr. Macmillan welcoming the ideas, offering assistance and making a number of positive and concrete suggestions on which the United Kingdom Government are consulting other Commonwealth governments. I should therefore like to take this occasion to put on record our sincere thanks to the United Kingdom Prime Minister and Government for their interest and assistance in this proposal, which seems to me an admirable example of the way in which Commonwealth countries can cooperate. I hope, however, that the scheme, when finalised, will be of a kind in which all countries whose legal systems derive in whole or in part from the common law may participate.

In reforming our own laws we have sought technical assistance from Commonwealth countries, the Irish Republic and the United States of America. In our new legislation, we have adopted a number of local principles advocated by such bodies as the New York State Law Revision Committee. Such outside help is of value provided, of course, that the basic principle—that all our laws must be designed to meet the needs and aspirations of our people—is never forgotten.

Scope of Law

Indeed, the object of our founding a law school and establishing a law faculty at the University, was to teach law appropriate to Ghana and not the law and the political thinking of any other country, however appropriate that law and political thinking might be in that particular

country. Naturally, since we have inherited the common law system from the United Kingdom and since much of our written law is founded upon Acts of United Kingdom Parliament and upon ordinances of the colonial days, much of the legal instruction given us was based upon English and Commonwealth law.

It is therefore natural that we should look in the main for law teachers who have been trained in English Law, but it is the duty of these teachers not to represent English law as the standard to which we must necessarily conform or as containing fixed and rigid principles from which we must never depart. They must regard it rather as a foundation from which to build in a form adapted to our own social system.

We must broaden the scope of law taught. In a developing country, the first priority is not for lawyers trained to conduct litigation between wealthy individuals. Unfortunately, colonial conditions produced just this type of lawyer, and our own colonial legal system resulted in, for example, "land" cases between chiefs involving law suit after law suit.

Appeals to Privy Council

In the old days, one case alone might go on appeal to the Privy Council two or three times upon one or other aspect of the matter and perhaps take up to twelve years before a final decision was reached. In consequence, there was no certainty as to the legal position and the revenues of the traditional authorities involved were wasted in the working of a fantastically cumbersome, expensive and dilatory process. Land disputes of this nature should be settled, as our law now permits, by appropriate actions by the administration. The land litigation of the past should serve as a warning of the disastrous consequences of attempting to apply English legal forms to issues for which they were never intended.

The lawyers needed in a developing state are, in the first place, those trained to assist the ordinary man and woman in his every day legal problems and particularly in the new problems likely to arise through

industrialisation. For example, lawyers are required by the trade union movement to assist in making effective agreements with employers and seeing to it that the individual trade unionist obtains what is legally due to him if he is injured at work or is illegally dismissed. In the same way, lawyers are required throughout the continent so that in small towns and villages, inexpensive but good advice can be had by the ordinary man and woman so that they are not put at a disadvantage in dealing with a wealthy trading or commercial firm.

This is a very different conception to that of the lawyer of colonial days who lived in the big towns and spent most of his time in court or chambers dealing with a very restricted class of client. In consequence of the nature of his work, he was very liable to become subconsciously an exponent of the views of colonial economic interests.

Secondly, and perhaps most important of all, we need lawyers in the service of the State, to deal with treaties and commercial agreements and with questions of private and public international law. A modern State requires also in its public services an increasing number of persons with a legal education, not only as advisers and legal technicians, but also in the day to day administration of the country.

African Education in Northern Rhodesia

by J. M. Kabuca

PERHAPS it is time to say that Northern Rhodesia is the richest of all the British Protectorates in Colonial Africa. And, indeed, it is the only Protectorate where the shareholder in Britain cashes a substantial dividend for his investment. The European mineworker enjoys a standard of living that is only comparable to the United States.

You all know my general views, and it is therefore not necessary for me to elaborate what I have always stressed on innumerable occasions, namely, the need for African unity. This, however, is not only a political question. It is also a matter of constantly increasing inter-African economic and cultural relations. Thus, Ghanaian lawyers must become well acquainted with the law of other African countries and must be taught at least the principles of civil and administrative law as obtaining in many African States through their adoption of a system based on the great European continental codes of the nineteenth century.

Reactionary Force

In my view, legal education in Africa should be founded on a grasp of the systems of law which exist in our continent today. It must also be based upon a sound knowledge of progressive economic and social theory.

We must avoid the tendency to suppose that the form in which the law is administered is more important than the content of the law. Law is converted into a reactionary force once it is regarded as an abstract conception, which is in some mysterious way universally applicable without regard to the economic and social condition of the country in

which it is being applied. The reverse is true.

The law should be the legal expression of the political, economic and social conditions of the people and of their aims for progress. It is the height of absurdity to attempt to assess the legal institutions of any country by adopting a formalistic yardstick which completely disregards the material content of the law and measures justice or injustice solely by procedural rules. Unfortunately such an approach too often marks the attitude of even the most eminent lawyers towards people with whose economic needs and social and political aims they do not see eye to eye.

The Ghana Law School was founded less than two years after Ghana became independent, to prepare students to become lawyers. Our initiative in this is proof of our belief in legality and our realisation of the need for a dynamic approach to legal teaching.

The object of the School is to give both full and part-time tuition in law so that those who had wished to become lawyers but who could not in the past afford the large sums required to study at the Inns of Court in London, can now qualify. It will thus result in future generations of Ghanaian lawyers obtaining their qualifications in their own country.

for this lack of concern is perhaps that the white settler, exercising his dominant political power, has seen to it that he retards the progress of the African people in order to entrench his own position. Britain has no right to point a finger at the Belgians in the Congo, for the education of Africans in Northern Rhodesia is as bad as that in the Congo.

It is striking to observe that the number of African scholars from Northern Rhodesia taking courses outside the country in 1958 was 22, and in 1959 was 32. In 1960, relatively the best year, there were 48 Northern Rhodesian African students taking courses in the United Kingdom with the help of the Government. About the vital courses which are, of course, not available in

Continued on page 19

Towards African Unity: PAFMECSA Freedom Fighters Meet

by Our Correspondent

LEADERS from East, Central and Southern Africa met in the majestic city of Addis Ababa from 2nd-8th February, 1962 to deliberate on the naughtiest problem facing this fabulous region of Africa—the problem of minority rule. In this part of Africa; Central and Southern Africa in particular, the imperialists have handed power to a handful of their kith and kin who ruthlessly suppress the legitimate aspirations of the true owners of the soil—the African people.

If Africa is to be on her own, this important region must be FREE—RIGHT NOW!

It was for this reason that the PAN - AFRICAN MOVEMENT FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA was established.

In the words of one of its greatest proponents, Kenneth Kaunda, "PAFMECSA is part and parcel of the All-African Peoples' Conference. It was established for administrative purposes and effective organisation only, and we intend to keep it as such."

PAFMECSA stands for the consolidation of Pan-Africanism and the eradication of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism; not only in its region of operation but over entire mother-Africa.

Indeed this spirit was clearly shown by the unanimity reached over all the resolutions that were passed by the conference. Ethiopia and Somalia agreed to join the East African Common Services Association—The nucleus of the Federation of Eastern Africa! South Africa and South-West Africa were formally admitted into the ranks of the PAFMECSA.

Thus, the PAFMECSA charter was conveniently amended to streamline the organisational machinery.

Today PAFMECSA embodies: Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, Tanganyika, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mozambique, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, South Africa and South-West Africa. It is hoped that Angola, Congo, Sudan, and the Malagasy Republics will come into this great family fold.

Indeed, PAFMECSA is a great milestone towards the political, economic, and military unification of our beloved mother-Africa.

On this question of African UNITY, PAFMECSA agreed to work through two point formula—

- When there is a problem anywhere in Africa we must meet to discuss it over and over again till a common solution is found;
- No matter how violently we may disagree amongst ourselves—whether this be on party level, national level, PAFMECSA or AAPC levels, let us refuse to be tempted to wash our dirty linen in public.

The enemies of Africa are numberless, the obstacles placed in our way by the satanic tactics of the colonialist-imperialist powers are Himalayan and the great political odds that face freedom fighters in the "White Settled" Central and Southern Africa—well nigh insurmountable; but, in UNITY, we can fulfil even the Canutian dreams.

PAFMECSA is dedicated to these noble tasks—Africa is the continent of today.

In the accompanying PAFMECSA resolutions, one sees hope for a determined bid to break through the Welensky-Verwoerd-Salazar axis. Oh! Yes, I SMELL REFUGEES!

On Southern Africa

Aware of the sinister implication of the new "unholy alliance" in Southern Africa between the fascist governments of Dr. Verwoerd, Salazar and Welensky.

Aware of the economic backing of this alliance by strong industrial and commercial interests,

Deplores and warns the investors who by so doing become parties in the exploitation of the people of Southern Africa.

Disurbed by the obvious and active support of Britain and other NATO powers to this "alliance"; Condemns the "Defence" pacts and common military offensives of the member countries of this "unholy alliance" against the African patriots.

Draws the attention of all the African States to this "unholy alliance" with its evil intentions to suppress and sabotage the independence movement in Africa.

Appeals to all the Independent African States to further co-ordinate and implement economic sanctions against these states of the "unholy alliance," to close all their ports to all their vessels and any other vessels registered in terms of the laws of these countries prevent their own ships from entering the ports of these states, boycott all the goods of these states, refuse landing and passage facilities to all air-craft belonging to the governments of the states of this "alliances" and companies registered under their laws.

Notes the appeal from the Third All-African Peoples' Conference that all PAFMECSA and other African territories endeavour to prevent and halt labour, supply from reaching the mines and factories of the states of this "alliance".

Salutes the freedom fighters in these areas who continue to fight against great odds.

Recalling the 1960 Addis Ababa Conference resolution condemns the continuing policies of Apartheid and white domination in terms of which the government of the so-called Republic of South Africa oppresses

and exploits the African majority in the interests of a White minority.

Noting that the recent intensification of these policies is leading to an explosive situation within the borders of South Africa which constitutes a threat to peace in Africa and in the world.

Utterly rejects the granting of so-called "self-government to the Transkei" as a cynical fraud and a calculated insult to the African peoples throughout Africa who are demanding complete and genuine freedom and independence in respect of the whole of South Africa;

Calls on African States to apply immediate political, economic, diplomatic and cultural sanctions against this so-called Republic of South Africa and to secure the adoption of these measures by the United Nations Organisation.

Urges African States and organisations to regard those states which continue to maintain normal trade and state relations with the South African regime and which connive at stratagems adopted by South African trade organisations to evade the boycott of South African goods as "unfriendly."

Calls on the African States to exert pressure on the governments of France, Britain and the United States so that these governments cease to supply the South African Government with arms and military equipment and to desist from assisting in the establishment of armaments and munitions factories in South Africa.

Calls on African Governments and National Liberation Movements in territories bordering South Africa to take vigorous steps to ensure the effective withdrawal of their nationals new services as cheap labour for the South African mines and farms.

Calls on All-African States to give practical and material support to the people of South Africa in their struggle for freedom.

Demands the lifting of the bans on the two major political organisations, viz. the ANC and the PAC;

Calls for the lifting of the banishment orders and other restrictions on chief Albert J. Luthuli, President-General of the ANC.

Calls for the immediate and unconditional release of Mangaliso R. Sobukwe, National President of PAC and the release of all freedom

fighters now imprisoned and banished, pays tribute to freedom fighters, martyrs in the struggle for African freedom who have died and continue to die in the imperialist prisons and affirms that their precious lives shall not be in vain.

On Basutoland, Bachelanaland and Swaziland

Convinced that the recent violation of the territorial rights of Basutoland by the police of the so-called Republic of South Africa expresses the Republic's intention to commit aimed aggression against Basutoland and the other High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

Convinced as a result of the recent interferences by the police of this so-called Republic of South Africa with residents of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in transit through South Africa; that this so-called Republic wants to isolate the three territories from contact with the rest of the world.

Convinced, too, that the British Government continues to conspire with the Republic of South Africa for the incorporation of the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland into the Republic of South Africa.

This fourth conference of PAFMECSA calls upon the British Government to grant these territories independence at once in order to guarantee their security and their sovereignty.

On South West Africa

Welcomes the recognition of self-determination for the people of South-West Africa on the part of the United Nations.

Calls upon the UN Special Committee appointed by the United Nations to proceed to South-West Africa forthwith with or without the co-operation of the South African Government to effect the immediate withdrawal of the South African Administration from South-West Africa.

To call a national convention where the representatives of the people will draft a new constitution for an Independent South-West Africa.

Salutes the heroic struggle of the people of South-West Africa for the independence of their country.

On the "Federation" of Rhodesias and Nyasaland

Convinced that the settler-imposed Federation of Rhodesias and Nyasaland is a threat to the peace and security of the people of Central Africa in particular and Africa in general;

Noting with indignation the attitude of the British Government and the settlers in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland;

Calls for the immediate dissolution of this fraudulent structure so that the peoples of Central Africa should exercise their inalienable right of self-determination.

Resolves to support by all means at its disposal any actions which people of Central Africa shall undertake to effect the dissolution.

Resolves further that the Secretary-General should communicate to all African Independent States which recognise this so-called Central African Federation to withdraw their recognition forthwith.

On Zambia (Northern Rhodesia)

That this 4th annual conference of PAFMECSA records with grave concern the delaying tactics of the imperialist British Government over the constitution of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). Records its conviction that the people of Zambia, will, in spite of all pressures, fight the issue to the finish.

That this conference accedes to the demands of UNIP under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, namely that faith between UNIP and the British Government is completely lost consequently, calls upon the people of Zambia to unite under the able and invincible leadership of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, in order to wage the last onslaught on imperialism and Zambia.

On Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) PAFMECSA

Convinced that the African people of Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) have for 70 years suffered the oppressive conditions of settler rule; and

Aware that this oppression has been intensified in recent years,

Condemns the British Government for its failure to recognise the legitimate rights of the African people and for its shameful support of the reactionary settlers.

Calls for the immediate abrogation of the present constitution and for the introduction of a democratic constitution based on one man one vote.

Appalled at the continued im-

prisonment, detention, and rustication of the leaders of the former African National Congress.

Demands the unconditional release of these freedom fighters so that they should participate freely in the government and shaping the destiny of their country.

On Malawi (Nyasaland) PAFMECSA

Calls upon all the Independent African States and other freedom

lovers throughout the world to continue their support for the total liberation of Malawi (Nyasaland) from the fetters of the so-called African Central Federation.

Demands the granting of immediate independence to Malawi (Nyasaland) under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Kamerzu Banda.

On the Congo

This Conference

Being aware of and disturbed by the imperialistic machinations of the powers which have vested economic interests in the Congo,

Convinced that the Unity and territorial integrity of the Congo is vital for the orderly Government and development of the country,

Disturbed by the disruptive activities of some of the big powers against the efforts of the United Nations and the Congolese leaders to bring about the unity and stability of the Congo,

Demands the immediate withdrawal of mercenaries and agents of imperialism.

Calls upon the big powers to respect the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo and thereby conform to the resolutions of the United Nations.

Calls upon the Independent African States and all the freedom-loving people of the world to spare no effort in bringing about the unity of the Congo.

Condemns in no uncertain terms the activities of secessionist Moise Tshombe.

Condemns the activities of Roy Welensky and his hench-men in his naked support of the traffic of personnel and arms into Katanga for the purpose of safeguarding imperialist political and economic interests.

Deplores the British Government acquiescence of the activities of Roy Welensky and his hench-men.

Demands the immediate release of all the nationalist forces now imprisoned or deprived of the rights and civil liberties for no other reason than their unflinching stand against imperialism and for the Unity and territorial integrity of their country.

African Education

Continued from page 16

Northern Rhodesia, the 1960 returns revealed the following facts:

Degree courses	26
Medicine	2
Law	3
Veterinary Science	1
Accountancy	2
Music Diploma	1

It should be noted that in 1960 no African in Northern Rhodesia was training anywhere for Engineering, Dentistry, Architecture, Solicitor's Examination, Mining Engineering Radiography or Physiotherapy.

Northern Rhodesia's backwardness may be illustrated by the following figures of students in Britain (1960-61) from Africa, Asia and U.K. Dependencies (all figures approximate):

Country	No. of Students
N. Rhodesia	70
Nigeria	6,800
India	3,700
Ghana	1,900
Pakistan	1,500
Kenya	1,321
Uganda	968
Sierra Leone	857
Tanganyika	615
Gambia	286

The usual retort on the part of the authorities on this topic is that there are no qualified persons to undertake higher education and technical training. This is far from the truth; there are many instances where qualified persons have tried, but unsuccessfully, to obtain a grant from the authorities. In any case, even if this

was a valid argument the question is—why are there no people with university entrance qualifications?

In 1960 "the African Scholarship Programme of the American Universities" awarded scholarships to 14 students in Northern Rhodesia to be trained in America at the expenses of the American Government, provided the authorities in Northern Rhodesia paid the fares. The Government and mining companies paid only travel expenses for eight students, and the other six had to be paid for by the American people, another illustration of lack of concern on the part of the government. I understand this year the sponsors of the scheme would like 20-25 students, but they will take none if their fares are not paid. I wonder whether the Northern Rhodesia Government will take advantage of these facilities as other governments have done in East Africa.

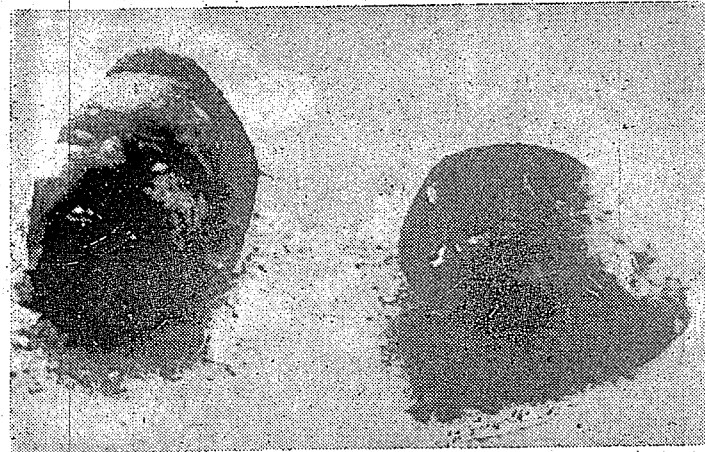
Soon Northern Rhodesia will become independent. After nearly 70 years of British rule there are only two African doctors, no African practising barrister or solicitor, no auditor, no qualified surveyor, no dentist, no architect and hardly any state registered nurses. These are hard facts in a British administered country.

We are therefore desperate for the education of our people. And if you can help us in a practical way we would be very grateful to you. There are, so far, no facilities in Northern Rhodesia available for pursuing course of this nature.

Angola Tragedy



Salazar's thugs are on their inhuman acts—evidence of Portuguese sense of equality and decency.



African nationalists burnt to painful death by Portuguese napalm bombs.

THE imperialists tried to deceive the world by publishing some ghastly photographs of decapitated human heads spiked on to some poles*. Almost all of them were charred. This was said to be the work of the "African savage."

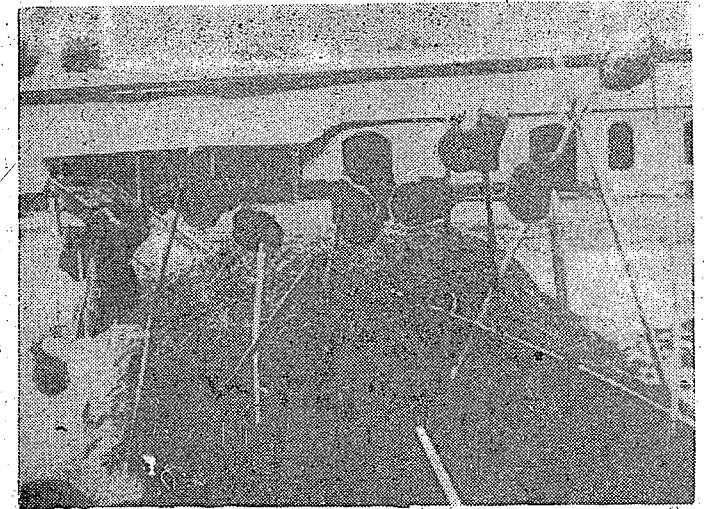
But a close look at some of the pictures revealed the fact that all (*See page 28)

those people were Africans who were burned to painful death by Portuguese napalm bombs. The pictures show that at one stage hundreds of Africans were subjected to severe burns before they died, and their corpses were not buried for 14 days by the Portuguese tyrants and thugs who are so stoutly supported

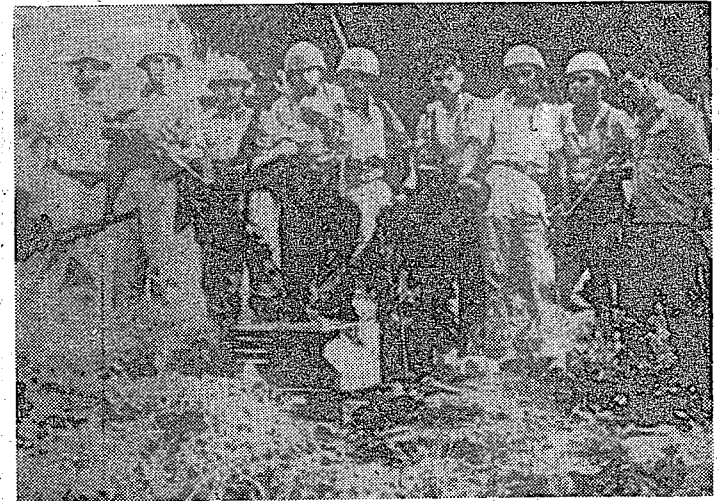


Salazar's thugs, with heads of innocent and stuck on poles, unashamedly pose for picture—a typical example of the prevailing in Portugal.

by the English Government and called-free and Western countries. The queerest of concept uphold



Heads of African villagers stuck on poles after they had been murdered by Salazar's thugs.



Thugs! Wherever you see them they look wicked.

have easily managed to sink to the lowest level of public and human decency, thus being able even against the United Nations, to perpetuate their tortures on defenceless Africans in the country. History abounds in examples and actions of colonial tyrants who even succeeded in giving themselves a dangerous impression that the sun would never set in their imperialist domains. Yet that once powerful and arrogant island has

been reduced to nothing less than being a capitalist American economic and financial colony.

Yet in Africa of our times, the sun now sets in that demoralized empire whose colonial governments were always supported and maintained by the armed forces composed of the very indigenous people who were encouraged to slaughter their blood-brothers, in the name of a foreign imperial monarch. (Continued on page 22)

Facts we Should Know About Portuguese Colonies

ANGOLA

SLAVE labour (on white plantations and in Government conscript gangs): 400,000 males over 18 years of age.

Working Hours: 5 a.m.—7 p.m. (Sundays included).

Wages: \$40 in 24 months (subject to tax).

Schools: 1,298 (largely for whites). Teachers: 2,074.

Students: 57,867 (largely whites). Medical Facilities: one bed for every 2,250 inhabitants.

Government Physicians: 156 Private Physicians: 100 (approximately, including medical missionaries).

Population: 4,530,730 — (whites: 170,000).

Area: 481,351 sq. miles.

Cities: Luanda (capital), Lobito, Benguela, Nova Lisboa, Malange, and Silva Porto.

Chief Products: Coffee, sisal, sugar-cane, palm-oil, tobacco, cotton, diamonds.

Chief Imports: Textiles, coal, wine, food-stuffs, machinery (through Portugal), etc.

MOZAMBIQUE

In all matters related to political and social questions conditions in Mozambique form an exact parallel to those existing in the sister colony of Angola. The only difference is that political unrest, though equally acute, has not yet erupted in the same violent form as in Angola. Yet conditions in Mozambique are far from tranquil. Nationalist forces throughout the country are on the march and the political organisations of Mozambique and their activities are closely connected with

the broad nationalist movements directed against the Portuguese.

Population: 6,286,411 — (whites: 100,000).

Area: 29,754 sq. miles.

Cities: Lourenco Marques (capital), Beira, Quelimane and Namplua.

Chief Products: Cotton, copra, rice, sisal.

Chief Imports: Textiles, machinery (through Portugal), wines, coal, cement, etc.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

The Portuguese hold on doggedly to this small territory on the bulge of Africa, while French Guinea next door and Senegal in the North have attained their freedom.

Like the rest of Portugal's African Empire, Portuguese Guinea, too, is seething with discontent and rebellion.

Organised guerilla warfare, led from the dense forests, has been in progress for several months. Already three times, regular invasion attempts have been made to drive out the Portuguese from the country. Salazar's hold over the colony becomes all the more precarious as the nationalist forces grow stronger day by day.

Lisbon accused Senegal of helping the "rebels" with the result that Senegal promptly broke off diplomatic relations with Portugal.

Area: 13,948 sq. miles.

Population: 562,245.

Cities: Bissau (capital).

Chief Products: Rice, palm-oil, hides, etc.

CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

The Cape Verde Islands lie about 280 miles to the West of the African coast comprising ten main islands and five islets. The two largest Islands are Santo Auto and Sao Tiago.

The Cape Verde group was acquired by Portugal probably by right of discovery.

The Islands were uninhabited when they were discovered; but soon they were turned into large plantations owned by Portuguese landlords. A large number of African slaves were imported to work on these plantations and, owing to their favourable location, the Cape Verdes became a collecting point for a thriving slave trade.

The coffee and other plantations on these islands, like elsewhere in Portuguese Africa, are even today worked by African slave labour though under a more palatable name.

Number of Islands: 10 (main islands).

Total Area: 1,557 sq. miles.

Population: 181,286 — (whites: 147,328).

Cities: Praia (capital).

Chief Products: Castor oil, coffee, mustard, sugar-cane, brandy oranges and hides.

CABINDA

Though detached from Angola, Cabinda is a part of the Angolan colony. It has an area of about 2,800 sq. miles and a population of about 60,000. Its chief products are hardwood, rubber, cocoa, coffee, and palm-oil products.

Recently, the Cabindese have been subjected to monstrous cruelties committed by the Portuguese authorities.

In a brutal attempt to suppress the nationalist movement, the Portuguese arrested, hardly three months ago, all the local chiefs and every Cabindese who could read and write.

Nearly all the villages, throughout the territory, were burnt down and an unknown number of men, women and children massacred. Most of Cabinda's 60,000 inhabitants fled across the border into the neighbouring Congo.

The Portuguese thought that they had successfully exterminated the local population. But within a few

weeks the Cabindese returned to the forests which surround the white plantations and settlements. From here they are now operating against the Portuguese in organised guerilla groups.

SAO TOME and PRINCIPE

Lying in the Gulf of Guinea off the African coast these two islands are used for extensive plantation owned by absentee Portuguese landlords. These plantations are managed by white managers and worked by slave labour.

In the earlier times these islands served, as collecting points for African slaves who were shipped to Brazil and other countries.

For several decades Sao Tome and Principe have served as graveyards for thousands of Africans who were considered "undesirables" by the Portuguese authorities. Thousands of victims from Angola, Mozambique and the rest of the Portuguese colonies have perished on cocoa and sugar plantations, driven and famished and often beaten to death.

So monstrous are the stories that stricken through the barrage of censorship that several British and American business companies are reported to have refused to buy cocoa and other products grown on these dreaded islands.

Area: Sao Tome—372 sq. miles, Principe—42 sq. miles.

Population: Sao Tome—60,000—Principe—9,000

(Whites: 1,000 on both islands).

Chief Products: Sugar-cane, oil palm, copra and cocoa.

TIMOR

The long narrow island of Timor, situated in the Indonesian Archipelago is almost wholly mountainous. The inhabitants belong to the Malay and Papuan stocks and are predominantly Christians.

The first Europeans to establish themselves in Timor were the Portuguese. But early in the seventeenth century the Dutch arrived to dispute their claim. The result was that after years of wrangling, the

island was divided into two parts, the western half of which became Dutch while the eastern remains Portuguese. In the Second World War, Timor was occupied by the Japanese. Later, when in 1949 the United States of Indonesia was formed, Dutch Timor became Indonesian territory.

The colony of Portuguese Timor comprises the eastern half of the island and the small territory of Oe-Cusse in the western Indonesian section.

Reasons for which the Portuguese are still allowed to retain their possessions in Timor, do not, however, refuse the fact that they are there on sufferance of the Indonesian Republic. Any time President Soekarno tells them to pack up and move out, Dr. Salazar will not have the courage to resist.

Area: 7,383 sq. miles.

Population: 438,350.

Cities: Dili (capital and chief port).

Chief Products: Copra, tobacco, coffee and sand wood.

MACAO

Situated on the estuary of the Canton river, Macao is a tiny Portuguese colony next to Kwangtung province of China. It comprises Macao Peninsula and two islands.

The Portuguese settlement began in 1557 and the present holdings were confirmed by a treaty with China in 1887. Macao city (population: 312,717) is on an island.

Until the rise of Hongkong in the nineteenth century, Macao was a leading port of trade with China. Today it is a centre of fisheries and a few light industries, though much of its revenue is derived from its licensed gambling establishments.

Apart from its gambling establishments, Macao is notorious for all kind of vices on earth, catered for by its flourishing opium dens, heroin counters and brothels. Like the rest of their colonial possessions in Asia, the Portuguese hold Macao, too on sufferance, in this case, of the Chinese.

Area: 6 sq. miles.

Population: 374,734

Portuguese Colonisation

Continued from page 23

illiterate. Two types of schooling are provided: the so-called "civilised" schools and the "rudimentary" education provided for Africans. These latter institutions are in charge of Roman Catholic missions which operate like feudal estates, but which often do not even teach their pupils to read or write. In 1955, there were 212,428 children enrolled in the three-grade "rudimentary" mission schools in Mozambique, but only 2,761 completed the third grade. Secondary education is accessible only for "assimilated" Africans and there are only two middle schools in Mozambique, both in the capital. There are no universities; not one Negro in Mozambique has had a higher education.

Although Portugal retains a tight grip on Mozambique, its economy is really dominated by the big imperialist powers—England, USA, France, West Germany and Belgium. The Gulf Oil Company, for example, holds the lease on 120,000 square km. for oil prospecting, while vast sugar and cocoa plantations are in French and English hands. One thing is clear: no matter whether the mines and plantations are in the hands of the Portuguese or other foreign imperialists, their riches do not reach the people of Mozambique. The average African worker in this country of such potential wealth and plenty at present consumes only one kilo of meat and one quart of milk a year.

There is a proud tradition of resistance in Mozambique. Many tribes fought long to retain their freedom and there have been countless peasant uprisings. The "shibalos"—forced labourers—have also set examples of great courage during the strike of railroad construction workers at Tete or the dockers strike at Lourenco Marques in 1949. The explosion of a shipload of Portuguese ammunition off the coast of Mozambique in July, 1961, is also an eloquent example of the people's increasing resistance imperialism.

History May Praise Nehru

By Joao Gabral

A Goan nationalist warmly defends India's take-over of the former Portuguese Colony

FORCE is not the right means to solve international disputes. But in my view its use in the case of Goa was justified. Consider the events that led up to the invasion.

In June 1946, even before the independence of India, a mass *satyagraha* in Goa resulted in the arrest of hundreds of Goans and the deportation of T. B. Cunha and twelve other Goan leaders to Portugal or Angola. It is not surprising that after the independence of India Goans warned the Indian Government that the only way to end Portuguese rule in Goa was by force.

Mr. Nehru rejected this advice and sought negotiations with Portugal, as he did with France in relation to the French settlements in India. Negotiations with France ended in a peaceful transfer of their colonies to India. But the Portuguese Government refused to negotiate. Mr. Nehru hoped that by establishing friendly diplomatic relations with Portugal he might convince her of the justice of his demands. Accordingly, in 1949 India and Portugal exchanged diplomatic missions.

For six years persistent attempts to begin negotiations made it clear that Portugal was not prepared even to discuss the problem. Diplomatic relations were severed in 1954, and in August of that year the British Government sent a note to India expressing its 'anxiety' over the Goan peaceful demonstrators who were crossing the border. It did not, however, exert its influence on Portugal to negotiate.

Last December the obstinacy of the Portuguese Government was further shown by its refusal to accept the declaration of the General Assembly of the UN that Goa was a

colony and as such had the right of self-determination. If even a day before the Indian troops entered Goa, Britain, the United States, Brazil, or the Secretary-General of the UN had obtained from the Portuguese Government as simple declaration that it recognised this right for Goans, force would not have been used. The Secretary-General's request to Portugal and India to settle the problem by negotiation was accepted by India provided it was conducted in accordance with UN resolutions.

Portugal has persistently shown contempt for the UN. While every colonial country, including Spain, has offered to give information on its colonies, Portugal has refused to do so. In six months, from April to September 1961, Portugal was responsible for the death of 50,000 Angolans, but she would not allow a committee of the UN to investigate the conditions in Angola.

Should India have waited for 'the decay of the Portuguese empire' so that she might negotiate with a new government that may come to power in Portugal? This would have meant that Mr. Nehru, by adhering to the principle of non-violence, would be taking advantage of the immense sufferings of the peoples in Angola and other Portuguese colonies. Salazar's ruthlessness in Angola has shown that he accepts no limitations to repression. The 'decay of the Portuguese empire' would only come about after a long period of slaughter, especially if the NATO countries and Salazar's allies continued to supply him with arms and money. Undoubtedly this was a powerful factor in influencing Mr. Nehru's decision not to delay.

His action may prove to have saved the lives of many hundreds of

thousands of people and to have prevented the chaos that such a tragedy would bring about in Portugal and her empire. It has already destroyed the myth that Portugal, though militarily and economically weak, possesses a peculiar spiritual strength to enable her, alone among European nations, to remain in Asia and Africa in furtherance of 'a non-racial, Christian civilizing mission,' as reported by the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent in Lisbon, December 20, 1961. He added that 'the only good that the Portuguese can see coming out of Goa's collapse is a swing in their favour in the councils of the West.'

Indeed, the Portuguese Press and radio have given wide publicity to the Western condemnation of India's action and created the impression that Portugal has been an innocent victim of aggression. Paradoxically, the very people who condemn the action of India are neutralizing the effect of the blow on the Portuguese Government and may help Salazar's tyranny at home and in the colonies to continue.

Since 1946 every attempt by Goans to end Portuguese rule by peaceful means has led to increased oppression. From 1953 to 1957, 3,000 Goans—out of the total population of 636,000—were arrested; 87 were either shot dead or tortured to death. A group of Goans who resorted to violence in 1956 were crushed by barbarous methods: nationalists were dragged, tied to a jeep, and burnt to death.

On November 17, Portuguese troops stationed on Anjediv Island fired on an Indian passenger ship, *Sabarmati*, which was on her normal route, and wounded the second engineer of the ship. On November 24, an Indian fishing boat returning from its normal fishing trip was fired upon from the same island and an Indian fisherman was killed. Several Indian villages were attacked by Portuguese troops stationed on the Goa border.

These incidents may have been caused by the nervousness of the authorities, since Mr. Nehru's statements for the last three months—that the use of force was not ruled out to liberate Goa—had been taken as a threat. The Goan underground

nationalist movement, which had also been stimulated by these statements, might have provoked those incidents.

When the Indian troops began moving towards the Goa border a strike of 7,000 miners paralysed some of the manganese and iron ore mines. Goan civil and military personnel began to abandon their posts. They were being threatened with arrest and death under the new emergency laws. They were put under police surveillance.

Goan underground fighters attacked several police posts and destroyed bridges. On December 8, people of three villages near Polem, Southern Goa, stoned the house of the *regedor* (parish authority) and hoisted the Indian flag. On the following day they were 'evacuated' by Portuguese troops. Three other villages—Surla,

Tiracol, and Rawan, in different parts of Goa—had also rebelled against Portuguese rule. Several nationalists had been killed and 400 Goans arrested towards the end of November. Chaotic conditions were developing inside Goa.

India could not remain passive in these circumstances. The Indian case is that Goans were Indians, and Goa was a part of India which had continued under foreign rule after 1947.

India felt that it was removing a colonial anachronism, which was maintained by force. But I do not think that India's action creates a precedent for the solution of other problems. The case of Swaziland and others that are often mentioned are not parallel, and the use of force in these cases is not likely to be sanctioned by the UN. But the

nationalist in the remaining Portuguese colonies is another matter.

Those who protest that Mr. Nehru's action is 'a serious blow' against the UN, call attention to the fundamental principle of the UN Charter that all disputes should be settled by peaceful means. But it must not be forgotten that the Charter also recognizes the principle of 'self-determination of peoples' and demands 'respects for human rights and for fundamental freedoms.' It also entrusts the member nations with the obligation to ensure the political advancement of non-self-governing peoples' and 'to develop self-government to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of the free political institutions according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people.'

Surely there must be a limit to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes when a nation treats with contempt the rest of the UN Charter and refuses to negotiate. India's desire to have her action discussed in the UN shows that she thinks her action is in accordance with the Charter.

In the long run, instead of weakening the United Nations, India's action may have the opposite effect. Portugal has now taken the Goa issue to the UN and may be ready to co-operate with it, for Salazar fears that continued non-co-operation may bring another blow in some other part of his empire, resulting in the total loss of it.

In 1956, when Goans resorted to violence, Mr. Nehru forbade them to use Indian territory for smuggling arms into Goa or to have a base there. Now instead of using subversion, Mr. Nehru has acted boldly and openly. The real challenge to the United Nations has come from Portuguese colonialism. Future historians may praise Mr. Nehru for paving the way to the solution of the problem which might otherwise have been beyond the power of the United Nations. If Salazar's obstinacy blinds him to the consequences of what has happened there are others in Portugal who are now aware of them.



Salazar's sense of equality and decency

... There it was, black, dried, sunken, with closed eyelids . . . These were the heads of rebels. Rebels! What would be the next definition I was to hear? There had been enemies, criminals, workers—and these were rebels. Those rebellious heads looked very subdued to me on their sticks.

—Joseph Conrad in *HEART OF DARKNESS* (1903)

African rebels ambushed a military patrol. In reprisal the Portuguese Army took a number of headmen from nearby villages, executed them and stuck their heads on poles. (See pages 20 and 21 for horrible pictures)

—Joseph Barry in the *NEW YORK POST* (Aug 27, 1961)

Malcolm McVeigh writes on:

The Bullets of Civilisation

I MUST confess in the beginning that I feel somewhat inadequate for the task before me. I am not a reporter, or a member of an investigating committee, or a policeman, or a lawyer. I am merely a missionary of the Methodist Church, one who has recently returned from a term of service in Angola. I have seen certain things, and heard others, during my stay there, especially things that have happened recently, that I think should come before the attention of the world. I do not now speak as an official representative of the Christian Church in Angola or the Board of Missions in New York.

I speak as an individual and bear the full responsibility for all that is said. I am not trying to make a case or prove anything (although it may seem that I am). My purpose is to give information about what is

going on. If I seem to be one-sided, it is not because I am ignorant of the fact that there are two sides to the Angolan question. I merely feel that only one side, namely the Portuguese point of view, has been told to the world. The world is ignorant of the African side.

To appreciate what is going on in Angola today it is necessary to understand some basic presuppositions behind Portuguese rule wherever it is found. These presuppositions certainly would not be accepted as valid all over the world, perhaps in no place outside Portugal itself, but they determine all policy and help us to understand the Portuguese attitude and reaction to the recent events in Angola.

●The Portuguese believe that Angola is Portugal. They do

not recognise Angola as a colony but as an integral part of Portugal.

●The Portuguese believe that the great majority (they used to say all) of the Africans consider themselves Portuguese and are content under Portuguese rule and loyal to the Government. In their view, the Africans don't want independence, and all political activity is an expression of external, foreign, Communist influence.

●The Portuguese believe that they are the only ones who know how to colonise properly. It has become for them a sort of religious crusade. They believe that by slow evolution (it may take centuries yet) the Africans will become completely

"assimilated" into the Portuguese culture.

●The Portuguese believe that by rigid control of both internal and external news, displays of force on their part can maintain the present system indefinitely and assure a "peaceful" evolution. Force is considered an unfortunate necessity used for the real good of the majority. Understanding these presuppositions, we are better able to appreciate the practical situation which has evolved over the years causing the present tragic state of affairs.

Most fundamental, there is a complete lack of political participation by the people, both whites and blacks. Assimilated Africans (about 30,000), together with European settlers, are permitted to vote only once every seven years, and for only one man, the President of the Republic (a purely honorary position without power) in an election the outcome of which is well known before anyone goes to the polls. No government official in all Angola is elected. All officials are appointed from Lisbon, and the majority of them see Angola for the first time after their appointments.

Underground Movement

Portugal for all practical purposes is ruled by one man, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, who although never entering a national election has ruled Portugal for 33 years. His power was seen recently when he succeeded in replacing his entire Government, men who had recommended rapid reforms, while he alone remained. Since Angola is a province of Portugal, it is also ruled by Salazar, although he has never been there.

Real political parties are prohibited in Angola, and anyone engaged in or suspected of engaging in political activity is considered an enemy of the State and thus a criminal. African nationalism, no less a real influence in Angola than in any other part of Africa, is given no channel of expression and has thus become an underground movement.

To control political activity, all publications are rigidly censored. Freedom of the press is permitted for only one month every seven years, before the national elections. From

the big Luanda dailies to simple religious pamphlets everything must be passed by the censor. The slightest hint of criticism of the existing order will result in certain banning and possible reprisals.

With no channel for expressing dissatisfaction with things as they are, abusive social and economic practices are the usual order of the day. Forced labour is not only common but defended by the Portuguese as the only way to teach lazy people to work. Everyone who does not have Modelo J (a paper that says one is a private farmer—like so many things it is very difficult to get) must seek an employer.

Only by some higher officials is it denied that this system still exists. Local graft and the use of the bribe are but some of the more obvious results of the forced labour system. The desire for cheap labour to support European plantations has also been the cause of increasingly higher standards being required for Africans to become assimilated. Women and children are still the unwilling instruments of the repair of secondary roads and have always been considered a vital part of the coffee harvest and the cotton programme.

The cotton programme is one of the most notorious of the Government forced crop programmes and has always been a source of discontent among the people. In many areas, especially in recent years, it has been increasingly difficult for Africans to receive money for their goods. Merchants pay for locally grown crops only with manufactured goods, making it almost impossible for Africans to pay their taxes, let alone send their children to school, support their churches, or fulfil other desires requiring money.

Cultural Discrimination

The one bright light in this dreary picture is the almost complete lack of a formal colour bar. Certainly there is cultural discrimination. All women in native dress, for instance, must go third class on the train, but African people who dress and act like Portuguese may travel on trains and enter hotels and eating places. Africans who show their assimilation papers may enter movie theatres.

Educational development has been notoriously slow. There are very few government schools and even these are not free. Most education is private, in general being connected with either Protestant or Catholic missions. The Catholic missions are subsidised by the Government. Even the minimum fee required is a major obstacle to the poverty-stricken Africans, and the vicious circle of illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition perpetuates itself.

The educational system and the textbooks used are exactly the same as those used in metropolitan Portugal. The system is not adapted to mass education or to the real needs of either the whites or the blacks of Angola. Its purpose is to train a small elite. Even in metropolitan Portugal the people are still about 50 per cent illiterate.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS for Angolan independence have been at work both inside and outside Angola since the Korean War. The two main groups presently at work are the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, led by Mario Andrade, and the Union of the Peoples of Angola led by Holden Roberto. It is a mistake to consider these foreign or Communist trends. If there are signs in the Angola liberation movements today of leanings toward the East, they are probably caused by the lack of hope that the West is interested in African freedom. These movements are expressions of the same nationalistic phenomenon which has led to the establishment of independent countries all over Africa in recent years.

Brutal Reprisals

It is interesting that the impetus for the first outward action of this movement should have had as its point of departure the desire of Portuguese whites for a more liberal government. I refer, of course, to the Santa Maria affairs, which was a signal to spark Portuguese opposition to the Salazar regime. Within a short time African nationalists attacked the Luanda prisons seeking to free suspected political agitators who had served considerable prison terms before they were ever tried in a court of law. Brutal reprisals followed in the African sections of Luanda with

scores of innocent Africans killed by angry Portuguese troops and officials.

This action was freely reported in the international news because many foreign correspondents were permitted to enter Angola in expectation of the arrival of the Santa Maria. But when these correspondents began to send out reports unfavourable to Portugal, they were sent packing and their films confiscated. From that time until the present, there has been a complete blackout of impartial news concerning the happenings in Angola.

The first African attacks in Luanda were not anti-white as such. They were in essence complaints against the existing order which allowed no recognition of the political rights of the people. It is a tragedy of enormous proportions that the first attacks were met with such violence and irresponsible reprisals, rather than with sincere recognition of error and the need of reform, as many high government officials (since deposed) advocated. I say unfortunate because it encouraged a view long held by the Africans that peaceful reform is impossible in Angola.

One of the most significant events following directly the happening in Luanda was never mentioned by the Portuguese newspapers. This was the revolt in the Baixa de Cassange in early February. This revolt, again, was not so much an anti-white attack as it was against abusive practices in the government-sponsored cotton programme run by the company Cottonag. Africans did break windows and upset the stores of white merchants; they did attack a Catholic mission and the residence of local government officials; but they did not rob the stores, and few if any whites were killed.

Massacre of Africans

It was a spontaneous demonstration against practices of the company, and most whites who fled the area agreed that the Africans had a right to complain. A military general was put in charge of crushing the rebellion. What we know of the action is mostly through African sources, for no report appeared in any Portuguese newspaper, and we were forbidden to enter the area. Reports of Africans killed ranged

from the high hundreds to ten thousand.

Many fled to the Congo. Villages were bombed, and the soldiers "cleaned up" other areas not reached by the bombings. Since Malange (the site of one of our missions) was the point of departure, we are in a position to confirm that hundreds of troops were sent to the area, and that many planes were seen heading there during that period. One pastor sent down word that the smell of dead bodies was so bad they could hardly stand it. At that time Joaquim Monteiro, a Cape Verdian, was District Governor in Malange. He went up to investigate the situation, and concluded that there were just causes for complaint from the African side.

He sent a complete report to the Governor-General on the abusive practices of the Cottonag Company, and leaflets written in Kimbundu were dropped on Baixa de Cassange stating that the Africans would never again be compelled to grow cotton against their will. This was unprecedented. Cottonag, unfortunately, also sent representatives to Luanda, and within two weeks Monteiro was called to Lisbon, supposedly to receive a higher position in the Portuguese UN delegation. To our knowledge, he is still in Lisbon.

Blanket of Gloom

The brutal suppression of the revolt in the Baixa de Cassange laid a blanket of gloom upon the African population throughout the Malange district, but not a word concerning it was published in the Portuguese newspapers. They continued to tell their people that everything was fine, and that the Africans were perfectly contented. In this way they contributed directly to the death of nearly a thousand of their own white countrymen on isolated farms in the North of Angola about a month later.

From the middle of February until the middle of March, although Africans continued to be picked up as political agitators in Luanda and in other areas, notably in the North, the situation was relatively calm. On March 15 African attacks leading to the violent and brutal killing of hundreds of Portuguese whites, in-

cluding women and children, were launched. These events have been fully recorded in the Portuguese and world press. The part of the story that has not been told is the reaction of the Portuguese to those first attacks. It was both swift and violent, following the philosophy that brutality must be met with brutality.

Region of Terror

I was holding evangelistic meetings near Ucuva when the attacks were started. I was there until March 18 and can honestly say that the Africans in that area did not know what had happened. They were as much in the dark about it as I was. On March 18 the local *Chefe de Posto* came and asked me to leave immediately because, he said, they were "going to bomb those villages." They bombed villages throughout the Dembos and the Congo districts. The majority of the people who escaped the bombings and did not flee were either taken prisoners or killed. These reprisals were not confined only to the area of rebel attack.

White militias were hastily formed and armed throughout the country, and were given complete freedom to use their arms as they saw fit. For various reasons, Protestants seemed to bear the brunt of white ire. Our pastors and church members in the areas of Golungo Alto, Ambaca, Dondo, Cacuso, and the Libolo, areas that never experienced any real rebel activity, were taken and many killed. A reign of terror began.

The white militia, in its attempt to revenge the deaths of Portuguese killed in North Angola, went far beyond the original intent of the official who armed them. I assume this from statements made by the Overseas Minister, Senhor Adriano Moreira, who later warned whites not to "make the innocent pay for the crimes of the guilty." Nevertheless, the reign of terror continues. When I left (June 30) more Africans were being taken into custody every day.

Thousands Disappeared

In the past three months thousands have disappeared, carried off by the

local militia, government officials, or the troops. We have heard of very few new prisons being built, and no one has ever heard of a concentration camp. The prisons are constantly being filled and emptied, and very few return to their families. One of the big questions is: Where are they going? The rumour in Malange (I have heard it from whites, mulattoes, and Africans) is that they are being killed and buried in mass graves by bulldozers. I've never seen it, and I can't prove it; but to dispel the rumours the Portuguese should make it clear where these people are and allow their families to see them. Of all our pastors who are believed to be in prison only one has actually been seen by a relative.

Reports come from the prisons of conditions so bad—no beds, no blankets, food impossible to eat, beatings—that we are left wondering if any will survive the treatment. The day I left Angola they held the funeral of one prisoner who had spent over two years in prison without a trial and was one of the few actually convicted in court. He died June 28 of a stroke, and his body was given over to his family—the only such case I know of. It is impossible to know how many Africans have been killed. In some ways the worst part of the present situation is the uncertainty. The Portuguese in the meantime are importing thousands of troops and the rebellion continues.

Their Whereabouts Unknown

The Methodist Church, which has had missions in Angola since 1885, has established churches in three areas hit by the recent revolt: the Baixa de Cassange, Luanda, and the Dembos. In a number of other areas, such as the Libolo, Ambaca, Golungo Alto, Dondo, and Cacuso, although there was no rebel activity, pastors and church members have been either killed or put in prison. According to the best figures that we can establish, of the 167 pastors and teachers of the Luanda Region, 26 are supposedly still in prison, 21 killed, 34 are still free, and the whereabouts of 76 are unknown. Of the 34 who are free, only 11 are at their posts, and only two of these

are outside Luanda. The Protestant missions generally have tried to develop African leadership.

When no Protestant missions were attacked or missionaries harmed by Africans in North Angola, many whites concluded that these missions were "co-operating" with the rebel activity. We were even accused in the Portuguese press of "arming" terrorists.

There are several important things to note about the present situation. First, the Government is encouraging and stimulating tribalism. By their constant reiteration that the Bailundos (and other South Angolan people) are loyal, they hope to divide the Africans into two camps. They recognize that the most valuable African weapon is unity.

Second, they are trying to stimulate religious hatred and hope thereby to divide the Africans further between Protestants and Catholics. However, it is clear that the revolt is in no way a religious or tribal movement as such. It is a nationalistic movement of the people which is not confined to any particular region or tribal group.

Third, Portuguese ire has been especially directed against those in whom they took most pride previously, namely assimilated Africans (black Portuguese, if you like). The worst reprisals have been against pastors, teachers, nurses, and government functionaries, the more highly educated and better trained classes.

Fourth, the present Government shows no signs of reform. I use as evidence the following facts:

- The new Governor-General, Venancio Deslandes, was sent to do "the exact opposite" (exactamente ao contrario, quoted the Luanda daily, *O Comercio*) from what the UN asked;
- They continue to pick up people in Luanda and other areas; more were arrested in Luanda the last week that I was there than in the previous month;
- They still refuse to give information to Africans regarding the whereabouts of relatives who have been taken prisoners;
- There has been no attempt to

bring prisoners to a court of justice;

- Forced labour continues; thousands of Africans are being rounded up for the difficult coffee harvest;
- Rumours have spread that the Portuguese will level Angola if they are forced to leave.

In regard to the future, it is easy to be pessimistic and difficult to be optimistic. Salazar, from the standpoint of economics, morale, and his own prestige, is dedicated to putting down the rebellion quickly, and is sending thousands of troops. On the other hand, the rebels seem equally dedicated to continuing their guerrilla activity.

They are favoured by the natural terrain and reports indicate that thousands are presently being trained in the Congo. The Portuguese have made it clear that surrender is impossible, and it probably would not be acceptable to the Africans in any case. The result would seem to be a perpetuation of the present tragic situation with more and more bloodshed. It is impossible to think that Africa can anywhere long remain under complete white domination.

The only real hope seems to be in a radical rethinking on the part of the Lisbon Government, and a reform movement leading to assurance of basic rights for all. There was a time when a multiracial society would have been easily possible in Angola. The real tragedy is that so many whites in their fear and anger and desire for revenge have tried to burn the last bridge of hope for their future in Africa.

Five great unanswered questions remain:

- Why didn't the Portuguese report the events in the Baixa de Cassange?
- Where have all the Africans who have disappeared been put?
- Why won't the Government give information on those who have been taken prisoners?
- Why won't the Portuguese allow foreign correspondents to report freely the events?
- Can the Portuguese justify the bombing of African villages?

Show the Light and People Will Follow

by J. M. Kariuki

THE struggle for Kenya's future is being waged today on three distinct though interrelated levels—political, racial and economic. It seems to me that we Africans are being allowed to win in the first two spheres as long as we don't contest the battle being waged on the third all-important economic level. Since the end of the Second World War, Great Britain, knowing it could not contain the wave of nationalist revolutions spreading throughout the colonial world, has embarked on a course of guiding these nationalist movements down the path most conducive to a perpetuation of British or other capitalist economic domination.

British Master Plan

The old colonialism involving direct political control was fast dying and a quick transition to the new colonialism—for which the United States had framed such an admirable model in Central and South America—was felt necessary to avert a genuine social revolution which would result in economic as well as political independence and hence stop the flow of Kenya's surplus capital into the banks of the western capitalist world. The British Master Plan is thus quite simple in outline: Carefully relinquish political control to a properly indoctrinated group of the right kind of African, i.e., those whose interests are similar to and compatible with our own, so that we might retain economic control. In short, the British Government wants to leave in political form so that its

capitalist sponsors might remain in economic control. Put into slogan form, this plan would be: **LEAVE IN ORDER, TO STAY.**

What are the techniques being employed by the British to facilitate our transition from colonial to neo-colonial status? Though they are many, I shall here mention two of the most important. First is a technique which might be called *Racial Harmony: A Disguise for the Recruitment of African Stooges and Frontmen*. Realising that their old policies of economic protection and privilege for European settlers and non-African businessmen had resulted in the almost complete absence of Africans from the middle class, the British Government undertook hurried plans to recruit Africans to economic positions which would allow them to become the spokesmen for this class. It was necessary, in brief, to sufficiently break down the colour barriers so as to allow the formation of a multi-racial economic front whose spokesmen would have black faces though its planners and largest profit makers remained European and Asian.

Cheap African Labour

They proceeded to allow us freehold titles to our land and the right to grow certain cash crops, such as Arabica coffee, so that an African landholding group might emerge which, employing cheap African labour just as their European counterparts, would find its interests identified with the capitalists of the dominant economic group. Today,

in addition to the resettlement scheme, we are bombarded with talk of mergers between the K.N.F.U. and the African Farmers and Traders Association, between the African, Asian and European Chambers of Commerce and even between African and European Medical Associations. These intended mergers are clear evidence of a calculated plan (revealed most boldly by Blundell and Delamere during the recent meeting of the K.N.F.U.) on the part of the economic elite to dissolve racial barriers in order to consolidate their position along class lines and to use Africans as their frontmen and as spokesmen for their interests.

Africanisation is the term used for another process by which selected Africans are being recruited to executive or bureaucratic posts and thus acquiring a vested interest in the *status quo*; an interest it shares with the growing number of businessmen, professionals and prosperous farmers and which manifests itself in a desire for economic stability and the rule of law and order. All these moves parade themselves, of course, as signs of the coming racial harmony, as humanitarian gestures reflecting a genuine change of heart amongst the avowed European racists.

Law and Order

Interestingly enough, I hear none of my African colleagues shouting that they don't want to stabilise on economy of poverty and wage-slavery for the masses, or to perpetuate a body of law and order which acts as the moral and militant protector of those who currently control this economy. Aren't they aware that this economy they wish to stabilise is at the root of our present backward economic condition, shipping abroad or spending on lavish consumption the surplus capital generated yearly by our labour? Don't they know that in times of crisis, when their economic interests are threatened by the imminence of sweeping social changes, the reactionary elements of countries throughout history have taken refuge and attempted to consolidate their forces under the banners of law and order and the need for stability? Don't they know from their own experiences in Kenya's recent abortive revolution that some of the gravest crimes of man against man are com-

mitted under the banner of law and order?

Humiliating Poverty

Let us investigate this body of law and decide whether we want the system of economic inequality which it protects through the maintenance of order. At present we are merely echoing the slogans put forward by those who stand to lose by our gains; who are now profiting by a system which exploits us; who, in fact, drafted and imposed that very body of law which our people are daily forced to follow in unbearable degradation and humiliating poverty. Let us, instead, struggle against a stability which is in fact stagnation; let us struggle to liberate that vast reservoir of creative ability which now lies dormant amongst our people; let us, in short, create a new society which allows to each man the right to eat, the right to the products of his labour, the right to clothe, house and educate his children, the right, in short, to live in dignity amongst equals. It is a socialist society we should be struggling to build; a system which unlike capitalism, concerns itself with the welfare of the masses rather than with the profits and privileges of a few.

Positive Ideology

A second technique being utilised so that our rulers might leave in order to stay can be entitled *Nationalism: A Colonialist Substitute for Ideology*. Nationalism is essentially a negative philosophy based on a strong popular emotionalism demanding freedom from foreign political domination. It is no substitute for a positive ideology. The British, along with many other colonial powers, have attempted to utilize this negative political slogan (which, by the way, they themselves have popularized) to forestall or hinder the emergence of a revolutionary ideology which they feared might mean the end of their economic domination.

A set of ideas, carefully articulating the Kenya peoples' present condition and needs and putting forward in bold terms a rational programme for Kenya's future economic development, could not but frighten Kenya's present and potential capitalist investors. This is so because planning and

rationality regarding the economic and social development of a people are not the virtues of an exploitative capitalist system. We see this wherever we find an economically backward country fathered by western capitalism. Whether we look at Kenya, British Honduras or economic dependencies of the United States such as Liberia or Chile, we see the same thing: mass poverty and illiteracy combined with highly profitable foreign-owned extractive industries in agriculture or minerals.

Importance of Political Power

Nevertheless, our political leaders and other spokesmen plead for more foreign investment, promising to honour existing contracts, protect land rights and maintain the stability we've talked of earlier. They seem willing, in fact, to do almost anything so long as their nationalist's dream of political independence is given them. They seem willing to sell everything so that we might inherit a political power tripped of the ability to make far-reaching economic decisions. Political power is essentially a means, an instrument in the hands of a people which entitles them to make decisions regarding their future development.

If we are to inherit a government unable to make the vital decisions necessary for our economic development than political independence, it will be a shallow victory indeed; the victory of a man who, spotting a great feast ahead, is satisfied with a dry bone thrown by the wayside. Our political leaders who shout nothing but *uhuru sasa* will be proud and arrogant in their fine clothes and cars on the day our cherished independence arrives, but those who have thrown us this bone will chuckle to themselves, knowing that the real victory was theirs, whilst our people will face perhaps another decade of poverty and deprivation.

Experienced Adversaries

Without an ideology for vast social and economic change our politicians are easy game, regardless of their high motives and intentions, for their more experienced adversaries. It is difficult to fight something you do not see clearly, and the eyes of our leaders appear blurred by the din

and wail of press and radio concerning the coming *uhuru*, by the childlike enthusiasm displayed at the utterance of willing slogans by throngs of poor peasants which comprise their following, and by their growing international status and the continued invitations by important people to cocktails at the New Stanley. Their lack of sound ideology based on firmly held principles of human worth and dignity will make them easy prey for the foreign industrialist and financier, always ready with an envelope of money in return for political favours. In this kind of atmosphere opportunism rules the day; every man for himself and each with a price, willing to sell his political influence to the highest bidder.

Latent Antagonism

The unity which can be achieved by nationalism alone is weak and thinly covers the many severe antagonisms in our society. Thus in Kenya today, with the goal of *uhuru* seen clearly on the road ahead, individuals, tribes and vested interest groups are starting to vie for positions of strength and privilege; with the coming of independence the veneer of unity is smashed and all the latent antagonisms come to force. Real unity, you see, cannot be based on a slogan or on an illusory personality; it can only be achieved by an ideology which unifies people in a common struggle and programme.

Creative Talents

Let us then fashion an ideology which will unify the vast majority of our people by articulating their needs and by advancing a programme of socialist development in agriculture and industry which promises to eradicate poverty, disease and illiteracy; a programme which will draw out the creative talents and energies of our people, giving them that personal dignity and pride which comes from socially constructive and productive activity. Let us, in short, provide our people with the ideological tools necessary for the achievement of genuine independence and development. Let us not sell them cheaply down the glittering path of neo-colonialism and social and economic stagnation.

Why I Hate Federation of Rhodesias (3rd Instalment)

by M. Sipalo

WITH the imposition of Federation subsidised immigration has been stepped up:

1953 16,616 annual inflow

1956 26,201 annual inflow

This unprecedented flow of immigrants has been unrelated to the economic needs of the country; with skilled and unskilled immigrants both accepted as a matter of political expediency. This is cotton-woolled by the spirit of get-rich-quick systematic colonisation.

Immigrants deprive Africans of employment opportunities. Even unskilled immigrants are preferred and trained on the spot, while Africans are denied training facilities. It is a matter of deep concern to Africans that some of these immigrants are the very people Africans helped Western Democracies to fight in defence of "Democracy" only 15 years ago. Are memories so short in the West or are we led to realise that indeed "blood is thicker than water?"

The free play of the forces of Labour—demand and supply are hampered to the detriment of African fellow workers in that these immigrants are Federal Government aided.

In general business both immigrants and old-time settlers have a free hand in raising loans whilst Africans are hampered by legal scruples and economic insecurity. While land is a territorial matter, immigration is Federal. Do these immigrants settle in the air? If they don't it is logical to conclude that

somewhere they are depriving Africans of their land.

Industry

The iniquitous industrial colour bar has been stepped up with the advent of Federation to such a degree that when a European sweeps a room he is doing a skilled job, but when an African sweeps the same room the job suddenly becomes unskilled—e.g. on the Rhodesia Railways. In the Federal—run Post Office, a European girl selling postage stamps is doing a skilled job while an African man selling the same stamps is doing an unskilled job. This is true of all Federal and Territorial Departments.

The colour-line demarcates the spheres in industrial operations, irrespective of training, experience and natural ability:

- (a) In Government departments an African master is a mere teacher or "Assistant Master" and his European counterpart is styled "Master" or "Officer."
- (b) On the Rhodesia Railways an African clerk is a mere "Messenger/Interpreter."

There is a glaring disparity in wages. The average wage of an African worker is between £3 and £6 whilst a European worker averages between £80 and £120 per month. Note that to qualify as an ordinary voter the per mensem wage must be at £60.

The European trade unions are much more powerful than African

unions in that the former are voters and therefore put the politicians of the right colour and mentality into positions of power whilst the latter are voteless, and when they are voters their number is infinitesimal.

As a result of this, when Africans go on legal strikes there are arbitrary declarations of states of emergencies followed by mass arrests, rustications of leaders for long periods and, even when legally exonerated, they are still so held. On the other hand, when Europeans go on strike no such steps are taken against them. Instead churches are asked to pray for them and the armed Police surround African compounds. Examples:

1956 Copper Strike (African)

—Emergency

1957 Copper Strike (European) Church prayer.

The bogey of the rate-for-the-job is a negotiating palliative in that employment priorities are biased towards white workers who also have training facilities that are denied Africans—a good example is: the Copperbelt Technical Foundation. Federation has, in view of these facts, deprived the African of prospects for a solid economic foundation, a decent standard of living and participation in Government, thereby giving settlers all chances to life, liberty and happiness.

Socio-Culture Defects

The Federation was founded on the "Master-Race" philosophy and the adoption of partnership as a social policy brought out vividly the colour consciousness of its architects to the African inhabitants of the protectorates who, up to the inception of the Federation had known no godly social relations based on the wrongness or rightness of colour. This law has had, not only political and economic defects but even much more devastating socio-culture defects.

The discriminating franchise which divides people into "Ordinary," "Special" and "Ungraded" human beings has the devastating social effect of splitting the otherwise socially homogenous people into "superior" and "inferior" groups.

The declared policy of partnership is a mere confidence trick—a bait

designed to hoodwink the British public and the outside world. Town planning continues to be based on colour, resulting in racial water-tight compartments residentially, socially and even religiously. Health and education are still run on racial lines. Thus there are separate clinics and hospitals for Europeans and Africans. The clinics for Europeans are far better provided for than those for Africans.

Racial Line

This segregation is so fast that a European ambulance called upon to pick up an African emergency case, has been known not to do so. Schools, both high and low, are run purely on racial lines. European schools are not only sufficient but are far better equipped than African schools.

Since the advent of Federation there has been a fantastic increase in the number of beer halls for Africans and the quantity of liquor consumed. This has been deliberately engineered to soak the African in liquor so that he should forget his miseries. Thus fulfilling the Biblical saying, by Master Lord Jesus Christ, that "to those who have more, still more shall be added unto them; and to those who have not, even the little they have shall be taken away."

In spite of the himalayan profits Local Governments (in which Africans are not represented although they also pay economic rents apart from contributing to beer profits) get from the ever-looming sales of liquor, not only are the social amenities lacking, but the Municipal rents rise as the Municipal huts grow older. Let it be mentioned here that this rental enigma was the root cause of the 1958 Ndola disturbances in which six Africans lost their lives.

Hollowness of Partnership

The unprecedented consumption of liquor perpetrated by white money-worshipping businessmen has led to relatively moral degeneration for the African. This oceanic flow of liquor continues in spite of vigorous and well-meant protests from Churches and Legal Court authorities.

The hollowness of the policy of partnership becomes clear when it is revealed that up to now the Railways reserve certain compartments for Africans. Buses are still segregative, hotels and cafés maintain such rigid apartheid that in recent months visiting Black Privy Councillors, Knights, International Barristers and Trade Unionists, Bishops, have had the ungodly misfortune of being told that they were of a-wrong colour and that they were therefore unwelcome in these places.

"Social segregation" is a dominant factor in every aspect of the African's life. It limits his physical movements and economic opportunities, and adversely affects his personality and social development. It is an ostracism symbolising inferiority and colours his thoughts and actions at almost every moment.

Mediocrity

The resentment and hostility provoked by segregation finds various means of psychological "accommodation;" various forms of release. Mediocrity is accepted as a standard because of the absence of social rewards or acceptance. Energy and emotion which might be constructively used are lost in the process of adjustment to the "segregation" conception of the African characteristics and his inferior status in society. Psychosomatic disease is induced by the tensions engendered by segregation and other forms of racial segregation.

Segregation and discrimination have had material and moral effect on whites too. Booker T. Washington's famous remark, that the white man could not hold the Negro in the gutter without getting there himself, has been endorsed by many Whites both in the Northern and Southern States of America.

Myrdal, in the "An American Dilemma," states that "The white person must adjust himself, consciously, to the hypocrisy of a double standard, violating the American creed which he professes to follow. Feelings of guilt are generated and moral values weakened the basic realities of the racial problem

are diverted in the mechanism of segregation."

And yet, after sunset, the Europeans cohabit with African women whom they dare not greet on the sunlit streets of Rhodesia.

Distrust and Antagonism

Those who segregate others soon become frightened, insecure people forced to accept and invent prejudices to justify their actions. They become hypocrites who, either close their eyes to stark reality, or invent slogans, (such as partnership) to hide fundamental issues. The master-classes, no less than the subjected become victims of the system. Segregation and practices allied to it promote the master race psychology, thus sowing seeds for oppressive individual and collective action.

Segregation is part of a vicious circle. It prevents groups from knowing each other. This lack of knowledge engenders distrust and antagonism. They in turn stimulate the demand for sharp cleavage between the races and the maintenance of a system of segregation. Thus groups within a nation are kept asunder. Experience and informed public opinion are in agreement that normal contacts between the races diminish prejudice, while enforced separation intensifies it.

Race relations are improved by living together, working together, serving together, going to school together. The absence of a colour line in certain countries goes far to show that racial prejudice is not instinctive or hereditary, but is rather kept alive by man-made barriers such as segregation.

Racial Prejudice

"In any event, the Courts' observation is, at best a half truth. Although legislation cannot eradicate racial prejudice, experience has shown that it can create conditions favourable to the gradual disappearance of racial prejudice; or it can, on the other hand, strengthen and enhance it.

To be continued

Les Coupables . . .

Oliveira Salazar



SALAZAR: Accusé de Meurtre

LES masses portugaises ne sont nullement idiotes mais les désastreuses circonstances dont elles ont été victimes pendant des dizaines de siècles les forcent à agir comme telles! Ces circonstances—nous le répétons—sont à l'origine de la situation fatale actuelle des peuples portugais.

Antonio de Oliveira Salazar ne put échapper à ce phénomène. Pour le Portugal comme pour l'Afrique, l'année 1889 au cours de laquelle le dictateur et fasciste Salazar naquit, reste à jamais l'année des pires augures.

Tony Salazar quelques temps après, quitta son village natal de Santa Comba Dao pour occuper une chaire de "professeur." N'est-il pas dit en effet qu'au pays des aveugles les bornes sont rois? Oui au fait, ce "professeur" à l'esprit borné et plat de l'Université de Coimbra vécu dans une ombre de suie jusqu'en 1928 quand le dictateur Carmone renversa l'ancien gouvernement féodal républicain pour le remplacer par un régime plus féodal, fasciste et réactionnaire.

De 1928 à 1940, Tony fut ministre des finances. Il imposa un budget infâme aux peuples portugais et aux colonies sous domination portugaise. Un tel budget ne fut nullement rentable et ne put permettre au Portugal de rattraper son retard économique. D'ailleurs

jusqu'à nos jours, l'économie du Portugal reste la plus déshéritée d'Europe. Ajoutons toutefois, qu'en 1930, en sa qualité de Chef des services administratifs d'Outre Mer colonial, Tony Salazar a introduit force décrets et lois pour administrer les territoires Outre Mer des colonies portugaises.

Il est à noter que le régime Carmona avait justement rejeté ces lois coloniales parce que les agitateurs s'en servaient dans leurs attaques et à vrai dire, ces lois constituaient la poutre maîtresse de leur plateforme politique. Quand Carmona mourut en 1951, Salazar devint Président de l'Etat. Il fut donc assigné ce poste le 9 août 1951 et le dessert jusqu'à ce jour. Prouvant à ses admirateurs qu'il pouvait être encore plus fasciste que les fascistes, Salazar s'est passé qualifié au poste de Chef du gouvernement et Président de l'Etat portugais.

Les populations Africaines ne pourront jamais pardonner Salazar pour cette déclaration selon laquelle il a dit ouvertement que—nous citons—"le Nègre a son intelligence dans l'anus et non dans le crane"—fin de citation. En voilà bien d'un homme qui pense! Il n'est point surprenant qu'après avoir à bon escient exploité les colonies pendant quatre cents ans, les portugais soient encore les peuples les plus barbares, les plus incongrus et les plus ignorants qui soient en Europe. Et pourtant—nous disons bien—et pourtant ils déclament qu'ils peuvent "civiliser" et "améliorer" le sort des peuples Africains. Ceci est encore une de leurs façons de penser! Ces peuples qu'on appelle les PORTUGAIS.

Ce fut ainsi qu'en 1952, par un coup de sa plume, Salazar transforma toutes les colonies portugaises en "provinces portugaises d'outre mer" Par cette ruse, il escomptait tromper l'opinion mondiale en démontrant à l'Organisation des Nations Unies que le Portugal ne possède point de colonies. . . . Les populations Africaines de nos jours, heureusement sont conscientes de ces subterfuges colonialistes et impérialistes. Elles savent qu'une colonie est une colonie de quelque nom qu'on l'appelle.

Salazar pour le moins s'est déclaré ennemi du libéralisme humanitaire et persécuteur de la démocratie. Il n'a d'ailleurs pas manqué de prouver tout ceci en pensée et en actions.

Malgré tout cela, il faut se dire que Salazar a de puissants amis, il s'agit des forces militaires

de l'OTAN. Que les membres de cette puissance militaire admettent un ami du genre Salazar et se dire "civilisés" et "libres" est un fait sans nul doute incompréhensible à l'individu le moins averti des intrigues colonialistes!

Au seuil de l'année écoulée par exemple, nos frères de l'Angola se sont revoltés contre les siècles d'oppression coloniale portugaise, dont ils sont victimes. Le gouvernement portugais par l'entremise de son chef Salazar en fit tuer 50,000; les bandits portugais utilisant des grenades appartenant à l'OTAN. Salazar jeta en prison de vaillants combattants pour la liberté comme le Dr. Agostinho Neto, leader national des peuples de l'Angola. Les agents de Salazar ont empoisonné d'innombrables combattants Africains en ont fusillé à bout portant, ont violé femmes et filles, en ont jeté par avion au fond des mers, et ont même rôti des enfants pour la consommation forcée des parents. . . . En d'autres termes, les portugais se sont, dans les territoires sous leur domination, livrés à des actes ignobles et barbares que par mesure de décence, nous ne pouvons nous permettre de rapporter sur ces pages.

Au Mozambique, nos frères s'apprentent à faire échec aux manoeuvres tyranniques de Salazar comme il fut le cas aux Indiens qui, malgré leur patience inexorable ont fini par prendre d'assaut, Salazar, ses agents et ses néfastes séquelles.

Antonio Oliveira Salazar; l'humanité tout entière vous accuse du meurtre des milliers d'Africains en Angola, au Mozambique et en Guinée; elle vous accuse de complicité avec les vampires et sanguinaires Roy Wellensky et Verwoerds dans la préparation d'une guerre coloniale contre les Africains et de faire des efforts pour perpétuer la domination blanche en Afrique.

La "VOIX DE L'AFRIQUE" est fort conscient que l'ère nouvelle n'aura d'autre alternative que de balayer les éléments du genre Salazar du globe et ceci, il le souhaite vivement et de toutes ses forces. Sans aucun doute, les heures de l'impérialisme intransigeant et moribond sont comptées, que ce soit en Angola, en Afrique du Sud ou partout ailleurs dans le monde.

L'ANGLETERRE ET L'APARTHEID

LA nouvelle selon laquelle l'Angleterre aurait vendu des gaz lacrimogènes au soi-disant gouvernement de la République Sud Africaine, a exposé une fois de plus le rôle malveillant auquel s'adonne le gouvernement britannique dans sa politique coloniale en Afrique en général, et en Afrique du Sud en particulier.

A cause des 1,000 millions de livres sterling que les financiers anglais ont investis en Afrique du Sud, ils s'aperçoivent que leurs affaires se trouvent dans la balance et qu'il est d'une importance vitale de maintenir l'Apartheid et la domination blanche par la force dans ce territoire du continent Africain.

Puisque ces investisseurs britanniques sont les piliers mêmes du gouvernement britannique et que leurs efforts tendent à maintenir de force les Africains en subjugation afin d'exploiter la force humaine à vil prix et perpétuer la domination coloniale, le gouvernement britannique ne peut que les appuyer dans cette politique dégradante et réactionnaire. Il va sans dire que le gouvernement britannique participe à part entière au complot destiné à la balkanisation et à l'esclavage imposés aux Africains.

Ajoutons donc qu'en vendant ces gaz lacrimogènes au gouvernement de Verwoerds, l'Angleterre ne fait que donner encore une preuve concrète de son appui et le commun des humains comprend que les capitalistes anglais ne peuvent nourrir leurs indigents sur d'autre cuisine qu'avec celle de leur faire croire qu'ils vivent dans un monde de lune et de miel: LE MONDE LIBRE! qu'ils disent . . .

Qui donc pourra faire confiance à ces impérialistes qui, même quand le soleil brûle et que la sueur coule sur les fronts, s'entêtent à dire qu'il fait une nuit de suie!

L'Angleterre Encore!

L'impérialisme britannique de nos jours agit en chien enragé ou pour le moins en tigre blessé. Et en ceci fait des efforts désespérés pour réduire ses chasseurs en morceaux. Le Dr. Connor Cruise O'Brien qui a entre temps représenté l'ONU au Katanga a déclaré que l'Angleterre poursuit une "politique" d'opportuniste au Katanga. Dans la conjoncture actuelle des choses telles qu'elles se passent au Congo et considérant le rôle qu'y joue l'Angleterre, nous trouvons que cette déclaration est plutôt une sous-estimation.

L'Angleterre jouit de la scandaleuse réputation d'être fin diplomate. Mais maintenant que le masque dont l'Angleterre se couvre—elle et sa diplomatie—est soulevé; nous nous trouvons face à face avec un impérialiste anglais cruel, ignoble qui, à tout prendre ne devait plus avoir sa place dans ce monde.

Le retraité boxeur Welensky a essayé plus d'une fois de nier que la Rhodésie du Nord est transformée en base militaire d'où le Katanga non seulement lance ses attaques secessionnistes mais aussi s'adonne à un trafic contrebandier d'armes, de munitions et de mercenaires. "La Voix de l'Afrique" qui fait toujours fois à la vérité a envoyé un enquêteur sur les lieux mêmes aux frontières du Katanga et de la Rhodésie du Nord. Voici un défi au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères britannique de nier encore une fois la véracité de ces découvertes. Nous croyons qu'il ne le pourra plus cette fois.

Note de Notre Enquêteur

A Mokambo, près de Mufurira aux frontières du Katanga, notre enquêteur, en date du 27 décembre 1961 entre 3 heures et 3 heures 30 du matin a vu passer de grands camions battant pavillon katangais et trans-

portant des armes et des munitions. Les camions sont immatriculés: AD 596, 619, 478, 479 et 595 un Land-rover AB319 et une vanette AB256. Le 21 décembre 1961, notre enquêteur a vu 13 Landrovers de deux modèles différents expédiés par Central African Motors au Katanga. Ces véhicules ont été passés en douane à Kitwe le 22 Décembre 61 sous Connaissance No. 275. Le représentant du Central African Motors est M. R. D. Wolf. Un des modèles était le 109 Land Rover Pick-Ups manufacturés par l'Angleterre et portant les numéros suivants:

No. du chassis	No. du moteur
152104949	151125029
152104029	151126024
152103417	151121240
152103963	151125404

Selon une information recue, ces véhicules sont vendus au prix total de 4.580 livres sterling. Le deuxième modèle de véhicules était le 88 Landrover type courant. Ci-dessous nous reproduisons leur numéros de chassis et de moteur:

142101423	151117682
142101245	151115252
142101256	151106596
142101252	151106691
142101815	151122408
14201256	151115635
142101253	151106255
142101268	151115772
142101267	151115676

Ces véhicules sont évalués à 8.685 livres sterling. La Société Duly et Compagnie a émis le Connaissance numéro 274 couvrant les dits véhicules qui ont été passés en douane le 21 décembre 1961. Dix sept autres véhicules couverts par la même compagnie ont ce même jour fait diligence sur le Katanga. On y compte des poids lourds de cinq tonnes moteur diesel qui ont été tous fabriqués en Angleterre et dont les numéros de moteur

sont les suivants: 71194, 74049 75447, 71918, 74042, 7530, 70917, 74170, 77038, 76439, 74850, 75652, 75600, 72852 et 73993.

A 10 heures 25 du matin en date du 23 Décembre 1961, notre enquêteur a assisté au convoi de 50 véhicules katangais en tête duquel se trouvait un véhicule appartenant au Gouvernement de la Rhodésie du Nord immatriculé AB 486 sur la route de Mwinilunge-Solwezi venant de Kolwezi. Il a également vu 10 camions Bedford appartenant au Service de Transport de la Police Militaire Nord-Rhodésienne dans un camp de l'armée katangaise. Un de ces véhicules s'est trouvé enlisé sur la route entre Solwezi et Kipushi à 25 kilomètres Est de Solwezi. Quatre jours après, c'est-à-dire le 27 Décembre, notre enquêteur a vu cinq camions poids lourds moteur diesel transportant du ravitaillement tels que viande en conserve, lait, confiture et quelques autres produits alimentaires locaux.

Il est à noter que les boutiques étaient vides alors que tout ce ravitaillement était dirigé vers les camps militaires. Des avions katangais, selon notre enquêteur ont utilisé les terrains d'atterrissage situés le long de la frontière Nord-Rhodésienne. Il est à noter qu'une compagnie de Lusaka est en train de construire un autre aéroport à Kipushi pour l'armée katangaise. Le traité Tshombé et sa clique ont été offerts carte blanche pour construire une série de routes secrètes en Rhodésie du Nord comme par exemple, la route de Solwezi—Kolwezi—Mwinilunga et celles de Jadotville—Kipushi Tshinkolibwe. Bien que ces routes soient sur le territoire Nord-Rhodésien, c'est le régime Tshombé qui en assure le maintien.

Divers faits variés dont notre reporter a été témoin oculaire tels que la réparation de la route Solwezi-Kipushi, un Landrover chargé de ravitaillement sur cette même voie, des aviateurs au service de l'armée katangaise atterrissant en Rhodésie du Nord où des facilités de premier ordre leur sont réservées. Des soldats appartenant au régime de la Rhodésie du Nord ont été vus entrant au Katanga habillés en uniforme et armés pour la bataille. Ajoutons

aussi que tout ce cargo transporté par les véhicules dont il a été question plus haut a été consigné à la compagnie CECEAC, boîte postale 975 d'Elizabethville qui l'a immédiatement transféré au camp militaire.

Conclusion

Considérant donc les découvertes ci-dessus citées, nous ne pouvons que rapporter ici le complot britannique qui sert de pilier maître à sa politique contre l'Afrique que nous avons déjà eu l'occasion d'étaler devant nos lecteurs dans notre édition d'octobre, à savoir: la possibilité d'annexion du Katanga et ses richesses minières dans une éventuelle fédération n'est pas oubliée. Mais il ne faut simplement pas en souffler mot à présent vue la situation actuelle aux Nations Unies. C'était presque désastreux que Welensky en ait laissé échapper le secret au début de la crise congolaise. N'empêche par bonheur, le public a oublié cette indiscretion. Je peux vous assurer

que le Gouvernement de sa Majesté et l'Office d'Outre-Mer Colonial n'ont pas oublié ce projet. De toutes manières, je t'en prie de n'en rien dire pour l'instant, car cela porterait gravement préjudice à tout plan futur. Toute l'opération sabotage que le gouvernement colonialiste de Welensky fomenté avec l'aide du gouvernement britannique au Katanga est le point de mire de la politique et en cela des fâcheux incidents qui se sont déroulés depuis lors au Katanga. Les découvertes de notre enquêteur montrent clairement qu'ensemble, les Gouvernements de Welensky et de Macmillan ont monté le complot une fois de plus pour saboter la liberté, l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale des peuples d'Afrique.

Aujourd'hui même à Ndola, des troupes katangaises armées jusqu'aux dents sont apprêtées pour être lancées contre l'armée du gouvernement Central du Congo et contre les forces de l'ONU stationnées dans le territoire.

Le soi-disant accord de Kitona a été un moyen malicieux des Etats-Unis d'Amérique pour permettre au traître Tshombé de reprendre ses forces et d'armer de plus belle ses "brigands" contre le Gouvernement Central partant contre l'indépendance et la liberté du Congo.

L'Angleterre, on le sait, a investi 106 millions de livres au Katanga et beaucoup plus dans la zone de cuivre du Zambia. Alors puisque la seule idole que les impérialistes anglais connaissent et vénèrent est le matérialisme, notre lutte contre ce colonialisme et cet impérialisme anglais doit être couronnée de succès. Nous savons en ce moment-ci, la teneur des malicieux complots du groupe Welensky-Macmillan et sommes sûrs que ces complots s'aboutiront à un fiasco.

L'Afrique est déterminée à aller de l'avant vers la liberté, l'indépendance et la souveraineté. Voilà notre cause la plus noble et en ceci l'Afrique est d'ors et déjà assurée de la victoire.

Optimisme en Algerie?

LES peuples Africains anxieusement s'attendent à voir après huit ans d'horribles guerres sauvages en Algerie, la paix et le bon sens se restaurer dans ce quartier du continent africain.

Les pourparlers secrets auxquels participent des représentants français et algériens indiquent toutefois qu'on peut se permettre un certain optimisme quant aux résultats de ces consultations.

Mais n'y a-t-il jamais eu de pourparlers entre les deux camps? Disons oui; et le résultat, rien! car le colonialisme véreux français refusait d'accorder aux vaillants peuples Algériens, toutes les possibilités requises pour une auto-gestion qui seule peut garantir une paix durable en Algerie.

Si toutefois les apparences s'annoncent prometteuses, c'est parce que les cinq dernières années ont apporté à la France, de fortes

pressions et d'actions de masses des populations africaines.

La roue de l'histoire tourne avec les temps et chaque année porte en sa cime, un coup ou un attentat similaire à l'Algérie. Les populations africaines ont remarqué à chacune de ces occasions comment les forces réactionnaires ont été consolidées par la politique insidieuse de la France à l'endroit des Algériens. Et c'est ainsi que depuis le fiasco d'Avril 1961, les forces fascistes se sont instituées en soit disant "Organisation de l'Armée Secrète" (OAS) introduisant guerre et terreur dans chaque foyer du peuple français.

Jouissant de l'appui de la Haute Finance de France et plus particulièrement des exploitateurs qui détiennent des millions en Algerie l'OAS continue sa campagne horrible de terreur et d'intimidation.

Il est toutefois à noter que malgré les honteux désastres politiques dont la France fut victime et les innombrables malheurs qui ont valu au gouvernement français et à son peuple, les malédictions du monde entier, justement à cause de sa politique intenable algérienne, l'OAS est entrain d'inscrire au compte de la France un chapitre plus écoeurant, plus ignoble et plus révoltant.

Nous croyons sincèrement (que faire d'autre?) que les conditions actuelles créées par les pourparlers secrets conduiront au rétablissement de la paix sur le territoire algérien.

Nous devons néanmoins et à toute fin utile, souligner que quelque soit la force dont dispose l'OAS, l'Algérie a plus que jamais atteint la porte de l'auto-détermination.

Os Culpados: Salazar

OS povos portugueses não são de maneira nenhuma idiotas mas das desas trossas circunstâncias oujo foram sido vitimos durante dezenas de séculos, as forcem a proceder como tais!

Estas circunstâncias as repetimos—são a origem da situação fatal presente dos povos portugueses. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar não podia fugir à este fenómeno. Para Portugal como para africa, o ano de 1889 no decurso da qual o ditador e fascista Salazar nasceu, fica jamais o ano dos piores augúrios.

Salazar alguns tempos depois, deixou a sua aldeia natal Santa Comba Dão para ocupar uma cadeira de professor na Universidade de Coimbra. Não disse com efeito que no país dos cegos os zarlhos são reis? Sim. Este professor com espirito limitado e inconsistente da Universidade venceu numa sombra negra até 1928 quando o dictador Carmona substituiu o antigo governo feudal republicano para um regime mais feudal, fascista e reaccionario.

De 1928 à 1940 Antonio Oliveira Salazar foi ministro das finanças. Ele estabeleceu um orçamento infame aos povos portugueses e as colonias sob dominação portuguesa. Um tal orçamento não foi rendavel e nem pode permitir à Portugal de readequerir a sua atrasada economia. Pelo contrario, até aos nossos dias a economia de Portugal continua a ser a mais atrasada da europa. Acrescentamos todavia, que em 1930, com a sua qualidade do chefe dos serviços administrativos de ultramar colonial, Antonio Oliveira Salazar introduziu forças decretos e leis para administrar os territorios de ultramar das colonias portuguesas.

Os nossos leitores devem saber que o regime Carmona justamente recusou estas leis coloniais porque os agitadores se serviam delas nos seus ataques e por bem dizer estas leis não constituíam senão a polvora mestra da sua política plataforma.

Quando Carmona morreu em 1951, Salazar veio a ser presidente do Estado. Foi então em 9 de Agosto de 1951 que a nação portuguesa foi totalmente entregue nas mãos deste dictador fascista inimigo incorrigível do povo português e que mantém esse vergonhoso regime até aos nossos dias. Em aproveando pois à seus admiradores que ele podia ser ainda mais fascista que os fascistas, Salazar qualifi cou-se no posto de chefe do governo e presidente do estado português.

As populações africanas não poderão jamais perdoar Salazar para esta declaração segundo a qual disse abertamente que—nos citamos “o negro tem a sua inteligencia nos anus e não no craneo”—fim de citação. Eis um homem que pensa bem como veem! Não é de surpreender que depois de ter tao facilmente explorado as colonias durante quatro séculos, os portugueses são ainda os povos os mais barbaros os mais incongruentes e os mais ignorantes da europa.

E todavia eles declamam que podem civilisar e melhorar a condição dos povos africanos. Isto é ainda uma das suas/p/ maneiras de pensar!

Foi assim que em 1952, por um golpe da sua caneta, Salazar transformou todas as colonias portuguesas em “provincias portuguesas de ultramar” com esta astucia, ele contava enganar a opiniao mundial em provando a organização das Nações Unidas que Portugal não possui colonias.

As populações africanas dos nossos dias, felizmente são conscientes desses subterfugios colonialistas e imperialistas. Sabem que uma colonia é uma colonia seja qual for nome que se chama.

Salazar declarou-se inimigo do liberalismo humanitário e perseguidor da democracia. De facto não faltou de provar isso. Apesar de tudo, é preciso dizer que Salazar

tem potentes amigos, que são forças militares de O. T. A. N. É de admirar que os membros desta potencia militar admitem um amigo género Salazar que se dizem icivilizados e libres’ é um feito incompreensível de quem não conhece intrigas colonialistas!

No limiar do ano findo por exemplo, os irmaos africanos de Angola revoltaram-se contra os séculos de opressão cujo são vitimos. O governo português pela intromissão do seu chefe Salazar 50.000 angolanos forma mortos. Utilizando os bandidos portugueses granadas pertencentes a O. T. A. N. Salazar prisionou os valentes combatentes para lebrdade como Dr Agostinho Neto, leader nacional dos povos de Angola.

Os agentes de Salazar envenenaram inumeros combatentes africanos, violaram mulheres e crianças, deitaram por avião no alto mar os nacionalistas, e acham isso insficiente matam as crianças preparadas para consumo dos pais, pela força. Em outros termos/ os portugueses estão nos territorios sob a sua dominação, libertados dos actos infames e barbaros que por medida de decencia, nos não podemos admitirde informar sobre estas paginas.

Em Moçambique, os nossos irmao africanos preparam-se solidamente par dar um golpe as manobras tiranicas de Salazar como foi o caso da India que, apesar a sua paciencia inexorável acabaram por tomar de assalto, Salazar, os seus agentes e os seus nefastos. Antonio Oliveira Salazar, a humanidade toda inteira acusa-lhe da morte dos milhares africanos em Angola, Moçambique e em Guiné; acusa-lhe da cumplicidade com os vampiros e sanguinarios Roy Wellensky e Verwoerds na preparação duma guerra colonial contra os africanos de maneira à perpetuar a dominação branca em africa. A voz de africa é forte conciente que a era não terá globo alternativa senão de varrer os elementos género Salazar do globo e ela sauda vivamente e de todas as suas forças.

Sem duvida nenhuma as hora sdo imperialismo intransite e morbundo são contados, seja em Angola, em Africa do Sul ou por todo mundo.

VOICE OF AFRICA

RADIO GHANA TRANSMISSION TIMES AND WAVELENGTHS

ENGLISH SERVICE

(i)	SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA			
	1400—1445 GMT	15.400 Mcs	19.48 Metres	
	1830—1915 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	
(ii)	EAST AFRICA			
	1450—1535 GMT	15.400 Mcs	19.48 Metres	
(iii)	SOUTH, SOUTH-WEST AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA			
	1450—1535 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
	2000—2045 GMT	15.287 Mcs	19.63 Metres	
(iv)	WEST AFRICA			
	1450—1535 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	1700—1745 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	2000—2045 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	2130—2215 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	

FRENCH SERVICE

(i)	CONGO, AFRIQUE CENTRALE			
	1745—1830 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	
	1915—2000 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	
(ii)	AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE			
	1745—1830 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	1915—2000 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
		9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
	2045—2130 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
		9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	

PORTUGUESE SERVICE

(i)	ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE			
	1400—1445 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
	1645—1730 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
(ii)	GUINEA, ANGOLA			
	1645—1730 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	

HAUSA SERVICE

	WEST AFRICA			
	1545—1630 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	1830—1915 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
		9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	

ARABIC SERVICE

(i)	UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, SUDAN, LIBYA			
	1540—1630 GMT	15.400 Mcs	19.48 Metres	
(ii)	MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA			
	2005—2050 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	

SWAHILI SERVICE

	EAST AFRICA			
	1400—1445 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	
	1545—1630 GMT	1.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	
	1715—1800 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	

SPECIAL ENGLISH SERVICE—U.K. AND EUROPE

2050—2135 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres
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PORTUGUESE SERVICE

TIME—GMT SUNDAY MONDAY TUESDAY WEDNESDAY THURSDAY FRIDAY SATURDAY

1358/30		21.545 M/C. 13.92 Metres—Angola, Mozambique					
	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)						
1400	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News
1410	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk
1420	Moments with the Masters	Music from the Films	Music Album	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days	Moments with the Masters	Highlife Hits
1435	Our African Cultural Heritage	The African Scene	Ghana Calling	One Continent, One People	Dancing Days	Moments with the Masters	Highlife Hits
1443/30		INTERVAL SIGNAL					

(i) 21.545 M/C. 13.92 Metres (ii) 11.800 M/C. 25.42 Metres (i) Angola, Mozambique (ii) Guinea, Angola

1643/30		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)					
1645	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News
1655	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk
1705	Dancing Days	Music of the People	Highlife Hits	Music of Africa	Music Album	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days
1720	Dancing Days	Ghana Calling	Our African Cultural Heritage	The African Scene	One Continent, One People	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days
1728/30		CLOSE DOWN					

SWAHILI SERVICE

WAKATI	JUMAPILI	JUMATATU	JUMANNE	JUMATANO	ALHAMISI	IJUMAA	JUMAMOSI
1358/30		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)					
1400	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1410	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo
1420	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari
	Bandi Ya Wiki	Ghaguo Letu	Ghana Inaimba	Muziki Wa Aina	Magitaa	Muziki Kutoka Kusini	Mipigo Ya Highlife
1435	Bandi Ya Wiki	Ghaguo Letu	Mambo Mbali Mbali Ya Afrika	Mbali Mbali Ustaarabu Wa Asili	Kontinenti Moja Lenye Watu Mamoja	Muziki Kutoka Kusini	Mipigo Ya Highlife
1445		INTERVAL SIGNAL					

INTERVAL SIGNAL AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)

17.740 M/C. 16.91 Metres—East Africa

1545	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1555	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo
1605	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari
	Muziki Wa Watu	Muziki Wa Watu	Bandi Shoo	Muziki Wa Afrika	Ghana Inaimba	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Muziki Kutoka Kusini
1620	Mbali Mbali Muziki Wa Watu	Muziki Wa Afrika Mashariki	Bandi Shoo	Muziki Wa Afrika	Ghana Inaimba	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Muziki Kutoka Kusini

INTERVAL SIGNAL

17.40 M/C. 16.91 Metres—East Africa

INTERVAL SIGNAL AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)

1713/30		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)					
1715	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1725	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo
	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari
1735	Chaguo Letu	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Muziki Wa Watu	Muziki Kutoka Kusini	Muziki Kutoka Afrika	Bandi Shoo	Siku Za Dansi
1758	Chaguo Letu	Kontinenti Moja Lenye Watu Mamoja	Ghana Leo	Mambo Mbali Mbali Ya Afrika	Mbali Mbali Ustaarabu Wa Asili	Bandi Shoo	Siku Za Dansi

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