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Voice of AFRICA



AS you are aware, the present pattern of trade between the developed and less developed countries places the latter at a serious economic disadvantage. While the industrialised countries pay less and less for the raw materials we export to them, we find ourselves paying more and more for the manufactured products we import from them. This is the ideology of the European Common Market, an ideology under which the African countries, Ghana included, have suffered and continued to suffer.

The effort of the Common Market countries to consolidate their economic and political strength in Western Europe may be prudent. But as at present constituted under the Rome Treaty, the working of their organisation could lead to serious aggravation of world tension and a widening of the gap between the richer and poorer nations of the world. Just as the world cannot remain half-slave, half-free, so it would be a tragedy to make it half-rich half-poor.

— Dr. KWAME NKRUMAH

Contents

- Is Southern Rhodesia Self-Governing? *by Prakash Luther* 3
- A Theory of African Revolutionary Struggle 11
- The Congo's Harrowing History and Lessons *by Dr. Jeckovic* 20/21
- Emergence of Africa *by Maharaja Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar* 20/21
- Special Article on Military Bases in Africa 28

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Voice of Africa

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OUR OPINION

BLATANT DISTORTION

HARRY Frederick Oppenheimer, the merciless exploiter of the African, has bleated again. Giving his Davie Memorial lecture, Harry said among many things that "colonialism brought stable, efficient, incorruptible government to Africa."

This statement is a blatant distortion of history.

It was not the desire to bring "stable, efficient and incorruptible government" to Africa which attracted Harry's forbears to Africa. Commerce and trade first attracted them. They looted and raped Africa and carried Africans as cargoes to America and Europe and sold them.

Harry's forbears did not care about governments. They only geared and organised every institution — political, economic and cultural — to their advantage to help them plunder Africa.

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah puts it better: "colonialism is the policy by which the colonial power binds her colonies to herself by political ties with the primary objective of promoting her own economic advantage."

What is the outcome of colonialism? Far from bringing "stable", efficient and incorruptible governments to Africa, it has produced

incorrigible rogues (Harry Oppenheimer not excluded) who have grown rich upon bloodshed, agony and mass impoverishment of Africans because they believe in the monstrous alchemy of converting man's blood into gold.

Harry Frederick Oppenheimer today is the Chairman of the following companies in Southern Africa: Tanganyika Concessions, British South Africa Company, De Beers Consolidated Mines, Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Rhodesia Anglo-American, Rhokana Corporation and Mufu-lira Copper Mines. In fact, Harry controls the total diamonds and the whole marketing of world diamonds and a very large share of the Copperbelt both in Katanga and Northern Rhodesia. He controls a subscribed capital of £336 million and total reserves of £268 million.

His Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia is well on the way to rivalling gold as the prime source of profit from Africa.

There are three producing companies in this Copperbelt. Harry controls a whole swarm of large and small companies holding shares in these three in a veritable tangle of interests.

How kind is Harry? In 1896 Harry's gold mines paid African workers 3/- per day. Today they pay them 3/4 per day — 4d rise in 66 years!

Today Harry is arranging to buy Katanga. He is prepared to pay Moise Kapenda Tshombe any money. He is offering Portugal arms from his African Explosive Company to mow down Africans in Angola, because he wants to buy Angola and extend his hegemony there. He forgets that in this age the demise of an empire cannot be placed on the banker's till.

If Oppenheimer does not know, we know that colonialism is a cimmerian monster, rooted in the darkness of by-gone ages, always ready to swoop with vampiric deadliness upon Africans and to prey with vulturine greed upon their corpses.



Is Southern Rhodesia Self-Governing?

by Ved Prakash Luthera

(Department of African Studies,
University of Delhi)

CHAPTER XI of the United Nations Charter, which consists of only one Article, Article 73, contains a 'Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories'. According to clause (e) of this Article, those Members of the United Nations who have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, undertake to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for information purposes subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in such territories. In accordance with this requirement laid down by the United Nations Charter, all administering powers (that is, powers which are administering the Non-Self-Governing Territories) excepting Portugal, have been submitting to the Secretary-General such information. Britain, however, did not from the very inception of the United Nations supply such information in respect of Southern Rhodesia, which is one of the three constituents of the controversial Federation of Rhodesia and

Nyasaland. Her plea has been that Southern Rhodesia attained a full measure of self-government in 1922 and, therefore, does not fall within the category of the territories, intended to be covered by Article 73 of the United Nations Charter. The British contention, however, has all along been refuted by the Southern Rhodesian Africans and certain other quarters which maintain that what Southern Rhodesia



Joshua Nkomo, Leader of the banned ZAPU and who is now under restriction order

has is not Self-government but a kind of despotic government controlled and run by the tiny White Settler minority. For some time past, need has, therefore, been felt in the United Nations to examine the British contention.

Sir Hugh Protests

In this connection the first concrete step was taken last February when an 11-nation resolution was moved in the United Nations Trusteeship Committee, which called for the formation of a committee, consisting of seventeen members, to determine whether Southern Rhodesia has attained a full measure of self-government or whether it was a British dependency. As could be expected, the British delegate, Sir Hugh Foot at once protested describing the resolution as "intervention" in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia and threatened that, if this intervention was not stopped, Britain would withdraw the cooperation she had been given to the United Nations concerning the territories for which she had responsibility. The United Nations General Assembly, however, ignored the British threats and warnings and ordered a United Nations inquiry in the matter. The inquiry is already being held and its findings are to be reported back to the General Assembly in September.

Edgar Raves

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, has since given many statements. It is "complete nonsense to imagine we are not Self-governing. If any United Nations committee tries to sneak in here, it is likely to find itself looking into the business end of a rifle". It can be reasonably anticipated that neither the Southern Rhodesian Government nor the Federal Government will allow a United Nations committee to visit Southern Rhodesia for an on-the-spot inquiry. However, as Sir Whitehead has rightly remarked the United Nations committee does not need to enter Southern Rho-

desia to determine whether or not Southern Rhodesia has attained a full measure of self-government.

x x x

It is obvious that to determine whether Southern Rhodesia is self-governing or not, it is necessary first to give a precise definition of the term 'self-government'. For, it is in the light of such a definition that the question can be answered. For the purposes of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, the definition of 'self-government' has naturally to be formulated by the United Nations and not by the administering powers. Any definition propounded by any administering power can be regarded as valid only to the extent it is acceptable to the United Nations. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, there is no other alternative except to rely upon the United Nations for a definition. Strangely enough, no definition of the term is available from the British sources, though, as has been noted, she refuses to supply information in respect of Southern Rhodesia on the plea that it is self-governing.

Confusion

The term has, no doubt, been often used in their statements by the British Prime Ministers, the Colonial and other Secretaries and the Governors of various territories under British rule. But it has been used so variously and conflictingly that there prevails a complete confusion about its meaning. This confusion is well reflected by what a correspondent wrote in 1958 in a journal of some standing. "We have been", he wrote, "hearing so much about self-government during the past two years that a plea has gone up..... for a definition of the expression every time it is used in public speeches. The reason for this plea is that every individual has his or her own private interpretation of the phrase. Some take it to mean 'wholly African government' others 'multi-racial government', others 'some form of government divorced from Colonial Office

control', or 'African government within the Commonwealth but with local control'. "Consequently," he continued, "whenever the phrase is used, everyone assumes it to mean just what it means to himself....The term does not have any precise meaning even in the British constitutional practice"..... So far as the dependencies are concerned, it has never been defined in any authoritative statement of policy..... Pointing out the reason, which he calls "practical," for the absence of such a definition, Lord Hailey continues thus: "The dependencies comprise a large number of units at every different stages of political progress. They include some which have a considerable settled European community, though with a numerically predominant Native population. There are others which have practically no settled European community, but contain indigenous elements that are advancing rapidly in political aspirations and experience. There are again others which have no such elements and in which indigenous African society is still at a tribal stage." It would, therefore, have been premature to attempt any determination of the content of self-government which would cover all possibilities involved. Even the British Colonial Secretary himself, during his address to a Conservative Party Conference in 1958, asked: "Self-government—of whom, by whom, for whom?"

II.

We now turn to the United Nations. The United Nations Charter also does not contain any forthright definition of the term. The term, no doubt, occurs in Article 73, but no attempt is made therein to define it precisely. The Article speaks of the various things the administering powers should do and should recognise before the Non-Self-Governing Territories attain a full measure of self-government, but does not say anything as to what self-government means. The United Nations Charter, therefore, left the term undefined. However, it is obvious that for the

implementation of the Article, the formulation of a definition of the term was an absolute necessity. This necessity was felt soon after the inception of the United Nations and in 1946 its Secretary-General raised this question—a question which took the United Nations several years to nearly decide.

Resolutions Passed

During the course of these years, the question as to when a territory can be deemed to have attained self-government was discussed several times in the various organs of the United Nations, several resolutions were passed and many reports were prepared by committees which examined the question. Though it is not possible to deal in detail with this great debate in the United Nations spread over a number of years within the scope of an article, it is necessary to recall it briefly, because it is from a careful study of this debate that the meaning of 'self-government,' as understood by the United Nations, emerges.

On June 29, 1946, the Secretary-General addressed a letter to all the Members of the United Nations in which he requested them to express their views as regards the factors which should determine whether or not a territory was self-governing. Twenty-two Members replied and their replies were submitted to the General Assembly in a report on October 2, 1946. The Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee of the General Assembly was assigned the task of examining the report. The Fourth Committee, after due deliberations, reported back that "the time was not yet ripe to define the term Non-Self-Governing territory."

Powerful Group

The Fourth Committee, it seems, was obliged to report back in this manner because of the influence of the administering powers within the United Nations. They formed a very powerful group and it was probably difficult to take any decisions detrimental to their interests. The consideration of the

question remained suspended for some time. It was in September, 1948, that the matter was broached in a meeting of the Special Committee on Information Transmitted Under Article 73, (c) of the Charter. In this meeting the United Kingdom plainly asserted that, the question of a definition apart, the United Nations had no competence to decide as to which territory was self-governing and which was not. It lay, she said, exclusively with each metropolitan power to decide "in the light of its constitutional relationships with the territories for whose international relations it was responsible." In 1949, both the United Kingdom and France reiterated this assertion in a meeting of the Trusteeship Committee saying that the administering powers were the sole agencies to decide whether or not a territory under their rule had attained self-government. Some other administering powers also expressed similar views.

Arbitrary Standards

The United Nations could not have conceded this claim of the administering powers being the sole deciding agencies. It could not have allowed them to assume to themselves the role of sitting in judgement over the fate of millions of dependent people. They had a vested interest in the prolongation of their rule. Such a concession would have meant a virtual nullification of the whole idea of Article 73 of the United Nations Charter and a serious blow to the principle of international accountability for administration of the dependent peoples. It would have been even impracticable. There were several administering powers and each would have probably set its own arbitrary standards of what constituted self-government. This would have meant the application of different standards to different dependent people. It was, therefore, imperative that the United Nations established it right to the sole deciding agency as to whether or not a territory had attained self-government and, also, to set its criterion as to when a territory

may be deemed to have attained self-government. Under the situation, however, the achievement of this aim was bound to be a prolonged hazardous affair.

U.N. Action

In 1949, certain administering powers unilaterally stopped submitting information to the Secretary-General in respect of some territories. The United Nations was not consulted at all. The occasion naturally demanded action by the United Nations. If the United Nations had not acted, the claim of the administering powers to be the sole deciding agencies would have been established by precedent. The United Nations, therefore, took note of the unilateral cessation of transmission of information and the General Assembly passed a resolution which called upon the Special Committee on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to examine the factors which should be taken into consideration while deciding whether a territory was self-governing or not. During the liberations of the Committee, which were stretched over a period of about three years, the matter was "discussed at length". The administering powers again took firmly the position that they were sole deciding agencies and that the United Nations was not competent. At a later stage, however, the representatives of the United Kingdom, France, and Belgium stated that though they did not recognise United Nations' competence in the matter, they would none the less co-operate with it. This was a significant gain which the United Nations was able to secure from the administering powers.

Important Factors

The United Nations, however, went ahead with the consideration of the matter in spite of the protestations of the administering powers. In January, 1952, the matter was discussed in the Trusteeship Committee. The administering powers again asserted that they were the sole deciding agen-

cies. But, this time, their claim was emphatically refuted by some other Members who held that it was solely for the United Nations to decide. In December of the same year, the Trusteeship Committee set up a sub-committee to examine the question: The sub-committee reported back in the same month and the factors which should be taken into account while determining whether or not a territory had attained self-government began to emerge. In its report the sub-committee listed factors which emphasised democratic and egalitarian principles. Self-government was to be attained through the freely expressed will of population of the dependent territories and there was to be no discrimination in legislative representation and citizenship. The following were the more important factors listed by the sub-committee:

1. Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.
2. Opinion of the population, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desired.
3. Legislative representation without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.
4. Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

However, the recommendations of the sub-committee provided only a basis for further investigation. In this report the sub-committee had itself included a draft resolution which provided that the General Assembly should (1) accept the list of factors drawn by it as a basis and (2) should appoint an Ad hoc committee of ten members to carry out further investigation.

The above draft resolution recommended by the sub-committee was adopted by the General Assembly and an Ad hoc committee, comprising Australia, Belgium,

Cuba, Burma, Guatemala, Iraq, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States and Venezuela, was formed. In its report the *ad hoc* committee expressed the view that any list of factors can serve only as a guide in determining whether or not a territory had attained self-government and that each case had to be decided in the light of the peculiar circumstance of the case.

Amendments

The Fourth Committee adopted, with certain amendments, the list of factors prepared by the *ad hoc* committee and recommended a draft Resolution, along with an Annex enumerating the factors, to the General Assembly on November 27, 1953. The Resolution was adopted by 32 to 19 votes, with 6 abstentions. The adoption of this Resolution and the Annex marked a major step towards defining the content of the attainment of self-government, as the United Nations understood it. Both the Resolution and the Annex reaffirmed the basic factor the sub-committee had emphasised, i.e., the right of the dependent peoples to freely express their will as regards the government and the absence of any discrimination in any form.

Fundamental Aspects

The texts of the resolution and the Annex run into several printed pages and it is not possible to reproduce these fully. However, it is important to reproduce those parts of the Resolution and the Annex which dealt with the fundamental aspects. The opening part of the Resolution reaffirmed the competence of the United Nations to determine the factors which should guide both the United Nations and the Member States in the implementation of obligations arising from Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. The operative part of the Resolution approved the annexed list of factors recommended by the Fourth Committee and reaffirmed that these factors were to serve as a guide in each case both for the United Nations and the administering powers. It

also provided that the Committee on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories may take the initiative of proposing modifications to the list of factors if it seemed necessary. The following clauses of the Resolution were of particular interest:

4. *Reasserts that each concrete case should be considered and decided upon in the light of the particular circumstances of that case and taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples.*
5. *Considers that the validity of any form of association between a Non-Self-Governing Territory and a metropolitan or any other country essentially depends on the freely expressed will of the people at the time of the taking of the decision.*
6. *Considers that the manner in which territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter can become fully self-governing is primarily through the attainment of independence; although it is recognised that self-government can also be achieved by association with another State or group of States if this is done freely and on the basis of equality.*

The Annex, consisting of factors, was divided among three parts according to the forms of self-government. The first part listed factors indicative of the attainment of independence, the second part stated factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government and the third part enumerated factors indicative of the free association of a territory on equal basis with the metropolitan or other country or in any other form. The factors dealt with several aspects of the content of self-government which, as has been observed already, it is not possible to reproduce here fully. The following were the more important and fundamental factors included in the various Parts of the Annex:

FIRST PART

B. Internal Self-Government:

1. *Form of Government:* Complete freedom of the people of the Territory to choose the form of Government which they desire.
2. *Territorial Government:* Freedom from control or interference by the government of another State in respect of the internal government (legislative, executive, judiciary and administration of the Territory).

SECOND PART

A. General:

1. *Opinion of the Population:* The opinion of the population of the Territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.
2. *Freedom of Choice:* Freedom of choosing on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples between several possibilities, including independence.

C. Internal Self-Government:

1. *Territorial Government:* Nature and measure of control or interference, if any, by the government of another State in respect of the internal government, for example, in respect of the following: Legislature: The enactment of laws for the territory by an indigenous body whether fully elected by free and democratic processes or lawfully constituted in a manner receiving the free consent of the population;

Executive:

The selection of members of the executive branch of the government by the competent authority in the territory receiving consent of the indigenous population, whether that authority is hereditary or elected, having regard also to nature and measure of control, if any, by an outside agency

on that authority, whether directly or indirectly exercised in the constitution and conduct of the executive branch of the government;

Judiciary: The establishment of courts of law and the selection of judges.

2. Participation of the population in the government of the territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?

THIRD PART

A. General:

1. *Opinion of the Population:* The opinion of the population of the Territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.
2. *Freedom of Choice:* The freedom of the population of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which has associated with the metropolitan country as an integral part of that country or in any other form to modify this status through the expression of their will by democratic means.

B. Status:

2. *Participation of the Population:* Effective participation of the population in the government of the Territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?

C. Internal Constitutional Conditions:

Suffrage; Universal and equal suffrage, and free periodic elections characterised by an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter or of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties.

From a careful analysis of the above parts of the Resolution and the Annex, it becomes clear that great emphasis was laid by the UN on the will of the dependent peoples. Whatever be the form of the self-government, only that government is self-government which has the consent of those it governs. This consent is to be freely expressed through democratic processes which are supported by an adequate suffrage - adequate in the sense that through it the will of the people at large is known. When a Non-Self-Governing Territory comes to have a government of this kind, it can rightly be said to have become self-governing. In the context of Article seventy-three of the UN Charter, therefore, the consent of the governed is the fundamental element of the content of self-government.

Committee of Six

The controversy regarding the factors which should be taken into account while determining whether or not a territory had become self-governing did not end with the adoption of this Resolution by the UN. Nor did the administering powers accept the list of factors set by the UN wholeheartedly. Was it their opposition which necessitated frequent fresh examinations of the matter in the following years? The UN continued examining the matter. But, whatever modifications might have been made as to other factors, the factor of the consent of the governed as the fundamental element of the content of self-government has remained, more or less, unaltered. It could not have been altered because it could never be the intention of the UN to deny to the dependent peoples the right to determine their government. In 1954, when the matter was discussed again in the Trusteeship Committee, several Members emphasised the consent of the people as the determining factor. And a Committee of Six appointed by the General Assembly in 1959 to examine the same subject also laid emphasis upon it.

III

Viewed in this perspective, Southern Rhodesia can hardly be said to be self-governing. It becomes sufficiently evident from a brief account of its creation and an examination of its present political structure.

All-White Legco

Southern Rhodesia came under the rule of British South Africa Company in accordance with a Charter granted to the Company by the British Government in 1889. The Charter made the Company responsible for the administration of the territory. However, during this period the political power gradually shifted to the local White Settler population. A Legislative Council representing only these White Settlers had come into existence and had become the exclusive source from where the legislation originated.

The settlers were not satisfied with the Company's rule and in 1914, when the term of the Charter expired and a supplementary Charter was granted extending the Company's rule for another ten years, the Legislative Council desired, for the termination of the Company's rule and for the establishment of a "Self-Governing Colony".

In April, 1920, elections were held in Southern Rhodesia. All the voters were White. The total number of the votes cast was 6,765. Out of these, 4,663 voted for the end of the Company's rule and the creation of a "Self-Governing Colony", 868 were for the Company's rule and 814 wanted union of Southern Rhodesia with the Union of South Africa. The new Legislature was composed of a majority of members who favoured the end of the Company's rule. It, therefore, at once passed a resolution praying that "the King's

Most Excellent Majesty in Council establish forthwith in Southern Rhodesia the form of government known as Responsible Government".

Buxton Commission

The Buxton Commission, appointed in April, 1921, to consider the course of future constitutional development of the territory, recommended that a draft Constitution embodying the principles of responsible government be circulated among the electorate. On October 27, 1922, the electorate consisting of only White voters was asked by the British Government "to choose between 'responsible' internal self-government as a Crown Colony - that is, control over their own political destinies in most domestic matters but not in foreign affairs - and integration with the Union of South Africa..... Out of a total of 14,763 White voters, 8,774 voted for 'internal self-government' and the rest voted for integration with South Africa. About a million Africans of Southern Rhodesia were not consulted at all.

African Opinion not Sought

The aspirations of the White Settlers thus being known, the British Government issued an Order-in-Council on July 30, 1923, which ordained that "whereas British subjects have settled in large numbers in the Territories (Southern Rhodesia), it is expedient, with a view to the further development and more convenient administration of the said Territories, that they should be annexed and should henceforth form part of His Majesty's Dominions". Thus, the Colony of Southern Rhodesia was created in deference to the wishes of the tiny White immigrant minority and without ascertaining the African opinion. The above Order-in-Council was soon followed by a Letters Patent issued by the British Government which gave to Southern Rhodesia a new Constitution. This Constitution, according to Britain, established in Southern Rhodesia 'internal self-government'. The Consti-

tution provided for a Legislative Assembly of thirty members and a Cabinet responsible to it. Since, however, no African had the right to vote, the Legislative Assembly was, in fact, a White Cabinet responsible to the White Assembly. The Africans did not appear anywhere on the political scene. The British Government thus entrenched a tiny White minority into political power.

Racial Discrimination

So entrenched, this White minority has through various devices seen to it that the political power does not pass on to the hands to which it really belong. Up to this day the Africans have no say in the Government of the country. They have been excluded from the legislature through an electoral law which, though non-racial, lays down such calculated property and other qualifications as ensure virtually total exclusion of the Africans from the voters' roll. At the time of the elections of 1953, there were in the Colony approximately 1,935,000 Africans and 160,000 Whites. Yet there were only 441 Africans on the voters' roll as against 48,870 Europeans. In the elections of 1958, there were only about 2,000 African voters. The property and other qualifications have been often enhanced whenever it was found that more of the Africans were able to qualify for existing qualifications to keep the number of the African voters low. In the past only once did a Southern Rhodesia was another apartheid country where Africans are subjected to stringent colour bar and racial discrimination.

The new Constitution, which Southern Rhodesia is going to have in 1962, also does not go very far towards the attainment of self-government as defined by the United Nations. In a legislative Assembly of 65 members, Africans have been broadened only slightly and do not make the electoral roll in any way adequate. It falls much short of universal adult suffrage.

One Man, One Vote

It is, therefore, no wonder that the now-banned National Democratic Party, which represented the African opinion, rejected the proposed Constitution. Its successor, Zimbabwe African People's Union has also rejected it. Mr. Joshua Nkomo, who was previously leading NDP and now leads ZAPU, has declared that his Party will boycott the forthcoming elections. The Africans demand a franchise law on the basis of 'one man, one vote.'

'Internal self-government' in Southern Rhodesia has, therefore, actually meant self-government for a minute section of the total population - the White immigrant minority. It is, thus, a sectional internal self-government. It derives its sanction not from the freely expressed consent of the people at large but rather, on the other hand, exists in the face of their staunch opposition to it. Such is not the self-government stipulated by the United Nations. For the purposes of the United Nations, therefore, Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory.

Reserved Powers

Which is then the administering power? Obviously, the power with whom the ultimate sovereignty over Southern Rhodesia lies is the United Kingdom. Britain, however, refuses to admit that she is. Her argument is that though, according to the 1923 Letters Patent, she had retained Reserved Powers over Southern Rhodesia which gave her the power to veto any Southern Rhodesian law, these powers have never been used. Consequently, they have become in-effective. This does not state the truth exactly. True, the Reserved Powers have never been used officially. But, according to an author, "Over the thirty years between the self-government and federation, the British Government has compelled the modifications of Southern Rhodesian statutes by

Continued on page 32

WHO IS RIGHT?

In the February 1962 issue of the "VOICE OF AFRICA" we expressed an editorial opinion on the use of the suffixes—ian and ese.

We said: "Dr. Samuel Johnson, famous scholar and lexicographer, added two new words to the English language: Johnsonian and Johnsonese, but these two do not appear in his famous dictionary.

The two epithets may only seemingly be reckoned as synonymous; but a close study of their context of usage will confirm the truth of the well-known aphoristic injunction: "There are no synonyms in the English language." Johnsonian refers to Johnson's style or work at its best and Johnsonese at its worst.

More important than the words themselves are their suffixes—ian and ese. The one has clearly a complimentary meaning and the other a derogatory one.

It is small wonder, therefore, that the imperialists whose guiding philosophy is: "give a dog a bad name and hang him," are today indulging in the favourite pastime of bandying backwards and forwards such coinages as Angolese, Katangese and Congolese."

A Dr. E.A.R. has Written to say that:

IN a recent article of "Voice of Africa" I find a most puzzling theory. Because the difference between "Johnsonian" and "Johnsonese" is that while the former is a mark of achievement and the latter one of inferiority, you conclude that to call a person a Congolese is an indication of disrespect, and that we should therefore substitute Congoan. First of all, it is a fundamental error of logic to conclude universally from a particular instance. Secondly, you are well aware that there is no logic in a living language, least of all in English. The same ending "ese" is officially used for example in Italian for such countrymen as French, English, Canadian, Polish, Dutch who certainly have no inferiority complexes (cf. in Italian: Francese, Inglese, Candese, Polonese, Hollandese, etc. . . .) Moreover, would you kindly inform us how you intend to translate such standard

usages as Portuguese, Nepalese, Chinese, Javanese, Japanese, etc. . . . From these examples (or should I say "Than" examples) you will find that the reason for the ending "ese" comes, not from an intention of degradation, but simply from the fact that the countries mentioned (with the exception of China) end with an "n" or with an "m" and that it would be too difficult to pronounce Portugalan, Chinaan or Japanan. The same applies to quite a few other countries as a simple look at an atlas that gives more than Africa will convince you of: Siam gives Siamese and not Siaman.

And if we want to be a little more sophisticated, investigate a little the two languages from which most European languages derive at least some of their forms: Latin and Greek, you would find that "an" derives from the Latin ending

"anus" and the ending "ese" from the Greek "esos" both meaning exactly the same thing.

By the way, has it ever occurred to you that, were it not for English and French, the unity of Africa which you contemplated and which is a very good thing, would become almost impossible, due to the multitude of languages on the African continent?

But these (or "than") few words will be sufficient for the moment.

Our Correspondent has this comment to make:

IT is just as well that Dr. E.A.R. does not fully reveal his identity, for one can now speak straight without mincing words. He, however, gives some indication of the working of his mind through the several incoherencies of his letter. It is difficult to say where he picked his logic from. Though he makes a show of being able to spell the word

correctly, his mastery of it is somewhat unfirm. Perhaps he has never in logic heard of a single instance generalisation.

But does he recognise any difference between an illustration and proof. Surely one is allowed to illustrate a point as distinct from establishing it. On the question of simple instance generalisation however, it is curious that Dr. E.A.R. refers portentously to the lack of logic in English but purports to illustrate his point from Italian.

As he does not seem to have understood the general point of the article he criticised, perhaps it would be kind to explain to him that when one says that the ending—ese—

Mr. Tertius Chandler of Fridkullagatan 19 A, Gothenburg S, Sweden, comes to the aid of Dr. E.A.R.

Dear Sirs,

Voice of Africa makes a point of getting angry at Dr. E. A. R. However, his logic is sound — especially the part about Chinese. If *Voice of Africa* is not going to use the spelling "Chinese" in the future you should say so. Otherwise you owe an apology to Dr. E. A. R. for garbling his case.

Our Special Correspondent Replies Tertius Chandler

IT is not surprising that Dr. E.A.R.'s article purporting to be a criticism of your editorial comment on the English usages of the two suffixes "ian" and "ese" and their discriminatory application to different nationalities should have found support from a Mr. Tertius Chandler; for Dr. E.A.R. so cunningly altered and distorted the basis of the subject of the comment that the simple minded could easily be taken in by his argument. And so when Mr. Chandler says that Dr. E.A.R.'s "logic is sound—especially the part about Chinese" we can only sympathize with him for having fallen a victim to the Dr.'s intellectual chicanery. For the benefit of Mr. Chandler, let us examine a little more closely Dr. E.A.R.'s article.

Whether by design or by a mistake Dr. E.A.R. decided from the

conveys contempt, one does not mean that the people of whom it is used feel themselves to be inferior. One disparagingly talks of journalists but inferiority is not one of the feelings which its practitioners harbour. Another curiosity in Dr. E.A.R.'s letter is the following: He talks of Portuguese, Nepalese, Chinese, Javanese, Japanese, etc., and claims that the names of the countries involved end with an "n" or an "i" and that this is the reason for the above words ending in—ese. "China" does not end in an n or i, nor is there either in "Java" at all.

When Dr. E.A.R. tries to be sophisticated, in his second paragraph he becomes simply pathetic. The Latin for a Javanese would not be

Javanus but Javaniensis. But we shall not give him a little Latin and less Greek.

French and English have not brought Africa together. Indeed, it is through French and English and the deculturisation and enhanced imperialism that their use had made possible that the divisions in Africa have become so hard drawn. A few lessons in the traditions of Africa will make even Dr. E.A.R. see that the basis of unity in the habits, customs, and philosophy of Africa will be one of these factions which will enable us Africans to overcome the alienation and petty jealousies involved between the English and the French and the use of English and French.

impressed Mr. Chandler most. But I shall show that the imaginary difficulty of pronunciation which forms the basis of the Doctor's argument is his own creation; it has no existence in reality and therefore cannot form an excuse for the discriminatory use of the two suffixes.

Following the logic of the editorial comment, the correct alternatives to use in the examples cited in Dr. E.A.R.'s illustrations should have been "Portuguan", "Chinaian", "Japanian", "Javaian" and "Siamian", and these names are no more difficult to pronounce than their corresponding forms ending in "ese".

But if Dr. E.A.R. still finds "Chinaian" or "Javaian" too heavy for his tongue these names could be simplified by dropping the final "a" in the original name before the addition of the suffix "ian" as has been done, for example, in "Canadian". This would give "Chinian" or "Javian". Can Dr. E.A.R. claim that the

A Theory of African Revolutionary Struggle

THE peoples of Africa everywhere are on the march. They are locked in grim struggle with colonialism and imperialism. The enemy, though gene-

rally in retreat, is not running away. He is fighting a desperate rearguard action, at times cunning and flanking, at times frontal and savage. Though

The Reply to Tertius

Continued from page 10

choice of "Canadian" rather than "Canadese" has been determined by ease of pronunciation?

I do not understand what Dr. E.A.R. means by "standard usages" when he referred to the names "Portuguese", "Nepalese", "Chinese", "Japanese" and "Javanese" but if he wants to test the validity of that editorial comment against the background of these names let him walk straight to an Englishman and ask him what he thinks of the Portuguese. Or if he is himself an Englishman, let him put the question to himself.

There is everything but logic—good logic—in the whole of Dr. E.A.R.'s argument. I cannot, for example, see by what stretch of the imagination he arrived at his Italian illustrations, when clearly the subject of argument was concerned only with usages in the English language. But even granting him the benefit of this confusion, if the Italian names for the nationals of all countries end in "ese" as is implied in his illustrations, then the usage is consistent enough and therefore fair; there is no discrimination. But if there are some nationalities the Italian names for whom end in "ian" then the Doctor has not told us about them and analogy is therefore incomplete.

Dr. E.A.R. was clearly dragging the argument to the point of

absurdity when he tried to ridicule the whole question by substituting "than" for "these" thus implying that every word ending in "an" ("an" according to him) is complimentary and every word ending in "ese" derogatory. Clearly the Doctor missed the logic of your argument; for he failed to realise that your argument is applicable only to words ending in "ian" and "ese" which have been derived or are derivable from the same root. "Than" and "these" are neither derived words nor have they a common, and therefore cannot form an analogy within the context of this argument.

As for the Doctor's argument about the identity of the Latin and Greek origins of "an" and "ese" the less said about it the better, because we know that in English words derived even from the same Latin root may convey different sense of appreciation. For example what would the Doctor say about "credible" and "credulous" both of which have been derived from the Latin word *credo*?

There are several other instances where Dr. E.A.R. displayed a lack of logic in his argument. For example while he did not find it convenient to fit "Portuguese" into his theory of ease of pronunciation, he was trying to push "Portugalan" (or more correctly "Portugalism") down your throat. But I do not think it is necessary to touch all the instances. I hope I have already pointed out enough to convince Mr. Chandler to abandon his claim that you owe Dr. E.A.R. an apology.

meeting with bitter resistance on some fronts, and even temporarily in retreat on some other fronts, our forces—the forces of the African freedom and liberation—are moving forward in a broad and general offensive.

The present phase of the African struggle—the struggle for total liberation of mother-Africa from foreign domination and colonialist exploitation—is barely seventeen years old, being cramped into the short period since the end of the Second World War. But major victories of far-reaching significance have been won.

At the end of World War II, and with the restoration of Emperor Haile Selassie to his rightful kingdom, there were but three independent states in the whole continent of Africa. These were Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt. These were relatively weak states when compared to other nation states of the world. Their voices were not heard in the council of nations.

But today the contrast is striking and heart-warming. There are now some thirty-two independent sovereign states in Africa. Twenty-four of these have come into existence in the short period of four years since the First Conference of Independent African States held here in Accra in 1958. And to a not inconsiderable extent the emergence of these new sovereign African States has been the direct and indirect result of that Conference.

It is only seventeen years since October 1945 when the Fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, England. That Congress laid down the broad principles of the struggle of all colonial peoples from their freedom from alien domination. Today, the African revolution has chalked up significant victories. The people of East and Central Africa have made major dents in the armour of colonialism. Racial bigotry and white minority

rule in South Africa has its back to the wall.

Practically all West Africa is free; and we here in Ghana have shown how successful the colonial masses can be engaged in positive struggle against imperialism. Neo-colonialism and imperialist military interventions were roundly defeated in Egypt in 1952 and 1958 thus paving the way for the rise of our sister state of the United Arab Republic. And now the struggle of the heroic Algerian people has been crowned with victory.

Truly can it be said that the seventeen years since the end of the Second World War have witnessed an intensity of revolutionary and victorious struggle in Africa unequalled throughout the two or more centuries of European influence on this continent.

African Revolution

Today, the African revolution is at an advanced stage. It is also in its most complex phase. A thorough understanding of its dynamic and a clear idea of its path are called for.

What is the nature of the African revolution in its present stage of development?

There are four component parts to the African revolution in its present stage of development.

Firstly, there is the national liberation movement. This is the struggle for freedom from colonialist rule. It is the struggle of an entire people against their foreign masters. Usually, there is but a class of privileged people who fight on the side of colonialism against the masses and in defence of their privileged position. This is the classic form of colonialism whose tactics are armed suppression of the people and the use of a small privileged class to divide and disrupt the struggle of the people. This form of colonialism still exists in some English-speaking territories in East Africa but more especially in the Portuguese colo-

nies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, as well as in the Spanish colonies of Fernando Po, Rio Muni and the Cape Verde Islands.

Here the forces of the African revolution are the entire people organised in positive struggle against the colonialists and their local lackeys.

Secondly, there is the struggle against neo-colonialism. In some of the independent African States the old colonial masters have skilfully handed over political power to an upper class in such a way as to safeguard their economic and military interest. While these countries are nominally independent in political sense, they are not in the position to use this political independence to achieve economic, social and cultural emancipation.

Total Freedom

Here the forces of the African revolution are the masses organised against the upper (usually feudalist and capitalist) classes in the drive for total freedom from any form of foreign control. In such cases, the struggle is between those reactionary forces who resist any change in the present neo-colonialist regimes and the progressive forces of the people (workers and farmers principally) who demand the strengthening and consolidation of the independence of their country by eliminating all colonialist relations and influences. Where the reactionary forces depend on support from, and collaboration with imperialism and colonialism, the progressive forces draw their aspiration from all those sovereign African states that have travelled the road of complete independence from foreign control and from the mass movements all over Africa.

Thirdly, there is the struggle for the consolidation of the independence of free African states. This is achieved through radical reconstruction along the path of independent development and through the unity of the independent states. If radical recon-

struction is to maintain and safeguard national sovereignty and independence, then it must follow the path of socialism. This is how socialism has come to be an integral element of the African revolution. Again, if radical reconstruction is to maintain and safeguard national sovereignty and independence, then it must be perused in the context of the closest possible unity between independent African States. Furthermore, unity provides the basis for the peaceful solution of many explosive problems left by colonialism, especially the problem of artificial division of the African peoples. And the peaceful elimination of such problems has a direct and buoyant effect on our economic resources and speeds the pace of reconstruction.

Hence, unity — political unity — of African states has become a compelling objective as well as a necessary means of the African revolution. It is both the end and the hand maiden of African freedom and birth.

Fourthly, there is the struggle against racial discrimination and, in its extremist and most inhuman form, Apartheid. White minority rule in South Africa, South West Africa and Central Africa are merely a special manifestation of colonialism. Here the fight is being conducted by an entire people against the rule of settler elements. While the settler elements draw strength from the colonial powers, the oppressed and brutalised masses look primarily to the independent African States for support and guidance.

Leadership

It is these elements, in their inter-relation, that constitute the forces of the African revolution. They are the masses of the people throughout Africa organised around a programme of liberation and freedom and under the leadership of those sovereign African states which have chosen the path of complete freedom from foreign control and influence.

Their struggle is directed against racial discrimination, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Their objectives are socialism and continental political unity. Their weapons are organisation of the masses, positive action at home and united action throughout Africa.

Diplomatic Pressure

Faced with such a powerful array of forces bent on their total destruction, colonialism and imperialism have developed their own tactics and strategy.

What are the tactics and strategy of colonialism?

In the first place, colonialism and imperialism strive, might and main, to create divisions among the independent African States. Using the frictions created by it, imperialism tries to divide us into various warring blocs. It also continues to cripple the independence of some African States (e.g. Congo). Military arrangements, economic assistance and diplomatic pressures are freely used in pursuit of this objective.

In the second place, colonialism is making frantic efforts to grant independence to countries still under colonial rule in such a form as to safeguard its economic and other interests. Retaining control over the key sectors of the economy of these so-called independent states, colonialism continues to drag these countries into the European Common Market. In this way, these independent states continue within the economic orbit of imperialism.

Murder of Lumumba

In the third place, colonialism resorts to brutal suppression of colonial peoples by force of arms. Portugal and Spain are the worst offenders in this case as is being witnessed in Angola, Mozambique, Fernando Po, etc. But the British practise the same thing in Central Africa, while in South Africa they are in partnership with the Dutch.

In the fourth place, colonialism employs the tactics of organising counter-revolutionary activities, including assassination attempts, against those independent African States and their leaders who have chosen the path of complete freedom from foreign control. Instances of this are the murder of Patrice Lumumba of the Congo and assassination attempts against President Nasser of the U.A.R. Kulungugu bomb throwings are Ghana's part in this desperate tactics of colonialism. In the pursuit of this tactics colonialism uses right-wing capitalist and opportunist element within our countries. However, this is to be expected. Counter-revolutionary plots have been the stock in trade of vested interests, more especially foreign finance capital, throughout history. And in the African context today, the sovereign African States that choose the path of complete independence from foreign control are regarded as the power houses supplying motive power to the national liberation movement throughout our continent.

Manoeuvres

Africa can contain all the moves and manoeuvres of colonialism. It must. For the pace of our general offensive against colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination must be quickened. And the retreating enemy forces must be completely routed and decimated.

Thus, Africa can achieve only through independence and unity — complete independence and close political unity.

Political unity among independent African States will help each state to secure and expand its independence. For we can, the more effectively, cope with the major problems of economic development, if through political unity, independent African States achieve a common foreign policy

directed by an integrated diplomatic machinery, a common defence policy directed by Joint High Command, and co-ordinated economic planning which could open the way to an African Common Market and to raising living standard for our peoples.

Political unity of African States will increase the amount of support we can give to sister countries struggling for freedom. Again, political unity will eliminate all our tribal and boundary problems and enable all Africa to speak with one voice in the councils of the world. This one factor alone — a united and strong African voice in the councils of the world — will be a great force for world peace and thus open the door to a faster rate of all-round development on the African continent.

African political unity is being obstructed by considerations of national sovereignty. And colonialism, under the cover of championing national sovereignty, is doing everything to thwart the realisation of continental union of African States. This urge to safeguard national sovereignty must be respected and accommodated.

National Sovereignty

But independent African States must realise that in the world of today absolute sovereignty is an anachronism. They must realise further that a condition of their continued independence is political union. For absolute sovereignty for any African state, in the light of the many problems confronting developing nations, can only lead to a new form of colonial dependence.

National sovereignty can be respected and accommodated within the context of political unity. For if foreign and defence policies as well as economic planning could be pooled, then each state within the union could handle its other affairs

Continued on page 27

The Problems of Independence

by Peter Worsley

The New Societies of Tropical Africa: a Selective Study, by Guy Hunter. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 42s.

THE social revolution is not yet finished in Africa; it has barely begun." Guy Hunter's words will give little solace to those who think that the present turmoil in Africa is temporary phenomenon, the teething troubles of the period of hand-over. But he is absolutely right. Decolonisation is only beginning.

If you read his book with the bad habit of the whodunit addict you might be tempted to examine the conclusions first. You would probably not be attracted. For they are the "sensible sound" notions of "intelligent conservatism" hardly the intellectual tools, one might have thought, with which to approach the study of a continent undergoing revolution. The principal theoretical work the author explicitly alludes to is Simone Weil's *The Need for Roots*, prepared for General de Gaulle as a contribution towards French regeneration after 1945. And what roots do we need in an age of turmoil? Order, hierarchy, family. Petain might wonder where he went wrong. Then we find the

Western position in the Cold War endorsed, even if in tones of sorrowful necessity. And finally we are told that the "civilising mission" in the colonies has in no small degree been justified. Nowadays, it appears, we have already so forgotten all that colonial nastiness that we have to be reminded that there was an "element of force." But Mr. Hunter's study is not basically political. It is not even a study in "political economy". It might have been even stronger if it has been so. As it is, it is very valuable, for he focusses attention on those vital social and particularly economic facts of life in contemporary Africa which the huge flood of writing on that continent usually manages to skip over without noticing. The vein here is perhaps that of the intelligent managerialist for whom, if anything, politics is a rather irrational factor. At times he appears to be addressing business-

men contemplating opportunities in Africa; this befits one who has served his time as Co-ordinator of Studies to the Duke of Edinburgh's Study Conference.

"British Pagan Life"

As a result he applies enlightened findings of modern industrial sociology, managerial techniques, cold economic analysis to the business of getting a living, producing, exchanging, and consuming in (predominantly) the ex-colonies and present dependencies of British West and East-Central Africa. Old "whisky and soda" shibboleths are ruthlessly swept aside, shot to ribbons with a cannonade of authoritative studies. The African past was not, as an unlamented ex-Governor of Kenya put it not so long ago, a life of "bloodstained misery, hopeless poverty, british pagan life", nor are Africans today what a recent Governor of Uganda called them: "ignorant, indolent, irresponsible". Hunter shows that in industry and agriculture Africans think rationally, work hard, assume responsibility, run business and in general act as men the world over, given the appropriate human satisfactions in their work. Even the Masai are ready to modernise. Evidence of their ability to run a modern economy and society efficiently is skilfully marshalled from dozens of studies of labour productivity, labour turnover, studies of African trading, etc. There is a particularly useful survey of the extent of Africanisation in industry and Government in various territories. Some of these crucial facts are not well enough known; for example, though wage employment remains minor in the total Ghanaian economy, no less than 79 per cent of the total adult male population were involved in the money economy as long as ago 1950. (And they still talk about "tribes".) Both experts and levels of government revenue have increased (in most territories) by at least ten times the 1935 level. The mineral component in most economies with the notable exception of (Northern Rhodesia) has declined

a sign of healthier differentiation. Yet many countries are still seriously dependent on agricultural exports: 99 per cent of Nyasaland's exports are agricultural products.

The new countries face super-human problems. How to develop a labour pattern that does not have the appalling social consequences we find in Central-East and Southern Africa today, where four men out of ten are absent from their villages (and usually their families) at any one time? How to realise Pan-African aspirations when Nigeria, for example, sends only 1.3 per cent of her exports to other African territories, and the French Africa Community does three-quarters of its export-import trade with the French franco area only?

Mr. Hunter looks very coolly and dispassionately at this complex situation as it is. Reading the speeches of political leaders one is struck by the absence of thought given to these problems. When fighting for independence, of course, little opportunity is available to contemplate future problems. Dr. Banda recently remarked, when asked about his attitude towards a possible future of East-Central African Federation: "I am too busy trying to get out of a Federation just now without worrying about getting into another later."

Decolonisation

The facts that the politicians will have to face are not very pleasant. Decolonisation is a slow procedure, much more complex than the formal transfer of political power. Crucial to the whole process is the re-organisation of economic life, for no country which wishes to remain politically independent can afford to contemplate a situation where the bulk of its economy is controlled by foreign interests. Yet the new governments do not wish to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. They prefer for now to raise the level of company tax.

Mr. Hunter does not indicate what is the most appropriate answer. Clearly he favours "backyard industry" rather than what Mamadou Dia calls *industrialisation à l'outrance* (all-out industrialisation). Like Rostow, he focusses attention on the vital need to expand agricultural production and to develop "industries of transformation" of local raw materials; Russia is no model here. Over-regulation has already been shown to have its evils in Africa under a different kind of bureaucracy, the colonial variety: cotton production in Uganda in 1959 was below 1938 levels. Yet we cannot pass by without comment in the context of a discussion on "modernisation" as Hunter does, the situation of parts of Buganda, where the classical polarisation is taking place: 2 per cent large farmers, 19 per cent well-to-do peasants, 27 per cent "middling" peasants, 32 per cent poor peasants, and 20 per cent landless labourers. This adds up to revolution some day in my language.

Economic Changes

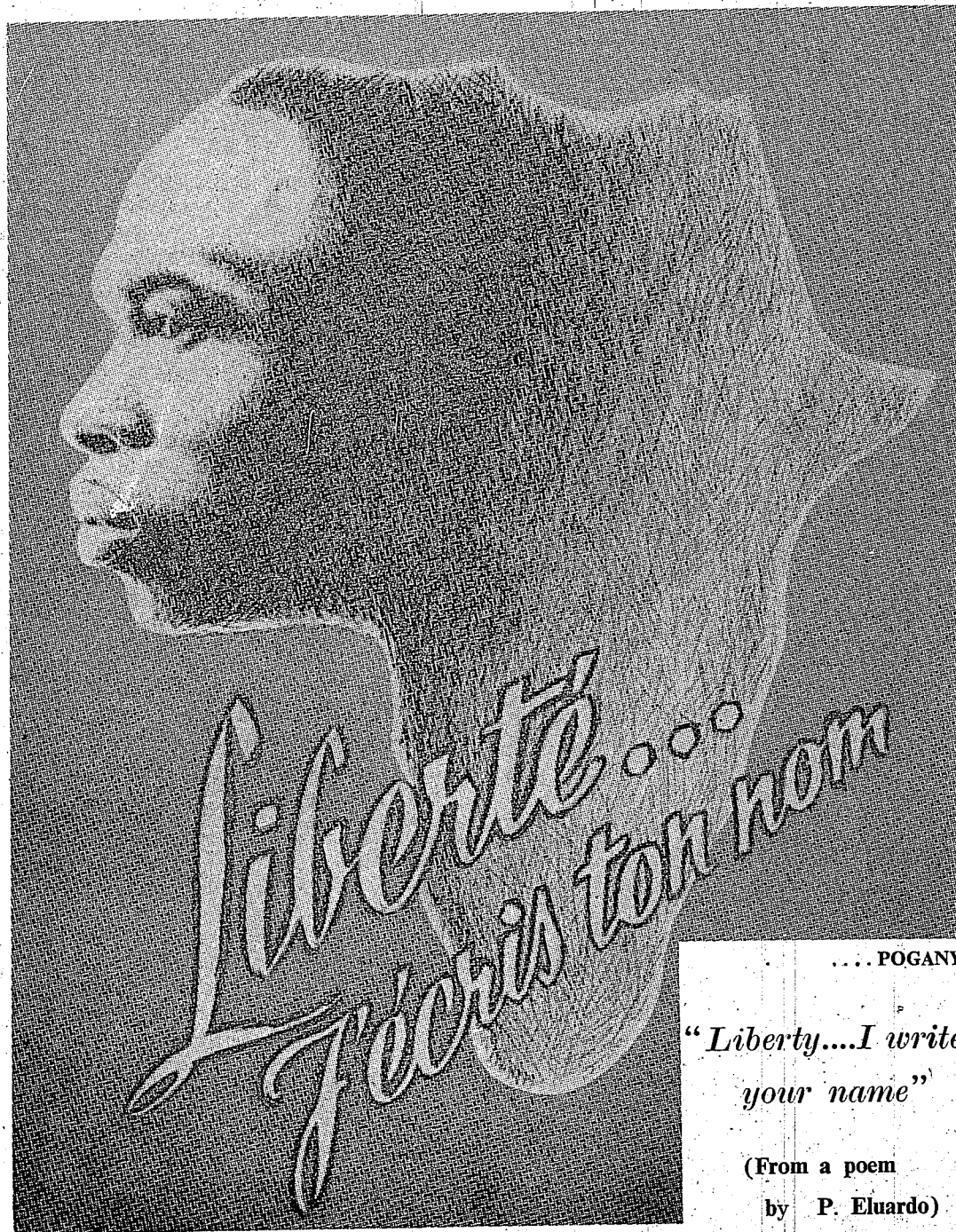
Nor is this kind of "development" at all consonant with the democratic-socialist ideals most African leaders profess to adhere to. In the end "development" has to be defined within the framework of a set of values to paraphrase Robert Lynd, "Development for What?" There is no such thing as "development" *per se*, or "modernisation" in itself. Economic changes effect the totality of human relationships. To know the lines on which contemporary African leaders are thinking, what kind of society they are aiming to construct, one has to turn to the political statements only briefly dealt with at the end of this book. But these political notions are not something peripheral, the economic facts, the "real" facts. Political facts are very real, as the French "modernisers" of Algeria found out.

Mr. Hunter correctly recognises that would be vain to look for an alternative political theory to the one-party state in tropical Africa at the present time, that "sober neutrality" would be a good policy for Africa, and that industrialisation might be adopted to fit African needs and values, and need not take the gruesome course it did in the industrial revolutions of England and the U.S.S.R.

Africa's Big Battles

It is refreshing to have the brute facts of the economic situation clearly laid before us. Out of the inter-play between this heritage of economic relationships and the ideals which Africans wish to translate into reality will emerge the future shape of African society. Mr. Hunter's book is of a much greater help towards understanding. It is the more useful because it is full of valuable compressions of scattered data, often in tabular form, and, more than this, is still readable to the non-economist.

Africa's big battles are yet to come: in Central and South Africa, where the stakes are highest, the prejudices deepest, and the animosities most violent. Unless non-violence can be infinitely more effective than it has so far been in the twentieth century we may well soon have to stop congratulating ourselves over smooth transitions wafted by winds of change and prepare for a few Congos. In cold blood, who can deny that the model for the future of that part of the world seems most likely to be, not India, but Algeria?



.... POGANY

*"Liberty....I write
your name"*

(From a poem
by P. Eluardo)

The Congo's Harrowing History and Lessons

by *Jerkovic*

IN July two years ago, brutal military intervention from outside caused a crisis in the Congolese Republic. This crisis is still with us, bringing ever increasing misery to the country's population and constantly threatening to spread chaos to wider regions in Africa.

Today, two years after the beginning of the crisis the chances for a speedy settlement under conditions in accordance with the legitimate rights and aspirations of that country and with the obligations undertaken by the United Nations still seem slender. It was because of the persistent and unscrupulous foreign intervention, which is still being continued in different forms, that Lumumba, the head of the legitimate government, was treacherously murdered, and that the nationalist forces in the country were disorientated, with the aim of enabling Tshombe, an exponent of foreign colonia-

list interests, to assert himself individually, and to legalize his state and policy.

The solution to the crisis which is now being put forward can more or less be reduced to a formula designed to impose Tshombe and Tshombeism on the people of the Congo, while the foreign factors responsible for the starting of the tragic crisis two years ago, see in this formula the desired guarantee of their interests.

Lumumba's Cabinet

Adoula's government which was set up on the ruins of the dispersed cabinet of Premier Lumumba and the country's disorientated nationalist movement, has been compelled not only to make concessions and accept dictation from outside, but to follow a domestic policy which is increasingly isolating it from the national forces. This policy will lead the govern-

ment sooner or later to full dependence on non-African factors and their exponents, who are exerting their disastrous influence behind the scenes in the country's capital, and are ready, if necessary, to come into the open as soon as the government shows itself unready or unwilling to subject the Congo's interest fully to foreign demands.

At the request of the legitimate government of that country — which is a member of the World Organisation — a United Nations mission was sent to the Congo when foreign military intervention was in full swing, with the aim of helping the government to bring to an end foreign intervention and consolidate the country's recently gained independence. Numerous resolutions passed in the United Nations at the time both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, leave no doubt as to how United Nations action came about and what the basic and exclusive tasks of the Organization's political and military mission were.

Foreign Conspiracy

Unfortunately, unlike UNO's method of carrying out its tasks in Sinai and elsewhere, in the Congo the mission adopted is a different and indeed a contrary course from the very beginning. Acting in contravention of its task and precise instructions, and in

opposition to the country's legal government, the United Nations mission has not only failed to put an end to foreign intervention and the conspiracy hatched abroad, which it should have done, given good-will and determination, but has even aggravated the chaos in the Congo and prolonged and heightened the crisis there. The harm done to the just cause of the Congolese Republic and the international reputation of the United Nations will take long to repair.

Peace Threatened

During the two years of crisis in the Congo, the non-aligned countries have endeavoured, along with other states, to check the activities of the foreign factors — primarily colonialists — who are compromising the cause of the Congo and even threatening peace in Africa. These countries have also advocated that the United Nations mission should change its attitude, which has brought the Organisation into disrepute in the eyes of Africa and the world, and that it should come to grips with the basic problem, not shrinking even from the use of military force, which was after all placed at the mission's disposal for the purpose, to be used in sufficient measure and at the proper time.

Thus the non-aligned countries are following a course which they have pursued in other fields and

recorded considerable successes in the same period. The colonial war in Algeria has been brought to a conclusion and a final, and happy solution of the country's problems is on the way. The crisis in Laos has also been overcome, and developments in that country have taken a course which corresponds to the interests of peace and the legitimate aspirations of Laos. The dispute over Western Irian has ended after the reaching of a reasonable agreement, which was satisfactory to Indonesia's national aspirations and favourable to peace in the Pacific.

Colonial Speculators

In the Congo, however, efforts of the non-aligned countries have not yet borne fruit. The government and people of that country have been left at the mercy of foreign influences and colonial speculators, while the United Nations mission, under pressure from these same influences, has been degraded to the level of an anonymous semi-technical, semi-diplomatic machine which screens the activities of the big powers. How can the lack of success of the non-aligned countries efforts in the Congo be explained? What is the cause of the present deplorable and dangerous state of affairs in that country and in the United Nations policy towards it?

It is true that after the treacherous murder of Patrice Lumumba the govern-

ment and the legitimate parliament were dispersed and the national movement in the country disorientated, so that the positive actions of the African and wider independent forces inside and outside the United Nations could not be co-ordinated with those pursued by the internal forces, as was the case in Algeria, Western Irian and Laos.

Legitimate Government

This has justly been referred to as a specific feature of the struggle for the cause of the Congo. But while it may serve as an explanation of events in that country, particularly after the death of Lumumba, it does not excuse what has been happening for a full two years now, or what happened when the legitimate government was still functioning and while the country's national movement had a more dynamic leader, Patrice Lumumba, at its head.

On the contrary, it seems that inadequate and insufficient co-ordinated action on the part of the non-aligned forces in the crisis in the Congo, particularly in the initial phases, is to blame for the fact that the United Nations mission has been mishandled, and that foreign conspirators were able to deprive the government, the people and the country of their head, under the very noses of the mission, and to create their present difficulties.

Continued on page 32

British Military Bases in Basutoland

by *Molapo M. Qhobela*

(Associate Editor, *Voice of Africa*)

WITH the decrease in the singing of the song "Britannia rules the waves", there is a corresponding increase of desperation and nervousness on the part of the British exploiters who realise with pain that the wealth of Africa will certainly stop flowing cheaply into their coffers as fodder to their huge industrial undertakings.

Always prompted by their notoriously evil desire to sustain their existence by means of imperialist exploitation of the natural resources of some other people's lands, the rightly hated British imperialists decided to establish military bases in Kenya to ensure a cheap and ceaseless flow of the Middle East oil into their country since President Nasser took the right step of nationalizing the Suez Canal. This canal was the live wire of British oil exploitation in the middle Eastern Countries.

Oil from Middle East

Without the oil from the Middle East, the British cannot have the courage to stand on the hilltops and sing to the world that "they would never never be slaves" because they are perfectly aware of the fact that without oil from this part of the world, they certainly can be slaves because even their trusted R.A.F. would not

budge an inch!

The British Military Base in Kenya (said to be among the biggest in the world) is fully equipped with the fast British jet bombers capable of dashing to any part of the Middle East within a matter of two hours for purposes of aggression!

But unfortunately for the poor British, the sun is now fast setting on their demoralized empire due to the irresistible surge of African independence which results in one British colony after another, tearing through the irksome shackles of British imperialist domination.

The dedicated soldiers of the African Revolution in the form of the Kenya African National Union under the able leadership of Kenyatta, have made it a point to engage in activities which will soon pull down and tear to rags and tatters the rightly hated Union Jack over the whole of the Kenya territory!

Lessons of History

But always refusing to become wiser by pretending to ignore the lessons of history, the frustrated British instead of moving their military base from Kenya to the precincts of Buckingham Palace, they are now secretly planning to move their military base to Basu-

toland in order to stifle and suppress the growing move of independence in that country.

This step by the British would be of great benefit to them again taking into account that their capitalistic investments in the Settler South African Republic to the tune of £860,000,000 would get some measure of security. From these investments the British extract no fewer than £130,000,000 in profits each year.

Troops and Arms

The Basutoland edition of the newspaper *Contact* of 12th July, 1962, gave the following report about British military designs in the three High Commission Territories with particular reference to Basutoland: "Britain's Royal Airforce seems to have plans for moving troops and arms into the High Commission Territories from the great military bases in Kenya."

It went on to state: "On 2nd July, to the amazement of the inhabitants, a huge transport plane landed at Maseru airfield. The plane is big enough to carry 90 fully equipped soldiers. At Maseru a jeep drove out of its hold. The plane later took off again."

Colonial Domination

Asked by the *Contact* Correspondent to comment on the matter, an official at the Maseru airfield is reported to have said that the plane had come from Kenya and had "visited" Swaziland.

Now, the protagonists of colonial domination are noted the world over for being thick-skinned and incredibly stubborn when it comes to measures which might separate them from their vested financial interests. The British move to transfer their military base to Basutoland must be immediately condemned by the peace-loving world as a wicked measure purposely calculated to drag cold war into the already disturbed Southern part of the continent as a result of the military support they (the British) give to the South Africa Settler tyrants.

Continued on page 33

THE eclipse of Africa during a long period of many centuries is not easy to comprehend at first sight when one considers the vast extent of the continent, the splendour and distinction of its natural resources and the magnificent flying start that Egypt gave to African history as early as over seven thousand years ago. There has been a large element of inconsistency in the make-up of the continent and in the course followed by its history. Great advantages have been neutralised by equally great drawbacks. The world's largest desert lands lie in Africa side by side with the most abundant forests, teeming with an exceptional wealth and variety of flora and fauna, and within accessible distance of huge rivers whose waters seem literally capable of irrigating the Sahara.

Cradle of Civilisation

North Africa had been a prominent centre of the Mediterranean civilisation of antiquity. Immense temples and other mighty monuments of bygone ages still stand to bear testimony to the power and opulence of ancient Egyptian culture. But though Egypt has had the longest history among all African territories, it lived and developed in ancient times as an isolated and highly self-centred entity. Egypt was a cradle of civilisation and it has

made many early and significant contributions to human knowledge and achievement. Ancient Egyptian culture, as we know it, had a large Asian element in it. The adjacent lands of Europe and Asia were large and direct beneficiaries of Egyptian culture, but even in their case what they learnt from ancient Egypt was largely self-taught. There was no conscious cultural expansion emanating from the land of the Pharaohs, and the arts and sciences that flourished under them did little for the progress of other parts of Africa. The Egyptians were habitual and practised users of the plough, in intensive agri-

EMERGENCE OF AFRICA

Africa is vying with outer space in opening vistas and claiming the attention of mankind. The middle of the twentieth century will also be memorable. The era of nuclear science is also the age of the emergence of African nations and the advance to prominence in world affairs. This development has been of recent origin and is yet far from complete; but has already become a major pre-occupation not only of Africans themselves, but of all other peoples and powers as well. In the determination of economic policies, in the pursuit of human relations, particularly with reference to race and colour, and in the alignments and adjustments of international friendships, every nation in the world has now to take account of the mounting influence of Africa and Africans. The patterns and process of African change today constitute a problem of the present and a challenge to future.

by Maharaja Jaya Chamarajawade Maharaja, Governor of Mysore, India



Maharaja Jaya C. Wadivode Maharaja, Governor of Mysore, India (left) and Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah

culture, but yet primitive methods of husbandry prevail in the continent even to this day and the hoe persists as the main implement of cultivation in many of the interior parts of negro Africa. The art of writing was an Egyptian invention, but Egyptian writing hardly crossed the borders of the kingdom into neighbouring lands. The planned and rational irrigation system of the Nile Valley found no imitators elsewhere in the continent. The Egyptians were monumental builders in stone, but other parts of Africa, untouched by this genius, passed into modern history without buildings or roads. The

Egyptian monarchs, or the Pharaohs, had an administrative system with a fair amount of speed and efficiency, but much of Africa had remained till the other day as a land of primitive tribal arrangements. Egyptian wealth and luxury of those days did nothing to raise the standards of Africa as a whole. In the same continent in which two thousand years ago a voluptuous queen dissolved pearls in her wine, one still finds people of incredible primitive backwardness to whom salt is a rare luxury to be eaten like candy.

II

In the course of history, Mediterranean Africa has known many invaders and conquerors. Eight centuries before Christ, Phoenician settlers with their incomparable talent for navigation and trade came and built up the commercial empire of Carthage which dominated the western Mediterranean for six centuries until it went down before the conquering might of the Roman Republic. Greek colonists planted Cyrenaica in the seventh century before Christ and also proceeded to establish commercial relation with Egypt.

Alexander the Great's most famous foundation was the port town in the delta of the Nile which still bears his name. Egypt, Cyrenaica and Carthage were later absorbed into the Roman empire, but the Romans

in Africa looked northwards all the time and made no effort to extend any of their provinces into the interior across the desert.

After 600 A.D., North Africa came under the influence of Islam in the great days of its early westward expansion. Islamic culture and the Arabs have survived as an abiding force in modern Egypt and other parts of the northern half of the continent. Arab immigrants were less deterred by the desert than other invaders and they began a southern movement as well. Cairo was built as the capital of Egypt in the second half of the tenth century, and noted dynasties held sway there as well as in more western lands, from which they indeed crossed over into the Iberian Peninsula. Still later came the Turkish conquerors whose hold over Egypt in various degrees of efficiency survived till the nineteenth century which saw the entry of the French and English on the Egyptian scene.

Gifts of Nature

The cultures of ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, mediaeval Arabs and modern Europeans did succeed in reaching the interior of Africa, but it was not effective in shaking its people out of their tribalism and their undeveloped ways of life in any considerable degree. Africa remained dark and back-

ward in spite of being cast in a large mould and being endowed with many rich gifts of nature.

III

The continent of Africa occupies one-fifth of the entire land surface of the earth. It has an area of a little over eleven and a quarter million square miles and is bigger than the whole of North America. It is also as compact as it is large. After the excavation of the Suez Canal, it has become an island continent, to borrow a phrase of Sir H. Mackinder.

Land of Seas

It faces many seas and oceans—the Mediterranean and Red Seas, the Atlantic and Indian Oceans as well as the Antarctic. It has an enormous coastline and is the only continent in the globe with well-established and busy maritime routes of commerce on all its sides. In addition to being centrally situated between the Americas and Europe and Asia, it is also more equally divided as between the northern and southern hemispheres than any other continent.

Natural Wealth

The resources of Africa in natural wealth have not yet been fully estimated, but already it has been computed that in minerals alone, Africa has ninety-eight per cent of the world's

diamond, fifty-five per cent of gold and nearly a quarter of copper, besides considerable deposits of tin, manganese, chromium and uranium. South Africa has both diamonds and gold, and the Congo is rich in copper and industrial diamonds among other things. What was the Belgian Congo till the other day as a vital stock of uranium ore, a commodity of incalculable values in this age of atomic power for war and peace? This variety and magnitude of valuable mineral assets more than compensate for the lack of oil and coal resources in the continent.

But the potential natural wealth of Africa has been neutralised in the past by the many difficulties and obstacles which have also been imposed by nature. Africa has a huge coastline, but it is singularly unrelieved by indentations.

Maritime Development

There are few natural harbours and no coastal islands, and this has prevented maritime development and coastal trade by the indigenous population as well as the large-scale approach of external traffic through the sea. Narrow coastlands are sharply divided from inaccessible high lands. The large rivers, which have huge waters and enormous possibilities of power, are of little use as means of transport and

communication with the sea since they are broken up by falls, cataracts and rapids.

Many other drawbacks and difficulties conspired to keep Africa lagging behind in the onward march of man. The proportion of arable land to total area is very low. Except in Egypt, there are few fertile valleys or alluvial deltas as are found in other continents. Swamps, marshlands and desert waters have kept down the productivity of the continent as a whole. In the jungle vegetation of the interior there is a malignant abundance of destructive insect life carrying malaria, yellow-fever and sleeping-sickness. The menace is as great for domesticated cattle as for men and consequently, in spite of the natural bound of extensive areas of grassland, there have not been as many cattle farms or ranches as one would expect, though some tribes have always had herds. The presence of the tse-tse fly precluded the use of cattle even as beasts of burden and till the very recent introduction of mechanised transport by land and air, human portage had to serve in many parts as the main, though pitifully inadequate, means of conveying goods.

Nile Valley

Africa has a population of a little over two hundred millions. Large areas of

desert and forest are almost uninhabited. As might be expected, there is a great concentration of population in the Nile Valley in Egypt, in the gold belt of South Africa and in a few other areas; but the average density of the population, black, brown, bush and white included is about fourteen per square mile as compared to one hundred and thirty in the neighbouring continent of Europe. Production has been inordinately low, agriculture has been depressed by soil erosion and primitive methods, economic and social backwardness is widespread and education and technology undeveloped. In the entire length of African history before the present age, progress and culture have been confined to the coastal belts; it is these regions, inhospitable though they too were, which mainly attracted foreigners, including the European colonial powers of the modern era.

IV

The maritime nations of Europe who have colonised every continent in the world, were not likely to ignore Africa which was their next-door neighbour. West Africa was the first region to come within the range of the Geographical Renaissance of Europe in the fifteenth century. First in the field were the Portuguese who captured Ceuta in 1415. This was the first modern European conquest

in Africa while the last was the shortlived Italian annexation of Ethiopia in 1936.

Portuguese in Africa

The Portuguese drive down the west coast of Africa in the fifteenth century was at first a part of their exploration for the discovery of a new route to the Indies and later of their policy of maintaining their line of communication with their possessions in the East. During this drive they went round much farther than the Cape and reached as far as Aden soon after the close of the fifteenth century.

The New World

With the discovery of the new world in the same century, a good part of the hopes and ambitions of the seafaring nations of Western Europe, including Portugal, were turned towards the Americas and there was for some time no large-scale interest in Africa. Moreover, as the interior of Africa was inaccessible and there were not many commodities of profitable commerce in the western fringe apart from ivory and some gold dust, European trade in that region did not then attain any considerable proportions.

Slave Trade

But with the extensive conquests that Spain and Portugal as well as France and England made in the sparsely populated regions

of New World, there arose very soon a great demand for plantation labour; and for supplying it a brisk trade grew up in negro slaves captured in West Africa and shipped and sold in America. The first major commodity of the African trade for Europeans was found in these unfortunate fellowmen. This blot on modern civilisation soon attained large dimensions and it has been computed that in the hundred years following 1680 there was an average annual import of twenty thousand slaves into the British colonies alone.

The slave trade continued up to the early decades of the nineteenth century and was not abolished until the Abolitionist Movement had gathered considerable strength and had effectively aroused the public conscience. The movement for the eradication of negro slavery and the rehabilitation of the slaves was responsible for the founding of the two West African States: Sierra Leone, a British settlement for liberated slaves, established in 1787, and Liberia (or Land of the Free) founded for freed American slaves thirty-four years later. The latter became an independent Republic in 1847 and has so continued till the present day.

Scramble for Africa

In the five and a half centuries of the connection of modern European coun-

tries with Africa the most hectic activity was witnessed in the period of thirty years that commenced from 1880. That was the period of the scramble for Africa and its partition largely among five prominent European nations, France, Britain, Portugal, Germany and Italy.

Though the Napoleonic incursion into Egypt proved to be only an episode in the midst of the conqueror's preoccupations in France and Europe, European interest in Africa began to increase greatly from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The British acquired Cape Colony from the Dutch in 1814 and thereby induced Dutch settlers to go further up northwards and settle in other territories which are now part of the Union of South Africa. At the other end of the continent, France conquered Algeria soon after the July Revolution of 1830. Italy, Belgium and Germany appeared presently as other competitors in the field of African conquest, and between 1880 and 1911 the map of Africa was politically remade.

V

Though the patterns and progress of the colonies under different European powers were different, there were a number of common features in the European approach to Africa. This new interest in

Africa towards the close of the nineteenth century was induced and stimulated by the activities of missionaries, explorers and traders who began to penetrate into the interior of Africa in an increasing degree.

Church Joins in Exploiting Africa

Both Catholic and Protestant missions were sent out to Africa, and, as in other continents, so too in Africa, missionaries proved to be pioneers of exploration, trade and ultimately of empire. The forests and lakes were circumnavigated and the river systems of the Nile and the Congo were examined and identified. Livingstone, Stanley, Brazza and a host of other explorers of different nationalities made their way into dark Africa, filling gaps in geographical knowledge and obtaining invaluable information about the peoples and the flora, fauna and other forms of natural wealth of the land. Prospects of gain in the shape of African territory and wealth began to loom large in European minds.

Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution had transformed the economies of European nations. Industrialisation demanded an ever increasing supply for raw materials and selling markets and after capital formation and accumulation, widening fields for investment

as well. National rivalries and mutual fears in Europe demanded the competitive expansion of national power and economic strength. Psychological motives sometimes appeared as in the Italian dream of reviving the Roman Empire and the French ambition of wiping out the bitter taste of the Franco-German War by the absorption of an imposing empire in North and West Africa. The newly unified German nation was also looking for fresh places in the Sun. It is in the context of these ambitions and necessities that the partitions of Africa took place in the last decades of the nineteenth century and Africa became the classic land of colonisation. The only people whose interests were not consulted were the Africans.

Thus began the era of the most rapid and most spectacular overseas expansion of European countries in Africa—the last of the three epochs in the conquest of that continent. In the first, which comprehended the empires of Egypt, of Carthage, of Rome and the Islamic dynasties, the Mediterranean coastline was the scene of action. In the second epoch, which began with Portuguese exploration in the fifteenth century, the main arena was

in the West. In the third epoch, mainly coincident with the nineteenth century, there followed the exploration of Central Africa and the opening up of the whole continent by the colonial nations of Europe displaying both competition and co-operation.

British Lion Plunders

Large slices of unclaimed territory were found in the Dark Continent and were rapidly utilised to assuage simultaneously the colonial hunger of several European nations. France got busy in Tunis, the Ivory Coast and in the gigantic island of Madagascar. Italy, having missed Tunis, turned towards Libya, Somaliland and Ethiopia. Leopold II was converting large areas in the basin of the Congo into Belgian property. The Germans of Bismarck appropriated German Southwest Africa, Togoland and the Cameroons in 1884. After the loss of America a hundred years earlier, British statesmen had not been very enthusiastic about colonial possessions but their attitude change now and the British Lion proceeded to take its share. British East Africa was developed, native states annexed in South Africa, British influence was established in Egypt and the Sudan became an Anglo-Egypt as well as in the

West, the partition of Africa among the various European nations was accomplished without war and in a spirit of co-operation and mutual adjustment worthy of a better cause.

Era of Independence Dawns

Thus the map of Africa was filled in the closing years of the nineteenth century by European property and the European nations ruled the whole of the continent except in the technically sovereign territory of Liberia and Ethiopia. The white man had taken up his burden and colonisation seemed entrenched in the second largest continent of the globe.

VI

But Africa is always capable of producing surprises. In the last few years a movement of even greater swiftness and comprehensiveness than the scramble of the last decades of the nineteenth century has been transforming the face of Africa once again beyond recognition. With the achievement of independence by Ghana in 1957 began the process of undoing the White domination built up in the previous half century. Colonialism, in Africa as elsewhere, had its day and the present decade is witnessing its liquidation by

a combination of world acuses and changed circumstances in Africa itself.

European nationalism of the nineteenth century had found nothing inconsistent in the imposition of foreign domination and the denial of self-government and economic freedom in large parts of the world occupied by so-called backward peoples. And so the world saw the strange spectacle of nationalism serving as the support of an imperialism which amounted to its very denial.

New Africa

The twentieth century, however, has witnessed the birth and growth of national aspirations among the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa. The progress of science, technology and education, the practical effects of two world wars and the course of events in different parts of the world in the present generation have released new forces. The peoples of the world have all begun to feel the urge for self-determination and political and economic liberty. Political subjection and economic exploitation are inconsistent with the growing conception of one world based on equality, tolerance and good fellowship. Africa could not be ruled for ever from Lisbon or Paris any more than India

from London. The realisation has been growing that colonialism and the attendant conflicts of race and colour have to be eliminated if mankind is to live in harmony and mutual respect.

Caravan of History

The picture of Africa has been rapidly changing in the last few years. Africa is no longer the inert mass of the past nor the colonial patchwork of the nineteenth century. The age which is transforming human existence on the earth in so many respects has also infused new life and vigour into Africa and Africans. The somnolent giant has been visibly stirred by visions of a bright and momentous future and galvanized by a longing to make up for lost time and overtake the caravan of history.

Things are moving fast in Africa. The last year has been seeing a succession of new states emerging into the light and sharing the warmth of National Independence. Already these new nations have made themselves felt in the United Nations Organization as well as in the world in general. The world as a whole is bound to benefit if these young nations through the imaginative understanding and enlightened assistance of the stronger nations of the world are helped along in

the task of establishing a prosperous and contented Welfare State based on the strong and steady foundation of democratic forms of government.

Resurgent Africa has many things in its favour and many claims for an important position in world affairs. It has an admirably central situation of strategic importance in peace and war as has been demonstrated during the Second World War and afterwards. It has an abundance of valuable raw materials and water for irrigation and power generation and a vast extent of land to be exploited and is admirably suited for the expansion of agriculture, industry and commerce. Medical research and discoveries in preventive and curative medicine are controlling the diseases which kept men out of internal Africa in previous ages.

Political Liberty

Mechanisation is helping to overcome the difficulties of inland communication and above all, education has begun to play the part of nation-builder. Political liberty followed by economic development and the conquest of disease, poverty and ignorance will

lead the African nations soon to do better than ever in the past for themselves and for the world as a whole.

VII

India and Africa have had a long association in the course of history. The progress of science and technology and the development of communications have annihilated what distance there was between the two lands and the ocean now unites rather than divides. Africa is on the threshold of vast economic developments. We have already developed close ties of friendship with nations like the United Arab Republic and Ghana, among others, and it will be to the advantage of both India and Africa to foster close economic and cultural ties for friendly co-operation in world affairs. There are many persons of Indian origin settled in different parts of Africa and engaged in business. Their security and prosperity will be promoted by closer ties between this country and the new nations of Africa.

Africa of This Century

By Government action as well as by friendly non-official intercourse in the fields of both culture and commerce great mutual benefit can be secured by both Africa and India. In the rapidly expanding economy of Africa there is likely to be increasing

scope for investment, for trade expansion and collaboration in many fields of common interest. We have to explore all these possibilities and it would be well worth our while to strengthen and expand our representative in the countries of Africa. We might station a high-powered representative there, entrusted with sufficient authority to speak on behalf of the Government and take quick decisions.

Africa is the continent of the century and many benefits of far-reaching importance could be expected from the enlightened co-operation of India and other Asian countries with the emerging nations of Africa.

Universal Freedom

The birth of New Africa can be characterised as the latest step taken in the long ascent of humanity towards universal civilisation and freedom. It is just as exciting to think of the prospects held out by the rebirth of this old continent as to contemplate the new horizons in outer space opening out before the questing eyes of mankind. The young nations of Africa are appearing on the scene just when human history is entering on a phase of unprecedented promise. Atomic research is laying bare the matrix of the physical universe and this makes it imperative that the

highest qualities and aptitudes latent in man's nature should be developed, particularly those of truth, harmony and friendly co-operation, on which human survival so largely depends. That Africa has come out of the shadow and is free and able to join in this common quest is a happy augury for the realisation of a fuller and happier life for humanity. The weaving of strong African strands into the rich tapestry of joint human endeavour strengthens the hope for one bright well-knit world for all humanity.

African Revolutionary Struggle

Continued from page 13

with its own distinct government, flag, national anthem, etc. This could be the starting point. The development would remain a consolidated confederation of states or could evolve into a single federal state or even into unitary state. History alone will tell which path will be followed. But our duty now is to lay the foundation. Generations to come will decide on the superstructure.

Organisation

The situation calls for organisation and vigilance at home, statesmanship and vision abroad. And among the peoples of Africa we must build a close unity founded upon true comradeship.

SEPTEMBER, 1962 27

Africa and Disarmament

A FEW years back the continent of Africa was still one which the colonial powers preferred to call "Dark Africa". Today they will probably hesitate to call it any longer a "Dark Continent". The map of Africa is now changed. Thirty-two independent African States with a total population of 218,232,000 people are busy shaping their own destiny themselves. The rest of the countries as many as twenty-seven are engaged in bitter struggle against foreign rule. The day is not far off when political domination of the imperialist powers will become a history of bygone days.

For those countries which have already succeeded in gaining liberty the first phase of the struggle is over. Now starts the second phase the consolidation of independence and the struggle against poverty, hunger, illiteracy, etc. and for economic development and rapid industrialisation, proper utilisation of the vast mineral and agricultural resources for the benefit of the African people themselves.

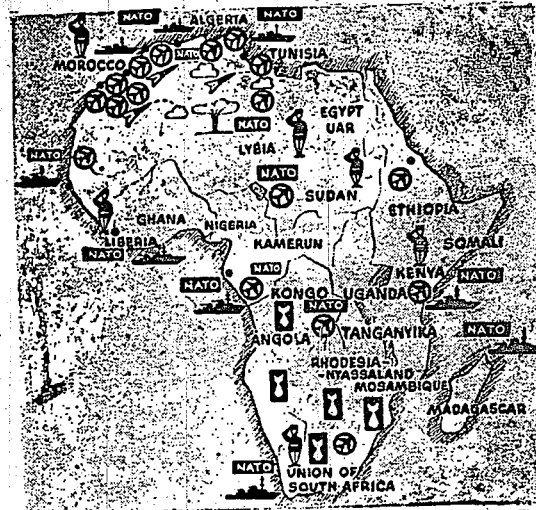
What are the difficulties that stand in the way? The well-known strategy of the colonial powers has been to make a retreat in the face of the growing national movement, but to retain as many political, military and economic rights as possible and where the strength of the national movement is irresistible to agree to end direct political domination, but try to influence the national government.

How the imperialist powers are doing this concretely? Let us have a look at the imperialist military venture in Africa. Today in Africa there are twenty-one air bases and twelve naval bases of the former colonial powers. What are these bases meant for? Obviously in the event of a third world war the former colonial powers which are linked with a number of military pacts bilateral and multilateral will operate from these bases.

The independent African countries will be involved much against their wish. No honest African who has struggled for years to attain independence will ever accept this position. Secondly, it is a menace to the sovereignty of the African nations as the facts have proved.

The events in Bizerta can hardly be forgotten by the freedom-loving Africans. It has pointed out the grim reality that the independence of a nation is not secure as long as foreign imperialist powers maintain their grip in any form, the more so when

How Africa is criss-crossed With NATO Military Bases



	AIR BASES
	NAVAL BASES
	ATOMIC TESTS
	ROCKET SITES
	STRATEGIC PORTS
	RAW MATERIALS FOR ATOMIC BOMBS
	MILITARY MISSIONS
	NATO BASES

they are allowed to retain military bases or entangle free countries in military pacts.

Coming to the question of economic development, Africa is a continent with immense potentialities. But the wealth of Africa is still exploited by the former colonial powers. As a result the Africans live in abject poverty. Africa requires the help of more technically advanced powers for economic reconstructions. But the huge amount spent on armaments provides at the moment little opportunity for such undertakings on a scale the economically underdeveloped countries need. To quote the report of the group of experts appointed by the UNO to study the economic and social consequences of disarmament:

"The world is spending roughly one hundred and twenty billion cents annually on military account at the present time..... it is at least two-thirds of and according to some estimates may be of the same order of magnitude as the entire national income of all the underdeveloped countries."

Even if a small fraction of this amount is released for the economic development of the underdeveloped countries what a change can be brought about in the living standards of the people of former colonies? The former colonies have a right to ask for a fair allocation of the amount that could be released if and when disarmament is carried out, because the colonisers have sucked their blood for years and exploited all the natural resources of the former colonies thus depriving the local population.

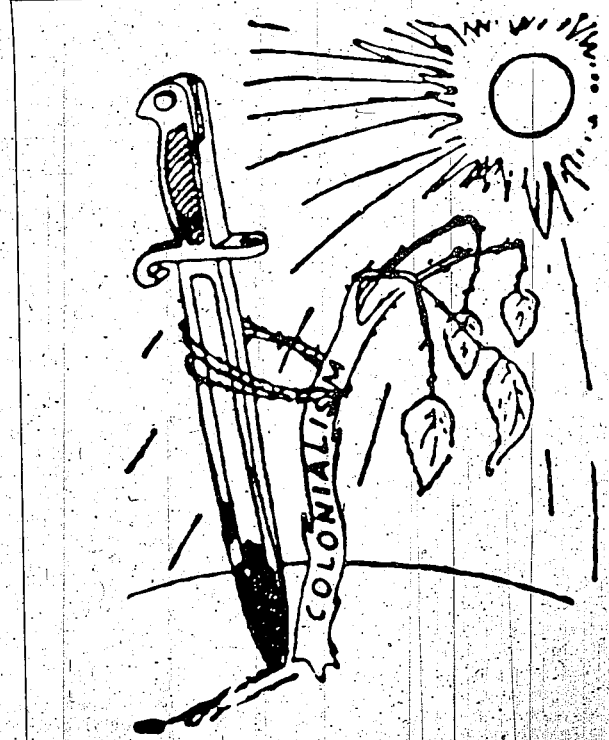
If only twenty milliards of dollars out of the above-mentioned one hundred and twenty milliards could be invested in Africa and if simultaneously the liquidation of war bases of the imperialist powers and their disarmament would make the keeping of national armies superfluous means the constructions of tens of Aswan Dams with electric power stations and irrigation or drainage canals in accordance with the needs of different

African regions could be built every year.

Some people would like to argue that disarmament means they will be left helpless in the face of imperialist tyrannies let loose by the colonial powers in African countries. What will happen to the Algerians or Angolans if they are asked to give up arms? They asked. This is a mistaken idea about disarmament. No sane freedom-loving person would ever suggest that in the face of OAS terror or an imperialist offensive the people of Algeria or Angola should surrender. But if the imperialists are disarmed what does it mean concretely to the people of Africa fighting for national independence? "The Americans have given France \$4,414,000,000 as military aid since the World War II. And how about the weapons of mass destruction used by the British colonialists

in their exterminations of Africans, in Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, Kenya and elsewhere? Were they not bought or manufactured with the \$1,702 millions received by Britain from the United States under the terms of military aid?

Even the little kingdom of Belgium received \$1,181,000,000 from the United States as military aid. A great part of this, no doubt, was and is still being used to massacre the people of the Congo and divide the country. How would poor fascist Portugal resist with modern weapons the national movement of the people of Angola if it were not for the military assistance from the U.S. which amounted to \$286,000,000. It means that the colonial powers in Africa received from the United States the fabulous sum of \$6,953 million for weapons to suppress the national liberation movements of Africa.



Repercussions of NATO war

Bases in Africa

by a Staff Writer

IN spite of the tremendous advances of modern science; in spite of the hydrogen bombs and the conquest of space, the sixtieth decade of the twentieth century can be called the African Age. It marks the rise of the peoples of Africa to take their rightful place among the comity of nations. While the stupendous achievements of science offer, in the main, a threat to the very existence of man, the African Revolution symbolizes the thirst of man to live a fuller, more satisfying life. It is a titanic attempt by man to jump over the gulf of time, and from a primitive stage, spring to the twentieth century civilization of the near superman.

But like all other experiments, this stupendous undertaking is fraught with dangers, the greatest of which is the mistake of alignment as exemplified in the presence of war bases on the confinement of Africa. The map of Africa is at present besmirched with the dark marks of these springboards of aggression. They form a ring round and penetrate into the heart of the continent.

The following figures will give an idea of how much our land is infested with these war bases. There are 17 air bases owned by individual members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

These are mainly concentrated in North Africa where there are as many as six in Morocco alone. There are nine naval bases encircling the Continent from the north right round to the east. Again these imperial powers have six military missions in Morocco, Liberia, South Africa, Kenya, Sudan, and Libya. Supporting these individual bases are twelve large bases of air, naval and military missions owned by the NATO. Beside these, the imperialist possess three rocket and one atom tests sites in North Africa and five mines for the exploitation of raw materials for atomic bombs. These are to be found in the Congo, Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia.

Bomb Test Sites

These bases confront Africa with a danger that is twofold. In the first place the presence of a war base in a country presupposes the alignment of that country with one or other of the power blocs, with all the concomitant risks and dangers which go with such an association. Secondly, these bases pose a grave threat to free untrammelled development in the country.

It needs hardly be said that Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah knew the risks and dangers

involved in alignment when he declared: "The people of Ghana are determined not to get themselves entangled in the great ideological conflicts of the Great Powers as manifested in the cold war which divides the world into East and West Power Blocs, suspicious of each other's motives and intentions."

Risks of Destruction

The world is in great suspense and the cold war can heat up any time into a "hot war". An under-developed country that is aligned with a Power Bloc in that event stands the risk of being destroyed with it. The risks of destruction in the case of the under-developed country is twofold. Because by reason of its comparative backwardness a small damage can be very shattering, while recovery from the damage for the same reason can be very difficult.

We may note in this connection that Russia has repeatedly warned that countries with war bases will not be spared in the event of war.

But if there are any peoples who stand greatly in need of peace at these times, it is those in the under-developed countries. To quote Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah again, "We have a vested interest in peace." The African Experiment can only succeed in an atmosphere of peace.

Dangerous Alignment

Apart from the risks run by an under-developed country in the event of war, it suffers great economic loss in times of peace. Because by reason of its alignment, it may deprive itself of the gains that can be made through universal trade and commerce.

But these risks and dangers are glossed over by the offer of aid and protection. Thus alignment becomes a most tempting prospect to newly independent countries which on account of their youth and comparative back-

wardness must needs battle with baffling economic and political problems. But despite these enticements, the costs of alignment are still overwhelming. For a friendship between the lion and the antelope can never be a partnership of equality, but a relationship of master and slave, entirely dependent upon the whims and caprices of the stronger.

It is true that there are advantages to be gained by both parties in an alignment, otherwise no agreement will be reached in the first place. The gains, however, are unequal. In this lion-antelope relationship the lion of course has to take the greater share. This is no mere supposition, but a matter of historical reality. The callous exploitation of our countries by these same powers and their allies is written in the pages of history and by its page-lights, we must beware of the Greeks even when they bring gifts. The golden apples of alignment are hung over instruments of destruction and are being blandished by powers which but yesterday would make us slaves. Powers which indeed are even now suppressing and exploiting our brethren in other parts of the continent.

Huge Military Budgets

But even the blandished aids are mere crumbs from the imperial tables. They are insignificant compared with the amount of money expended in maintaining the bases which have been planted in the subordinate countries.

The UNO experts report on the economics of disarmament has this to say: "The world is spending roughly 120 billion dollars annually on military account..... it is at least two-thirds of — and according to some estimates may be of the same order of magnitude as — the entire national income of the under-developed countries."

Other authentic sources also state that "The grand total of U.S. military aid to the powers with colonies in Africa amounted to nearly 7 billion dollars.... Africa itself received not even a tiny fraction of this sum in economic aid."

We realise quite clearly then that these aids are mere inducements to accept the bases which are planted solely in the interests of the imperial powers. That is only to be expected; for no great power will contract with a smaller nation unless it is convinced that such an agreement will be to its advantage.

Alignment is simply colonialism in a new guise. It is a policy of giving political controls in exchange for keeping war bases and so retaining a foothold in a territory which a colonial power has apparently left. While control in colonial domination is open and assertive, in alignment it is secretive and subtle and, therefore, more dangerous.

Foreign Powers

That war bases in a country are solely meant to safeguard the interests of the foreign power is evidenced by the following confession by Dr. John C. Campbell in his book, *Defence of the Middle East*. The overriding national interest (in the affairs of the Middle East) is the security of the United States, Soviet control of Middle Eastern oil could disrupt the economy of the free world. It is fundamental to the United States, then, that the Middle East remains part of the free world.

"Containment of Soviet imperialism in the Middle East carries an implication that the United States, like other great powers, is concerned with the Middle Eastern States and peoples only for the purpose of having them serve its own interests."

Dr. Campbell, of course, goes on to explain how the interests of the United States and of the other great powers are bound up with the interests of the states and peoples of the Middle East. But the hard facts of history are that in any eventuality, these great powers must put their interests above the interests of all others.

Harrassed With Problems

This is borne out by Dr. Campbell's own words: "The British system in the Middle East, going back over a century and a half, had been aimed at securing the routes to India and the Far East and keeping the area out of the hands of any hostile powers". But when after World War II they found themselves harrassed with their own problems, they handed over their responsibility over Greece and Turkey to the United States. He goes on; "In the case of Palestine, they deposited it in the lap of the United Nations, and in the following year they simply withdrew their forces and their administration, leaving the fate of Palestine to be settled by an Arab-Jewish war."

Perhaps we need not blame the British for their precipitous withdrawal from positions long deemed vital. They could not save themselves, how could they attempt to save others? It was a matter of commonsense and natural instinct.

Dr. Campbell further writes of how the fires of nationalism which had been smouldering from a long time were fanned by the strains and stresses of war. During the fighting, the belligerent powers naturally gave precedence to their own urgent military requirements over the sensitivities of the peoples who happened to live in this strategically located region. Then, after the cessation of hostilities, pre-occupied as they were with their own post-war adjustments, the British could find no time

to offer assistance in the settlement of these explosive problems and, as we have just seen, left them to find their own solutions in the arena of fresh fightings.

Thus in the event of war, while a country with war base may suffer equally or even worse than its powerful ally, when the storms are over, it may receive little or no attention from the so-called protector.

This then is the bitter truth which must be faced by all African countries that are charmed by the allurements of alignment. No foreign power can sacrifice its own interests for the interests of an appendage. Self-interest is what dictates the policy of every nation both in war and in peace.

As regards the threat that war bases offer to free development, we must take note that with the exception of three in North Africa, all the bases in Africa are equipped with conventional and rudimentary type of armaments.

(To be continued in next issue)

The Congo's Harrowing History

Continued from page 18

The United Nations General Assembly is to meet again soon, and the question of the Congo is certain to find a place on its agenda. The success achieved in Laos, Algeria, Western Irian and elsewhere as part of an irresistible process foreshadowing an early end to the remaining colonial positions, especially in awakening Africa, will undoubtedly give the necessary impulse to the forces demanding the cessa-

tion of the revived game of colonial interests and foreign plots which is being played in the Congo at tremendous material and moral cost both to that country and to the United Nations Organization.

The urgency with which some big powers are seeking a formula for some kind of settlement of the crisis, and the rumours that the illegally arrested Gizenga will be released, seem to be indications that there is anxiety in some quarters over the possibility of the General Assembly taking action in the Congo. Nobody can remain indifferent to what has been going on in that country for more than two years.

Concerted Action

What is needed in the circumstances, if the full sanctioning of the state of affairs created by foreign interests and their puppets in the country is to be prevented at the eleventh hour, and if the crisis is to be ended to the satisfaction of the Congo's unfortunate people, is for all independent countries and all advocates of justice and progress to take a well-planned and concerted action at the coming General Assembly.

The United Nations and its mission in the Congo must follow a course which is in the interests of the country if they do not wish to disappoint the hopes placed in them by the Congolese people and by all those who would like to see the

World Organization as the protector of the rights of the oppressed.

Is Southern Rhodesia Self-governing?

Continued from page 8

threatening to "apply" the reserved powers. "On occasions", he continues, "there has been prolonged bargaining between the British Government and the Southern Rhodesian Government and the British Government has been lately making desperate efforts to secure the end of the Reserved Powers. The ultimate British authority over Southern Rhodesia has, therefore, been very real, though not legally employed, and the U.K. cannot absolve herself of the responsibility on trifling ground of not having used the powers formally.

Chattels and Pawns in Game

The matter is serious and concerns the destinies of about three million Africans. As President Wilson said, "People and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game....." If the Reserved Powers were not used before, they can be used now. Legally, the U.K. is sovereign over Southern Rhodesia and "the Government of Southern Rhodesia..... is, as much today the creature and agent of the United Kingdom as was the British South Africa Company prior to 1923". "The self-government achieved by Southern Rhodesia in 1923 was not the full 'Dominion Status'. The limitations on her autonomy laid down in the Letters Patent of 1923 still remain in force..... her formal status is that of a 'Self-Governing Colony'". The responsibility for leading, as early as possible, Southern Rhodesia to self-government, as understood by the U.N., therefore, falls squarely on British shoulders.

British Military Bases

Continued from page 19

The British are in a habit of publishing misleading statistical information about Basutoland's economic potentialities. They have temporarily succeeded in feeding the progressive world with lies that Basutoland is such a poor country that it can never hope to be economically viable without their (the British) grant-in-aid system.

British Tricks

But what surprises the Basutoland Congress Party and the people of Basutoland as a whole is the carefully worked out plan of British constitutional monkey tricks and political acrobatics so as to retard the country's independence move.

Now, let us be realistic. If the British come from the "wealthy" United Kingdom, what compels them to take such careful measures which will enable them to tighten their grip on such a "poor" country as Basutoland, and even go to the extent of

moving their military base to that country? Can the "wealthy" British tolerate a state of affairs whereby they can find themselves being compelled to live side by side with poverty?

Diamonds

Can the British be bold enough to tell the world that the "poor" Basutoland supplies them with diamonds exploited by their Anglo-America Corporation agent called Jack Scott? Is it not because of these diamonds that despite their high rate of literacy and general advancement, the people of Basutoland are indoctrinated with the moth-eaten colonial myth that "they are not yet ready to run their own affairs"?

Why have the "wealthy" British become so desperate as even to go to the extent of giving military training to the hitherto civilian police force in Basutoland?

Revengeful White Judges

Why did the "wealthy" British High Commissioner John Maud panic into enacting legislation which would deny the arrested people the right to apply for and be granted bail as a system

which is recognized by all the civilized countries of the world? Why is it that the revengeful and political minded judges of imperialist Britain in Basutoland can be so desperate as to sentence people to ten years imprisonment without an option of fine for a minor civil commotion erupted in Maseru in October 1961?

Military Aggression

Naturally, we cannot expect the British Fleet Street journals to tell the world about the sort of "democracy" Britain is pursuing in Basutoland. All the British newspapers can do is to level charges of what they prefer to call "dictatorship" against African States like the Ghana Republic, pretending they are not aware of the fact that such states are, truly speaking, among the best democratically governed countries in the world.

Let us give a timely warning to the "wealthy" Sons of England while the going is good, that they must never attempt to drag their discredited military aggression to Basutoland or to any other African territory.

(See diagram on page 28)

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BOOK REVIEW

The Penance of Europe

by John Berger
(Art Critic and Author)

MUNTU: AN OUTLINE OF NEO-AFRICAN
CULTURE BY JANHEINZ JAHN

Published by Faber and Faber, London, 1961

276 pp. with illustrations, 30s.

I REMEMBER that about five years ago I suggested to a distinguished London editor that he should publish some of the new African and West Indian poetry. "Are there any African poets?" he asked. But the question was almost rhetorical. He was convinced that there were none. And so naturally the matter was not pursued, and the poems were not published.

Today I don't think he would answer in the same way. Although very little African poetry gets translated or published in England, most people concerned with world politics and literature are dimly aware that Africa is up to something—and may even be up to poetry. Today I fancy he would ask: "Are these African poets really any good?"

I repeat this story to emphasise the relevance of 'Muntu'. Culturally, England is the most parochial country in Europe, after Spain and Portugal. And so, this book, which sets out to define the cultural traditions of Africa and Africans is more than timely. There must be very few people who have nothing to learn

from it: I myself have learnt a great deal. And, as always with learning, one becomes more modest and at the same time prouder.

More modest about one's own limitations, prouder, about the time through which one is living. But I also repeat the story for another reason. The distinguished editor has had his prejudices about African poetry modified. In another five years they will have been modified even further. This is not because he has or will have read any of the actual poems. Nor is it because he has read about the poets as poets. It is because he too has been made aware of the great wind of change. It is because he suspects that Europe and the English-speaking world are now being challenged in every sphere. It is because Eisenhower had to cancel his visit to Tokyo, because France is being forced to negotiate with the F.L.N., because Lumumba won't stay dead, because people are asking questions about Brazil, because Cuba is through with its sugar-daddies because Guinea speaks up and is listened to by the rest of the

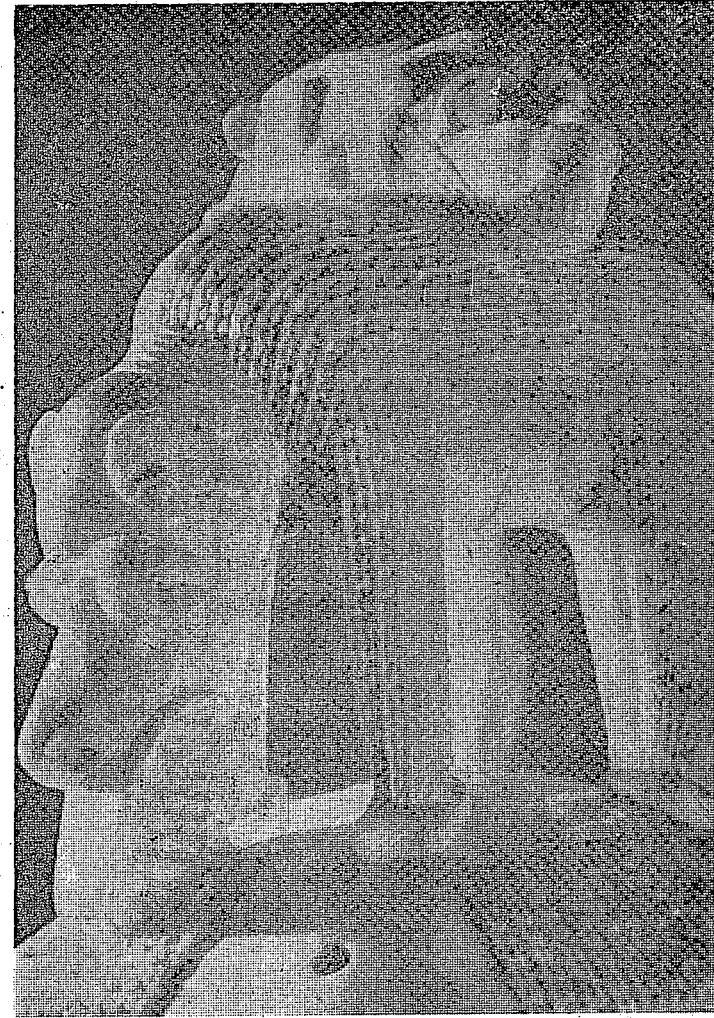
world, because it becomes increasingly clear that the uncommitted nations are in fact committed—committed to the progress they have been denied. In other words, this editor's reluctant recognition of African poetry is the result of political events. And so also is Mr. Jahn's. Mr. Jahn is a German expert on African culture, but he would not have written this particular book if the political history of the last ten years had been different. And it is on this very point that I must criticise his book. Despite his profound knowledge of Africa, and despite his admiration for what Africa has and can produce, he seems unaware of the political nature of his own world. He understands Africa, but he does not understand progress. He condemns Europe, but he does not condemn superstitions. He loves vitality, but he does not love reason.

I want to assume that every one of my readers is going to read this book. It is well worthwhile doing so. And therefore, because I assume this, I am not going to attempt a good teacher. He himself has reduced a vast amount of material to a few simple expositions. And I doubt whether any one, least of all I myself who haven't a hundredth of his knowledge, could do it better or simplify it much further. Read him and you will learn how Africans feel and think about man, death, procreation, rhythm, gods, rituals, medicine, symbols, words, dancing, poetry. And from all this you will also begin to understand the basic cultural attitudes that Africans in Africa and out of Africa share together. At this level—the level of information rather than interpretation—I would only add one warning. Mr. Jahn is clearly more at home with philosophy and literature than with the visual arts. He has little to say directly about African sculpture or painting, and what he does say doesn't go very far.

On the assumption then that you are going to read this book for

its information, I want now to discuss the attitude which is implicit in the way this information is presented. I think this is worth doing because I believe this attitude to be a dangerous

Mr. Jahn begins with a sensible generalisation. Every culture, he points out, is, according to its own standards, superior to every other. He proceeds to explain to us the standards of



one and because it can also easily become a common one, especially amongst those Europeans whose consciences have been stirred by the tragedies—no, the crimes—of Africa.

African culture. Theoretically he is aware of the dangers of exaggerations. He quotes Frantz Fanon, the doctor and writer from Martinique: "For us the man who worships the negroes is just as

'stick' as the man who despises them". But in practice Mr. Jahn uses so much special pleading and takes so many historical shortcuts that he ends up with the attitudes of a worshipper. He writes like a convert, a European convert to Africa. And the trouble with converts is that they refuse to allow themselves to think or argue outside a certain arbitrarily limited area.

African Culture

He is extremely sensitive and sharp in reply to theories and statements which betray the innate sense of superiority of Europeans towards Africa. Fine. He is imaginative about the effects of racial prejudice on members of the so-called inferior race. He quotes Fanon on this problem too: "But I say that for a human being who has no weapons but his reason, there is nothing more neurotic than an encounter with the irrational". Excellent. He attacks the sensationalism with which Europeans have approached Voodoo and other African rites; he wants to show the all-embracing, consistent logic which governs and inter-relates every African ceremony and tradition. Again, admirable. He claims that African culture is free of the fragmentation and destructive alienations with which we in Europe are too familiar. He quotes, among many other well-chosen examples, a poem by Aimé Césaire. It begins:

*I who Kra-Katoa
I who open breast
I who maelstrom
I would wish to be ever humbler and lower
Ever heavier without vertigo or vestige
To lose myself falling
Into the living grains of a well-opened earth'*

Césaire, even in translation, is a marvellous poet.

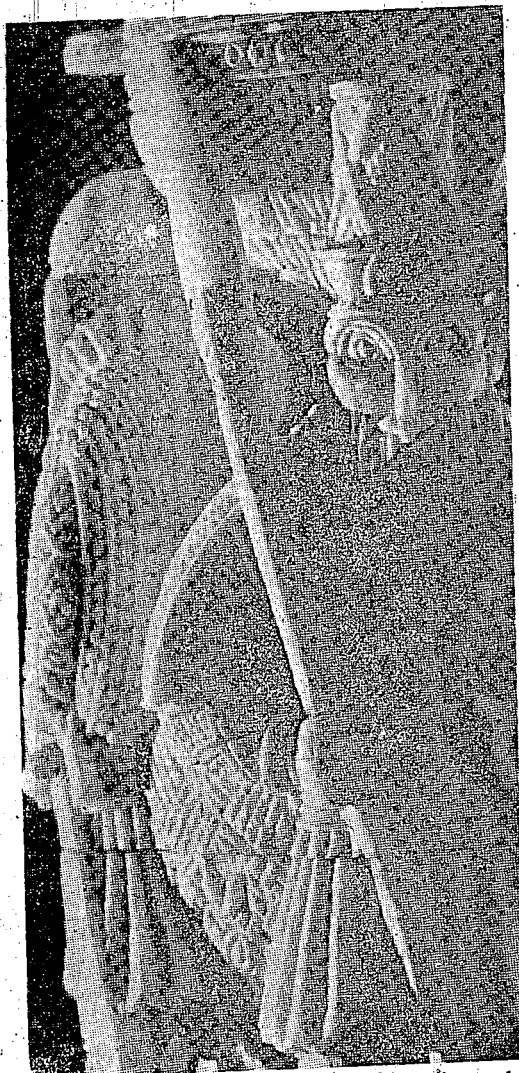
But what are we to think when Mr. Jahn explains that Africans in Africa never developed any form of script for writing and then goes on to suggest that this was no great disadvantage because

the invention of writing gave men the means to enslave and exploit one another? By this kind of historical logic every advance, every step in man's long progress, can be condemned, and you end up by believing only in the Garden of Eden. It is essential to take a dialectical view of history if we are to understand the opportunities that the historical process now offers us. It is true that the written word and mathematics made slave states possible. But these slave states developed architecture, astronomy, engineering and at the same time those conditions which inevitably led to the overthrowing of slavery; both the slavery imposed by men on men and the earlier slavery of all men in face of an unknown and uncontrollable nature.

African Philosophy

Or, again, what are we to think when Mr. Jahn explains the principles of African medicine and then suggests that there is really not so much to choose between African medicine and modern European medicine? The medicine man often had an extensive knowledge of herbs, and the latest findings of European medicine indicate that the patient's faith in his treatment is more important than the formula of the treatments. Both statements may be partially true, but they do not balance one another. Modern European medicine has doubled the expectation of life. It is absurd in cases of organic disease to equate a spell with a modern operating theatre.

Lastly, what are we to think when Mr. Jahn talks about art, and declares that "African philosophy stands consistently on the side of the artist?" What matters is the process of creating the work. I am sure this is true. But what Mr. Jahn forgets in his sweeping claim is that the interests and values of artists change according to the historical period. Today the modern European artist, in revolt against a social system that turns art into a commodity, may certain-



ly sympathise with the African point of view and agree with Mr. Jahn that African philosophy is more sympathetic to him. But to the Renaissance artist or the Classical artist, the African attitude would have been incomprehensible.

Well, what are we then to think? It seems to me we have to conclude that Mr. Jahn cham-

pions Africa in order to denigrate Europe. And this is not good enough, because it is too simple. Relative comparisons nearly always are. Time and time again Mr. Jahn contrasts Christian hypocrisy with the passion and vitality of African religion. The contrast is real enough. But the next important step is to show how both sets of supersti-

tions have served various sectional interests and prevented man in general from understanding the truth. The choice is not between Africa and Europe. It is between understanding and ignorance. I agree that on the whole an African today is more likely to be able to grasp what is happening in the world than a Western European. But this is not because he is 'African'; it is because he has suffered and is still suffering the tortures of Imperialism. And Imperialism and the fight against Imperialism are the primary realities in the world today.

When you have read the whole of this book, you realise that

Mr. Jahn gave himself away on the first page. Here he puts forward the argument he wants to destroy, the argument of European paternalism: "Europe is thought to know what is good for Africa, better than Africa herself. Admittedly, Europe offers different and rival doctrines—democracy or communism, Christianity or atheism... yet this alters nothing in the general pattern". Doesn't it? Are the Chinese 'European' because they are communists? Is Castro being Europeanised because he is an atheist? Is the Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet a "European"

because he believes in democracy?

My own diagnosis is as follows. Mr. Jahn has become disillusioned 'European' and his hope for an alternative 'Africa'. I have seen quite a number of people do this, or almost do it. At first it appears to be a rather sympathetic attitude—an attempt to make amends, to do penance. But finally it proves dangerous and is self-indulgent. We have loaded enough on to the back of Africa without now loading our discontent. If we are disillusioned with Europe, let us change it.

AFRICA

by
LANGSTON HUGHES

Sleepy giant,
You've been resting awhile
Now I see the thunder
And the lightning
In your smile
Now I see
The storm clouds
In your waking eyes:
The Thunder,
The wonder,
And the young
Surprise
Your every step reveals
The new stride
In your thighs.

Marche Commun Européen et Marche Africain

par Aino Del Bo

DEVANT la tournure prise par les événements politiques de ces derniers temps, il n'est pas d'observateur objectif qui ne soit amené à penser que la Communauté économique européenne va désormais trouver en elle-même sa propre fin et qu'elle ne sera donc plus le premier pas vers l'intégration politique du continent européen, ou tout au moins de certains de ses états occidentaux. Un tel résultat découle d'un certain nombre de facteurs: la volonté manifestée par de Gaulle, sa collusion avec Adenauer, le manque d'énergie du gouvernement de Rome, la demande d'adhésion présentée par la Grande Bretagne et celle d'association de plusieurs états neutres. Par conséquent, la Communauté économique, reste simplement une zone économique préférentielle, dont la portée est presque uniquement commerciale sans parvenir à s'élever et à se transformer en une véritable réalité politique de l'Europe démocratique.

Ce caractère désormais permanent de la Communauté entraîne un certain nombre de constatations: tout d'abord, elle se compose actuellement et l'adhésion de l'Angleterre accentuera encore ce fait des états dont la puissance économique, financière et commerciale est la plus considérable; en outre, la Communauté fait participer aux avantages qui lui sont inhérents un certain nombre de pays non-européens, ceux qui lors de la rédaction du Traité de Rome furent définis comme (Terri-

toires d'Outre-Mer); enfin, bien que la Communauté se proclame (ouverte) et rejette la qualification d'autarcie, les autres états devront de toute évidence surmonter d'immenses difficultés pour placer leurs matières premières et leurs produits, surtout lorsque la Grande Bretagne y participera après avoir obtenu des garanties suffisantes pour les intérêts des pays du Commonwealth, car la zone communautaire sera devenue si vaste qu'elle pourra presque se suffire à elle-même.

Encore faut-il préciser davantage ces observations. En effet, la Communauté, c'est à dire, en premier lieu, le Conseil des Ministres est en train de discuter un nouveau régime tarifaire qui devrait être appliqué aux anciens territoires d'outre-mer devenus indépendants. Jusqu'à présent, malgré l'ampleur des avantages déjà proposés, on n'est pas encore parvenu à un accord. Mais il est hors de doute que l'on y parviendra, surtout si l'on considère que le gouvernement de Paris entend préserver le plus possible la solidité de ses liens avec les pays africains qui appartiennent, depuis le référendum de 1958, à la Communauté française. Par ailleurs, il faut encore ajouter une autre remarque: les pourparlers actuellement en cours entre la Grande Bretagne et les autres membres de la Communauté se basent sur un projet malheureusement rédigé, paraît-il, par des experts italiens qui, en ce qui concerne la sauvegarde des intérêts du Common-

wealth, s'inquiètent au premier chef des membres des zones tempérées, c'est à dire du Canada, de l'Australie et de la Nouvelle Zélande. On en conclut que le gouvernement de Londres et les (Six) du Marché commun donnent volontairement ou non? la priorité aux pays blancs du Commonwealth, et renvoient l'examen du problème pour les autres états (de couleur), comme l'Inde et les pays africains. Il ressort en outre de ce projet que la Communauté économique crée en Afrique une très grave discrimination qui ne pourra que s'accroître dans l'avenir entre les anciens territoires d'outre-mer et les autres états indépendants. Il convient, pour plus de clarté, de souligner que les premiers sont pour la plupart des états (d'expression française), tandis que les seconds sont deux qu'on a coutume d'appeler les (états du Groupe Casablanca).

Il ressort clairement de ces observations que la politique africaine de la Communauté économique européenne ne saurait susciter l'approbation. C'est là une constatation extrêmement grave, car à l'heure actuelle d'autres motifs déterminent également dans le monde un jugement défavorable à son égard. A part l'opposition, de nature essentiellement idéologique et stratégique, des états membres du (Comecon) qui suivent les directives de l'Union soviétique, il faut tenir compte des réserves explicitement formulées par les pays d'Amérique latine: en effet, leurs produits se trouvant, sur le marché mondial, en concurrence avec ceux des états africains déjà incorporés dans le Marché commun en tant que territoire d'outre-mer, leur commerce extérieur est gravement handicapé par suite des tarifs douaniers supérieurs qu'ils doivent affronter pour pouvoir utiliser comme débouchés les six pays signataires du Traité de Rome, auxquels se joindront demain les nouveaux adhérents ou les nouveaux associés de la Communauté économique. De même, ce n'est pas sans motifs que la Yougoslavie s'estime lésée par l'existence du Marché commun, et demande à être affranchie des contingents et des barrières

douanières élevées dans ses échanges commerciaux avec les états de la communauté et en particulier avec l'Italie. Comme on le sait, le gouvernement de la Belgrade ne fait pas partie du (Comecon), l'organisation créée par l'Union Soviétique pour développer et coordonner les économies des pays socialistes; par conséquent, ses observations prennent également la valeur d'une sollicitation politique, celle d'un pays qui demande à pouvoir conserver sa neutralité sans que l'expansion de son économie et le niveau de vie de sa population aient à en subir des contre-coups fâcheux.

La Yougoslavie, qui est l'un des pays pilotes du (Tiers Monde), se trouve d'ailleurs amenée par ses caractéristiques mêmes à accorder la plus grande importance aux problèmes des états en voie de développement qui sont en même temps fidèles à une politique d'équilibre vis à vis des deux blocs. L'opinion publique européenne, qui s'intéresse presque exclusivement aux problèmes concernant les deux antagonistes, n'a pas mesuré l'importance de la politique étrangère que Belgrade a menée, surtout à partir de l'automne dernier, à l'égard des pays en voie de développement. Cette initiative a reçu un accueil particulièrement favorable dans le continent africain, parmi les pays qui sont désavantagés par la Communauté économique européenne, et qui coïncident, en gros avec ceux du Groupe de Casablanca. Certes, il est indubitable qu'au sein de ce groupe, il existe des tendances à l'hégémonie, des ambitions d'unification, des aspirations très marquées à la suprématie personnelle; mais on ne saurait nier que l'attitude politique de ces pays révèle, dans son ensemble, des principes politiques légitimes, une exigence incontestable d'égalité entre les peuples africains indépendants, et avant tout, une ferme volonté de n'accepter aucun compromis de type (néo-colonialiste), qu'il vienne de l'Union Soviétique ou des démocraties occidentales. D'autre part, le soutien constant fourni par la Yougoslavie a permis de contenir d'éventuelles rivalités et d'éviter des inconvenients qui auraient pu lézarder ou même détruire l'unité

du Groupe de Casablanca; ainsi, ne fût-ce que dans l'alternative d'une action politique propre aux états jeunes, le groupe de Casablanca est parvenu, lors de la récente (Conférence économique) du Caire, à soulever sur le plan mondial la question des discriminations économiques entre les différents pays africains.

D'aucuns ne manqueront pas d'objecter qu'en jouant un tel rôle en Afrique, la Yougoslavie a certainement fait valoir au maximum la doctrine politique dont s'inspire son régime. On doit néanmoins répondre à cela que le gouvernement de Belgrade se rend parfaitement compte que pour obtenir le prestige le plus considérable au-delà de la Méditerranée, il lui faut sacrifier l'idée communiste à celle de l'équilibre entre les deux blocs. Encore faut-il souligner que la Yougoslavie a choisi un rôle disponible que d'autres auraient pu prendre en charge, l'Italie par exemple, si seulement on était arrivé à saisir l'importance décisive du développement économiques de l'Afrique en vue d'assurer la paix et l'avenir du monde. C'est précisément grâce à sa position autonome, libre de rapports d'intégration économique avec des états appartenant à l'un ou à l'autre des deux blocs, que la République Yougoslave peut mener à bien son oeuvre africaine. Celle-ci a déjà atteint un premier résultat d'importance capitale, en dévoilant certains aspects négatifs de la Communauté économique européenne, qui deviendront de plus en plus manifestes à mesure qu'elle se révélera impuissante à s'engager dans la voie d'une véritable intégration politique.

Au point où en sont les choses, une série de questions se présentent inévitablement aux six pays membres de la Communauté économique. Jusqu'à présent, sa raison d'être politique était d'aboutir à la création d'une entité qui, tout en étant politiquement engagée, participerait néanmoins en tant que partenaire autonome aux grandes décisions internationales. Cependant, un tel résultat exige l'abandon d'une part de souveraineté nationale et l'application du principe de la suprana-

tionnalité. Or la volonté manifestée à plusieurs reprises par la France et par la République fédérale, ainsi que l'absence d'une initiative quelconque de l'Italie pour tenter de les rejoindre ont d'ore et déjà exclu ces deux possibilités. Elles sont de même exclues ipso facto, en dépit de toutes les déclarations contraires, par suite de l'adhésion probable de l'Angleterre à la Communauté économique, qui n'aura manifestement lieu que si la Grande Bretagne peut poursuivre sa politique de primus inter pares au sein du Commonwealth. Mais si tel doit être comme on peut déjà le constater, le sort du Marché commun, sa justification politique se trouve remise en question on est amené à se demander pourquoi il se donne la forme d'une zone privilégiée, et pour quelle raison, par exemple il devrait favoriser certains pays africains et nuire au contraire à d'autres.

Il ne faut pas perdre de vue cette idée: la philosophie du Marché commun ne peut résider que dans son élargissement continu, dans l'adhésion ou l'association incessante de nouveaux états, de manière à étendre ses avantages au plus grand nombre possible d'êtres humains. En d'autres termes, il est souhaitable que le Marché commun s'identifie définitivement avec une zone qui comprendrait tous les pays où la personne humaine est respectée, où ses exigences légitimes sont satisfaites, où son aspiration au progrès reçoit un appui. Cela consiste, en somme, à priver le Marché commun de sa nature discriminatoire de Marché commun, pour le transformer en un facteur d'accroissement général du bien-être, en témoignage de la compréhension de plus en plus profonde entre les peuples, et des conquêtes technologiques se joignant à celles de la culture et de la science. Nous savons parfaitement que tout ceci appartient encore aujourd'hui au domaine de l'idéal; qu'il existe des pays où la classe des travailleurs est soumise au pouvoir politique, privée de sa sécurité et de l'exercice des libertés fondamentales. Il faut également considérer qu'en signant le Traité de Rome, les promoteurs de la Communauté économique ont fait un acte de foi dans la démocratie et ont aussi voulu se défendre

contre les menaces d'expansion du marxismeléninisme représenté par l'Union Soviétique. Il est donc absolument normal que ceux qui ont construit, à force de ténacité et de patience, la puissance considérable atteinte aujourd'hui par la Communauté économique, se sentent malgré tout en droit de choisir leurs associés ou leurs partenaires. Nous voudrions dire que la décision devrait être basée sur un critère exclusivement politique: mais celui-ci devrait être si élevé et si détaché qu'il ne pourrait en aucun cas être suggéré par les contingences ou, en d'autres termes, par une intention pure et simple de monopoliser le bien-être.

Les états du groupe Casablanca n'appartiennent pas à l'échiquier communiste. Ils font partie du tiers-monde, du groupe des pays neutres, de ceux qui ne veulent pas que les controverses internationales soient résolues par le recours à la force. D'autre part, le Conseil des Ministres des Six) devra également prendre une décision au sujet de la demande d'association présentée par plusieurs pays neutres européens: l'Autriche, la Suisse et, peut-être, le Royaume de Suède. Par ailleurs, les anciens territoires d'outre-mer bénéficient des avantages du M.E.C. même maintenant où il est évident

que certains d'entre eux, tout en étant membres de la Communauté française, ne suivraient certainement pas la France, même si elle devait s'engager dans la plus juste et la plus légitime des guerres. Pourquoi les démocraties européennes ne sentent-elles pas la responsabilité de la grave discrimination commise à l'encontre des pays du Groupe de Casablanca? Pourquoi ne se rendent-elles pas compte que cette responsabilité est d'autant plus lourde que ces pays sont en voie d'expansion économique et traversent une période délicate d'évolution et de développement? Et enfin pourquoi la Communauté ne recherche-t-elle pas sa raison d'être politique désormais perdue dans cette nouvelle initiative qui aurait pour but d'amener une égalité plus complète, la liquidation des résidus du colonialisme, et permettrait de concevoir une Europe démocratique non plus vouée à la concentration mais au rayonnement de ses valeurs?

La Communauté économique doit redouter qu'au sein des Nations-Unies la majorité ne prenne un jour position contre ses fonctions et contre sa validité même. Si elle se tourne en premier lieu vers l'Afrique, elle pourra faire en sorte qu'au lieu d'organiser une action concertée de

résistance à la fois économique et politique, les pays africains qu'elle a désavantagés acceptent au contraire de collaborer pour le bien de tous. Certains membres du Marché commun, comme l'Italie, ont une quantité de motifs pour solliciter une politique africaine de la Communauté économique; et pour la solliciter dans le sens que nous avons tracé, car c'est le seul qui donne de la valeur à l'intégration économique entre les Six, alors que tous les autres risquent de l'appauvrir ou de susciter dans l'opinion publique mondiale un jugement défavorable à son égard. Pour l'instant il est bien que la Conférence économique du Caire ait lancé un avertissement; et il est bien que la Communauté économique connaisse la teneur des accusations formulées contre elle par certains des états les plus influents du continent africain, car il reste encore actuellement une chance de trouver une solution satisfaisante au problème.

NOTE DU RÉDACTEUR EN CHEF

Nous ne partageons pas nécessairement l'avis de l'auteur de cet article. Nous acceptons néanmoins de le publier car il soulève quelques points essentiels du Marché commun.

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