



Voice of AFRICA



Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Governments could wipe out the ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. If, therefore, now that we are independent we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment, which over the years colonialism will be mobilised against us.

The resources are there. It is for us to marshal them in the active service of our people. Unless we do this by our concerted efforts, within the framework of our combined planning, we shall not progress at the tempo demanded by today's events and the mood of our people. The symptoms of our troubles will grow, and the troubles themselves become chronic. It will then be too late even for Pan African Unity to secure for us stability and tranquility in our labours for a continent of social justice and material well-being. Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and martyrs of neo-colonialism.

— DR. KWAME NKURUMAH
Addis Ababa, May 24, 1963

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OUR OPINION

Editorial Feature:

KENYA'S INDEPENDENCE:

Where Does The Danger Lie?

THIS month Kenya attains nationhood after wresting freedom and independence from British colonialism.

After nearly seventy-five years of alien rule seven million Kenyans will now be masters of their own destiny and, under the indomitable leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, architects of their future.

The story of Kenya is a peculiarly sad one, the colony being one of those African countries which have been more closely affected by British colonial rule at its worst. Her land was taken away; her children were enslaved; working on settler farms, imprisoned and some even killed.

There had been friction and disputes over land claims by the various tribes with heavy loss of life—and all planned and fanned by colonialist interests.

That the people of Kenya have persisted in their nationalism and overthrown the yoke of foreign rule under the "Burning Spear" himself lends proof to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's warning to the United Nations in 1960 that the tribulations and suffering of Africans only harden and steel us, make us a bastion of indomitable courage, and fortify our iron determination to smash our chains.

Surely, the blazing African sun is now travelling across the sky of Africa's redemption! The people of Kenya lost their freedom in 1888 when William Mackinnon's Imperial British East Africa Company coveted a large portion of what is now Kenya and Uganda during the

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"scramble for Africa and partition of East Africa". The activities of the company became so successful that the British assumed full control of the country in 1905.

It was then a scramble for Kenya's rich land. While the East African Syndicate appropriated 320,000 acres, the Gorgan Forest Concession assigned 200,000 acres of land to itself, and the Dwa Plantations coveted 20,000 acres. Even when Sir Charles Eliot, the then Commissioner for the East African Protectorate invited European settlers and allocated land to them in 1901 he did not stop there. To complete the booty he went to the extent of offering 5,000 square miles of Kenya land to refugees from Europe! The offer was, however turned down.

Could the crimes of British colonialism against the people of Kenya be so heinous?

This is all history now and the people of Kenya have rejected colonialism and accepted Uhuru and Independence.

Today Jomo Kenyatta's administration is bringing a steady progress to Kenya and changing Kenya's economic and social patterns.

Today the wind of change, freedom and self reliance are ushering Africans into jobs and spheres of work formerly reserved for foreign nationals, and which were barred to Africans.

Today Kenya Africans are developing a managerial and executive class to stimulate the Kenya economy.

It was a painful journey, full of tears, toil, sweat and heartbreaks. But the end has justified the means.

But this is also the time when the brave sons and daughters of Kenya in the spirit of their forbears must be vigilant and look well into their leadership and, unequivocally, expose those who are destined to serve colonialist and neo-colonialist interests. This is a testing time. This is the time that neo-colonialism, allied with quislings and international reaction goes into action polluting the minds of the populace, fanning tribalism and creating animosity between other African leaders and thus creating dissension amongst them.

It is here that the danger in Kenya's independence lies; and we feel obliged to warn our brothers and sisters against these agents who

are raising their heads in their new state and thus betraying the spirit of the revolution.

And it is with this as background and the fact that Kenya's problems need to be tackled on a united front—replete with nationalism and devoid of brutal tribalism and shameful sectionalism—that we comment, briefly, on Joseph Murumbi's statement to his European rotarian friends in Nairobi on October 24.

Speaking to a group of European businessmen Murumbi expressed scepticism about the possibility of a Pan-African Unity. To him there would be "no form" of "Greater Africa" for a least five to ten years and "it may take centuries before this idea of a United States of Africa can be developed."

Murumbi believes that "overcoming tribalism is the first stage towards achieving greater Africa."

On African democracy he had this to say: "to expect us in Africa to be democratic is asking too much."

Joseph Murumbi is the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office and during the absence of Mr. Kenyatta in London he was the acting Prime Minister of Kenya. But these extracts from his speech show the sort of person Murumbi really is: a political marionette.

His speech shows his:

- * Belief that a continental union is illusory
- * Lack of confidence in the statemanship of African leaders
- * Lack of historical sense
- * Lack of appreciation of the urgency of unity in Africa
- * Lack of understanding of the dynamics of present world politics
- * Belief in tribalism and the evils that go with it.

We know Murumbi has had a long and varied association with the colonial administration and colonialist capitalist concerns. He has worked as a clerk in the Burmah Shell Oil Company for four years. Before the end of 1941 he left for Somalia where he worked with the British Military administration, and from 1948 to 1950, that is after seven years service, he was promot-

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PRINCIPLES OF AFRICAN STUDIES

WHAT sort of Institute of African Studies does Ghana want and need to have?

In what way can Ghana make its own specific contribution to the advancement of knowledge about the peoples and cultures of Africa through past history and through contemporary problems?

For what kind of service are we preparing students of this Institute and of our Universities?

Are we sure that we have established here the best possible relationship between teachers and students?

To what extent are our universities identified with the aspirations of Ghana and Africa?

You who are working in this Institute—as research workers and assistants, teachers and students—have a special responsibility for helping to answer these questions. I do, however, wish to take this opportunity to put to you some of the guiding principles which an Institute of African Studies situated here in Ghana at this period of our history must constantly bear in mind.

First and foremost, I would emphasise the need for a re-interpretation and a new assessment of the factors which make up our past. We have to recognise frankly that African Studies, in the form in which they have been developed in the universities and centres of learning in the West, have been largely influenced by the concepts of old style "colonial studies", and still to some extent remain under the shadow of colonial ideologies and mentality.

Until recently the study of African history was regarded as a minor and marginal theme within the

framework of imperial history.

The study of African social institutions and cultures was subordinated in varying degrees to the effort to maintain the apparatus of colonial power. In British Institutes of higher learning, for example, there was a tendency to look to social anthropologists to provide the kind of knowledge that would help to support the particular brand of colonial policy known as indirect rule.

The study of African languages was closely related to the practical objectives of the European missionary and the administrator.

by
Dr Kwame Nkrumah

African music, dancing and sculpture were labelled "primitive art." They were studied in such a way as to reinforce the picture of African society as something grotesque, as a curious, mysterious human backwater, which helped to retard social progress in Africa and to prolong colonial domination over its peoples.

African economic problems, organisations, labour, immigration, agriculture, communications, industrial development—were generally viewed from the standpoint of the European interest in the exploitation of African resources, just as African politics were studied in

This is a partial text of a speech by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the official opening of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.

the context of the European interest in the management or manipulation of African affairs.

When I speak of a new interpretation and new assessment, I refer particularly to our Professors and Lecturers. The non-Ghanaian non-African Professors and Lecturers are, of course, welcome to work no barrier between us and them, here with us: Intellectually there is: We appreciate, however, that their mental make-up has been largely influenced by their system of education and the facts of their society and environment. For this reason, they must endeavour to adjust and reorientate their attitudes and thought to our African conditions and aspirations. They must not try simply to reproduce here their own diverse patterns of education and culture. They must embrace and develop those aspirations and responsibilities which are clearly essential for maintaining a progressive and dynamic African society.

One essential function of this Institute must surely be to study the history, culture and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa, in new African centred ways—in entire freedom from the propositions and pre-suppositions of the colonial epoch, and from the distortions of those Professors and Lecturers who continue to make European studies of Africa the basis of this new assessment. By the work of this Institute, we must reassess and assert the glories and achievements of our African past and inspire our generation, and succeeding generations, with a vision of a better future.

But you should not stop here. Your work must also include a study of the origins and culture of peoples of African descent in the Americas and the Caribbean, and you should seek to maintain close relations with their scholars so that there may be cross fertilisation between Africa and those who have

their roots in the African past.

The second guiding principle which I would emphasise is the urgent need to search for, edit, publish and make available sources of all kinds.

Ghanaian scholars who at an early period were actively concerned with the study of Ghana's history and institutions and helped to prepare the way for the creation of this Institute—such as Carl Rein-dorf, John Mensah Sarbah, Casely Hayford, Attah-Ahuma, Attobah Coguona, Anthony William Amu—understood how much the development of African studies depended on the recovery of vital source material. Indeed, the search, publication and our interpretation of sources are obviously processes that must go hand in hand.

Among non-African students of Ghana's history and institutions, one of the most distinguished was undoubtedly Captain Rattray. By his intellectual honesty and diligence he was able to appreciate and present to the world the values inherent in a culture which was, after all, foreign to him. It is impossible to respect an intellectual unless he shows this kind of honesty. After all, Academic Freedom must serve all legitimate ends, and not a particular end. And here the term "Academic Freedom" should not be used to cover up academic deficiencies and indiscipline.

Library of African Classics

I would therefore like to see this Institute, in co-operation with Institutes and Centres of African Studies in other African States, planning to produce what I would describe as an extensive and diversified Library of African Classics. Such a library would include editions, with translations and commentaries or works—whether in African, Asian or European languages—which are of special value for the student of African history, philosophy, literature and law. I can think of no more solid or enduring contribution which the Institute could make to the development of African Studies on sound lines during the second half of the Twentieth Century, or to the training of

future generations of Africanists.

Here in this Institute of African Studies you have already made a useful beginning with the collection of a substantial body of Arabic and Hausa documents. This collection has revealed a tradition of scholarship in Ghana about which little was previously known, and I hope that it will throw a new light on our history as part of the history of Africa.

Law And Social Values

I also regard as important the work which you are doing in the collection of stool histories and other form of oral tradition—of poetry and African literature in all its forms—of which one admirable expression is Professor Nketsia's recently published book entitled "Folk Songs of Ghana", and Kofi Antubam's latest book on African culture. Other Ghanaians have done equally admirable work in this field. I may mention here Ephraim Amu whose work has created and established a Ghanaian style of music and revived an appreciation for it. Our old friend, J. B. Danquah, has also produced studies of Akan culture and institutions.

Much more should be done in this direction. There exist in our Universities, Faculties and Department, such as Law, Economics, Politics, History, Geography, Philosophy and Sociology, the teaching in which should be substantially based as soon as possible on African material.

Let us take an example. Our students in the Faculty of Law must be taught to appreciate the very intimate link that exists between law and social values. It is therefore important that the Law Faculty should be staffed by Africans.

There is no dearth of men and women among us qualified to teach in the Law Faculty. This applies equally to other Faculties. Only in this way can the Institute of African Studies fertilise the Universities and the Nation.

The magnitude of the changes taking place in Africa today is a

positive index of the scale and pace necessary for our social reconstruction. Our Universities should provide us with the force and impetus needed to maintain this reconstruction.

After years of bitter political struggle for our freedom and independence, our Continent is emerging systematically from colonialism and from the yoke of imperialism. The personality of the African which was stunted in this process can only be retrieved from these ruins if we make a conscious effort to restore Africa's ancient glory. It is only in conditions of total freedom and independence from foreign rule and interference that the aspirations of our people will see real fulfilment and the African genius find its best expression.

When I speak of the African genius, I mean something different from Negritude, something not apologetic, but dynamic. Negritude consists in a mere literary affection and style which piles up word upon word and image upon image with occasional reference to Africa and things African. I do not mean a vague brotherhood based on a criterion of colour, or on the idea that Africans have no reasoning but only a sensitivity. By the African genius I mean something positive, our socialist conception of society, the efficiency and validity of our traditional statecraft, our highly developed code of morals, our hospitality and our purposeful energy.

Dynamic Society

This Institute must help to foster in our University and other educational institutions the kind of education which will produce devoted men and women with imagination and ideas, who, by their life and actions, can inspire our people to look forward to a great future. Our aim must be to create a society that is not static but dynamic, a society in which equal opportunities are assured for all. Let us remember that as the aims and needs of our society change, so our educational institutions must be adjusted and adapted to his own advantage.

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The Concept of African Unity

THE concept of African Unity has been in the air for many years now. There was a time when its advocates were regarded as ideological heretics who should be kept in quarantine and isolated from the rest of Africa. Today African statesmen can hardly complete a speech, on whatever subject, without referring to African Unity.

The originator of this dynamic and compelling ideology is none other than the pace setter in African affairs—our illustrious Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Although he was bitterly opposed by imperialism and its agents in Africa when he launched the drive for African Unity in 1958—barely one year after Ghana had attained its independence from British colonial rule—we are all happy to note that today even the bitterest enemies of African liberation—the imperialists and their hangers-on in Africa—have been compelled by the logic of events to join the chorus of African Unity.

Basic Strategy

We however take their verbal protestations in favour of African Unity with caution. For as you all know, there are two ways of opposing anything. You can stand out and attack it from outside or you may go in and try to disrupt it from the inside. We have to watch the imperialist agents very carefully when suddenly they begin to shout "African Unity." We must make sure that this is not another case of the Trojan horse, famous in Roman mythology.

The concept of African Unity, as formulated by its authentic author Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, is the basic strategy for liberating the entire continent of Africa from foreign colonial rule, for making Africa truly independent in all spheres of life, and for bringing a decent life within the reach of the 260 million ordinary people who inhabit the Afri-

can continent. The concept, therefore, is made up of these cardinal principles.

These are:—

1. that all Africa must be rid of colonialism. (This is the principle of political independence);
2. that all Africa must be free from all disguised control of her national life;
3. that a decent life must be assured to the common people—the masses—of Africa. (This is the principle of socialism).

By
A. K. Barden

African Unity therefore is a major and dynamic concept. It is both a means and an end. Its means is contained in its name—unity. Its end is made up of the three principles I have just enumerated—political independence, complete independence and socialism.

Before I complete my definition of African Unity it is necessary, I think, to define unity. This is a useful exercise because the later converts to African Unity are busy trying to foist an altogether new notion of unity on us. And again, the imperialists, who are opposed to African Unity and have now summersaulted to support it, are anxious to drive Africa towards a notion of unity which is far removed from what its creator had in mind.

African Unity, according to its greatest exponent, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, embraces both economic, cultural and military unity of Africa. It goes further. It involves the political unity of the entire African continent. That is why his slogan is a union government for all Africa.

The new view of unity—the view

of the late comers to the doctrine of unity and who wish to use the concept as a cover for their old views on Africa—is that African States should be concerned only with co-operation in certain spheres, especially in communications, education, trade, economic development, etc. They, however, vehemently oppose political unity.

Why do these African leaders want co-operation in economic and other spheres but vehemently oppose political co-operation?

There are two main reasons for this anomaly. Firstly, co-operation in non-political spheres just cannot go far or be lasting as long as there is no unified political direction. These gentlemen know this. For example, there are many ways of solving any problem that faces the modern State. But the way that is eventually chosen is a political decision. If, therefore, there is no unified political direction in Africa, then there is bound to be an unending conflict as to the chosen way of solving any problem. To claim that you want co-operation but at the same time to refuse political unity is therefore a clever way of supporting and opposing African Unity at one and the same time.

Strings Of Imperialism

Secondly, unified political direction for all Africa will have the effect of cutting off the strings that still link imperialism with some African States. Therefore to permit a political union of African States means an end to indirect links between the imperialists and some African States. It will mean the complete termination of imperialist influence in Africa.

The imperialists know this. That is why they opposed African Unity from the onset. That is why they are using those African States still linked with them to obstruct any move towards the political union of Africa.

We are now in a position to summarise our discussion on the meaning of African Unity.

African Unity is the political union of Africa with a view to marshalling the human material and natural resources of Africa to serve

independence for African nations, complete independence for African States, and a decent life for the African masses.

This is a convenient point at which to trace the history of the concept of African Unity.

Ghana is not the first independent African State. But the philosophy of African Unity is primarily the creation of the founder and first President of the State of Ghana. In 1957, March 6, when the sovereign State of Ghana was born, Liberia was already 115 years old. Ethiopia had been independent since 1000 B.C.; Sudan, Tunisia, Libya, Morocco and Egypt had all been independent if not for some decades at least for some years. Nevertheless, the task fell on the shoulders of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then Prime Minister of Ghana, to preach and later give concrete expression to this soul-stirring doctrine of African Unity.

On mid-night March 5th-6th in Accra, Osagyefo made the historic statement: "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa".

Revolutionary

The occasion was the celebration of Ghana's attainment of political freedom from British rule. This message has underlined everything which our President has done ever since on the African continent. It is important to understand the message. It says that our independent Ghana must be a driving force fighting for the complete emancipation of Africa. It also says that until Africa is completely free, Ghana's independence is not even safe or secure.

How was Ghana to perform this historic task so bravely enunciated by her man of destiny? At first it looked a mere dream, a mere flight of fancy. How can small Ghana with only 6½ million people redeem a whole continent of 260 million people? Yet this is how many revolutionary ideas are born. Its authors are usually scoffed at. But time proves them right and sooner or later the detractors worship at the feet of the master.

The formula for giving effect to this bold new doctrine was and is African Unity. The Independent

African States must be brought together and constituted into a powerful force in the service of the entire African continent.

Accordingly, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah decided to summon a meeting of all Independent African States at the time. The meeting took place here in Accra in April 1958 exactly thirteen months after Ghana's independence. The countries that attended were Ethiopia, United Arab Republic, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia and of course Ghana, the host country. Only South Africa did not attend. She was not invited because we regard the present government of South Africa as a non-African government serving non-African interests. This conference has gone down in history as the first ever conference of independent African States. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had succeeded in lighting the torch of liberty and freedom for all Africa to see. And by this process the man himself ceased to be a Ghanaian leader and became transformed into an African crusader.

This first ever conference of independent African States discussed many issues facing both independent and dependent Africa. However, its historical value lies in the formulation of a few cardinal principles to guide the activities of both independent African States and those countries still under colonial rule. The main principles to which attention must be drawn are:—

1. a common foreign policy of positive non-alignment based on respect for the Charter of the United Nations, adherence to the Bandung principles of peaceful co-existence and the maintenance of world peace. This policy is to be given effect through joint action of representatives of African States in the U.N.
2. co-ordinated development in independent African States. This principle covers co-ordinated economic development and planning, co-ordinated development of our culture, a co-ordinated approach to the matter of foreign capital, and co-ordination of Africa's trade union movement;
3. the immediate termination of

colonialism everywhere in Africa. This principle lays it down as a duty for all independent African States to assist the national liberation movements in every possible way;

4. the liquidation of racialism in South Africa and in all countries with mixed populations;
5. Africa must be kept free of the military and nuclear schemes of tries with mixed population;

Not long after the first conference of Independent African States, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah organised another conference of African leaders in Accra. This took place in December, 1958, only eight months after the first conference. This time the conference was attended, not by independent African States, but by all nationalist political parties and movements in those African countries that were still under colonial rule. This conference has gone down in history as the All-African Peoples' Conference which established its headquarters in Accra.

The All-African Peoples' Conference set itself two main tasks:—

1. to win political freedom for all African territories still under colonial domination; and
2. to fight against neo-colonialism in these African States which had already won political freedom. This means fighting for complete independence in the economic, cultural, administrative and military spheres.

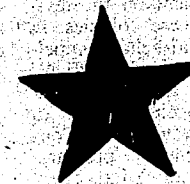
AFTERMATH OF THE TWO CONFERENCES

Through the organisation of the All-African Peoples' Conference, the national liberation in Africa were brought together and linked up with the independent African States.

These two forces—Conference of Independent African States and the All-African Peoples' Conference—proved the biggest force ever organised in the fight against colonialism in Africa: These were both the creations of our Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. And the result they achieved was great and is apparent for all to see. In 1958, there were only eight independent African States. But four years later, by 1962 there were 32 African States. By any calculation, this is staggering achievement.

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Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah



"There can be no doubt that

Kwame Nkrumah is the

VOICE OF AFRICA"

—Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

(October 25, 1960)

"... with a voice of peace and freedom proclaiming to the world the dawn of a new era."

DECEMBER, 1963 7

THE GERMANS

WITH the emergence of Germany as an imperialist power, the question of the redivision of the colonies, among other things, became acute. In a secret convention between Germany and England of 1898, the two imperialist powers came to an agreement on the division of the Portuguese colonies, in the event of Portugal being compelled by its chronic financial difficulties to take up a loan. England, which had only been brought to agree to the conclusion of this Convention by German pressure, strove from then on with every means in its power to obstruct its implementation. It even went so far as to conclude with Portugal in 1899 a Secret Declaration, the so-called Windsor Treaty, which guaranteed the integrity of the Portuguese colonies, thus in actual fact nullifying the Anglo-German Convention of the previous year.

In Germany, however, hopes were entertained of a speedy implementation of the Anglo-German Convention. But since Portugal did not make the expected application to Germany for a loan, the latter sought to create favourable conditions for the subsequent annexation of S. Angola, which had been assigned to the German sphere of influence. With the support of the German Government, a German group of financiers, led by the Discontogesellschaft, bought over a large block of shares in the Mossamedes Company, which possessed land, mining and railway rights in S. Angola. This transaction, the so-called "Business of Millions", turned into a boomerang, since it only led to a strengthening of the British position in S. Angola.

A far more promising plan for the penetration of S. Angola was the German project to build a rail-

way from Otavi (German S.W. Africa) to Tiger Bay or Port Alexander in S. Angola. The German Minister in Lisbon, Count Tattenbach, immediately received a directive from the Foreign Office to support as energetically as possible every step which the Discontogesellschaft made to secure a suitable concession. When however, Hensemman, the chief of the Discontoge-

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sellschaft, made a bid to secure this concession without the aid of, and in fact, in opposition to, the English (Cecil Rhodes) who controlled the Mossamedes Company, this lone-hand game was, from the very beginning, doomed to failure. The Portuguese Government stood on

ANGOLA

the touchline, smiling at the struggle between the German and the English financial groups, and cleverly dogged the Discontogesellschaft's application for a concession—despite all the "friendly" representations of Tattenbach.

After employing delaying tactics in dealing with the application, the Portuguese Government finally decided to accommodate German wishes—by undertaking to build the stretch of railway on the Portuguese side of the border herself. In this way, formal approval of the German application was given, since Germany had always alleged that the purpose of its petition was to secure an outlet for the Otavi Railway. The real German designs on S. Angola were circumvented by this clever decision, which, Tattenbach declared, was tantamount to rejection. Discontogesellschaft stubbornly refused to accept the Portu-

guese proposal.

Hensemman, compelled to admit defeat at the hands of the English, now wanted to make a further effort to secure the desired concession from the Portuguese Government, this time in co-operation with the Rhodes Group, which was to take the initiative. Count Tattenbach was enraged at Hensemman's "reckless" step, which jeopardised the German plans for S. Angola. He realised that the Portuguese Government's position was now much stronger and that it would probably reject the renewed application. For his part, he thought the Portuguese proposal to build a state railway to the frontier of German S.W. Africa was better than nothing.

He was convinced that the construction of this railway would soon provide a host of opportuni-

ties for direct German intervention, especially in view of Portugal's precarious financial situation. For all these reasons, he considered that a bird in the hand (i.e. the Portuguese proposal) was worth two in the bush (i.e. the concession for the construction of a railway from Otavi to the Portuguese coast). He tried to win Hensemman over to his plans, but Hensemman was not to be moved. As was to be expected, the Portuguese Government finally and absolutely rejected the renewed application.

Meanwhile, there arose in Germany a press-campaign inspired by the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika which had a pecuniary interest in the matter, in which Swakopmund, instead of a port in Portuguese Angola, would be the terminus of the Otavi line. The wire-pulling of the various groups of interests to decide whe-

ther Swakopmund or Tiger Bay or Port Alexander should be the terminus, occupied the next few years. This opportunity was seized by the English to secure from the Portuguese Government the so-called Benguela Concession, which, it is to be noted, affected S. Angola—the German sphere of influence. On the German side, Swakopmund was eventually (in 1903) decided upon as the starting-point for the Otavi line.

Thus, after long years of struggle, the dice were cast and Portugal was henceforth relieved from the persistent German pressure on S. Angola. Though Germany returned again (1912-14) to this old project and a new "improved" Anglo-German plan for the division of the Portuguese colonies was put forward, it was brought to nought by the outbreak of the First World War.

The penetration of Germany into S. W. Africa, to the south of Angola, in the year 1884, brought Portugal a new and dangerous neighbour. It was not long before the first differences between the German Empire and Portugal arose—over the frontier between Angola and S. W. Africa. Whereas Portugal took the latitude of Cape Frio as the southern boundary of its possession, Germany put forward a demand for the Kunene to be regarded as the frontier.

Dismay in Portugal

A Foreign Office directive to the German Minister in Lisbon of 18th March, 1886, shows that Germany was insisting on the Kunene Frontier. Germany wanted to secure the acceptance of this view "without any further investigation into the question of legality", and "without allowing itself to become involved in a theoretical discussion with the Portuguese Government". The areas that Portugal would lose by this boundary settlement were of no great value, and Portugal could then revive and gradually implement its old plan to connect up its possessions in West and East Africa". This German demand caused some dismay in Portugal, which, however, thought it advisable to yield to German pressure. A frontier statute

was accordingly concluded on 30th December, 1886.

From then on Germany busied itself with extending its position in S. W. Africa. But the '90s was the period of Germany's development towards imperialism. Germany wanted to pursue "Weltpolitik" and, among other things, strove to secure a redivision of the colonies. Portugal was singled out as the first victim of this policy. The well-known Angola-German Convention on the Portuguese Colonies of 30th August, 1898 was to provide a suitable starting-point for Germany's aggressive plans.

by Dr. Horst
Drechsler,
A German Writer
on African Affairs

Since the Anglo-German Convention took a long time to come into active operation, efforts were made in Germany to help the march of destiny along a little faster. With the co-operation of the German Government, considerable quantities of capital were invested in S. Angola. By means of this "penetration pacifique" it was hoped to secure the basis for the subsequent annexation of S. Angola.

In order to understand the development of events, it is necessary to give some account of the great concession companies operating north and south of the Kunene.

Bismark's policy of securing colonies as cheaply as possible consisted in leaving it to businessmen and adventurers to "acquire" so-called no-man's-land, which he then put under the "protection of the German Empire". In S. W. Africa it was the acquisitions of the Bremen businessman, Adolf Lüderitz, around Angra Pequena, which formed the core of the subsequent German "protectorate". But Lüderitz went bankrupt in 1885 and it was Bismark's active intervention that resulted in the foundation of

the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika.

This company, which was never tired of stressing its patriotic motives as the sole reason for its acceptance of the Lüderitz legacy, was composed of the richest men in Germany: Hensemman, Bleichroder, Henckel-Donnersmarck, to name only the most important. But since even the resources of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika were exhausted within a few years and German capital was not to be had, the German Government at the beginning of the '90s was obliged to admit English capital into S. W. Africa. This development began in 1892 with the grant of which the South West African Company was founded in the same year. In the years that followed, the South West African Company succeeded in establishing a number of subsidiaries, and by the middle of the '90s the situation in S. W. Africa had undergone such a complete transformation that it was possible to speak of the unmistakable predominance of English capital in the protectorate of S. W. Africa.

Rhode's Plans

English capital, of course, is always to be understood as English-South African capital, behind which stood Cecil Rhodes. Rhode's plans for S. W. Africa were, however, not limited to the economic penetration of S. W. Africa as the prelude to annexation. He effected the complete encirclement of the German colony by British concession companies under his control. If this policy of encirclement was to be successful, Portuguese Angola would, of course, have to be drawn into it.

For this purpose there was founded in 1894 the Mossamedes Company whose concession-territory in S. Angola had an area of some 23 million hectares with a population of some 4 million people. The Mossamedes Company was nominally Portuguese. But apart from some French capital (Visconde de Westheimer), the company rested almost exclusively on investments by the Rhodes group (Cecil Rhodes; Wernher, Beit & Co.).

Rhode's plan for S. W. Africa were far advanced by the middle of the '90s when the fiasco of the

Jameson Raid in 1895-96 clipped the wings of this high-flying imperialist. In the following period the idea of the Cape-to-Cario railway occupied his mind more and more, but for this he needed German support—because of German East Africa. And so there developed in the second half of the '90s that co-operation between English and German imperialists, whose spectacular outcome was the Anglo-German Convention, already mentioned, on the Portuguese colonies.

Windsor Treaty

England, however, had only been brought to agree to the conclusion of this convention by German pressure, and made every effort to prevent its implementation. These efforts led to the conclusion of the Anglo-Portuguese Secret Declaration, the so-called Windsor Treaty, which in practice nullified the Anglo-German Convention of the previous year. Since, however, Germany had no knowledge of this, implementation of the Anglo-German Convention were still being entertained. Then unexpectedly, the opportunity presented itself of acquiring with the co-operation of the German Government in a large-scale transaction, 140,000 shares (out of a total of 500,000) in the Mossamedes Company on behalf of the South West Africa Company.

The German Government's confidential agent in this transaction was the Hamburg lawyer, Dr. Julius Scharlach, one of the biggest gamblers in the history of German colonialism. With him it was a case of trusting the cat to keep the cream, since he was the pace-maker for Anglo-South African capital in the German colonies. The stream of German investments ("a business of millions") into S. Angola, in which the Discontogesellschaft set the pace, stood in stark contrast to the fact that German capital was hardly, if at all, to be had for German colonies. It quickly became clear, however, that the "business of millions" was but a soap-bubble which in the end led only to a strengthening of the position of the Rhodes Group.

In order to enter into negotiations with the German Government,

Rhodes had been forced to make some concessions. One of them was the founding of the Otavi Company.

The Otavi mines were the most valuable possessions of the South West Africa Company, which declared itself ready, in exchange for the payment of a million mark, to resign to the Otavi Company the right to survey and work the rich copper deposits of Otavi. In addition, the German copper company secured the right to build a railway from the Otavi region to the German or the Portuguese coast. But since there were no good harbours in S. W. Africa, the question of Tiger Bay in S. Angola became the burning issue right for the start.

The German Government delightedly welcomed this turn of events as a heaven-sent opportunity of strengthening its influence in S. Angola. It looked as if Scharlach was procuring the necessary railway concession for the Otavi Company. The railway rights in S. Angola, with the exception of a 10 kilometre-wide coastal strip, belonged to the Mossamedes Company. For the transfer of the concession-rights to a non-Portuguese company, the permission of the Portuguese Government was necessary. At the instigation of Davis and Scharlach, the Mossamedes Company submitted an application to the Portuguese Government, asking for its approval of a contract, which it intended to conclude with a syndicate, to carry out technical preliminaries for the construction of a line from Tiger Bay or Port Alexander to Humbe. This was a very clever move on the part of the English, which clearly revealed their intentions—the construction of the main line from the Portuguese coast to Humbe, and of a branch line to Otavi.

The Germans were not a little mortified at the smart manoeuvre of the English. The Government expert von Lindequist, in an advice of the Foreign Office, von Richthofen, declared: "With the construction of a line north of the Kunene, German interests would come off badly; it would principally serve not German, but international or Anglo-South African interests

(Rhodes). Otavi would be connected by a branch line to the main railway system linking the coast with the interior, which at the best would only touch German territory at its periphery. The interior of S.W. Africa would be left far away from the main rail-tracks that lead to Central Africa (Bulewayo) and the S. African mining regions."

But the possibility of deciding the question of what was a main line and what a branch line, in accordance with German interests, continued to find credence. Even more annoyance was caused by the decision of the Mossamedes Company to hand over the Humbe concession to an English subsidiary company which was to be founded for this purpose, and turned out to be composed of Rhode's people. Though Scharlach continued to declare that the intervention of the English railway company was of no significance, but that the main thing was that this company would hand the concession for the Otavi line to the German copper company, which he guaranteed it would, German misgivings were by no means allayed. An English company was not wanted in Tiger Bay, which the Anglo-German Convention had designated a German sphere of influence.

German Diplomacy

These brief references are enough to show that two acts of problems were beginning to interweave. On the one hand, there was Germany's economic penetration of S. Angola. On the other, there was the construction of railways in S.W. Africa and beyond. According to the state of affairs at any particular time, the one or the other question was given priority by German diplomacy. Even in connection with the continuation of the railway from the German border, German and English views were diametrically opposed to one another. The English would only consider a line to the territories of the Chartered Company (Bulawayo), whereas the Germans dreamt of a line to the Transvaal.

It quickly became clear to Lindequist that the only solution to

situation which had got thoroughly out of hand was a general arrangement with Cecil Rhodes on a *quid pro quo* basis. He therefore formulated the following German demands which he put to Rhodes:

1. The construction by a German company of a direct railway, from Tiger Bay to Otavi, as the main line.

2. Grant of a concession for the construction of a harbour in Tiger Bay and of a railway in Portuguese coastal territory by the German company for copper-mine working and railway construction. The Tiger Bay Consortium undertakes not to obstruct this concession.

3. The Mossamedes Company undertakes to give permission for the extension of the Humbe Railway only to the South West Africa Company, which in its turn undertakes, in favour of the German Government, to connect up the railway from Humbe, in the event of any extension, with the main German line from Tiger Bay via Otavi to the frontier as quickly as possible.

4. The Chartered Company un-

dertakes to guarantee connection with all its lines in S. Africa to all German lines leading to or across the Anglo-German frontier.

5. Rhodes undertakes to render every assistance to Germany in its efforts to obtain sanction for the extension of the Otavi line up to the border of the Transvaal.

For its part the German Government makes the following concessions:

1. The E. African Telegraph Treaty to be ratified at once.

2. The German Government promises its support in securing the desired concessions in Fish Bay and in Benguela.

3. The German Government grants the Chartered Company connection with the German line to be constructed to the Anglo-German frontier, with the single exception of the stretch to Johannesburg which is reserved for a German Syndicate.

4. The German Government gives Rhodes permission to build his North-South Railway through German territory in E. Africa.

But before an arrangement with Rhodes could be reached, the Portuguese Government granted the Mossamedes Company the Humbe concession on 14th August, 1889. The concession exceeded the German Government's worst fears, since it departed from the proposals of the concessionaires in two essential points:

1. Construction-time was limited to 5 years, whereas 15 years had been asked for.

2. Contrary to the proposed plan, the Portuguese Government reserved to itself the granting of any special permission for the construction of branch lines.

Lindequist was beside himself. In a letter to von Buchka, chief of the Colonial Department, he wrote:

"If the demand were made that 15 years should be the period for the completion of the lines as far as Humbe, we might have some chance of stalling and delaying the matter, until further political developments put Germany in a position of wielding decisive influence in S. Angola.

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But this is now for all practical purposes out of the question. The present form of the concession means that work must be started at once. In addition, point No. 2 is clearly directed against Germany and any rail connection with German territory. These stipulations simply put us out of action for the time being.

That the concession has turned out to be like this, is in my opinion to be attributed not to Portuguese, but to English influence. Rhodes, Beit, Davis and the international Jew Westheimer on the syndicate—need one say more? The attempt to by-pass the German Protectorate is clothed in pretexts about Portuguese influence, which has, as far as I can see, been bought with hard cash—perhaps even with the millions we have contributed—and may, therefore, for the present be really operating in a manner inimical to Germany. With ourselves thus rendered important, and S. Angola economically in the bag and made the starting-point of the line to Rhodesia and the Transvaal, the next step will, in all probability, be to ignore political settlement too."

Scharlach, seriously compromised in German Government circles by the upshot of the Humbe concession, now proposed that a German syndicate, powerfully supported by the German Government, should apply to the Portuguese Government for a concession to build a railway direct from Tiger Bay to the Kunene. Scharlach wanted to press forward with this matter in concert with Hansemann, the chief of the Discontogesellschaft, though he never ceased to point out that no step could be taken without the agreement of the Mossamedes Company.

Now events took an interesting turn. Hansemann already imagined himself strong enough to secure the concession from the Portuguese Government without the English—indeed in the teeth of the latter. This step was of interest in so far as German capital had always allowed English capital to make the pace in those territories, or had worked hand-in-glove with it. It

may be noted here that this attempt of Hansemann turned out to be a miserable failure. But let us follow the sequence of events in detail.

In an application of 11th September, 1899, the Discontogesellschaft petitioned the Portuguese Government for a concession to build and maintain a railway running southwards from Tiger Bay to the Kunene. In an instruction of 14th September, 1899, the German Minister in Lisbon, von Tattenbach, was told to give every possible support to the Discontogesellschaft's petition to the Portuguese Government. Hansemann maintained that this application for a concession did not infringe the rights of the Trans-African Railway Syndicate Ltd, and the Mossamedes Company. He wanted nothing to do with the purely English Trans-African Railway Syndicate Ltd, and hoped that the step he had taken would save about £100,000, which the English syndicate was demanding for the relinquishment of its rail rights.

The English were outraged by the lone-hand being played by their junior partner. They regretted their concession with regard to the Otavi mines and declared:

"It was only in the nature of an option" (i.e. if you don't like it, we shall also go it alone in this business). There followed a bitter struggle between the Discontogesellschaft and the English which lasted more than six months. The Portuguese Government stood on the touch-line and laughed.

Had the Portuguese Government been faced with the combined might of the Discontogesellschaft and the Rhodes Group, it would probably have found it very difficult to put up a successful resistance. But in the struggle between its adversaries, it saw its chances and cleverly seized it. The German Minister in Portugal, von Tattenbach, a typical Prussian diplomat, who later at the conference of Algeciras in 1906 was to behave like a bull in a china shop, had from the very beginning left the Portuguese

Government in no doubt about Germany's intentions. Thus, in a letter of 26th October, 1899, he reported to the German Chancellor:

"In my first discussion with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Navy, I emphasised, in the friendliest way, the necessity of their granting us this rail connection and thereby demonstrating that we are, and wish to remain, good neighbours in Africa. But I left them in no doubt that a refusal to accede to our wish was tantamount to a denial of a legal right, for we would then find ourselves in the position of a landlord, whose neighbours wished to deny him access to his property—a state of affairs which no law would allow. I limited myself, to begin with, to friendly representations and my talk completely fulfilled the purpose I had in mind."

His report closes with the expression of a threat, that if the Portuguese Government did not accede to the German wishes, it "need not be surprised if the matter of the harbour, so important for our South African colony, is regulated without further consideration for Portugal.

Since the Portuguese Government, practically from the beginning, had knowledge of the Anglo-German Convention on the Portuguese colonies, it was on its guard against Germany, but it did not feel easy with the Rhodes Group. Statements by Portuguese ministers continually appear in the files to the effect that the Mossamedes Company was a consortium of international speculators which had for a long time done nothing for the territory entrusted to it.

Here we touch upon another very interesting question, namely that official English policy on the Portuguese colonies did not correspond with the policy of the Rhodes Group. Whereas the former, based upon the Anglo-Portuguese Convention, upheld the integrity of the Portuguese colonies in

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Africa and the United Nations

by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, B. A., Ph. D.,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana; former
head of U.N. Congo Operations.

TWO alternative views of the United Nations are presented to Africans: the first is that the United Nations is in a special sense at their service. In Hammarskjöld's words, addressed to the smaller nations, and particularly those of Africa and Asia. "It is your organisation." The second view is that the United Nations is a tool in the hands of the Western Powers, to carry out their neo-colonialist aims in Africa.

Neither of these views is altogether correct; both contain elements of truth. The United Nations is in the first instance a mechanism for the preservation of the peace by international accommodation. Politically speaking, therefore, its main concern with Africa is not so much on questions of human rights, self-determination, etc., as on situations which present a threat to peace: the Congo, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, the Protectorates, and the Republic of South Africa are obvious examples.

In dealing with these issues, the U.N. does not act solely in the interests of Africans, nor does it act solely in the interests of the Western powers. It is also important to note that it does not act either as the impartial servant of the international community.

IMPERFECT WORLD

The United Nations is an organisation which forms part of a real and imperfect world, and it reflects the imperfections of that world in full measure. This implies that its course of action will be dictated by political pressure from various quarters, and that those pressures which are most powerful and most constant will have the most effect on U.N. policy.

Many people are apt to assume, because of the Afro-Asian majority in the General Assembly, that Africa and Asia have the decisive influence at the United Nations. In fact, their influence is considerably limited. It is impressive in terms of voting strength on paper, less impressive in terms of United Nations action.

Key Factor

The key factor in the United Nations is not Africa or Asia, or Western Europe, or the Soviet Union: it is the United States of America. This results not so much from the fact that the United States is the largest contributor to the United Nations budget as from the fact that the United States is the richest and most powerful country in the world and the centre of a vast network of international alliances, both formal and informal, acknowledged and implicit. The centre, also, of an international economy in which many countries, allies or nominally neutral, are involved in some subordinate role.

In United Nations terms this means that the United States either controls, or can influence in a considerable degree, a very large number of votes in the Security Council, and in the General Assembly, and also enjoys a remarkable degree of authority among the members of the Secretariat. To say this is not to denounce, or even to criticise, the United States. It is just to note the important fact of its influence. The United States is not different from other countries, in that it uses what influence and power it has; the only difference is that the United States has more influence and power, in the world and at the United Nations, than has any other country at present. It follows from this that the

United Nations is not likely to take any action in Africa or elsewhere which has not the prior approval of the United States Government of the day. From Palestine to Korea to the Congo, any review of United Nations actions and abstentions from action will show a full accord with United States policy, often at variance with the policies of some powerful allies of the United States.

This is not to say, however, that the United Nations is just a tool in the hands of the United States and that the African countries have no influence in it. In fact, on an African issue, United Nations policy will be heavily infected by a consensus of African opinion if a consensus emerges. This is not only because the African States form a powerful block—when they act as a block—but because the United States Government is itself increasingly sensitive to African nationalist opinion when that opinion declares itself unambiguously.

Lumumba

Thus in February 1961, responding to the wave of indignation that swept through Africa after the murder of Patrice Lumumba at the hands of the Western supported Government of Katanga, the United States Government reversed the policies which its predecessors had pursued and supported a new policy tending towards action against Katanga's secession. In this way the indignation of the ordinary African about Lumumba's murder became the remote but effective cause of the United Nations' use of force in Katanga, and of the end—as it appears at this moment—of the secession of that province. There is a certain tragic irony in this, as the United Nations forces had, as the earlier



Late Patrice Lumumba a martyr of the African Revolution

phase, been used—at the wish of the then government of the United States—to expedite the downfall of Patrice Lumumba and had not—once he left the house where he lived under United Nations guard—intervened in any effective way to save him from his murderous enemies.

The history of the Congo in terms of personalities alone is eloquent as to the continuity and effectiveness of the United States influence in a United Nations operation. Lumumba, the only Congolese politician who had a nation-wide following, but also a politician who made the mistake of looking for Russian aid when he could get no aid anywhere else, is dead and buried, no one knows where. Nor does any nation,

except Ghana, demand that the United Nations resolution for the punishment of his assassins should be carried out. Antoine Gizenga, Lumumba's political heir, is in captivity. The Congolese Parliament, with its potential Lumumbist majority, stands dissolved. At the other end of the spectrum, Moïse Tshombe, the man who, with covert support from Britain and France, and open support from Rhodesia, defied the United Nations and the United States, has seen his independent state removed from existence—for the time being at least—by a United Nations force. He is himself in exile, and is not likely to return to power as long as the United Nations forces remain in the Congo.

What is left? Kasavubu and Mobutu the Congolese politician and uniformed journalist, who were used by the Western powers, and primarily by the United States, to bring about the downfall of Lumumba.

These, and also the nominal Premier of the Congo, Cyrille Adoula. Adoula became Premier of the Congo with strong U.N./U.S. support and has been dependent on the United Nations and the United States ever since. Adoula presented himself at that time, on good United Nations advice, as non-aligned in international affairs. Immediately after his election he attended, with Gizenga, the Conference of Non-Countries in Belgrade.

HIS NON-ALIGNEDNESS NOW TAKES THE FORM OF HAVING HIS ARMY RETRAINED BY NATO.

Gizenga is in captivity.

Wherever one looks in the Congo one sees the marks of a triumph of United States policy, ably and persistently pursued through the United Nations, as well as more directly.

Is this to say that, from an African point of view, the whole Congo operation has been a farce, in which the African and other neutral countries played the role of dupes and catspaws of United States policy? This view—although it can be powerfully argued, as we have seen—must also be rejected. For although it is United States Policy which has prevailed and prevails at this moment, it was not, in its entirety, a policy which the United States Government would have necessarily pursued if left to itself and its allies. It was a policy profoundly affected by the movement of African opinion **whenever that movement was unanimous and clear.** When this happened, the pressure of Africa offset the pressure of America's European allies, and secured the support of liberal elements in the United States itself. African opinion, after Lumumba's murder, would no longer tolerate Tshombe's Katanga and Tshombe's Katanga had to go.

Despite the adverse side to the United Nations operation in the Congo, the actions taken in Kata-

PATRICE LUMUMBA, first premier of the Congo Republic asked for assistance from the U. N. against Belgian subterfuge and internal reaction.

The United Nations responded, but allied with N.A.T.O. interests in the Congo stood by while Belgian mercenaries bundled Lumumba to his death.

Surely, it is impossible for the U. N. at one and the same time to preserve law and order and to be neutral between the legal authorities and the law breakers!



nga remain of historic and positive importance. From these actions the rulers of Angola, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, The Republic of South Africa and South West Africa, have what is, for them, a grim lesson to learn. That lesson is that if the African States insistently demand it, the United States will ultimately, however reluctantly, support the use of United Nations force against their white supremacy regimes, and that if the United States comes to support such a policy, the United Nations will take such action, and will eventually be backed by the degree of force necessary to achieve its aims.

A South African Professor, Arthur Kepple Jones, predicted in 1947 that a United Nations military Government would take over the Union, now the Republic, of South Africa in 1977. Before the United Nations actions in Katanga that prophecy seemed a very long shot indeed. After Katanga it has moved within the bounds of political possibility, and the date may be less remote than that posited by Professor Jones.

This does not mean that the road to the liberation of Southern Africa is a straight or easy one. First of all, no action at all will be taken unless the pressure of the African States becomes much stronger than it is at present. It is the opinion of the Western observers that the Governments of a number of African States, both French and English-speaking, pay no more than lip service to the Addis Ababa theses, and that only a few countries, Ghana most prominent among them, are really in earnest about the liberation of Southern Africa. Not until many African countries follow Ghana's lead in a really militant approach to this question will Unit-

ed States policy and therefore United Nations policy, begin to shift in the direction of action.

Personally, I have no doubt that Ghana's policy, not that of the so-called 'moderate' African Governments, represents the will of the African peoples. Other Governments will follow Ghana's line on this **OR ELSE WILL EVENTUALLY GO DOWN BEFORE POPULAR MOVEMENTS**, as Fulbert Youlou's Government went down in Brazzaville. Thus a genuinely insistent and unanimous African demand for action will emerge, and the stage for United Nations action will be set.

Angola will perhaps be the first theatre of such action, South West Africa the next. Even then, the struggle will be long, difficult and bloody. Katanga, obviously, was a picnic compared with what is to be experienced in Southern Africa, particularly, as the innermost stronghold of Afrikanerdom is approached. Not only will there be difficulties and bloodshed; there will be vacillations and shifts of policy in the United Nations itself. Many in the West will be bitterly and vehemently opposed to any kind of United Nations action in Southern Africa, and they will try to offset the pressures of the African countries.

In particular they will say—and their words will carry weight, even with those who dislike the white supremacy systems—"is it not the prime function of the United Nations to preserve the peace and here it is engaged in a terrible war against adversaries who, however mistaken, are brave and determined and, as they see it, fighting for their homes?" The fact is, of course, that the white supremacy governments will not be overthrown without force, a show

of force in the Portuguese territories, actual massive force in South Africa.

The only question is: whose force? Will it be a long guerilla like Algeria, with terrorism and mass reprisals, the murder and torture of countless innocent people? Or will it be an organised and decisive intervention from outside? It can hardly be doubted that the latter is the lesser evil, and that the best form of outside intervention would be intervention under the United Nations flag.

It is true that even if intervention under the United Nations flag is undertaken, the African States will need to exercise the greatest vigilance—as the history of the Congo operation shows—if the intervention is not to be diverted in part, at least, from its original objectives. However, by the time, such intervention becomes practical politics, it may be assumed that African influence at the United Nations and African unity of action will have increased to a point where the errors and distortions that mar the Congo record will no longer be possible.

The situation in Southern Africa is such that if the United Nations were not to intervene, the inevitable rising of the African majorities against their white rulers would draw in other powers, both from inside and outside Africa, both from the West and from the East. The situation in Southern Africa, in other words, contains within it one of the gravest threats to world peace which exists today. African States are therefore fully justified in demanding United Nations intervention; they will, I believe, eventually get their way. They have still a long way to go.

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face of the German threat, Cecil Rhodes was prepared to sacrifice the Portuguese colonies in favour of his Cape-to-Cairo plans. The upshot was, on the one hand, that the British Minister in Portugal lent no support at all to the Rhodes Group, and on the other that the Portuguese Government also showed coolness to the Rhodes Group. If Portugal wanted to maintain the integrity of its colonies, it had to steer between Seylla and Charubdis.

The Portuguese Government first employed delaying tactics for a considerable time in dealing with the application of the Discontogesellschaft, now attributing the delay to the still outstanding report of the government representative on the Mossamedes Company and then to some still-awaited advice. Apart from the fundamental opposition of the Portuguese Government to this application dictated by reasons already noted, which the former was naturally careful to conceal from the German authorities, a number of other points were involved which strengthened the Portuguese Government in its reluctance to agree.

Value Of Angola

For one thing, there was the growing belief in the fundamental value of Angola which could serve to rescue Portugal from its pressing financial difficulties. For another, Portugal was deterred from a repetition in Angola of the bad experiences it had had with international concession companies in Mozambique, where these companies exercised an unlimited dictatorship. These were the reasons why one could read, even if only between the lines, warnings in the Portuguese press against German activities which were intended to stiffen the resistance of the Portuguese Government.

After a lengthy delay the Portuguese Government finally promulgated a judgment of Solomon. It declared its readiness to ignore the claims of the Mossamedes Company and to accede to the wishes of the Germans—by building the rail-

way itself! By this smart move the Portuguese Government formally granted the German wish. But the German reaction at once proved that the Portuguese had scored a bull's eye with this solution. Tattenbach protested violently against this decision and declared that it was tantamount to a refusal of the Discontogesellschaft's petition. The latter flatly refused to accept the Portuguese proposal.

The result was a split in the ranks of the Germans: on the one side, there was the German Minister in Lisbon, von Tattenbach, whose chief aim was the penetration of S. Angola; on the other, the Discontogesellschaft for which, at the moment, the railway question was the most important, pushing the question of Portugal itself into the background. This split can first be clearly seen from a report of von Tattenbach to the Chancellor of 18th March, 1900, which runs:

"I believe, however, that it will, after all, be a big step forward if the Portuguese Government concedes the use of Tiger Bay to our territory and makes this clear in the proposed draft legislation. The last word on the matter has by no means been said, and I do not think it is at all beyond the bounds of possibility that the Ciscontogesellschaft will, even under conditions of state construction and management, enjoy the very freedom of action and the very influence that is necessary to ensure the kind of operation that corresponds with our plans".

Bitter Struggle

But more important was a complete re-grouping of forces. Hansemann's lone-hand had failed. He drew the consequences of his defeat and declared: "The Mossamedes Company and the Trans-African Railway Syndicate Ltd. are not the enemies, but the friends of the Otavi Company. The Tiger Bay affair was a clash of interests with these friends and their opposition to us had gained them the whip-hand. The understanding that they now offer is decidedly preferable to an understanding with the Portuguese Government on the lat-

est time".

Thus after six months' of the bitterest struggle between the German and English financial groups, the Germans had to admit defeat. Hansemann now wanted to take up the struggle for the concession again, this time in concert with the English, with the German Minister once more pressing the Portuguese Government to grant Hansemann the concession asked for.

Financial Groups

The Portuguese Government saw itself faced with a combined attack from the German and English financial groups, but its position was now immeasurably stronger. The Portuguese Foreign Minister countered immediately by asking why the construction of a state railway did not content the wishes of the Discontogesellschaft. From the negotiations he had gained the impression that the essential thing for the German Government was an outlet from our colonial possession. Portugal did not want to refuse us this, but the construction of a state railway was sufficient to guarantee it, just as the Delagoa Railway which the Minister several times instanced as an example, answered all requirements as an outlet for the Transvaal, although, it was also a state railway. He repeated that he foresaw that our wishes would be met without difficulty on these terms, whereas the granting of a concession to the Discontogesellschaft would encounter the greatest obstacles. Since the German side dared not reveal the real reasons for its chagrin at the building of a state railway, it had to content itself with expressing vague doubts about Portugal's capacity to carry through the project in the face of financial difficulties.

But the real German designs on S. Angola are brought out with unmistakable clarity in a controversy between von Tattenbach and Hansemann. In a letter of 23rd May, 1900 to the Chancellor, Hansemann again rejected the Portuguese proposal, "which in my opinion, not only runs contrary to the interests of the Otavi Company, but is highly inimical to Germany's colonial interests altogether. In my

opinion, German interests would most effectively be served if we could in some way or other reach an understanding with the Portuguese for the cession of the Mossamedes territory or even the transfer of Tiger Bay together with a corridor from there to Kunene for laying a line".

Von Tattenbach was indignant at Hansemann's obstinacy and his letter of 10th June, 1900, to the Chancellor recapitulated all the reasons why the construction of the railway was so valuable for Germany. He wrote:

"It is known that our S.W. Africa colony suffers from the lack of suitable harbours and we must concentrate on securing the use of Tiger Bay which lies right on the northern frontier of our colony or of taking possession of it at a suitable opportunity.

"The first big step in this direction has been taken by the conclusion of the Anglo-German Convention of 1898 in which the Tiger Bay territory was included in our sphere of interest. The first impulse towards the practical application of our intention for the Bay was given in the petition of the Discontogesellschaft for the grant of a concession to build a railway from the Kunene to Tiger Bay. I welcomed the aspirations of the Discontogesellschaft with special warmth and made every effort to bring them to fruition. The general political situation was particularly favourable to the promotion of the project, since the imminent outbreak of the South African War had engaged the attention of the other powers interested in Africa....

"I concede that the form of rail construction and operation preferred by the Portuguese Government was disappointment for the Discontogesellschaft. Nevertheless, the terms of the law are so elastic that, if good will is present, ways and means could be found of accommodating the Discontogesellschaft... In the event of the Portuguese Government failing to honour its declared obligations, this would pro-

vide us with a welcome opportunity to intervene and secure further advantages.

"I am—as the foregoing makes clear—quite convinced that the economic interests of the Discontogesellschaft could have been accommodated within the framework of the draft legislation. But apart from the Discontogesellschaft and its interests, we would have had the advantage of securing the formal and solemn assurance of the Portuguese Government that Portugal would, as a good neighbour, have ceded us the use of Tiger Bay. *This use would of necessity have led to the complete incorporation of the harbour in our spheres of interest and its inevitable development into a German harbour.* The construction of the railway and the utilisation of Tiger Bay for our colony would have given us a legal entitlement in our relations with other powers which would have made any subsequent intervention difficult....

"The cold pronouncement of the Discontogesellschaft, that it wanted to have nothing to do with the Portuguese Government... had cost us all the advantages so painstakingly achieved and all prospects for the future. The Portuguese Government will be overjoyed if it does not need to build the railway, and the Mossamedes Company has also got its way.

"It should, therefore, like to submit than an attempt be made to get the Discontogesellschaft to change its mind, and to persuade it to come to an understanding with the Portuguese Government concerning the use of the Kunene-Tiger Bay line, with the assurance of every support from our side".

But Hansemann remained obdurate. "Submission to the plans of the Portuguese Government is not the right way to conquer Tiger Bay for the German sphere of interest. This sort of complete conquest costs money and will cost much more money if Tiger Bay is raised out of its present worthlessness by Portuguese state investment and German support". But this solution was out of the question for Hanse-

mann, whose family motto was, "Money is the root of all evil".

At this juncture Davis turned up in Lisbon and urged upon the Portuguese Government an amendment to the Humbe concession, to the effect that it should be replaced by a concession to build a railway from Tiger Bay to the Kunene. Hansemann agreed that this concession, when granted should be taken over from the Otavi Company. Von Tattenbach was instructed to support Davis's efforts. He had the impression that Davis was not at all interested in securing the new concession, but that he and his backers were solely concerned with isolating Tiger Bay from all foreign influence, Portuguese just as much as German.

Application Rejected

A certain Hendricks who from then on appeared as Davis's representative, declared in a conversation with Von Tattenbach that if the Portuguese Government had granted the concession to the Discontogesellschaft, "he would have led 10,000 Boers across the Angola frontier to make wars upon the Portuguese Government". After protracted negotiations, the Portuguese Government finally rejected the application of the Mossamedes Company for the concession, but assured the German Minister of its readiness to build a direct line from Tiger Bay to the Kunene.

Meanwhile in Germany, public opinion on the Otavi Railway had veered round. This change was no accident: it was deliberately contrived by a powerful group of interests, the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika. The object of the press-campaign directed by this group under nationalist slogans, was to oust Portuguese Tiger Bay as the terminus of the Otavi Railway in favour of the German Swakopmund. The reasons which impelled the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft to this line of action were very material ones: as proprietor of the territory of and around Swakopmund, it had the greatest financial interest in keeping Swakopmund as the sole point of entry into the northern and cen-

tral areas of the protectorate, since this would secure it, still greater profits than ever before from the sale of land. Since the property relationships which operated in the case of Swakopmund also held good for Luderitz Bay, the Kolonialgesellschaft would thus have secured possession of all the available harbours.

We cannot here go into every detail of the struggle, which dragged on for many years between the various groups of interests, to decide whether Swakopmund or Tiger Bay or even Port Alexander should be the railroad for the Otavi line. Even if Seharlach declared that "only a person devoid of all understanding of politics and of colonial politics could harbour any doubt at all, that a German railway, linked to a port of entry in the neighbouring Portuguese colony, means a real colonial conquest, a political act", the scales were nevertheless gradually tipped in favour of Swakopmund. By a contract of 12th March, 1903, between the South West Africa Company and the Otavi Company, Swakopmund was finally chosen as the terminal of the Otavi Railway.

In this way Portugal was relieved of the years-old German pressure on S. Angola. In the ensuing period, Germany's complete pre-occupation with the great risings in S.W. Africa (1904-07) prevented her from concerning herself any further with her neighbours. When, however, after the suppression of the risings, peace—the peace of the graveyard—gradually returned to S.W. Africa, the old covetous ambitions began to be revived. They finally culminated in a renewed Anglo-German Convention on the division of the Portuguese colonies. It is not our business here to examine this Convention which was in any case rendered nugatory by the outbreak of the First World War.

German Imperialism

To sum up, the struggle for S. Angola was symptomatic of German imperialism. If the aggressive German designs on S. Angola finally came to nothing, this was not due to any change of heart, to any sudden conversion to a state of lamb-like innocence on the part of the Germans. It was entirely due to disunity among the various interested financial groupings.

The Discontogesellschaft's sudden loss of interest in Tiger Bay robbed the German Government at a single blow of the desired pretext for intervening against Portugal, and it was obliged, willy-nilly, to put its cherished project into cold storage. Nor would it be true to say that German diplomacy handled Portugal carefully because it knew that behind Portugal stood England. Rather did Germany fix its eye on England's numerous encroachments upon Portugal, and therefore, believed that England would stick loyally to the terms of the Anglo-German Convention, according to which the two powers were to enjoy a fraternal division of the spolis.

Moreover, it must never be forgotten that Germany was not merely interested in S. Angola, which was only intended as the beginning of a corridor between German S.W. Africa and the Cameroons; in the last analysis, it was the creation of a unified German colonial empire at which Germany was aiming. This wishful thinking was wrecked on the obstinate realities of the international situation.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

Due to lack of space we could not publish the following features as advertised in our last issue:

- Bantu Education—An Instrument of Modern Slavery
- New Instrument of Colonial Extermination
- 12 Years of Slavery In South Africa

These thought-provoking articles are appearing in our JANUARY issue, TOGETHER with:

- The Revolutionary African Press, by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah
- The Growth of Nationalism in Angola, by Mario de Andrade

Continued from page 6

And we in Ghana are justifiably proud because this is perhaps our most glorious achievement to date. By these efforts, Ghana has written her name in letters of gold in the annals of African renaissance.

IMPACT OF IMPERIALISM

The imperialists did not take kindly to this shattering onslaught on their erstwhile kingdom in Africa. They set to work trying to upset the apple cart. What actions did they take? These fall into two main categories as follows:—

1. to disrupt the unified action of independent African States; and
2. to isolate the driving spirit behind the new offensive of the African revolution.

Through the machinations of imperialism, Liberia and Ethiopia were detached from the Conference of Independent African States. They were linked with Nigeria which got independence in 1960. And the three became the spearhead for a splinter organisation of African States. In reply to this splitting tactics, the African countries of radical nationalism banded themselves together to give concrete effect to the decision of the first conference of Independent African States.

Side by side with this struggle that covered the whole of Africa, other efforts at African Unity were being made. Ghana, Guinea and Mali linked up in 1960 to create the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union of African States. This of course frightened French imperialism the more and the result was that France gave nominal independence to her African colonies, but quickly bound them together in what is known as the U.A.M. (Union of African and Malagasy States).

By 1961, the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union grouped with other States of radical nationalism to set up the previous Casablanca Group of African States. This included Ghana, Guinea, Mali, U.A.R., Algeria (then still not independent), and Morocco. On the other hand, a less radical organisation of African States led by Liberia, Ethiopia and Nigeria

and the French States of Union of African and Malagasy States formed the Monrovia Group of States.

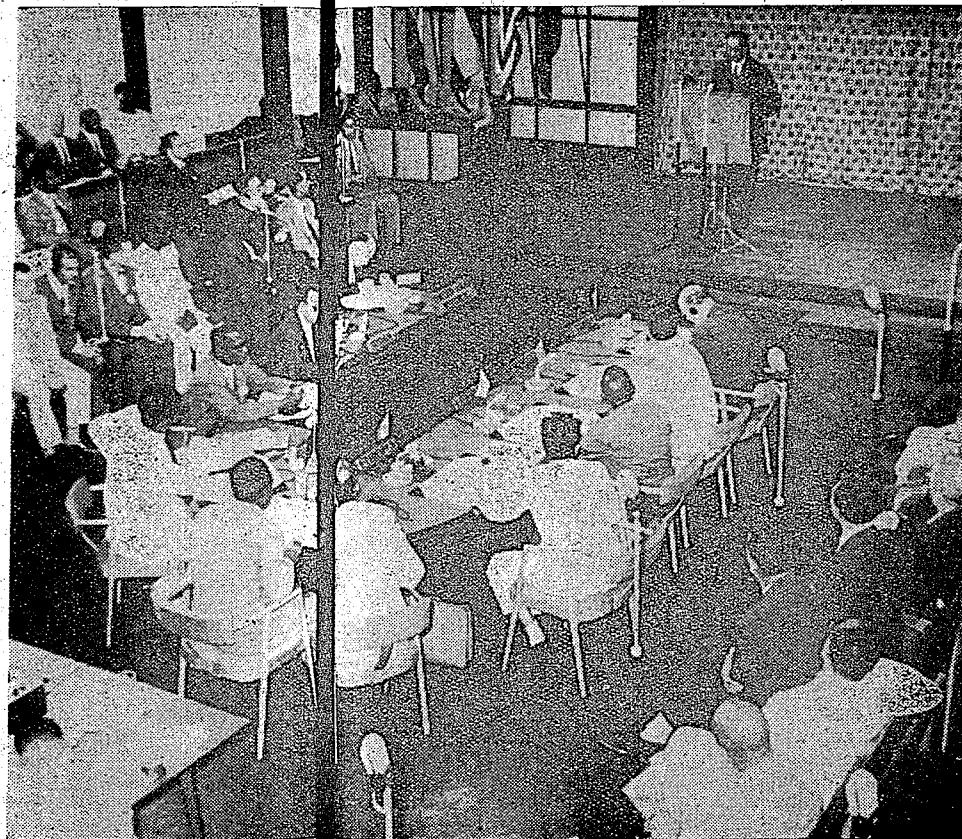
The fundamental difference between the two groups was that while the Casablanca States wanted Africa to progress, the Monrovia Group wanted Africa to depend on the former colonial powers and proceed gradually towards progress.

The centuries of colonial rule over Africa and the revolutionary zeal of the African masses made the stand of the Casablanca States more popular to the teeming millions of Africa. Imperialism, therefore sought other ways to undermine the unity within the Casablanca Group of States.

However, the attractive force of Africa was proving too strong. The imperialist directed attempts to isolate our Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in Africa only assisted in making him more popular. The brazen attempt to eliminate him through a grenade at Kulungugu failed and Ghana rallied even more strongly behind the Founder of the Nation.

Meanwhile, political and diplomatic actions followed. And the result was the coming together of the Casablanca and Monrovia Groups of African States at Addis Ababa last May. This Summit Conference attended by all 32 independent African States adopted the historic Charter of African Unity under

AFRICA MUST UNITE!



The 1st Conference of Independent African States in Accra on 15th April 1958.

which an organisation embracing all African States was set up. The aims of this Charter are:—

1. to end colonialism in the rest of Africa forthwith;
2. to end apartheid in South Africa and all forms of racial discrimination;
3. to secure unified action by all African States;
4. to bring to an end the establishment of foreign military bases on African soil;
5. to fight for the complete independence of all African States;
6. to struggle for world peace on the basis of freedom for all oppressed peoples.

We in Africa have won many victories since the African Charter was drawn up. At international conferences and in the United Nations, we have isolated and denounced South Africa and compelled world opinion to denounce those imperialist powers—Britain, U.S.A., and France— which continue to send arms and munitions to support apartheid and Portuguese colonialism in South Africa, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and most places.

DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE

However, we have not achieved all the victory that should be ours. Economic, cultural and other forms of co-operation are not moving on fast. Our approach to the decolonisation of the remaining colonial territories in Africa has been slow, cumbersome and ineffective. There has been no progress at all in the fight to eliminate neo-colonialism.

But there are vital spheres where a united Africa must make itself felt. A close study of the problem however reveals that the ineffectiveness I have drawn attention to arises primarily from the fact that there is no unified political direction to our united efforts. This brings us back to the Osagyefo's view that only political union of African States will save Africa.

From what I have said it is clear that the war is by no means over.

PRINCIPLES OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Continued from page 4

We must regard education as the "gateway to the enchanted cities of the mind" and not only as a means to personal economic education consists not only in the city and social privilege. Indeed, sums of what a man knows, or the skill with which he can put this to his own advantage.

Continued from previous page

There is still a lot to be done. And a lot will be done. But in the next step forward a necessary condition for our illustrious Dr. Kwame Nkrumah winning his battle on the African plane is that Ghana braces herself energetically in the drive towards socialism. We must build a strong socialist society which will be a convincing showpiece for all Africa. In this direction a gigantic output of national effort is needed. But basically we must do three things:—

1. We must prove ourselves in words and deeds as dedicated disciples of Osagyefo The President.
2. We must refuse to allow a few self-seeking men to obstruct our socialist construction.
3. We must expose and render impotent those capitalist-minded people in our society who work hand in hand with imperialist agents in an attempt to destroy Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and in this way disrupt our march to socialism.

In my view, a man's education must also be measured in terms of the soundness of his judgment of people and things, and in his power to understand and appreciate the needs of his fellow men, and to be of service to them. The educated man should be so sensitive to the conditions around him that he makes it his chief endeavour to improve those conditions for the good of all.

As you know, we have been doing a great deal to make education available to all. It is equally important that education should seek the welfare of the people and recognise our attempts to solve our economic, cultural, technological and scientific problems. In this connection, it will be desirable for your masters degree courses to be designed with such problems in mind. It is therefore important and necessary that our Universities and the Academy of Sciences should maintain the closest possible liaison in all fields. This will result not only in the efficient planning and execution of research, but also in economy in the use of funds and resources. Let me emphasise here that we look to the Universities to set an example by their efficiency and their sense of responsibility in the use of public funds. They must also set an example in loyalty to the Government and the people, in good citizenship, public morality and behaviour.

Common Fellowship

In order that the students may obtain the maximum benefit from their education in our Universities, it is imperative that the relationship between them and their teachers should be as free and easy as possible. Without this close inter-action between mind and mind and the common fellowship of a University, it will be impossible to produce the type of student who understands the larger issues of the world around

him.

Are we really sure that our students are in touch with the life of the nation? That they and their teachers fully appreciate what is going on in our society? The time has come for the gown to come to town.

In this connection, I can see no reason why courses should not continue to be organised at the Law School in Accra for Lay Magistrates, Local Government staff and other offices both in Government and industry, who wish to acquire a knowledge of the law to assist them in their work. The staff of the Law Faculty in this University should be able to organise such courses for the benefit of the people in the categories I have mentioned.

It should also be possible for individual Lecturers and Professors on their own initiative to give lectures on subjects of their own choosing, to which the whole University and others outside it are invited. This would make possible the greatest freedom in discussion and the widest contacts between our Universities and the general public. I would like to see this become an established practice in our Universities.

Freedom In Discussion

Furthermore, I would stress the need for the Institute to be outward-looking. There may be some tension between the need to acquire new knowledge and the need to diffuse it—between the demands of research and the demands of teaching. But the two demands are essentially interdependent. And in Ghana the fact that we are committed to the construction of a socialist society makes it especially necessary that this Institute of African Studies should work closely with the people—and should be constantly improving upon its methods for serving the needs of the people—of Ghana, of Africa and of the world. Teachers and students in our Universities should clearly understand this.

What in practice does this mean? In part this objective—of serving the needs of the people—can be achieved by training this new generation of Africanists—equipping

them, through our Master of Arts and Diploma courses, with a sounder basis of knowledge in the various fields of African Studies than former generations have had. It is because of the great importance that I attach to the training of well-qualified Africanists who can feed back this new learning into our educational system that—in spite of the serious shortage of secondary school teachers—I have agreed that teachers who are selected for these post-graduate courses should be released for two years to take them.

An Institute of African Studies that is situated in Africa must pay particular attention to the arts of Africa, for the study of these can enhance our understanding of African Institutions and values, and the cultural bonds that unite us. A comparative study of musical systems, for example, or the study of musical instruments, drum language, or the oral traditions that link music with social events, may illuminate historical problems or provide data for the study of our ethical and philosophical ideas.

In studying the arts, however, you must not be content with the accumulation of knowledge about the arts. Your researches must stimulate creative activity; they must contribute to the development of the arts in Ghana and in other parts of Africa, they must stimulate the birth of a specifically African literature, which, exploring African themes and the depth of the African soul, will become an integral portion of a general world literature. It would be wrong to make this a mere appendage of world culture.

I hope that the School of Music and Drama, which works in close association with the Institute of African Studies, will provide this Institute with an outlet for creative work, and for the dissemination of knowledge of the arts through its extension and vacation courses, as well as through regular full-time courses. I hope also that this Institute, in association with the School of Music and Drama, will link the University of Ghana closely with the National Theatre movement in Ghana. In this way the Institute can serve the needs of the people by helping to develop new forms of dance and drama, of music and crea-

tive writing; that are at the same time closely related to our Ghanaian traditions and express the ideas and aspirations of our people at this critical stage in our history. This should lead to new strides in our cultural development.

There are other fields in which a great deal remains to be done. In addition to publishing the results of its research in a form in which it will be available to scholars, the Institute must be concerned with its diffusion in a more popular form among a much wider public. While there are many channels through which this new learning can be spread—including radio and, in the very near future, television—I am particularly anxious that the Institute should assist the Government in the planning and production of new text-books for use in our secondary schools, training colleges, workers' colleges and educational institutions generally.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the principles which should guide the institute in its work. It is for you to develop, amplify and apply these in relation to the actual possibilities that present themselves to you. Of one thing I am sure, that Ghana offers a rich and exciting field of work and a friendly and sympathetic environment for scholars and students from any part of the world who wish seriously to devote themselves to a study of Africa and African civilisations.

Hence it will, I hope, be possible to say of this Institute—and, indeed, of our Universities—as the historian Mahmut Kati said of another famous centre of learning—16th Century Timbuktu—I quote "...In those days Timbuktu did not have its equal... from the province of Mali to the extreme limits of the region of the Maghrib, for the solidity of its institutions, its political liberties, the purity of its morals, the security of persons, its consideration and compassion towards the poor and towards foreigners, its courtesy towards students and men of learning and the financial assistance which it provided for the latter. The scholars of this period were the most respected among the Believers for their generosity, their force of cha-

racter, and their discretion...."

Finally, I would hope that this Institute would always conceive its function as being to study Africa, in the widest possible sense—Africa in all its complexity and diversity, and its underlying unity.

Let us consider some of the implications of the concept of African unity for the study of African peoples and cultures, and for the work of your Institute.

It should mean, in the first place, that in your research and your teaching you are not limited by conventional territorial or regional boundaries. This is essentially an Institute of African Studies, not of Ghana Studies, nor of West African Studies. Of course, you are bound to take a special interest in exploring the history, institutions, languages and arts of the people of Ghana, and in establishing these studies on a sound basis—as indeed you are already doing.

But these investigations must inevitably lead onwards—to the exploration of the connections between the musical forms, the dances, the literature, the plastic arts, the philosophical and religious beliefs, the systems of government, the patterns of trade and economic organisation that have been developed here in Ghana, and the cultures of other African peoples and other regions of Africa. Ghana, that is to say, can only be understood in the total African context.

Let me illustrate this point.

As you know, Ghana has always been one of the great gold-producing areas of the world. Much of the gold from our mines was exported by our people, who conducted this trade as an exclusive state enterprise, to Jenne on the Niger, whence it was transported by cruse down the Niger to Timbuktu—the great entrepot and the meeting-place of river-borne and desert-borne traffic. At Timbuktu the gold was transferred to the camel caravans, which carried it across the Sahara to the commercial centres of the Western Maghrib—whence part would be re-exported to Western Europe.

It was normal for African trading firms to have their agents in Jenne and Timbuktu, in Marrakesh

and Fez, with trade connections stretching southwards to modern Ghana and northwards as far as England. Thus, in the early nineteenth century we find in Timbuktu, the home of the University of Sankore, merchants visiting their business colleagues in Liverpool, while merchants from North Africa took part in trade missions to Kumasi.

Another distinct commercial network had grown up around the Kola trade, linking Ghana and its neighbours with the Hausa States and Bornu, and thus—by the central Saharan trade-routes—with Tripoli and Tunis.

These commercial contacts were naturally reflected at the level of culture. The languages, literature, music, architecture and domestic arts of Ghana have made their impact, in a great variety of ways, through these ancient links on the wider African world, and beyond.

Very few of you may know, for example, that Baden Powell based the idea of the Boy Scout Movement, including the left-hand shake, on the concept of Ashanti military strategy and youth organisation.

Consider a Ghanaian writer like Al-Haji 'Umoru, who lived from about 1850 to 1934, some forty of whose Arabic works, in poetry and prose, have so far been collected by the Institute of African Studies. Al-Haji 'Umoru belonged to a family of Hausa traders and scholars—his great-grandfather had taken part in Uthman dan Fodio's revolution. Born and educated in Kano, he travelled along the kola route to Salaga where he settled as a young man and built up a school of Arabic and Koranic students; at the time of the Salaga wars, he migrated to Kete-Krachi; well-read in classical Arabic Literature, he collected around him students from various parts of West Africa, and described in some of his poems the disintegration of African society consequent upon the coming of the British.

Similarly, we cannot hope to understand adequately the mediaeval civilisations of West Africa—ancient Ghana, Mali, Songhay, Kanem, Bornu, Mali, without making full account of the civilisation

which emerged in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa—Meroe, Aksum, Adal, Kilwa, Monomotapa, Mogadishu, Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Pemba, Chang' Amir—exploring the problems of their inter-connections, their points of resemblance and difference. In North Africa, too, powerful enlightened civilisations had grown up in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

These cities, states and empires, developed their own political institutions and organisations, based on their own conceptions of the nature and ideals of society. These institutions and organisations were so efficient, and their underlying ideas so valid, that it is surely our duty to give them their place in our studies here.

African Revolution

Nor must the concept of African unity be thought of in a restrictive sense. Just as, in the study of West African civilisations, we have to examine their relationships, by way of the Sahara, with North Africa and the Mediterranean world, so, in studying the civilisation of Eastern and Southern Africa, we have to recognise the importance of their relationships, by way of the Indian Ocean, with Arabic, India, Indonesia and China.

The 11th Century Arab geographer, Al-Bakri, who gave the first full account of the ancient Empire of Ghana also gave the first description of the Czech city of Prague.

When we turn to the study of modern Africa we are again confronted with the necessity of thinking in continental terms. The liberation movements which have emerged in Africa have clearly all been aspects of a single African revolution. They have to be understood from the standpoint of their common characteristics and objectives, as well as from the standpoint of the special kinds of colonial situation within which they have had to operate and the special problems which they have had to face.

So, while of course no single institution can possibly attempt to cover the whole range of African

Studies in all their multiplicity and complexity, I hope to see growing up here in this Institute a body of scholars with interest as many-sided and diversified as our resources can allow. We should in time be able to provide for our students here opportunities for the study of the history, the major languages and literatures, the music and arts, the economic, social and political institutions, of the entire African continent—so that, though individual students will necessarily have to specialise in particular fields, there will be no major sector of African Studies that will be unrepresented here.

This is not, I think, too ambitious an aim. And I am glad to know that the Institute is clearly taking steps to develop research and teaching both in North African and in East African History—with their prerequisites, Arabic and Swahili.

At the same time, we must try to ensure that there is the same kind of diversity among the student body. While we are glad to welcome students from Asia, Europe and the Americas, we have naturally a special interest in developing this Institute as a centre where students from all parts of Africa can meet together and acquire this new learning—and thus take their places among the new generation of Africanists which Africa so urgently needs; where the artificial divisions between so-called "English-speaking", "French-speaking", "Portuguese-speaking" Africans will have no meaning.

Work of Great Value

The Encyclopaedia Africana, sponsored by the Ghana Academy of Sciences, should provide a forum for African scholars working together and setting forth the results of their research and scholarship.

Scholars, students and friends: the work on which you are engaged here can be of great value for the future of Ghana, of Africa and of the world. Here let me pay tribute to your Director, Thomas Hodgkin, for the energy and thought with which he has carried out his work. It is to his credit that such a firm foundation has been laid at this Institute.

AND AGAIN

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah discusses an all-important topic: "The Revolutionary African Press." This is a guide to the new African Journalist on his new function vis-a-vis the African revolution and society.

With his key-note on truth and honesty—"to tamper with truth is treason to the human mind"—Dr. Nkrumah denounces journals which concentrate on sensationalism and scandal; that cover up facts or deny them; that manufacture news in order to mislead and corrupt.

Truth, he says, must be the watchword of our African journalist and facts must be his guide. But these tenets, he says further, must not excuse dullness in our newspapers and our journals. They must not be used as a cover for shoddy writing and ambiguous intentions. "The African journalist", says Dr. Nkrumah, "is not only expected to communicate the facts and aims of our African Revolution, and to do so compellingly and without fear. He must continually and fearlessly expose neo-colonialist subterfuge."

Dr. Nkrumah then discusses the three types of African journalists who can be recognised on our continent:

● There are those who are purposefully and unreservedly devoted to the cause of the African Revolution. Such journalists, he says, are dedicated to African freedom, African progress and African Unity.

● Then, there are those who by their work serve only the interests of private capital. These journalists, asserts Dr. Nkrumah, have no minds of their own, no devotion to their people or their continent. "They carry out the dictates of their foreign employers operating in Africa; they gyrate in the effort to anticipate their masters' wishes."

● Thirdly, there are those journalists who unwittingly or deliberately, serve the interests of foreign governments by their support of the client and puppet regimes that have been established in Africa.

The essence of the African revolutionary Press is finally summed up by Dr. Nkrumah:

"The truly African revolutionary press does not exist merely for the purpose of enriching its proprietors or entertaining its readers. It is an integral part of our society, with which its purpose is in consonance. Just as in the capitalist countries the press represents and carries out the purpose of capitalism, so in Revolutionary Africa, our Revolutionary African Press must present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose...."

This and more in our JANUARY issue

UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA AND PROFESSOR HANNA

THE establishment of the University of East Africa was hailed as a great step forward in African education.

But is a university an end in itself?

Or is it an instrument, serving a social purpose?

Is the merit of a university in Africa simply that it exists on African soil, a sort of prestige institution? Or is its merit in the extent to which it contributes to the development of African thought and culture?

Nairobi's Royal College is now part of the University of East Africa.

WHAT PURPOSE?

What one has to ask is: What purpose is it supposed to serve? Does a change of name mean a change of function?

What matters most? The range of subjects which are taught there? Or the content of the teaching?

This is how Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana answers these questions on the role of African Universities: "The role of a university in a country like ours is to become the academic focus of national life, reflecting the social, economic, cultural and political aspiration of the people. It must kindle national interests in the youth and uplift our citizens and free them from ignorance, superstition and, may I add, indolence. A university does not exist in a vacuum or in outer space. It exists in the context of a society, and it is there that it has its proper place..."

Well, a new teacher has taken up his appointment as head of the His-

tory Department at the Royal College.

He is Mr. A. J. Hanna, former Lecturer in Modern History, University of Southampton. He is now Professor Hanna of the University of East Africa.

Why was he chosen? Presumably because he is an expert on the history of Africa and has written books on the subject.

Now let us make one thing clear. We do not question the intellectual honesty of Professor Hanna nor the competence of his work nor the distinction of his qualifications.

WHAT WE QUESTION IS THE WISDOM OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE APPOINTMENT AND, BEYOND THAT, WE ARE BOUND TO ASK WHAT PURPOSE THEY BELIEVE THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA IS INTENDED TO SERVE?

For a perusal of Professor Hanna's published works quickly reveals that his attitude to African history is entirely conditioned by his European background and the values of European capitalist society.

He looks at Africa through European eyes!

Now, it is possible for a European historian, if he has sufficient imagination and knowledge and experience of African conditions, to understand and express an African outlook, just as it is possible for an African to understand and express a European outlook.

The world may, indeed, be moving to a position where a truly inter-

national understanding of history may be possible.

WHAT SORT OF EDUCATION FOR AFRICA?

But one cannot believe on the evidence of his published works, that Professor Hanna has moved to this outlook. Can he reflect a view of African history which is indigenous to Africa?

Some may say this is not his purpose. His job is to sift and present the facts.

But what are historical facts? Is history an objective science?

Let Professor Hanna speak for himself.

In the preface to his book "The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland", the new Professor refers to his difficulties in finding "a common thread of narrative" and says that "the only available unifying elements himself, exercised through the device of comparison and contrast".

He explains that "a good deal of selection and interpretation are unavoidable if the work is to be more than a bare chronicle of events".

NO VERDICT

Professor Hanna writes that "the historian's judgment and interpretation can only be his own: there is no such thing as 'the verdict of history'".

To be fair, the Professor adds that his own preference is to try to let the facts "speak for themselves", but, of course, as he has made clear, what the "facts" say depends on which ones are selected and how they are arranged.

Professor Hanna's general attitude to the history of Africa is concisely expressed in a booklet entitled "European Rule in Africa" published in 1961.

The history of Africa is of course, not necessarily African history. In fact, most of the published "history of Africa" is European history in relation to Africa.

Nor, indeed, is there only one sort of European history. There is a European history reflecting the outlook of the European ruling class and there is a European history reflecting the outlook of the working class. There is a European history written from the standpoint of capitalism; and there is a totally different interpretation reflecting the standpoint of socialism.

HIS ATTITUDE

SO FAR AS ONE CAN SEE PROFESSOR HANNA DOES NOT EXPRESS A WORKING-CLASS AND SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TO HISTORY. NOR DOES HE SEE HISTORY IN THE TERMS AND SOCIAL VALUES OF INDIGENOUS AFRICA.

Unless the Professor has, during the last two years, drastically amended his views, he is likely to find himself in considerable dispute with his African students.

For they are likely to regard him as an apologist for imperialism and they are likely to regard many of his explanations of the nature of imperialism as unacceptable.

How many Africans will accept the Professor's rejection of the economic causation of imperialism? The Professor specially rejects the explanations in J. A. Hobson's *Imperialism* and in Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

Of Lenin's classic work, he comments, in a footnote: "Lenin, for his part, showed no interest in Africa at all. Anyone who retains any respect for his pamphlet on Imperialism should read Sir Keith Hancock's critique of it in the first of two lectures entitled *Wealth of Colonies*".

Professor Hanna explains the European imperialistic incursion into Africa into a sort of by-product of European continental power, political rivalries and xenophobia. A phrase he uses is: "considerations of political advantage and prestige".

PRE-COLONIALISM

What respect does the Professor demonstrate for pre-colonial African history?

Let us quote again:

"Yet it is virtually certain that conditions in Africa would still be roughly what they were a century ago, had it not been for the introduction of European administration, European instruction, and contact with the European economy. It is true that, in West Africa if not in other parts of the continent, the African had already given expression to considerable creative powers, in sculpture and other handicrafts which were sometimes of outstanding quality. But there was no technological progress, no stirring of the spirit of industry, no questioning of the time-hallowed customs of the tribe. A man or woman had a definite place in a complex web of kinship. With the rights and obligations which that place entailed; this gave emotional security and was psychologically satisfying, but it utterly inhibited any manifestations of individual initiative or individual conscience which ran counter to the mores of the social group".

Now on the face of it, that may not appear objectionable. It is the customary view of European historians. But, even if the facts are accepted, an African historian is unlikely to leave the matter there. He might express the same situation, but he would do so in different terms, from a different outlook. For this is essentially an outsider's view, at the best paternalistic, patronising. How frequently, incidentally, do Europeans depart from the "mores" of their social group?

This is Dr. Nkrumah's comment on this false account of African society which are being used to justify colonialism as a duty of civilisation:

"The central myth in the mythology surrounding Africa is that of the denial that we are a historical people. It is said that whereas other continents have shaped history and determined its course, Africa has stood still, held down by inertia. Africa, it is said, entered history only as a result of European contact. Its history, therefore, is widely felt to be an extension of European history. Hegel's authority was lent to this historical hypothesis concerning Africa. And apologists of colonialism and imperialism lost little time in seizing upon it and writing wildly about it to the their hearts' content."

And again Dr. Nkrumah says: "If Africa's history is interpreted in terms of the interests of European merchandise and capital, missionaries and administrators, it is no wonder that African nationalism is regarded as a perversion and colonialism as a virtue."

QUESTIONABLE FACTS

EVEN THE FACTS ARE QUESTIONABLE. BECAUSE THEY IMPLY THAT, UNTIL THE EUROPEANS INVADED AFRICA, THE CONTINENT WAS HISTORICALLY STATIC. WHICH IS RUBBISH. BECAUSE AFRICA HAS BEEN IN A FERMMENT OF ACTIVITY, MOVEMENT AND CHANGE, FOR AT LEAST 5,000 YEARS.

Because, until relatively recently, Africa was unknown to Europe. Europeans assume that there was no significant history prior to colonialism. African historians might as well assume that there was no European history prior to the colonial era.

Because the European invasion was sea-born, European historians tend to regard Africa from the coast inwards. The continental hinterland is regarded as shrouded in historical darkness and mystery.

But this is an entirely lopsided conception because the greatest richness of African history lies inside the continent. African development lay in the main not around the coastal periphery, but around the Sahara basin.

There were great recorded civilisations in the Middle Ages whose external links were across the Sahara with the Arab nation in the north. And, long before that, what the French call "black Africa" was infinitely more involved in the mainstream of civilised life than were the northern parts of Europe.

THE TROUBLE WITH HISTORIANS LIKE PROFESSOR HANNA IS THAT THEY ARE OBSESSED WITH THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EUROPEAN TECHNOLOGICAL ERA WITH THE CAPITALIST VALUES WHICH IT HAS PRODUCED.

What does the Professor have to say about African rights in their own continent and over their own resources?

"It has often been asserted", writes Professor Hanna, "that investment in Africa involved injus-

tice to Africans, since it was a device for drafting the wealth of their continent into the pockets of investors in Europe. This is an elementary conception. The mineral and other resources of Africa were useless to the native inhabitants until they were developed and they could not be developed without transport machinery and skill".

WHO REALLY GAINED?

BUT THIS DOES NOT ALTER THE FACT THAT THEY WERE AFRICAN RESOURCES. Nor does it alter the fact that European transport machinery and skill would have been useless to the Europeans without African labour? Nor that that labour was obtained at the cost of the ruthless breakdown of an African society which, to quote the Professor, had afforded its members "emotional security and was psychologically satisfying". Nor

that the produce of the development of those resources was taken out of Africa for the benefit of a European economy.

DOES PROFESSOR HANNA THINK THE BARGAIN WAS A JUST ONE?

Will the students of the University of East Africa feel that this is a man who should head their history department and direct it into channels which can provide a genuine African view of African history, rescue the story of Africa from a century of distortion and provide a theoretical back-ground for the Pan-African renaissance?

OR IS THE POLICY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA MERELY TO CONTINUE THE EDUCATIONAL TRADITION AND OUTLOOK OF COLONIALISM?

(Extracts from Pan Africa)

The non-African Professors and Lecturers are of course, welcome to work here with us. Intellectually, there is no barrier between us and them. We appreciate, however, that their mental make-up has been largely influenced by their system of education and the facts of their society and environment. For this reason, they must endeavour to adjust and reorientate their attitudes and thought to our African conditions and aspirations.

They must not try simply to reproduce here their own diverse patterns of education and culture. They must embrace and develop these aspirations and responsibilities which are clearly essential for maintaining a progressive and dynamic African Society.

Dr Kwame Nkrumah

University of Ghana, Oct. 25 1963

AFRICAN PERISCOPE

TRUTH is like diamond, the more one hides it the more it shines." **Voice of Africa** has been sounding warnings time and again, against neo-colonialist intrigues to divide the leaders of Africa.

When the idea of African Unity was first mooted out by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah the imperialists laughed it off. They regarded the protagonists of this idea as dreamers whose dream would ever remain a dream. But when the imperialists saw the idea germinating, growing and gripping the minds of other African leaders, they decided to muster all the forces at their command to work against it. The C.I.A. employees who are divided into categories—the "blacks" and the "whites" (the "blacks" being the real cloak and dagger spies and the "whites" the "overt" type) were summoned to White House and directed to disintegrate all moves towards African Unity. The British Intelligence Agency (B.I.A.) staff were similarly called to Buckingham Palace and directed.

Semi-global attempts were made to divide the leaders. They had earlier on succeeded in camping the leaders of Africa into Casablanca, Monrovia and Union of Afro-Malagasy States (Brazzaville) blocs. With the convening of the Addis Ababa conference of the Heads of African States, came the imperialists' decision to maintain their campings and to corner Dr. Kwame Nkrumah so that he would not be able to attend. Their local agents in Ghana started unleashing bombs to scare Osagyefo. "Dr. Nkrumah would not be able to attend the Summit Conference. He would send his Foreign Minister", they rumoured it. "Should he succeed in attending isolate him", was the order. They asked other leaders not to attend the Conference. Some of the leaders were advised to oppose Nkrumah. But when they met in Addis Ababa Nkrumah called on

KENYA'S IMPERIALIST PAPER

—Kenya "Sunday Post"

his compatriots: "We meet here today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians, but as Africans." The leaders of Africa joined heads together and signed the African Unity Charter, to the great shame of the imperialists. But what is shame or disgrace to an imperialist.

To plan another strategy, the imperialist controlled press entered into unholy alliance to carry the mission of Almighty Imperialist.

THAT "KENYA SUNDAY POST"

To prove that they serve and carry the dictates of the foreign interests operating in Africa, **Kenya Sunday Post**, an imperialist controlled newspaper on 27th October, 1963 carried a full page editorial article captioned "NKRUMAH AND FEDERATION". In this article certain wrong motives were imputed on Dr. Nkrumah. Among them was this statement: "We suspect that the root of this objection (to the East African Federation) is a fear that these territories on the Eastern side of Africa become independent and increase their economic strength they will snatch from Ghana, and from Dr. Nkrumah himself, the moral leadership of Black Africa."

Of course this was not the first time the imperialists have such subterfuge and morbid appeals to ensnare and divide the leaders and peoples of Africa. Why are the colonialists afraid of who would be the leader of Africa? We Africans believe that leaders are born out of a revolution and are chosen by the people. When enemies of African Unity started asserting that Nkrumah wanted to rule Africa, Dr. Nkrumah in 1958, at the All-African Peoples Conference said: "As for me, I am prepared to serve under any leader who can give correct guidance and leadership."

Wherefore lies the fear of Dr. Nkrumah! It is not for the leadership of Africa that Nkrumah fights for African Unity but for its intrinsic value of economic sufficiency, cultural wealth, social stability and political supremacy of the African Personality.

Nkrumah wants Africa united so that the billions of wealth being exploited in Africa would cease; so that colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism would be relics of the past. Africa is to be united so that balkanization, boundary disputes and other colonial institutions would be lost in the limbo of forgotten men.

Again to hammer home disunity, that **Kenya Sunday Post** state inter alia: "We suggest that it is time Dr. Nkrumah abandoned this senseless opposition... If he does not, he may find himself estranged from the very countries (East African countries) which, we suspect, he has been hoping would eventually find themselves grouped together under his leadership."

It is not surprising that the **Sunday Post** which should have preached a Sunday sermon of unity was inciting states to differ. The suspicion of the **Sunday Post** has its roots in imperialist chicanery. "Estrange the African revolutionary leaders" has been the plight of all foreign powers.

To deepen the wound of division the **Sunday Post** continued: "The citizens of all African countries tend to be introverted, and the root cause of this is the fact that until very recently there was little or no communication between the countries."

This is an imperialist fiction. Since the beginning of colonialism, their advocates have been using "introversion", "tribalism", "narrow nationalism" and "separation" to partition the African States. The

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partition was such that most lands in the East and Southern African were made not to have sea ports and helmed in Africans in narrow confines.

It was the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 which gave stimulus to railway construction, when it was held that a title to territory could be sustained only by effective occupancy. The construction of a railway was calculated to furnish one of the most obvious proofs of occupancy. That was why a number of the railways in Central and West Africa were projected in 1885 and the years immediately following. That was why King Leopold II of Belgium said: "Coloniser c'est transporter". East African railways started later.

For all that human nature stands, if Africans tend to be introverted they turn within the context of the whole Africa. The proof of this was expressed at the recent Heads of African States Conference held at Addis Ababa to surrender their sovereignty in the interest of African Unity.

Communication

Truth is a stubborn fact and history can never be reversed. The root cause of the until recently lack of communication between African countries was not due to the fact that Africans tend to be introverted but to the fact that colonial powers kept Africans balkanised. A close look at the communication system of African countries reveals the following phenomena.

- (1) Railways and roads were made to lead to mining and plantation centres. The railway lines were different gauges. There was no co-ordination; gauges were chosen at the whim of the companies.
- (2) Railways and Roads were pointed outwards in order to take goods to ports planned and equipped for on-board ship-loading rather than for both loading and unloading.
- (3) Branch Railways were designed to carry cash crops and raw materials from collection points to the ports for export.

- (4) Airlines were planned to serve the needs of passengers travelling to and from countries outside Africa. Most of the best routes run from North to South.

Air links between East and West African countries are generally poor and few and far between.

- (5) Sea-routes were not meant for the Africans to travel to other African States but for the conveyance of exploited goods of Africa and the deposition of the manufactured goods of the capitalists and their industrialists.

Railways and roads were entirely confined to individual countries and the borders of these countries were so restricted with stringent laws that the African was helmed in an air-tight compartment. The African was even made not to travel much in his own country. Until recently, only fair-weather roads existed. The railway and road systems in individual countries during the colonial era were abhorring.

In short the railways, roads, air-routes and sea-routes built by the colonialists were meant to enhance colonial exploitation. The finding of a sea route to India was for exploitation purposes—to exploit Indian spices. When the colonial agents—Prince Henry the Navigator, Vasco da Gama, Bartholomew Diaz and the other European pirates and rogues seeking for the sea route arrived at the South African Cape, economic factors kept them there and they called it "Cape of Good Hope". (A good hope to exploit India).

It was Cecil Rhodes, the biggest exploiter in colonial African history, who planned continental rail route, acquiring mineral concessions with the primary aim of exploiting gold, diamond and other minerals.

In Congo it was Stanley who is credited with the saying that "without railways the Congo is not worth a penny".

Wherein lies the justification of that Kenya Sunday Post's assertion that Africans tend to be introverted and that was why there was no communication between their countries.

Of course the "Post" is not an historian else it would have known that before the advent of colonialism, Africans travelled around. History is a collection of stubborn facts.

THAT KENYA SUNDAY POST ERRED

Therefore the Sunday Post erred by distorting facts. And it is treason to human mind to lie.

The Sunday Post erred again by stating that because of "tenuous communication links the people of East Africa are reluctant to fall into line with West Africa's wishes."

The people of East Africa, West and for that matter North Africa—Central and South Africa have one wish—the wish of uniting Africa into one solid Continental Union powerful enough to challenge the world powers technologically, economically, politically, culturally, socially and otherwise; a Continental Union in which peace, prosperity and happiness abound.

It is this wish that sent the Heads of African States to Addis Ababa to forge that unique Charter of Organisation of African Unity. The Charter has since been ratified by the peoples governments of Africa not excluding East Africa (Tanganyika and Uganda). Leaders of nationalist parties still under the colonial yoke were also present actuated by the same wish.

That is why that Kenya Sunday Post misfired and erred.

That Kenya Sunday Post doubly erred when it stated: "The communications barriers must be broken before anybody can even think of Pan-African integration."

This is crass stupidity, crass buffoonery and colonial mentality. Did United States or U.S.S.R. break communication barriers before thinking of integration? African can no longer be fooled by colonial advice or colonial directives. This statement is akin to statements made by Post's contemporaries who say to African States: "You must be able to have a sound economic basis before you begin to ask for independence. You cannot manufacture matches or pins how do you expect

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to consolidate your independence when it is given to you?"

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah debunks this statement and says: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added unto it". Ghana, Egypt and other African States have proved Nkrumah right. In Ghana today there are many giant industries. The economy is completely diversified and many past colonial officers have confessed their surprise at Ghana's rapid rate of development. Yet, over ten times the present pace of development is envisaged within the next seven-year development programme. In short Ghana is to be turned into a veritable heaven. Therefore political unity should come first as the necessary prelude to economic or communication "unity". It is only a diseased mind that will state that the integration of African States could only come about by breaking communication barriers before forming a political union. Africa has ceased to be a foot stool of colonialism. Again Dr. Kwame Nkrumah provided an answer to Post's deceit before the Post even thought of making such statement, when opening the Unilever Soap Factory, he said inter alia:

"It would be of no value if we merely constructed inter-continental roads and railways and abolished customs duties between African States unless we at the same time established overall economic planning. Otherwise each African State would soon find itself engaged in a cut-throat competition with its neighbour. Obviously the only sensible plan is to decide which state shall concentrate upon which industry, and upon which industrial products, uniform revenue taxes shall be imposed. These decisions can only be made by an all African political Government that is to say, a Union Government of Africa which has overall powers of economic planning and of taxation."

This is practical and true economics not colonial economics. Wherefore lies the truth in the Posts statement that "Communications barriers must be broken before anybody can ever think of Pan-Africa integration."

Sunday Post, Africans are more learned than your masters, and you can never deceive and confuse us.

EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION

Concerning the East African Federation the Post stated: "So far as inter-territorial co-operation is concerned, our thanks must go to the Colonial administration"

The Post thinks it can wed colonial administration to the East Africans. East African States have rejected colonial administration and all that it did in the past. That was why Mau Mau was organised to fight against the colonial administration in Kenya. No African except those who are sell-outs, will ever appreciate some aspects of colonialism. Every aspect of colonialism was geared to economic exploitation. The colonialists wanted East African countries to federate in order to increase its economic strangulation. It was all the matter of setting powerful and gigantic machinery to milk out East Africa's wealth. The guidance of history reveals that over forty years have the colonialists failed to make the East Africa a single economic basin. In the past, failure was due to political consideration and difficulties. No progress was made until Philip Mitchell broke through the barriers by way of the East African High Commission and Central Assembly. Now the High Commission is replaced by the East African Common Services Organisation. Since then the imperialists are working their way to seek benefits from the proposed Federation.

POST ADDIS ABABA

Post Addis Ababa Conference presents a number of restrictions. At Addis Ababa the leaders of Africa agreed to unite Africa in the nearest possible future. This calls for the immediate attention of all African leaders. To divert attention on something diametrically

opposed to this principle is to give an indication of abandoning the principle. This point needs emphasising the sober reviewing. The type of unity the African leaders have decided to forge is not that loose one conceived in the light of the U.N.s., or groupings in which each group would pressurize its interests, or a model of the Organisation of American States, in which the weaker States within it can be at the mercy of the stronger ones but "a solid union not only in the concept of what unity connotes but in the common desire to move forward together in dealing with all the problems that can best be solved only on a continental basis."

At Addis Ababa the foundation of African Unity was well and truly laid by setting:

- (i) A declaration of principles uniting and binding African leaders together.
- (ii) All Africa Committees with various functions, all working towards the achievement of African Unity.

THE CONCEPT OF AFRICAN UNITY

The concept of African Unity envisages continental activities and not regional ones. Hence the powers behind the Monrovia and Casablanca and U.A.S.M. blocs have demolished their intentions. U.A.R. has stopped building the Arab League. The PAFMECSA is dissolved. Ghana has stopped pursuing the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union. It is therefore the wish of African leaders that African unity must take precedence over the East African Federation.

CONTINENTAL OR REGIONAL POLICY

African leaders are concentrating on African Unity and all inter-territorial integration must be continental-embracing. To think that regional federation would quicken the pace of African Unity is to be under delusion, for regional federation are fraught with many dangers.

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"There is the danger of the development of regional loyalties, fighting against each other. In effect, regional federation are a form of balkanization on a grand scale. These regional federation may give rise to the dangerous inter-play not only of power politics among African States and the regions but can also create conditions which will enable the imperialists and neo-colonialists to fish in such trouble waters. Indeed such federations may even find objection to the notion of African Unity."

That is why the leaders of Africa need be congratulated for adopting continental rather than regional policies. If regional federation were good the leaders of Africa would have expressed it or at least suggested it as a means to an end.

Let our leaders close their ranks so that no imperialist forces can penetrate. The forces that keep us apart are to be destroyed. This can be done by creating an all-embracing continental loyalties which will keep Africa united under one government and one destiny.

The forces of imperialism are strong, intricate and cunning. To fall a victim to these forces is to delay the Unification of Africa. When the imperialists or colonialists begin to laud any African leader that leader must question why. Their present aim is to come back to Africa in a more subtle form. Today it is no more the missionaries first followed by administrators, the merchants, et cetera, but the investor, the "aid" giver who comes first, gives terms under which he is prepared to invest, reason that his sole aim of investing is his appreciation of the country's leader or his belief in his philosophy and principles only to be followed by private administrators (cliente-administrators) who give private instructions or private demands before allowing their industries or capital to stay on a foreign land. The private administrator

Mozambique, Mondlane and C. I. A.

THE news that a so-called American philanthropic organisation has voted £20,000 to Dr. Mondlane to assist Mozambique refugees clearly shows that he is a tool of American imperialists. All along genuine and dedicated freedom fighters throughout Africa have been watching with dismay the activities of this Portuguese sophisticated intellectual who has been undermining and reporting the activities of dedicated freedom fighters to the Portuguese secret Police the PIDE.

Dr. Mondlane's hand is red with the blood of the Africans who have been murdered through his connivance. One may ask the question why Portugal of all people chose to appoint an African as her representative in the U.N.O. ? Dr. Mondlane's wife, Janet, is a member of the C.I.A. and her activities against the forward march of progressive

elements is well known everywhere. Dr. Mondlane has the effrontery and the crass impunity to brag that all progressive independent African States are communist. No wonder that his mentality is made up from his past upbringing and education.

No amount of intimidation and secret reports from Mondlane to his masters in U.S.A. and Salazar's agents will steer the tide of the revolution in Monomotapa.

We know he is not alone in this game of intrigues and subterfuge.

We know he is being aided and abetted by prominent African personalities.

We shall not predict what is in store for him.

But alas ! He will very soon meet face to face, the tribunal of the oppressed and dispossessed masses of his motherland. Woe to him who sells his motherland for a paltry sum.



Dr. and Mrs. Mondlane, C.I.A. Agents in Africa ?

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AFRICAN PERISCOPE

Portuguese colonialism, the oldest in the world and the first to enter Africa, is proving to be in its last stage as primitive as it was when it first launched itself.

Like all colonialisms it has thrived in Mozambique on the well-known processes of divide and rule. But the Portuguese processes are somewhat different from the processes used by less primitive powers. The Portuguese processes were in keeping with their primitiveness and savagery.

Portuguese Methods

Forced mass conversion into Christianity, denationalization of the Mozambican population by enforcing changes in culture and customs on the basis of religion and cultural, mental and moral degradation were the only methods which they could think of to establish their domination in Mozambique.

IN SPITE OF THE RUTHLESSNESS OF THEIR METHODS, HOWEVER, THEY MET WITH HEROIC RESISTANCE FROM THE MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE AND EVEN THE FORCIBLY CONVERTED MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE PROVED TO THEM THAT THE CULTURE AND TRADITION OF A PEOPLE DIES HARD AND CANNOT BE MURDERED WITH FIRE AND SWORD.

In view of all these irrefutable facts we cannot, without harm to the interests of the cause of freedom, remain blind, at this crucial moment, to the fact that the Catholic religion as practised in Mozambique has served Portuguese colonialism admirably well.

In the present phase of the struggle, two forces to be recognised as the greatest enemies of the Mozambican freedom struggle are :-

Those countries that still continue to give-aid (including military equipment) to the colonial government of Portugal and

In Mozambique Today It Is:

Road of No Return

the non-Mozambican vested interests.

The latter thrive and make Portuguese colonialism thrive with them on the sacrifices and misery of the Mozambican people, through the unscrupulous investments which feed the colonialists and sustain their economy in Mozambique.

As for the vested interests, their existence is incompatible with a democratic-socialist system for which UDENAMO stands.

This is a statement issued by the External Bureau of the Uniao Democratic National de Mozambique (UDENAMO).

It describes the struggle taking place against Portuguese colonialism.

"In Mozambique", say these freedom fighters, "we are on a road of no return and shall never lay down our arms until colonialism and imperialism is finally crushed".

WITH AID FROM VARIOUS IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES—MEMBERS OF NATO—PORTUGAL HAS BEEN ABLE TO CREATE VAST MILITARY BASES ON THE MOZAMBICAN SOIL.

The creation of these bases is inimical to the real interests of the peoples of Africa and a threat to peace.

With Portuguese colonial policy oriented as it is, aid offered to Portugal (mainly by governments of the U.S.A., Britain and France) only increases Portuguese determination to enslave the Africans further and to exterminate them.

Long Delay

The long delay in the liberation of Mozambique has given these nefarious elements the chance to play their treacherous role and it is time that they were called to order.

In the carrying out of its oppressive colonial policy, the Salazar regime is also backed by the fascist government of South Africa as well as the white minority settler government of Southern Rhodesia, who are themselves bent on the further enslavement of the African people.

The principal aim of these forces is to suppress the African liberation movement and entrench colonialism and imperialism.

MOZAMBICAN AFRICAN NATIONALISTS LIVING BOTH IN SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA ARE KIDNAPPING BY THE PORTUGUESE SECRET POLICE (PIDE) WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF WELENSKY AND VERWOERD THUGS.

Disappeared :

In April 1962, two men from Mozambique who had lived in South Africa for more than 20 years, Mr. Edward Ngubeni and M. Phillip Sebral were kidnapped by the Johannesburg Police, taken to the border under police escort and handed over to the Portuguese authorities for "alleged" political offences.

SINCE THEN THE TWO MEN HAVE NOT BEEN HEARD OF.

During the same year, April 1962, Mr. Jaime Rivaz Sigauke publicity secretary of the former UDENAMO was kidnapped in Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia) and expropriated under police escort to Mozambique.

Mr. Sigauke who has been in a Portuguese prison for more than 15 months without trial, was brought before a Portuguese colonial military tribunal, charged with "trying to incite the people" against the colonial government and was sentenced to two years imprisonment on August 11, 1963.

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NATIONALISM TODAY

by
Julius Nyerere

Free states of Africa spend a considerable amount of time and energy on matters concerned with African unity, with racialism, and with the fight against colonialism. Although we have as much to gain as anyone, we break up useful technical meetings because we will not co-operate with South Africa and Portugal.

Many people do not understand these things. They ask why we do not get on with the job of dealing with the social and economic problems facing our own countries, and why we do not leave the other matters alone until we have done so.

STRUGGLE OF COMMON MAN

The answer is quite simply that the nature of our own movement, and the nature of the modern world, does not allow us to do so. Twentieth century nationalism is the African and Asian expression of man's world-wide demand for equality, and the attainment of national independence is only the first—though an essential—step. If it is to have any meaning to mankind, our nationalism must go forward from that triumph; it must express itself in the struggle of the common man throughout the world for equality and justice. For twentieth century nationalism is not, and cannot be, exclusive and isolationist. Modern technology prevents this. It is and must be, both international and humanitarian.

OUR MOTIVATION

Our nationalist motivation, therefore, means that continuing colonialism anywhere, but particularly in Africa, is an affront to those of us who have won independence. We are not mollified by our own triumph, any more than we are grateful to those who conceded it. We can not be grateful for something which is ours by right.

We cannot rest content while alien rule continues in the south of our continent. Even if we wish to ignore the just demands of our brothers, our own self-interest would

prevent us from acquiescing in this situation. Many questions of regional economic development are held up because colonial governments on our borders do not have the same purposes in economic development as we do. We have the problem of refugees, and the ill-treatment of our citizens who cross the border to visit their tribal brothers on the other side of the line.

REFUGEES

Similar problems inevitably apply whether or not we have a border with a colonial country. Take the case of Southern Rhodesia: what am I supposed to do when refugees, or politicians who are supporting the things I know to be right, come to Tanganyika and start doing from there propaganda work against racial discrimination, or in support of universal suffrage? When I know that they have no opportunity of expressing those viewpoints in the colonial country, am I supposed to stop them?

RACIALISM

It is true, of course, that the Union of South Africa is an independent country. But the policy of of apartheid which it has adopted is in fact a particularly vicious, and particularly dangerous, form of colonialism. Racialism is based on the same assumption—that one man has the right to determine the limits of freedom for another simply because the latter is physically different in appearance. To the world it is even more dangerous than colonialism, because to all men everywhere racialism and group prejudice offer an easy escape from the real problems of life: it has a long history and appeals to the cowardice of men.

WORLD MUST PROTEST

There is no question, either, of isolating this problem. The prime sufferers in the South African situation are the non-whites there. But all the world's coloured people are insulted, because the only basis for the racial humiliation is something which is common between them and us. And all whites are involved because they are brought in by the justification asserted by the South

African authorities—the white skin. If white people elsewhere do not protest at this, and show disagreement by their actions, then they are agreeing with the tyranny which the argument supports. On this basic issue the whole world has to take sides. And we believe that Africa has a right to demand support for its stand against South Africa. We are not disputing with another country about the organisation of society; this dispute is about the humanity of man.

NO NEUTRALITY

It is also true that no individuals can be neutral on this issue, and that the basic struggle goes on all over the world. It is for this reason that I dare speak on colour while I am a guest here, knowing that you are currently engaged in finding a solution to your own colour problem. By serving a man in a restaurant, or by refusing to educate a man's children, a person may be taking part in this fight about racialism, wherever he does it. For the struggle goes on everywhere, in the United States, and in Tanganyika—although there the relative positions of the colours would be reversed. To argue racial privilege anywhere is to talk the language of Verwoerd, whatever the transposition of words. We have taken our stand on what is one of the most inspiring documents of all time—the Preamble of the American Constitution. It says: "All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights..."

EQUALITY

There is another aspect of equality which I must mention. Half the world's population suffers from malnutrition; the national incomes of our respective countries can hardly appear on the same graph—so different are they. You know these things, and I do not have to enlarge on them. But they have inescapable relevance to my major theme of equality. A beggar and a millionaire must be equal in their civil rights but this does not really make them equal, even in opportunity. There are few greater truths

than the Bible statement, "To him that hath shall be given, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Economic strength breeds strength; money breeds money. And without these things, ill-health, ignorance and hunger prevent a man from standing upright and talking as an equal to his brother.

It is true that through internal unity we are able to make some economic headway despite our poor starting point. Individually we cannot afford to buy a tractor; together we can, so it becomes common property. Individually we cannot undertake the investment necessary for economic development; together we can, and together we can afford to accept loans and other obligations from overseas. We do not do this for reasons of dogma, although our background does make us more receptive to the idea of common action. But basically this policy is a reflection of the fact that we must have development, and have it now.

VICIOUS CIRCLE

But for all this it is still true that in the world society we individual states of Africa are almost in the position of beggars talking to millionaires. And we don't like it. We are all endeavouring to develop our own economies, but the more we try the more we are forced to realise that only through African unity can we really make a break-out from the vicious circle of poverty. Only African unity will enable us to carry forward the work which the freedom movement began—only internationalism can take nationalism to its goal.

AFRICA AS A TEAM

Individually all the African states are in the hands of economic forces much stronger than we. All of us have to grab at whatever development activity we can get, and we compete with one another offering the millionaires of this world better and better terms to come and invest in our particular country rather than the one next door. This is



*Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and
Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika*

nonsense—and we all see it. We shall all gain economically from working together as a team, for together we ourselves will be a force in the world which is of some account. Separately—quite frankly—we are not!

OUR TRADITION

I have tried to explain some of the attitudes of Africa which are often misunderstood. Basically they are these: From our traditional culture we inherit a strong sense of community, a strong consciousness of the need for unity, and a recognition of man's interdependence. It is these lessons which we are now trying to apply to our needs in a new technological situation. And it is from them that stems our demand for human equality, and our desire for African unity in freedom.

SEARCH FOR FREEDOM

I believe that these ambitions, and the attitudes which they cause us to adopt in the international arena, are an inherent part of the search for freedom and justice throughout the world. This is as it should be; for African nationalism sprang from the Common Man, and it can serve him only while it serves humanity.

KENYA'S "Sunday Post"

Continued from page 32

are followed by C.I.A. or B.I.A. (M.I.5) who plan and direct coup d'états and change the leadership of governments when they disagree with the policies of the leadership. History will always absolve progressive stand.

That is why the imperialists agent who posed as an African "journalist" must be warned in Kenya not to fan disunity. The present role of African journalists is to take part in the African revolution and help it to succeed. He must be told: Leave African problems in the hands of Africans.

Forward with African Unity!

To Understand:

- Colonial Pattern of Economics
- Society under Colonialism
- Neo-Colonialism in Africa

To appreciate:

- Africa's need: Economic and Political Integration
- Continental Government for Africa
- Africa in World Affairs

Read

"AFRICA MUST UNITE"

by Kwame Nkrumah

Mozambique

Continued from page 33

Filipe Johannes Madzodzere, also kidnapped in Salisbury, and Alfred Roberto Amargo were acquitted of similar charges.

New cases of kidnapping have been reported by our organisers.

One of the outstanding was the kidnapping of Mr. Peter Balamanja, founder president of the Mozambique African National Congress with headquarters in Central Africa, in June 1963.

Reports reaching the UDENAMO offices indicate that three African nationalist from Mozambique were arrested while in transit by the Rhodesia police at the beginning of October.

One of our organisers in Southern Rhodesia, who was reported missing from his residence in Bulawayo

and is suspected of having been kidnapped by the PIDE, has since been forcibly used by the PIDE to trap other nationalists leaders by sending letters with his signature plus booked air tickets requesting them to fly to Southern Rhodesia in order to meet him.

Trickery

A letter of this sort and a travel ticket was sent to the UDENAMO representative in Leopoldville.

During the arrest of Jaime Sigaube in 1962, a similar incident occurred when two travel tickets were sent to the UDENAMO office in Dar-es-Salaam, accompanied by a telegram bearing his name.

HOWEVER, THE UDENAMO IS FULLY AWARE OF THESE COLONIALIST TRICKS AND IS HEIGHTENING ITS VIGILANCE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

All this has gone on for 465 years!

ROY WELENSKY

I HAVE great respect for the endurance of boxers in taking brutal punishment especially when punishments are inflicted to their skull. I am not a doctor but I am told the regularity of such an ordeal gradually affects their mental balance and reasoning. Such is the state of mind of poor pugilist-com-locomotive driver-cum mediocre politician, Roy Welensky.

He Is Frantic

In a statement which has thrown out of gear his own inveterate supporters, Welensky is shouting frantically that there is "dictatorship in Africa". This arrogant twerp of a politician could not—with apologies to his insanity—specify who were the dictators and who were being dictated to.

If African leaders are dictators that is well said, and done. Because they are dictating to their own kith and kin for their supreme welfare and knowing fully well that pirates of Roy Welensky's ilk have been let loose like influenza throughout Africa in their desperate bid to neo-colonise all independent States.

If Roy feels he is competent as a dictator why should he not go back to his country—if only he has any at all—to be a dictator. His countrymen would have not certainly needed the aid of medical specialists to declare him a lunatic of the incurable type.

Roy laments that Nyasaland is on its way to dictatorship. To blame Roy for this nonsensical statement

Now the time has come when the people of Mozambique, and not only we but all the peoples of the world who stand for the end of colonialism and imperialism and for peace must expose and fight all that represents an obstacle to the achievement of our ideals and goal—National Independence.

Today in the face of the great changes that have been brought about in the international sphere by the mighty upsurge of the African peoples, today when the herculean struggle of the Angolan peoples and that of the people of so-called Portuguese Guinea cannot be crushed even by the colossal savagery of the fascist Portuguese colonialists, the time and conditions are definitely propitious for Mozambique to deal the final blow that will once and for ever end the humiliation of colonial domination on her soil.

In Mozambique we are on a road of no return and shall never lay down our arms until colonialism and imperialism is finally crushed.

is to do him injustice. His advisers are rather to be skinned alive. When Roy had the Michiavellian to shoot in cold blood pregnant women and innocent children, he was acclaimed to be the greatest democratic statesman in Africa. But when drastic measures are taken against his African paid minions and agent provocateurs, he laments that Beelzebub has been let loose.

African leaders are governing Africans. The governed masses have not complained. If Roy feels that he is not being given full rights in this exercise, the one and only way open to him is to leave for his own country which, I am told, is spread over the whole globe.

One shudders to think that a crank dullard like Roy Welensky has been honoured with the accolade of "Sir". The intrinsic value of Knighthood has now been bereft of its magnificent qualities, pomp and majesty. Past Empire builders of the Victorian era will kick in their graves when they get to know that their honoured award for distinguished services to the state has now gone to the dogs.

African Customs Versus Nationalism

by A Special Correspondent

NATIONALISM has become a pervasive element in Africa, the surge of which has covered the length and breadth of the whole continent of Africa. It therefore appears somewhat out of place to treat African nationalism in isolation under regional groupings.

NATIONALISM

Nationalism, which means national consciousness or race-consciousness, is almost always associated with the manifest desires and strivings of a people living in a geographical area, who share common interests and common aspirations. Common expressions of nationalism can be found in a people's desire, and in most cases, agitation, for freedom and independence. It may even be a desire of one Continent or State trying to assert superiority or domination over others, as the imperialist powers in Europe did to Africa in the latter part of 19th century by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 at which they conspired to divide and share Africa among themselves; and later, as Germany tried to do to Europe in two successive wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45.

Nationalism in Africa is primarily directed towards the liberation of the African continent from colonial rule and has as its main goal or objective in African Unity. It is the determination of African peoples on the Continent of Africa to be free and independent and their irresistible desire to claim equal status with other peoples in other nations and continents of the world.

In Africa, nationalism is not sectionalized or regionalized. African

nationalism has assumed such a dynamic ferment and dimension that the whole continent with its peoples has come under its ambit. No part of Africa is unaffected. Hence the phrase or slogan: "African Nationalism"; and NOT "West African Nationalism" or "East African Nationalism". African Nationalism is one and indivisible. Why? Because, we constitute one continent, one people; we share a common history—our history of colonization. We share a common aspiration—our desire to be free, independent and United; and a common destiny—our survival or destruction. African nationalism has neither frontiers, boundaries nor barriers. This is evidenced by the recent Conference at Addis Ababa at which 32 Heads of Independent African States and Governments laid the foundation for African Unity and planned for the total and complete liberation of the rest of the continent still under colonial domination.

CUSTOM OR CULTURE

Custom, as I understand it in simple terms, means what one does or does not do. In a word, it implies habit. There are individual differences in habits. And since it is inconceivable for a whole nation or even a single family to have or share identical or common habits, i.e., do things the same way, I do not consider "Custom" appropriate in the present context. Let us therefore find a cognate word with wider connotation. To my mind, "Culture" will be much more apposite.

WHAT THEN IS CULTURE?

Culture is an activity of thought

and receptiveness to beauty and humane feelings. Culture expresses the way of life and the way of thought. It means the finer fruits of civilisation and it is usually taken to mean all that a people has built up to make life worth living. All that by which the mind and the spirit are nourished, enraptured and elevated is culture. A people's art and literature, its responses to the world, seen as well as unseen, through its expression in verbal composition (which embraces its best creations in prose or verse or drama) constitutes culture. A people's culture expresses itself through its architecture, sculpture, painting and the various artistic crafts and carvings; through its music and dances; its beliefs and disbeliefs; its way of dressing—all forms the outward, and in some cases, a palpable repository of its culture. It constitutes a way of life and a way of thought—an attitude towards life, seen and unseen.

Culture, properly developed and applied, acquires a distinctive feature—a personality. Hence the term "African personality". The question which may be lurking in your minds is, has the African a Personality? The answer is positively Yes. If we accept as a fact that the African possesses culture as distinct from European or Asian, then it goes without saying that the African has personality. African personality expresses itself in its art and drama; its music and dances, its artistic crafts, painting and sculpture, its way of dressing its belief and disbeliefs. In a nutshell, its way of life and attitude towards life itself.

EFFECTS OF AFRICAN CULTURE ON NATIONALISM

I have already characterized nationalism as manifest desires and strivings of a people to be free and independent from alien rule or domination. Now, since no single person, or a group of persons, a nation or a continent can grow to its fullest height or stature or develop its culture, which forms the very quintessence of its heritage under alien domination, it stands to reason that the African can only project his culture or personality in

conditions where he is absolutely free and independent to do so.

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At this stage, it will clearly be seen that African culture is inseparably bound up with African nationalism. The two are complementary. For whereas African nationalism is directed towards the achievement of political freedom and independence, African culture is directed towards the projection of African personality; it seeks to bring out the best qualities (virtues and goodness) in the life of the African which have long been suppressed through centuries of colonisation and domination.

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African nationalism can therefore appropriately be described as the interaction between the yearning desire of the African to project his culture or personality and his relentless struggle for political freedom and independence. The two aspirations are quite complementary and neither will be fruitful without the other. For whereas political independence accords the African the freedom to manage his own affairs without interference and the right of equal status with the other races of the world, his culture, i.e., his contribution to world civilisation through his arts and crafts, painting, music, drama, sculpture, literature and philosophy accords him a pride of place within the human family.

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VOICE OF AFRICA

January, 1964

We publish a **SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT** on South Africa under the heading "INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA TODAY".

● This is a collection of revealing features on South Africa - an inner story of exactly what means are being used by the Verwoerd regime to suppress the non-whites in that country.

● This is the real South Africa which the outside world does not know.

● This is South Africa, where "liberty has gone and justice is blinded and maimed".

● This is South Africa where the African has no vote, no political status, no right to work, no right to live where he wishes, no right to have his wife and family with him - and no right to protest. He has no right except the "right" to be humiliated!

● "Inside South Africa Today" has been contributed to by the best hands who know the country.

VOICE OF AFRICA

-January, 1964-

Continued from page 2

ed Assistant Controller of Imports and Exports in the British Military Administration at Aden.

After such association with the colonial service the foundations for indoctrination of colonial mentality might very well have been laid. But for Murumbi to behave as he had done at the cross-roads of African nationalism is only a pity.

"Those who say that a continental government of Africa is illusory are deceiving themselves. Worse, they are deceiving their people who see in the unity of our continent the way to a better life."

Tribalism dissolves in the Greater Africa.
Border disputes melt away in the Greater Africa.

Prosperity abounds in the Greater Africa.

We would have ignored Murumbi's confused commentary on Pan-Africanism for his ignorance and inadequacy. One must know his blood lineage to understand the mentality of our poor nationalist. His father is a Goan. And knowing Goans for their mental aberrations one must not be surprised of the ignorant effusions of our comrade minister.

We would even have pardoned him for his short-sightedness and selfishness—from his colonial past—had he not taken the occasion to launch an attack on the President and Government of Ghana.

After telling his European listeners that people should be allowed to choose their own political systems Murumbi added his belief that people in Africa would always oppose dictatorship.

"In Ghana there is strong opposition against Dr. Nkrumah", he said. "This is being suppressed—but how long can it be suppressed?"

We expect such trite, superficial observation from the the dailies on Fleet Street in London and not from an African Minister — and least, one from Kenya.

It is, however, somewhat adequate that the Africanist Press of Kenya protested vehemently against such remarks about this great son of Africa and world leader.

This is what the 'Pan African' had to say to Murumbi on November 1: "ANYONE WHO

KNOWS ANYTHING ABOUT GHANA KNOWS THAT THIS IS RUBBISH. DR. NKRU-MAH IS TREATED IN HIS COUNTRY WITH IMMENSE POPULAR ESTEEM—OR A SORT THAT IS INCONCEIVABLE IN WESTERN COUNTRIES AND WHICH OFTEN CONFUSES WESTERN OBSERVERS ESPECIALLY IF THEY ARE ALREADY FILLED WITH PRE-CONCEIVED PREJUDICES—BUT DR. NKRU-MAH'S PRESTIGE IS BASED ON HIS EXTRAORDINARY PERSONALITY AND HIS PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN LEADING THE COUNTRY TO INDEPENDENCE AND IN LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF ASTONISHING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCE.

The magazine goes on: "IT IS THE STRENGTH OF DR. NKRU-MAH'S OVERWHELMING PUBLIC SUPPORT WHICH LED A TINY MINORITY OF TRIBALISTIC AND POLITICALLY DISAPPOINTED MALCONTENT TO RESORT TO UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND VIOLENT FORMS OF OPPOSITION AND COMPELLED THE GOVERNMENT, IN THE INTEREST OF NATIONAL SECURITY, TO INTRODUCE EMERGENCY MEASURES."

We do not want to belabour this prompt reply from Kenya itself. But here lies the danger for Kenya—the danger of neo-colonialists and their agents (the Kenya Sunday Post is one), they will try to put a wedge between us, create dissension and divert our true course of serving our people. We must be vigilant and expose them!

Jomo, the Government and people of Kenya can always count on Kwame Nkrumah, the Government and people of Ghana for material and moral support in their nation-building.

Long live Kenya Independence.

Long live Ghana-Kenya Solidarity

Long live African Unity.

A MESSAGE
TO
FREEDOM FIGHTERS
OF AFRICA

As we enter the New Year, the "Voice of Africa" brings a message of HOPE and CONFIDENCE to Freedom Fighters of Africa.

Our victories in the past must spur us on to gain more laurels for the African Revolution. We should not be daunted by our mistakes, which must always serve as a necessity for constant re-examination of our strategy in the struggle to overthrow alien domination.

We must never at any moment under-rate intrigues of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism.

Our fight is not for a token independence. Neither is it for freedom which makes a mockery of the African Revolution.

The fight is for true independence, which has its roots in the masses and carries the message of the people.

Ours is the Voice of Africa: the voice of the African peoples—terrorised, enslaved, deceived and exploited. Ours is the voice of peace and freedom.

We bring the dawn of a new era in the world—the dawn of the New Africa.

Long Live Freedom Fighters of Africa.

Long Live the African Revolution.

Long Live a Union Government of Africa.