

VOICE OF AFRICA



NO sporadic act nor pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act of a united Africa. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink into that condition which has made Latin-America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one-and-a-half centuries of political independence. . . ."

—KWAME NKRUMAH

THE unity of our continent, no less than our separate independence will be delayed if, indeed, we do not lose it, by hobnobbing with colonialism. African Unity is above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round. The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, were the political decisions of revolutionary peoples before they became mighty realities of social power and material wealth."

—KWAME NKRUMAH

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READ . . .

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*Pan - African
Revolutionary*

JOURNAL

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OUR OPINION

NOW that the leaders of the 32 Independent African States have realised that their salvation and the welfare of their masses depend only on the political unity of Africa, it behoves their foreign ministers who have been charged with this onerous yet historical task to discharge their duties with a sense of mission and despatch which would ultimately result in the harnessing of the economic and industrial potentialities of Africa, so that Africans can feel and enjoy real and absolute freedom.

But while these progressive attempts are being made, our brothers in South Africa, Angola and Portuguese Guinea are engaged in a grim struggle against the fascist regimes of Verwoerd and Salazar.

Our brothers in South Africa have at every stage been the innocent victims of apartheid and of its inhuman ferocity. The horror of these recent crimes, has given rise to universal and vehement protest and revulsion. For no one who possesses a conscience can today, with the sinister lesson of the Hitlerites fresh in our minds, attach the slightest credence to the dogma of racial superiority.

In the twentieth century of African renaissance, one is dumbfounded at the spectacle of a country that has become a refuge for blind fanaticism and heresy—a refuge all the more odious and sinister in that the authority of the Bible is invoked by the wretched race-haters of Pretoria—Cape Town and Johannesburg with such hypocritical religious fervour and fanaticism to justify their temporarily sanguinary dealings. What spite other than the contempt and reprobation of the entire world—at least of men of goodwill who believe in the equality of all human beings—can be reserved for a doctrine whose monstrosity is a challenge to the whole human race?

Incredible as it may seem, the very monstrosity of the policy of apartheid has had its positive side: not only has it left absolutely no one in a position to

(Turn to page 2)

This African Unity!

THE implications and probable impact on the future of the world of what could very well be described as the most striking feature of our generation—AFRICAN UNITY, are so varied that the topic can never be over-worked.

Scientists of our day have never

ceased, and never will, for that matter, to warn us of the outcome of the use of those frightening, devastating, and deadly scientific discoveries of the century—NUCLEAR WEAPONS. After going to great lengths and at great expense, the very nature of their striking feature dares their

possessors to use them. All doubt who could emerge as the victor from their use, if any could, that is; and no one has ever enjoyed a losing battle.

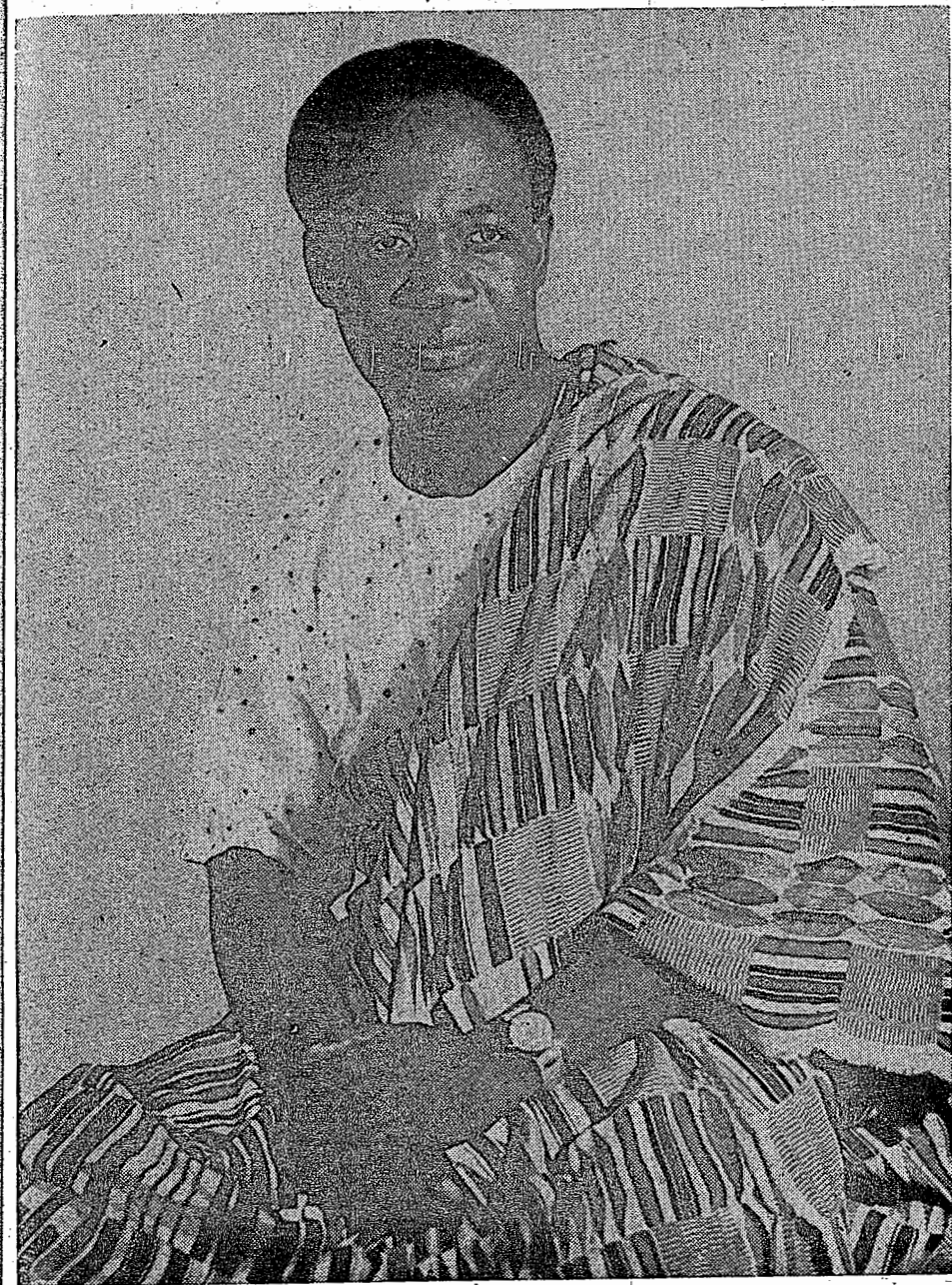
One of the striking features of AFRICAN UNITY, on the other hand, is the seriousness and the sincerity it attaches to the prevention of their use and to world peace.

Before developing this peace aspect of AFRICAN UNITY, a call to all, wherever they may be and intellectuals included, to consider the attempts of AFRICAN UNITY in all sincerity and with all seriousness, and in place of the usual cynical eye brow raising of indifference or becoming after-the-event-wise, will not be out of place. This serious and sincere consideration will involve topics which might have been considered "BAD TASTE". This, unfortunately, will have to be done or else we might be found guilty by our own conscience of being evasive, if not intellectually dishonest.

Just you ponder over this for a while.

"Man alone prides himself on his natural endowments of reason and soul, and yet cannot live in brotherly unity with his neighbour. He prides himself as the greatest handiwork of nature, and yet in character and disposition, he seems to be the furthest removed from his Maker of all the creatures of creation. From the point of view of science there are no special essential differences between man and man, for it is wicked to conceive that HE WHO designed the COSMOS and ultimately man—call HIM GOD, SUPREME INTELLIGENCE OR FIRST CAUSE—could be guilty of such a mean trick, as to deny a full recognition of the rights of manhood and nationhood to some peculiar section of human creation. Nor is the faithful disciple of the theory of evolution in any better position. In the palmy days of Egyptian, Babylonian and Greek civilizations, wolves roamed the length and breath of Western Europe.

The ages have produced civilizations in different areas at different times and while in the modern world, western civilization is predominant



Osagyefo
Dr.
Kwame
Nkrumah
a strong
advocate
for
African
Unity

there is no saying what the future may unfold in the final balance of social institutions". Well?

Indeed, there is no saying what

the future may unfold in the final balance of social institutions".

And yet another call to all, wherever they may be, and intellec-

tuals included, whoever is thinking and planning about the INDEPENDENT

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Editorial

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play the part of a Pilate on the hypocritical pretext of ignorance of what is happening in South Africa. But the spectacle of such wicked and inhuman outrages has actually gone far towards opening the eyes of black populations everywhere.

Dedicated freedom fighters of S. Africa must now understand as never before how uphill the road is to complete liberation, independence and unity and how fraught it is with dangers of all sorts; and also how determined are the enemies of African freedom to pursue their policy of hatred and total annihilation. For in Verwoerd's regime we have the crystallization, the incarnation, of all those backward forces inherent in primitive and devil incarnates which stand in the way of any other progress for the indigenous African—the rightful owners of South Africa.

The evil known as apartheid, which is fundamentally the result of a combination of fear, hatred and prejudice, is all the more dangerous in that these emotions are frequently uncontrollable. And where is all this going to lead us? Certainly this is going to lead us to a terrible tragedy; to war and destruction. Hence it behoves all dedicated freedom fighters of South Africa to come out and plan out every legitimate means and concrete strategy of rooting out this cancer.

The whole of Independent Africa stands solidly behind you. Your unity of purpose, action and determination is your armour. Harass the enemy in their hideouts, at the beaches, factories and in their strongholds. Mother Africa is bleeding white from her wounds and implores you to defend the sacred land. You are not alone. You will suffer hardships and reverses, but imbued with determination patriotism and inherent courage of your forbears you are sure to win. The whole of Africa is behind you. Forward ever, Backward never. And with tenacity of purpose, indefatigable assiduity, we shall march forward to victory.

The Beginning of the Road

SOME great events have difficult beginnings. Many are the lofty ideas of great men which have been swallowed by the tide of time.

THE VISION

History has it that among the few statesmen who in the teeth of opposition have achieved their avowed aims, is Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

Osagyefo, as a Marxist-Socialist, is in no way a fortune-teller of developments and changes. He is only able to initiate and direct action. His idea for a United States of Africa which he has relentlessly and persistently advocated is now a reality.

Under the dynamic and able leadership of Osagyefo, Ghana achieved independence in 1957. Independent African States at that time numbered eight. It was no accident that on the eve of independence, Osagyefo declared, that his country's independence was meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation of the African continent. To his colleagues who had the good fortune to have had a close study of him during his sojourn overseas, this statement was not a boast but a translation of his dreams that the Independence and, of course, the Unity of Africa, backed by the spirit of nationalism, would be a reality. In his booklet *Towards Colonial Freedom* he gave evidence that he was not parochial in his political perception. He was broad in his search for solution for the problems confronting the continent of Africa.

ALL AFRICA

No sooner had he achieved independence for Ghana than he convened an historic conference of Independent African States in 1958.

Never in the history of Africa had so many Heads of State met to discuss seriously the oneness of Africa.

by
A. K. Barden

The aims of the Conference were:

- (a) to bring together Independent States on the continent of Africa to discuss problems of mutual interest;
- (b) to consider, formulate, and co-ordinate schemes and methods aimed at accelerating mutual understanding of such countries;
- (c) to consider ways and means of safe-guarding the independence and sovereignty of participating countries, namely, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic and of assisting dependent African countries, in their efforts to the eventual attainment of self-government; and
- (d) to discuss and plan cultural exchanges and schemes of mutual assistance.

Decisions arrived at at this conference were unanimous. A common front, a common objective and a united front had been forged to meet the common enemy—imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to the anger of the doubting Thomases. In this spirit of unity, the President in his concluding speech to the delegates had this to say:

"Today we are one. If in the past the Sahara divided us, now it unites us. And an injury to one is an injury to all of us. From this conference must go out a new message: Hands off Africa!"

CALL TO ACTION

Significantly enough, the decisions arrived at at the 1958 conference were identical with the resolution adopted by the Fifth Congress of the Pan-African Movement held in Manchester in 1945. But

history must repeat itself. This resolution of the Congress was written by Kwame Nkrumah. It was a serious intention and a call for action. It revealed the broad horizon and the universality of the Movement. The resolution was, and still is significant. Therefore I reproduce it in full!

"We believe in the rights of all peoples to govern themselves. We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. The peoples of the colonies must have the right to elect their own government, a government without restrictions from a foreign power. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must strive for these ends by all means at their disposal.

"The object of imperialist powers is to exploit. By granting the right to the colonial peoples to govern themselves, they are defeating that objective. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to complete social, economic and political emancipation.

"The Fifth Pan-African Congress, therefore, calls on the workers and farmers of the colonies to organise effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front lines of the battle against imperialism.

"This Fifth Pan-African Congress calls on the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. The long, long night is over. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike; freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses. Colonial and Subject Peoples of the World—Unite!"

A NEW EPOCH

Events in Africa immediately after this conference took on a dramatic turn. Repression and oppression became the order of the day. Scarcely a day passed by without radio announcements of the mass massacre and arbitrary imprisonment of peaceful Africans in Kenya, Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Angola and South Africa, engaged in peaceful demonstrations against colonial powers, for their independence. To remedy this critical situation the need arose for an immediate action and a well planned course of action. The love of freedom for the masses had gone down to them like mad, but the strategy and the wherewithal to bring their aspirations to fruition was lacking.

Osagyefo, undaunted by his own achievements, convened another All-African Peoples' Conference, the same year. This historic conference which achieved great success was attended by all leaders of nationalist organisations, and trade unions throughout dependent territories in Africa.

Excerpts from Osagyefo's speech speeches go:

"As I look round this hall, my pride overflows at the sight of so large a number of African comrades-in-arms, who imbued with the fervent desire to see Africa free, unfettered and united, have gathered here together on African soil for the first time in the history of our Continent. This assembly marks the opening of a new epoch in our Continent's history and it will be recorded in our annals in illuminations worthy of its significance as the First All-African Peoples' Conference."

Outlining the purpose of the Conference Osagyefo said:

"Our deliberations must be conducted in accord and our resolutions must flow out of unity. For unity must be the keynote of our actions. Our enemies are many and they stand ready to pounce upon and exploit our every weakness. They play upon our vanities and flatter us in every kind of way. They tell us that this particular person or that particular country has greater

or more favourable potentialities than the other. They do not tell us that we should unite, that we are all as good as are able to make ourselves once we are free. Remember always that you have four stages to make:—

1. *the attainment of freedom and independence;*
2. *the consolidation of that freedom and independence;*
3. *the creation of unity and community between the free African States;*
4. *the economic and social reconstruction of Africa.*

RENAISSANCE

"And here we must stress that the ethical and humanistic side of our people must not be ignored. We do not want a simple materialistic civilisation which disregards the spiritual side of the human personality and man's need of something beyond the filling of his stomach and the satisfaction of his outward needs. We want a society in which human beings will have an opportunity of flowering and where the humanistic and creative side of our people can be fostered and their genius allowed to find its full expression. Much has been said and continues to be said about the inability of the African to rise above his low material wants. Frequent reference is made to his non-contribution to civilisation. That this is an imperialist fiction we all know. There have been great Empires on this African continent, and when we are all free again, our African Personality will once again add its full quota to the sum of man's knowledge and culture."

UNITED FRONT

In every human operation, there are certainly bound to be differences; human nature being what it is. The differences between political organisations were not major ones; these having been amicably settled and a spirit of reunion having been achieved, the order for the final assault was given by Osagyefo in these words:

"Fighters for African Freedom, I appeal to you in the sacred name of Mother Africa to leave this conference resolved to rededicate your-

selves to the task of forming among the political parties in your respective countries a broad united front, based upon one common fundamental aim and object: the speedy liberation of your territories.

"Down with Imperialism, let us say. Down with Colonialism. Down with Racialism and Tribal Division. Do not let the Colonial Powers divide us, for our division is their gain. Let us recall that our Continent was conquered because there were divisions between our own people, and tribe was pitted against tribe.

"Do not let us also forget that Colonialism and Imperialism may come to us yet in a different guise—not necessarily from Europe. We must alert ourselves to be able to recognise this when it rears its head and prepare ourselves to fight against it.

"Friends and Comrades, I enjoin you to let us close our ranks. For the day we stand in serried line, that day Colonialism in Africa is defeated. And we must bury that pernicious system with all speed. Only with the internment of Imperialism will Africa be free from menace and live and breathe in liberty, where men of colour shall walk with head held high in human dignity.

"Fellow African Freedom Fighters still carrying the burden of Imperialism, pull together. We who have won our freedom stand uncompromisingly behind you in your struggle. Take heart. Unite your forces. Organisation and discipline shall command your victory. All Africa shall be free in this, our lifetime. For this mid-twentieth century is Africa's. This decade is the decade of African independence. Forward then to independence. To Independence Now. Tomorrow, the United States of Africa.

"I salute you!"

FREEDOM NOW OR NEVER

Like the biblical grain of the mustard seed which grew up as the greatest among all other herbs and so became a tree, in order that birds of the air may come and lodge in their branches, the great seed of indepen-

COLONIALISM!

By E. Andriantsilaniarivo

dence and Accra in 1958 is growing as years go by. The challenge was accepted by all Freedom Fighters and with the inspiration gained, they went to the African Unity which was sown in the field with the slogan: "Freedom Now or Never".

Five years from the day of the Conference, 24 dependent territories achieved independence. This is a remarkable achievement. But the spoils of battle should not egg us on to relax. The enemy is a cunning fox and must be annihilated.

DECOLONISATION

One of the Committees set up at the recent Addis Ababa Conference was on DECOLONISATION, the members of which are Congo-Leopoldville, Tanganyika, Uganda, Ethiopia, Guinea, Nigeria, U.A.R., Algeria and Senegal.

At the Conference it was agreed that the headquarters of this Committee should be established in Tanganyika. Realising the urgent need for action, the Committee met recently and took decisions which in their considered opinion should accelerate the liberation of the remaining dependent territories in Africa.

The meeting split into three main sub-committees dealing with political, economic and social aspects of liberating the still dependent territories in Africa. The political sub-committee dealt with:

- (a) Military training;
- (b) Formation of volunteers forces to aid liberation struggles;
- (c) Co-ordination of political and diplomatic action in the African liberation struggle by the Independent African States at the international level; and
- (d) The merging of liberation movements in colonial territories as a means of promoting better co-ordination and planning of strategy.

The economic sub-committee discussed financial assistance to liberation movements by Independent African States. The social sub-committee tackled problems of education and promotions of social standards.

In dependent countries where there are more than one nationalist organisation there has been protracted inter-

party strife culminating in the dissipation of energies and thus allowing the common enemy the opportunity to consolidate its position. In all these countries where such an unfortunate situation exists it would be seen from a careful study of Party manifestos that they all have common objectives. The only difference which at time comes to the surface is the approaches to the attainment of the objective. It is gratifying that the conciliation committee which was sent to the Republic of Congo is about to bring together the various nationalist organisations engaged in the struggle to liberate Angola, to form a common front.

SENSE OF MISSION

The necessity for a common front in colonial struggles cannot be over-emphasised. But the success of such a front depends solely on the absolute loyalty, dedication, self-denial and patriotism on the part of all the contracting parties. Let us hope in all their deliberations, in all their moves the liberation of the oppressed masses of Angola will over-ride all other personal considerations. When men bear the same ideals in their hearts, nothing can keep them incommunicado; neither walls of prisons nor sod of cemeteries. For a single memory, a single spirit, a single idea, a single conscience, a single dignity, will sustain them.

Much as every nationalist in Africa appreciates the sense of mission and despatch with which the nine nation committee are tackling the difficult task assigned to them one cannot but help pointing out at the outset certain fundamental principles below which should not be over-looked.

- (a) Most of the theatre of operations differ in geographical positions;
- (b) In most of the dependent territories nationalist movements are just rudimentary and need serious re-orientation.
- (c) Several dependent territories have no nucleus of trained men in guerilla warfare save few of the countries now actively engaged in the struggle.

Revolutions are not planned in grandiose style, neither are they planned under panel of world spotlights. The success of a revolution depends

on the absolute secrecy of planning and execution. It would be worthwhile therefore if the committee will consider the necessity of breaking committees and training grounds into geographical regions bearing in mind the nearness of the countries concerned with the theatre of operation. This will reduce cost of transportation. We need a cadre of trained men, therefore cheap transport is essential.

INTERNAL STRENGTH

It has become necessary now to impress on the freedom fighters the vital importance of strengthening their home organisations and planning their attack. It is only when operations begin before the mode of assistance is determined. One cannot over-rush the part volunteers can play in a revolutionary war. But history has on record that revolutions have been won through persistent active internal constructive resistance.

Fellow freedom fighters, the more we sit down to talk on formalities and debate on generalisations, the more favourable opportunities we can afford the enemies in preparing for counter measures.

Face to face with Verwoerd, Salazar and Roy Welensky, our only chance is to depend on ourselves and ourselves only. To oppose from within the forces of these monsters with a national front will make all the difference. A people which resists and fights on stubbornly as you are doing now in Portuguese Guinea, Angola, South Africa and elsewhere can never be vanquished. On the contrary, you will emerge from the crucible with your soul steadfast, more intrepid than ever. Whatever reverses you may suffer in the days that lie ahead of you the future generation of Africa will draw fresh strength from them, and whatever may happen today, you will live to find a glorious future.

The will to exterminate which eggs these monsters in the pursuit of their quarry gives you no option; it rather indicates the path which you must follow—the only path that remains open to you is to fight till the last man.

Fellow freedom fighters, continue the struggle with indefatigable assiduity. Defend step by step every bit

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A WORD of recent formation, "colonialism" has not yet appeared in the dictionary. At the rate events are moving, moreover, there is a danger that when it does take its place there, it will then supply only to facts which are finally obsolete and have been replaced by an entirely different concept of the relations between the old metropolitan countries and the peoples who were formerly under domination.

It is very difficult to define colonialism, so fugitive and hard to seize are its successive aspects, especially at this moment when every day brings its surprise packet and unexpected "bombshells" which compel the supporters of the old school to shift their batteries.

Apposite Terms

Bombshells and batteries—these warlike terms are very apposite when it is a question of colonialism, which, when all is said and done, may be compared to a defence—the ferocious defence of a position which is still very strong, held by resolute men, but already invested on all sides, undermined, and even including nests of enemies within its own lines, smouldering fires which the least breeze may suddenly transform into a devastating blaze.

A rearguard defence, colonialism is therefore a relatively recent fact. It is the reaction of the powerful ones of yesterday against the rapid crumbling of situations which were hitherto deemed invulnerable, acquired for ever.

For many people, in effect, colonialization was an absolutely natural thing whose principle and legitimacy brooked no discussion; who would think of contesting the rights of a landowner over ground which all the official papers, registers and surveys recognized as belonging to him?

That for most of the time was begun by military conquest, by force

of arms, and through blood, that it is nothing but the most tangible and most eloquent confirmation of the iniquitous right of the mightiest, these are mere superficial details, the idle thoughts of dreaming philosophers, small side-issues which can soon be respectably covered by eminently moral and humanitarian reasons.

What in fact could be more praiseworthy than going off to make a generous offer of your lofty civilization to those who are deprived of it? What could be more disinterested than bringing peace and the protection of your flag to savages who are killing each other? All that at the cost of how much physical suffering ("these countries with their murderous climates!") and material sacrifice ("these colonies which cost us so much!")?

No doubt is therefore permissible: these colonies which the colonizer has dragged up out of the abyss—the moral abyss (they had no civilization: he has given it to them; they lived in the midst of endemic troubles: he has brought them peace)—the material abyss (they had nothing: he has shown them wealth)—yes, these colonies are certainly the property of the colonizer.

False Philanthropists

Anyone who wishes is free to find objections afterwards; to insinuate, for example, that this so-called philanthropist was an exploiter, that his so-called development of the country was nothing but the methodical and systematic sack of local wealth with no profit either to the population or the territory.

The facts are there: having paid his share of taxes to finance a heavy colonial budget, every metropolitan thinks himself endowed with an inalienable right over the colonies (without realizing that, instead of effectively "developing" the colonies

and their inhabitants, these taxes serve in great part merely to nourish certain privileged ones, certain particularly voracious and insatiable appetites)... Even today, when many concepts have evolved in spite of everything, it is not unusual to see, even among the most humble, among those who get nothing out of colonization except the dearly bought right to participate in the common glory of being a "civilizing" country, it is, as I say, not unusual to find that instinctive reflex of the possessor in the face of every risk or threat of alienation: "It's mine."

Ready-made Answers

As to any reproach about certain practices, such as forced labour, the answer is easy and moral enough to satisfy the most scrupulous conscience: "The natives are proverbially lazy. Our duty as civilizers is to compel them to work." Every objection has its ready-made refutation. There is no point in racking your brains in search of originality; everything has been codified once and for all: vade-mecums, manuals for the perfect colonizer and other initiatory works are not lacking, veritable catechisms, which every metropolitan who is conscious of his colonial responsibilities owes it to himself to know unshakably.

Thus colonisation jogged along, honest and tranquil, founded on vested rights recognised as incontestable, justified by flattering reasons of generosity, morality and humanity, illustrated by eloquent proof of fidelity, attachment and gratitude on the part of the natives, both in words (dithyrambic professions of faith preciously anthologized and in naive and machiavelian fashion taken for sterling gold) and in deeds (voluntary enlistment to come to the aid of the Motherland in danger in two wars: voluntary enlistment in the colonies both for war and for other reasons would

be a rich and rewarding subject of study . . .).

Yes, colonisation was truly a useful and paying piece of work, destined to last for ever.

Then, all of a sudden, at the end of an exhausting war, with sometimes tragic vicissitudes, the horizon darkened and everything was challenged. Like an unleashed hurricane, the word "independence", loomed over those fields which were believed to be so secure and shook their foundations whose solidity was so much vaunted.

Independence

Former colonies acceded to independence; recent conquests regained their liberty. Friendly arrangements, laborious negotiations, the habitude of arms, foreign intervention, were all different roads which suddenly led to that emancipation which it had been hoped would never have to be resisted again since the already old and almost forgotten examples of Canada, the United States, San Domingo and the States of Central and South America.

India, Indonesia, Indo-China, Syria, the Lebanon, Ethiopia, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, all these are names whose mere enumeration is enough to bring back to our minds the events of these last fifteen years. Others show a gleam of light for the future; Togoland, the Cameroons and Nigeria. Others, again, form question marks towards which the eyes of all the peoples who are still dependent and who aspire towards self-determination, are anxiously and painfully turned.

That does not mean that before the second World War there was never any cause for alarm.

You cannot diffuse education without danger, even if it is confined to the strictly utilitarian minimum, the training of clerks and scribes, of subordinates, of the cheap labour needed for the prosperity of business. A man who can read and write acquires ideas, and when people begin to think the awakening of consciousness is not far off.

You cannot with impunity plaster all the walls with such enchanting

devices as "Liberte, egalite, fraternite" especially when you morally compel the organizers of public rejoicings on the occasion of the tours and visits of Governors-General, Regional heads and district heads and other dignitaries of the colonial hierarchy, to make it the theme of "spontaneous" chants and manifestations in which big and little must take part. The words, brayed mechanically at first, encrust themselves in the memory which will subsequently restore them in the form of subjects for reflection.

And, above all, you cannot without inconvenience display an insolent and provocative opulence alongside the wretchedness of those whom you exploit. Comparison is very frequently at the root of the refusal to accept with resignation.

It remains true that, from this epoch, which in perspective is looked back on today, not without some regrets, as the Golden Age of colonization, grievances and sporadic revolts broke out here and there, which the all-powerful authorities knew how to stifle and master with a speed which was as discreet as it was effective.

Dramatic Consequences

Then came the drama of 1940 and its world-wide consequences. The first quake, the first shaking, the first fissures, the first collapse, the first snatching away, and above all, the threat of the cataclysm extending throughout the whole colonial system. Some people even carried audacity to the point of challenging and contesting the very principle of colonization.

There was a panic. The instinct of preservation assembled and mobilized all the forces which were determined to resist the upheaval.

From colonization in distress was born colonialism, resolved, in order to survive and to outlive, colonization, to cheat with facts, ideas and the ineluctable evolution of the world.

Born out of the war, colonialism was bound to use military methods and procedures—which were no innovation—the mopping up, combing out, quartering, and other "pacifications" of our days are nothing more than a reissue of the colonial

expeditions, conquests and reconquests of yesterday.

Colonialism seems above all to have retained from the last war the picturesque practice of camouflage.

Does the word "colony" strike a false note? It is replaced by "dependent country, overseas territory" or some other apparently innocuous vocable. The respected autochthone replaces the despised native, and in the same stroke the former subject acquires the personal status of a citizen. The authoritarian Empire will give place to the more family-like and more receptive Union. We will no longer exploit, we will develop and bring out the full value of local resources. And while we are about it, why not spread the idea that independence and autonomy are two synonymous words, but that the second is preferable as being more meaningful and less aggressive?

All the old colonial weapons being thus dissimulated under a new rhetorical accoutrement, it was hoped to rediscover the tranquil current of the good old days.

Alas! Nobody lives in a vacuum any more. Nothing is more contagious than expression like "the right of peoples to dispose of themselves", "self-determination" and the other formulas pompously proclaimed from international platforms, sometimes with malice, to play up to the others, but which, like secret boomerangs, turn against their inventors and leave them highly embarrassed by such an inconvenient weapon.

Words And Deeds

It was therefore essential to bring acts into harmony with words, at any rate in appearance. Hence the deployment of a whole new panoply. The judging will no longer be merely with words, it will be with things, facts, ideas and even with people; a dazzling high trapeze act, in which the colonized, unaccustomed to that kind of exercise, would be left breathless and reeling from vertigo, would efface himself and leave the colonizer a clear field to finish off his acrobatic conjuring tricks.

In this way new institutions were created, new organisms with sono-

rous names but void of all tangible content. In this way, individuals were brought forward as stalking-horses; a Bao Dai here, a Glaoui there, a Samy Solh or a Noury Said elsewhere. . . . But it is with bad grace and suspicion that colonialism supports even these docile men of straw.

It has in fact been necessary to yield them a fragment of power, however small. And what if these creatures took it into their heads, double renegades, to betray once again? To rage themselves at the side of their countrymen rather than go on eternally serving the conquerors? To abuse to their advantage the opportunities imprudently entrusted to them with a view to the enslavement of their peoples?

Election Irregularities

The safeguard against dangers of this kind was secured by the very fashion in which these people were chosen. Faked ballots, pressure on the electors, campaigns of intimidation—these are all expressions which no longer arouse anybody's astonishment or indignation, such is the extent to which they reflect current common practice. There must be added, if it becomes necessary, reprisals after "bad elections", invalidation and cancellation, followed by adequate conditions for new elections.

In this way it is ensured that the "representatives" will be cut off from any suspect link with the population and will be at the mercy of those who have got them elected.

Crushed, and deprived of authentic mouthpieces and all means of action, the dependent populations would be reduced to silence and to final submission, if the aspiration to liberty was not a sufficiently powerful motive to give them the determination to brave all threats with hardness and to face all interdictions with temerity.

Everything must therefore be started afresh; having yielded what was regarded as a maximum, they come up against new claims more exacting than the previous ones . . .

Happily colonialism is not short of brains fertile in ingenious invention.

For a free man to love his country, to watch jealously over its inde-

pendence, to wish it great, strong and rich, is to be a patriot, worthy of the esteem and consideration of his people. For a colonised one to profess such sentiments towards his country; to wish for its emancipation and its accession to the ranks of free people, is to be a nationalist, with all the disparaging undertones with which that word has been richly endowed.

Nationalism

Nationalism: a fervent love of one's country, an ardent desire for its elevation and renown, what could be finer, more noble, more praiseworthy? How often have we seen sincere "nationals", both Parliamentarians, parties and newspapers, contrasted with those who were blamed exactly because they were not? But by an irony to which the lovers of paradoxical associations seem insensitive the nationalism of dependent peoples is taxed with being communist inspired.

In truth, derision would not have failed to be put in evidence if it had been thought profitable. But what then? Is it not a safeguard that, faced with this assertion, certain countries which call themselves anti-colonial, but which are above all anti-communist, thereby lose all sympathy for the cause of the dependent peoples and all desire to push or help their emancipation?

Nevertheless even the best disguised lies end by being detected, to the great confusion of their promoters.

Something more must still be found.

At the time when all the world is seeking to unite, when the fashion is for "blocs", when great nations are ready to renounce certain attributes of sovereignty in order to group themselves together and form viable units, what folly on the part of peoples who have barely emerged from barbarism to claim independence.

Today the world is divided into developed countries and underdeveloped countries (they used to be called "backward"). What the latter owe their inferiority to, is immaterial. In any event only the benevolent aid of the former can enable

them to emerge from poverty and raise their standard of life, which, in plain language, means that they are condemned to eternal dependence.

And we are witnessing a whole highly philanthropic and humanitarian crusade in favour of these disinherited peoples. But it is enough to scratch lightly the varnish which covers the surface to see the groundwork appear, still the same: colonialism.

There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the answer of the colonized should also still be the same: "Liberate us first, and we will develop ourselves afterwards, with your aid, if we need it and you wish to give it, or with the aid of other friends."

End Of Colonialism

With its back to the wall, colonialism no longer has any choice save to give up or to accept.

Giving up is the solution known under the name of "Cartierism". It is a solution of disgust, very logical when all is said and done, though far from moral. But what have morals got to do with this story.

"Since we cannot even hope to reap the gratitude of colonized, let us clear out of these ungrateful countries; the thousands of millions that we pour into them every year would do us infinitely more good if they were spent in developing our own country." That is the reasoning of Raymond Cartier. It is not lacking in apparent justice. In fact, its application would, I fear, generate more catastrophe than benefits, but that is not our point. It is in any event always a menace suspended over the head of these insatiable colonized: if they do not make up their minds to soft their demands, the sword will fall. The famous "At your own risk and peril" repeated at every stage of a recent peregrination has other significance.

The other attitude consists in progressively jettisoning ballast.

Now persuaded that its days are numbered, colonialism is striving to put off the evil day of reckoning as long as possible. To do that, it is a matter of knowing how to dole out concessions, drop by drop; above

all, never to go beyond the claims, but, on the contrary only to satisfy limits of the possibility of turning a deaf ear or resisting them; to grant less than has been asked for, but to accompany the gesture with lofty declarations dwelling on the spontaneous gratuitous and generous character of the action taken.

Arrangements will, in any event, be made to neutralize these forced concessions straight away; to give with one hand and take back with the other is the absolute rule, the imperative condition of the survival of colonialism.

But the impetus has been given; putting on the brake or putting a spoke in the wheels can now only serve to retard and not to arrest the irresistible movement towards the enfranchisement of these countries so long enslaved.

Colonial Evolution

Two recent facts very particularly illustrate this stage of colonial evolution.

In the first place, the new French Constitution. Who would have imagined, as recently as a year ago, that the conditions for a French colony to accede to independence could ever appear in such a fundamental instrument? Article 86 of the Constitution, however, specifies the procedure. The obtaining of independence is evidently not automatic; it even seems fairly difficult to acquire all the different approvals which are exacted; and the abandonment of the "adoptive family" is put under the sanctions of a sort of malediction. But the fact is there; a way out is now permanently open, officially; to escape from tutelage is no longer an unrealizable dream; it is no longer necessary to resort to arms in order to attain it.

In the meantime, the acceptance or refusal of the constitution instrument itself took the place of a ticket of admission or exit, although inside the house the places are no longer immutable; henceforward it is permissible to move from the stool to the chair or the armchair.

States have been born which are autonomous, masters of their own affairs, except as regards diplomacy, defence, currency, common economic and financial policy, strategic

raw materials, justice, higher education, external and public transport and telecommunications. Does that not remind you of a certain definition of the liberty of the press by the Figaro?

It matters little; definite progress has been registered, after which there can no longer be any question of going back.

The other case is that of the former Belgian Congo.

The Congolese Incident

How proud they were, the Belgians, of their great policy of enlightened paternalism! How sure they were of success and how certain of having decades to go before claims to independence saw the light of day, if it ever happened at all, which they doubted. Then, suddenly, there were the troubles at Leopoldville, and it was necessary for King and Government hastily to publish declarations officially promising ultimate independence.

The word is no longer taboo; it figures in the most official of documents, the most solemn of speeches. It is no longer a crime on the part of the colonized to pronounce it.

A great step forward has been taken.

Everything leads to the belief that the rest of the road will be covered fairly quickly. Will it be done in calm, or in the midst of painful convulsions and bloody struggles. Let us hope that wisdom will prevail on both sides.

Here and now, in any event, we are witnessing bargaining which looks curiously like the preparations for departure.

"Your independence? Can you at least assure us that you will not use it against us?"

It is the eternal restriction. "You can be free, on condition you stay with us." As if feelings could be commanded! As if interests and sympathies were always bound to go hand in hand. Make yourselves liked, then, if you want to be liked (and colonialism is the surest way of obtaining the contrary). Demonstrate by the evidence of facts and not merely by fine reasoning that it is in our interest to stay with you if

you really want us to remain in your company.

But the colonized are beginning to recognize the false departure, the ones which are made noisily by the door, in the sight of a great many witnesses and accompanied by solemn declarations to be followed shortly afterwards by a surreptitious return through the window.

We have spoken of the men of straw, the marionettes, of all who have been crammed with the scraps from the colonial feast and who are prepared to sell their brothers to avoid losing their privileges.

At the moment when colonialism the victim of its own obstinacy, is getting ready to go, safeguarding its interests as best it can, they stay behind, and their reign promises to prolong itself for a certain time: the time necessary for colonialism to liquidate its affairs under the best conditions.

Thus an intermediary colonialism is in the process of creating itself, an autochthonous colonialism, all the more terrible, perhaps, because it is more difficult to discern, all the harder to fight because it is perfectly familiar with the most effective weapons and the most appropriate methods to make its countrymen see reason. But this colonialism will only last as long as the first one sustains it, that is, as long as white colonialism has not completely recovered.

End Of Colonialism

White or coloured, colonialism no longer seems, in the light of current events, to have much time left to live. If this is a matter for rejoicing in the absolute, there may nevertheless be some fear that its last moments may be very violent; the hunted beast strikes its most terrible blows before succumbing; let anyone beware, who finds himself within reach of its claws. It is equally not beyond all possibility that the present contortions in Cyprus, North Africa and elsewhere may be no more than the closing scenes of a comedy which is being played out.

Perhaps the method of progressive and peaceful dissociation will ultimately prevail. But even in that

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AVAILABLE

obstinacy, on the pretext of not losing face, only to abandon everything at the first injunction of a stronger power, when it would have been so simple for the two parties to settle the quarrel between themselves without the intervention of another?

Healthy Concept ?

As we have said, people's minds develop. The colonizers seem to be orienting themselves towards a more healthy concept of their relations with the colonised who have grown up. It is highly possible that after the scenes of violence which we are witnessing today the curtain will finally fall on the tragedy of colonization. Let us hope that the next performance will have a little more evocative of cordial relations and a more peaceful plot.

The vigilance of the colonised must not, because of this be relaxed for a single instant, in spite of the apparent progressive loosening of their bonds. Shoulder to shoulder is more than ever the absolute rule for them. The time has passed when each colony, living in a vacuum, isolated from the rest of the world, was ignorant of everything about the other colonies. Today everything has repercussions, and the experience of one must help the others. The solidarity of the colonised must not be an empty formula.

There is some good in every misfortune. This very Western saying is perhaps the best expression of that philosophy which seems common to all the colonised peoples and which has made so easy the colonial conquests and the implantation of colonisation, and subsequently of colonialism.

The apathy of these peoples, their resignation, have been spoken of. There has been no failure to justify the colonial adventure by bringing into limelight those cases where the conquerors have been welcomed and feasted with delirious enthusiasm: All this has been exploited on a large scale, it goes without saying, to demonstrate the beneficial and almost essential character of colonisation: since the colonised have accepted it with so

much joy, it must be that, at bottom, they themselves desired it; some, the more lucid ones, consciously, the others as an instinctive need which they did not even realise. The colonisers would then have done no more than respond to an appeal, as eloquent as it was mute; at most they might sometimes have acted in advance of it, but the enterprise was in line with the inevitable unfolding of events.

It is open to anyone who wishes and who finds it convenient, to interpret the facts in this fashion. Since the consent of the interested parties is not indispensable to forming an opinion about them, such an opinion is not bound to conform to the reality, and still less to what the interested parties themselves think. But if a conviction of this kind can lighten certain uneasy consciences, so much the better for those who are content with it.

Looked at from the other side of the barrier, things do not appear exactly from the same angle. It is, in sooth, a bit much to affirm that people are delighted to be conquered by armed force. Only the lovers of paradox can maintain that defeat causes the conquered to rejoice. But another Western saying counsels us to meet adversity with a stout heart. And that is what accounts for this resignation of the colonised.

Fatalism

The colonised have that strength of the weak which is called fatalism. It is a consolation against fate, but is also a reflection of confidence in imminent justice, which does not dissect or analyse, which does not immediately classify every event as good or bad, but which goes straight on its road blindly, towards its ultimate goal, which is, by definition, good.

It is idle for the so-called developed societies, which are so proud of the high level attained by their "civilisation", to cast derision on this fatalism, which they describe as over-simplified and primitive and which they confuse with drab resignation; it is none the less, the source of immense hope founded on the wisdom of nature and the belief in its benevolent intentions.

To shut your eyes to present troubles in the certain conviction that you are marching ineluctably, in spite of temporary obstacles, towards a happy future, that is what gives the fatalism of the oppressed peoples its optimistic aspect.

Pessimists

Pessimism is a luxury of the well-to-do: once a certain degree of poverty and distress has been reached there is nothing more wretched that can be conceived for the future; death itself is desired as a deliverance. Since suicide is not morally recognised, no change can happen which is not for the better, even if only because it brings about something new; the most painful part of suffering is its perpetuation; the slighted shift of anxiety is appreciated as a solace. From this arises the optimism of the unfortunate, even if they are fatalists, and precisely because they are fatalists.

These considerations on the fatalism of colonised peoples are not a mere digression. They bring out a common element in their psychology, an identical interpretation of life and of things due to the similarity of the trials sustained, which has had the consequence of creating a certain affinity between them, the possibility of mutual understanding, sometimes in spite of wide differences, if not of apparent real incompatibility; between their customs, their concepts and their traditions.

That is how, in spite of the principle "divide and govern" colonialism itself, paradoxically and unconsciously, has taken it in hand to open the way towards the unity of the colonised.

Unity? We shall be told that that is a very pompous word; the poor peasant in the heart of the bush is unaware that others are enslaved and exploited like himself; he is only interested in his own case.

In his conqueror's pride, the coloniser has generally scorned to learn the indigenous languages; why should such a refined and civilised person stoop to initiate himself into the barbarous talk of savages? By that very fact he has shut himself off from all direct access to their hearts; the presence of an in-

terpreter is not particularly conducive to sincerity and free blossoming forth.

What does he know of the feelings and thoughts of that formless and anonymous mass which peoples the colonial bushland? Nothing except what he may have seen on the occasion of warm receptions organised in his honour, nothing except what he may have heard from the mouth of his authorised incense-bearers. But what these men say to each other in their own language is a sphere from which he has excluded himself through scorn.

However ingenious these bushmen are, however primitive they are deemed, they are still not deaf or blind. Means of information exist; newspapers and radio, under strict control, it is true, but nevertheless giving news. Not everybody has a set, not everybody can read, but everybody can spread what he has read or learnt, and that very rapidly, in view of the increasingly perfected means of communication.

Imperialist Ruse

A war of colonial reconquest, the repression of a rebellion, a "pacification", these are today no longer operations which can be carried out in secret, and even those authorities which are most anxious to keep in ignorance those whom they administer, are nevertheless obliged to allow a minimum of facts to leak out.

And then, the sons of these unworthy men have nevertheless been sent to combat the revolt. Whether it is by official channels, or by letters they receive, details reach them, which they mediate upon and comment on between themselves.

In the face of a combat between the strong and the weak, whose side will another weakling take? His choice is determined by an instinctive sympathy, and his silence is the reverse of approval.

As the attempts to shake off the yoke multiply so the sentiment is strengthened of belonging to the same species, that of the exploited, the slaves, of the pariahs, barely admitted to help in preparing the sumptuous feasts of the masters,

but excluded from the spectacle, and still more, from participation.

Could there be any unity more easy to achieve than that of the "damned ones of the earth"? I use this expression from the Internationale on purpose to remind you that if the ways of communism and anti-colonialism may sometimes run side by side, they do not necessarily merge.

If the colonialists have every interest in designating and putting forward as general and inevitable these "collusions" between the young nationalisms and communism, the communists, on their side, make no mistake and do not grant their support without conditions. Where religion—Christian or Moslem—is too deeply rooted in a country, that justifies in their eyes the refusal of all aid other than platonic and moral.

Thus, outside the two antagonistic blocs, the master idea has taken shape of the "third world" uniting all the disinherited of the planet; it is the seal of unity between all the victims, past and present, of the exploitation of one people by another. Thanks are due to Catholicism for having served as the starting point for this happy unity which is already so full of promise.

Common Desire

Born of the similarity or analogy of the situation, of the common desire to liberate themselves and be masters in their own house, this factual unity should translate itself into a real fraternal solidarity, no longer in words alone, but also in deeds.

Internal solidarity first; within the body of the same people quarrels have been stirred up; the reconciliation of these hostile brothers is the first duty of the colonised, the very condition of their moral emancipation which must necessarily precede their physical emancipation.

Regional solidarity next, gradually extending to adjoining regions until it becomes the worldwide solidarity of all the colonised and ex-colonised of the planet; having bowed to the same yoke, suffered the same humiliations, been bled by the same exactions,

they must group together, form a common front, seek together the way of salvation, and be vigilant in concert against the perils which, for a long time to come, will threaten their frail existence. To help each other, to back each other up, so that the advancement of the most progressive is a gain to the most backward and the weakest can rely on the strongest, that is the conduct to be followed, in default of which there is a risk of falling back within a short time, and no doubt for a longer period, into an even heavier servitude.

It is true that speeches and writings every day assert that this solidarity of the colonised no longer has to be created; it is in existence, very strong, very determined, unshakeable.

But what of deeds? An advance in scattered order, every man for himself, without caring for his neighbour, seems still to be the attitude too often adopted. There is an excuse for it, which is, alas apparently valid; "We do not yet know how we are going to get out of our own difficulties. Are we to embarrass ourselves still more with other people's?"

Collective Action

For the rest, this is no longer a question of individual conscience but of collective action. It therefore no longer depends on the determination of each person but on the dynamic force of the leaders.

To take only one example, that of colonial troops; what responsible man of colour, Parliamentary Minister, or local dignitary, have we heard protesting against the recruitment and despatch of these troops against other men of colour? The soldiers are doing their job as soldiers and need not have a guilty conscience about it. It is for us statesmen to see that their task is not in conflict with moral duty—in the specific instance, with the solidarity of the colonised.

But this solidarity, however detestable may be its origin—colonialism suffered in common—must not be founded upon hatred, a negative feeling upon which nothing positive can ever be built.

The colonized must show themselves to be more magnanimous, whatever it costs them. They must recognize that colonization resulted from the conjunction of certain circumstances at a given moment in the history of peoples, that the concurrence of other events gave it the detested aspect of colonialism; that new imperatives, brought about equally fortuitously, have imposed decolonization; and finally that the whims of destiny are unpredictable and so therefore is the nature of the future links and relationships between the nations.

So it is not fitting for them to let themselves be blinded by the present, however painful it may be.

What Frenchman still thinks of feeling resentment towards the Romans who formerly colonized Gaul? Nearer to us, does not India retain excellent relations with its masters of yesterday?

A lofty ideal should unite all those who have been freed from colonialism, the same ideal for which they have so long and so patiently fought side by side, of good understanding and brotherhood between all men, whoever they are, wherever they come from, without distinction of race, without discrimination of religion, or colour of skin, or language, or costume, or way of thinking or living.

May the coalition of the ex-colonized bring this troubled world, torn by its dissensions and its excruciating anxieties, the most precious of gifts; peace and happiness and the power to enjoy the benefits of life without reservation.

The Beginning of the Road

Continued from page 6

of your motherland. While you keep fighting, there is always hope for victory. And that surely, should be enough to fortify you that no game is ever lost until the final whistle.

Forward to victory. The whole of Africa is behind you. Forward ever, backward never.

Grim Facts on

THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

SOUTH-WEST Africa lies between South latitude 17° 23' and the Orange River, with a narrow strip between 17° 30'—18° 20' South latitude extending from 21° to 25° East longitude.

The country is mostly plateau and desert and has an estimated area of 218,261 sq. miles about the size of France and seven times the size of New York State. According to 1951 census it had a population of 434,081 of whom 49,930 are whites. The tribes of South-West Africa number some 350,000 African peoples. Out of this number, estimates show that African people in the "Police Zone" number 139,058 and that beyond the "Police Zone", their number is 227,827 of whom 190,585 are in Ovanboland.

The "Police Zone" is the area in the southern part of the country in which alone a system of police posts and patrols is maintained. It is in this area that the white men reserve for themselves just over two-thirds of the fertile south leaving the rest to the non-whites.

Travel outside this area is rigorously restricted.

Tribes :

Prominent among the tribes in South-West Africa is the *Herero*. Their area is now the "Police Zone". There are not many left. They have been driven into the reserves. In the North, the *Ovambos*, who number about 200,000 are outstanding. These are markedly backward. It is from this tribe that many young men are now being recruited into the mines and diamond fields.

It is estimated that 30,000 Ovambos alone are engaged on European farms in the "Police Zone" on a minimum labour contract of 12 months extended in 1950 to 16 months with a permissible extension of at least a further six months.

Then there are *half castes* forming another striking community. A fourth group is called *Bergdamers* who still speak the Hot-tentot language. Still another called *Angola Boers* who are white-men,—Afrikaners of the poorest type who are referred to as the "last dregs of the Great Trek."

Economic and Social Conditions :

Some years ago, prosperity began based on diamonds, other minerals and caracul trade. South-West Africa produces more dia-

monds than Cape Province and earns between £25 and £40 million a year in foreign exchange but most of this goes to the Union of South Africa. Also South-West Africa has lucrative fisheries and is rapidly becoming a big producer of strategic minerals. Exports have quintupled in the last five years.

Yet for all their labour there is neither one secondary school nor any facilities for technical training of any kind in the whole of the territory. The Africans have no civil rights and no representative on any political body.

Their working conditions are terrible. True enough the South-West Africa Native Labour Association with headquarters in Grootfontein has laid down minimum wage rates and facilities which employers must provide and the administration backs them. The difficulty is that inspection on most farms is impossible. The latest minimum rates of pay were brought in at the end of 1956. They range from 20 shillings a month for a raw farm piccaninny to 70 shillings a month for a class experienced worker returning to a previous employer on a farm.

In the capital town, Windhoek, which is also the chief sea port with some 20,000 people, half of whom are Europeans, the African—the Herero—quarter is called simply the location. It is described by John Gunther as "one of the most gruesome and nauseating slums made of old motor car fenders, card board, flattened petrol tins, and bits of old cloth and basketware". The colour bar is as severely applied as in the Union, perhaps more so.

Lead, rare metals and other mining companies in which American capital has lately shown a keen interest claim to pay from £2 18. 3d. to £6 a month, plus rations, accommodation and medical attention to the African miners. This is in a new township called Tsumeb and is a far cry from the Windhoek location and the native reserves in the "Police Zone" where despite announced plans, not a single hospital or district surgeon has been provided to date.

Administration :

South-West Africa has its own Legislative Assembly introduced by the passing of the South-West African Affairs Amendment Act 1949 (No. 32 of 1959) which imposed fundamental and far reaching changes on the constitutional position of the territory. This Act abolished the then existing Advisory Council putting in its place the present Legislative Assembly composed of 18 members chosen by registered voters of the territory. The territory in turn is represented in the Union House of Assembly by six members elected by the registered voters of the territory and in the senate by four senators, of whom two are elected and two nominated by the Governor-General.

Generally speaking, only the Parliament of the Union of South Africa has the power to legislate on these matters in respect of which the Legislative Assembly is not competent to legislate such as defence, external affairs, transport, security and the Legislative Assembly in respect of other matters such as education, roads and post office.

In an emergency, however, the Governor-General, may by proclamation, make laws about any matter on which the Legislative Assembly is not competent to make ordinances.

In actual fact, it is not the administrator, Mr. D. T. du Vjoen, whose functions are largely titular, who runs South-West Africa but Mr. John Nesser, the Secretary of the Government. He is also Chief Native Commissioner, Chairman of the Land Tax Board, Chairman of the Interest Fund Board, Director of Internal Revenue and Director of Prisons.

Behind this 1949 Act and the far reaching changes in the constitutional position of South-West Africa is an international legal situation. For 13 years the dispute existed between South Africa and the United Nations.

Background :

South-West Africa was occupied by Germany in 1884 but at the conclusion of the first World War it was declared a mandated territory under Article 22 of the Convenance of the League of Nations following the signing of the Versailles Treaty. Article 2 of the Mandate of 12th December, 1920 made the Union of South Africa responsible for administration of this territory. Throughout the intervening period the Government of South Africa continued to co-operate fully with the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League. In 1923, however, the South African Government took a decision of policy which afterwards had important consequences in the history of the territory. When it had accepted the Mandate for its administration the White population of Germany were stated to be 11,500; but this number was rapidly reduced by the departure of officials and others, and by 1921 as many as 6,000 were repatriated.

In 1923 the South African Government entered into negotiation with German representatives in London regarding the status of the remaining German settlers in the territory. The negotiation resulted in an agreement whereby the German Government undertook to use its influence to persuade its remaining nationals in the territory to accept the Union citizenship under a "general nationalisation" in South Africa while the Union Government agreed to reciprocate in giving them the same position and privileges as its other citizens. (United Kingdom White Paper Commander 2220; 1924).

In 1924 the South-West African Nationalisation of Aliens Act, enacted that year that all Germans in the territory were automatically naturalised, excepting some 262 heads of families who refused.

However, in later years during the formation of the Nazi Party, a vigorous movement was led for the revival of German influence in the territory. The Nazi Party leaders in Germany impressed on their nationals in South-West Africa that the terms on which they had accepted naturalisation in the Union was compatible with the retention of their allegiance to Germany.

To meet this, the Legislative Assembly of the territory passed in 1934 a resolution asking that it be administered hereafter "as a fifth province of the Union, subject to the provision of the Mandate."

There were at the same time other considerations which led to this decision. The most noted one being that uncertainty of the colony was an obstacle to private capital investment. As a result the Union Government appointed the Van Zyl Commission in 1953 to inquire into the affairs of the territory, including its financial position.

The findings of the Commissions, which was undivided in its views, expressed defects in the system of administration of the territory, as well as difficulties arising from the assumed instability of Mandatory status and from the position taken by the German section of the populace. Its financial difficulties, the Commission stated, would be covered by some form of association with the Union.

Equally there was division in the Union itself on the opinion expressed by the Commission. The South African Government, while agreeing that incorporation in the Union was not incompatible with the terms of the Mandate expressed in 1936 the view that no sufficient ground had actually been put forward for the incorporation of the territory as a fifth Province of the Union.

In spite of all the arguments and divided opinion in the Union the legal position of the territory was still obscure. The authority which the Union exercised over the territory had been received from the Allied and Associated States when they created the mandatory system in 1920 and it was these States which had authorised the League of Nations to exercise supervision over the manner in which the terms of the Mandates were observed. The League of Nations expired at the end of the Second World War.

The Allied Nations which were victorious in 1945 were not the same as the Allied and Associated States which had created the mandatory system in 1920, but when they instituted the Organisation of the United Nations in 1945-1946, they set up at the same time a Trusteeship system comparable with the system of

Mandates. The Powers who had held Mandates were asked to transfer to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations the rights and corresponding obligations arising in their mandate territories.

At an early date the British, French and Belgian Governments complied with this request.

Instead of accepting the course thus indicated, General Smuts, then head of the South African Government, preferred in 1946 to approach the Assembly of the United Nations to assent to the formal annexation of South-West Africa by the Union.

Various mandated territories such as Togoland and the Cameroons had been administered as provinces of the neighbouring territories; some mandated territories as Iraq for instance had achieved a status of self-government with the assent of the League of Nations; but there was no precedent for the acquisition by a mandatory Administration of a status over a mandated area which would imply the total cancellation of its mandatory obligations. General Smuts, conscious of this was prepared, if he were successful, to continue to administer the territory subject to the submission of reports to the Assembly of the United Nations. He was not, however, willing to accept the status of Trustee under the United Nations Organisation, for he foresaw that the activities of the Trusteeship Council might involve in practice a direct intervention in the domestic policy of the Union.

In putting the case for annexation, General Smuts relied on the Resolution of 1934 as expressing the assent of the European population to this course, and also on the result of inquiries which had been made early in 1946 from the African inhabitants for an expression of their own views. The figure given to the Assembly showed 208,850 in favour of annexation and 33,520 against while the views of 56,000 would not be ascertained.

These figures, most people contend, could not be considered valuable. For, to explain to illiterate people the difference that might be brought in a change of their mandatory status was difficult. At the best such expression of the inhabitants could only serve as expression in the existing regime.

The views actually expressed by the African inhabitants against the proposal came from the Herero to whom the issues were not for or against the Union Government for not restoring to them the dominant position they held before the conquest of the control they exercised on their tribal lands.

It is to be noted that General Smuts' proposal was rejected by the Assembly of the United Nations and a motion urging the territory to be placed under Trusteeship was adopted. (Vide Resolution 65 (1) 14th December 1946).

In 1947, the Government of South Africa however refused even the request preferred by the United Nations Assembly that it shall submit for consideration its own proposals for a Trusteeship Agreement. On the other hand South Africa agreed to continue its former practice of submitting annual reports or the discharge of the obligations imposed by the Mandate to the United Nations Assembly.

But in 1948, with the Nationalist Party swept to power, the Union Government showed its confirmed resentment to the attitude taken by the Assembly to attack its racist policies and finally in 1949 it categorically refused to submit any yearly reports. The question was quickly referred to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the status of the territory and on the obligations due by the Union. (Resolutions 141 (ii) 1st November, 1947; 227 (iii) 26th November, 1948; 337 and 338 (iv) 6th December, 1949).

The International Court of Justice in its advice stated that South-West Africa was still a territory held under the Mandate of 1920; that the Union of South Africa could not modify the international status of the territory without the consent of the United Nations, that the Union of South Africa continued to have international obligation stated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League; but that on the other hand the Charter of the United Nations imposed on the Union no obligation to place the territory under Trusteeship. In effect therefore, the Union was in the view of the Court still under obligation to submit an annual report to the Assembly of the United Nations.

The Government of South Africa has since continued to refuse to submit such a report, claiming that refusal based on the inclination of the Assembly to allow discussion regarding South-West Africa to be used as a general attack on the attitude adopted towards non-Europeans within the Union "itself".

The Committee of the Nationalist Party had recently gone further and maintained that "in effect no Mandate now exists; South-West Africa has become one territory and one people with that of the Union so far as the outside world was concerned".

The United Nations Assembly has on its part created a special Committee which has admitted representatives put forward on behalf of the Africans of South-West Africa by outside advocates. In November 1955, the South African Government recalled its delegation and its permanent representative from the Session of the General Assembly as a protest against its interference in the domestic affairs of the Union. A further reference to the International Court in 1956 elicited a reply that the Assembly of the United Nations was competent to accept representatives and discuss issues relating to policy in South-West Africa.

At present it is becoming difficult and even dangerous for South-West Africans themselves to speak to the United Nations. The most recent proof of this is the case of one Mr. Jariretundu Kosonguizi, a Herero graduate of Fort Hare University. This man now studying international law at Cape Town University wrote an article on the conditions obtaining in his country in the October-December issue (1957) of the quarterly, *Africa South*. This article was privately circulated by the United States among delegations at the United Nations who decided to invite the author to appear in person before the Trusteeship Council.

The Union Government refused him a passport: Earlier there was the case of one Berthold S. Himumuine, a Herero school-teacher who was granted a scholarship to Oxford. The South African Authorities refused him a passport and he was unable to leave his country to take the offer. This case went all the way to the United Nations but to no avail.

In 1957, at the Twelfth session of the United Nations Assembly, the United States joined the United Kingdom in supporting a resolution inviting South Africa to discuss a settlement of the question of South-West African Mandate with a Good Offices Committee consisting of Britain, the United States and another country to be nominated by Sir Leslie Munro. This was welcomed as being more moderate and conciliatory than a proposed reference to the International Court of Justice for its compulsory jurisdiction in this case under Article 7 of the Mandate, though the Committee on South-West Africa has been asked to consider this as a possibility if mediation fails.

The Good Offices Committee established by the United Nations at its twelfth Session consists of United Kingdom, United States and Brazil.

The following were appointed by their respective Governments: United Kingdom—Sir Charles Arden Clarke, formerly Governor-General of Ghana, United States—Mr. Walter N. Walmisley, Deputy Assistant Secretary of States, Bureau of International Organisation Affairs, State Department, Brazil—General T. Teitao da Cunha, Ambassador to Cuba.

In June 1958, the Good Offices Committee left on its mission to South Africa and met Mr. Eric Louw, the Minister of External Affairs.

SUMMARY OF THE ARDEN-CLARKE GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE

In September 1958, the Arden Clarke's Good Offices Committee Report was published.

The Committee's Report stated that it believed a form of partition in South-West Africa might provide a basis for agreement between the world organisation and the South African Government.

It said that under such an agreement, the Southern part of the territory would be annexed to the Union and the Northern part, containing the great majority of African population would be administered by the Union Government under a Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations.

In the Report which the Assembly is due to consider during its session, opening later this month, the "Good Offices Committee" hoped the Assembly would encourage the Union Government to investigate the possibility of partition.

It stressed that this should be done on the understanding that if the investigation proved the idea was practicable, the Union Government should draw up precise proposals for submission to the United Nations; if not, the Union should inform the United Nations and the matter would lapse.

In its report the Committee said Mr. Eric Louw, South African Minister of External Affairs, expressed the opinion that the possibility of partition merited further consideration by both the Union Government and the United Nations.

The Committee said the Union Government was prepared, under certain conditions, to enter an agreement giving South-West Africa an international character based on arrangements made at the Versailles Peace Conference.

But it was not prepared to accept the United Nations as the second party to such an agreement.

The report said the Union Government declared that strained conditions already existed between itself and the world organisation over South Africa's domestic racial policy.

It would, however, be willing to accept the Governments of Britain, France, and the United States, as the three remaining principal allied and associated powers, as the second party to an agreement.

In view of this, the Committee suggested that, if the Assembly would agree to partition, a specially established organ, to be known as the South West Africa Council, could be established to perform the function as far as they related to the mandate.

It suggested that the United Nations Trusteeship Council, acting for this purpose in a distinct capacity with its membership adjusted to include the Union, might perform the functions of this Council.

A second organ should also be formed to substitute for the permanent mandates commission. This could be appointed by the South West Africa Council and could be called the South West Africa Mandate Commission.

The Union Government would not then have to transmit information to the United Nations. Instead it would send its reports to the South-West Africa mandates commission, which would itself report to the South-West Africa Council.

The Council, in turn, would report to the General Assembly which would base its decisions on the Council's recommendations.

Education :

The South African Government, with the co-operation of missionaries, have tried very hard to keep the Africans of South West Africa educationally backward. The point of view of the missionaries has been defended time and again by one Dr. Vedder, of Okahandja, in the following manner: "Educating an African is just like ordering a white man in South West Africa to cut his throat with his own knife. African ignorance ensures the perpetuation of white supremacy."

Education in South-West Africa has been and is up to the present time, the most backward factor in the territory. The official language is that of the Boers, known as Afrikaans. Education is free and compulsory for white children up to the age of sixteen (16). Their schools are well-equipped in all spheres, whereas education for Africans is neither compulsory nor free. Moreover, educational facilities are provided on the basis of Apartheid, or segregation.

According to the 1956 statement's Year Book, London, there were in 1954 in the Police Zone 53 government schools maintained for 9,900 white pupils. In addition, there were 1,241 white pupils enrolled in 15 private schools, making a total of 11,141 white children in school. Of the children in government schools, 4,694 are accommodated in 48 hostels which are conducted by the administration in conjunction with the government schools. The general policy has been to bring the white children in the country into these hostels and so obviate the necessity for single teacher country schools.

The education of the Africans is mainly under the supervision of various missions. There were in 1954 seven government-supported African schools, two government schools for mulatto children, and 119 government aided mission schools for both African and mulatto children. There was an enrolment of 10,816 pupils, out of an African population of 358,968 in the

Police Zone alone. The two government training schools for Africans at Okahandja and the Roman Catholic Mission School at Dobra can hardly be compared with modern training schools and are no more than brain-washing institutions of the South African Government in South-West Africa.

Only one or two out of the African children go beyond the required grade of Standard VI, which is the highest grade in African elementary schools. So far, through hardship and determination, only three South-West Africans have been enrolled in universities; one at Fort Hare University of South Africa, another in the Medical School at Capetown University, and the third in an American University in the United States. Two of these students are supported by their parents out of the low income they receive, and the third through an endowed scholarship provided by the bequest of an American missionary, Epaminondas J. Pierce, who left a considerable estate to educate African students.

According to the South African Survey of June 15, 1954, the administrator, Mr. D. T. Viljoen, stated that the average income per white person in South-West Africa is £1,300 a year, compared with £520 per white person in the Union of South Africa. The standard of living among Africans is so low as to make it impossible for their children to receive high school or university education, and apart from that fact, even if the Africans are granted scholarships from universities abroad, they are not permitted by the South African Government to travel abroad in order to avail themselves of their scholarships.

Children of 14 years of age and less are recruited and transported far from their homes to work on European farms where they are exposed to harsh and severe treatment. Despite a recent ordinance, No.26 of 1954, Section 104, which forbids the employment of boys under the age of 16 in mines, the facts and the interpretation of this Ordinance show that legally it does not protect boys in this category from being employed in the mines; it only prevents them from being employed underground. It is indeed, unfortunate that the U.N.O. Committee on South West Africa noted with satisfaction the passage of this Ordinance without investigating its interpretation.

In the meantime, the educational aspect of South West Africa on the part of the Africans will be highly affected by the Bantu Education Act passed by the South African Parliament, which became Act No.47 of 1953. This act places the education of the Africans totally under the general supervision of the South African Minister of Native Affairs, who is to prescribe subjects to be taught, and the act generally provides an education for Africans inferior to that of Europeans.

Time and again, scholars from abroad have been refused permission by the South African Government to carry out research in South West Africa. For example, Dr. Gordon Gibson, an American professor of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, now at the University of Utah, was refused permission, without any reason given, to enter South West Africa. His intention was to study the social and cultural institutions of the Herero people.

Furthermore, the South African Government has repeatedly informed the African students in South-West Africa that no student or trainee or teacher in South-West Africa may belong to any organisation, political or educational. At present, African education in the territory is mainly in the hands of the Native Affairs Department of South Africa. *Much of the educational activities, again, are limited to religious instruction, rudimentary arithmetic, and reading in Afrikaans. The subjects are few and inadequately taught, and cannot raise a nation to a high level of advancement.* In the North very little is done, especially for the improvement of the people's daily lives.

Slave Labour :

The labourers come from the reserves, some forced, others of their own free will, to earn wages. They are not free to choose their masters on arrival at the place of work, or to bargain with their employers or to leave them when exposed to harsh treatment. They are among the lowest paid workers anywhere in the world. *They are herded in the trains and cattle trucks with tallies or labels around their necks and are not well-fed or accommodated. Many of them are paid about 8/- (approximately U.S. \$1.60) a month.*

Most of the labour is imported from Ovamboland and Okavangoland. Owing to lack of accommodation, they sleep in the open with only one blanket, even if the temperature is below zero. On farms of their masters they encounter the most malicious treatment: *they are flogged, shot to death, and their bodies burned.* In the district of Gobabis around White Bosob river areas, labourers have been fleeing from their masters in order to petition the Native Affairs Department and at the same time request the administration to end their contracts, but to their amazement, these workers find themselves under arrest for having run away from their masters. It is very frustrating to find that the law is always on the side of the Boer masters, to whom the poor labourers are returned after punishment by the government officials. They therefore have no place to turn for justice and are forced to accept death and other punishments meted out to them by their masters.

Occasionally, when returning home after serving their contracts, they are robbed on the way, as happened from June to August, 1954, at Namutoni, when returning Ovambo workers were robbed of their properties and money. The white policemen confiscated the goods of these workers, fined them for possessing perfumes, and in addition took them into custody for being found in possession of personal belongings. This is the South African Government's justice to the natives of South-West Africa!

Cheap Labour:

The demand for cheap African mine labour is a never-ending one. South West Africa has become the Union's cheap labour reservoir, able-bodied young Africans being taken away from their homes and families to the Union to fill this demand at 45 to 50 cents a day.

It was stated in the Government's Blue Book of 1956 that Ovamboland and Okavangoland in South-West Africa constitute a potential labour recruiting field for South Africa. The administration of South-West Africa has agreed to supply the Union's mines with workers. The contracting and recruiting system whereby labour in South-West Africa is sent to the mines of the Union is a disgraceful one.

The Law in South-West Africa provides that, when an African is dilatory in finding employment, an employer may be indicated, and if he refuses to engage himself, he is subject to arrest under the vagrancy law.

Land:

Land has been and will be the perennial demand of the Africans in South-West Africa and the rest of Africa. The general practice of the South African Government in South-West Africa has been to convert Africans into wage slaves of the white employers. The people of South-West Africa have been denied land, means of livelihood, the normal rights of human beings, and the development of their social traditional heritage.

Africans in the rural slum paradises known as Native Reserves occupy an area less than 15 per cent of the total area of South-West Africa. It is lamentable in the North, especially in Okavangoland and Ovamboland, where the available land in the reserves is only 5½ per cent of the total area.

In addition, the Africans find it difficult to raise cattle in these reserves, especially in Epukiro and Aminuis Reserves. These two reserves are badly infected with poisonous plants. Cattle in these Reserves die in large numbers every year through splenic

fever, a gall infection caused by protozoas transmitted by ticks and through Lam disease, a disease caused by deficiency of phosphorous in the soil. At present there is no effective treatment.

The South African Government has encouraged white families from Angola and those who are leaving Kenya, East Africa and lately Congo to settle in South-West Africa by giving each family large tracts of land. Furthermore, the South African Government has been encouraging white farmers to deprive the Africans of portions of the inadequate land they occupy in the Reserves, namely Epukiro and Aminuis Reserves between Post No. 11 and No. 13. There is no financial assistance from the Government to Africans to help them develop their lands. Indeed, there can be no funds if there is little or no land for the people to develop. Inevitably, this is one important reason why Africans are compelled to accept paid labour for the benefit of Europeans in the country.

Another important step was recently taken by the South-West Africa Legislative Assembly Executive Committee in Windhoek, to shift its 400 Bergdamaras from Aukeigas, 14 miles from the capital city of Windhoek, where they have lived since 1906 to a new area of Okombahe, 225 miles to the North.

The Aukeigas area, which was never proclaimed a Native Reserve, was given to the Bergdamaras as their temporary place of abode by the German administration with the consent of the Herero and Nama people in 1900. In 1924 the South African Government took a portion of this area for European settlement and named it Neuhauses. The South African Government then promised the Bergdamara people that they shall never be deprived of Aukeigas. With their own funds the Bergdamaras built dams, water-holes and roads. Now that they have made Aukeigas a suitable place for settlement, the government is shifting them to a new barren area of Okombahe. Besides the 400 people, the shift will include 1,600 cattle, 3,700 goats and 214 donkeys. The animals will trek by road, but the families will be moved in administration vehicles.

The present Aukeigas area comprises 13,800 hectares (about 34,000 acres) of ground. Two thousand hectares of this will be added to an administration farm area and 1,000 hectares will be used to develop a dam area with a park for wild game. It is a pity that the South African Government is only concerned with the freedom of the wild game rather than with African freedom.

Ten thousand hectares will be cut into two farms and sold by public auction. The application of the South African Government's political strategy in this respect was planned to show that the people have been democratically dealt with. The most significant fac-

tor is that the Africans, being so poor, will not be in a position to purchase these farms by public auction. On the contrary, it is ridiculous to deprive people of their land and sell it by public auction for the benefit of the white people. To the rest of the Africans in South-West Africa this action by the South African Government is nothing less than a shrewd political stratagem wrapped in a democratic magic box.

Public Health and Medical Service :

The African population has deteriorated to an alarming extent in the so-called native locations in urban areas. *The lavatories and drinking water taps are located in the same places. Refuse flows from these lavatories contaminating the taps. This situation results in insanitary conditions and all kinds of dangerous diseases in the native locations. Conditions in these locations are disgraceful all over the territory.* It should be noted that about 150 African families draw water from the same tap, while every European house is provided with separate and adequate water supply. Dams and boreholes in the native reserves are very inadequate.

The African quarters in the whole country are simply known as "locations". *Shanties, one of the most gruesome and nauseating slums one can think of, are made of old automobile benders, cardboard, mashed-out petrol tins, and bits of old cloth and basket-ware.* While the Europeans section of the community is well dressed, prosperous, and live in ultra modern beautiful edifice, the African section lives in the Gethesemane of slums, hunger, misery, poverty and pandokies constructed from flattened-out parafin tins, discarded oil drums and various other pieces of iron and tin, all rusted by exposure to sun and rain.

The pattern of Apartheid between Europeans and Africans is carried out in the provisions for health in South-West Africa.

While £34,258 is spent on subsidy and maintenance of seven state-aided European hospitals, only £17,851 is spent for the five state-owned African hospitals in the territory. These figures represent an expenditure of £17 5s. equivalent to U.S. \$70 per person, in European hospital, as compared with £4 5s. equivalent to U.S. \$18 per patient in African hospital in 1955. With such gross neglect to its discredit, the South African Government has declared that vital statistics in regard to African residents outside the reserves in tribal areas are not available because Africans allegedly, are dilatory and apathetic in reporting births and deaths.

The Union Government has declared, however, that it has formally accepted the tutelage of the Africans as a sacred trust. It is, therefore, incumbent on the South African Government to make some effort to raise the Africans from their present backward state.

The South African Government makes it very difficult for the people of South-West Africa, especially the Africans, to obtain local trading licenses in urban and rural areas, while the African people's economic enterprises are confined to filthy and segregated areas. It is therefore imperative that the right of the Africans to freedom of trade be recognised.

Administration :

The method has been and is, up to the present time, that of taking away African land and means of livelihood, denying them a voice in the government, preventing their social and cultural development, and applying brute force. *Africans, except those working for Europeans, are herded into concentration camps known in South African terminology as "native reserves".*

In fact, the people of South-West Africa have no effective voice in the government of their own country, they do not participate in the election of those who govern them; they do not vote laws that govern them; they do not work in the administration of those laws on either the lower or higher levels; they receive very low wages and find it impossible to maintain a decent standard of living; so much has been taken away from them by the South African Government that they cannot gain a decent livelihood; the vast majority of Africans are diseased without provision for the treatment of their diseases. Will the removal of these undesirable conditions be left to a merciless South African Government, or will the UNO assume its rightful responsibility?

In addition, the Union Government introduced the South-West African Native Affairs Administration Bill which has subsequently become law as Act No. 56 of 1954. In terms of this legislation, the administration of native affairs in the territory was scheduled as from April 1, 1955, to be transferred from the Administrator of South-West Africa, who has acted under the direction and control of the Governor-General, to the Union Minister of Native Affairs, thereby requiring the territory to make a financial contribution to the treasury of the South African Government. On the other hand, this is one way of incorporating South-West Africa into the Union of South Africa.

In order to show the kind of dictatorial bureaucracy of which the administration in South-West Africa consists, I would like to state that the man who really runs South-West Africa is not the Administrator, whose importance is largely titular, but a civil servant. He is secretary to the Government; Chief Native Commissioner, Chairman of the Land Tax Board, Chairman of the Diamond Board, Chairman of the Tender Board, Chairman of the European Farming Interest Fund, Director of Internal Revenue and Director of Prisons.

Furthermore, the administration has introduced most of the colour bar restrictive regulations in vogue in the Union of South Africa for the control of African labour—The Master and Servant Act, Vagrancy Code, Native Urban Area Proclamation, Native Labour Regulations, Pass Laws, and taxes of various kinds—without African representation in the government. The Pass Laws cover the following :—

- (a) Poll Tax
- (b) Identification and Travelling Pass
- (c) Six Day's Special Pass
- (d) Night Special Pass
- (e) Lodge Pass
- (f) Day Labour Pass
- (g) Location Visitors Pass
- (h) Trek Pass
- (i) Exemption Pass.

It is worthwhile at this juncture to portray the wishful thinking and false belief of the Union Government by quoting two extracts from speeches made by the former South African Prime Minister, Mr. Strydom, and his leading Parliamentary leaders on one of their frequent visits to South-West Africa, as reported by the South African press :

"White man in South-West Africa" :

WINDHOEK. The Nationalist Party of South-West Africa was faithfully observing its 1948 agreement with the Union Government and the United South-West African Party to strive for closer Union with South Africa. Mr. J. von Molke, Member of Parliament, said in his chairman's address to the annual congress of the Nationalist Party of South-West Africa: "*We fully realize that the whiteman in South-West Africa must sink or swim with the whiteman in South Africa. That is why our party's goal is to become one in heart and soul and aim in all respects in every sphere with the independent republic of South Africa and the people will build up that new state when the glorious days dawn.*" Mr. von Molke pleaded for greater legislative uniformity between South-West Africa and the Union of South Africa. The time had come, he said, for the Union's apartheid laws to be applied to South-West Africa. The fact that the Attorney-General of South-West Africa did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Justice was another anomaly that should be cleared up as soon as possible.

Security of South-West Africa :

WINDHOEK. The phenomenal development in the Union, especially in the last 15 years, coupled with the creation of inde-

pendent non-European states in the rest of Africa, with the possibility of still more independent non-European states, had created new and vast problems, said the Prime Minister, Mr. Strydom, when he was opening the congress of the Nationalist Party of South West Africa in Windhoek. Any person who held that the European race could continue to exist in Africa if the non-Europeans were allowed political power was either wilfully dishonest or lacking in understanding and judgment.

South Africa would have to co-operate to the fullest extent with other European-controlled states in Africa, especially with an eye to their joint purpose of ensuring the continued existence of the white race in Africa, in spite of differences of opinion and policy.

In the union itself everything possible must be done to unify the various sections of European population—Afrikaans, English and German-speaking—and the more especially to present a united front to the outside world and to prove to the United Nations and the world that they were all prepared to stand together and defend their point of view. South-West Africa's future would be most unenviable if left in the hands of the United Nations, as suggested by the United Party, the Prime Minister said.

The United Party's policy, that the Union should make yearly reports to the United Nations, could have only one result. This would be that South-West Africa would become the prey of the MICHAEL SCOTTS AND THE FATHER HUDDLESTONES of the world.

Some responsible people even hint that South-West Africa should be placed under the supervision of the United Nations by which course they will, supposedly receive their independence from the United Nations.

"Do not these people realise that if South-West Africa once comes under the supervision of the United Nations and then receives its independence from that body, the control and power will not be given to the Europeans but to MICHAEL SCOTT'S PEOPLE—THE OVAMBOS, THE HEREROS, THE DEMARS, THE HOTTENTOTS AND THE BUSHMEN?"

South-West Africa's only security and salvation lay in the Nationalist Party's policy of unity with the Union.

Unfortunately, the Africans of South-West Africa have never expressed a desire to oust the white people from South-West Africa. Africans everywhere are fully aware of the fact that the world is becoming closer and closer. Therefore, the need for

human co-operation, irrespective of colour or creed, is more urgent than ever before on the history of mankind, and I am sure that if the United Nations could fulfil its obligations regarding the territory in dispute, South-West Africa will become a model state.

Suppression of a People :

The results of this suppression are a stain on the banner of democracy throughout the world. The South African Government has been able to transform South-West Africa into a slaveyard. The Government has so far extirpated the people's independence and placed an embargo on freedom in favour of its exclusive doctrine of Apartheid and White Supremacy. From time to time the South African Government has been arguing before the UNO that the mandate has elapsed because the League of Nations has ceased to exist. The League of Nations was not a mandator in the sense in which this term is interpreted according to the narrow confines of South African Government national laws. The South African Government has only assumed an international supervision over South-West Africa. Furthermore, the mandate was created in the interest of the people of South-West Africa, and of humanity in general, as an international society with an international object—a sacred trust of civilization. It is ridiculous for the South African Government to apply, even by analogy, the South African national procedures to the mandate of South-West Africa. The mandate was not a private treaty between the League of Nations and the South-West African Government. Due to the similarity of the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant and that of the U.N.O. Charter in regard to the mandate system, I do not see how on earth the two institutions of mandate and trusteeship should co-exist under the UNO. International mandates are not, and shall never be converted into ordinary contracts or treaties—they are a trust. The Assembly which had the power to confer that trust has indirectly the faculty to revoke it, without abusing its rights.

The coming years will see the emergence of the people of South-West Africa. The major question is how this change will take place. Will it take place peacefully and co-operatively, or in a conflict? At this crucial period of African nationalism, it will best serve the South African Government to submit a trusteeship agreement to the UNO peacefully, in order to maintain better relations between the two countries, than for South Africa to lose South-West Africa by force, thereby leaving nothing but hatred towards her in her wake.

It is obvious that people once awake and conscious of their rights cannot be suppressed for long. The only wise policy, therefore, apart from its humanity, is to recognise the clamour of the

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AVAILABLE

SALAZAR—ANOTHER HITLER

IN AFRICA *by A Correspondent*

LATEST reports from Angola cannot but shock the peace loving peoples of the world. Portuguese armed planes are being used in the annihilation of African nationalists in Angola, Mozambique, and other Portuguese colonies in Africa. She is being aided in the committal of these atrocities by Israel, West Germany, United States of America and Spain. A Portuguese pilot, Mr. Jacinto Melo, and a former medical salesman in Mozambique, Mr. Juan Lerreira, have confirmed on their arrival recently at Dar-es-Salaam that France was to be added to the list of conniving countries.

Portuguese Villainy

Every news item leaving Angola is now subject to strict censorship. The accuracy of some of the official data on the economic and cultural situation supplied to the United Nations in 1961 by Portugal is now open to question. Basil Davidson, a well-known journalist and one of the few privileged to visit Angola recently, wrote that Angola had become a political and economic maelstrom where natives were kept on a starvation diet, persecuted, imprisoned and guarded by armed sentries. The situation in Angola has become so grave that a factual official release of the position of things there would amount to self indictment of the notorious Salazar regime.

Forced Labour

Forced labour is the backbone of Portuguese economy. Thousands of men, women and children are forced to work in private or public enterprises. The over four million Africans are being ravaged by disease and live in constant fear of corporal punishment and untold threats. Even after over a century of the abolition of slave trade, the Portuguese have taken some Angolan

nationalists as slaves. They call these slaves "CONTRACTADOS" meaning "contract labourers." A recent report in Angolan nationalist papers gives the average annual wage of a contractado as 1,600 escudos which is about one shilling a day. Little wonder then that they suffer from malnutrition and poor accommodation. John Gunther, a famous author on African Affairs, summed up his observations on Angola in ten words: "HERE REIGNS THE LAW OF THE MIDDLE AGES, IT'S HELL." Since 1961 more than 80,000 Angolans have been killed and over 220 have fled to the Congo and the nearby countries.

Medical and health facilities are as good as non-existence. There is only one doctor to an average of 90,000 people. There is not a single hospital although a few dispensaries are to be found in the big plantations. The World Health Organisation's report shows that infant mortality exists at a rate of 40 per cent. In 1958 alone, out of 30,000 death cases reported, 24,000 were infant mortality. Africans in this part of our great continent are dying like dogs. In the big towns, however, there are scores of white private doctors who treat only white patients because their charges are so exorbitant that the total wages earned by an African for four years cannot pay for a single medical treatment. Here is an attempt by Salazar to create another South Africa. The attempt must be crushed with all the forces at our disposal.

Poor Education

The education of the Africans is equally neglected. Less than seven thousand Africans attend primary school and the country cannot boast of a single secondary school. Africans have no right to attend any University anywhere and when an African did attend any somewhere,

he is prohibited from re-entering his motherland for fear that he might mobilise public opinion against Salazar's regime. Angolan children are not allowed to study their history or culture. All subjects must be taught in Portuguese languages.

But what must not be glossed over is that these Portuguese racialist monsters cannot keep dictatorial regime for ever. The doom of their regime is in the horizon. The victories of other African States over the oppressive colonialists and imperialists should be a source of inspiration to our brothers and sisters in Angola in their just fight for freedom and justice.

Ghana's Stand

Ghana's stand on the total liberation of Africa has been aptly expressed by Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah on the occasion of Ghana's independence in 1957. Said he: "Our independence will be meaningless if it is not linked up with the total liberation of Africa." It was a most re-assuring statement to our brothers and sisters all over Africa who are still suffering under the imperialist yoke. Now after the Addis Ababa Conference, African countries still under the colonial rule could depend not only on Ghana but also on the other 31 independent states in Africa. The support will not only be moral but also financial and material.

Today Portuguese soldiers heartlessly commit various acts of barbarism on the Angola nationalists, and gestapo methods are being used to suppress the legitimate demands of the people of Angola. Portuguese policy in Mozambique and other African colonies is no less brutal. But tomorrow, the people of Angola and other African colonies will speak as citizens of free and independent nations; and their weapon will be not only their determined will to be free but also the concerted efforts of all the independent countries of Africa.

'Concept of Pan-Africanism'

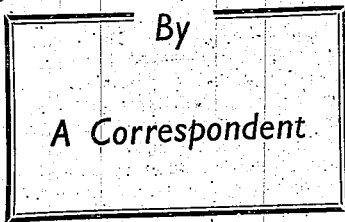
DR. W. E. B. Du Bois, a scholar of world fame, often described as the "father" of Pan-Africanism once postulated: "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the colour line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea" Mr. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council from 1921-1938, considers that racial prejudice "is a sinister fact in the life of the world today". Sir Reginald Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, points out that "the colour problem is most urgent and most critical in Asia. It is most difficult and morally most dangerous in Africa".

All these statements were made during the first quarter of our century—the 20th century—by thinking men who became gravely concerned with the brutal treatment of Africans and coloured peoples by the so-called white race.

Crucial Question

Now the crucial question is, what have caused these alarming statements on race problems by thinking men of the time? The simple and brutal oppression of Africans and coloured peoples through slavery and colonization by the so-called white race.

It will be recalled that by the middle of the 17th century slave trade had reached such a horrible stage that Africans were being carried to Europe, America and the West Indies like chattels. Side by side with the slave trade was the colonization of Africa by the white race culminating in the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 at which the Western European Imperialist powers carved Africa into a mosaic of meaningless enclaves, colonies and protectorates and organized themselves into spheres of influence in Asia and Africa. It was under the Berlin pact that Uganda became a British protectorate in 1894 and Kenya a colony in 1895.



An English Professor of Economics was telling me the other day at Makerere here that the British intervened in Africa to protect the natives from the voracious appetites of the other imperialist powers; thus echoing Gladstone's absurd exposition that the colonies were a millstone around the neck of the British empire. This Professor forgets that Britain was one of the leading European powers in the abominable slave trade and an active participant in the Berlin Conference which cruelly dissected Africa and exploited it of its human and material resources and reduced it to abject poverty. A fitting answer to this gentleman is that provided by my President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah: "We prefer freedom and independence with danger to tranquility in servitude under any colonial power".

Religious Connivance

During the period from 17th Century to the end of 19th Century, the lot of the African and his Negro brother in America had been that of oppression and down-right humiliation. The object of the imperialist powers was to depersonalize the African and to reduce the Black race into nothingness. The so-called Christians at the time easily found excuses for the slave-trade.

According to those Christians, the Bible proclaimed the curse of Canaan; and the Reverend Thomas Thompson after years of devoted missionary work in the then Gold Coast (now Ghana), felt justified in

publishing, in 1772, a pamphlet entitled "The African Trade for Negro slaves shown to be consistent with the principles of Humanity and with the Laws of Revealed Religion".

The Spaniards are said to have excused their ill-treatment of the natives of America and the West Indies (who were African slaves) on the grounds that they were not the descendants of Adam and Eve. And as late as 1900, an American author argued that the Negro, not being human, could not have soul, and that "all scientific investigation of the subject proves the Negro to be an ape".

It will be seen that in order to depersonalize the African and to justify his enslavement and denial of human rights, all sorts of fantastic theories were advanced by the imperialist powers. It was about this period also that Darwin and other naturalists propounded the theory of organic evolution and the survival of the fittest.

This theory, as some of you are aware, stimulated racial pride among the imperialist powers. National virtues and achievements were extolled to stimulate the vanity of the white races, and to justify the policy of expansion and aggression at the expense of the so-called "inferior" peoples. Thus we have got at the root of racialism or colour prejudice. But are we, as Africans satisfied with those silly theories and nonsensical effusions on us by these predatory imperialists?

Racialism or colour prejudice is nothing more than the unreasoned hatred of one race for another, the contempt of the stronger and perhaps richer peoples for those whom they consider inferior to themselves, and the bitter resentment of those who are kept in subjection and are frequently insulted.

As colour is the most obvious outward manifestation of race, it has been made the criterion by

which men are judged, irrespective of their social or educational attainments. The lighter-skinned races have come to despise all those of a darker colour, and the dark-skinned peoples will no longer accept without protest the inferior position to which they have been relegated.

Pan-Africanism :

Pan-Africanism is race-consciousness of colour. It symbolizes self-realization and self-assertion of Africans and peoples of African descent who were doomed to desperation and to the slow strangulation of their God-given personality. Pan-Africanism symbolizes the rising tide of African Renaissance in political, cultural, intellectual and spiritual.

The determination of African peoples to discover themselves and to rise to their fullest height. The feeling that in unity is strength and that the security of African continent can be effectively safe-guarded and the African personality projected by the promotion of continental brotherhood within the frame-work of continental Union of African States and Peoples.

Pan-Africanism poses a stalwart challenge to the white chauvinists who for centuries have dominated Africa through their unbridled arrogant doctrine of superiority. Here I wish to emphasize that the so-called theory of "inferiority and superiority" is fallacious. All normal beings, even the uneducated, are endowed with at least common-sense. And by common-sense I mean the common allowance of wits with which everyone has to understand practical affairs; a capacity of wit armed with a mass of accumulated convictions which one shares with one's fellows and which social convention endorses.

To go a little deeper into this fallacy of "superiority" and "inferiority", I must state firmly and categorically that all competent authorities agree that human development is due to a continuous interaction between hereditary and environmental influences. Neither is fruitful without the other. Heredity determines what kind of an individual will develop, and what upper limits

the development can eventually reach. On the other hand, the environment accelerates, or retards, the rate of development and determines whether or not full development will actually be reached.

The Answer

Now let us ask, how can the African or the Negro conceivably develop under conditions of slavery and colonialist suppression? Pan-Africanism is the answer. Pan-Africanism stands on twin foundation of purpose—freedom from colonial rule and unity. Here, let me again quote you what my President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has to say on this. At the all-African Peoples' Conference which he called in Accra in December, 1958, he declared: "I say that once Africa is free and independent, we shall see a flowering of human spirit second to none.

"Some of us, I think need reminding that Africa is a continent of its own. It is not an extension of Europe or any other continent. We want therefore, to develop our own community and an African personality. As long as we are ruled by others we shall lay over mistakes at their door and our sense of responsibility will remain lulled".

Our freedom therefore enables us to shape our own destiny unimpaird by any extraneous agencies and our unity as a stabilizing force within the frame-work of which the African personality can be developed to its fullest stature.

Concept of Pan-Africanism

The idea of Pan-Africanism first arose as a manifestation of fraternal solidarity among Africans and peoples of African descent. The first Negro movement in the form of Pan-Africanism was organized by a Trinidad Barrister, H. Sylvester Williams who is known to be the first person to talk about Pan-Africanism. Under his sponsorship, the first Pan-African Congress was held in London in 1900.

It is claimed that it was at that conference that Dr. Du Bois was introduced to Pan-Africanism. The object of the Conference was to

propagate the ideas of Pan-Africanism and to protest against the inhuman treatment to Negroes in America and Africans in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. At the first Congress, a protest Note addressed to Queen Victoria at the end of the Conference about those inhuman treatments and exploitation of Negroes and Africans was accorded a curt reply by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain who wrote: "Her Majesty's Government has no power to interfere with the interests and welfare of the native races." You will observe the implied contempt—native races.

It was also at that Conference that Dr. Du Bois spoke his famous prophetic lines: "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the colour line". Although the Conference did not achieve much, it created a tremendous impact. It was the first time that the voice of the oppressed peoples of African race was raised in Europe.

Meanwhile, various Negro movements in America were exercising strong influence not only in America, but also in Africa. There was Marcus Garvey's "Universal Negro Improvement Association" (UNIA) preaching "Back to Africa" to the Negro masses of the New World. At about the same time, the "National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples" whose co-founder is Dr. DuBois came into being.

That period of intense political agitation by Negroes was marked by cross-fertilisation of ideas which affected the African political outlook and thinking. John Chilembwe from Nyasaland who studied in a Negro Baptist Seminary in America from 1897 to 1900 returned to Nyasaland and formed a political nationalist organisation which agitated "Africa for Africans". It is on record that he subsequently led an uprising in Nyasaland in 1915 and was killed on one of the mountains which was later named after him—the Chilembwe mountain.

The Second Congress

The second Pan-African Congress, the first under the leadership of Dr. DuBois, was held contempo-

raniously with the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919. Dr. DuBois arrived determined to have Africa voice its complaints to the world. His efforts succeeded largely through the intervention of Senegal's delegate, M. Blaise Diagne, at that time the foremost colonial spokesman from the French colonial territories, and a close friend of M. Clemenceau, the then French Prime Minister. M. Clemenceau told Diagne, "Don't advertise it, but go ahead." The American Government refused to give passports to Negroes to attend the Conference from America. However as many as 57 delegates from Africa, West Indies and Negroes servicemen in Paris attended. This basic Congress broadened the basis and perspective of Pan-Africanism.

At this Conference the Principal resolution passed demanded African voice in their own Governments and the right to be accorded the fundamental rights. In his characteristically philosophical manner, Dr. Du Bois declared: "The beginning of wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the world".

This Congress which was divided into two sessions, London and Lisbon, reiterated its earlier resolutions, the most important demand of which was: "Africans to have a voice in their own Governments". The manifesto adopted condemned South Africa. Among other things, it states: "In fine we ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men. We can see no other road, to peace and progress. What more paradoxical figure today confronts the world than the official head of South Africa striving blindly to build peace and goodwill in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of million of Black Africans". It further declared "The absolute equality of race, physical and social, is the founding stone of world and human advancement".

Osagyefo's Role

This Congress marked a spectacular turning point in the history of Pan-Africanism in that it was at this

Congress that Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism actually took concrete expression. Joint Secretaries to the Congress were: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, now President of the Republic of Ghana and the late George Padmore.

It was the first time that the Congress was attended and dominated by young African nationalists from Africa; and it was also the first time that the need for well-organized, firmly-knit political movements as a primary condition for the success of national liberation struggle in Africa was realized.

Dr. DuBois, at the age of 73, took the chair. Gold Coast (Ghana) was represented by a delegation of seven among whom was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah; Nigeria three, among whom were Chief H. O. Davies, Q.C. and Chief S. L. Akintola, now Premier of Western Nigeria; Kenya by Jomo Kenyatta, now Premier of Kenya and South Africa by Peter Abrahams.

The remarkable feature of the Congress was its declaration for the colonial people to be free. Among the resolutions adopted was the following: "The fifth Pan-African Congress calls on intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. The long, long night is over. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. To-day, there is only one road to effective action—the organization of the masses."

It will be observed that here, the dominant cord and emphasis was on the organization of the masses of Africa as a primary condition for the achievement of freedom. It was from this Congress that the young nationalists from Africa returned to various oppressed colonial territories to put their declarations and resolutions into effect.

It will also be noted that from First Congress in 1900 to the Fifth

Congress in 1945, Pan Africanism had had one central aim—the liberation of Africa and Peoples of African descent. They were at the time imbued with the spirit of unity—unity not in the sense of fighting for freedom of individual territories in Africa, but of fighting for the total liberation of the whole continent of Africa.

Towards African Unity

The spirit of Pan-Africanism lingered on, but it was not until the accession of Ghana to independence in 1957 that Pan-Africanism was given body and soul. It was in 1957, the dawn of Ghana's freedom and independence from colonial rule that my President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, made his historic declaration: "The independence of Ghana will be meaningless, unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the Continent of Africa". In making this bold declaration, President Nkrumah was not only reviving the spirit of Pan-African, the tenets of which he had played no mean part in formulating, but was paving the way for African Unity, which is the supreme objective of Pan-Africanism.

Precepts without concrete examples are empty platitudes. To translate his declaration into terms of positive action, President Nkrumah convened in Accra in April 1958—a year after Ghana's independence—a Conference of Independent African States. This Conference proved a significant milestone in the consolidation of the ideas of Pan-Africanism, in promoting African continental brotherhood and above all, in giving birth to African Unity.

The Conference which was attended by the then eight Independent African states at the time: Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya, Liberia, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and United Arab Republic, resolved and affirmed: (a) its unswerving loyalty to the charter of the United Nations; (b) the maintenance of the unity of purpose and action in international affairs which would be directed to the projection of the African Personality; (d) non-com-

mitment in any action likely to be detrimental to African interest and freedom; (e) recognition of the right of the African peoples to independence and self-determination and readiness to take appropriate action to hasten the realization of this right; (f) determination to uproot forever the evils of racial discrimination; (g) co-ordination of economic and industrial planning and (h) setting up of a permanent machinery at the United Nations by African permanent representatives for co-ordinating action.

This is what Dr. Nkrumah said at the opening Conference: "We are here to know ourselves and to exchange views on matters of common interests; to explore ways and means of consolidating and safeguarding our hard-won independence; to strengthen the economic and cultural ties between countries; to find workable arrangements for helping our brothers still languishing under colonial rule; to examine the central problem which dominates the world today, namely, the problem of how to secure peace. And finally, to send out an appeal to the Great powers of the world to do whatever they can to save the world from destruction and humanity from annihilation."

People's Yearning

That African peoples have been yearning to come together in the pursuit and fulfilment of their aspirations is reflected in the speeches from among the three oldest states in Africa. From Ethiopia, Emperor Haile Selassie said: "This conference marks the first occasion on which the independent nations of Africa have gathered together to discuss questions which are common to all of them and to Africa, and thus the first step into a new and promising era for this great continent".

From Liberia, President Tubman said: "I pay special tribute to the vision and foresight of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, (now President) for having proposed this Conference, the first in the history of Africa, for the purpose of providing a forum for full and un-

fettered exchange of views on any matters which are of interest to individual African states or to all peoples of Africa whether independent or not".

From Tunisia, the head of the delegation, Dr. Sadok Mokaddem said: "Before closing, I wish particularly to bring the support of my delegation to the ideas so coherently developed by President Nkrumah—ideas which review in brilliant and precise terms both the spirit of our Conference and the points stated on the agenda. In thanking him, in the name of my delegation for the valuable contribution which he has made to the work of this Conference, I wish to say to him how well he has succeeded in being the authentic expression of the new African conscience".

The success of the Conference can properly be measured by the later developments and events that took place on the African continent. To mark the success of the Conference as an historic epoch in Africa, 15th April, the date of the Conference, was declared "Africa's Freedom Day" which is observed each year.

All-African Peoples Conference, Accra, December, 1958:

The importance and significance of this Conference is that it gave stimulus and impetus to National liberation movements in Africa to storm the ramparts and citadel of colonialism. Delegates from 62 African Nationalist Organizations attended the Conference. What emerged from this Conference was the concrete and unanimous expression of will for the unity of Africa and the determination to carry forward the process of freedom and independence throughout Africa.

The enthusiasm generated among the delegates returning to their own countries profoundly influenced subsequent developments. By 1960, the number of independent African States had grown from eight to 15, with many more having been given fixed dates for independence.

Thus the flame of Pan-Africanism which was rekindled in Accra in April, 1958 was blazing a trail for

continental freedom and unity.

The poison in Pan-Africanism or Pan-African unity is the divisive evil of neo-colonialism whose sole aim is to bedevil the efforts of Africans to come together to form a corporate union in the interest of peace, progress and prosperity of the interest of peace, progress and prosperity of the continent of Africa.

This is what my President, Dr. Nkrumah has to say on this head. At the recent Summit Conference at Addis Ababa, President Nkrumah declared: "There is evidence on every side that the imperialists have not withdrawn from our affairs.

"There are times, as in the Congo, when their interference is manifest. But generally it is covered up under the clothing of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to foment dissension within our borders and create an atmosphere of tension and political instability. As long as we do not do away with the root causes of discontent, we lend aid to these neo-colonialist forces, and shall become our own executioners. We cannot ignore the teachings of history".

Imperialist Intrigues

After the Accra Conference of Heads of State in April, 1958, when the stage was set for Pan-African Unity, the imperialists powers reacted with malignant ingenuity to undermine and frustrate efforts to forge the desired unity and to stem the tide of freedom through divisive manoeuvres and machinations of neo-colonialism. They set about to do this in five main subtle ways:

- creating dissensions between independent African States;
- encouraging the creation of

blocs of African states so that Africa may speak with many and conflicting voices (to her undoing) instead of with one concerted, compelling voice;

- intensification of their efforts to consolidate the Southern extremity of Africa on the basis of an entente between Verwoerd's South Africa,

Welensky's Central African Federation and Tshombe's Katanga province as the whiteman's bastion against the tide of African irredentism;

- d. resort to divisionist and tribalist politics in order to delay independence and
- e. recourse to brutal police action in suppressing the struggle for freedom as in Angola, Mozambique and the Rhodesias

The result of the evil divisive influence of neo-colonialism was the attempt to stultify Pan-African Unity by the creation of blocs and Federations in Africa. Before the historic Conference at Addis Ababa in May, 1963, there had existed as many as six blocs and Federations in Africa, all being manipulated by the imperialists and neo-colonialists one against the other. There was the Mali Federation which broke up in 1959; Central African Federation which dissolved only last month; Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union; Monrovia Group of States; Casablanca Powers; Brazzaville Group and Afro-Malagasy Union.

People's Determination

But thanks to the unparalleled statesmanship and vision of our

leaders the spirit and concept of Pan-Africanism has survived. This unquenchable will and irresistible determination of the peoples of Africa to form themselves into a continental brotherhood within the frame-work of Pan-African Unity has at last triumphed.

The Addis Ababa Conference of May 1963 will certainly occupy a worthy chapter in the annals of African history. Its symbolic feature lies in the fact that for the first time since 1958 have 32 Independent African States realized the imperative need to translate into positive reality the ideals and concepts of Pan-Africanism to which many of our leaders have hitherto only paid half-hearted attention. It is also for the first time that most of our ardent Pan-Africanist leaders have become sharply aware of the grave dangers inherent in regional groupings and federations as bastions for neo-colonialist operations and have decided to abandon them in the supreme interests of Pan-African Unity and in the building up of African personality in world affairs. Over and above all, it is the first time that a solid foundation for real Pan-African Unity has been laid and a seal put to it by no less than 32 Independent African States.

The Charter for the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) is a remarkable document of great significance. It is a well-known document which takes into consideration, and satisfies the aspirations, of every state in Africa, every region in Africa and indeed the whole continent of Africa. It is a document which makes regional groupings and federations unnecessary and in fact obsolete, except for those motivated by egoistic instincts and petty self-interests who wish to see neo-colonialist domination in Africa through balkanization and regional groupings. You will yourselves see from the Charter (copies of which I will circulate to you) that no aspect of African need or development has been neglected. They have all been meticulously considered. And as I speak there are 32 African Foreign Ministers at present meeting in Dakar, Senegal to consider a constitution for the Continental Government of African States.

And so we see that the concept of Pan-Africanism which was nebulously conceived in 1900 and which both Communists and Imperialists taunted as Utopian, is now unfolding into concrete reality.

LE SAHARA ALGERIEN ET SES RICHESSES PETROLIERES

Le Peuple algérien, pour sa part, rejette toute "conférence de Berlin du sous-sol" qui tiendrait à reconnaître en surface la souveraineté algérienne pour mieux tenir les richesses du sous-sol.

La coopération que nous voulons est franche, loyale. Nous attendons de nos partenaires actuels et futurs la même franchise.

Si nos positions concernant le problème saharien, position qui découle de la logique et du bon sens, étaient contestées, alors le monde entier saurait qui veut saboter l'indépendance de l'Algérie et de l'Afrique, qui fait la guerre du pétrole.

Il ressort sans équivoque que jamais la République Algérienne, laquelle a payé pour son indépendance nationale un terrible tribut de sang, n'aurait pu abdiquer une partie de ses droits politiques sahariens en faveur de son ex-colonisateur, l'aspect économique du problème a trouvé une solution de large compromis. Fidèlement appliquée et respectée par les deux parties, la "déclaration de principe sur la coopération pour la mise en valeur des richesses du sous-sol saharien", approuvée à Evian, ne cessera d'apparaître comme la plus rationnelle. L'Etat algérien indépendant sauvegardé en effet les intérêts actuellement présents dans ses régions sahariennes et maintiendra avec la France une coopération économique étroite.

A l'heure de l'indépendance, le nouveau Gouvernement algérien se substitue à la France dans la souveraineté juridique sur le pétrole, le gaz et les oléoducs du Sahara, mais les sociétés concessionnaires demeurent soumises aux dispositions du code pétrolier saharien, notamment pour ce qui est du partage à parts égales des bénéfices, établis sur les prix réalisés.

Le nouveau gouvernement issu de l'indépendance n'entrave aucunement l'activité des sociétés pétrolières existantes au Sahara et ne prend aucune mesure discriminatoire

qui puisse apporter un quelconque préjudice à leurs intérêts financiers. Cet engagement se traduit par respect des titres miniers alloués sous l'ex régime français ainsi que de tous les engagements pris par le Gouvernement français à l'égard des sociétés concessionnaires aussi bien françaises qu'étrangères. Le régime fiscal ne sera pas aggravé et les droits des actionnaires ne courent aucun danger, de même que les sociétés peuvent disposer librement de leur production une fois couverts les besoins du marché intérieur algérien et du raffinage sur place.

L'octroi de nouveaux permis ou de nouvelles concessions pétrolières (y compris les droits sur les oléoducs) deviendra la prérogative absolue du gouvernement algérien et sera soumis à la nouvelle législation de la république algérienne. Toutefois, les sociétés françaises auront, pendant les six prochaines années, une priorité sur les autres compagnies étrangères pour l'obtention des permis de prospection et d'exploitation couvrant des zones sahariennes non encore attribuées. D'autre part, elle garderont tout les droits d'exploitation auxquels elles peuvent prétendre en vertu des permis accordés précédemment dans le cadre du code pétrolier saharien promulgué par le gouvernement français.

Tous litiges ou contestations entre les sociétés de pétrole, de gaz ou d'oléoducs et le nouveau gouvernement, en ce qui concerne les droits actuels acquis, ne seront pas soumis à des tribunaux locaux mais à un tribunal arbitral international. Chacune des parties désignera à son tour un troisième arbitre qui fera fonction de président. A défaut d'accord, le président de la Cour internationale de justice sera prié de désigner un troisième membre. Le tribunal statuera à la majorité des voix.

Le nouveau gouvernement algérien émettra sa propre monnaie, mais demeurera dans la zone franc.

La conversion des monnaies française et algérienne s'effectuera à un taux agréé reconnu par le Fonds Monétaire International. Les transferts de francs français seront libres et une commission mixte sera créée pour s'occuper de la coopération monétaire. Les exportations de pétrole ou de gaz saharien vers la France métropolitaine ou d'autres pays de la zone franc (ou vers des pays qui indirectement, par suite d'accords d'échanges pétroliers, participent à l'approvisionnement pétrolier de la zone franc) seront réglés en francs français.

En ce qui concerne les exportations hors de la zone franc, l'Algérie pourra prélever des devises étrangères en concurrence des gains nets en debises en résultant. L'organisme qui sera créé pour assurer la coopération monétaire fixera les conditions dans lesquelles ce principe doit être appliqué.

L'Algérie recevra de la France une aide financière de la même importance que celle accordée actuellement et ce pour au moins trois ans; l'accord prévoit également la garantie des droits acquis dans les treize départements algériens du nord, ainsi qu'un accord douanier permettant une entrée libre ou préférentielle des produits des deux pays.

Fin janvier 1963 un important gisement pétrolier a été mis à jour sur le plan sud-est de gassi-touil, prospecté par la c.o.p.e.f.a. la nappe souterraine, dont la teneur en huile est l'une des plus fortes des gisements sahariens, a été découverte au niveau du trias argileux greux inférieur. Des études netreprises actuellement sur le terrain permettront de déterminer très prochainement le débit exact de ce gisement, qui s'annonce déjà comme considérable.

Rappelons que l'existence du gisement de gassi-touil avait été portée à la connaissance du public par le gigantesque incendie qui, du l'année 1962, avait failli compro-

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mettre toute la production pétrolière de gassitoul.

La production, y compris celle des petits gisements du nord de l'Algérie, est passée de 1,3 millions de tonnes en 1959 à 15,6 millions en 1962; elle pourra être de 20-21 millions cette année et atteindra 35 millions en 1965. Le prix affiché du brut de Hassi Messaoud (40 degrés et au-dessus) est de 2,65 dollars par baril à Bougie, ce qui, au niveau actuel des taux de fret, est bien supérieur à la part des prix affichés au Moyen-Orient.

D'après les chiffres donnés récemment par le président du conseil d'administration de la Société Nationale de Recherche et d'Exploitation des Pétroles en Algérie (SN.REPAL) à la fin de 1962, on pétroliers, environ 500 milliards de francs, soit environ 250 francs par tonne découverte. De cette déclaration, il résulte que les réserves, tant de liquide que de gaz, doivent être 2,000 millions de tonnes de pétrole brut, ceci en comptant, sur la base de l'équivalence énergétique, qu'un milliard de mètres cubes de gaz vaut un million de tonnes de pétrole liquide.

La ventilation de ces réserves est approximativement la suivante (en millions de tonnes d'équivalent de pétrole liquide): pour la région d'Edjeleh, Zarzaitine, Tiquentourine, voisine de la frontière libyenne, 150 millions environ de tonnes récupérables; pour la région d'Hassi Messaoud, située plus au nord, aux environs d'Ouargla, dans les 300 à 400 millions de tonnes récupérables, Hassi R'Mel, 1000 tonnes; divers (Ohanet, La Reculée et bien d'autres champs pétroliers encore non délimités), environ 300 à 400 millions de tonnes supplémentaires. Selon le porte-parole à Alger de la SN Repal et de la CFP, le gisement de Hassi Messaoud a produit en

1962 plus de 9 millions de tonnes de pétrole à lui seul.

Ceci porte à 25 millions de tonnes le total des libraisons du gisement depuis 1957.

Le gisement d'Hassi R'Mel a produit en 1962, 277,7 millions de mètres cubes de gaz et 180,000 tonnes de brut léger.

Les deux compagnies ont indiqué que leur activité avait été essentiellement consacrée à "la normalisation de la production du gisement d'Hassi-Messaoud, et à l'étude des moyens propres à améliorer la récupération du pétrole en place dans le gisement".

Comme les gisements d'Edjeleh et d'Hassi Messaoud contiennent surtout du liquide et celui de Hassi R'Mel du gaz, on voit que la moitié environ de ces réserves d'énergie récupérables est constituée par du gaz.

Au rythme actuel de croissance de la consommation de la zone franc et de la production du Sahara, on peut prévoir que, d'ici peu, vers 1965, production et consommation s'équilibreront sur la base d'environ 40 millions de tonnes par an.

Or, n'oublions pas que la consommation d'énergie de l'Algérie seule — toutes formes réunies: charbon, pétrole, gaz et électricité hydraulique — est inférieure à l'équivalent estimé à l'équivalent de quelques 2 millions de tonnes de pétrole par an et que, même si les besoins se développent à un rythme accéléré, flot d'énergie qui coule et coulera au Sahara sera toujours de dix à vingt fois supérieur aux besoins de l'Algérie seule. Il est donc impossible de concevoir une Algérie gardant pour elle seule les richesses du Sahara; elle ne pourrait matériellement pas les absorber.

Il lui faut donc arriver fatalement soit à garder le débouché français (seul capable et disposé pour l'instant à lui absorber 20 à 25 mil-

lions de tonnes par an à un prix très intéressant, soit à s'orienter vers une sorte d'internationalisation africaine de son exploitation et vers la conquête de nouveaux marchés extérieurs.

Le niveau atteint en 1960 dans la production pétrolière du Sahara algérien — plus de dix millions de tonnes — a placé l'Algérie au 9ème rang des producteurs mondiaux du pétrole brut.

Fin 1962, le Sahara algérien est passé au 5ème rang, immédiatement après les Etats-Unis, le Moyen-Orient, le Venezuela et l'URSS.

Comme qualité, le pétrole saharien occupe une place de choix dans la gamme des pétroles bruts mondiaux. Il est léger et riche en essence, ce qui est important puisque le prix des pétroles bruts est toujours en rapport inverse de leur densité. Une autre caractéristique intéressante du pétrole saharien est l'absence du soufre qui simplifie considérablement le travail des raffineurs et réduit presque à néant la corrosion des moteurs et la pollution de l'atmosphère. Voilà pourquoi le Sahara algérien est non seulement un producteur de grand débit mais aussi d'une haute qualité.

L'accroissement continu et certain de la production est tel que la capacité des deux grands oléoducs sahariens actuellement en fonction, dont le transport global est de 31 millions de tonnes (14 pour Hassi Messaoud-Bougie, 17 pour Edjeleh-Skirra) ne suffira plus à la fin de 1963. Le Bureau de Recherche du Pétrole a prévu pour cela la mise en service d'une nouvelle canalisation au début de 1965.

Voici le schéma des prévisions de production et de consommation de pétrole brut de la zone franc jusqu'en 1965 (en millions de tonnes).

(Ohanet, La Reculée et bien d'autres)

	1962	1963	1964	1965
Production				
— Sahara	29 à 35	31 à 39	39 à 46	46 à 51
— Ensemble zone franc	26 à 31	35 à 44	43 à 51	50 à 57
Consommation				42 — 43

African Unity

Continued from page 34

We are told there are many ostriches in South Africa and we are also told of the possible effects of the environment on its inhabitants.

All this is in very "BAD TASTE" not so? Very "TRULY" so indeed. All right, NEVER MIND, we have a proverb in AKAN which says there is no portion of land anywhere in the world which has ever refused to take in a dead body. A home, first or second, is a home. Life after all is what make of it, and so is a home. As no one hurls a landlord and expects a peace of mind in the home, to imagine that one could possess a peaceful home, and a second home at that, by way of molestations is the height of folly.

When the European came from his part of the world to South Africa (and to many parts of Africa for that matter) he is said to have had the BIBLE and the African, the land. Now the European in South Africa in particular has the LAND and the African the BIBLE! HOW COME THIS CHANGE?

Whatever the reasons for this EXCHANGE, the African now says "I NEED some more land! not for the fun of it, but to produce more food to feed teeming millions" and what is he told— APARTHEID!

We have yet another AKAN proverb which says THE SNAKE WILL NEVER BITE NOT UNTIL IT HAS TO! and when it does, it is a desperate bite indeed.

If there will ever be moments of anxiety when the spirit of the straight and honest thinker is gravely perturbed when a man watches

another, perhaps good in spirit as a man, perhaps patient in conduct as a man and perhaps even proud in purpose and conviction still as a man (HOMO and not VIR) pursue such course of action which can only bring about pain, and unwanted debauchery, this is it.

We ask of God fervently that it may never come to pass when the only mark of identification of the enemy will be nothing but THE COLOUR OF HIS SKIN!

This will be the most disgraceful episode in the history of mankind.

Chicanery, mendacity, and machiavelianism on the part of anybody notably the great powers (America and Russia) will not save us from the pending shameful situation. And the exile of such fine principles as FREEDOM & JUSTICE, PEACE & BROTHERHOOD to corners where they neither embarrass nor annoy will only encourage those whose actions are dedicated to danger.

And there are some of us, and here again our name is LEGION for we are many indeed, who would rather die in the throes of this foreboding and disgusting calamity than live to tell the tale and who has any guarantee that he, she, or it, will live to tell the tale anyway?

This is where we adopt the dynamic approach of analysis and see for sure PEACE IS INDIVISIBLE! Let us suppose that the SOVIET UNION, for some peculiar reason best known to herself, decided to support the WHITE MINORITIES OF SOUTH AFRICA in this looming catastrophe. From the normal run of current events THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA might very well come to the aid of us NEGROES! and there again for some peculiar reasons best known to her.

CRAZY isn't it? but it is more probable than impossible. Alright, reverse the order of the line-ups and you will appreciate the mournful picture.

In these days of SUPER-SONICS AND JETS as well as INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES & FALL-OUTS, each is the other's close neighbour indeed.

Why not each his brother's keeper?

Peace in Africa

When we hear of the AFRO-ASIAN CRY FOR A HALT TO ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA AND PORTUGAL, it is a DESPERATE CRY FOR PEACE; A CRY TO AVOID THE MOST DISGRACEFUL EPISODE FACING MANKIND.

Peace in AFRICA at the present moment is a pre-requisite to WORLD PEACE.

Please do not let the event take you by surprise by thinking the arguments are far fetched. The WHITE MAN has died many a time over issues apparently affecting the BLACKMAN.

This could very well be the theme for a thesis! Historians could write volumes on this if they cared to.

How many WHITE MEN LOST THEIR LIVES in the battle apparently to end slavery?

This is the point, the WHITE MAN has a way of thinking—"FORESIGHT" they call it—which makes him even to die for a cause in the process of saving his own skin and with two GREAT POWERS pitched against each other and backed by DIAMETRICALLY opposed ideologies, anything, including the CRAZIEST, can happen EXAMPLE? RUSSIA backing WHITE SOUTH AFRICA, AND AMERICA, "AFRO" NEGROES!

Lisez la Voix d'Afrique (Voice of Africa)

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