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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ALGERIA

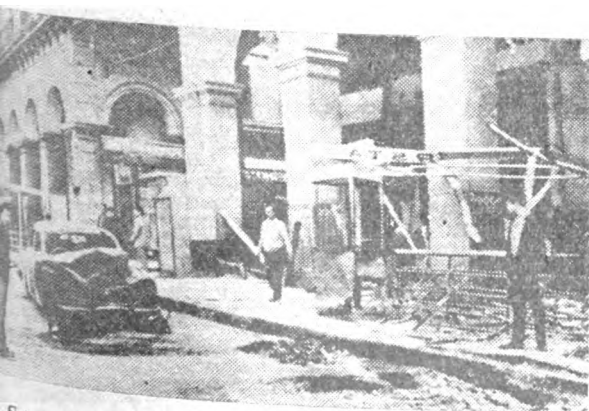
By M. ABDEL AZIZ BENMILLOUD

One must deal in detail the political situation in Algeria before setting out in a short article, because it is very complex. It is the result of 132 years of colonization, of European settlement, of direct administration, of a long war of national resistance, of several popular uprisings and finally of a liberation war, more than seven years old, which started in November 1954.

The Evian accords have permitted us to obtain from the French the recognition of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, including the Sahara part which contains important oil deposits and which was contested.

The Evian accords constitute an undeniable victory on the level of national sovereignty and in the external and internal political fields for our people, which had lost their sovereignty more than a century ago.

The Evian accords are the result of long and difficult negotiations, must be qualified for what they are: a compromise in the political and economic fields to prepare, after a transitional period, the way to Algerian sovereignty and the liquidation of the colonial regime, and finally, the effective transfer of public services and the state administration from the hands of the colonialists to the hands of the Algerian patriots.



Site of an explosion of a booby-trap can in Algiers, in busy Place du Gouvernement, two innocent passers-by were killed and five others wounded.

That is to say that since the cease-fire, it is not, in fact, France which governs but it is not also the G.P.R.A. (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic) which succeeded the French. That means that we are having a transitional period, an intermediary phase which is characterized by the following: the G.P.R.A. continues to exist and to exert an efficient revolutionary power on the Algerian people, the French government continues to manage the administration and public state services inherited from the colonial regime.

Between these two executives there is a body called "Provisional Executive" created by common agreement in order to transfer the administration and the public state services, in order to "Algerianize them" and make out of them national services in the hands of nationalists.

Meantime, this Provisional Executive, in which the F.L.N. is largely represented, must organize the referendum through which the Algerian people are to choose between the re-attachment to France or Independence. The F.L.N. by the Evian accords, has chosen Independence and co-operation with France. Such a co-operation is scheduled for three years according to the Evian accords. It aims mainly to reorganize as smoothly as possible the passage to independence in a country which has already endured a long and terrible war, a country which had at a time more than 80,000 of its men engaged in the struggle against colonialist forces of occupation.

In reality, the application of these accords comes up against serious difficulties. European minority, which has been created in our country by colonization, became the ally of a part of French military forces, mercenary forces corrupted by colonial wars:

It is a long evolution, political as well as military, of French colonialism in its final phase of decadence, in its period of withdrawal and defeat which led to the creation of the terrorist and racist organization known as the O.A.S. (Secret army organization).

The political situation can be described as follows : in the countryside, in the township of Algeria's interior, there is a global reinforcement of the F.L.N. and the A.L.N. Powers are rapidly and smoothly passing in the hands of the Algerian people actually organized in the frame of the F.L.N. and the A.L.N.

But in some coastal cities comprising large European communities, Algiers, Oran, Bone, Philippeville... the situation is explosive.

While unable to involve the fundamental result of our war of liberation : national sovereignty and territorial integrity ; the O.A.S. is inflicting on our country serious losses in human lives as well as considerable material damages. All these attempts aim at exasperating the Algerians so as to run them into a racial war against Europeans, because it is only in such circumstances that the French army can again resume war with or without the consent of the French government.

That is why the G.P.R.A. and the French authorities agreed that the destruction of the O.A.S. remains "an affair amongst the French" and that the French government undertakes solely the task of decolonization.

Similarly as described above, concerning the existence of several powers, there are also several armies ; several military forces.

Firstly there is the A.L.N. (Algerian National Liberation Army) which during more than seven years fought the French army which still is on the Algerian soil although it has already started the evacuation scheduled to be ended in one year (except for the bases rented for a longer period).

On the other hand there is the O.A.S. — racial and terrorist organization whose strength is due to complications within the French army and the colonial administration.



Another of the terrorist O.A.S. attempts — a child in a car that was passing by was killed.

As a transitional force for the maintenance of public security, as the two armies are "neutralized", there is the "Local force" which in the actual conjuncture, is becoming the force entrusted with the protection of Algerian quarters of the coastal cities comprising a large European community.

As a matter of fact, Europeans — whose great majority follow the O.A.S. — are organizing a blockade of hunger, of electricity, water, sanitary services and public health in the moslem quarters where the political situation is extremely tense. The sanitary and alimentary conditions as well as unemployment have considerably and dangerously worsened and it is feared that epidemics were spread in these areas.

As it appears from this, the Algerian political evolution is extremely complex although we did not go into details. But the progress toward liberation and independence is marching on inexorably in spite of these "wreckers" of the O.A.S. who are still trying desperately to remain tied to the flotsam of what was once France's "Overseas Empire".

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

By JARIRETUNDU KOZONGUIZI

The Past history of the struggle for liberation is, though unknown to many people outside South West Africa, very simple and straightforward.

During the forties, especially after the establishment of the United Nations Organisation, politics in South West Africa — outside settler's politics — was dominated by tribal chiefs. On the one hand we find chiefs Witbooi and Kutako of the Namas and Hereros respectively veteran freedom fighters of the 1904-7 HERERO/NAMA WAR of Independence who petitioned the United Nations that South West Africa beconverted into a trust territory. On the other was the late Chief Johannes Kambonde of the Ondonga tribe whom the South African government through the South West African Administration claimed to be on their side. Kambonde was used, time and again, to silence opposition amongst his own people to the oppressive government of South Africa. Amongst the last of his many acts of treachery to the cause of Africa was to keep Herman Toivo an uncompromising freedom fighter under house arrest in Ovamboland.

The early fifties saw many South West African students in schools and colleges in the Union of South Africa. They could not escape the winds of nationalism and zest for freedom sweeping through South Africa at the time and which culminated in the Defiance campaign. These students organised themselves into the "South West Africa student Body". Amongst those in the Executive Committee were the writer as President, Mr. Erich Getzen (now known as Kerino) as General Secretary and Zedeckia Ngovirue (now one of the External representatives of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) as Assistant Secretary-General. The students Body was a direct reaction to the pious resolution of the United Nations then in its sixth year of annual debates on "The question of South West Africa". The students felt that not much assistance would be coming from abroad without organisation at home.

The students body developed into the South West Africa Progressive Association which amongst other

things aimed at the destruction of tribalism and the promotion of cultural, political and economic advancement of the people of South West Africa. The Association was ably and capably led by Uatja Kaukietu currently Vice-President of SWANU.

It was in the many group discussions of SWAPA that the idea of a purely political organisation to spearhead the national liberation movement was conceived. Whilst discussions went on in South West Africa, Herman Toivo (then living in Cape Town) and the writer worked out plans for submission to the people. That was in 1958. In the meantime Herman Toivo had managed to organise a group of South West Africans living in Cape Town into the Ovamboland Peoples Congress; In December 1958 Toivo and myself put our plans before the people of South West Africa. First at a meeting in keetmanshoop then to the representatives of the Chiefs in Windhoek.

These envisaged the establishment of a South West African National Congress with regional Congresses for National (South) Damaraland (Central) and Ovamboland (North) on the same pattern as the African National Congress in South Africa with its provincial Congresses.

The idea was accepted and I was entrusted with the task of full time organiser whilst Herman Toivo, was sent to Ovamboland. This point is important because the "Native Affairs" officials insisted that Toivo remained in Windhoek. It was apparent that they considered a Toivo in Ovamboland more dangerous than a Toivo in Windhoek. It was whilst he was on his way to Ovamboland that the Police arrested him in the mining town of TSUMEB kept him in jail over Christmas and New Year 1958/59.

After putting these ideas to a tribal Conference in Aminuis Reserve early in 1959, I returned to Windhoek now to meet a request from the Chiefs' Council that I leave for the United Nations which I did early in 1959.

In April 1959 Mr. Jacob Kuhangue established the Ovamboland Peoples Organisation in Windhoek with

himself as secretary and Mr. Sam Nujama as President. The membership of this organisation was almost to a man from the Ovambo tribe.

A few months later conditions were ripe for the formal launching of the SOUTH WEST AFRICA NATIONAL UNION (SWANU); These conditions were: the chiefs had accepted the idea of a political organisation and the leaders of the Ovamboland Peoples Organisation had agreed to throw in their weight with the first South West Africa political organisation on a National basis. Without dissolving the Ovamboland people's organisation several of its leaders were elected to the the National Executive of SWANU at the latter's inaugural Conference. Mr. Nelengani then Vice-President of OPO became Treasurer of SWANU as well and Mr. Nujoma (President of OPO) was elected to the SWANU Executive Committee. It was not until Mr. Nujoma had arrived in New York in July 1960 that he and Mr. Nelengani ceased to be members of SWANU. Mr. Nelengani then announced that OPO was now SWAPO. Whether the change of name changed the character of that organisation is not relevant. What is relevant here is that after the shooting of December 1959 several of the members of the Chiefs' Council became scared and the deputy chief of the Herero's told the public enquiry that he had nothing to do with SWANU, thus implying that SWANU had been responsible for the shootings. After that SWANU formally dismissed any idea of salvation coming from the United Nations and the Chiefs particularly chief Kutoko of the Herero's decided to break with SWANU saying that SWANU was "unchristian" and a "violent" organisation and Mr. Kapuuo the deputy Chief of the Herero's asked Mr. Nelengani to sever all relations with SWANU just as he later advised Mr. Nepela who is currently in charge of "SWAPO" in South West Africa to attack SWANU, the May strike in South Africa and Lumumba publicly in an interview with "THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER" 14.9.1961.

In December 1961 the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution by which amongst other things a special UN Committee on South West Africa would be appointed — the fourth committee of the UN to be entrusted with the study of South West Africa. The other Ad hoc Committee, UN Committee

on South West Africa 1953-1961, Good Offices Commission 1957 and 1958.

This Committee was charged with the achievement of the following objectives:

- a) Visit to South West Africa before 1 May 1962
- b) Evacuation of all military forces of the Republic of South Africa from the territory.
- c) Release of all political prisoners without distinction of party or race.
- d) Repeal of all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants in reserves...
- e) Preparations for general elections to the Legislative Assembly based on universal adult suffrage to be held as soon as possible under the supervision and control of the United Nations.
- f) Advice and assistance to the Government resulting from the general elections, with a view to preparation of the territory for full independence.
- g) Co-ordination of the economic and social assistance with which the specialized agencies of the United Nations will provide the people in order to promote their moral and material welfare.
- h) The return to the Territory of indigenous inhabitants without risk of imprisonment, detention or punishment of any kind because of their political activities in or outside of the Territory.

The most-potent weakness of the resolution as a whole was that the very paragraph that tabulated the objectives to be achieved actually stipulated that these were to be achieved "in consultation with the Mandatory Power".

It remains to be seen whether this United Nations Committee will ever enter South West Africa if they have to do it in consultation with South Africa.

Our position in SWANU remains the same — United Nations or no United Nations — it is the people in South West Africa who will have to bear the brunt of the struggle and to us it is there where the fight is — after fifteen years of wait we can't afford to give the United Nations or any other promise another year: if they do come let them find us on the field.

PAFMEKA CONFERENCE

By CAMARA MAMADI

On this 1st of February 1962, Addis-Abeba is very animated. Hotels are crowded by delegates from all regions of East, Center and South Africa. It is, in fact, the eve of the opening of an important African conference. Usually, importance is only given to summit meetings or conferences at ministers' level. However, it seems that this conference of nationalist parties of East, Central and South Africa has attracted many people from all horizons. The "chief of staff" of the All African Peoples Conference, presided by its dynamic secretary general, is also present.

On February 2nd, the Africa Hall, an exquisite work of modern construction, jointly owned by the United Nations and the Ethiopian Government, is full of delegates, observers and press correspondents. The Emperor of Ethiopia is about to inaugurate the 4th conference of PAFMEKA (Pan-African Liberation Movement of East and Central Africa). This Organization groups the majority, if not all nationalist parties of East, Central, South and South West Africa.

In his opening speech, the Emperor will give the tone. He will emphasise the objectives that a Liberation Movement such as the PAFMEKA should endeavour to achieve and will stress the need for unity among all African States. But first, it is the delegates who will expose before their audience the developments of the struggle, each in his respective country. Then, they will elaborate on the conception of their party or government regarding the various problems facing Africans in general and those of East Africa in particular. There will be talks on African unity at various degrees, but all will support the consolidation of the liberation struggle. They will also stress the necessity of regional unity. Taking into consideration that most of the countries of East Africa are or have been subjugated by British domination, it is easy to understand the strive of nationalists in this part of the continent to form a common front facing the common coloniser. As a matter of fact, ever since World War II, Africa has been the scene of bloody struggles between African peoples oppressed by centuries of foreign rule, completely deprived of their

lands and their rights, and European colonialist States. As soon as the World War ended, France faced the revolution in Vietnam and in Algeria. These two revolutions weakened her so much, politically as well as economically, that she was bound to for an alliance with the territories of West Africa by granting them, in the framework of the loi-cadre of 1936, autonomy which they used with more or less success to accelerate their liberation.

As for Britain, she had drowned the Kikuya uprising of 1954 in bloodshed. But she came to understand that the onward march of time cannot be stopped. Her colonies being crowded with settlers who owned the best land and enjoyed the best privileges, she tried to grant certain territories a limited autonomy. One can easily understand, then, why African nationalists in East and Central Africa consider that nothing useful has been done yet, and why they keep on struggling to enjoy the same rights of the white minority and, with democracy helping, to seize power. In most cases the coloniser is the same: Britain. This makes it necessary for nationalists, in order to accelerate their liberation, to co-ordinate their activities with a view to weaken the common enemy. Such an action had already taken place in West Africa with the creation of the powerful front of struggle called African Democratic Rallye (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain).

It was therefore under the banner of unity that delegates of the PAFMEKA assembled for six consecutive days. Their discussions led to the adoption of resolutions. And the analysis of these resolutions indicates that African nationalists are determined to spare no effort in obtaining the independence of their respective countries. To reach this objective, they intend to synchronize their struggle against foreign occupation, particularly settlers. It should be emphasized that despite plunderings and injustices that are committed against them, Africans only ask for the suppression of monopolies and a sound partition of resources. The notorious inequality that prevails between white settlers owners of the best land and enjoying all the rights, and Afri-

cans deprived of both, could perhaps make people think that their claims are of a racial nature. But this is not true. On the contrary, Africans are quite willing to tolerate the presence of settlers among them, if the latter would, in turn, be willing to accept agrarian reform, equality in rights and, briefly, sound democracy. This, however, is not where examining the situation in countries of East and Central Africa stops. In fact, looking to the future as they do, Africans in those regions aim at economic and cultural co-operation and intend to undertake and intensify the struggle against illiteracy. They also intend to form, after independence, federations among their States, federations based on equal terms. Already they are urging independent member States of PAFMEKA to study the possibilities of creating the bulk of such a federation which would be, later on, consolidated by the adherence of other countries as soon as they will be born in international life.

The general atmosphere that dominated the conference and the resolutions adopted confirmed the tremendous political maturity of African leaders who analyse, without any hate, the political evolution of the liberation struggle. Their resolutions are stronger because they constitute the expression of a thoroughly studied decision. This is why, owing to the swift changes that are the main characteristics of the Continent for over a decade, and to the existing tensions in East, Central and South Africa, the determination of Africans in this region, which is even more firm and totally deprived of hate, deserves to be supported by all means, mainly by African countries and generally by Afro-Asian nations. As a matter of fact, as far as Afro-Asian nations are concerned, the lack of efficient support on their part to the liberation struggle of colonised peoples, would be a mistake for themselves and for those people. The time of eloquent speeches is over and done with. Now is the time to study the ways of practical implementation of the assistance some claim to be willing to offer to the struggling peoples.

This desire for unity among nationalist forces of East, Central and South Africa should not be mistaken for a trend towards isolationism. It is a well-known fact that, these days, no country could suffice its own

needs. It is therefore out of question that underdeveloped countries of Africa, who more than ever need outside help, should think of isolating themselves from the rest of the World, and even more from sister-nations. On the other hand, it would be convenient, to my own advice, in order to help these struggling peoples, that independent African States put all their griefs aside and co-ordinate their efforts to make material and diplomatic assistance granted to nationalists more efficient. This platform of unity can be the meeting point of African independent States and that could also maybe allow them to exchange views on other African problems to co-ordinate their actions. The regrettable example of the Congo where imperialist influence on some African States prevented us from avoiding chaos and the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the one and only Congolese leader with a Congolese and African vocation. Our action in East, Central and South Africa, where there are important capitalist assets, will only be efficient if we pool our efforts and co-ordinate our activities.

In conclusion, I returned from Addis-Abeba with a more realistic outlook on the political situation in East, Central and South Africa. In certain countries, there will be divisions between nationalist parties struggling for the same cause. But this division only exists on matters of form regarding the way of struggle or the kind of government to form after victory. PAFMEKA succeeded to group all these parties to co-ordinate their actions and allow them to overcome their internal problems. This organisation will have a great future if she undertook her action in the framework of this work of co-ordination, does not let herself be submerged by minor issues, if she guides her action in the framework of African solidarity and realises that it must also extend to other Afro-Asian peoples also struggling against imperialism, colonialism and world peace. Afro-Asian peoples and organizations must also understand that their aid, if discreetly and concretely extended, will only be more efficient. If these conditions are fulfilled, we must hope that Africa will be entirely liberated and that African peoples will be able to go ahead developing the national economies of their wealthy continent.

IT IS NOW OR NEVER

By KOENYAMA CHAKELA

"THERE IS A TIDE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN WHICH TAKEN AT THE FLOOD LEADS ON TO FORTUNE, OMITTED, ALL THE VOYAGES OF THEIR LIVES ARE BOUND IN SHALLOWS AND IN MISERIES — ON SUCH A FULL SEA ARE WE NOW AFLOAT, AND WE MUST TAKE THE TIDE WHEN IT SERVES".

One whose health fails in winter in the cold regions of our wide continent looks at the calendar daily, with a hope that every day that passes by, brings summer nearer, and as sure as day follows night, summer will come and he will relieve. Similarly, in the case of those whose health fail in summer, winter always comes after some time; yet despite the fact that winter and summer come when time is due, man has provided cooling apparatus in summer and heating apparatus in winter. Time has come when an African, particularly those still under colonial oppression must declare now that they are no longer prepared to be victims of uncertainty.

The colonial problem has been a menace to the African people for centuries and for centuries the black races of Africa, have been made hewers of wood in their motherland, they have been staffed in the midst of plenty, they have been subjected to all the indignities and above all things they have worked so hard to enrich their oppressors.

Colonialism has taken two outstanding characters throughout Africa and as viewed by the All African Peoples Conference, held in Accra in 1958 can be analysed as follows:

- a) Those territories where indigenous African people are dominated by foreigners who have their seats of authority in African countries. The following being examples: Gambia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland.
- b) Those territories whose indigenous people are dominated by foreigners who have settled permanently in Africa and who regard the positions Africa under their sway as belonging to

them than to the Africans. These are Kenya, South Africa, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, the two Rhodesias and South West Africa.

Experience has shown to day that, whereas there are chances of negotiations and constitutional changes in the former, such have been closed in the latter. There are indications presently that within the foreseeable future, all the countries in the group A above, will be independent — Uganda will be independent in the next eight months, constitutional talks on the future of Swaziland are due early this year, and the legislature in Basutoland has unanimously decided that the present Basutoland constitution be changed, to where Basutoland will be a Self-Governing territory, with a view of moving on to complete independence soon thereafter and constitutional changes are going on in all the other countries in this group. The call in all of these countries is INDEPENDENCE NOW but the British with their policy of gradualism are delaying the transfer of powers to the indigenous people of Africa in these countries.

In regard to all the countries in group B above, the African people have not realised that it can only be under extraordinary circumstances that the settlers can come to table and negotiate with the Africans, whom they do not only despise but regard as foreigners in their own countries, as is the case in South Africa. In Algeria the liberation struggle has taken a different form, as a result of the obstinacy of the French in recognising the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, and thus denying them all the right of peacefully and constitutionally acquiring their natural right of independence. Consequent therefore to this strange attitude of the French to their hosts, the Algerian people had to resort to OTHER means of solving their problem. The Algerian question has been before the United Nations, and it is this body, that the imperialist forces have displayed their attitude towards the Algerian issue very clearly — they have only said much about the ability of general De Gaulle to handle the situation, and nothing about the fundamental rights of humanity, which are being denied to the Algerian people in the mean while

the valiant peoples of Africa have been sacrificing their lives in the struggle, innocent people have been butchered bay by bay by the french outnecks. History has however shown that no drop of blood has ever been shed in vain in the struggle of any people who suffer under the oppression of another. It shall soon be crystal clear to the world that the people of Algeria have paid a price no less than any ever paid by a Nation to get freedom.

The struggle launched by the Angolan people against the Portuguese murderers is yet another example of what the alternative to "peaceful constitutional negotiations" is. The Portuguese have killed hundreds of African people, but the killings have done nothing other than strengthen the determination of the people to take their rightful place among the Nations of the world as a free and self-governing people. The United Nations has listened to the colonialists say all these killings are a domestic affairs of the Portuguese, and the same old story of the Portuguese, which India in the liberation of Goa has recently disprove — that all Portuguese territories abroad are provinces of Portugal itself, as though Africa or even India in the case of Goa would ever be an extension of Europe.

In the so-called Federation of Rhodesia, imposed on the African people despite their repeated denouncing of such a federation, 1961 has marked the turning point of the African peoples struggle, and the British who have hitherto underestimated the determination of the African people to do away with white domination have no doubt realised that they have all the time been making a mistake. It is in this part of Africa, where we all have to study closely the manoeuvres of imperialism, as recent developments have brought to surface some of the most sinister plans of the British, while trying to give an African the impression that they are prepared to get to some concrete negotiations, which will result in an African getting what he wants. They do all these, after many African people have spent long periods in their prison, and after they have killed some of the Africans in their attempt to silence them, which all proved a failure.

Events in Southern Rhodesia have shown that the settlers in their dealings with the Africans have absolutely no respect for reason, despite the fact that the Africans had clearly shown in a referendum organised

by the N.D.P., that they do not want the constitution, which safeguards the interests of the settlers, and which is calculated to perpetuate their dominance over the Africans. The colonialists are going on with the arrangements for putting this constitution into effect, on the strength of the results of a referendum in which only one tenth of the population took part, and in which ninety per cent on the voters were the settlers themselves. The ban on the N.D.P. is only indicative of the true intentions of the settler Government in this area.

South Africa which has, over half a century, since its inception, become the bastion of white domination, and as envisaged a point from which white domination would expand northwards, is undoubtedly the base of colonialism in Africa, and the part it has played from behind closed scenes in the African peoples struggle in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland is a dirty one fully fledged in all spheres, politically, economically and ideologically, needless to say that they have at times had to engage themselves physically in attempting to influence the trend of the liberation movement in these territories. It is a known fact that the South African Government has used these three countries in bargaining against her relinquishing the Mandate on South West Africa, and it is equally known that all the South African Prime Ministers' have made representations to the British, negotiating for the incorporation of these countries into the then Union of South Africa.

The South African Government in want on disregard of world opinion, has shamelessly come to the support of her neighbour settler Governments in suppressing the liberation Movement in those areas. 6,000 South African soldiers, were sent to the Caprivi-strip — a narrow strip of land between Bechuanaland and Angola, which is South West African, supposedly to halt the free movement of the Africans fleeing from the Portuguese in Angola, and the Africans who may want to cross the border from South West Africa. What guarantee does the world have that some of these troops did not cross the border to fight alongside their Portuguese friends to kill Africans? What guarantee have we that the saracens that left for the Caprivi strip did not infiltrate into Angola to help the Portuguese? This settler Government has allowed the Katanga secessionists to establish a recruiting office in Johannesburg, and went further to let a plane from the same Tshombe regime to fly mercenaries from Johannesburg, in Air Katanga Planes. All

these are the beginning of an obstructive part to be played by the Government of South Africa in its neighbouring countries against the liberation movement, in an effort to keep the Southern part of Africa "White" as they call it. What the attitude of the South African Government towards the independent African countries which are sure to emerge in and around the South this year or the coming year, has already been outlined by the South African Prime Minister, in the speeches he made during the elections campaign, last year at Bloemfontein and at Baberton, in these two cases he was referring to Basutoland.

The History of the liberation movement in South Africa is very long to relate, but we can say it starts from the Deputation that went to see the British in connection with the land tenure shortly after union to **Sharpeville**. During all these periods legislation passed in South Africa, has been reducing an African from **human** to somewhere below an animal, where an African according to prevailing legislation rests to-day. Representations have been made, Commissions of enquiries have been established, and yet things have kept on moving from bad to worse. The South African Government aware that it cannot fool an African for an indefinite time, has first and foremost launched an ideological battle against an African by introducing the "Bantu education". The effects of this will soon be telling on the African struggle **if the Africans still pretend to have some patience**. They have secondly gone out to build a strong army, which they have always declared, was not being prepared for an outside defence, but for internal suppression of any efforts an African will ever think of making to realise his objectives:

In the light of all these it is evident therefore that all channels for constitutional changes in South Africa have been sealed. According to the philosophies of John Locke "When all channels of constitutional change have been closed by the oppressor, it is for the oppressed, to appeal to the heavens — that is to take up arms, and to resort to violent means of solving their problem!! What then is an African waiting for, when his oppressor is inviting him by making all these Preparations? That is why we say **"it is now OR NEVER"**. The white settlers in South Africa is preparing himself for an armed suppression, and very soon, with the recent arrangements wherein Arms are now to be produced in South Africa the chances of an African become leaner.

Time has come for the Africans to sink their petty differences, and face a common enemy. Developments in South Africa today have shown that the settlers are shivering with fear. As a result of a few incidents in which the "Umkhondo we Sizwe" attempted some sabotage in South Africa by making a few explosions here and there, the minister of Justice, had already announced that in this session of Parliament he will introduce a bill which will provide a death penalty for attempted sabotage. The Minister of Defence has also gone out on a mass recruiting campaign to build the already strong and armed-to-the-teeth army. His new target is some more 10,000 recruits.

The African people must now decide whether to intensify their struggle or accept the **status quo**, while the whites are building up their armies. The colonialist have displayed their solidarity towards what they term the "Native Problem" in Africa. They have done these through their press, through their literature, through their Radios, and at international organisations such as U.N., and they have also by actions proved that they not only pay lip service to their convictions, by sending mercenaries to Katanga from South Africa, France — Belgium, England — Rhodesia and even from Israel. The South Africans have displayed their solidarity with their Portuguese Brothers by sending troops to the Caprivi Strip. It has to be noticed that the individual mercenaries who undertook to fight in Katanga, did not only do it for the sake of getting money, but for the preservation of white domination.

We, the peoples of Africa, must have learnt a lesson in these incidents, and we must not view our struggle on territorial basis, but understand that the success of the struggle in neighbouring country, serves to accelerate the rate of the struggle in our own countries. Therefore an African in South Africa, should learn to put in his weight with the Africans in Rhodesia, regardless of what the sacrifice will be, and similarly the Africans in all the neighbouring countries should not hesitate to contribute whatever assistance they may be able to contribute to the struggle in their neighbouring countries, and be prepared to give help both moral and material. It is only then that the imperialists will give up their grip on Southern Africa, when they realise that the Africans are united because our unity means the beginning of an end to colonialism, and our disunity is an encouraging factor to the colonialists.

Time calls on us now to come together and devise means of dealing one blow to colonialism at all angles, we cannot help South Africa by theories but by positive action, sacrifice and determination. The All African Peoples Conference held in Accra on the 5-13th December, 1958, which formulated the programme of Action for the African Freedom Fighters, those who resort to peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience, as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain National Independence and freedom for the people and also went on to

Tlong kopanang Ma-Afrika,
mako e se e fihlile
ea hore le tseke toka le
litsoanelo tsa lona.
Kopanang — kopanang
Kopanang bana ba Afrika.

Le tsoare thebe li tiee
Bahlsbani ba Afrika
le loanele toka tsa lona
le litsonnelo tsa lona
kopanang — kopanang
kopanang bana ba Afrika

declare its condemnation of any legislation that considers those who fight for their Independence and Freedom as ordinary criminals.

We have History on our side, we have the laws of Nature on our side, and the world opinion on our side in the struggle against colonialism and Imperialism, therefore we need not wait a single moment, but hold on to our struggle and be prepared for the inevitable. **Forward to Independence NOW.**

IZWE LETHU!!! AFRICA!!!

Come 'n unite Africans
time has come for you to
demand your rights
and all entailed thereto
Unite — Unite
Unite sons of Africa.

Hold firm on to your shield
you valiant fighters of Africa
fight for your rights and
all entailed thereto,
Unite — Unite
Unite Daughters of Africa.

Struggle for Independence and Unity In Ruanda-Urundi

By A. RWAKIGARAMA

After several trials to tie Ruanda-Urundi (a country under the tutelage of the United Nations and administered by Belgium) with the neighbouring Congolese province, the Katanga, it is not without foundations that we fear the division of this small country. Several other facts make us expect the worst in our fatherland. In fact, the victory of Burundi nationalists (a province in the east of Ruanda-Urundi) and the failure of Ruanda (province in the west) which was wanted and systematically organised by the colonialists may wound the unity of the country and make easy any imperialist division.

As, many patriots have declared on many occasions, I repeat that the national culture, traditions and language as many other national ties reinforce and make sure the unity of the people of Ruanda-Urundi.

In Burundi, the nationalist and progressive party (U.P.R.U.N.A.) (The National Progressive Union of Ruanda-Urundi) a brother party of the U.N.A.R. (National Union of Ruanda) got the victory over the satellites of the Belgian Colonial Administration. A victory which assures quite the totality of the parliament seats to the nationalists whose leader was Princee Louis Rwagasore, President of Burundi's Minister's Council. Let us mention that a Belgian daily newspaper "La Cite" which is known for its ultra-reactionary and colonialist sympathies had foreseen with mathematical exactitude which it wanted that the nationalists could not win 30% of the parliament seats but the elections said their last word and this party which was condemned by a press blinded by capitalist interests, won more than 80% of the seats. This success was enjoyed by all the friends of our people. In any way, everyone knows in what circumstances and conditions, the elections were held in Ruanda. Some units composed from thousands of Belgian well armed paracommandos surveyed and savagely detained every one who invited the patriots to vote for the national independence. Since before the elections and until now, Ruanda is surrounded by Belgian colonialist troops whose innocent

victims are counted by thousands. Although the conditions requested by the United Nations were not realised by the Belgian Authorities, our party decided to show its good will once more and participated in the elections which did not foresee anything positive.

The territory of Nyanga was the seat of the U.N.'s representative, a United Arab citizen, who knew that a democratic way of voting was that votes be kept secret. The result of this was that the people could express their opinion freely and the victory was for the majority of our party. In the territory of Byamba the elections were conducted under the supervision of another representative of the international organisation, a soviet citizen. The votes went unanimously to the U.N.A.R., although this province was a pro-colonialist elements' center. In the district of Kisenyi reputed for its nationalism and its trust in our party and especially in Michel Kayihura, first candidate in Kisenyi, the elections took place under the machine-gun coverage, and the voters could not cross the Congo-Ruandese frontier. Several hundreds of men fell dead struggling for putting an end to a regime against which we have struggled for years and under the weight of which we have suffered for a long time. Perhaps it is useful to mention that the man who controlled the elections in Kisenyi was a Spaniard. In this nationalist center, the Ruandese patriots were not permitted to express their opinion. Voting was not done by secret ballot and the elector was obliged to exhibit his vote card. Who will be astonished by the fact that a Franco-Spaniard did not protest against these practices? Everybody remembers that since the end of the Republic in 1936, Spain did not know any democratic elections. Many patriots from other regions of Ruanda did not participate in the elections because of the terrorism and massacres of the Belgian colonialists. Some left Ruanda in order to know the decision of the United Nations and those who had created this electoral disorder tried to form an unpopular and illegal government. In Burundi the fresh tomb of the beloved Louis Rwagasore makes clean the

imperialists' intentions and invites the whole nation to an extreme vigilance. An eventual government formed by Parmehutu (a party which is against the U.N.A.R. and an enemy of total independence) will certainly refuse to make concessions to the nationalist government of Burundi, even to form a federation. We are afraid that the nationalists of Western Ruanda-Urundi (The Burundi) in view of the lack of understanding with the east (Ruanda) do not want to tie their future to a struggling Ruanda but to a country betrayed by the Belgian monopolists' servants who want to annexe our country to Tschombist Katanga. A hope is still left in Ruanda to continue the struggle and reject the puppet government of bad Kayibanda. The victory of our country is based on the struggle front which is formed by the U.N.A.R. the RADER, the APROSOMA and the African and friendly countries.

More than ever, our people need the help of our

African brothers because we are preparing ourselves for a great struggle and we are counting on the force of the people who will not like to be governed by a government placed in power by foreign reactionary imperialists. The United Arab Republic which is the eldest African independent country and the first to achieve this by revolution must follow with interest the evolution of Ruanda-Urundi towards unity and independence. It must make easy the triumph of the cause of democracy and freedom in Africa, in the heart of Africa which is Ruanda-Urundi. Our struggle will be and is a national and African struggle. We are struggling side by side with our Congolese brothers, whose country cannot enjoy full sovereignty without a neighbour free from any external influence. Despite the treasonable actions of the Parmehutu betrayers the unity of Ruanda-Urundi will grow stronger thanks to the victory of popular and democratic parties.

New Colonialist Conspiracies In Kenya

The conference on Kenya's constitution has reached a deadlock and the representatives of both parties have no choice but to return home and discuss in detail the future coalition government. In due time a new conference will be called in London to discuss this burning issue once again; in the meantime the delegates have to return without a constitution and with no date set for granting independence to Kenya.

Such is the state of affairs in London, but the representatives of the white settlers in Nairobi are up to something. Events have taken an interesting turn here.

The London press has reported of alleged new Mau-Mau outbreaks. It is common knowledge that Jomo Kenyatta, the present leader of the K.A.N.U. party, was regarded leader of this movement and consequently blamed for its doings. The "Sunday Express" immediately responded to the reports by publishing a thrilling story in sequels of the secret and bloody activities of the Mau-Mau. And this in our times! Moreover, the narrative pertains to just that period when the conference on granting Kenya independence was in session! The white population is faced with the dilemma of either fleeing or staying. Within a few days the British press published the first photographs of the refugees as well as their interviews in which they stated that they are far from intending to leave this flourishing country and are sooner prepared to defend their property with arms if need be.

According to Reuter's correspondent in Nairobi a "secret society of elite farmers" has been formed in Kenya. They are resolved to defend their property with fire-arms. The methods of this secret organisation smack strongly of those used by the O.A.S. cutthroats. To be sure all this resembles the young sprouts of a new and strong movement which may lead to bloody events in the nearest future and turn the country into a new Congo or at least into a fighting Algeria. What has caused the British settlers in Kenya to go to such extremes in order to protect their property and mayhap their lives?

It is only reasonable to weigh their arguments. The crux of the matter is that although it is a paradox, Kenya's best lands do not belong to the native population but to the Europeans who grabbed them illegally at one time and then invested either all of their own capital in their farms, or the capital of London investment firms which draw profit from these lands. For half a century the British government appealed to European farmers to settle on these lands and develop them and now Kenya is on the threshold of independence! What is to be done with the European settlers? There are several ways to solve this crucial problem.

One of the ways out is not to confiscate the land of the European settler if he becomes a naturalised Kenyan citizen when the country gains independence. Another solution is that the British government should pay compensation for loss of sources of income to British farmers who prefer to leave Kenya since it is quite clear that Kenya's lands must nonetheless belong to the Kenyans themselves.

Until the present moment, however, the British government has maintained a meaningful silence. It does not say either "yes" or "no". The reproaches of the British farmers addressed to the British government are fully justified in that at one time it had appealed to them to settle in Kenya and now actually leaves them to their fate.

In such a situation it is only natural that they have decided to defend their own interests since they find no support on the part of the British government. There is no doubt that several thousand well-armed farmers can open action against the African population and thus spark off a civil war in the country. This will then give the British government a plausible excuse for sending regular troops to the country for establishing law and order, as well as reinforcing the garrisons of its military bases on the territory of this country. Naturally, under such circumstances the granting of independence to Kenya will be postponed indefinitely.

But the British government still prefers to keep silent!

The International Conference of Africanists

In the month of September 1961, in the University of Ibadan (Nigeria), the Preparatory Committee session of the First International Conference of Africanists was held. The section of African studies in the 25th International Conference for orientalists, held in Moscow, August 1960, decided upon the proposal submitted by a number of African scientists to institute this Conference.

Until the very recent past, African studies had been considered a part of orientalism. The International Conference of Orientalists has a section for oriental studies. There were several reasons for this. In most of the quite developed countries in North Africa, Arab speaking people live, and they many historical, cultural and political factors of these countries brought about their consideration as being an integral part of the Arab world. For this reason, the notion of "North Africa" came to be a synonym of "The Orient", consequent to which and without any reason, the whole of Africa came to be included in the definition of the Orient. However, there was no essential cause for this.

A long time ago, European colonialist countries came to enslave two big continents — Asia and Africa. Nearly all the African and Asian countries were colonies and semi-colonies of these states. The word "Orient" became the synonym of the "colonialist world". Study of these countries were in the hands of the colonialist scientists, study of Africa came to be their absolute monopoly, as the Africans had been deprived of all access to learning. Scholars of the colonialist states limited their studies of the Afro-Asian states, to the colonialist administrative tasks of these countries, naturally to the interests of colonialist monopolies. Asia and Africa were studied as an integral part of the grand colonialist empire.

After the disintegration of the colonialist regime, the situation underwent a radical change. The idea of the "Orient" lost its significance as a synonym of the "colonialist world". Geographically speaking, Africa is not the Orient. The African peoples have their own history. Language and culture of the peoples in the tropical part of the African continent totally differ from the language and culture of the Asian peoples. Having

overthrown direct political domination of imperialists, the Africans came to participate in international life on an equal footing with the other peoples.

African peoples, politicians and statemen have taken on themselves to recover African dignity which has been trampled underfoot by the imperialists, for Africa is an independent part of our planet. Africa is Africa, it is not a part of colonialist Europe, neither is it the East. New manifestations are noticeable in life in the African continent, as the convocation of African people's conferences, creation of the Pan African Central Syndicate, the Economic Commission for African affairs in the United Nations, etc.

Diverse and complicated problems confront African peoples. African scholars, in their scientific researches, should assist the Africans to solve their problems. Those concerned with African affairs in all countries should have possibilities for coming together and exchanging viewpoints and results realised through their studies. However, in these new circumstances, section of African studies in the Conference of Orientalists cannot furnish these possibilities, for it does not have the ample time to discuss problems of history, economics, ethnography, philosophy and others. The existing international situation and the new problems of African studies had necessitated the creation of a special organ of the International Conference of Africans.

The Preparatory Committee has worked under the presidency of a renowned Nigerian historian, Professor Onwuka Dike, present rector of Ibadan University. The committee has attentively examined a number of questions in connection with the institution of an International Union of Africanists, and adopted a decision to convene the First Africanist Conference in Ghana, in December. 1962.

The Preparatory Committee taken care that the forthcoming conference has a combatative aspect. The committee hopes that it would serve the All African People's conference in its struggle for the complete liquidation of colonialism and for choice of the most advanced methods for ulterior development.

African politicians and statesmen have assigned African scholars the task of creating a true picture of the African people's past. African history, as written by colonialist scholars is full of falsifications. It is not the history of the African peoples, but a history of the colonialist policy followed by the European colonialist states in the African continent. The History of the African peoples should be written anew. Progressive statesmen and politicians attach great importance to this question, believing that the revival of historic truth is in virtue of a spiritual decolonisation. Some steps have been taken in this domain. Transition from study of the colonialist political history to study of the African people's history has already started. The International Conference of Africanists should support this tendency and adopt resolution which could, in a short period, insure elimination of the delay in studying the African people's history.

Doubtlessly, the conference will pay attention to contemporary problems. Among these problems, in the economic domain, are the problems of reconstructing of national economy, liquidation of economic backwardness, economic dependence of African states on the more developed countries, and raising of the living standard of popular masses. Economists should assist

African peoples to find the most effective means for solving these complicated problems. In the cultural domain, the most essential problem is the wiping out of illiteracy and the creation of a national culture. Philologists should assist the African peoples to develop their national languages. Every metropolis had introduced its own language (English, French, and others) as the official and obligatory language, thus preventing the language of the colonised peoples from becoming the national language. A number of African countries, till this day, have no alphabet to their language.

One of the most serious consequences of colonialist partition of Africa is non-coordination of ethnical frontiers with the population, in the sense that peoples living in one country speak several languages, thus making of the formation of national languages a serious political problem. Philologists should assist governments of African states to reach the best solution to this problem.

The problems of African studied are complicated and varied, African peoples await the help of scholars. The First International Conference of Africanists should realise the People's hopes.

BRITISH RULE IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

By R. C. KAMANGA

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Our country came under British influence and control through treaties freely entered into between our forefathers and representatives of the British Crown. These treaties gave the British people the right to TRADE and NOT the right to RULE.

The country ZAMBIA, which as a result of the exploits of an imperialist and fortune hunter Cecil Rhodes was renamed by the British as "Northern Rhodesia", has a population of 3,000,000 Africans plus a shifting population of about 72,000 whites and trek between the copper region and the "Union of Apartheid" according to the prospect for fortune making that lure them, as prices of copper on the world markets fluctuate up and down.

The official policy, until 1948, had always been "Paramountcy of Native Interests" which was interpreted to mean... if and when the interests of the immigrant races conflicted with those of the indigenous peoples, those of the latter would prevail..." This policy was a thorn in the vulnerable flesh of the white settlers who always worked to amalgamate Southern Rhodesia with Northern Rhodesia. This was to give them complete and effective control over Africans eventually leading to the creation of a second South Africa in Central Africa. This they could not achieve so far as political units.

In 1948, settlers succeeded in replacing the policy of "Paramountcy of Native Interests" with one of "Partnership between races." Agreement over this was made in London between them and the British Government. We were not even consulted. From this time things happened very swiftly. Realizing, that no British Government would grant them liberty to merge the two Rhodesias, armed with the newly-won policy of partnership, the settlers embarked up on creating a new state, Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, that would be a bulwark against Black nationalism from the North and White nationalism from the South...

There was fierce opposition from Africans. Serious

tension followed in the country culminating in serious disturbances. In spite of this, the British Government handed us over to a third party — settlers — in 1953.

Welensky has made so much play with this meaningless word of partnership because he has easy means of propoganda through his radio and press — and this is saying nothing of his RULE BY GUN-POWER.

Socially, we are divided in four water-tight compartments. There are Europeans, Asians, Euro-Africans and then African residential areas. While we are subjected to a rigorous pass-system the foreign elements are free to move about without any such social embarassment. Schools, hospitals and all other social facilities remain segregated. The African sector costs by far less than any of the other three comparatively. Recently two schools were built in my country. The one built to cater 3,000,000 Africans cost 500,000 pounds and the other built to cater for 12,000 European settlers in **LUSAKA ONLY** (Lusaka is capital city of Northern Rhodesia), cost 2 million pounds. Ambulances from European hospitals will not carry African victims from scenes of accident.

All political and economic power today, fully rests in the hands of white men who are not only foreign tribes-men but are also in the minority. The British have planned the economy of the country in such a way that three quarters of the country's annual out put goes out of the country; part to the Federal Government (in this case Southern Rhodesia), part to the share holders in London (people paid for doing no work at all — absentee landlords) and fat salaries to the white workers in Northern Rhodesia who also bank outside. The average wage of an European is £ 100 per month and that of an African is £ 5.

The imposition of the Federation was and still is primarily designed to entrench White Settlers into positions of political power ad infinitum. The Federal Franchise law has been made to allow the politically and economically powerful settlers to maintain their domination over Africans. It enables them to deter-

mine, uninhibited, the number of Africans they wish to do-off the voters' roll. This Franchise divides citizens into three classes, the ordinary, the special and the ungraded.

Since October 1960, we have been engaged in constitutional negotiations with the British Government, seeking self-government leading to ultimate independence. In June 1961, the British Government attempted to impose a constitution and cost us 50 of our people dead, over 3,500 in prison and detention camps to say nothing of the wholesale destruction of villages by the so-called security forces.

Few days ago the British Government announced the third revised constitution for Northern Rhodesia. From what I have been able to gather from the local press, and don't yet have any idea as to what sort of the new revised constitution looks like, and I therefore find it difficult to comment on it, at this juncture.

But so far my Leader and National President of U.N.I.P. Bwana M'kumbwa Kaunda has said, that the British Government had "dodged the issue".

He has also summoned the policy-making National Council due to meet on 5th March, to study the proposals, and thereafter, make a decision.

But I must also say if here that the picture painted in the local press does not reflect the true nature of the "new revised constitution". The picture printed is that it was a favourable constitution to the African people. This is very far from being true. The truth is that it is a compromise between Welensky and Macmillan. Judging from what both Welensky and Whitehead have expressed so far on the "New N.R. constitution", it is a constitution that excludes the possibility of bringing into power the African nationalists.

Day by day the forces of oppression are taking up measures very difficult to distinguish from Hitler's activities. Both Welensky and Whitehead have threatened to use force in order to maintain their oppression.

Today, the settlers are arming themselves and their women. Today, the settlers are spending £3,000,000 on buying the latest weapons which are said to be capable of cutting off a man's arm at the distance of 250 yards! Recently confirmed by Welensky's utterances in London. But we know that all these efforts and intimidations are fruitless in the face of a determined and an uncompromising populace. We know that the Welensky Gang stinks with the rancid smell of decaying Minor Dictatorship, while UNIP, the People's Own Movement, is as fresh as roses in bloom.

Shame on the United Nations

By ABDEL RAHMAN EL SHARKAWI

Shame on the United Nations,
Shame on all free men,
Shame...! Shame...!
Fire...! Fire...!
Vengeance...! Vengeance...!
Shame on all honourable men,
All living men,
For in his fatherland Lumumba was slain!
Shame on this age...
Dip all fluttering banners,
All smiles stifle,
Turn loose the beasts of the jungle,
To rule our,,, civilized world...
 ...Civilized...?
Shame on this world,
For in his homeland Lumumba was slain,
And the world has not yet avenged him...
How is that!?
All prayers were in vain,
All prayers failed to save a hero, a man
 a father of children.
They failed to save him from the savage claws,
How is that?
Wisdom is stifled by worms,
Magnificence is crushed by beasts!
Everything that is good, noble and fine in the heart of
 man,
Is savagely snapped and trodden by unclear feel and the
 flag of foreign pirates
From whose jaws blood is dripping the blood of man!
Waves on the horizon of woods and digs it's still in the
 breast of man,
In the name of the age,
It blesses the murder of Lumumba,
Violates the hopes of man,
Soils the history of man,
And tears his limbs,
In the name of the rights of man,
The flag in the woods the most aloft,
A symbol of the rights of man!
In the name of the United Nations
 Shame...!
 Shame... Shame...

Fire... fire...
Vengeance... vengeance...
Lumumba is slaughtered by a knife;
Poor man...!
Lumumba murdered in his homeland!
Where the sentiments of Africa,
Protect him even in his prison,
Is kind Lumumba killed?
Where a young brat is playing about,
Where the footsteps of his people,
Revive the thudding of his heart,
Where hopes for the salvation of his country,
Kindled in his breast,
Lumumba is murdered in his homeland,
Where he is surrounded by simple hearts,
And protected by the United Nations!
 What a shame!
Who killed Lumumba? What a shame...
And how was he murdered?
His blood is required of Hammarskjöld!
Who handcuffed him and threw him to the greedy
 wolves of Katanga,
The white shedder of blood is sorry...
Why is he sorry?
Will he wet the tomb of his victim?
He will harm the tomb with his tears,
Don't mix your false tear with the tears of grieved
 hearts.
Away with you... Away...
Away you, the curse of this age!!
Should Lumumba have trusted nothing at all,
In order to live?
Not even the United Nations?!
Shame on the United Nations!!
Was he supposed to bribe, and submit to the robber of
 his people,
In order to enjoy authority, champagne and money,
And corrupt white women,
Like infamous Tshombe and his companions?!
Shame... Shame...!
Was he supposed to keep silent?

.And to offer the big companies what they require of
 crops?
 To let the Congo be oppressed?
 And the free men there,
 To remain like herds working for companies?!!
 Shame... Shame...
 Shame on the United Nations,
 Shame on all free men,
 If we do not avenge Lumumba,
 If we do not give our blow,
 Shame on us if we do not revenge,
 No more will we be patient... Patience will do us no
 good,
 Patience has led to his loss.
 Miserable Judas returns today,
 And betrays to the jungle beasts,
 The Messiah of our age... the martyr of love,
 The martyr of love for his enemies,
 The martyr of confidence in the so-called UN Charter,
 The martyr of African forgiveness,
 The martyr of the barbarian age,
 Lumumba is slaughtered in his country,
 His blood is required of Hammarskjöld,
 His masters and his suite!
 Listen you murderer!
 Listen you and your masters,
 Let all assassins listen,
 Let all who are responsible for the heroic martyr's blood
 listen:
 Africa is no more a treasure of copper or a source of
 wealth,
 An incubator of slaves and charming concubines,
 It is not the place for sweetly scented wild wellow roses,
 It is not the dream of an adventurer,
 Nor the exile for a dirty shedder of blood,
 Nor the hiding place for a promised treasure,
 Nor the pleasure of a corrupt white woman enjoying
 black men,
 Nor a rubber or cocoa plantation, nor a mine,
 Africa has become now, gentlemen, the cry of a
 rebellious giant,
 The cry of a giant who having slept for a while, was
 surrounded by dwarfs,
 And lived for a long time in a nightmare,
 Lived long in dreams,
 And here now he stretches himself to impose the law of
 humanity.
 In Africa, gentlemen,
 Live men and women,
 Having aspirations like you... with a stomach and an

imagination.
 They complain when hungry,
 They suffer when lost,
 They cry when sad,
 They laugh when glad,
 They bleed red blood when wounded,
 Red like your own blood!
 Their tears are colourless... hot like your own tears,
 They sweat in labour;
 Their sweat is also colourless; •
 Their hearts throb like your hearts;
 Men who build up their lives and women who bear
 children,
 Like your men and women,
 Their children adore playing just like your children,
 Their youths dream of love... exactly like your youths,
 Having whims, passions and aspirations like you;
 They all crave for security... just like any of you,
 But you... Woe to you!
 You set up a massacre everywhere in Africa.
 What a shame!
 Lumumba's memory will keep transmitting to the
 generations,
 To the hearts of millions of children,
 That you are monsters with white complexion and white
 skin;
 Your renown will ever be deformed.
 The children of the world,
 Will take care of Lumumba's orphan children.
 We shall Wipe these orphan's tears,
 Lumumba's children will grow...
 And the children of the world will grow,
 And you will be in utter forgetfulness...
 The curses are your shrou!!!
 Let you be drowned in the flood of tears
 Let you be burnt by the blazes of sighs...
 Let you be thunderstruck by the flames of the crisis,
 The accursed day will ever note,
 That you, the waifs and strays, came from the cave of
 utter darkness,
 To distort an age in which the heart used to sing for
 the future,
 You killed Lumumba in the savage shudder of cowardise,
 You killed him and dreaded his tomb!
 The tomb will become "El Kaaba", the holy shrine,
 To which liberals will come in pilgrimage...
 Out of his blood fire will emerge,
 To consume the enemies of humanity,
 And light the path of freedom,
 Before you Africa!

ACROSS THE PRAH

Swollen Shoot has devastated Kwame Antiri's cocoa farm. He hears of the rich, virgin forests on the River Prah and migrates thither with his family to find new fields to cultivate and, in the process, runs through a whole gamut of Ghanaian traditional formalities of land acquisition and land tenure. It is a typical Ghanaian narrative, rich in wit, wisdom, idioms and proverbs.

1. DEPARTURE

There is a popular saying: "When your neighbours are taking snuff and you do not join them, they say that your finger nails are dead." In other words, whenever a new fashion comes in, everybody tries to indulge in it. When cocoa cultivation came, several people embraced it and migrated into the forest belt to make a start. But we, Twi, know that the starting of a new enterprise is not an easy thing, not the sort of meat an old woman's teeth can chew.

Kwame Antiri also made up his mind that he would go into the forest to try his hand at cocoa and see if he could succeed there. He had a small farm at Krabo, so he decided to wait till after the harvesting season. Besides, the year had not been a good one. His old cocoa trees had begun to die out. The farm had been seriously attacked by akate and swollen shoot. Concern about this alone had forced him to go and "eat" a fetish (1), in order that he might be protected from any possible enemies with the evil eye and who might be responsible for his troubles. Why, he had not realised that season even 50 loads from his farm! But the previous year his first plucking alone gave him over 400 loads.

One evening in December, Antiri called the head

of his clan, his wife, children and other close relatives together, and told them about his plans. He made a long speech indeed. He said: "Barima Ofori, listen and pass it on to Nana and the rest of the abusua (2), that if I call them together this evening, I do not do so for any evil purpose. The elders have said that if you sit in one place you sit upon your fortune; and because of that, the fortune-seeker does not fear travelling. I am sure you all know that this new cocoa industry has made travelling a fashion. I do not need to go far to find you an illustration. Not many days have passed since our neighbour and friend Kofi Tuo and his family moved to Apragya (the other bank of the River Prah) to start cocoa farming. It is true that no one has followed them there, but it is also true that we have not had any ill reports about them. Perhaps in the words of the tortoise, they are saying: "No one knows what we are doing in our shell."

"Therefore, my spokesman, listen and tell the old man and all my kinsmen that I too desire to go to the Prah-side, to take up a contract for one-third share (3). If on arrival there I succeed in obtaining some of the land to buy outright, I shall buy it and settle there. If by the grace of Twɛaduampɔɔ (4), the Almighty, we

(1) This is a form of ritual to obtain the protection of a fetish or god.

(2) Abusua means more than a family. It means a clan.
 (3) A system whereby one-third of the yield goes to the landlord.

(4) Literary means "If you lean against it, you won't fall", another appellation for God.

are so lucky as to find some benevolent person who will give us charge of his farm, and enable us to make a living, we shall hang on to that till we settle. But if it should happen that we should fail in our attempt, the saying has it, that "when a trap relapses it comes back to its original position." We shall come back to our old home and resume our ancient oil palm industry. That, I am sure, with your prayers, will never come to pass. Therefore we are met imparting. All that I am asking is your blessing with which you will usher me and my family forth, so that we shall not go and return as we went, but that we may rather set out and come back one day in fortune.

"Parting is hard, but what can we do about it? Once we have been born men, our lot will for ever remain the bitter cup. You are yourselves witness that this half-completed house is not large enough for us; we shall one day have to put up a little hut in addition to it. But "Kwakyé's thing is nice, it is money that did it", says the proverb. Again, when there is food in the house, we Twi do not say: "Shut the door and let us go out to the bush to hunt for wild yam." I have finished my talk to you."

So Antiri ended. Then followed Barima Ofori, who took up the word to the family, saying: "As the spokesman who does not know how to speak would say, "Comrades, good speech for you." The family responded, saying "Good speech is good."

It was then that the family head, Atomani, started to speak thus: "Is my nephew Ofori here? Listen and say this to your elder brother and the rest of the family that in truth all the talk we have had today is true. Since I came to sit down here, if anyone has watched carefully, he would have noticed that a great cold descended upon me. Today my nephew has recalled memories of sorrow for me. I am fairly advanced in age, and I have met many of our nananom (5) alive. But what obtained in those days differs from present practices. Had it not been so, I would have said, "A tree whose fruits Ananse (6) has eaten and died of, is not one under whose shade his son Ntikuma should sit and doze." For, permit my saying this, if there was

anything to be gained from travel, I should not sit here today in this poor state in which you find me. But then the elders have said, "The vulture's soul differs from that of the crow." Therefore perhaps the very place where I went and met with woe may reward my child Kwame with weal. Tell him that because I myself do not fit well into the pattern of threaded beads, I shall all the same refrain from stopping him. I give him permission to go; from the depths of my bowels, I say he may go. One thing only I beg him; when he goes away, he should never forget those behind, whether it ends well or ill for him, for permit me to repeat, "when a trap relapses, it reverts to its original position."

Then the mother of the family, Aberewatia, also added her word and said: "We should take the matter as settled since the Elder has spoken. What is the saying? "Water is finished in the house as soon as the elder has had his bath?" And besides, we know that "when an elephant treads upon a trap, it relapses." But I will add a few words because "it is the mallet that splits the firewood." You say you are going away to work, it is no a bad thing to do. It is a good idea.

"I hold up your arms for you. However, you are yourself aware that it is to a foreign place that you are proceeding. Take good care of yourself, so that no ill-wisher brings upon you any trouble or litigation to entangle your feet. When you go there, have no trouble with any one. Your only quarrel must be with money. Poor fellow that you are, Antiri, go and behave yourself modestly, like a simple person, and remember always what the vulture answered when his neighbours made fun of him because he fed like a fool on rubbish. "I am using my stupidity to seek long life." Never show off to make people hate you. Deny yourself and suffer, without complaining, in want and hunger, in order that people may not hear of you. Hunger is painful, but too much food is danger. Besides, ease after suffering is better than suffering after ease.

"Therefore, when it comes to earing poor fare have it so, rather than resort to display in public which is followed by sorrowing at home in hiding. Let your wife and those who follow you in your train apply themselves to little undertakings, that will give them something to aid you; for, says the adage, "If the male (bird) fails to weave the nest and the female does it, they both live in it." You are setting out to labour,

(5) "Nananom" here applies to one's elders.

(6) Head of the clan.

therefore root out any germs of vanity from your eyes. The duiker has not long to live in the forest to trouble about fat calves. You too are not going to stay long there, to be fastidious in your way of living.

"These are the few words with which I, Abere-watia, send you off. The spirits of your departed be your vanguard and rearguard. Those that have gone before flank you on your right and your left! Go out and make fortune and bring it home. I bless you again and again and again."

At this juncture, the abusuapanyin (7) took rum and poured libation, and called upon the departed souls of Bretu (8) clan to follow their kinsman who was setting out on this adventure and to surround him with peace till he got to his destination, and in good time to guard him home without any mishap.

Everyone who was present and heard what the old man was saying felt a chill running over them. His words followed one another like water in a fall, and all praised his eloquence. All the while he was speaking, he was shaking like water carried in a brass pan. Some even thought he was possessed by some fetish or the souls of the departed. But as soon as he finished and was given speech-drink (9), he became quiet again. After this, all the kinsmen present drank some of the rum and dispersed. What was left now was packing of luggage.

Kwame Antiri made up his mind that on the very next Monday he would start. He paid a flying visit to Nsawam to purchase a few things that he would require in the forest. He bought cutlasses, axes, work dresses, gun-powder and percussion caps, salt and some kerosene. When he had finished collecting all these, he said he would go into the valley beyond the Akwapim hills to take leave of his wife's people.

So he met all her relatives at their village and

(7) Head of the clan.

(8) One of the clans in Aken society. It is the custom to pour libation to the departed souls of one's own clan to invoke their blessing.

(9) After one has poured a libation it is customary for him to have the first drink after speaking to those he was invoking.

said goodbye to them. They in their turn blessed him and prayed for him to go and return with fortune. As the proverb says, "When the people of Nsuta eat their fill, then the people of Mampong have peace." His mother-in-law gave him seeds of the egg plant and gourds to give to his wife to take along with her, for who knows, none might exist where they were going. They followed him to the outskirts of the village, and stopped behind a stile as he went along the path. Dusk was approaching, when he got home, therefore he found some water for a bath and went to bed.

The next day being Sunday, Antiri did not go anywhere; but the family made themselves sumptuous meal and rested. After that, towards the evening, they went and bade goodbye to their near relatives, in order that none might have cause to blame them later on. Before going to bed, they carried their boxes, pots and pans and all other belongings they would not take along with them and deposited them in the houses of their next door neighbours and relatives for safe keeping.

Early next morning, a mammy lorry came to stand behind their house and they loaded their luggage on to it. Relatives and friends came to see them off in proper fashion. They gave away the objects they no longer needed as parting gifts to friends and neighbours. These in their turn gave food for the road and other send-off presents. The driver tooted his horn and pressed the starter. As soon as the lorry had started, all one could hear was shouts of "Don't be long! don't be long!"

And now it was difficult to stand. Sorrow had descended on everyone. Several people had tears welling up in their eyes. It is true, they said, if you don't know what death feels like, you had better liken it to sleep but travelling is more like death than anything else which men compare it to. A traveller is just like a dead person. As he is going, perhaps he is on his last journey. Perhaps he will not return to find those he is leaving behind or even perhaps he himself may never return again. So most of the people who had gathered there began to shed tears. As for the children, they wailed aloud and it was some trouble stopping them. Oseadeeyo, the one who fulfils promise, Kwame Antiri, had put into execution what he said in words. If the day dawned on him again, it would be in a strange land.

2. THE JOURNEY

If we were to narrate all that happened during the journey, we should be left with no leisure. Agya Kwame and his people started from Coalta in the early morning and they arrived at Agona Swedru by mid-day. When they arrived there, they were famishing. So they asked the driver to permit them to go and find something to eat. They bought some bread and kenkey from the hawkers, and brought it to the lorry and ate it and drank water which they begged for.

But when they finished their meal and were expecting to continue their journey, the rain started to pour, which continued until night-fall. When it stopped the driver informed them that the road was a bad one, and he would not be able to travel on it in the night. They were very much cast down by this news. Agya Kwame said finally that they would go and find shelter under somebody's roof somewhere. Even if they had to pay a sleeping fee they wouldn't mind — when day dawned they would start on their journey. True indeed, he said, it is as good to hasten as it is to delay. They were lucky, for their driver knew the house of someone from their own town, and he led them there himself, and they found suitable lodging. In short, their host and his wife showed them so much kindness that they realised that the proverb is true which says that when an Accra man goes to Kumasi and meets Nkrampofo (a certain fish), he is delighted that he has seen his kinsman, because they both come from the sea.

At cock crow, the driver drove his lorry behind the room in which they were sleeping and tooted his horn. The time was Harmattan season, therefore early rising was not an easy task at all; but since one does not stop running before the pursuer gets tired, our doers turned their battle against Osei into feasting on pork, they persevered, and came and boarded the lorry, after thanking their host and his benevolent wife, who had come to see them off.

The sun had risen when they reached Akim Oda. Here they hurried to the railway station, bought their tickets, and boarded the train just in time for Mmokwaa country. Travel by railway was a new experience for Kwame Antiri and each member of his family, and from the start their hearts were not at ease. What gave them great trouble was the train guard who paraded

up and down the train, asking awkward questions of the passengers. When he finally approached them, and told them to present their tickets for inspection, their ill luck was like that of fowls, who are always destined to perish at the end of the knife. The simple family had blundered into a compartment occupied by those who had paid double the fare they had paid. A lot of pleading had to be put on their behalf before they were hustled into their appropriate compartment.

As soon as they entered the correct class, they beheld a fellow townsman occupying a seat there. Kwame Antiri accosted him with these words: "Ohunkyeree, how do we meet again?" "We meet in peace. Nowadays I am in the Wasa country, working on a little project, but I had a message about a couple of weeks ago saying that a recent storm had blown off the roof of my house and I went to see it, I am now returning to my place in the forest once again, for it is the forest clearing season, and no labourer has leisure." They talked on for a long while with their acquaintance who was called Kwaku Abebese. He did not fear the train guards, because he had travelled this way so often that he had got to know them all very well. Because of that, the new-comers cheered up a bit. They had befriended the cub of the leopard: they no longer dreaded to be in the chase.

They chatted on until they reached the point where Kwame Antiri and his people were to detrain. Kwaku promised them that as soon as work slackened a bit he would come and look them up. The train started and they waved to their friend till the train was far out of sight.

Alone once more, the family asked for the road to their destination and found a lorry, and packed their luggage on to it. As they came from the town of the Adontenhene, in their own country, so they were going to stay in the town of the Adontenhene of the Mmokwaa land, called Pewodee, which lies on the banks of the Prah. They arrived at mid-day and asked for the house of the chief spokesman to the chief, for they hoped to lodge there. In less time than it takes to shut the eye and open it again, word of their presence had gone round the entire town, and the news had reached those away in the fields, and even those fishing in the river Prah.

It was afternoon when the spokesman led them to the chief's house to salute the Abontenhene and his elders. They were given seats, and remained sitting for some time. It was not very long before the Adontenhene came out and sat down on the small dais in the open hall. Now the family rose and the spokesman led them to shake hands with the people assembled. When they had finished, they sat down again and the chief directed that they should be served with a bottle of rum as their "fatigue-drink", the drink given to strangers on arrival. After this, they poured the dregs on to the ground, bowing to the chief and saying, "Thank you, sir." Then the Adontenhene asked Okyeame Paemuse to ask them their mission. The linguist stood up in the midst of the gathering, leaning upon his stick of office and said: "My father, this is what the Benevolent One says. He says it is all quiet here, but what brings you here this noontide?"

As soon as he had finished speaking, Kwame Antiri rose up. Baring his chest, he went nearer to where the chief and the councillors were seated, and bowed low. He then began to tell his story: "Hear, O spokesman, and let it reach the Benevolent One that we do not come in evil. We are Akuapem people who come from yonder in the east. Our original dwelling place was at Coaltar on this side of the River Densu in the Abuakwa state. Our native town is Aburi which is the adonten or vanguard of the Akuapem state. We are cocoa farmers and it is on account of that we are here. We have heard very often about your state, that a vast virgin forest suitable for cocoa lies here. Hence, we said, we will come and see if, through Nana's kindness, he would be pleased to give us a little portion to squat on and work. I may say that some of our kinsmen have preceded us, and from what we have heard you have received them very generously. If you were to show us the same generosity, we should be extremely grateful. In short, if we are here today, we wish to make it clear that we have come to stay. Permit me to say, we have come to man the forge, we have not come to buy a cutlass from the smith and return."

As he finished, the spokesman thanked him, and spoke for Odeneho, the Independent One, and for the entire state and said: "That is good tidings for you!" The gathering responded: "Good tidings is good!" Now the Adontenhene told them they were welcome, and the spokesman and the elders came round and shook hands

with them. After that, Paemuse, the spokesman, spoke again: "We meet you in peace here also. In fact some time has passed since we received word from your kinsmen of your coming. But with the arrival of your message, an evil wind blew over us, and we sent word to you to defer your coming for a short while. It is now that the storm has completely abated, that you have come, to find the state reviving once again to its former status. Indeed, there is a forest here, but a state is built with people and not with trees. That which made the Kumasi state a big one was the cry, "add it on, add it on." Therefore the Mighty One says that if indeed you have come to stay, then he receives you with outstretched arms. At present the shades have fallen, the journey cleared by your feet is long, therefore we shall disperse to allow you to go and wash, knowing that when day dawns tomorrow, the Fante nation will still be in existence."

After the linguist had finished, Odeneho, the Independent One, rose and the assembly dispersed. The strangers followed their host to the house, where he found them sleeping places, and a good bed for their leader.

3. THE FARM CHOSEN

When day dawned, the chief and his elders assembled early in the morning and sent to inform Kwame and his two nephews who accompanied him that they were waiting to give them audience. When they arrived at the place they saluted them, and they were offered chairs to sit.

The spokesman stood up and once again enquired from them their mission. The Sannaahene (the treasurer) who was now the patron of the strangers answered for them that they came to hear what reply Okyeame had for their demand of the previous day for some land to farm.

The spokesman asked them again to explain exactly what they wanted. Had they come to buy the land outright or would they hire the land and then give a third share of their cultivation to the owner of the land? Or did they wish to take the land and plant the cocoa till it began to yield and have the farm split into two between themselves and the owner of the land? Or finally would they rather prefer to hire farms? Kwame

replied that if they could have land which they could buy outright they would like that best. But if they could not, they would accept anything, since no one quarrels with his benefactor. When you have some corn in your mouth and you roast the rest, you are able to give it full time to boil.

After the assembly had given thought to the matter, the chief ordered that they should place the matter before the old women. The inner council of elders went into consultation and then informed them that the matter had been laid before the old women and they had given their consent. The strangers should be given some land to buy, for who knew, through them some prosperity might one day descend on the nation.

When it ended in this, the Sannaahene led them to thank the chief and the councillors for this favourable reply; and the young men were given three days in which to survey the entire forest, with a view to finding a suitable portion to sell to the strangers.

On the third day after this meeting, the strangers accompanied the elders to the forest, and there they were given a vast piece of land. On the north it measured 40 poles, while the breadth was 45. The southern side which was bounded by the River Prah measured 38.

When they had surveyed the land, they measured it up finally and set up the boundaries, while the assistants asked for rum, a sheep and a delimitation feast. Then the party returned home to bargain for the price of the land. The Mmokwaa people explained that they wished to deal with the newcomers in a neighbourly manner so all they would ask would be for £ 200, a case of rum and a fat sheep.

On the spot, Kwame and his family paid the cost to the last penny, and received a deed of purchase. They then repaired to the edge of the forest, and performed the *guaha* custom, or the customary act of conveyance.

This custom is a sign which provides evidence for future reference in a sale, exchange, or conveyance of property. It is done with a leaf, hence the name *guaha*, a leaf used in trade. This is how it is done: the seller and the buyer each put up a child to act in their stead. The children squat facing each other, and pass their right hands in between their thighs. Behind

them are lined their sponsors. The elder supervising the sale then hands the two children the leaf of a plant called *Kesenekesene*, or a strip of palm leaf. The seller's child holds the stalk end, the buyer's representative holds the tip, and each presses a cowrie under his right thumb on the leaf. Next the presiding elder orders the children to pull the leaf taut, till it snap. When it snaps, each side takes away their bit of the leaf together with the cowrie, and keeps it somewhere the future reference. Should any litigation arise over the ownership of the land, the witnesses come forward and require either party to bring their *guaha* (torn leaf and cowrie) and they piece the two together, to see if they fit. The reason why children are employed in the performance of the *guaha* is that they will live longer than the grown-up witnesses.

At any rate, Kwame Antiri had his land by both rights. For the rest of the day, you should have been in the town of Pewodee to see for yourself. After the townspeople had divided the £ 200, they began to mourn it. The greater part, in fact, as the saying goes, slept on the backs of their mats. (they were drunk).

4. THE NEW FARM

Next morning Agya Kwame Antiri rose up early and roused all his people to accompany him to make a tour of the entire land to find a suitable spot where they could build a settlement. They had decided not to stay in the town, for out of sight, out of hatred. All day they covered the ground and, finally, they came upon a beautiful plateau. About two hundred yards below the plateau they saw large flat rocks frequented by flights of birds. From this they concluded that there should be water there. Sure enough, when they rushed to the spot, they discovered a spring which spouted into a box of rock. They drank some of this clean cool water to their satisfaction and named the spring *Oboadaku* (stone-box-water).

They were too tired to do anything more that day, and, remembering further that the new moon does not emerge the same day and move across the town, they said they would just survey the site and mark it up with signs, and return the next morning to start the clearing. Then they returned home and informed their

host and the women, and after they had something to eat, they went to bed.

At the first crow of the cock, on the third day, Kwame and his hosts set off again and since they had already made their tracks, it did not take them long to reach Oboadaku. There they made their fire and began with the clearing. They continued in this manner till they had finally cleared the thorn from the bush. Soon Oseadeeyo (he who does what he says) and his children began to put up the framework of their buildings. The distance from the village to their new settlement compelled them to move into the bivouacs as soon as sufficient ground had been cleared around them.

A STORY OF COURAGE

You would admire them for their courage, when you hear the story of the early days at the settlement. But the Antiri family could not cry as they rightly should, because, they knew, one does not cry when one dresses one's own wounds.

The roofs and wall of the shelters were made of tree bark. When the wind blew, you could hear it whistling through the chinks. When you looked up at night, you could notice the stars piercing through the roofs into your eyes. When it rained, then you had to make sure that you were sleeping in the duiker's place, or else you would never sleep a wink. The black ants too were there to see to it that there was no peace at night. When these left for a bit, other disturbing insects took up their place, and said, "We don't agree." Had it not been for the fact that they slept every night with fires burning inside and around their rooms, they would have found life itself very difficult indeed, because they heard the cries of wild animals like the leopard almost every night. They even awoke in the morning sometimes to find the marks of herds of wild cows, close behind their flimsy walls.

It was in the month of January, when the fruits of the agyama plant are ripe, that the family of Kwame Antiri went to live for the first time at the new settlement. When May came round and the corn was mature, they were a bit at ease, because their farms were beginning to yield and their livestock were also increasing. Until then they had been living on wild

yams and cassava, which they got from the forest and other people's deserted farms, or, in a crisis on food-stuffs from other people.

You would have pitied them indeed in the months before May. You would agree that the meat of the animal poverty tastes bitter indeed. With the yam or corn, and their intestines to feed upon, the women and children made their way to Pewodee. As the proverb says, "If there is something in the house, no one will say shut the door and come with me to find wild yams." So the women bent under the weight of the heavy loads, and the children were besmeared with clay, their little all-weather cloths hanging from their necks, their skin covered with sores which attracted a swarm of flies. The men, for their part, had gone to the forest with their guns.

At times the women and children only reached their settlement after nightfall from the market. When that happened, the children returned in good time, they would collect pawpaws all the way till they reached Oboadaku. On other occasions when they were benighted, the children's wailing was accompanied by that of monkeys and other night criers. On reaching home, they found the hunters already returned, the animals quartered and made into hunters' soup, the men sitting in the shade of the trees switching their fly-switch and chatting away merrily. Behind them, their assistants would be smoking the venison, and others stretching the skins on the ground to dry.

When the women and children made their appearance, you would hear the "crock, crock" of the fowls, while their dogs would bark and run ahead to hover round the venison smoking on the fire. You would then hear welcoming shouts: "Here comes Enowaa, Here is Father, Hello Kwesi, Hello Atua, Afriyie, Safowa, Aku Sika."

As soon as the women arrive they join up their logs of fire. Some of them add fatigue to fatigue, and take their pots to go and fetch water. The eldest amongst them begin to peel the cocoyans. By now hunger has got the better of every one of them, and the whole settlement is quite quiet. But soon you hear the noise of the beating of fufu. Since there is plenty of venison, today's soup is going to be a very inviting one, and when the old woman puts in the soup-ladle, the meat pops up in large quantities. She smiles, saying in her head:

Yes, is this not the way to beat the child of an Akan?

If only I could have it like this always!

But on days when the hunters have failed, and only land crabs have been caught by the help of the children, the woman knits her brow in anger. The slightest puff of smoke sends tears welling up in her eyes. She turns the ladle with a jerk, and says thus in her head:

"You take someone's child to treat her in this way,

If you don't eat, I will eat it myself."

5. "THERE IS KNOCKINK WHERE THE PIONEERS' FIRE BURNS"

At last the settlement was well established. They had made a few compounds of thatched houses, fenced around with bark of wood, because no palm, fronds were to be found in the forest which could be used for fencing mats. Creepers and vines of the ahumkyi, nsurogya, and odumfee trees were very scarce here, so that the only climber used was the thick one called fra. All their farms were blooming, and the plantains standing in full strength. If the forest were one that had been farmed before, there would have been no space because of the cocoyam shoots that would have sprung up. For the rains had been plentiful and all crops had made a good start. Cocoa, transplanted or sowed by seed, had all begun to grow branches. As for pineapples and sugarcane, they had even started selling some. If you had seen their fowls, turkeys, rabbits, goats and sheep, and especially the fatted ones, you would have thought that they had been at Oboadaku quite a long time. The Pewodee people were even coming to the settlers to buy strange new foodcrops like cocoyams, chinese potatoes, berobe, garden eggs, pumpkins, spinach, citrus and other fruits.

One afternoon when Kwame had returned home to find something to eat, he heard someone, say, "Agoo". It was own kinsman Atweri of Mpakadan who had arrived with his family. When he had given them water to drink, he asked them the reason for their coming to Oboadaku. Atweri replied that they had not come on any evil purpose, for he would ask permission to say that what obtains in Raintown obtains in Suntown.

In other words, the same misfortunes that had befallen Kwame Antiri had befallen him too. The Swollen Shoot disease had attacked his farm, and as a result the Agriculture Department had sent labourers to cut out the trees completely. This he considered and said he would not sit down in despair, for, permit the saying, "if you sit in one place, you sit upon your fortune", therefore he would move further afield to make a new start and see if that would not be best. After they yad talked a while, they went and had some raffia palm-wine, and sat down to talk over it. Meanwhile, one of the lads had brought home a fat black antelope. The women prepared a nice meal with it for the visitors and then they had their baths. When night came, they talked about home a little and retired to bed.

Next day, Kwame Antiri and his guests rose early, and went to Pewodee and placed his case before the Adontenhene and his elders. He in turn promised them that he had heard what they had said, he would consult with his elders and give them his reply the next day. By then he would have time to discuss the matter with Kurontiri and Akwamu, Gyase and Adonten and have their opinion. Next day they waited till late in the afternoon before they went. Then Kwame Antiri informed the assembly that his kinsman who had arrived did not bring any evil errand — he came in peace. He had come to find land to take on a one-third share basis to grow cocoa. He begged therefore that the owner of the forest and his elders might look at his face and give him a favourable consideration. The Chief sent the elders out into consultation. When they returned they informed the gathering that they had agreed from the depths of her bowels that the strangers should be offered any measure of land on a one-third share basis as they had applied for. The gathering applauded the decision.

Then the strangers appealed further that, since families group together, they would wish their portion of land to be contiguous with Kwame's so as to be near them always, and so that if need be they might be able to build their settlement together. When they had settled all details, they thanked the chiefs and went back to Antiri's village late with the moon.

When the appointed day came, the chief sent his elders to demarcate the land, as promised, for Atweri. In this case, since he did not buy the land outright,

they did not mark it out with some trees, but they merely used natural landmarks and trees to mark off his portion, asking for one sheep and a pot of palm wine. After that, they came to an agreement on the following terms. With the exception of food crops, any other cash crops or saleable commodity that the land yielded, such as cocoa, coffee, rice, oranges etc. must be divided into three, and a third share given to the owner of the land. Every year when the annual festival came round, the family of Atweri would be expected to come before the chief to pay their homage. They would bring a panful of foodcrops, a live sheep

and a bottle of rum, with which the chief could pray for them. When they had finished with all these details, they gave some presents to the chief's representatives and they left, greatly satisfied.

Later on, Odekuro (Village headman) Kwame Antiri also charged them a latecomer's fee, and gave them a place to put their houses. The little village of Oboadaku was growing. Labourers and strangers, traders and hunters, soon followed the settlers and filled the village to the fullest capacity. In fact they did not lie when they said, "settlers" fire, there is agoo following after it."

XXV International Congress of Orientalists

RESOLUTION OF THE AFRICAN SECTION

The African Section of the XXV International Congress of Orientalists, in view of the growing importance of African Studies, resolves:

1. that it is desirable to extend the works of the Section by establishing an International Congress of Africanists;
2. that the initial meeting of this Congress be held in one of the African university centers, in 1962, if possible;
3. that, with their consent, a Committee of Organization composed of the heads of the University of Ibadan, of the National University of Mali, the University College of Ghana, the

University of Addis-Ababa, the University of Tunis and the head of one Congo University, plus representatives of the International African Institute, the African Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the African Studies Association of the United States of America and of French Africanists be appointed, with the Principal of the University College of Ibadan as chairman;

4. that the Chairman of the present Section be requested to communicate with the above-mentioned individuals and bodies as to facilitate the formation of the Committee of Organization.

Moscow, 16/8/1960

Second Conference of the Afro-Asian Writers

Cairo — 12th to 16th February 1962

GENERAL DECLARATION

After Tashkent, Colombo and Tokyo, the Second Afro-Asian Writer's Conference is held in Cairo. This gathering is the result of the struggle of the Afro-Asian people in general, conscious of their problems and strong masters of their destiny. The fact that they are meeting in Cairo, cross-road of a world in gestation and in evolution, capital of a country liberated from colonialism and target of imperialist manoeuvres, is significant — The U.A.R. is in a way the geographic junction and the link between our two continents.

It is because our movement is an integral part of it that it constitutes a repercussion of the powerful awakening of consciousness for the liberty and the independence of millions of Afro-Asians, a result of the victory of most of the peoples over the colonisers and the imperialists and the revolutionary struggle, an ex-

pression of their ardent wish to build a new glorious and prosperous life. Our movement is a continuation in new circumstances and different and better conditions of the affirmation of the Afro-Asian personality. The evolution of our minds and our awakening began thanks to the enlightenment of many unknown writers, men of letters and other celebrities such as Rabindranath Tagore, Lu Hsun, Sadruddin Aini, and Taha Hussein...

Our Conference is held at a moment when the Afro-Asian universe is passing through a decisive phase which definitely leaves its imprint on the present world in its transformations.

The Afro-Asian writer lives an incomparable historical experience. The state of Asia and Africa which places him in the midst of these enormous movements.

offers him the privilege and the heavy task to be at the same time the witness and the active factor of these transformations.

The writers' meeting having noted the general report and the interventions of the different delegations have now an objective and more complete view of the situation in the world and particularly in our two continents. This situation is characterised by an intensification of the struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In certain cases this struggle is manifested in the form of national liberation war and revolutionary movements.

In other cases, it has taken the form of mass action against the puppet governments; in other cases still it has appeared in the form of economic and social transformations. The imperialist system is shaken by it to its deepest foundations. In reaction, the imperialists use all the means at their disposal to avoid and to set back their inevitable doom.

The awakening of consciousness and the vigilance of the people have reinforced our solidarity. The peoples of both continents are regrouping themselves. The qualitative change of the colonised countries into independent countries and the intensification of the national liberation movements, the extension and the reinforcement in all domains of the countries of the socialist camp, have turned the balance of forces in favour of the anti-imperialist struggle. The gradual awakening of consciousness of democratic forces in colonial metropolises and in other countries constitute a strong support for the anti-imperialist struggle.

The imperialist camp under the direction of the U.S.A. tries to maintain itself by all means:

- The direct aggression against countries such as Algeria, Angola and Cuba;
- The division of countries such as Vietnam, Korea, Indonesia and Palestine, and the aggressions perpetrated against them;
- The plots directed against the territorial and national units, such as the Congo, West Irian, Okinawa;
- The multiplication of pacts and aggressive military alliances: CENTO, NATO and SEATO;

— The corruption and maintenance of puppet governments;

— These are some of the means used by the imperialists and their allies to continue to dominate, and exploit the people while at the same time putting a brake to their emancipation.

In spite of the diabolical forces at its disposal, imperialism is mainly served by our divisions, the dispersion of anti-colonialist energies and the creation of the so-called revolutionary movements. The struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism is particularly in the present situation, the substance of Afro-Asian solidarity.

On the other hand, it is evident that if imperialists should launch a thermo-nuclear war, an enormous destruction would annihilate in an unprecedented manner, the cultural achievements of humanity. That is why we are resolutely in favour of the liquidation of all weapons of mass destruction and of foreign military bases. Writers as well as others are preoccupied with the problem of peace and join their efforts to the struggle of the people in view of stopping the break-out of a new world war. It would be an illusion for writers to defend the theme of peace in any other way than by fighting the cause which endangers it i.e.: imperialism the only warmonger.

That is why we must support with all force the world peace movement as well as all international organisations struggling for national independence, progress and peace.

For us, Afro-Asian writers, the struggle for attainment and safeguarding of national independence, the support accorded to the struggle, as well as to the combat waged against imperialism constitute our best contribution for the cause of peace.

The liberation of the African and Asian countries weakens imperialism beginning with its leader U.S. imperialism, by removing its bases of aggression, and its economic and military arsenal. It repels the forces of war and creates conditions for world peace.

To be worthy of its representativity and to justify its responsibility before history, the Afro-Asian writer must be the authentic expression of the aspirations for independence and freedom expressed on the other hand by the sacrifices and the struggles of his people.

Nothing must separate the struggle of the writer from the political or revolutionary battle of his people. The Afro-Asian writer must be "engaged" in the field of recovery of its culture national independence, as well as in the field of social liberation.

Yet, by his intellectual make-up the Afro-Asian writer is more vulnerable than his people to the influence of misleading ideologies. Thence the increased need for vigilance and a constantly closer link with the masses. The Afro-Asian writers must exert all efforts to eliminate all sort of colonialist-inspired literature harmful to the mind and the fighting will of these people. The suppression of all domination and all external or internal oppression, such as fascism and militarism, the defeat of all cultural imperialisms can alone permit to pave the way, for the full flourishing of Afro-Asian national cultures and their elevation to Universality.

The Afro-Asian writers must support by their literary and social activities all the measures which aim to ensure a better understanding and increased mutual assistance amongst their peoples. We rejoice at the increasing influence of Afro-Asian nations in the international community and support all measures tending

to increase the representation of our nations which would reflect their importance. Our aspirations and interests should be adequately ensured in world organisations such as the United Nations Organisation and disarmament conferences.

The Afro-Asian Writers believe that the freedom of thought and expression constitutes one of the essential conditions to the development of national cultures. The institution and the development of a real democracy is favourable to the creative activity of writers and contributes to enrich culture edified on the basis of the glorious national heritage.

Only a virile humanism, a revolutionary humanism, a humanism free of all demagogy will give to the writer his right to be read by those he loves, and those who love him. Esteem is earned. There is but one criterion for the true creator: to be attentive to the anger and the wisdom of the people. From the people thus respected and served will talent be born!

Long live solidarity of Afro-Asian writers!

Long live the National Independence Movements!

Long live world peace!

Appeal to the Writers of the World

The Afro-Asian Writers' Conference has, by the Solidarity of its participants, revived all noble aspirations for the eradication of imperialism in all their aspects in the two continents.

We, Afro-Asian Writers are conscious of the growth of our determination to mobilize all our creative capacities in the service of the causes of national liberation and world peace.

We, Afro-Asian Writers address this appeal, which emanate, from our hearts, to all writers of the world, urging them to live with us by their pure sentiment and true conscience: behind the barricades of the fighting nationalists in Algeria, with the maledictions of the bereaved mothers in the Cameroon, with the eyes of the Palestinian refugees which aspire to return and to

restore their usurped home, and with the thundering of indignant voices of all the oppressed peoples now living under the nightmare of colonialism and its agents.

You, writers of Europe you should all stand against man's enslavement by his fellow man. You must stand by the liberation of man from the stigma of imperialism, old and new and the shame of oppression.

You, Writers of America and Australia, all of you must stand against the deliberate starving of peoples, their exploitation and the draining of their children's blood. You must stand against injustice, suppression and the placing of entire nations under the conditions of want, disease and ignorance.

You, writers all over the world : We appeal to you to be enlightened by your noble human values, and to join with us in the sacred battle against misery, fear and suffering We appeal to you, who are the voices of your peoples' conscience, to mobilize for our cause all your talents, wisdom, sense of duty, responsibility and justice, and to make use of your honest pen-manship in the struggle against colonialism in all its forms ; for the realizations of better life for man, and the provisions of bread, amity, culture and peace.

We know that there are writers in all corners of the world, who are bravely and uniquely struggling for their faith in man's liberty and prosperity, who suffer all kinds of torture to defend man's dignity. They do not surrender to the unjust power but continue their struggle in the path of honour and dignity looking forward to a future bright with happiness for all peoples.

We the writers of Asia and Africa have also suffered from many injuries and much pains but our ardent desire to fight has never been quenched in our hearts as is the case with all honest, honourable writers everywhere on earth. We have continued to fight the imperialists and their quislings — the enemies of man, of life, of freedom, and of peace.

We urge all the writers and men of letters all over the world to stand by us in every place against racial discrimination and the aggression of the imperialists' culture.

We the writers of Asia and Africa are not only the inheritors of the ancient cultures and civilizations but are also the builders of a more advanced, more developed and more beneficial culture in our present age.

We the writers of Asia and Africa play an effective role in creating international progressive culture and in

enriching the intellectual treasures of the world.

We the writers of Asia and Africa appeal to every writer who believes in his mission, to combat colonialism and imperialism with us with all his might. The true writer is not only a soldier in the battle field of justice, truth, freedom and peace but is also the striving voice which enlightens the consciousness of his people and guides it to the lofty human ideals, foremost among which are the causes of national freedom, democracy and peace which are menaced by the ghosts of a nuclear war.

You writers all over the world Man is the subject matter of literature, the objective of which is to endow man with freedom, culture security and progress.

Man cannot realize any of those objectives as long as he is threatened by colonialism which brings disaster to his living, freedom and land. Thus, the struggle of the writer against colonialism and Imperialism is a realization of the message of literature and art because it is the path leading to freedom, culture, peace and social progress.

You writers the world over : Consolidate with us in our defence of liberty in Asia and Africa, and in the maintenance of peace on earth which is continuously threatened by the colonialists and warmongers.

From the heart of Cairo on the banks of the ancient Nile where one of the oldest civilizations was born, we send our ardent appeal to you the writers of the world urging you to join your voices to ours, so that the banner of liberty may raise high in all Afro-Asian countries. We anticipate a morrow of bird-song of hopes, happy smiles, and a bright prevalent peace on earth.

Fifth Annual Conference of the PAFMECA

HELD AT ADDIS-ABABA

ON FEBRUARY 2-10, 1962

RESOLUTION ON BASIC PRINCIPLE OF GENERAL INTEREST

The PAFMECA :

REASSERTING its dedication to advance the cause and to work for the best interest of Africa ;
BEARING IN MIND that the African struggle for the liberation of our Continent is being carried out and that the urgent need of African Unity is called upon, at all levels by Conferences of the Independent African Heads of States, by the All African Peoples Conference, and other African peoples organization.

BEING AWARE of the disruptive forces from within and outside the African ranks that are bent and at work to subvert African freedom movements and efforts for African solidarity and unity ;

CONVINCED that the problem of eradicating colonialism and imperialism from African soil has to be tackled in every possible way and from all angles by the Independent African States and the various peoples' organization of Africa ;

RECOGNIZING the cardinal requirement that all regional African federations proposed to be established by independent African States should constitute initial practical steps toward the anxiously awaited total political unity of our Continent ;

(1) **Affirms** that the struggle for the total liberation of African launched by PAFMECA constitutes in integral part of the continental African struggle waged by the Independent States and the various peoples' organizations of Africa.

(2) **Pledges its full support** to the All African peoples Conference.

RESOLUTION ON UNDEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS

The PAFMECA :

CONDEMNING the colonialists' policy of divide

and rule and manoeuvres to subvert African unity and solidarity by encouraging the disruptive forces of tribalism and regionalism, of reactionaries and opportunists :

DEPLORING the use of religious differences as a news of dividing African Nationalist forces ;

REGRETTING that certain of our African brothers allow themselves to be pawns and instrument of the machinations and conspiracies of colonialists ;

BEING AWARE of the fact that the formation of a united African common front constitutes the prime pre-requisite for the achievement of African independence ;

- (1) CONDEMNNS the attempts of the colonialists to frustrate the primary democratic principle of adult universal suffrage based on one man, one vote, one value by means of undemocratic methods as the entrenchment in the Constitution of reserved seats and privileges for certain groups or interests.
- (2) CALLS further upon all African to abandon all their differences and personal interests and to unite to work for the immediate and unconditional achievement of freedom and independence.
- (3) CALLS further upon all Africans to uphold and to dedicate themselves to the primary democratic principle of adult universal suffrage based on one man — one vote — on value.
- (4) APPEALS to all Africans to reject and fight without reservation all the attempts and manoeuvres that are being made by the colonialists and their stooges, by reactionaries and opportunists, and by tribalists and regionalists calculated to divide and weaken African and to defeat the purposes and objectives which they all stand for.

RESOLUTION ON FEDERATION

The PAFMECA :

BEING irrevocably committed to the ideology of PAN-AFRICANISM ;

SEEKING to establish a federation of the component Independent States of PAFMECA as a first real and logical step toward the full realization of the total African Political unity and as the best method of speeding up the liberation of Africa, of giving strength, security and stability to our hard won independence, of assuring ourselves of national reconstruction and decolonization, of achieving effective economic, social, educational, and cultural progress, and of coordinating our defence and foreign policies and of combating neo-colonialist conspiracies to subvert and balkanise African

States and of liquidating tribalism, parochialism and secessionist tendencies ;

1. PLEDGES to work relentlessly for a federation of Eastern Africa i.e. Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, to be established immediately the now colonial territories of Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar attain their independence ;

2. CALLS upon the East African Common Services Authority and the governments of Ethiopia and Somalia to start discussions immediately on the extension of the East African Common Market and the East African Common Services Organisation to embrace Ethiopia and Somalia ;

3. AFFIRMS that in the constitution and structure of the federation of Eastern Africa, provision shall be made for the inclusion of countries in Central and South Africa immediately they attain their independence.

Resolutions of The National Council of The United National Independence Party.

GENERAL DECLARATION

We the 48 members of the National Council of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, representing the 3,000,000 people of this Protectorate and meeting in Lusaka on 5,6 and 7th of March, 1962, hereby pass the following resolutions :

1. PARTITION PLAN :

Bearing in mind the fact that Northern Rhodesia is one and indivisible and also mindful of the solidarity which binds all the peoples of Northern Rhodesia in their quest for National Unity and Independence ; this Council strongly condemns the evil activities of the Welensky, Whitehead and Sandys unholy trio in attempting to balkanise the United Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia into Bantustans and White areas.

Further, we denounce the illegitimate activities of the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs in carrying out a dark mission to Paramount Chief Mwanawina and in persuading him to apply for the illegal secession of Barotseland from the rest of Northern Rhodesia.

Mindful of our responsibilities and fully conscious of the fact that recent activities are a last minute bid to save a dying Federation against the unanimous opposition of the majority of the population, this Council further resolves that there is no magic which can save Welensky's Federation, further resolves that in view of Welensky's determination to maintain Federation at any cost the Council resolves that this can only be practical as long as it is recognised that this will only be done over the dead bodies of Africans of Northern Rhodesia.

2. BUILD THE NATION CAMPAIGN :

That this council looks with contempt upon the so-called "BUILD THE NATION CAMPAIGN" which has no other purpose except the corruption of our people through bribery and other accompanying national comforts.

That the Council hereby pledges itself towards exerting all its energies towards, making it impossible for any campaign agent to operate in any part of Northern Rhodesia. Further, that this Council considers the campaign as a cheap measure directed towards salvaging the last bits of a European-Supremacy Federation which for the past NINE years has failed to fulfil its declared policy of Partnership.

Further, that this Council appeals and pledges itself to the exposition of the Social Reforms myth and endorses the stand that the African people of Northern Rhodesia are, at the moment, no longer interested in Social Reforms or the breaking down of the colour bar but in controlling political power.

3. U.N.O. AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA .

That this Council congratulates Joshua Nkomo and his Z.A.P.U. Executive for having drawn the attention of the United Nations Organisation towards the iniquities of the Whitehead Regime in Southern Rhodesia ; that the Council is perturbed at recent reports that the Federal Government is going to make it impossible for the United Nations Organisation Commission to enter Southern Rhodesia to ascertain reports about the under-dog conditions under which the indigenous African of Southern Rhodesia live today.

Bearing in mind the gravity of the situation in the South, this Council endorses the resolution of the United Nations in sending a Commission to Southern Rhodesia and pledges itself to giving all the aid, material and moral, in making such an entry possible.

4. NYASALAND :

That this Council extends hearty congratulations to the Great NGWAZI KAMUZU BANDA and his Malawi Cabinet in the manner in which they have efficiently conducted the affairs of Nyasaland since the advent of Responsible Government.

Bearing in mind the state of stability which today reigns in Malawi due to the efficiency of the Kamuzu Executive, this Council would further like to pay tribute to the Nyasaland leader for having exploded the current myth that Africans run their affairs efficiently.

Consequently, this is a clear rebuff to the White Supremacist attitudes of Sir Roy Welensky and his Salisbury gang since it is no longer possible for them to seek an excuse in the generalisation that responsibility once granted to African States is more often abused than used with discretion.

5. TANGANYIKA PEACE MARCH :

That this Council expresses its gratitude to the Rev. Michael Scott and members of the World Peace Brigade on their intended peace march into Northern Rhodesia in protest against the denial to the African people of their right towards self-determination.

Further that this Council takes special exception to the news that District Commissioners in Abercorn and Isoka today declared that as from the 5th of March for one month on public meetings of more than three persons and no public processions shall be allowed to take place.

Further, we take special exception to the information that all roads leading into Northern Rhodesia from Tanganyika have been closed with Police blocks and that no passage is allowed except for "Essential Services".

This Council is of the stand that these measures are more symbolic of Fascist Regime tactics than of democracy and that they signify the fear which abides in Government Circles in their desire to keep the outside world ignorant of the real conditions under which Africans live in Northern Rhodesia.

Further, this Council would like to extend a hearty welcome to Rev. Michael Scott and the Freedom marchers when they arrive in N. Rhodesia and that the African people shall prepare for these marchers a welcome only reserved for heroes.

6. ILLEGAL STRIKE AT MUFULIRA :

That this Council condemns in no uncertain terms period when Welensky used Tshombe as a stooge.

the toleration by both the Labour Department of the Northern Rhodesia Government and the Mufulira Mine Management of the illegal strike which paralysed production at Mufulira Copper Mines Limited.

Further, that this Council regards this passivity as a deep measure of discrimination against the African Mine Employees because if it were Africans on strike the entire Mobile Unit and Police Reserve would have been called out to cordon off African Locations.

This Council, therefore, urges the Northern Rhodesia Government and the Mine Managements to regard the Mufulira strike as a precedent and give an assurance that from now on wards no section of the Mining Community shall be victimised, intimidated or dismissed, if that section engages in a Strike Ballot is fulfilled

7. PAN-AFRICANISM :

That in view of our unflinching pledge to the ideals of Pan-Africanism this Council passes the following resolutions :

(a) A tribute to the Freedom Fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Algeria in their uncompromising and heroic stand against the sinister machination of Imperialism. To the people of Angola and Mozambique we would say that the tyranny and genocide which have been conducted by the Salazaar Regime will leave a deep stain on the prospects of racial co-operation in Africa. To the Freedom Fighters in Algeria we parade our salute of homage and assure them that not all dishearten the burning desire for self-determination. Further, or Algeria, that murders gangsters O.A.S., who operate with the complicity of the Foreign Region, only perform one function that is to remind the entire African Continent that as long as there is an imperialist in their midst the African Nationalists must be perpetually on their guard.

(b) **THE CONGO :** That this Council endorses the stand adopted by the Party in the past, namely that no balkanisation of the Congo, or any other part of Africa, shall ever be tolerated; affirm our stand that neither the West nor the East has any right to choose leaders for the Congo and that the danger of balkanisation handsly demonstrated during the recent gun-running

This Council therefore, appeals to all Congolese leaders to get together for the sake of national unity, and appeals to Moise Tshombe to avoid, by breaking away from the Congo and join Rhodesia, jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

(c) **UGANDA** : That this Council expresses congratulation to Prime Minister Kiwanuka on Uganda's achievement of Self-Government and hope that Uganda shall be a shining example of the spirit and embodiment of Pan-Africanism.

(d) **KENYA** : That this Council severely denounces the regionalism tendencies of the Kenya African Democratic Union and pledges its support to MZEE JOMO KENYATTA in his efforts towards the establishment of one Kenya under one African Government.

(e) **ETHIOPIA** : That this Council put on record its gratitude to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selasse, the Lion of Judah, for having accommodated the recent PAFMECA Conference and for having given that conference a Pan-African inspiration in its deliberations.

(f) **SOUTH AFRICA** : That this Council Holy con-

firms its previous supports for the South African Freedom fighters in their determination to end the Verwoerd regime ; further, that this Council re-pledges itself towards offering the down-trodden Africans of South Africa all the material and moral support ; congratulates the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference for having kicked out South Africa from the Commonwealth and further urges Independent African States to express their support through more practical than theoretical means in dealing with the South African issue.

(g) **HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES** : That this Council urges the British Government to grant, immediately, independence to the British High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland in conformity with the desires and aspirations of nationalist organisation in the respective territories.

(h) **TANGANYIKA** : That this Council expresses its gratitude to the Tanganyika African National Union and Government on the achievement of independence ; and that the Council hopes that the sound relations which have always existed between that country and Northern Rhodesia shall continue to grow stronger every day until the vestiges of Colonialism are eradicated in both countries.

On New Maudling Constitution

The United National Independence Party National Council meeting on 5th March at Freedom House, Lusaka, deeply regrets the with which the British Government has decided the future of Northern Rhodesia. The delay is regrettable in view of the fact that during the two years of this state of unparalleled indecision, confidence has been lost in certain quarters in our great country and this general apathy has hit industry and commerce and affected the general morale of the entire European and African population.

We are glad, however, that at long last a decision has been made but deeply regret that this decision dodges the real issue in that it does not get away from racialism and further entrenches the concept that African and European candidates have still to appeal to their racial blocks for support.

The Council also deeply regrets that Sir Roy Welensky has decided at this critical time to engage in political dramatics which are bound to make a bad situation worse. Threats of using fire and force coming from a man of Sir Roy's standing and a personality with racial attitude we know so well, are only intended to heighten racial antagonism and they expose the myths of both partnership and "Build A Nation" campaign, both of which are supposed to be the kingpins on which Federation is built. The main purpose of Sir Roy's campaign is to deceive the Europeans here, the British public and the entire world that a man cannot be a nationalist without being a racialist who will carry his racialism to the extent of denying other races within the borders of this country certain rights which all civilized people cherish as inalienable and which by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the General Assembly of the United Nations, December 10th, 1948, have been enshrined in the hearts of all freedom loving people.

Having carefully studied the announcement made by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Reginald Maudling, in the House of Commons on February 28th, we strongly condemn and reject the proposed constitution because

we believe it cannot work. But being conscious of the great responsibility which rests on our shoulders to restore a degree of peace, security and stability, in Northern Rhodesia; and mindful of the fact that these will not come about except at the initiative and with the co-operation of the United National Independence Party, this National Council would be prepared to consider participating in the forthcoming general election subject to satisfaction on the following:

1. **Delimitation Commission.** That the composition of the Commission should consist of independent and unbiased members who will not juggle with this vital aspect of the new constitution to the detriment of the majority population; and that the appointment of the Commission be regarded as a matter of uttermost urgency.

2. **The National Seats.** That in the event of any of the National Seats being frustrated, the system of nomination should not be used to fill the vacant national seats. This should prove our point that the constitution is unworkable.

In this event, we shall be forced to demand an immediate constitutional conference in London on Northern Rhodesia.

3. **Bans on Organisations and Leaders.** In view of the delicacy of the political situation pending the full implementation of the new constitution, we feel strongly that all existing bans on organisations and leaders be lifted immediately and that henceforth equal opportunities be offered to all political parties in all areas of Northern Rhodesia. Further, that any political arrests from now on, would minimise the likelihood of the afflicted parties participating in the forthcoming elections; and therefore we ask the authorities not only to avoid this but also to grant a general amnesty to all political leaders and prisoners.

4. **The Federal Review Conference.** In view of Welensky's stepped up campaign for the maintenance

of the Federation at any cost, we demand that the Federal Review Conference be withheld until the above points are met and Northern Rhodesia has a representative majority in the Legislative Council to speak with authorities on behalf of the people of Northern Rhodesia at the Review Conference — where the only subject for discussion will be "SECESSION".

5. **The General Elections.** We feel that since

Northern Rhodesia unlike Nyasaland last year, has already got an election system, an election should be held much sooner than the rumoured date of October.

6. In view of this, we reserve the right to decide against participating in the coming elections should we not derive satisfaction on any of the point raised particularly on the issue of the delimitation of the constituencies.

Policy of the African National Congress Of South Africa

The Freedom Chapter

PREAMBLE

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:—

“that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birth-right to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour race, sex and belief;

and therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER and we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won”.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws.

All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country.

The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex.

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state,

in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

The preaching and practice of national race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH

The National wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people.

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implement, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who will work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial ;

No-one shall be condemned by the order of any government official ;

The courts shall be representative of all the people ;

Imprisonment shall all be for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance ;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people.

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children ;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law ;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad ;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting those freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers ;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits ;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work ;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave

for all workers and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers ;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all other who work ;

Child labourer, compound labourer, the tot system and contract labourer shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for enchancement of our cultural life ;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be opened to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands ;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace ;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children ;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit ;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan ;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens.

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed and to bring up their families in comfort and security ;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people ;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry ;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state ;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be pro-

vided to all, with special care for mother and young children ;

Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all have transport roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres ;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state ;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be replaced.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations ;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation-not war ;

Peace and friendship amongst all people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all ;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future ;

The right of all the people of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation ;

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here ;

“These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty’.

METHODS OF STRUGGLE

Up to the present the African National Congress has been embarking on the following NON-VIOLENT methods of struggle — violent methods are not ruled out but have to be decided upon on the basis of the political climate.

(a) FORMS OF STRUGGLE :

- i) Protest demonstrations.
- ii) Political strikes.
- iii) Workers' strikes.
- iv) Public meetings.
- v) Boycotts.
- vi) Defiance campaigns and passive resistance.

(b) SLOGANS :

These vary with the political climate at the time. But these are national ones which never change e.g. MAYIBUYE I AFRICA (let Africa come back) INKULULEKI NGEXESHA LETHU (freedom in our life time) etc.

(c) PROPAGANDA :

- i) Lectures.
- ii) Papers, pamphlets etc.
- iii) Public speeches.
- iv) Displays of ANC Flag.
- v) Banners and placards.
- vi) Distribution of leaflets, stickers etc.
- vii) Demonstrations by volunteer corps and members in full congress uniforms.
- viii) Days of Prayer (for liberation).
- ix) Observance of Remembrance Day, June 26th (stoppage of work).

(d) TACTICS :

Exploiting and making full use of the people's anger aroused by any form of injustice.

Tactics of course vary from time to time depending on the issue fought.

(e) FRONTS :

Forming of broad fronts with other organisations to fight common issues.

The African National Congress has stated that the methods of struggle shall be determined by conditions and time. It has stressed and that no opportunity must ever be allowed to pass without exploiting it.

SITUATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Memorandum to the U.N.O.

by the Zimbabwe People's Union

In a series of treaties our hereditary rulers did, under pressure from the British Government and the representatives of the British South Africa Company, they granted certain mining concessions in the late 1880's to the above company.

The operation of these concessions brought a considerable number of immigrant races (mainly of British stock) to our Motherland. The immigrant races quickly organized themselves into powerful economic and political groups so much so that in 1923, the British Government, without consultation or consent of the indigenous peoples, granted the white minority some form of self-government.

This so-called self-government was granted after a referendum involving 13,000 white settlers had voted in favor of it ... while the 2,000,000 indigenous African peoples and their chiefs took no part, whatsoever.

It must be stated here that the 1923 Constitution left the function of foreign affairs, defence, and the power of concluding treaties firm in the British Government's hands. Further, Britain reserved to herself the power to legislate and take to herself complete control of the government of the Colony at any time when, in her opinion, it was desirable for her to do so. This power carried with it the right for the British Government to disallow any law if in her opinion, that law discriminated against the indigenous people; or was not in the spirit of the constitution. This makes it perfectly clear that Britain still has great responsibilities towards the indigenous people, and therefore, Southern Rhodesia cannot be said to have reached a full measure of self-government, and this renders Britain responsible for the submission of reports and information to the United Nations Organization.

Since 1923, up to the present day, the successive governments of Southern Rhodesia have been returned by an entirely European electorate, under an Electoral Act which sets extremely high education and property qualifications, thus making it impossible for the electorates to be broad and representative of the majority of the African people. The present Southern Rhodesia settler Parliament, with an entirely white

Assembly of 30, was elected by an electorate composed of 80,000 European voters and less than 2,000 African voters, in a country of 3,000,000 Africans and 240,000 European settlers.

The white settler oligarchy, assisted by racially restricted civil service, police force and army, and a judiciary which is entirely white, has resorted to repressive and restrictive measures to muzzle and stifle African political and economical aspirations.

We regard the following laws, for example, as infringements of the rule of law and as constituting unquestionable political subjugation and social degradation of the African peoples:

1. The Southern Rhodesia Electoral Law, which has kept power and government in the hands of a white minority; and has denied the indigenous peoples expression through freely elected Parliament based on universal franchise.
2. The Preventive Detention Act, 1959, in terms of which people can be summarily arrested and detained without recourse to the courts of law, under which several African leaders were arrested in 1959 and detained, and some of which are still detained today.
3. The Unlawful Organizations Act, 1959, under which the African National Congress was banned in 1959; and the National Democratic Party in December, 1961 for the purpose of eliminating African opposition.
4. The Law and Order Maintenance Act, under which over 10,000 Africans, including 2,000 African women, were arrested during the course of 1961 for opposing a white imposed constitution and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging up to 20 years.
5. The Land Apportionment Act, 1930, under which over 53% of the best land has been sold to white people.
6. Native Affairs Act, which created a Native Affairs Department and gives dictatorial powers to ruthless Native Commissioners

(white officers). Under this law in December, 1961, over 5,000 leaders were served with restriction orders, refusing them entry into African areas.

7. Native Education Act, created to give limited education to Africans so as to avoid their "invading" European sphere of employment.

During these 39 years of this fake self-governing status, the white settler minority government used the above laws to demoralize and degrade the African minority in preparation for a quick and final move into independence and permanent white domination. As exemplified by the 1961 Constitutional Proposals. These sinister proposals, which were concocted by Sir Roy Welensky and the White Settlers Government of Sir Edgar Whitehead but flatly rejected by the 3,000,000 African people, if allowed to pass, shall turn Southern Rhodesia into another South Africa within the next year or two. The British Government have, all of a sudden, become aware that this so-called self-governing status which settlers are said to have enjoyed since 1923 is a fake; and is not based on the will of the people. These 1961 Constitutional Proposals, therefore, became necessary to complete the political plot to give independence, by the back door, to a white minority and condemn African to perpetual political slavery.

They propose a parliament of 65 members, elected through a dual roll system. That is, there shall be an "A" Roll and a B Roll, both passed on a high qualitative franchise. The A Roll voters shall elect 50 of the 65 members. So far, of the 240,000 European settlers, 80,000 are registered on the A Roll. Of the 3,000,000 Africans, only 1,000 qualify for the A Roll. The disparity is too obvious to demand any explanation. The 15 other members of the 65 member legislature shall be elected by the B Roll voters. May it be stated here that the proposed Constitution does not state that the 15 shall be Africans. It merely stipulates that these shall be elected by the B Roll voters.

The settlers maintain that at least 50,000 Africans shall qualify for the B Roll, but our estimates show that hardly 15,000 Africans can qualify for the B Roll. May it also be stated here that from the total of 240,000 white settlers, 80,000 are registered on the A Roll. 160,000 are unregistered, and even if we give an

allowance of 60,000 non-qualifying people, we still have 100,000 who may if they wish or are told to do so register on the B Roll and thereby easily outnumber the African voters... even if the 50,000 Africans, as estimated by the settler government, did register.

Because of the aforesaid reasons, we the 3,000,000 African people of Southern Rhodesia have thus resolved:

- a) **To reject the present Constitution for Southern Rhodesia.**
- b) **We have organized that no African in our Motherland — Southern Rhodesia should register as a voter on the basis of the present arrangements. Because of this stand and the support given to us by the toiling 3,000,000 African masses, our Nationalist movement, the National Democratic Party, was banned on the 9th December, 1961 and not only was the Party banned, but the National Leaders plus provincial and District as well as Branch Leaders numbering 5,000 are prohibited to appear in public, nor address any public gatherings.**

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

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

- 1) Bringing the matter before the General Assembly.

(Continued on page 56)

Report of the Activities of the Afro-Asian Fund Committee

PRESENTED TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SESSION,

GAZA 9-11 DECEMBER 1961

In conformity with the statute of our Fund Committee adopted at Bandung during the last session of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Movement, we take pleasure in presenting the report of our activity which has already born fruit in the course of a few months and in spite of the limited means at our disposal.

The cause of the creation of our Committee is to translate Afro-Asian Solidarity into concrete reality. Our principal task, during the past six months since our meeting in Bandung was to bring immediate aid to organisations waging struggle against imperialism traditional colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to bring nearer the triumph of the cause of complete independence, equality, freedom of the peoples, democracy, progress and peace.

We must inform you that at the announcement of the creation of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Fund a great number of requests from many organisations engaged in the struggle for national liberation have come to us, either to the headquarters of the Committee in Conakry or through the Permanent Secretariat in Cairo.

However when we held our meeting on last July 28, 29 for studying these requests we have taken into account that our resources were seriously insufficient, not only because the appeal launched in February 1961, from Conakry and repeated in April did not produce the expected results, but also, even the contribution promised in Bandung were not handed in.

Only the Guinean Committee paid \$ 8,000 the Soviet \$ 20,000 besides materials estimated at 11,000 roubles, while the Committee of the Chinese Peoples Republic put at our disposal materials estimated at \$ 40,000.

To give you an idea of the needs that have to be met and the means which we have at our disposal it is sufficient to say that the financial needs have risen to

the total of \$ 450,000, at which we have met only \$ 16,000.

Moreover this sum has been divided into two categories :

- \$ 8,500 of primary urgency ;
- \$ 7,500 of secondary urgency.

Our payment of the second category, depended on the contribution promised by the U.A.R. and Indonesian Committees.

The financial aid that we granted is constituted of 2 categories :

OF FIRST URGENCY

1. A small printing machine
- 1 car
- 8 typewriters
- 4 duplicators
- 2 camera sets

OF SECOND URGENCY

- 2 post transmitters and receivers for the country
- 1 portable receptor
- 2 amplifiers
- 1 camera
- 1 projection apparatus
- 2 magnifying glasses

The organisations whose demands were granted are :

1. The General Secretariat of the All African Peoples Conference.
2. The popular movement of the Liberation of Angola.
3. The African Independence Party (Guinea under Portuguese domination).

4. National Union of Ruandi.
5. African National Congress, South Africa.
6. South Africa United Front.
7. United National Independence Party.
8. Union of the Kamerun people.
9. Union of West African Women.
10. The Sawaba Party of Nigeria.

The other requests were left pending while we have been submerged by other requests :

These requests will be examined in the course of our meeting which will be held in Cairo, after the Executive committee meeting.

The Committee has particularly tried to expand its Fund resources so as to be in a position to accomplish the tasks which it is supposed to accomplish and to fulfil the hopes which it has given rise to.

The Committee has assigned its Vice-President and the Indonesian delegate to undertake a tour in the different member countries or friendly ones to declare our aims and activity to the responsible people in those countries and to the organisation which desire to accelerate the liberation movement in Africa and Asia, for our statutes stipulate that "the committee depends on the popular organisations affiliated to the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation — and seeks collaboration of all other national or international organisations in the whole world which are struggling for national liberation, democracy and progress."

Our friend Ibrahim Issa, Indonesia's delegate and myself are satisfied with the welcome we have met with, first in Asia, (Lebanon, Iraq, Indonesia, Vietnam, Burma etc.) and secondly in Africa, in Europe notably in

Czechoslovakia, Poland and as well from the World Trade Union Federation, the International organisation of Journalists, International Union of Students, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. With the contribution of national committees and as a result of this tour, we shall be able to develop our action of help to liberation and national liberation movements.

However, we are always convinced that the Afro-Asian Solidarity Fund, will not perfectly fulfil its task except within the limits that its help increases the internal action of the movement which benefits from the help and which above everything else must help itself.

This is why we say in conclusion that the action of our committee on the financial and material aid level, must constantly be supported by an action on the political level, which is the principal task of our movement, for the increase of the revolutionary consciousness of popular masses and the strengthening of their organisation against the struggle of colonial domination, neo-colonialism and imperialism, who in their turn find their support in feudal elements reactionaries and opportunists in every country in Africa and Asia, that is still struggling for its real independence and liberation. This action on the political level is therefore fundamental so as the help which our committee brings will bear full fruits.

Therefore the business of our national committees affiliated organisations and Permanent Secretariat is to ensure the continuous development of this political action and to take care that a harmonious consideration between them and the Committee is established so as to ensure full efficiency of our movement in the service of the national anti-imperialist and progressive revolution of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

Activities of the Permanent Secretariat

IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH

The Permanent Secretariat issued a press release on February 1st, on the Lagos Conference, supporting the African peoples' will for unity on the basis of the complete liberation from colonialist domination.

The Secretariat asserted that the unity of Africa and Latin America could only be effected in the frame of struggle against colonialism and certainly not under empty slogans which in the final analysis only serve colonialism.

— Mr. Youssef El-Sebai — in the name of the Permanent Secretariat — issued a press statement on February 6, strongly denouncing the crimes committed by the British rulers in the Arab South against the peoples fighting for national freedom and independence, expressing as well the Permanent Secretariat's conviction that these crimes would only result in the extermination of colonialism from this part of the world, calling upon all peace-loving peoples to consolidate their solidarity with the Arab South people.

— The Permanent Secretariat issued a statement in support of the Second Havana Declaration following the illegal resolution passed by the O.A.S., and expressed its firm conviction in the FINAL VICTORY of the Cuban people, it finally called on all national committees and popular masses to launch strong, wide campaigns to support the Heroic Cuban people's struggle.

— On March 1, "the Day of struggle against nuclear tests and arms", the Permanent Secretariat addressed an appeal to all National Solidarity Committees, all Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples,

as well as to all peace-loving peoples the world over to positively participate in the just struggle for the speedy liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, against nuclear tests and arms for complete disarmament and for national independence and peace.

— The Permanent Secretariat issued a press release on March 5, 1962 on the Franco-Algerian negotiations, asserting the success of these negotiations, after more than seven years of the liberation war, for the African peoples well know that negotiations for the Algerian people, like armed struggle, is the means for the attainment of freedom and national independence.

— Mr. Youssef El-Sebai — in the name of the Permanent Secretariat, issued a statement on March 10, 1962 on the deteriorating health of Antoine Gizenga due to arsenic-poisoning, according to the latest news reports. The Permanent secretariat declared its repro- bation and explained that COLONIALISM, particularly U.S. colonialism, and its agents had hatched this intrigue and the U.N. promise to safeguard Gizenga's life had proved to be an empty one. It called on all peoples to exert their efforts for the immediate release of Gizenga.

— The Permanent Secretariat issued a press statement on March 14, on the U.S. condemnation of these aggressive acts, and called on all Afro-Asian peoples and world peoples to double their support to South Vietnam, declaring the conviction of these peoples that this U.S. imperialist aggression could not escape from the Vietnamese peoples solid struggle.

— On the same day, and due to the continuation of the tense state in Laos, as a result of U.S. imperialist

intervention in the internal affairs of Laos, the Permanent Secretariat strongly denounced in a statement, the obstruction of U.S. imperialism to the formation of a coalition government and demanded of the U.S. government to put an end to its armed intervention in Laos, withdraw its military personnel, and form a coalition government on the basis of the Zurich, Phnom Penh and Geneva agreements.

— In expression of its denunciation of manoeuvres of the British and the Roy Welensky settler government, for deprivation of the African people in the Union of Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesias of their right to independence and autonomy, the Permanent Secretariat issued a statement supporting the Rhodesian people in their heroic struggle. It called as well on all peace-loving governments and peoples to extend assistance, in all forms, to the fighting peoples in these regions and help towards the liquidation of colonialism in this part of Africa.

— The Permanent Secretariat and the International Committee for Aid to Algeria and the Congo issued a press release on March 20, upon declaration of the cease-fire agreement between the Algerian Provisional Government and the French government, which is considered the beginning of a new phase in the revolution. The Permanent Secretariat and the Algeria and Congo Committee asserted their conviction that Afro-Asian peoples, socialist peoples, as well as all progressive forces in the world supporting the Algerian people in their struggle against the occupant French army, will remain mobilised by the side of these people till final victory, and that is the complete liquidation of colonialist exploitation in all its forms.

— The Permanent Secretariat issued as well a press statement on March 21, on the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the Sharpeville and Langbert Massacres in which it expressed its stand with the South African people, its indignation and reprobation of the wave of brutality and oppression undertaken by the

South African fascist government and called the popular masses in South Africa to close their ranks, as in unity lay their strength which could defeat the unholy alliance between the Verwoerd government and world imperialism. It called as well on all peace, freedom and democracy-loving peoples to present more effective support for the just struggle of the fighters for freedom in South Africa. The Permanent Secretariat finally demanded the release of detained nationalists, particularly the leaders of the Pan African Congress Party.

— The Permanent Secretariat in its statement released on April 1, supported the effective work undertaken by the Indonesian government and people for the termination of Dutch colonialism in West Irian by force, and reiterated its appeal addressed to the Afro-Asian peoples as well as to peoples the world over to continue their support to the Indonesian people's just struggle against the Dutch colonialists. It strongly denounced the Dutch colonialists for their new manoeuvres and their perpetration of military occupation of Indonesia's regional territory of West Irian.

— Mr. Youssef El-Sebai — in the name of the Permanent Secretariat — issued a press release on April 7, calling on all solidarity committees, affiliated organisations as well as on all freedom and peace-loving forces in the world to double up their support for the just struggle being waged by the peoples of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Vert and demand the immediate release of Mr. Raphael Parposa and his comrades, towards this effect addressing protest messages and cables to the fascist Portuguese government.

— The International Committee of Aid to Algeria and the Congo decided to appoint a body of lawyers to defend Gizenga, this heroic, and valiant son of the Congolese fighters.

— The Permanent Secretariat and the International Committee of Aid to Algeria and the Congo sent a cable to national committees and friendly organisations, calling on them to take speedy measures for the safeguarding of Gizenga's life, as it was in danger and

demanding that they sent cables to Adoula and U Thant in protest against Gizenga's arrest, maltreatment and in demand of his immediate release.

— On March 15, a delegation of the Permanent Secretariat, composed of Messers. Morsi Saad Eddin, U.A.R. delegate, Mohamed Kalimullah, Indian delegate and Camara Mamady, Guinean delegate to the Permanent Secretariat, left for Addis-Ababa and Mogadiscio. On April 15, a delegation composed of Messrs. Abdel Wahab el Salloum, Iraqi delegate and Masao Kitazawa, Japanese delegate to the Permanent Secretariat left for

Tanganyika, to study the means for consolidating the Solidarity Movement in East Africa.

— The Permanent Secretariat on April 10, at 11.30 a.m. received Messers. Ben Bella and his comrades Ayat Ahmed, and Mohamed Kheidar. All the Members of the Board of Secretaries were there to welcome them and Mr. Kamal Bahaa Eddin, Controller General delivered a word of welcome on behalf of the Secretary General. Mr. Ayat Ahmed next spoke on behalf of his companions and expressed their great appreciation of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement's activity the solidarity organisation's contribution to the triumph of the Algerian cause.

Reports from the National Committees

— The Mali Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity issued a statement after its extraordinary meeting in March 18, on the occasion of the "Declaration of the Cease-fire in Algeria", congratulating the Algerian people and asserting the necessity of all peace-loving peoples vigilance to stop the hands of these forces who stood against Algeria's territorial integrity calling as well on the French government to take decisive measures for the liquidation of the fascist O.A.S. gang.

— The Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation sent a cable to the Permanent Secretariat conveying its greetings to the African peoples on the occasion of "Africa Day" asserting its conviction for the realisation of complete political and economic independence for all the African peoples as well as its support of their struggle for the realisation of these aims.

— The Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity has sent us a cable of congratulations on the occasion of the glorious victory of the Algerian people, who has forced the French authorities to sign a cease-fire agreement thus assuring Algeria of its sovereignty and putting an end to the dependence of an Algerian people. Thus Algeria finds itself freed of a painful era of bitter and odious colonisation. The Soviet Committee once more assures the African of its solidarity and its support in the important task of edification and strengthening of its sovereignty.

— The Vietnamese Women's Union has sent us a cable of support and congratulations on the occasion of the signing of the cease-fire agreement and has asked us to convey its sincerest wishes to the Algerian National Liberation Front.

— The Vietnamese Committee for Algeria's independence asked us by cable to communicate to the Government and the valiant Algerian people its sincere congratulations for their glorious victory.

— Also from Hanoi the Vietnamese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has asked us to convey its best wishes and its congratulations to the Algerian National Liberation Front.

— From Ulambatar, the Mongolian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee expresses its congratulations for the important victory attained by the valiant sons of Algeria against colonialism.

In view of the recent development in the Congolese situation, and following the arbitrary arrest, the inhuman and odious treatment inflicted to the Congo's valiant son Mr. Antoine Gizenga, the Permanent Secretariat for the Afro-Asian Solidarity has received numerous cables and messages from the National Solidarity Committees as well as from the Popular anti-imperialist organisations throughout the world, denouncing the unfair and illegal imprisonment of the great leader of the Congolese movement and warning the U.N. against the consequences of mistreating Mr. Gizenga.

Among the cables and messages received on this subject were :

— The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee which conveyed to us by cable the text of the statement issued on this subject.

— The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity which issued a statement on April 5, in condemnation of U.S. imperialist oppression and in support of the Congolese people's demand for the release of Mr. Gizenga.

— A cable from the President of the Democratic German Committee for friendship with African peoples.

— A copy of the protest cable sent to U. Thant, the Secretary General of the U.N. from the Mongolian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

— A message from the Vietnamese Committee for Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity.

— A communique issued by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

— A declaration from the China's National Youth Federation and China's National Students Federation.

— From Hanoi, the Vietnamese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee expresses its thanks for the support of the Afro-Asian movement to Vietnam's noble struggle for its national reunification and against American aggressors.

The Permanent Secretariat has received a letter from the Mongolian Solidarity Committee informing that a number of meetings have been held in support to the valiant struggle of the Congolese people. Articles, written by prominent members of the Committee on the events and struggles of the Congolese, Vietnamese and Korean people against colonialism and imperialism, were published in the main newspapers of Mongolia.

— Popular meetings were held in Moscow on the occasion of the signing of the cease-fire agreement in Algeria. One of them was held in the Assembly Hall of Moscow University on March 21 during which a great number of Soviet and Afro-Asian personalities took the floor to express their congratulations to the Algerians.

Another meeting was held on March 29 by the Commission for Asian and Arab Countries and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. A member of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee Professor

E. A. Belyaev, spoke about the heroic Algerian struggle.

A third meeting was convened by the Arab Students Association in Moscow on April 1, 1962 during which a number of prominent personalities took the floor. The meeting dispatched two cables of congratulations, one to the International Committee for Aid to Congo and Algeria and the second to the Head of the Algerian Provisional Government, Mr. Ben Youssef Ben Khedda.

— A meeting of the Moscow public was held on Laos Solidarity Day, in conformity with the decision of the extraordinary session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, at the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee headquarters, on March 15, 1962.

The meeting denounced the plots of imperialist aiming at dividing Laos and pledged the unity, national independence and neutrality of the Laotian People.

— Concerning the latest events in South Vietnam, the Soviet Afro-Asian Committee issued a statement protesting against the flagrant armed intervention of American imperialists in the affairs of South Vietnam and supporting south vietnamese patriots in their legitimate struggle for the unification of their motherland.

News from the Afro-Asian World

— The Democratic Jurists' International Association has issued, last February 6, a statement on Angola and the Portuguese colonies, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the uprising of the Angolese people against Portuguese colonialism.

The statement condemns the repressive measures of the colonial Portuguese authorities which have taken the form of massacres, arbitrary arrests, and murder of political nationalist leaders. It demands more measures destined to insure the self-determination of the peoples of Portuguese colonies.

The Secretariat of the D.G.I.A. invites the Jurists of the world to demand the release of the great poet, doctor and leader Agostinho Neto who has been imprisoned ever since 1960.

— The Association has also issued, on January 20, a statement concerning Antoine Gizenga. The statement denounces his illegal and arbitrary arrest, and invites Congolese authorities to release Mr. Gizenga, and urges the U.N. Secretary General to give instructions to the U.N. forces in the Congo to watch over the safeguard and the physical well-being of Mr. Antoine Gizenga.

— The Association has sent a Message to the Latin-American Peoples Conference in Havana expressing its best wishes, and assuring the Cuban people of its support and solidarity in their noble struggle for their rights and a better future.

— The Association has issued a Declaration, on January 24, on the occasion of the anniversary of the murder of the Hero Patrice Lumumba.

— A cable from the "Secretariat of Elected Fathers Committee" Aden informs us that two colleges have been closed down ever since February by order of the authorities, the students of both colleges decreed a strike for the betterment of the educational conditions.

— The Bulgarian Committee for friendship and solidarity with the African Peoples has sent us a message expressing its indignation concerning the arbitrary imprisonment of Mr. Antoine Gizenga, this "loyal disciple

of Patrice Lumumba and leader of the Congolese National Movement".

This Committee informs us that it has organised, with the co-operation of Bulgarian Popular organisations, public meetings to denounce, the criminal intentions of the enemies of the Congolese People whose aim is to "liquidate" Gizenga.

Cables were sent to the U.N. at the close of the meetings on behalf of the Bulgarian people asking this Organization to take, at once, the necessary measures for the release of Mr. Gizenga.

— Omani Imamate office issued a statement in refutation of the B.B.C. allegations concerning Oman's joining the Arab League and in confirmation of Oman's appreciation and thanks of the U.A.R. committee's resolution which it adopted in favour of Oman's attendance in all meetings discussing the Omani cause, thus realizing for Oman the advantage of membership without bearing material and technical expenses.

— From Berlin, the Women's International Democratic Federation informs us that, in solidarity with the Argentina Women's Union, it has sent to the Minister of the Interior in Buenos Aires a cable protesting against the arbitrary imprisonment of women fighters in Argentina.

— The Solidarity and Friendship Committee with the African states formed last year in Bulgaria, whose aims are friendship and solidarity with the African peoples, extension of these peoples with moral and material assistance for the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and for the struggle for general and total disarmament and defence of peace, sent a letter to the Permanent Secretariat, in which it expounded on the committee's activity in defending Antoine Gizenga and for the Congolese people's liberation struggle.

— The Congress of Trade Unions in Nigeria sent a letter to the Permanent Secretariat in request of consolidation of relations with it and participation in its activities.

— The Permanent Secretariat received a letter from the International Union of Students concerning the convocation of the 7th Conference of this Union in Leningrad, Soviet Union, from August 18-27, 1962, which extended an invitation to the Permanent Secretariat to attend as observer.

— The Peace Liaison Committee of the Asiatic and Pacific regions sent a letter to the Permanent Secretariat in request of further consolidation of relations between them, attaching as well the letter of support it sent to the Second popular meeting of the Cuban people, held recently in Havana.

— The Permanent Secretariat received statements from the Omani Imamate Office in Cairo, informing of violent clashes between the Omani fighters and the British colonialist forces in Oman.

The Omani fighters had focussed their blows on the Galaan region, the Kabel and other regions. Demonstrations were renewed in Galaan upon the internment of Sheikh Rashed Ben Hamid El Husseiny, Emir of the Buhassan tribe, leading to the killing of a number of Omani nationalists, and a state of tension still existing between the two sides.

— A spokesman of the British Ministry of Defence declared that Britain had dispatched transport an aircraft and 24 armoured cars to Jordan, declaring as well outbreak of battle in Oman — in the region of the Arab Gulf — between the British forces and the Omani fighters. This news is in virtue of an official confession which contradicts the repeated British allégation, of no war going on in Oman and no British troops.

— The British colonialist authorities in Oman have threatened to confiscate property of the Omani people for their refusal to hold passports in the Sultanate of Muscat, which latter fact would be in virtue of admission of their being the Sultanate's subjects, included in which is their giving in to the concept of Muscat's mandate over Oman, something which the British had long been after. However this threat only made the Omani people cleave the more to the sovereignty of the Imamate of Oman.

— News from Oman report the increased activity of the national resistance movement for the expulsion

of the colonialists from Oman's territory, in the way of explosions in Oman and Muscat.

— The British authorities in the Arab Gulf yesterday captured a ship conveying military equipment near Bahrein, on its way to the Omani fighters. These weapons were confiscated and the people aboard killed.

— Attempt of the British forces to sow dissension among the Omani tribes standing up in resistance, met with failure.

— An attempt of pro-western Muscat Sultan's brother to overthrow him, did not ? ? ?

— The Rumanian Association for Frinedship with the Afro-Asian Peoples, in Bucharest sent a message to the Afro-Asian People's organisation which included the French translation of the article published in the Daily "Rumania Libera", concerning the arrest of Antoine Gizerga and the sanguinary massacres perpetrated in the Congo. The article voiced the Rumanian people's indignation at the intrigue hatched by reaction and colonialism against the freedom and unity of the Congolese Republic.

The Association demanded the immediate foilation of the new intrigue in the Congo.

— The Central Organisation for the Liberation of the Arab South, in Djakarta sent to the Permanent Secretariat of the A.A.P.S.O. a statement concerning the dissolution of the union between the Kingdom of Yemen and the U.A.R., saying that President Gamal Abdel Nasser had declared reliance of the U.A.R. henceforth, only on itself and its own ordinary forces emanating from its own Arab being, after God. The statement interpreted this new policy as arising from the fact that the union which lasted three years was merely a nominal one, asserting that the organisation supported this new policy towards the union, as its perpetration in its existing careless form would have been more harmful than its dissolution.

— The Municipal Council of Famagosta sent to the Permanent Secretariat of A.A.P.S.O. a copy of the letter it sent to Lebanese Premier foretelling failure of the flagrant attempt to overthrow the regime in Lebanon, and affirming the Solidarity of the Cypriot people with the Middle East in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

— In answer to the cable, sent to President Sukarno, in which the Permanent Secretariat condemned the criminal attempt against President his life, the President of the Indonesian Republic sent a cable expressing his best wishes and heartfelt thanks for the kind sentiments expressed by the Secretariat.

— The Permanent Secretariat received a cable in which Afro-Asian-Cuban students in Kiev, Soviet Union, express their protest, and demand the immediate release of Antoine Gizenga and the Congo's reunification.

— The Soviet Women's Committee has sent to the Permanent Secretariat a statement condemning the brutal treatments unflinched to Antoine Gizenga and urging for his immediate release for the sake of Congolese independence and unity.

— The Malagasy Solidarity Committee has asked our Secretariat on the occasion of the conclusion of a cease-fire agreement in Algeria, to convey to the valiant Algerian people and government, the best wishes and congratulations as well as the indefectible support of the Malagasy people to their Algerian brothers.

— The Vietnamese Solidarity Committee organized a meeting on March 4, 1962, in Hanoi, to support the Korean people's struggle against the U.S. introduction of Japanese militarist into South Korea.

A great number of representatives from popular Vietnamese movements and peace organizations attended the meeting during which a strong resolution condemning U.S.-Japanese militarists manoeuvres and plots aimed against Korean Peoples' legitimate aspirations for a peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

— The Chinese Solidarity has sent to the Secretariat a copy of their congratulation's cable addressed to the G.P.R.A. and the Algerian people on the occasion of the cease-fire.

— The Cyprus Council of Peace has sent to the Permanent Secretariat a copy of its letter addressed to the Prime Minister of Congo protesting against the arrest and maltreatment of Vice-Premier Antoine Gizenga and urging for his immediate release.

(Continued from page 46)

- 2) And declare Southern Rhodesia as a dependent and non-self-governing territory.
- 3) That the present proposed Constitution must not be proceeded with, and that a fresh Constitutional Conference be convened to draft a Constitution transferring power to the majority on the basis of "ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE".

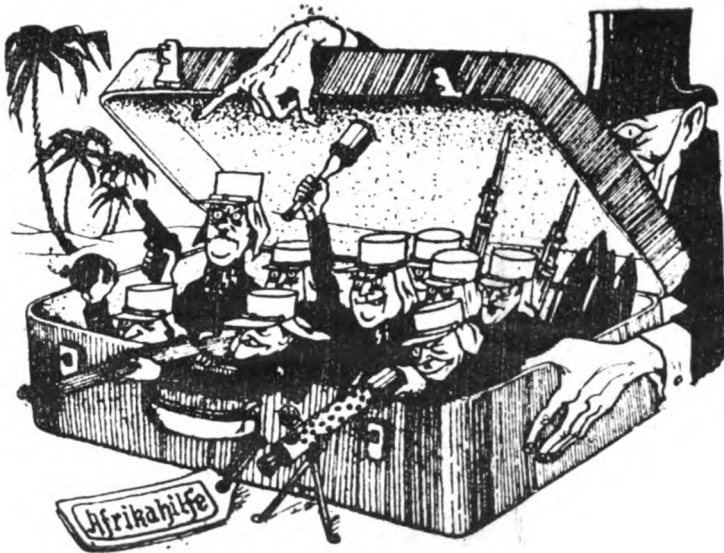
Our demand is simple: A Constitution based on the principle of "One Man, One Vote". Therefore, in

the name of humanity, in the name of freedom and justice, in the name of peace and security, we appeal to Your Excellencies; and earnestly and respectfully ask that our case be regarded with the urgency and seriousness to which the peculiarities of our struggle entitle us.

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



"Distribution of Arms in Algeria"
by Karl-Erich Muller (G.D.R.)



"The Sample Box"
by Henryk Berg (G.D.R.)

