



Voice of AFRICA



THERE can be no peace or security in Africa without freedom and political unity. So long as one inch of African soil remains under colonial rule there will be strife and conflict. So long as any group on this continent denies the privilege, there will be insecurity for the oppressors and constant resentment and revolt on the part of the oppressed. These are the elementary facts of life in Africa today. No man willed this situation and no man can stem the tide or divert the "winds of change". We decry violence and deplore it. We are devoted to non-violent positive actions. Experience has shown that when change is too long delayed or stubbornly resisted, violence will erupt here and there—not because men planned it and willed it—but because the accumulated grievances of the past erupt with volcanic fury.

It is in this light that we must view those fortunately rare, but no less tragic episodes which have confronted us—the Mau Mau war in Kenya, the costly struggle in Algeria, events in the Cameroons; and settler domination should have eyes to see and ears to hear.

—DR. KWAME NKRUMAH.

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Voice of Africa

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A MAGAZINE OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

EDITORIAL

Sinister League

THE march of events and disclosures from the archives are bound to confirm the existence of a diabolical underground movement.

That movement is dedicated to the proposition that a sector of the African people must be exploited oppressed and degraded forever, ostensibly on the ground that these Africans are "the lesser breed without the law," but in reality on the ground that it pays them to maintain the status quo.

The membership of that ungodly sinister league comprises Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, Toni Salazar and Roy Welensky in their respective capacities of Prime Minister of the settler Republic of South Africa, President-Dictator of Fascist Colonialist Portugal and Prime Minister of the settler Central African Federation.

☐ Hendrik recently sent Koos Fouche, his Defence Minister, to Toni endowed with full powers and an extraordinary mandate to sign the protocols of colonialism. He went there and the two issued no communique and held no Press Conference.

Roy sent his Agriculture Minister to Toni's Governor-General in Mozambique immediately after Major-General Long, Roy's chief of Storm Troopers, had paved the way for the signing of the protocols

Following the signing of the protocols, Koos has been strutting the political stage in Goliath-like fashion unmindful of the fact that there may be the puny-looking David with his sling somewhere gazing at him and biding his time.

The Protocols of Colonialism must not be underrated. They show, in stark nakedness, the colonialists at bay. They are desperate and will stop at nothing to achieve their nefarious ends. They are ready to wade through a sea of the blood of their victims whose only fault is that they must have their freedom.

The gong has sounded for the last round between colonialism and African nationalism. The knock-out blow is sure to come. All the world knows that colonialism is doomed.

We face forward

by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

THE cardinal principle upon which the peace and security of this continent depends is the firm insistence that Africa is not an extension of Europe or of any other continent. A corollary of this principle is the resolution that Africa is not going to become a cockpit of the Cold War, or a marshalling ground for attack on West or East, nor is it going to be an arena for fighting out the East-West conflict. In this particular sense, we face neither East nor West: we face forward.

For the last ten years the tone of international politics has been set by the Cold War. We understand the fears on both sides that have led to this tragic polarization, but Africans have no intention of becoming a part of it. We have seen what happens when small nations become involved in it. We have also seen, on the other hand, what can happen when the spirit of Bandung prevails and the powers who stand outside this conflict use their good offices as conciliators and mediators through the United Nations, as in the stopping of the Korean War. This is the role which we Africans wish to play. I refuse to accept that dictum that if you are not for me you are against me. Our slogan is "Positive Neutrality." This is our contribution on international peace and world progress. It is in this context that military pacts and defence agreements between African states and former

colonial powers and non-African nations are ultimately inimical to the interests of the continent as a whole. Since there is no suggestion that any African state has aggressive intentions, such pacts and agreements can only draw the states concerned into the Cold War strategy of the bigger powers. Furthermore, they introduce one more obstacle in the way of harmonizing our policies towards the achievement of African unity.

There can be no peace or security in Africa without freedom and political unity. So long as one inch of African soil remains under colonial rule there will be strife and conflict. So long as any group on this continent denies the privilege, there will be insecurity for the oppressors and constant resentment and revolt on the part of the oppressed. These are the elementary facts of life in Africa today. No man willed this situation and no man can stem the tide or divert the "winds of change". We cry violence and deplore it. We are devoted to non-violent positive actions. Experience has shown that when change is too long delayed or stubbornly resisted, violence will erupt here and there—not because men planned it and willed it—but because the accumulated grievances of the past erupt with volcanic fury.

It is in this light that we must view those fortunately rare, but no less tragic epi-

sodes which have confronted us — the Mau Mau war in Kenya, the costly struggle in Algeria, events in the Cameroons, and settler domination should have eyes to see and ears to hear. Where, as in Algeria, the bloody struggle still proceeds, it would be the essence of wisdom on the part of those who defend the privileges of colonial rule to negotiate a cease-fire now rather than to prolong a conflict which, should they even win, will in the long run raise its head again. Peace in Algeria must take the first priority in the consolidation of peace and in laying the foundations of security.

Our emphasis upon Africa bespeaks neither chauvinism nor isolationism. We who pioneered the development of Pan-Africanism have done so with a vision. History has described to us the tragedies which have beset every other continent upon this planet—the international wars, the rebellions and revolutions. We must be determined that this continent of ours shall not repeat that dismal history.

The continent of Africa has been drenched with blood in the past, it has been raided for slaves, it has been partitioned, exploited, and looted. Precisely because it has had this kind of past it is determined not to have that kind of future. If we succeed, and we must, the whole of mankind—not Africa alone—will reap immense benefits. Men with great foresight and

knowledge all agree that the future of the world will be decided in Africa.

We welcome men of goodwill everywhere to join us, irrespective of their race, religion, or nationality. When I speak of Africa for Africans, this should be interpreted in the light of my emphatic declaration, that I do not believe in racialism and colonialism. The concept "Africa for Africans" does not mean that other races are excluded from it. It only means that Africans, who naturally are in the majority in Africa, shall and must govern themselves in their own countries. The fight is for the future of humanity, and it is a most important fight.

Our salvation and strength and our only way out of these ravages in Africa lies in political union, and those who doubt the feasibility of such a union appear to have forgotten their history too soon.

The vastness of Russia and all the towering obstacles of her beginning did not prevent that country from building its greatness in unity by the union of eighteen different republics. The sprawling spread of America and her original colonial difficulties have not stopped that country from building a union of fifty states. If these countries can do this, why cannot Africa? I repeat that nothing but our own groundless fears and doubts can stop us from building a real practical political union. But remember, "Our fears are traitors and make us lose what we might often achieve by fearing to attempt".

If, as African territories emerge into independence, they declare their intention to form a union among themselves, and countries like Congo, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia for instance, as well as others, come together in an effective political union



DR. KWAME NKUMAH

in the West for a start, it is not difficult to imagine the impact that such an African union would create on the world. Then consider the weight of our influence if later our brothers of the East throw in their lot into the union, and greater still, the influence if our brothers of the North throw in their lot, too.

This is not a mere dream. This is an objective worthy and capable of achievement and I for one am prepared to serve under any African leader who is able to offer the proper guidance in this great issue of our time.

So dear is this African unity to our hearts, that in our Republican Constitution a definite provision has been incorporated by a concrete proposal that Ghana's sovereignty should be surrendered in whole or in part as a contribution towards the attainment of the great objective. The greatness of this objective so transcends all other purposes and its sublimity is so profound, that it behoves each and everyone in the leadership of this strug-

gle to endeavour to subdue his own little interests, his individual pride and ego and other petty considerations which merely serve to create needless obstacles in our path. The overriding importance of African unity demands the sacrifice of all personal, tribal, and regional objectives and considerations. In my view, conferences, protests, and petitions may have their usefulness, but such usefulness is undoubtedly limited. The only answer to the several difficulties facing our continent is the actual union of our various states and territories. If we cannot make an effort in this direction, we might as well begin to throw up our hands in despair and forget about Africa.

I firmly believe without the possibility of contradiction that the only and the best solution to our problems is union—real political union which will provide the necessary complement required to augment the efforts of other people for the consolidation of peace and security in the world.

THREAT OF SABOTAGE AGAINST AFRICA

Secret Plot Discovered

WE expose in this issue of the Voice of Africa, the truth about a new plan of the imperialists to entrench their domination over Africa.

The letter we reproduce in this issue exposes a new threat of sabotage against Africa.

We argue with basic facts that this letter is from the Commonwealth Relations Office in London; the office which Duncan Sandys manages.

It should be clear to any reader of the letter that present-day colonialism should not be under-estimated. The colonial powers have now found it necessary to adopt new plans to maintain and reinforce their influence.

We suggest that this document should be thoroughly analysed. No African leader should underrate this letter. African leaders must fervently rethink and work to contain themselves as Africans, fighting to free Africa.

This document should create new attitude towards colonialism. Even as these words are written, acts of sabotage are being committed against the African people. At this very moment, our lives are more gravely endangered than ever before by subversive intrigues.

It should be clear to any reader of this letter that these enemies of the African people possess much power. If they did not, they would represent small danger to us. But their power of the moment must not frighten us. Their influence in Africa as throughout the rest of the world, is as ephemeral as the deceptions and illusions upon which it depends. Their fierceness is born of desperation, for every day their actual strength wanes. They are giants with feet of clay.

We are aware that the British press will try to playdown the authenticity of this document. Africa knows the moral and monetary fibre of the British journalist—ask him where he gets his pay!

(Read the letter from next page)

(FRENCH VERSION)

Sabotage Contre L'Afrique

NOUS aimerions faire dans ce numéro de la "Voix de l'Afrique" un exposé sur le nouveau plan formulé par les imperialistes dans le but de maintenir leur domination en Afrique.

Nous reproduisons ci-dessous une lettre qui fait état de ce sabotage à l'encontre de l'Afrique; et qui, nous en sommes convaincus par les faits, émane du bureau de Mr. Duncan Sandys, Ministre d'Etat aux relations avec le Commonwealth.

Tout lecteur comprendra à la lecture de cette lettre qu'il n'est nullement question de sous-estimer le colonialisme de nos jours; car les imperialistes ont trouvé qu'il s'avère nécessaire d'adopter une nouvelle attitude enfin de perpétuer

et consolider leur emprise sur le continent africain.

Nous suggérons que ce document soit scrupuleusement analysé et qu'aucun Leader Africain ne prenne la chose à la légère. Ceux-ci doivent avec constance méditer et travailler en tant qu'Africains dédiés à la lutte de libération et de l'émancipation de l'Afrique.

Ce document doit nous dicter une nouvelle ligne de conduite vis à vis du colonialisme. A l'instant même où ces mots sont tracés, des actes de sabotage sont perpétrés contre les peuples Africains et soulignons qu'en ce moment-ci, notre vie est plus que jamais en danger de par les intrigues subversives.

Nos lecteurs sauront en lisant cette lettre que nos ennemis sont également puissants car s'il en était autrement, ces ennemis ne nous auraient causé que peu d'ennui. Mais leur puissance momentanée ne doit pas nous effrayer. Leur influence sur l'Afrique et comme partout ailleurs dans le monde est éphémère et pleine de déceptions et d'illusion. Leur férocité est symptôme de leur désespoir car à chaque jour décline leur force. Ils sont des géants aux pieds frêles.

Nous savons que la presse britannique niera l'authenticité de ce document. L'Afrique entière connaît le composé moral et financier du journaliste Anglais—Il suffit de lui demander. Qui vous paie?

Secret Plot Discovered



STRICTLY PERSONAL

March 17, 1961

My dear T

I have written about personal matters through the ordinary post.

In your last letter you begged me to write you privately about what is really going on here in Westminster and in Whitehall. Many of the questions you ask could not be answered until we could see what happened in the Constitutional discussions here on N. Rhodesia.

I must say I found your letter and your worries rather naive. But as you yourself say you have been "several thousand miles away from Westminster and Whitehall so long." Fortunately as always happens in a political crisis the basic facts are pretty clear although they are rather complicated. Thank God the press has not really got on to them. They are in general the exact opposite of what you all seem to think in Salisbury and what Welensky is saying in public and apparently (from your letter) also in private to you and other members of the British Community in Rhodesia.

The point, my dear fellow, that you haven't grasped in the debates on N. Rhodesia's Constitution is that all this criticism of Macleod's and H.M.G.'s policy is to some extent deliberately laid on and in any case is extremely useful. I see that John Moffat (who is a good man and really knows what's what - he wasn't in the Colonial office so long for nothing) said that he thought without Welensky's "providential" outburst against Macleod's proposals together with Welensky's call-up of the territorials there would have been African violence. That was the whole point of the operation - it was necessary to convince the Africans that they in fact "win" something, when as a matter of fact none of the basic African demands have really being conceded at all.

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You and your friends are very foolish not to realize that only by appearing to let you and the other white settlers down to some extent, can H.M.G. get the Africans to accept a plan that in fact is in your interests and in actual reality meets Welensky's own wishes.

I am sure that you have noticed what Kaunda said after listening to the debate in the Commons, - "I have had the displeasure of seeing the future of my country being played with." He must have understood what was really happening, but he could do nothing about it. When he got back to Lusaka he discovered that a meeting of Chiefs representing 300 others in your rural areas had accepted the Macleod plan. This, I repeat, was the whole point of the operation. Macmillan and Macleod could only have brought this off by exploiting Welensky's opposition. You and your friends have helped a good deal by your own attitude. I imagine your cries of "betrayal" by H.M.G. reach the Chiefs through your native servants. And jolly useful too. Go on shouting "betrayal" as long as you like in Rhodesia. It only helps us here and your position there too.

Forgive me if I'm rude but you ought to know better what is really going on. Harold Macmillan put it very well the other night at Pratt's. A friend of Salisbury's was talking rather as you write and saying Bobbyt agreed with him and Harold said almost what I'm saying to you about how useful opposition can be. He drew an interesting parallel. "Don't you remember," Harold said, "Stanley Baldwin and Sam Hoare and our Indian policy before the last war?" Baldwin and Hoare were trying to get through a policy of appearing to make concessions to Gandhi and Nehru which in fact really preserved our position in India. Baldwin and Hoare nearly brought it off. How? By using Winston and the right-wing Tories in the House (of which Harold was not one) to cry "betrayal" just as Bobbyt and Welensky - and you - are crying it now. As Harold said "The only way to win Kaunda and Company over is to seem to support them against those who want to die in last white ditch. Baldwin and Hoare didn't bring it off - but I think we shall, just as Lloyd George got his budget

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and Asquith's Irish policy through by deliberately stirring up opposition in the Lords and pretending they were the real enemies." Wasn't Lord Halsbury the original last ditcher? But who died there with him? Have a look at what Curzon did - you'll find I think that Welensky will do the same and for the same reason.

You say a large number of Tory M.P.'s (its more than eighty at this moment) support Turton's anti-Macleod, anti-Government, pro-Welensky motion in the House and that a lot of them represent the "conscience of the Tory party." You are right to say conscience and not brains. But even that's going too far.

I don't know if you noticed the article by the Political Correspondent of the Times (which I know you get) for March 13th. He compares the behaviour of the whips and Tory leaders to Conan Doyle's famous dog. You remember, Sherlock Holmes asked Dr. Watson, "But did you notice the strange behaviour of the dog?" Dr. Watson answered, "But, Holmes, the dog did nothing." Holmes then said, "But that, my dear Watson, was the strange behaviour of the dog." I'm quoting from memory - its ages since I read it, but you'll remember too I think.

The Times' man points out that its equally odd that the Tory leaders haven't really barked either. He points out that the Whips and Tory leaders don't really seem very worried about it and gives various explanations all of which are pretty true and which you might study. But the Times' man is too discreet to give the real reason, though I imagine he knows it. As you know lobby and political correspondents usually know more than most M.P.'s and over Rhodesia the Times has been playing along with Harold throughout. William Haley's snobbery, as Harold also said in Pratt's, is a "vital imperial asset." This almost came out in the debate on February 22nd. Lionel Heald, who is a sound man but nearly as simple as you politically, attacked the Times for distorting a report of a Party meeting and exaggerating the opposition to Macleod's policy. This of course was also deliberate - the result of a deliberate leak to the Times and

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deliberate distortion by the Times to suit Macmillan's policy.

The point is that just as Welensky's opposition in Rhodesia is being used by Macmillan to convince African opinion there, so Conservative opposition in London is being played up to convince Kaunda here. And that is the real reason - which the political correspondent doesn't print - why the Whips are behaving in such a strange way and doing little or nothing to squash the signatures of Turton's motion here. As the Times also points out, if they really wanted to, the Whips could get at least 40 of the Tory "opposition" to withdraw - probably more I think if they really tried. But they haven't. Why? Because, as I've told you, this opposition is very useful.

The opposition is useful not only to convince African opinion, but also - this is an even more important point - in order to prevent the Opposition forcing a division in the debate on African policy. You must surely understand that if the Labour Party forced a division, the Tory opposition should - on paper at least - join with them against H.M.G. And if this happened it would bring the government down just as Labour and about the same number dissident Tories as supported Turton brought Chamberlain's Government down. The difference is that nobody, except a few cranks on both sides, wants this. Certainly not the Labour Party who are in no condition to face an election just now. This however is only a matter of Parliamentary tactics.

A much more important point is in fact involved. As I've said, at least equal in importance to the problem of selling to the African leaders what is really a settler policy is to sell it to the Labour Party. The one in fact involves the other, since most of the African leaders are in contact with the Labour Party leaders and take their opinions to some extent from them. It is therefore vital to Macmillan's and Macleod's policy that it should not be too strongly criticized by the official Opposition. And this is where the unofficial opposition, the signatures to

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Turton's motion, Welensky's propaganda and Bobbity in the House of Lords have played a crucial role.

In actual fact Macleod's proposals if unopposed would probably have satisfied the Labour Party as little as the African leaders. Or at any rate Gaitskell and Callaghan would have been forced by the Labour Party left into opposition. From all I hear from Douglas Jay and others the Tory signatures to the Turton motion, and Salisbury's performance in the Lords have been very welcome to the Labour leaders in keeping their wild men in order, and, more important, in enabling the responsible leaders of the Labour Party to convince their friends among the African leaders that Macleod really is giving them something.

For all these reasons, therefore, I think you shouldn't worry too much about all the noise which is going on.

Our mutual friends in the Government, and in the Colonial Office recognize that the transference of an increasing measure of political power is inevitable everywhere in Africa. But even in these changing conditions they think we shall manage to maintain what the French call our "presence" in Africa. We certainly shall not repeat the mistakes made by France and Belgium in their struggle against their nationalist movements by delaying too long the handing over of political power to the local leaders and thus involving themselves in colonial wars. Have you never thought about South and Central America and wondered how the Yanks maintain their "presence" there when the Latin American Republics have had political independence for more than 150 years?

The great thing for us now is to win time and to adapt ourselves to the new situation in Africa. What we need most now are fresh methods and a fresh outlook.

The next section of this letter is based on papers I was given a look at by a friend in the Colonial Office.

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Our main task in preserving the emergent territories within the Commonwealth orbit is to put down as many anchors in all parts of Africa as possible, using aid as a pretext to stabilize the economic and social situation.

The anchors could be:

An impression should be created that the emergent territories are developing their own national industry. This could be done by re-modelling our companies to suit native aspirations, by appointing suitable Africans to management and controlling economic aid to the governments of the emergent territories, etc. The necessary help could be given by the Commonwealth Advisory and Technical Service, as well as by the economic Research and Facilities Institutes which have been created by and work in close contact with the intelligence authorities.

If necessary private industry and other investors must be called upon and must be prepared to make great sacrifices. These will be more than repayed in the future. This applies to you and your friends.

The main aim is to meet the requirements of the emergent territories for technical aid and on this basis to establish strict control over local industry.

The emergent territories should be persuaded and prepared to keep Colonial Service expatriate officials (now Overseas Service Officers) for an indefinite number of years. Local governments should share the burden with us (half the salaries, half the recompense for officials who lose their posts, etc.). The plan is that more than 20,000 officials should stay in Africa. They would be carefully vetted by our special departments

And, as Perth said in the Lords, Rhodesia and Nyasaland must be prepared "to come within the orbit of the scheme."

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We foresee one difficulty over this plan - local opposition and aspiring young native officials might make it too difficult for local governments to adopt such a policy. This difficulty could, we think, be overcome. A little camouflage ("aid" "technical experience" etc.) goes a long way.

The Overseas Services Resettlement Bureau which is in close touch with industrialists and the business world will, we think, be very useful. This Bureau has already resettled more than 1180 registered men who previously served under the Colonial Office, and now are enlisted as Overseas Service Officers.

You should have in mind that these officers will always be, as the White Paper says, "servants of the Crown, and the conditions of their employment are embodied in Colonial Regulations."

A special network of universities and colleges should be created with carefully chosen teaching personnel to train the Africans who will in future take the place of our Colonial Service Officers in the administrative bodies and in some important sectors of the economy.

Some people here think that we should hurry up the creation of universities in East and Central Africa. The students at these universities would be trained to see the necessity of cooperating with us in the field of administration, in the leadership of political parties, trade unions, etc., particularly if the financial rewards are generous enough - at any rate for a few key Africans. In this connection, don't forget the Congo lesson where the Americans have even got hold of Kasavubu.

We should manage, somehow, to set up new press and radio centres with the special task of giving support to our policy in Africa.

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Look at the East African Newspapers, Ltd. This body is doing very useful work for British interests under our guidance.

Your opinion that, in the case of N. Rhodesia "a complete handover to an African majority, let alone "one man one vote" is premature and impossible is shared here. But the possibility of some degree of assured racial balance must appear to be granted. Don't mix this up with an African majority - we are not yet prepared for this. How far reality and appearance will coincide will depend on the Lusaka discussions and on how far moderate African leaders can be induced to collaborate with Evelyn Hone and with John Moffat. It may be necessary to discredit some of the extremist leaders of the United National Independence Party and the African National Congress, particularly those who are going to take part in Lusaka discussions. Nkumbula is being looked after and should soon be inside... But there are others.

Now for the Federation and your cry for help. I fear that open insistence on the maintenance of the Federation in its existing form is impossible, but it shouldn't be impossible to maintain the content of Federation while sacrificing the form.

In this connection Welensky's plan of widening the Federation is a possibility - but it should not appear to have come from Welensky. Neither African opinion nor even the Labour Party could possibly be made to accept this. But alternative possibilities do exist and are being worked out. These follow a line privately suggested by Welensky and put forward by Julian Greenfield here. Kaunda so far hasn't been told about the scheme. It involves the creation of a Central and East African Federation to include Bechuanaland, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and conceivably parts of Mozambique and Katanga. We are expecting suggestions from Welensky and Nyerere of Tanganyika, who is considered to be one of the best candidates for the presidency of this new Federation.

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You write "Welensky says there have been several successive plans for the N. Rhodesian Constitution. Macmillan and Macleod say there has been only one Government plan. Who is telling the truth?"

In this case neither is completely accurate or if you like "telling the truth". In one way Welensky is right. The Cabinet plans have been constantly changed to meet outside pressure from the copper companies, from the Tory Party (and also to bring it in line with what Gaitskell and the Labour Party can swallow publicly), and to suit Welensky himself. But if Welensky says plans have been changed under African pressure he's wrong. The Africans had little or no influence at the Conference. On the other hand the Government is not being completely dishonest. The basic plan and policy, as I've tried to sketch it in answer to your first question, has always been the same - to maintain the content of British influence and interests while giving the appearance of sacrificing some of the forms of political power to the Africans. This has always been and still is the strategic plan that is embodied in the Macleod proposals. But the details have been constantly modified and altered and can be again at the forthcoming Lusaka discussions.

Salisbury is going round his clubs (not Pratt's) saying H.M.G. is lying on this point and Welensky is right. With his usual love of family parallels he compares H.M.G.'s changes of plan to Disraeli's changes of plan over the reform of the British electoral system. I don't know if you will remember - but Dizzy's Reform Bill was nicknamed the twenty minute bill - it was literally drawn up in that time. The point is that Bobbity's grandfather broke with Disraeli over this plan and left the Government. In this case again the fifth Marquess is only imitating the third!

In my view Salisbury is as short sighted over Africa as he was over Cyprus when he resigned over Makarios' return. I may be

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underestimating him. He also may be playing the Government's game by providing a right-wing target like Welensky. You never can tell with a Cecil. They are capable of any subtlety. But in this case I think other forces are at work. I'm sure it's not money and copper only - he would not knowingly do that. He sees himself as voicing the opinion of the settlers and I am sure that he would be the first to demand the use of force. It's much more likely to be family tradition - always vital for a Cecil. After all the capital of Rhodesia is not called Salisbury for nothing. His grandfather more or less divided up all Africa at the end of the last century. Also I'm told that Bobby is personally furious with Macmillan. After all he more than any one else made Harold - and not Rab - Prime Minister. And if you've been a kingmaker you're apt to think you can be a kingbreaker too.

In any case these personal matters are rather irrelevant. From the Parliamentary point of view and from the point of view of putting H.M.G.'s policy across on the Labour Party Salisbury is as "providential" to Macmillan as Moffat said Welensky was in getting the African leaders to accept the Constitutional plan.

The future of the British South Africa Company of course is a vital consideration. Salisbury was justified in his indignation at being accused of being the spokesman of their directors in the Lords. In actual fact the Company has been privately consulted all along. You are really naive to think that a British Conservative Cabinet would throw away what you describe as "profits of £15 million a year" or that the Editor of the Times of all people would support such a policy. Have you really forgotten the relation between the Times and the City and the role of the City Editor in forming Times policy? Yet the Times supports H.M.G.'s policy. So do the directors who count in the Company. They also seem to understand that they can best be protected by abandoning direct rule in favour of indirect influence. If you read Lord Robins' speech in the Lords carefully - and after all he's president of the Company - you will see that he was not really so hostile. True he pleaded for the "Lennox-Boyd policy". But as Perth unfortunately let out in the debate the Government's plan

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represents "no departure from the Lennox-Boyd principles of a non-racial and responsible constitution." It was unfortunate that Perth said this and Macmillan ticked him off for letting the cat out of the bag. Fortunately neither the African leaders nor the Labour Party leaders seem to have taken much notice.

The possibility of the inclusion of Katanga copper interests in any future federation is as I have already said not forgotten. But it simply cannot be mentioned now in view of the situation in the United Nations. It was almost disastrous that Welensky should have let this cat out of the bag at the beginning of the Congo crisis. However with luck the public have forgotten his indiscretion. But I can assure you that H.M.G. and the Colonial Office have not forgotten this plan. I beg you, however to say nothing about this at present. It would be disastrous to future plans if these possibilities leaked.

You ask, "What is going to happen at the Commonwealth Conference" and state that "it should be disastrous for you and your friends if S.Africa was forced out."

Here I think H.M.G. and certainly the P.M. agreed with you but there was no possibility of keeping S.Africa in. I know that the P.M. squared William Haley and the Times on support for keeping S.Africa in. The Tory Party was united. So was the City. Apparently we have about £900 million invested in S.Africa. Apart from that there's the whole question of balance of payments, gold, etc. The P.M. tried hard to settle the matter privately with the Dominions before the conference began and tried to do so privately during the Conference. But opinion was so strong that H.M.G. could not insist on keeping S.Africa in without appearing to be a supporter of Verwoerd's racial policy and thus infuriating other parts of Africa. The Yanks, too, were busy telling their African friends (who of course want S.Africa out) that they agreed with them. This is part of the Yankee bid for influence among African nationalists. The P.M. had to join the others in attacking apartheid. In fact he had privately told Verwoerd he would have to

Secret Plot Discovered



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do this and reached some sort of understanding on how far he could go. The Yanks, however, were said to have got hold of Diefenbaker and he in fact joined the blacks at the Conference in trying to get S.Africa out. While the P.M. and some people in the Colonial Office were sorry about S.Africa going out, at the same time many felt it would be impossible to carry out the main plan of making friends with African nationalism in order to control it unless S.Africa was out.

As regards my opinion and my advice to you, it is this. The advantages and disadvantages of S.Africa staying in or going out are pretty evenly balanced. If I were you, living elsewhere in Africa, I think I should have welcomed S.Africa going out. It can only do good to the white position with native opinion elsewhere. S.Africa going out is in that sense in line with our general strategic policy. But of course the P.M. couldn't say this - there would be hell to pay with the Party and the City (and also the Treasury) if he did. In any case even if you don't agree with my analysis - don't blame Macmillan or H.M.G. because S.Africa went out. In spite of the doubt I've mentioned the P.M. did his best to keep her in. Only remember that though he failed, we stand to gain on African swings elsewhere what we have lost on the roundabouts in S.Africa itself. S.Africa going out makes it far easier for us to stay in Africa elsewhere. In the long run that may be more important.

It was a good thing Welensky did not come to the N. Rhodesian Conference. Julian Greenfield did all he could have done. And Harold was glad to see Welensky during the Commonwealth Conference where it was possible to discuss matters with him without alienating Kaunda and Co. I don't know that it will be safe for Welensky to contact your friends too much without arousing African suspicion but I think you'll find what I call "Operation exploited opposition" in the earlier part of my letter can now be stopped. But it may have to be revived if the Africans are too suspicious or ask too much at the Lusaka discussions.

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One last word - or repetition of earlier ones. Don't forget that the form of political power and the content of real power are different things. We are after the latter - you seem to be hypnotised by the former which in these days is only wishful thinking and a dangerous form of it at that. The future at which all here are aiming, for a period at any rate, is collaboration between Kaunda, Moffat and Hone. The vital thing is that security, mines, foreign relations and the judiciary should remain under our real control whatever nominal power and position is given to the Africans. And I think we will get this. Whoever has a majority in the legislature is really irrelevant. The present plan allows for either and if the worst comes to the worst and the Africans do get a majority the plan is so drawn that it won't mean very much in terms of power in the sense I'm using it. British interests, your own included, will be safe. The whole future depends on the African leaders not spotting our real plan. I often think you and your friends don't realize how intelligent the Africans are. It's a very easy job to pull wool over their eyes.

This letter is far too long.

*Yours ever
Sandy*

Read Another One in November Issue—

A PRIVATE LETTER OF
DAVID STERLING

The Notorious Capitalist Tycoon of the African Capricorn Society Fame

One Party System of Government in Africa

by Madeira Keita

"Madeira Keita, is the Minister of the Interior in the Republic of Mali. Active in politics from an early age, he founded and built up the Parti Democratique de Guineea; later taken over by President Sekou Toure. Arrested nine times for his political activities, he finally returned to Mali and became member of the Political Bureau of the Union Soudanaise. Convinced that at the moment a one party system is the right form of government in Africa, he has played a considerable part in the organisation and development of the Union Soudanaise, the Governing Party in the Republic of Mali."

THE few observations which I shall make relate to the unified party, to the need for the unified party in Africa, in the light of its prospects of development.

I am sure there is no need to point out that at the present moment the evolution of Africa is moving forward by leaps and bounds and that the leaders and militants must make a great effort of analysis if they are not to allow themselves to be overtaken by this evolution.

It will not be necessary, either, to speak of the reasons why history is moving so fast in Africa, or to recall the international context which has been developing since 1945. African history, which is speeding up more and more by taking its place in an international situation which is itself a novelty, will become better and better until it arrives at the total emancipation of all peoples, and especially the colonised peoples.

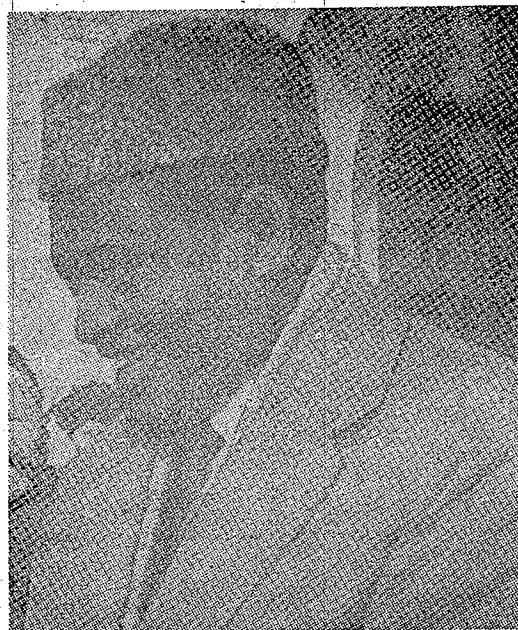
In Africa, before the 1939-1945 War, we had what is known as the full colonial system. That meant the colonial system, instituted by the democratic French Republic, by the bourgeois Parliamentary Republic, ruled over subjects and the colonies were governed by means of Decrees. There was no public liberty whatsoever. There were not even very many individual liberties. I should point out, in passing, that the Act of 1906 on the right of association was only applied to Africa by Decrees in 1946. And when on emerging from the war

in which the subjugated peoples, the colonised peoples had made their valuable contribution and paid their heavy tribute, we learned that we had been fighting for democracy, that we had been fighting against slavery; I think that our contribution was

highly appreciated. The international situation, moreover, was such, that, in any event, it was bound to produce certain changes in the status of the colonised peoples. It was thus that we were to see France associate the peoples of Africa with French policy, that we saw France recognize Constituent Assemblies and admit into its Parliamentary Assemblies representatives of the colonial peoples and of Africa. This stage is very important, because, in spite of all the faults and flaws which it was to introduce into African life, in spite of the deficiencies with which we were to embark upon political life, this stage nevertheless had certain very advantageous aspects, if only on the plane of awakening consciousness.

Government by Decree

Thus, as I have said, before 1945, we had colonial system and the system of government by Decrees. We had the system of native status, which I think there is no need to dwell upon. The



Madeira Keita

system of native status enabled the colonial authorities to put a number of Africans in prison without judgment against them. Sometimes you were sent to prison for 15 days because you had not saluted the administrator or the commandant; you were still very fortunate if you did not have stones thrown at you, or if you were not sent to a labour site, for there was also forced labour. I have seen French journalists in 1947 amazed to learn that forced labour was labour which was not freely consented to, unpaid labour. Transport was not guaranteed, and neither were food and lodging. But the labour was provided.

Africa, then, embarked upon political life. When I say Africa—it is perhaps rather too wide a term—I mean French speaking West Africa. In 1945, we were called upon to take part in political life. Naturally, Senegal was an exception. It must not be overlooked that in Senegal the Africans, since the Revolution, had been fairly closely associated with French public life; after the war there were citizens in the four Communes—Dakar, Goree, Rufisque and Saint-Louis—reduced to three Communes in 1937; they had the capacity of French citizens and could elect a municipality and send a deputy to the National Assembly of the French Republic. But the others, the great mass of Senegalese—since these electors constituted a minority—acceded to political life in the form of elections.

And that was to create flaws which African politicians and political parties will have to devote a long time to eradicating, because we embarked on political life by way of elections, and we had not much experience at the time of the first elections in September 1945. At the second

elections, in November 1945, we did not, for the most part, have a proper insight into the intervention of the administrative machine, and the administration had its own candidates to support. It was only gradually, with the help of awakening consciousness, that we were to see the situation clearly and realise the contradictions that existed between the declarations made about freedom, the declarations made about democracy and the real facts. This is extremely important, because the Africans were beginning to raise the problem of sincerity, the problem of honesty, of what the political vocabulary calls democracy, freedom.

I do not think there is any point in giving the various definitions of political freedoms and democracy. But we are sincere people, honest people and we took those things at their face value. We were not willing to confuse the expression and forms of democracy itself Africa has developed.

Caricature of Democracy

I have seen Frenchmen—who were colonialists, but sincere, as far as colonialism can be—who revolted after the elections because they said it was a caricature of democracy, that the sincerity and freedom of the vote was not respected, because the methods adopted degraded the parliamentary system and would recoil against Africa. Nor do I think there is any need to stress what have been called Algerian-style elections.

If I speak of this, it is to emphasise that from the outset Africans were somewhat disturbed to find the contradictions which existed between theoretical definitions and African realities.

We moved fairly fast. The United Kingdom in the meantime was granting independence by peaceful means. The

Gold Coast was to take the glorious name of old Ghana Empire. Tunisia and Morocco were to accede to independence. All that stimulated the determination of the colonised African peoples to accede to full sovereignty.

It was thus that in 1956, France—some of whose political leaders had accused the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union of sabotaging the French Empire—in fact of wishing to liquidate the French Empire—finding that England was contemplating the grant of independence to Nigeria, after granting it to Ghana, and that the Soviet Union, because of its political regime and its social regime, was playing a certain part in the awakening of consciousness among the peoples who were aspiring towards freedom and wished to liberate themselves from the bonds of slavery, introduced the Outline Law.

It is, I think, unnecessary to stress the negative aspects of this Outline Law which the French Government granted with so many mental reservations. A number of African comrades, of African militants, thought it was a mistake to accept the Outline Law. But that was not the process. Personally, I think that while it included certain errors (above all in the direction of balkanisation and the division of French-speaking West Africa), the Outline Law also had its advantageous aspects.

I would point out in passing that the most stable governments—I do not say the governments which have been the most effective—were those constituted by a single party, by a party with a large majority. This was the case in the Ivory Coast, Senegal and Sudan. I cite these territories because they follow different political theories. The Outline Law Governments experienced very little disturbance or

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crisis. Whereas in a country like the Upper Volta, which had the good fortune to have a remarkable man at the head of the government, President Ouezzin Coulibaly, whose loss we all deplore, it was only after the government had experienced an extremely long and painful ministerial crisis that three parties formed a coalition government. In Dahomey also as well as in Chad, we were faced with a coalition government, while in Ubangui-Chari, under the late President Boganda, there was a single party government, the government of the M.S.A. These Outline Law governments afforded a valuable lesson for the Africans. We realise that in the existing historical circumstances of Africa, it was perhaps not impossible, but at any rate extremely difficult, with these coalition governments, to assume the responsibility for the management of public affairs with any chances of success. We have emerged from the colonial regime and we have taken part of our affairs in hand. And we shall also emerge from what we called the bad period of elections.

Lucrative post

I must emphasise that while the elections served to divide Africans, they also served to accentuate the awakening of consciousness among the masses, because the leaders who wanted mandates, who wanted to sit in the General Councils, the Territorial Assemblies or the French Parliament, were obliged, for want of organised parties, to play upon regionalism, to play upon what we have called internal racism. Was it opportunism to set the different regions and the different ethnic groups in opposition to each other within the same constituency? For a while we were obliged to pass through that phase.

Caricature of democracy

At the outset, the French authorities had supported a certain number of politicians, who, incidentally, did not always fully carry out the instructions given by those authorities or by the pressure groups which they made it their duty to protect. The politicians sometimes had confused views and increasingly tended to drag Africa into purely electioneering situations which were a caricature of democracy, because what mattered to them was to gain a majority for their party and to accede themselves to posts which they regarded as honourable or lucrative.

And I must say that inside the parties, and in the party strife, we had very great difficulties to overcome.

And now all the African countries are moving towards independence in an irresistible manner.

The situation poses a certain number of problems to African political leaders. We are in countries which are said to be underdeveloped. We are conscious of our economic backwardness, and yet, we want to move fast. And in general, our European friends, do not always understand the African positions. Perhaps it is because they do not know Africa very well; it might also be because the French, proud of their country and their culture, want to set up their own institutions as a model. So much so, that when we speak of freedom and democracy, I sometimes have the impression that we are not reaching a very good understanding with our French friends. Because for us the essential thing is to mobilise all the forces of the country to move forward. And we believe that freedom is not threatened in Africa. We believe that we are

acting with the fullest respect for democratic rules.

Does democracy necessarily imply more than one party? We say no.

Democracy without parties

We believe that there have been forms of democracy without political parties. We also say that if a political party is the expression of a class, which itself represents certain interests, we obviously cannot assert that Negro African society is a classless society. But we do say that the differentiation of classes in Africa does not imply a diversification of interests and still less an opposition of interests.

In 1946 the most powerful and most just watchword was the union of all the social layers of the population without religious or social distinction, against colonialism, and in favour of greater freedom. With a few exceptions, all the African leaders, if we must put them into classes, applying obviously French-style definitions and criteria, were nothing more than lower middle-class or "petit bourgeois." And it is very interesting to note that these leaders are neither bankers nor industrialists; that Mr. Senghor, Mr. Modibo Keita and Mr. Sékou Toure, if they have bank accounts, merely have them in respect of their salaries; that very few of them are company shareholders, and if they are it is almost a token holding and sometimes because of their responsibilities to inspire confidence in some particular company; the rare cases which I know are in connection with semi-public companies, companies constituted by private capital and the public authorities. There is a very marked tendency for large companies, a little frightened, moreover, by the rapid evolution of the African

countries and anxious to invest, to prefer the semi-public form because the government and the nationals of the country can take shares, and they think that that constitutes a solid guarantee and a climate of security.

The religious problem does not constitute a major ground of division between Africans. Above all the Africans refrain from approaching it on the political plane. We must be quite clear about that, because, in general, when we take up positions which are regarded as advanced, people speak of Communism and we have seen, in recent weeks, a great prelate of the Roman Catholic Church coldly equate Islam to Communism. On the African political plane there is no religious problem. In Mali, Islam which numbers 70 per cent of the population is progressing very peaceably, and the Africans are, moreover, very tolerant. Naturally, a hundred years ago Islam was a pretext for a certain number of conquerors in Niger, or even in the Western Sudan, Senegal and Guinea, to carve themselves empires. But at the present time all religions are in competition in Negro Africa and we are very vigilant over them. We decline to allow what it might perhaps be inaccurate to call religious oppositions and rivalries to be transposed on to the political scene.

At the same time I nevertheless feel a certain amount of uneasiness when I read in "Temoignage Chretien" an article which does not yet sound the alarm, perhaps, but is none the less dangerous. In effect this article brings Christians face to face with their responsibilities by saying to them; "you Christians, who amount to 10 per cent of the population are face to face with 70 per cent of Moslems; you have a part to play in independence; above all you must never forget that you

are Christians." This kind of article is dangerous because it tends to create problems where no problem exists.

Africans are always tolerant of their neighbours and in our political parties up to the present neither Catholics nor Animists have ever been subjected to ostracism because of their religious convictions. Naturally the Moslems are in a majority in the country, but in our teams of leaders, the members are chosen purely on democratic criteria, for example because of their abilities, their merit or their devotion within the party.

Thus, as I have already said, we have not the same reasons as France, Italy or Belgium, for having several parties, and indulging in the luxury of a ministerial crisis every six months. Our position is thus quite different; it is true that we have more experience in analysing African problems. We are not any more like the countries of the Middle East and Latin America which, even when the number of parties was limited, experienced many revolutions and many upheavals. We think that these revolutions, these upheavals, these coups d'Etat, are not designed to meet our needs.

There remains therefore the organisation of democracy based on the action of the party. And as we have no reason to multiply parties, because the differentiation of interests is not very sharp, the most important problem for the countries of Africa arises out of our aspirations to unity, just as for the countries which have been deprived of liberty, the countries which have only had liberty of association for 15 years, the most important problem is the problem of international independence, the problem of sovereignty.

We have aspirations which are for the most part very

clearly defined, although the consciousness of some people is confused; but we are, all in agreement in thinking that Africa cannot give itself the chance of moving rapidly except in very large groups.

Problems

Philosophical problems, religious problems, problems of ideology, do not divide us. The only aspiration which animates us is the rapid march towards liberty. The only aspiration, the only determination which inspires us is that of being able to establish a State mechanism at the service of economic development, of social and cultural development. We are studying the arrangements which might enable us to achieve this development as rapidly as possible.

If we analyse the situation well and even remembering that colonialism divided Africans by its electoral system, and especially by its frauds and electoral chicanery, we shall recognise that there is nothing fundamental opposing us to each other. It is true that we played the game for a long time, but on comparing programmes, on comparing congress resolutions, you could feel our agreement on every point. And yet we fought each other to the death, passionately and furiously—only the word passion can express to the Africans, to the people of the land of sunshine, all the violence of our fights and our oppositions.

But was there any real reason, since we are in agreement on the essential and pursuing the same objects, why we should remain divided, why we should remain lined up in parties mutually fighting each other? It is thus that the countries have progressively moved towards the formula of the unified party. I would have said "Single Party," but in the end I have accepted President Senghor's

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KAUNDA — BANDA — NKOMO
The Big 3 of Central African
Federation's Crisis

(1) KAUNDA.

Will his leadership weather the African Storm in Northern Rhodesia?
KENNETH KAUNDA is a Christian. For him religion and politics are not in conflict: rather does he find in Christianity his most convincing reason for seeking and preaching liberation and justice. And because of this, it has never been easy for the most rabid White supremacists to picture him as a black mamba—his integrity is too lucid, his origins too respectable, his reasoning too cogent to be written off as agitation or emotion. The truest index of the desperate state of things in Northern Rhodesia is this—that the man who has been forced into the position of fiercest rebellion and most relentless hostility is none other than the cool, coherent, rational Christian, Kaunda.

Kaunda was born at a mission—Lubwa, near Chinsali, in the northern province of Northern Rhodesia. His father was a Church of Scotland minister, originally from Nyasaland; his mother was a teacher. He passed Standard VI at 15 and trained as a teacher at Munali, Lusaka; for years he taught at Lubwa.

Then wanderlust bloomed and he set out for Tanganyika, where for two years he taught and revelled in a wider Africa and a freer society. Returning, he wandered restlessly about Rhodesia: to Salisbury, back to the North, and to the Copperbelt, where for a time he worked in the welfare office in Chingola before returning to teaching.

Then he joined Congress, and it was soon clear that his teaching days were over. Like Nkrumah, he became an indefatigable party organiser, beating the countryside to form Congress branches deep in the bush. Once, they say, he came face-to-face with a lion in a forest clearing. Confident of his mission, he stared the lion down and watched it slink away. He became Secretary-General of Congress; went to prison with Harry Nkumbula; then broke away to form the Zambia National Congress. When Zambia was banned in 1959, he was exiled to a desolate part of the Northern Province. Deliberately, he held an illegal meeting there, and went to prison again. While confined, he thought deeply—and it was perhaps then that he reached the conclusions which have guided and sustained him since.

After his release, he formed the United National Independence Party (UNIP); with the Rev. Colin Morris, the Copperbelt's fighting parson, he wrote "Black Government"—a clear and reasonable exposition of the unanswerable case for democracy in plural societies.

He played a principal role in the negotiations which led to the initial agreement on a constitution for Northern Rhodesia which gave a reasonable prospect of an African majority—and he most keenly felt the weight of the tragedy when pressure from Sir Roy Welensky and Conservative back-benchers in Britain destroyed that agreement.

Whatever he does now—and his grounds for fury and emotion are overwhelmingly strong—he will not lose his clear mind or the moral basis of his policy. As he said in 1960:

"The more I ponder over this, the more sure I am that I am right in refusing to believe that what the White man does against me and my people is done because he is wicked. The White man is only bad because the system is bad. The answer is to

change the system. Transfer the power gracefully from the minority to the majority, and the Whites need not fear anything from the Blacks. How morally wrong I would be if, having fought and suffered as I and my people have suffered to defeat what we believe to be wicked, and having succeeded, we replaced that wickedness with our form of evil and began to oppress the White man." That is Kaunda's clarity and Kaunda's morality.

(2) NKOMO

Who is this thickset meditative figure, this slow-spoken moonfaced man with a half-smile between his hairline moustache and crescent beard? He is no businessman, though he has been in business; no preacher, though he has preached; he is Joshua Mqabuko Myongolo Nkomo, the Sage of Golder's Green and the Bulwark of Bulawayo, unchallenged leader of Southern Rhodesia's National Democratic Party.

Nkomo had none of Kaunda's literate antecedents. He was born in the Semokwe Reserve in the Southern Matopo district—he spent his boyhood herding cattle. Then he found his way to a primary school and at last southwards to Adam College, where he was deeply influenced by the Christianity of Dr. Edgar Brookes. He trained as a social worker at the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Science; then was employed by the Rhodesia Railways in Bulawayo as a social worker, the first African appointed. His evenings were spent neither in politics nor in dissipation; soon he qualified, by correspondence, as a Bachelor of Social Science of the University of South Africa.

The Railway workers whom he served, impressed by his cap and gown as well as by his assiduity for their welfare, offered him the post of Secretary of their Trade Union, at a higher wage than he had earned from the Railways. He accepted as Secretary, he put the Union's case to Patrick Gordon Walker, visiting Rhodesia as Secretary for Commonwealth Relations; and thus brought to the attention of the powers that were, flew to London soon after as a delegate, invited by Sir Godfrey Huggins to the London Conference on Federation.

Federation he opposed; and, suddenly, without experience in politics, he was President of the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia. He left the Railway Workers' Union and turned without notable success to business: insurance, auctioneering, a secretarial agency. Soon the Congress, reinvigorated by the vigour of its Youth Leaguers, Chikere, Mushonga and Nyandoro, was taking up all his time.

In 1958, he flew to the Accra Conference, and then to Cairo and London, while he was away, the Congress was banned by Sir Edgar Whitehead—and Nkomo, the only man in the party with freedom of action, set up in Golders' Green an effective headquarters which did much to help turn British public opinion against Federation, Whitehead, and Welensky.

In January last year the NDP was formed—in mid-year Nkomo returned in triumph to lead it. Then in January this year he made what now seems a false step; at the Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference, he allowed himself to be persuaded to accept a Constitution which extinguished Britain's reserve powers to veto Southern Rhodesian legislation, while introducing 15 African M.P.s in the enlarged House of 65. Perhaps he thought of this as a stage of universal suffrage—it soon became clear that the Whites who had negotiated it with him thought of it as a final concession, the utmost the African could hope for.

From the first his followers were restive—by the time of the Constitutional Referendum, the whole party and Nkomo had swung into furious opposition, and held their own private referendum to record an overwhelming "No."

The future is obscure. But Nkomo, husband of a chief's daughter, mindful of the glories of the Matabele, will remain a central figure of Southern Africa. As he wrote in *Voice of Africa*, Accra, in April, 1961:

"Our vigilance is firm and our determination unshakable. I remain true to freedom, on behalf of the children of Mambo, Lobengula and Mtasa, the African people of Southern Rhodesia."

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(3) BANDA OF MALAWI

One of the great questions of history is whether situations make leaders or whether it is the completely accidental appearance of a certain man that makes history go one way or another. Characteristically, Dr. Hastings Banda has himself answered the question.

"Those who want to destroy me politically are quite welcome to their wishes, so far as I am concerned. They can do what they like, but they will never destroy me. It is not I but the spirit of what I stand for, with which they have to contend or count. I mean absolutely nothing. Destroy Banda and two other Bandas will turn up."

Leopard skin and broom

Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the modern messiah—militant, fanatical, fearless, defiant, leads Nyasaland today. Greeted by cries of Kwaca! Kwaca! (Dawn) on his return to the territory after an absence of forty-one years, he was draped in a leopard skin and given a broom to brush Nyasaland out of the Federation.

Since his return (is it coincidence?) there has been a state of National Emergency, the granting of a Nyasaland constitution, fiery Federal Review talks—and victory of Banda's Malawi Congress Party at the polls during elections held under the 1960 Lancaster House Constitution.

His strategy: tough talk to the Nyasaland Whites, immediate African Self-Government and prompt withdrawal of Nyasaland from the Federation.

During the December Federal Review talks he walked out of the Conference while Sir Edgar Whitehead was speaking. The Malawi Congress delegates followed. Dr. Banda afterwards told the press that, while 49 Africans were still held as political prisoners in Southern Rhodesia, it was nauseating hypocrisy for Sir Edgar to pose as a friend of the Africans.

Summoned to Chequers—with Nkomo and Kaunda, he was confronted by Macmillan, Sandys and McCleod; but walked out on the following day when the Southern Rhodesian delegates got up to speak.

The Conference was postponed, Sir Edgar saying: "It would teach the extreme racialistic leaders a salutary lesson which was long overdue!"

Swept to office

They have tried to smear him, but Banda is popular. His supporters say that he has been made a martyr by the press which looks for the spectacular in his speeches. In the attempt to discredit him they have made him the kind of political character that Africans love—the defiant hero, the fearless man, who wants to destroy the order of society that keeps them in subjection. His speeches draw the crowds who want to hear what he has to say: "We intend to be our own masters in our own house in our own country on our continent of Africa."

Swept to office during the election under the new constitution, Banda's Malawi Congress Party won a comfortable majority over all other contenders for the 33 member Legislative Council.

The Congress Liberation Party and the Christian Democratic Party—now fused to form the pro-federation Christian Liberation Party, have no effective say in the new Nyasaland Government—nor any seats in the Executive Council, from which the Ministers will be drawn. On the Executive Council the five elected members will have Ministerial status. There will also be five official members.

Hastings Banda, leader of the Party with the strongest representation will lead the Government. There is much to be done: the Executive Council is advisory to the Governor who technically may reject the advice of the Council. He may also increase the size of the Executive Council by nominating additional members; franchise is qualified (there are two rolls, limited in age and literacy)—and Nyasaland has still to achieve independence.

His critics speak of his political inexperience, egotism, even megalomania but the Malawi programme is a serious and realistic one. It is pledged to serve as the vigorous political vanguard against oppression; to vitalise economic and social life of Nyasaland's 2,700,000 people; to establish a democratic national

government; secure the unity of all the people and the chiefs; promote the political, economic and social emancipation of the people, and work with other democratic and socialist movements in Africa. A pre-requisite to this programme is the need for genuine independence and withdrawal from the white dominated Federation. The ultimate goal is an East African Federation of Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda, parts of Northern Rhodesia and Mozambique.

Never conquered

Nyasaland has an ancient history. Today it is one of the two Protectorates that comprise, along with Southern Rhodesia, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is a small country 50,000 sq. miles. Its people are largely farmers or fishermen in the great lake. Its mineral wealth is unexploited and unlike the Rhodesias very little of the land has been alienated from the people. Multi-racial in its population, it has 175,000 whites, 20,000 Asians and approximately 2,400,000 Africans.

Declared a protectorate in 1882, it was called British Central Africa. The Malawi were never conquered. Illiteracy and backwardness of the chiefs enabled Cecil Rhodes to obtain treaties in which the chiefs sold the control of their territory for false promises of protection. From 1911, Nyasaland took on its form which it retained until Federation was imposed in 1953. Administered by Great Britain through the Colonial Secretary, the people had no say in the Government. In the Legislative Council of 17 up to recently only three were Africans.

The territory fared little better under Federation. African wages averaged less than 2/- per day—the legal minimum is only 1/3 in most places.

The poorest of the "partners" in the Federation, Nyasaland had a budget surplus before 1953. Its leaders feel that given an energetic policy of expansion, exploitation of the untapped mineral wealth, modernisation of farming and proper use of the potential skill of the people, Nyasaland can substantially raise its standard of living.

Essential for this is self-government.

Flame Shimmer

The Malawi Congress Party is the main movement of self-government. Malawi means the flame-like shimmer of the sun on the water. Malawi to Nyasaland is as Ghana to the Gold Coast. The African National Congress of Nyasaland (declared unlawful during the 1959 Emergency) was succeeded by the Malawi Congress Party.

Formed in September 1959 when Banda was in gaol, its aims and objects are "to work for self-government and ultimate independence for Nyasaland and to bring about unity of all the people in Nyasaland."

The growth of the African National Congress of Nyasaland coincided with the return of Banda to the territory, and the rapid rise of independent African states on the continent. Within months of his arrival he was to get a following such as had never before been seen in the territory.

Congress quickly changed from an ill-organised political machine with some small schisms in its ranks to a well organised, disciplined movement determined to win self-government and secession. The number of branches rose from 80 to 200; district organisers were appointed; a national secretariat sat in regular session, and Congress was inundated with new members.

"Our Saviour is coming" was the slogan with which he was greeted. The next President-General of Congress—"the man who will break the Federation like a reed!" How had he acquired this popularity?

One thousand mile walk

He was born in 1906 to a poor, uneducated Chewa family—Banda is one of the four main family names of the Malawi. He received his early education in Nyasaland; ran away from home at the age of thirteen and reputedly walked a thousand miles over the space of a year to South Africa, there to become a mine interpreter in Johannesburg. From there to Ohio; twelve years of study for a medical degree; completed his work in Edinburgh in 1938; practised as physician amongst the white working class in London. Here he became the centre of young African Nationalists.

In 1945 he led a litter fight against Federation and it was probably during this time that he became a legend, a symbol of freedom for Nyasaland. There had been two previous attempts at Federation: the first in 1928 and the second in 1938 (the Bledisloe Commission). In both cases Royal Commissions of Enquiry reported that the Africans in Nyasaland were utterly opposed to Federation. The Commission reported African opposition to be justifiable. When in 1945 Federation was again proposed African opposition was just as vociferous. This time Dr. Banda put forward the case of the Nyasaland people and lobbied endlessly in the British Parliament.

Riot and shootings

In spite of all the protest and the undivided opposition of the people, Federation was imposed upon Nyasaland, Banda, a close friend of Nkrumah, left London in disgust for Ghana (then the Gold Coast). In 1958 he returned to Nyasaland after 41 years absence where he was received as the natural leader of the Nyasas.

In December 1958 he represented the African National Congress of Nyasaland at the Accra Conference. His return to Nyasaland was followed by intensive campaigning and the increased militancy of Congress. In January and February 1959 preliminary talks were in progress for a revision of the territorial constitution. Congress demanded an African majority in the Legislative Council. Meetings became widespread. The authorities panicked. Regular troops were flown from Southern Rhodesia and on February 20, police fired on a rioting crowd near Fort Hill.

The situation took a sharp turn and the Northern province of Nyasaland passed out of the Government's hands altogether. Two Africans in a crowd at Lilongwe were shot dead. The whole of the Federation was aflame. The Southern Rhodesian Government declared a state of emergency and imprisoned 425 people in a dawn swoop. The militia were mobilised. On the 3rd March the Nyasaland Government itself declared an emergency and began the wholesale detention of Africans alleged to be members of Congress.

Banda was among those detained and imprisoned in Southern Rhode-

sia. The death roll rose from 30 by March 5 climbing to 51 by the end of the month. The total arrests rose to over 1,300; 539 were still detained and 134 convicted by August 1959. There were a number of brutal arrests designed to break up Congress, and troops were used (in the words of the Devlin Commission which was appointed to enquire into the rioting) "to kow tow the population."

Secrets in the bush?

The Government claimed that an African plot had been uncovered to undertake large scale massacres and gave this as its reasons for the terroristic measures. Neither the details nor the source was disclosed. They claimed that this decision was made at a secret meeting in the Nyasaland bush which, as the story goes, Banda did not attend.

The Devlin Commission uncovered no such scheme. In its report the Commission claimed that the popular basis of the demonstrations was dissatisfaction with Federation; that the movement was not confined to the ignorant; 34 out of the territory's 35 AFRICAN GRADUATES WERE IMPRISONED. Those in jail were local leaders from every station of African life, and those who died were mostly obscure villagers.

The Malawi Congress Party had grown from strength to strength. Popular support for Banda and the campaign for the release of the detainees caused the Colonial Office in Britain to reconsider its actions and negotiate self-government for the territory. Banda left his prison cell to negotiate (together with the parties of the Protectorate) a self-governing constitution.

It is under this constitution that he today stands as the Chief Minister of the territory.

His determination to win freedom for Nyasaland and the support which he undoubtedly enjoys, places him among the popular leaders of the liberated territories on the Continent. He has not the quiet diplomacy of Nkrumah or the statesmanship of Sekou Toure, but he has the blunt, militant African Nationalism that can inspire a people to be their own masters in their own house, in their own country.

The real trial of Jomo

by Aleks Ukut

NOW, apart from the minor incidents connected with action taken against black-legs, there were no killings or "terrorisms" as such. And it is most improbable that the Mau Mau was planning a coup at that time of its political progress.

The most likely and reasonable motive was that it wanted to present a strong, united solidarity front against the suppressive colonial regime.

Although the Kenya African Union was still in operation, its vital organs were virtually made impotent by the repressive, colonial laws, and therefore, secret societies on the lines of the Mau Mau were the only courses left open.

Refused to be Sword-Pointed

During this period, several attempts were made by the Government to get the leaders of the KAU to denounce and renounce the Mau Mau. This brought a split in the rank and file of the KAU.

The so-called moderates, (better called reactionaries), quickly renounced the Mau Mau publicly. Some of them became Government agents. In one province, the chairman of the KAU was a detective. Leading in this reactionary internal rebellion were Tom Mbotela, Harry Thuku (who once led a Kikuyu Association) and Chief Waruhiu. Jomo Kenyatta, for his part brushed aside any attempts to sword-point him into denouncing the Mau Mau publicly, either because he resented being threatened into it, like all leaders, or

because he was party to or even manager of the movement.

And indeed, I see nothing wrong at all in Kenyatta managing united front to kick out an imperialist regime from his country.

Road Blocked

Whoever was the brain behind the Mau Mau, deserves, not public condemnation, but full support and praise. Whether Jomo was the "manager" of Mau Mau or not, does not subtract one whit from his greatness as a leader. Indeed, it adds — tremendously to that.

We only need to recall the case of EOKA in Cyprus. How could Makarios have flogged out the British from his country had he not organised an armed rising. Especially when all constitutional avenues were road blocked by repressive laws and racist institutions.

Total War Against African Nationalism

However, the Mau Mau did not get out of hand until the mass arrests and the accompanying hardships proved the last straw that broke the camel's back. Indeed, more than anything else that last straw was a counter-oath movement organised by the white settlers led by Dr. Leakey, with the blessing of the Colonial Government.

They got "moderates" and puppet chiefs to give oaths to Africans who had not yet been influenced by the Mau Mau.

The counter-oath campaign against the nationalistic Mau Mau marked the total declaration of war against legitimate African nationalism.

As many as counter-oathed were either liquidated or punished severely. That was the height of black-leggery. The first counter-oath ceremony took place on April 26, 1952, in the Nyeri station area. I re-emphasise that so far, there were no real hostilities between the Government and the Mau Mau. In fact, the Government was constantly on the aggressive, flocking thousands into jail without just cause. Now, total war had been declared on Nationalist Kenyans.

The Real African

A Kenya police report once referred to the Kikuyu as "natural cowards". That was about 1950. And it was evidently because the Mau Mau was, to all intents and purposes, a peaceful body with a just cause; because they offered no resistance as they were being flogged into jail; and most especially because a number of Kikuyu "moderates" and chiefs were always at hand to sell their cause for a few shillings.

But, I am sure, the police must have reversed their shallow verdict after the declaration of hostilities by counter-oathing. The real African in the Kenyan sprang to its feet and rose against years of oppression.

First Class Intelligence

After declaration of the hostilities in April 1952, the Mau Mau organised themselves into a militia. They trained in the thick forests of the heights of Mount Kenya and Nyandarua. They obtained Bren guns, automatic rifles and ammunition from successful raids on police and

army guard posts. In the forests, they set up factories to manufacture arms and home-made bombs and hand-grenades. Spears, pangas, bows and arrows supplemented arms.

They set up a civil and military administration, and indeed, erected a Government building for their Parliament — solidly built and well furnished. Camps were supplied with pipe-water, hospitals, etc. Supplies of arms and ammunition, medical and surgical supplies inroaded regularly from Nairobi. There was also a first-class Intelligence Service.

I do not know this thing

In the reserves which had become Mau Mau Republics, the Administration included law courts, tax offices and training grounds. The interesting thing is that these went on under the noses of the "clever" colonialists. There was no outburst as yet.

Those were merely precautionary measures. Mau Mau had not become the "evil" society that we are made to understand yet. There were, however, it is good to point out, a number of cases of murder and so on. But many of these had no connection with the Mau Mau. In many cases, people committed these crimes under cover of the Mau Mau. Indeed, because of this, many leaders of the KAU were embarrassed, including the extremists themselves.

At one stage, Jomo Kenyatta had to deny knowledge of the Mau Mau publicly. At a meeting of the Kenya Citizens Association comprising 17 Europeans, 8 Indians and 11 Africans, convened by Peter Mbiu Koinage, Jomo's right hand man, in October 1950 Kenyatta declared: "I do not know this thing called Mau Mau. Our fathers don't know it". The Europeans went away satisfied, although the

Government greeted it with the usual high eyebrows.

A life time

Every effort to get Jomo round failed. There was just no evidence in whatever form, not even from his public speeches. There was only one course open for the Government: to declare an emergency and detain the KAU leaders, including Jomo.

Minutes from Police Authority meeting on July 29, 1952, read: "Although there is as yet no concrete evidence to prove that Jomo Kenyatta is behind the Mau Mau movement, there is every reason to believe that he is one of the leaders of the society".

On August 9, 1952, a letter signed by a "Henry" reached the authorities: "It may take the Kenya Police a lifetime if we were to expect his sudden arrest at, say, an oath ceremony. And that applies to his fellow educated men".

Mock trial

On October 7, 1952, chief Waruhiu who had been bought up the ladder, received four shots by armed gunmen in the popular West End fashion. The death of Waruhiu, the right hand man of the Governor, now lowered the curtain finally. A "state of emergency" was declared on October 20, 1952 at midnight. Jomo Kenyatta, the chief target and about 120 leading KAU members were driven into detention camps. In British Law, however, there could be no detention without trial.

In a mock trial in which certain lawyers were declared "prohibited immigrants", Jomo was led in to serve a seven-year jail term with hard labour, on April 8, 1953. In addition, he was to be detained after his term of imprisonment at the discretion of the Governor. But before he went in, Kenyatta told the court plainly: "You people have the

audacity to ask me silly questions; you made Mau Mau what it is, not Kenyatta".

The imprisonment of the KAU leaders was merely the open fire order. The Mau Mau Liberation Army unleashed an attack. In one district, more than 500 bodies of both white and black reactionaries (counter-oath takers) were littered on the streets. The war raged for two years without the Mau Mau blinking.

Hola camp hell

The colonial forces were not satisfied with their superior skill and weapons, including modern jet fighters. They used several treacherous methods to bring the Liberation Army to their knees. For instance, a campaign for peace was started through their agents. And when General China of the Mau Mau Army came out to negotiate, he was captured, tried and sentenced to death.

This outrageous action was widely decried and he was relieved. And in October 1954, the gallant Mau Mau leader, General Dedan Kimathi was coming out to negotiate for peace terms or perhaps for surrender when the colonial officers sent him rolling with a bullet. What was more, he was also "tried", and sentenced to death. There was an outcry even in Britain. The almighty masters turned a deaf ear and the great freedom fighter died on the gallows. If it is needless to mention the horrible maltreatments meted to civilians who were herded into jail by the thousand. Part of this inhumanity manifested itself in the Hola Camp Hell in which 11 detainees were maltreated to death. Lennox-Boyd rebuffed any idea of an inquiry.

The above account is the other side of the Mau Mau "terrorist" organisation. You

Continued on next page

can now see just which of the two parties is a terrorist. And you also see which of the versions looks more true, or reasonable.

In November 1958, a young man, Rawson Mbogwa Machuria, who had featured prominently for the Jomo prosecution, confessed in an affidavit, that he had been bought over by the prosecution and the settlers to give evidence against Kenyatta. The Magistrate, shedding crocodile tears, described him as "a thoroughly wicked and unscrupulous individual who had tried to turn Kenya upside down". The self confessed Judas got only 21 months imprisonment.

Mystery

Daggered by his conscience, the Governor released Kenyatta and his four associates on special licence on April 15, 1959, five years after their imprisonment. They were, however, still barbed, in spite of world outcry, till his "partial total" release in mid August this year.

And thus the truth now is whether Kenyatta was party to or manager of Mau Mau or not does not detract one jot from his greatness. Indeed, as I have said before, it swells it, if indeed he was the brain behind such a well-organised and courageous liberation movement. Surely, no one who really understands the situation will raise a finger or shudder at the Mau Mau.

The word and the movement remain a mystery. A District Commissioner, however, once threw some light into the meaning of that word. He was informed that Mau Mau really means Uma Uma, which in Kikuyu means out, out. He said it is really the letters of Uma Uma that were transposed, a common code procedure among the Kikuyu. Whatever it is, the Mau Mau was genuine libera-

tion movement of a people who found no other road to freedom.

As Kenyatta, who is now 71 comes back to face Mount Kenya, the whole world waits with anxiety to see whether he is fit enough to go uphill. It cannot be too much emphasised that the way up is most ardent nationalist. The Governor, to begin with still holds the sledge hammer.

In spite of a concerted attempt by the Kenya Africans to present a "common front" in the January 1960 Constitutional Conference, one-man-one-vote was voted out by the Colonial Office. Africans had to come back to make do with the qualitative franchise granted them.

Riot of parties

For the Africans the franchise is based on wealth and education, among other "qualities". The Europeans and Asians have universal suffrage. But this is not really the main problem. The problem is the internal wrangling that has divided Kenya (like many other colonial countries) into a riot of political parties.

The Africans had scarcely finished the Conference last year than they broke up into camps—the Kenya African National Union and the Kenya African Democratic Union. Actually, the reason for the split is simple: the usual battle between right and left.

Staunch Kenyattists

The KANU comprises zealous Kenyattists—all Leftwing. KADU is made up of the so-called moderates and reactionaries—led by Mr. Masinde Muliro, John Keen, Ronald Ngala and Daniel Moi.

The KADU had never been too enthusiastic about Kenyatta's release, although they had joined in the demand "along with others. They won

15 seats out of 53 in the Legislative Council in the February elections of this year. They are also not interested in the East African Federation or in political unity for that matter. Made up chiefly of minority tribes, including the Masai, they are sceptical of every expansive move. They broke faith with KANU over the non-co-operation step agreed upon as an ultimatum to Kenyatta's realise earlier this year.

The real trial of Jomo

The KANU, led by an increasingly unpopular president, James Gichuru, an ardent Kenyattist; Oginga Odunga; Dr. Kiano and Tom Mboya all staunch Kenyattists—is a typical leftwing party.

They want self-government, here and now, advocate a welfare state based on mixed economy, regarding private enterprise as "a nineteenth century doctrine." They won 19 seats in the February elections.

The other parties are European minority parties which have no future in a sovereign Kenya. They may, however, manage to obtain or retain certain rights when power is handed down.

Jomo Kenyatta therefore has no small task to build, or rather rebuild Kenya into the powerful, formidable nation it was before the emergency. It has been widely held that he alone can unify Kenya. This is quite true. But it is easier said than done.

Experience has taught that wherever there is strong force of "moderates" in a transforming colonial regime, the emergence of a strong, united and dynamic anti-imperialist nation becomes no easy task to accomplish. Nigeria is a case in point.

Now is the real Jomo trial.

One Party System of Government

Continued from page 21

expression, "unified party." French has many shades of meaning and the word "unified" has been adopted, because there is always the legal possibility of forming other parties. We use the word "unified" because other parties and political groups have voluntarily sacrificed themselves to unite.

And thus it is that in the Sudan, as in Guinea, there is a single party. I must say that both in Guinea and the Sudan things happened without violence, by free adherence. For example, on March 31, 1959, the Steering Committee of the Sudanese Section of the Parti du Regroupement Africain, the old socialist section of Filydabo Sissoko, decided, after three days of uninterrupted discussion, to end its days and integrate itself in the Sudanese Union which is the majority party; such a merger only came up against difficulties at the summit; but in the countryside the populations were happy to find unity, they gave the impression of having been liberated from a burden. Because these populations were passionate, and passion had led to blows, divorce, losses, the pillaging of property and murder. But these populations could not understand why they were so opposed and very many of them have asked us, during our tours of the countryside, why we had to wait so long before achieving unity.

Practical steps

I shall not stress the reasons why there were difficulties at the summit. There was some passion; some comrades were well aware of the need for

unity but were reluctant to take practical steps towards unity. There were questions of opportunism, some fairly difficult questions of electing officers, particularly when the party was in a position to hand out many responsible posts. At present, since our objectives are common, since we are all in agreement as to methods, we must make a single party. We must take a single party to be effective, to clean up the situation, to give no handle to the adversary, that is to say to colonialism, anonymous, but which has so far had its spokesmen of division in our countries. We must make a unified party to limit the possibilities of corruption and stamp out opportunism, for all that constitutes a danger menacing African formations and the action of governments and assemblies.

But how are we to safeguard in a single party the criteria of liberty and democracy? I have already said that with regard to democracy, we understood it in what I might call a naively original meaning. Democracy is the management of public interests in accordance with the will of the masses, the will of the greatest number. But while we want to clean up the situation, to deprive the colonialists or the adversaries of the weapon of division, while we want to prevent corruption and give the team leaders greater assurance, it must nevertheless be recognised that the system of a single party is not without its dangers.

Here again there is one aspect of the problem of African life which must be underlined. That is our sincerity with ourselves, and if the

party is a single party the paramount requirement is that it can be the true expression of the aspirations of the people. It is not enough for it to be the expression of veritable aspirations for a moment. It must continue to be so. That is only possible so far as there is real discipline in the party, so far as decisions are only taken inside the party after long discussion, after long free debate.

I would add that the unified party calls upon the leaders for greater honesty, greater disinterestedness, greater devotion and, moreover, that in Africa you cannot remain a leader for very long unless you are really effective.

I am going to cite a few examples of the exercise of internal democracy inside our parties. The press has placed the accent on the freedom of speech which distinguished French political leaders found in September, 1957, at the Third Inter-Territory Congress of the R.D.A. at Bamako. I have heard student comrades denounce us violently at this period because we had accepted the Outline Law; I have seen them strongly impressed by the discussions of the Fifth Congress of the Sudanese Union in August 1958, because the discussions were absolutely free. At the present moment we are recording other examples; when Modibo Keita takes a decision it is generally thought to be accepted immediately by the Sudanese Union or the P.F.A., that it is a matter of being supported by Senghor's advice. Those who think that in the P.F.A. or the Mali one can do as one pleases, are gravely mistaken. As to these two men, I can affirm that they are highly disciplined militants. Moreover the higher authority in the Sudanese Union is the Political Bureau; the higher authority in the P.F.A. is the Executive Bureau and the

Steering Committee. And without giving away any secrets, I can tell you that these leaders are bound to rally to the majority opinion; they are bound to carry out the decisions of the majority.

Profound Modifications

I think that in the case of a unified Party, the leaders must not only be able, but must encourage discussion and give the example of discipline. The Party must be strongly organised, because if universal suffrage also constitutes a criterion of democracy, we must go on periodically re-electing the assemblies by popular suffrage. Moreover, our democracy does not stop there. At the outset it was necessary in Guinea and the Sudan, as soon as the evolution of the political situation and of consciousness allowed it, to replace part of the executives installed by the colonial system and to make profound modifications in the basic structure of the Administration by suppressing the chieftainships of cantons in Guinea and the Sudan and converting the chiefs as has recently been done in Senegal. This conversion has been effected by giving them the full status of officials and assigning them to administrative posts which will in future be called arrondissements, and by redistributing district boundaries.

This structural reform is very important. In the Sudan we have given the villages an elected council; naturally we have specified the functions of the chief whom the government retains the right to nominate on the advice of the elected council so that the chief can do nothing without consulting it. In other words the chief and the elected council can only take decisions in common. Soon we hope to be able to establish Provincial Assemblies elected by universal suffrage which will be

responsible for managing local interests.

The motive power behind all this is the Party. For the Political Bureau, as well as the Congress, can co-opt a certain number of leaders to constitute the Steering Committee and make, not a national Conference, since the Sudan constitutes a territory, or province of the Mali, but a Territory Conference. Thus we have in each district a Political Bureau on the lines of the central Political Bureau and we have a political committee in each village. And in order to avoid the political committee and the elected council of the village coming into conflict, conflicts of interests, rivalries, personal conflicts between individuals, the most outstanding and competent leaders are elected to the village council to liaise, co-ordinate and harmonise, the party always remaining the motive force.

In a recent resolution of our last conference we asserted the dominance of the political machine over the administrative machine. Thus we have placed at the head of the districts, administrators, African officials who have proved themselves at the head of political sections or trade unions and have shown themselves to be efficient administrators.

Democratic Elections

Thus, from the point of view of internal democracy, with liberty of discussion, discipline, democratic elections not only in the directing bodies of the party, but also in the legislative and managing bodies like the provincial assemblies and the village councils, we believe that the criteria of democracy are respected.

At the present moment in Africa's history there is no need to multiply parties, there is no need to give oneself the luxury of sterile and fratricidal

opposition, there is no need to give ourselves a ministerial crisis every three months if we have decided to go for independence, to consolidate the independence of the African states and if we want to achieve African unity and speedily raise Africa from the economic and cultural point of view to the level of other countries and other peoples.

Obviously, the unified party has an effect on other democratic organisations. But if the party is the expression of the real aspirations of the people, if it is the spokesman, if it is the instrument for the achievement of the state, there is no reason why the trade union organisations, whose programme constitutes part of the programme of a political party, should not be in harmony with the political formation. For the same reason, it is not impossible for youth organisations and women's organisations and democratic movements like the Peace Movement to find means of collaboration with the directing forces of the country, the governing political party, the unified political party. And this is all the simpler for the African countries since at the present time the dominating idea, the pre-occupying aspiration, is accession to independence, the creation of unity and the rapid achievement of economic and cultural progress.

You must go to the spot, move round the country, attend meetings of the village committees, and of the Political Bureaux in the sub-divisions and circles, and meetings of the Central Political Bureau to realise that the system of the unified party as it presently exists in Guinea and the Sudan is a truly democratic system. I will not stress the reasons for the efficiency of the unified party. We decline to fight on the ideological territory of the West.

Philosophic problems

French journalists, businessmen and intellectuals in Paris or on visits to our countries have expressed their fears. Be careful, they tell us, do not follow the example of Guinea which

is in relation with the countries of the East; be careful, do not quit the West; you are going to be independent and have to choose your road; we think it is in your interest to put yourself in the camp of the West. My personal opinion is that it is not desirable for us to rally to this position. When we see France, England and the United States exchanging numerous tourists and numerous missions with the Soviet Union, when we see the Soviet Union and other States of the East signing trade agreements with all the countries of the West, we ask ourselves why they should be so frightened of our being in relation with these countries. But we realise that it is lack of confidence. We are warned that they are very clever. As if France could without disadvantage maintain relations with Poland or Yugoslavia, while there would be mortal danger for Guinea or the Mali tomorrow to maintain the same relations with the same countries. When these people are asked if they think we are not sufficiently mature to defend our own interests they

obviously protest that that is not what they meant!

I have said that Africa must not fight on the territory of ideology as it is understood by the West, for we have no religious or philosophic problems which divide us in the administration of the city; we have no religious or philosophical problems or problems of economic theory which divide us in the construction and direction of the state.

As for economic and cultural development, even the economists of the right now recognise that the under-developed countries cannot advance rapidly and construct effectively without planning. Even the old industrialised countries, the old well-equipped countries are now thinking of making up their leeway through planning. When a man like Nehru, who I think is very much like a good British bourgeois from the city, asserts that the under-developed countries, the countries which have recently acceded to

long period under the colonial independence after experiencing a system, cannot construct without the methods of socialist planning. I think that is a very important indication. And you will note that from the point of view of development, it is the countries where, regardless of the political system, of the ideology, a single party is in power, which are making the most substantial progress. On the other hand, in the countries where the new leaders have been content to take the place of the colonial system without making any changes in structure, without renovation, without introducing new methods, without introducing a new conception and a new orientation into the economy, into the educational programme, without taking account of the needs of the real situation of the country, without adapting the action of parliament and government to the real aspirations of the masses; those countries in spite of all the aid which is given to them, flounder so much that they have not embarked upon the new paths which we may call revolutionary paths.

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LA CONFERENCE DE BELGRADE

POURQUOI donc une autre force? Certains se posent cyniquement la question. "Ne serait-il pas imbécile de penser que les deux grandes puissances du monde admettent que leurs conceptions soient influencées par les États qui s'étaient réunis à Belgrade?" se demandent-ils.

Mais pour la plupart des peuples du monde, la Conférence de Belgrade réunissant les États non alignés, est une réplique morale à l'endroit de l'humanité aux faits qui ont eu lieu à Hiroshima au Nagasaki et leur possible recrudescence.

Une des thèses morales est que les armes nucléaires pourraient anihiler ou détruire non seulement d'innocentes populations civiles mais aussi ceux qui sont l'innocence même: ceux là qui ne sont pas encore nés.

Pour la majorité de ceux qui furent représentés à la Conférence de Belgrade, quiconque déclencherait une guerre nucléaire aurait décidé de l'entière extermination de la race humaine et de l'inhabitation de cette planète. Un fait demeure clair et irréfutable, a savoir: Celui qui déclencherà de nos jours une guerre

atomique, engendrera une catastrophe aux générations et mettra à coup sûr, un terme à l'histoire de l'humanité.

A Belgrade il fut démontré que tout Etat qui s'adonne aux préparatifs de guerre le fait sans l'accord et l'appui d'un grand nombre d'humains.

Au sujet du colonialisme, de l'impérialisme et du néo colonialisme, la Conférence de Belgrade a catégoriquement déclaré: Qu'une paix durable ne peut exister qu'à la condition d'éliminer totalement le colonialisme, l'impérialisme et le néo colonialisme dans toutes leurs formes et manifestations.

Il a été également démontré que les dunes de base sur lesquelles repose l'humanité se sont déjà terriblement et dangereusement effondrées car, à vrai dire, les nuages au ciel sont lourds de calamités.

Quelqu'attitude qui soit à prendre en ce moment doit être immédiate et sincère, de crainte que la flamme de la PAIX ne soit à jamais éteinte et l'humanité tout entière jetée par dessus bord dans l'obscurité et la terreur du passé au lieu de la paix et de la gloire des jours à venir.