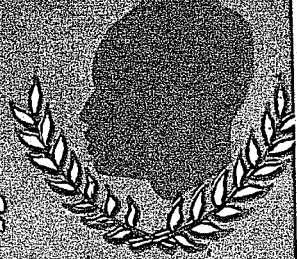
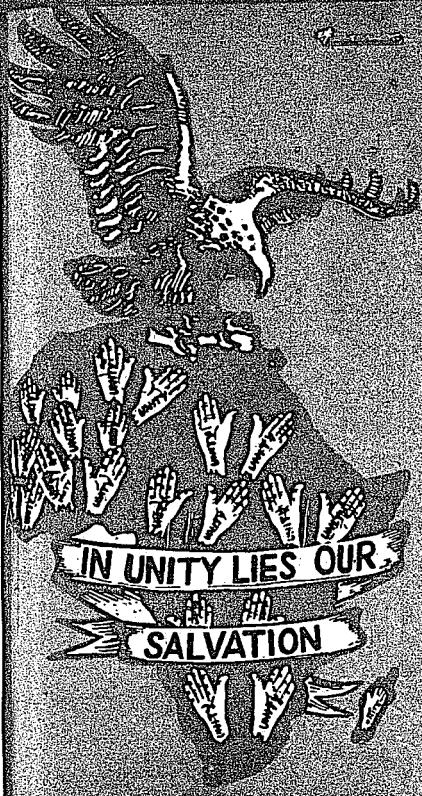


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Voice of AFRICA



THE passive sympathy of the African masses must be converted into active participation in the struggle for the total emancipation of Africa. Africa is too sacred a land to harbour hypocrites. Sooner or later, but sooner rather than later, our continent will be purged of all forms of colonialism; for the fire of intense nationalism is blazing all over Africa and burning to ashes the last remnants of colonialism. The civilised world stands aghast at the brutal massacre of unarmed Africans in South Africa. Yet this wanton outrage of the Government of South Africa is hardly more terrible than the explosion of French atomic bombs in the Sahara.

It is ironical to think that the rulers of South Africa call themselves Christians. If Christ were to appear in South Africa today he would be crucified by them if he dared opposed the brutal laws of racial segregation. Apartheid and nuclear weapons must shake the conscience of the Christian world. But what are the churches of the world doing about these very contradictions of Christianity?

—KWAME NKRUMAH

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EDITORIALS

We Welcome Tanganyika

DECEMBER 9, 1961 is yet another red letter day for Africa. On that day Tanganyika becomes the 28th Independent African State. Over 22 African States are still dependent. These are all under colonialist domination.

We welcome Tanganyika into the fold of the Independent African States. By her accession to independence she becomes an integral part of the bulwark of the struggle for the freedom and independence unity of Africa and the bastion of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The African liberation movement is irrevocably committed to 1963 as the target date for the final overthrow of colonialism and its vestiges and for the enthronement of freedom, independence and unity in Africa.

Tanganyika, part of the ancient state of Azania, is born into a ceaseless turmoil of political activity marked by the blow of a mighty gale of social change which is destined to sweep into the orbit of the wreckage and debris of history all those who like the pre-historic man of Africa, are unwilling or unable to adapt themselves to changing environment.

We hail the emergence of independent Tanganyika. It is a portent majestic. It is bound to strengthen the liberation forces of Africans in their titanic struggle against the forces of oppression.

Africa Wants Peace

IT is unfortunate that it appears the world is on the brink of a destructive war.

It is shocking that there is still what might

be called a "Samson in Gaza" complex; there are people who would rather see the whole world perish than put up with things they do not like.

Why all these preparations for war? Why all these exchanges of hard words among the great powers?

Surely these things are not in the best interest of mankind.

War preparations take the cream of everything; the most advanced industries, the best techniques, the best scientists and the key points of science are all put into the service of war. Even if no war actually breaks out, the burden of armaments remains a crippling one.

We in Africa know that the alternative to war is more life—it is one of unlimited possibilities, it is one of using human intelligence and capacity to remove the great plague of poverty.

We always ask: Why in the face of human achievements of science and technology should anyone on this earth be poor for another day?

One of the main reasons why we have poverty in Africa is that so much of the world's actual wealth, and even more of Africa's potential wealth, is being used for preparing destruction.

We must tell the world's leaders to re-adjust their personal and national interests to the interests of the world.

We have every right to speak out; AFRICA WANTS PEACE!

Exposure of West Germany's Role in Katanga

FOLLOWING an unsolicited letter from Mr. Eichborn, West German Charge d'Affaires to Ghana, giving "a clear picture of the point of view of my (F.R.G.) Government about a private German plane, owned by a Hamburg Company and operated by a German crew which was impounded in Leopoldville on April 10, because it had carried arms and ammunition", the Chairman of Bureau of African Affairs wrote to Mr. Eichborn on June 5, 1961 revealing that "the Portuguese are using 'ouzi' sub-machine guns which are exclusively of West German design and are manufactured in Israel."

He pointed out that though the Federal German Republic Bundestag passed an Act

which prohibits any sale of and trade in arms for military purposes by West German citizens, facts prove that West German planes have been engaging in illegal arms traffic in the Congo.

On June 7, 1961, Mr. Eichborn wrote back to the Chairman thanking him for the frankness with which he had stated his point of view. He promised to give him more information.

On July 10, 1961, Mr. Eichborn explained away the episode by stating that the planes which carried arms to Congo left Hamburg for Brussels and then loaded "general cargo" for Kolwezi in south Katanga without the crew having any knowledge of the cargo.

He stressed that "it is the constant policy of the Federal Government of Germany to prevent with all her abilities that arms might be delivered into areas of international tension."

We took Mr. Eichborn's word. We couldn't help doing that. But today we have every reason to believe that the Federal Republic of Germany has sold 61 twin engine Dornier aircrafts to traitor Tshombe of the Katanga province of the Congo. French and Belgian pilots are handling these planes.

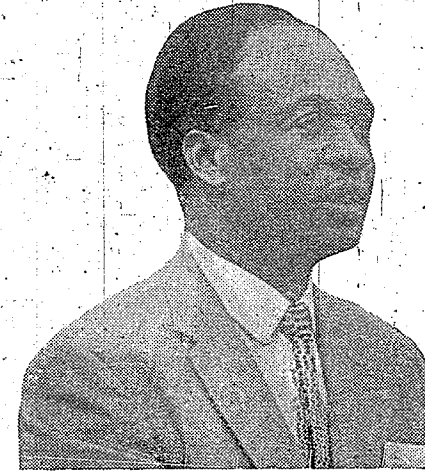
Twelve of these planes left Munich with heavy loads of napalm bombs and air-to-ground rockets. They stopped for a while in France, refuelled in Sardinia and Bone in Algiers, and flew over the Sahara, Nigeria and the Cameroons. They took off from N'gaoudere after 71 minutes to Port Moire in the Congo. They were refuelled in Luanda in Angola, and like the planes which carried arms to Katanga in March 1961, these planes finally landed at Kolwezi airbase near Elizabethville on October 21, 1961 at 9 p.m.

These infamous disclosures show clearly that West Germany has a hand in Tshombe's blind march toward catastrophe. We hold that West Germany is involved in acts of calculated sabotage in the history of Africa.

We have every right to arrive at this conclusion. We sincerely feel that the West German authorities must be attacked root-and-branch for this treacherous act.

A warning note: We are prepared to stop anybody defiling African soil. We are prepared to resist any force. We will not rest until all enemies of Africa are thrown out.

See page 36 for another editorial.



Osagyefo Sends Message to All-African Youth Conference

Friends and Comrades,

I am happy to welcome to Ghana delegates attending the Preparatory Committee meeting of the All-African Youth Conference. I am particularly happy to learn that this effort is in fulfilment of the wishes of African Leaders who attended the All-African Peoples' Conference in Conakry and in Cairo.

Today, more than ever before, Africa needs a dynamic youth movement having its own identity and free of the apprehension and servility which are the price some other youths of Africa still have to pay for remaining in colonial and neo-colonial bondage.

If the youth of Africa are to shoulder their future responsibilities with honour, then they must themselves prepare the ground for a re-direction of the thinking of the youth from the ignoble necessity of compromise and adjustment to all that enslave them. They must find their own way of eradicating that mal-adjustment which finds expression in cynical attitudes or in sullen silence towards the ideals of those who seek to create a new personality for the African.

They must learn to shoulder the responsibilities of a people not only struggling to be free, but also making every effort to create and sustain their own institutions and to accelerate economic and social progress.

I have great faith in the youth of Africa and I am confident that the delegates who are here today will arrive at decisions which will further the cause of African unity and bring about an increasing realisation that the peoples of Africa have a common destiny and a vested interest in peace.

I wish you success in your deliberations.

French Version

C'EST une grande joie pour moi de souhaiter la bienvenue aux délégués qui sont venus à Accra pour assister à la réunion du Comité Préparatoire de la Conférence Pan-Africaine de la jeunesse. Je suis surtout heureux d'apprendre que cet effort répond aux désirs émis par les leaders Africains qui ont participé à la Conférence des Peuples Africains tenue à Conakry et au Caire.

Aujourd'hui plus que jamais, l'Afrique a besoin d'un mouvement dynamique ayant sa propre identité débarrassé de la crainte et affranchi de la servilité, le prix que payent encore certains mouvements de jeunesse d'Afrique toujours sous la ferule du colonialisme et du neo-colonialisme.

Afin de pouvoir assumer honorablement ses responsabilités futures, la jeunesse d'Afrique doit préparer le terrain pour une nouvelle orientation de la pensée qui la tient à l'écart de l'ignoble nécessité de compromis et d'adaptation à tout ce qui l'asservit.

Elle doit chercher son propre moyen de faire disparaître complètement le déréglage qui s'exprime soit par des attitudes cyniques soit par un silence obstiné en face des idéaux de ceux qui cherchent à créer une nouvelle personnalité pour l'Africain.

La jeunesse doit apprendre à épauler les responsabilités d'un peuple qui lutte non seulement pour se libérer mais pour créer et soutenir ses propres institutions afin d'accélérer le progrès économique et social.

J'ai grande confiance en la jeunesse d'Afrique et je suis certain que les délégués ici assemblés prendront des décisions pouvant avancer la cause de l'unité Africaine tout en faisant comprendre que les peuples d'Afrique ont une destinée commune et un intérêt particulier dans la paix.

Je vous souhaite un bon succès dans vos délibérations.

Tanganyika— Emerging Sovereign State

TANGANYIKA was a United Nations Trust Territory. With the Belgian territory of Ruanda Urundi it constituted the former German East Africa from 1884 until 1919. It was administered under the League of Nations Mandate by Britain until 1946 when it was placed under the United Nations Trusteeship with Britain as the Administering Power.

Constitutional Developments in Tanganyika

The constitution of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika differs from that of a Protectorate only in so far that in international law its administration has been subject to the degree of international supervision formerly exercised by the League of Nations through the agency of the Permanent Mandates Commission and more recently exercised by the General Assembly of the United Nations through the agency of the Trusteeship Council.

The Trusteeship Agreement which was based on Articles 73 and 91 of the Charter of the United Nations differed chiefly from the mandatory instrument in so far that it placed on the administering authority a definite obligation to promote "the development of free political institutions in Tanganyika, and to that end to develop the participation of its inhabitants in advisory and legislative bodies and in the government of the territory, both central

and local, as may be appropriate to the circumstances of the territory." In the early history of the mandatory administration, attention was directed to purely constitutional developments rather than to the procedure of native administration. At a later period when political issues began to occupy a more important place in the territory they never provided the same occasion for inter-racial discord as in Kenya. That was no doubt partly due to the differences between the character of the European and Asian communi-



JULIUS NYERERE Prime Minister of Tanganyika
He leads his country to full independent state next month

ties in Kenya and Tanganyika. In Tanganyika the Europeans formed a far less homogenous group. They represented a number of different nationalists and they had not the advantage of occupying a compact block of the country such as the highlands in which most of the Europeans of Kenya were concentrated. The Asian community of Tanganyika was smaller in number than that of Kenya and it was also most scattered and was less efficiently organised.

Evolution of Tanganyika Legislative Council

The Tanganyika Order in Council and Royal Instructions of 1920 established an Executive Council which was wholly unofficial in composition. In 1926 the Legislative Council was established. This consisted of 13 officials and ten nominated unofficial members. It was the practice that two of the latter should represent the Indian community and that one of the European members should be selected to represent African interest.

The effect of the usual provision that members of the Legislative Council must take the oath of allegiance to the King was to disqualify from membership the considerable German population of the territory. The question was raised whether this was consistent with the principle of non-discrimination imposed on a mandated territory. In 1945 an amendment to the constitution provided for an enlarged membership consisting of 15 officials and 14 nominated unofficials. Of the unofficial seats seven were allotted to Europeans including a European representative of African interest, three to Asians and four to Africans. Only two of the African members were appointed at once, the other two taking their seats in 1947 and 1948.

This was then the position in 1945. In 1949 it was decided to appoint a Committee of the legislature partly to

consider a re-organisation of the constitutional structure and partly to give a more effective and at the same time more popular form to the instructions of the local government. The Committee which reported in 1949 recommended the retention of an official majority in the legislature but there was a divergence of opinion as regards the maintenance of the previous ratio of official representation. The government accepted the view that the only solid foundation for the political development of the territory lay in the equal distribution of the unofficial seats between the three communities.

There were also recommendations regarding the establishment of local government institutions on a basis which would permit all three communities to take part in the working. In 1952 a special Commissioner was appointed to consider among other things the most appropriate system for election to the Legislative Council. His conclusions were that the ultimate goal would be a system of common roll elections with safeguardings for minority representation, but that such a system was not practicable in the greater part of Tanganyika in the near future.

He thought, however, that such elections with educational qualifications and safeguards for minorities might be tried as an experiment in two three-member constituencies. Meanwhile European and Asian representation should be chosen by communal election or where this was not feasible by nomination. Africans would if possible be represented through some form of indirect election. Though these proposals were accepted in principle by the British government there continued to be a long process of discussion regarding the procedure for putting them into effect and the new constitution did not come into being until April 1955.

The number of members to the Legislative Council was then raised to 61 of whom 31 were official members, namely 19 officials and 12 nominated unofficials, the latter being divided equally between Europeans, Africans and Asians. The 30 representative members on the official side are also divided equally between the three communities.

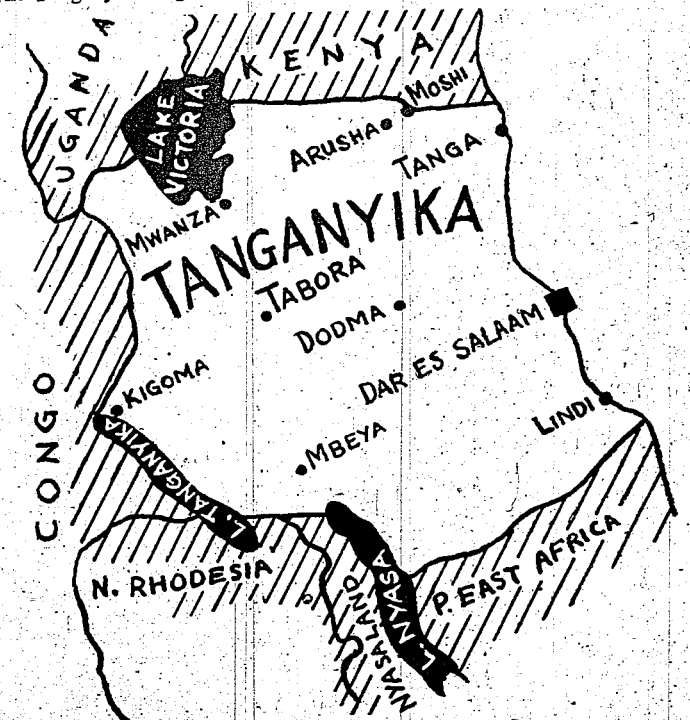
The Executive Council which in 1938 comprised eight officials was extended in 1939 to include four unofficials (three Europeans and one Asian). Further changes were made in 1953 and 1955 and the council in the latter year comprised eight official members, all Europeans and six unofficial members divided between Europeans, Asians, and Africans. In 1948 the working of the Executive Council was re-organised by allocating the responsibilities for different departments among the eight official members.

The report of the Mission of the United Nations which visited the territory in 1951 was accepted as containing useful suggestions for the guidance of the administration. The report of the Mission which visited the territory in 1954, however, had a different reception. The Chairman of the Mission dissented from the recommendations of his colleagues that a date should be fixed for the granting of self-government for Tanganyika and that this should in no case be within the next 20 years. The Tanganyika Legislative Council

passed a resolution unanimously and condemned the report.

In the event the United Nations Trusteeship did not endorse its Mission's recommendations that the territory should attain self-government in 20 years. The existing constitution provides no basis for forecasting the shape which will be assumed by the constitution of the territory under any system of self-rule which left the representation of the different communities to the natural play of political forces.

The first General Elections for the 30 elected seats in the Tanganyika Legislative Council were held in the territory's ten constituencies in two stages during September 1958 and February 1959—15 members being elected from five constituencies at each stage. All voters were required to cast their votes—for an African, an Asian, and a European at the same time. The seats contested in both stages of the elections were won by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) or Independent Asian and European candidates adopted by TANU



The Bill providing for these elections in implementation of the 1956 constitution had been passed by the Legislative Council in May 1957. Its Provisions included the Qualitative Franchise of the electors "on a common roll" of three members from each of the three main races. Thus the number was increased from nine to ten by the Order in Council of November 9, 1957 thereby providing for a total of 30 elected seats—ten Africans, ten Asians, and ten Europeans.

In the first stage of the elections in which 80 per cent poll was recorded there were 39 candidates. The United Tanganyika Party (UTP) which is a non-racial party formed in 1956 by a group of unofficial members of the then Legislative Council failed to secure any seat and did not contest the second phase for which 18 candidates presented themselves. As a result only three of the remaining 15 seats were contested while 12 candidates were returned unopposed.

The present constitution of the Executive Council of the Legislative Council is a following.

Executive Council

A ministerial system was inaugurated in the territory on July 1, 1957, as a result of which the official members of the Executive Council were designated Ministers—an indication that in future they would concentrate on formulation of policy. In order to relieve them of executive and administrative responsibilities in departmental matters the appointment of six Assistant Ministers (four Africans, one Asian, and one European) who would speak for the departments assigned to them in the Legislative Council, was announced in May 1957. The Executive Council now comprises nine Ministers (officials) and seven unofficals.

Legislative Council

The Order in Council of November 1957 increased the membership of the Legislative Council excluding the Speaker from 61 (31 ex-official and nominated members of 30 representative members) to 67—an addition of six nominated members, three on the government and three on the representative side. By the same

year the duration of the Council was extended from three to five years. The Legislative Council now consists of a Speaker, 34 members on the government side and 33 representative members distributed as follows: *Government Side:* Sixteen ex-official members (i.e. nine members who are officials and six Assistant Ministers who are unoffical) and 19 nominated members. The *Representative Side:* is made of 30 directly elected members and three members nominated by the Governor—one African—one Asian and one European. *Further Constitutional Changes:* Opening the first session of the new Legislative Council in March 1959 the Governor announced that the number of Ministers would be increased from nine to 12 as from July 18, that five of them would be unofficial i.e. elected Ministers—three Africans, one Asian, one European. These 12 would comprise the Council of Ministers who would take over the functions of the Executive Council. The Governor then announced the formation of post-Election Committee with the following terms of reference:

- (a) To recommend changes in the representation by elected members in the Legislative Council "bearing in mind that parity of representation between races is not a permanent feature of the constitution and that there must be adequate representation of the main minority communities, Europeans and Asian," to examine the number and boundaries of constituencies; and to reconsider possible changes in the tripartite voting system.
 - (b) To recommend how many nominated members should seat in the Legislative Council and what interest they should represent.
 - (c) To reconsider whether changes were desirable in the present qualifications for candidates and voters.
 - (d) To consider the advisability of appointing a Territorial Council to advise and report on new legislation—without having any delaying powers.
- This was agreed upon by the opposition on March 19.

TANU's Demands

So far the Tanganyika African National Union is calling for legislature of 82 members of whom 79 would be elected. TANU is asking that 13 seats should be reserved for Asians and Arabs and eight seats for Europeans leaving 58 seats open to people of any race. Only three officials, responsible for the portfolios of Defence, External Affairs, and Legal Affairs should be retained in the Legislative Council. TANU is also hoping that by the end of 1959 their request for a simple majority of elected Ministers in the Executive Council would be granted and that there should be a General Election next year to create the enlarged legislature they are demanding.

Things had changed rapidly since the TANU had made a simple demand towards the end of 1959 about the reservation of 13 seats for Asians, Arabs, and Europeans living in Tanganyika.

The Tanganyika African National Union under the able leadership of Julius Nyerere, was fast becoming a force which could not be ignored in the political struggle of the country, and the complete absence of any so-called "Opposition" in British colonial circles was conspicuous by its absence in Tanganyika right from the time of nominations for the July 1960 Legislative Council elections.

The 25th July, 1960 was nomination day for Tanganyika and something which had never been seen elsewhere occurred in this country when TANU, gained an overwhelming majority at the nomination stage of the elections with 58 of their candidates passing unopposed in a total of 71 constituencies.

Meanwhile at the beginning of August 1960, certain individuals who specialise in seeing danger where none exists, had started making some unfounded allegations against the Leader of TANU who they said was engaged in some secret arrangement with puppet Tshombe of Katanga for the purpose of safeguarding the financial interests of Katanga's imperialist agents. Mr. Nyerere did not waste time in dismissing the allegation as nonsense that it was in fact.

Towards the beginning of September 1960, the Leader of TANU was sworn in by Governor Richard Turnbull as Chief Minister of Tanganyika after Mr. Nyerere's Party had won elections with a huge majority, by gaining 70 seats out of 71.

This was such a resounding victory that the way was clear for TANU to make a definite demand for complete internal self-government.

Tanganyika was altogether not free from the plagues of a transitional period between Representative and Responsible Governments with regards to the Civil Service which had up to that time not been completely Africanised. There was still that need of giving certain British Colonial officials the assurance that their services would still be needed even during the period of Responsible Government, for the country.

Formation of Government

Several interpretations had been given to the way in which Julius Nyerere had formed his government in preparation for complete sovereign status of his country.

The government he had formed round about the middle of October 1960, was hailed by certain individuals who, for reasons better known to themselves attach much significance to the principle of multi-racialism.

Although perhaps, Mr. Nyerere's aim of constituting the Government of Tanganyika along those lines might have not been fully understood by some politicians of contemporary African political struggle, is clear that certain unscrupulous politicians exaggerated this aspect to suit their own multi-racial interests.

Prominent among them was chief Albert J. Luthuli of South African National Congress who wasted no time in cabling Mr. Nyerere and congratulating him for being the first political leader in Africa to have successfully formed a multi-racial government, and further expressing the hope that Nyerere's example would in one way or another lead to the modification of the hostile attitude which the Dutch settler government of South Africa adopts towards Africans.

In the meantime the Tanganyika Legislative Council had already

asked Britain to grant independence to Tanganyika as soon as possible.

This demand resulted in Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod flying to Tanganyika for the Responsible and Sovereign status constitutional talks. This unusual occurrence resulted in a complete reversal of the usual practice of inviting African political leaders to White Hall for constitutional discussions and where the British can be in a position to play hide and seek with their own conscience and be able to dodge the rigid demands of African self-determination.

Papers like the *Ashanti Pioneer* started showering praises in advance on what it called peaceful advance of Tanganyika towards home rule under a system of multi-racial partnership.

The 30th March, 1961 saw the announcement amid great rejoicing by the people who shouted "Uhuru" in the streets of Dar-Es-Salaam. This was as a result of the announcement by the Colonial Secretary that Tanganyika would get Responsible Government on May 1, and that the country would gain complete independence by December 28 (now brought forward 9th Dec.) 1961.

Great Britain would introduce a resolution at the United Nations proposing the end of the Trusteeship Agreement of 1951 under which it had administered Tanganyika, on behalf of the United Nations.

The Legislative Council would become the National Assembly of Tanganyika, and the post of Chief Minister would be changed to that of Prime Minister who would preside over a Cabinet, responsible to the country's Legislature.

Britain would, however, still retain control of defence and foreign relations, until independence.

All these announcements were greeted with thunderous shouts of "Uhuru" from happy Tanganyikans who had gathered outside the Conference Hall, and beaming Julius Nyerere was cheered by excited and over enthusiastic supporters. Nyerere himself could not observe happily that was a happy victory for a good cause.

Despite all the rejoicings the Prime Minister never lost sight of the fact that in order for his country and people to have schools, new

hospitals, new roads, and sufficient water supplies, they would have to work harder than even before independence.

Nor was he out of line with trend of affairs as affecting Africa, for on April, 18, 1961, Mr. Nyerere announced that Tanganyika would pursue an independent foreign policy which he declared did not necessarily imply neutrality.

National Economy

Agriculture and allied pursuits still form the mainstay of Tanganyika's economy. This country of 362,000 square miles with the total population of 9,000,000 had in imports shooting up to £37,800,000 for the year 1960, which was the highest figure ever reported; the exports for the same period totalled £56,600,000 which figure too, was, a record for the territory.

Education and Health

As the day fixed for the total liberation of Tanganyika from colonial oppression approaches (9/12/61), intensive preparations for this important occasion have not been neglected.

Britain on behalf of the Commonwealth countries has already tabled a resolution in the United Nations Trusteeship Committee recommending the admission of Tanganyika to the UN membership, while October, 13, 1961, saw the approval of Tanganyika's UN Membership.

About 65 countries have already been invited to attend the Independence celebrations. But the Chairman of Independence Celebrations Committee, Home Affairs Minister G. Kahama, has wasted no time in announcing that the two racialist governments of South Africa and the Rhodesian Federation will not be invited. Only journalists from these countries will be allowed to attend the celebrations.

Whatever the enemies of African freedom might be plotting to do (as they usually do) after this African country shall have emerged as sovereign state, it must be made abundantly clear from the outset they could have not expected Tanganyika to lag behind indefinitely when this mighty continent surges forward towards the destruction of the evils of imperial and colonial slavery.

Basutoland (Part II)

Government

by Molapo Qhobela

BASUTOLAND is an African territory where, for several historical reasons, Europeans are not allowed even to possess a square inch of land. The territory is administered by the British Commonwealth Relations Office through a High Commissioner in conjunction with some hereditary chieftainship headed by a Paramount Chief who is a direct descendant of King Moshoeshoe. As a result of recent constitutional reforms (1958-60) the Protectorate of Basutoland now has an Executive Council and an almost all African Legislative Council of 80.

The Executive Council

The Executive Government of Basutoland is vested in the United Kingdom High Commissioner for South Africa acting on the advice of the Resident Commissioner and an Executive Council of eight members.

As a result of constitutional reforms which came into operation in March 1960 largely because of the political pressure applied on the British by the Basutoland Congress Party, the territory now has an Executive Council which is the main policy making body. It consists of four official members of the Council, the Resident Commissioner who acts as Chairman, the Government secretary, Financial and Legal Secretaries. The other three unofficial members are chosen by the Legislative Council from among the elected or nominated element, and the fourth member is appointed by the Paramount Chief.

This makes a total of eight—four official and four unofficial members, with the British Resident Commissioner (who presides), armed with the powers of both deliberative and casting votes in case of a tie between the official element and the non-official one. This arrangement is very unsatisfactory as shall be outlined immediately hereafter.

For administrative purposes, the country is divided into nine Administrative Districts headed by both British and African District Commissioners. The District Councils also act as administrative organs of Local Government with fairly wide powers. The membership of each District Council being determined by population density.

Departmental Directors under the Central Government include Education, Medical Services, Audit and Treasury, Public Works, Livestock and Agricultural Services, Commissioner of Police, Prisons Director, Controller of Posts and Telegraphs, Comptroller of Stores, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and Local Government and Community Development Commissioner. The principal town is Maseru which is Government headquarters. The town is situated on the Caledon river about 86 miles east of Bloemfontein in the so-called Orange Free State.

Judiciary

The Appeal Court

There is a Court of Appeal for the High Commission Territories which was established on April 19, 1955, following the Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland Court of Appeal Order-in-Council of 1954. This Court is composed of the Chief Justice (stationed in Maseru), who is President of the Appeal Court, and of other Judges of Appeal.

The High Court

There is a High Court which is a superior Court of record in Basutoland, and which, in addition to any other jurisdiction conferred by local law has and exercises all the jurisdiction, power and authorities similar to the ones vested in the Supreme Court of racialist South Africa.

Although the right of appeal to Judicial Committee of the Privy

Council is still retained, litigants can appeal from High Court decisions to a Local Court of Appeal.

The decision in every criminal or civil case, is vested exclusively in the presiding judge. He may sit with four assessors (two administrative officers and two Africans) who act in an advisory capacity.

Then there are also the Master of the High Court, the Judicial Commissioner, a Registrar and three Resident Magistrates.

Population

Basutoland has a total population of 685,674 (200,000 more than that of Gabon). The Western lowlands are very densely populated, while the highlands have vast stretches of uninhabited land.

Education

"Basutoland is approaching the goal of universal literacy faster than any African country"—Annual Report (1959) British Commonwealth Relations Office on Basutoland. "Schools are now distributed throughout the territory including the mountain area"—Official year Book Southern African Territories, —and "Basutoland has a higher proportion of the African population attending schools than any other country in Africa"—Encyclopaedia Britannica. Glowing terms ended, if only sufficient university education institutions would be provided for a people so thirsty to pursue the benefits of arts and the sciences for the rapid international developments of our times. This aspect of it will be dealt with later.

The total number of schools in Basutoland comes to 1,025 a fairly high figure for a country only 11,000 sq. miles, with a small population of only 600,000.

This 1,025 total is divided as follows: 935 are fully aided elementary Schools, 73 are Primary Intermediate schools, ten Secondary schools, four Teacher Training, two Technical Schools, and one Private University College.

In view of the above authoritative quotations substantiated by above-mentioned figures, one will be inclined to ask the question: why Basutoland has only one privately

owned University College? The answer is quite apparent: in the name of British Protection, numerous offices have been created by the Basutoland Government, and armies of white colonial masters have had to swarm the whole country so as to eat up our substance on financial lines. This might sound incredible, but anybody with a desire to follow it up would ultimately be bound to accept my view point. This happens to be one of the main reasons why the Basutoland Congress Party wants an immediate change of the country's Government. This we shall get and sooner than some people expect.

The amount of money wasted on the Senior British Colonial Officers in Basutoland for the past five years only could have by now launched a fully fledged State owned university college.

These are some of the evils which used to plague any colonial country, and can therefore not be regarded as exceptional. Basutoland desperately needs assistance so that Basuto children can acquire university education. Much work still has to be done along constitutional lines to give effective democratic power to all organs of Government.

Political Parties

There is no need to stress the fact from the very outset that this is perhaps one of the most delicate issues which call for a thorough application of caution and common-sense. It will be necessary perhaps to view the matter quite objectively so that certain important issues are not clouded in some form of mystery the nature of which might be too difficult for people who do not have sufficient knowledge of the political set-up in Basutoland to comprehend.

An observation has to be made from the beginning that certain points outlined under this heading, might arouse the indignation of those who have an exaggerated notion of their importance or even those who are aware of the fact they have not achieved much in the practical application of the realities of African political struggle both in Basutoland and the Union of South Africa alike.

The Basutoland Congress Party

Without the slightest fear of ever contracting ourselves on so delicate and perhaps so debatable an issue, I will be so bold as to risk incurring the displeasure of certain little men both in Basutoland and the Union by stating unequivocally here that at the moment the Basutoland Congress Party is easily the best organised and the strongest political party in Southern Africa. This is a self evident truth which is bound to anger those individuals who specialise in suppressing their conscience. The statement has been made not with the aim of casting any aspersions on anybody's political integrity.

Historical Background

The Basutoland Congress Party (then called the Basutoland African Congress B.A.C.) was founded in 1952 by a group of Basuto youth under the leadership of Ntsu Mokhehle. It must be noted that this statement renders Mandela's argument about the formation of the B.C.P. completely insipid and impotent.

Almost all of these young Basutos had been members of the new moribund or indeed defunct African National Congress, and they included a certain woman who has (because of her political immaturity) sunk into the worst form of political degeneration as a result of her unpardonably stupid and opportunistic attitude towards any form of party-political authority.

Because of its nationalistic policy and programme, the B.A.C. inevitably and almost immediately (and for obvious reasons) had to incur the displeasure of the Union African National Congress which was then busy trying to save its political prestige just after its leadership had handled the Defiance Campaign in the most worthless pattern in the history of South African political struggle against white supremacy.

Another reason of the African National Congress intolerance to the then B.A.C. was due to the fact that its leadership again was guilty conscience because of its drastic deviation from the fundamental principles of African self-determination of the noble 1949 Programme of Action.

They managed to deceive themselves into believing that they had now found a scape-goat in the form of the then not so strong B.A.C. and they thought that their negative attitude towards the B.A.C. would divert the attention of the masses from the defiance campaign's failure. Some officials of this organisation in the Transvaal for instance behaved so much like little men they shall forever be, that they went to the extent of dubbing the B.A.C. a 'tribal' organisation which would have to accept the paternalistic guidance of the A.N.C.

The Basutoland March 1960 elections have since proved them wrong already, because these were the first truly democratic elections south of the Zambesi where there was a one man one vote system regardless of race, colour, religion or creed. The Basutoland Congress Party startled Southern Africa by emerging the most powerful African nationalistic political party in Basutoland. In this elections, the B.C.P. captured 80 per cent of the 164 seats of all the nine District Councils in Basutoland, and again grabbed 90 per cent of the majority of the elected element of the Central Legislators.

Another reason why the A.N.C. was adopting a hostile outlook towards the B.A.C. was because of instruction this has received from a frustrated clique of white 'communist' racial supremacists could not face the notorious and harsh "suppression of Communism Act" passed by their fellow men in the racialist Cape Town Parliament. They had instructed their African ideological stooges to infiltrate into the A.N.C. with the aim of subverting it from within so as to prostitute the nationalistic aspirations of the African people in the South as embodied in it '49 programme.

These two God-forsaken actions were destined to lead to the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa in 1958 by that noble son of the soil M. Sobukwe. Although minor and worthless individual differences of opinion occasionally arose between certain members of the P.A.C. and the B.C.P., nothing has always pleased the B.C.P. than the formation of the essentially nationalistic P.A.C. This

can be attributed to the fact that the two organisations subscribe unreservedly and without any apology to the principles of Pan-Africanism, which are destined to triumph over the intrigues of certain political agents who thrive on principles which originate from without the shores of this continent.

Policy of Basutoland Congress Party

The B.C.P. manifesto outlines the fundamental principles of Party's Policy at length and with painful clarity to the enemies of African freedom. It will suffice here therefore to point out, briefly only the major points with regard to the Party's Policy.

Home Policy

Briefly put, the Basutoland Congress Party stands for complete and unfettered right of the people of Basutoland to govern themselves without any foreign and colonial reservation in relation to all internal affairs. This is what we mean by a Responsible Government, the form of which I will outline immediately to show clearly the form of Government the people of Basutoland want. Although it will be a stepping stone towards complete sovereign status, it will be satisfactory at the moment for several reasons which need not be mentioned here.

Before giving a brief outline of the type of Government envisaged, the reader shall have by now realised under the heading "Government" above that it is clear that the type of government Basutoland has presently is altogether unsatisfactory. I have pointed it out that the present Constitution of Basutoland does not fully meet national demands with regard to all the three divisions of power in a state—the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary.

The Executive

The British gave us a clumsy and a badly constituted Executive Council with so-called official and unofficial members, which actually means the domination of the four African members of the Council by four white agents of imperial Britain. The B.C.P. resents this wicked and disgraceful arrangement where the

Departmental Heads of State cannot determine the policy of their respective Departments.

On the contrary, and without reservations, the B.C.P. wants the country to have a cabinet legislature before 1963. By that we mean that the Cabinet and the Legislature must be democratically reconciled to each other. This will result in a state of affairs whereby the Cabinet will act as a Committee of the Legislature which can govern only if it enjoys the latter's confidence. The B.C.P. wants a fully powered Cabinet Government with Ministers as heads of their Departments and with a legal right of determining the policy of their Departments with a common allegiance to a Head of State through a Chief Minister.

The Legislature

The British gave us a clumsy and a badly constituted Legislature consisting of a frightful figure of 80 members for so small a country as Basutoland. They did this for two reasons:—(1) This results in a lot of money being unnecessarily wasted as allowances to members of the Legislature, so that they can glory in deficit budgeting which would give them the excuse of ignoring essential services such as national construction under the pretext that there is not enough money to launch such projects.

This high figure is divided equally into an elected and non-elected elements. Because they knew that if the Legislature consisted of elected members only, then the B.C.P. would inevitably have to form the country's government, the unhealthy minded British decided (for various and wicked reasons) to bring into being a whole group of 36 worthless individuals who are completely devoid of any commonsense and patriotic feeling.

In combination with the four imperial agents in the Legislature, they are able to stagnate progress to an alarming degree by systematically neutralizing the votes of the elected representatives of the people so as to bring about retrogression instead of progress. This would again make it possible for them to capitalise on political ignorance of the people

that the Party which won a majority of elected seats (B.C.P.) is failing to fulfil its obligations to the people as stated in its election manifesto. They do not realise that by saying this, they are creating a potential source of danger for themselves and not for the B.C.P.

Now with regard to the Legislature this is what we of the Basutoland Congress Party want: An immediate and unconditional removal of the obstructive non-elected elements which will result in the Basutoland Legislature consisting entirely of a democratically elected representation of the people vested with the necessary power of driving out an inefficient and corrupt Executive. Presently, the Executive is responsible to the High Commissioner and not to the Legislature. I do not even have to waste time trying to show how wicked this arrangement is. Furthermore the B.C.P. wants a section of the Local Government Proclamation of 1959 whereby the District Councils act as Electoral College to be expunged from the Order-in-Council forthwith, and there must be an immediate introduction of a system of *direct election* to the Legislature.

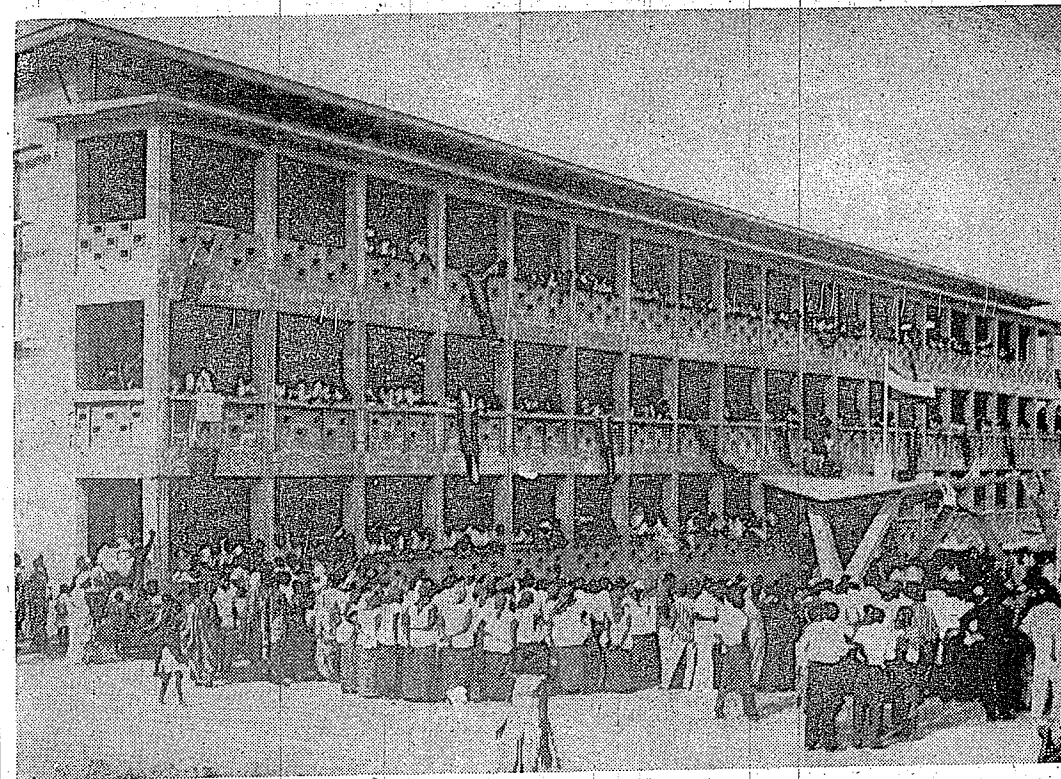
After we shall have achieved the above-stated objectives, we shall have partly succeeded in clearing the way towards the establishment of a Pan-African base in Southern Africa which will make it possible for Pan-African political parties and labour organisations to get nearer our friends and when we attain complete sovereign states, we shall have made it possible for the Independent African States also to get nearer to their 'friend.'

Other Political Parties

It is a great service I am rendering to these "political parties" by according them some attention in this article. It must be noted that no one could have done better. They are called "The National and the Marema—Tlou Parties" It can, similarly, be noted in passing, that these are the "Parties" which really enjoy British support in Basutoland, for apart from being tribal cliques, they suit their notorious device and rule policy.

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Ideological Institute



This is the front view of the £G49,000 Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba. The three-storey building has two sections: one is devoted to ideological studies and the other to training in positive action.

The ideological section deals with the training of functionaries of the Convention People's Party. Wide range of subjects like socialism and international affairs are taught.

The section which deals with training in positive action is open mainly to Freedom Fighters from dependent countries. Effort is made for the Freedom Fighters to gain insight into the organisational problems involved in building national liberation movements and to learn the need for specialised approaches to problems in dependent countries. After training, the students are expected to acquire many techniques in fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The lecturers (Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is one of them) are recruited from organisations intimately involved in African studies.

There are over hundred students from many parts of Africa attending this Institute.

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The Writing on the Wall Seen Through Settler Spectacle

MR. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, Dictator-Prime Minister of settler South Africa has once more won the "general" elections in South Africa.

His party the settler Nationalist Party won 105 seats against the 102 it previously held.

Every settler of 18 years and over had the right to vote out of a total settler population of 3,067,638. None of the 12,296,076 indigenous Africans or 477,414 Asian settlers voted in this "general" election.

A feature of the elections was the fact that it showed how some progressive settlers are beginning to see the writing on the wall written in letters of blood.

Invitation to Suicide

These progressive settlers state that Dr. Verwoerd's message to

them is "Follow me. I am strong and I will lead the white man."

The progressives go on to say: "Where will he lead us? To destruction?" The only strength Verwoerd has, stems from his blind refusal to look the facts in the face.

These are the facts:

The whites of South Africa are a small minority at the tip of an increasingly hostile continent. If it comes to an armed showdown between the Whites and the Blacks, in the long run THE WHITES MUST LOSE.

This is the lesson of Algeria, where a mighty French army of 500,000 men have been unable to defeat the Algerian rebellion. Half a million French and Algerians have died. The Algerian economy has been ruined; the French economy seriously affected. And finally France is being forced to concede to the Algerians.

This is the lesson of Angola, where a 30,000 strong Portuguese army has been unable to defeat the nationalist uprising. In only six months nearly 100,000 men and women, including 10,000 Whites have lost their lives. The economy of Angola is being completely ruined. The Portuguese regime under dictator Salazar is on the point of collapse—because it refused to budge an inch, and chose to fight.

What is the price of preparing for a showdown? Externally our country is isolated from the rest of the world. The United Nations votes by 94 to 0 against our racial policies. Our goods are boycotted, our White only sports teams threatened with isolation. Capital is withdrawn from the country. No one speaks in our favour—the chorus of angry voices against us grows bigger and louder. Boycotts, sanctions, intervention—is that what we want?

Internally, race tensions rise to a new high. Democratic rights have to be sacrificed to sustain *baaskap*—the press is threatened, meetings are banned, the army and police take over the functions of government. Industry slows down, building in Cape Town is cut by half, the number of unemployed grows—is that what we want?

Zanzibar

by Staff Writer

THE island of Zanzibar has been referred to in many different names ranging from contemptuous and spiteful ones, right up to the most praiseworthy and romantic ones.

One journalist described it as a "fairy-tale pantomime caricature of a colony, with an Arab Sultan to provide the pomp and pageantry, and a British Resident to wield all the power."

Since events on this small island colony recently attracted world-wide attention, it would be wise before writing anything about Zanzibar to take a glance at the fascinating historical background of the island.

History

It is said that Zanzibar has a long historical association with India and the countries of the Persian Gulf. Zanzibar was first mentioned in the eleventh century when one Persian ruler called Kilwa fled to this island. This fact is substantiated by ancient inscriptions in Kizimkazi in Southern Zanzibar, and gives an indication that a mosque was built here round about 1107 A.D. The Kilwa incident led to a series of clashes in Unguja (Swahili name for Zanzibar) between the Northern and Southern elements on the island.

Round about 1500 A.D. Zanzibar was colonised by the Portuguese who dominated the island until about 1528, and this brief period of colonisation was followed by an "alliance" between the Portuguese and some Zanzibar rulers who are reported to have even assisted the Portuguese on their raids on Mombasa. The first Resident Sultan of Zanzibar was installed in 1828.

The clove island was proclaimed a British protectorate in 1890 as a result of some peculiar agreement between Germany, France and England affecting the then German East African territory of Tanganyika, Madagasca and Zanzibar respectively.

In 1913 control of this island passed from the British Foreign Office to the Colonial Office. Zanzibar has had Legislative and Executive Councils since 1925.

The island of Unguja has had the misfortune of having been once a steaming pot of slavery where Arabs subjected the indigenous people to humiliating slave conditions in the plantations.

Population

The scented island of Zanzibar has a total population of 304,000 with Africans constituting about three-quarters of the population and consists mostly of Shirazi people which is a name derived from ancient times when the island was conquered by Persians from Shiraz in the eighth century A.D.

Like in almost all colonies, there is in Zanzibar that pyramid arrangement of social and cultural structure with the Arabs at the apex, Indians in the middle, and Africans at the base.

In his "Inside Africa," J. Gunther states that as a result of a long period of domination over indigenous people, Zanzibar was once "the biggest—and most hideous—slave entrepot in the world," and a man is said to have cost less than a goat. However, false or true that exaggeration might be, it is not our concern in this article, which is calculated to deal with the present-day political set-up in the island, to waste time on utterances or statements calculated to debase this island.

Government

The island has Responsible Government with a Privy Council composed of six officials: The British Resident, the Civil Secretary, the Attorney-General, and three members appointed by the Sultan.

The Executive Council consists of the British Resident (who is President), three ex-officio members, the Attorney-General, Financial Secretary, the chief Minister, and four Ministers chosen from a party which commands the majority of elected members of the Legislative Council.

Political Parties

There are three main political parties in the island: the Afro-

Shirazi Party (ASP), the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP)

The rate of political advancement in Zanzibar can be measured against recent tragic events in the island which were deliberately sparked off by the puppets of imperialist and colonialist oppression.

The two first political parties are much stronger and well organised than the third weak ZPPP, which is precariously balanced between the other two parties.

As the continent of Africa surges towards liberation and human dignity, this island has not remained a dumb and motionless spectator. Political parties have recently been very active and loud in the unconditional demand that the rate of national advancement towards sovereign status should be accelerated.

Elections which attracted world-wide attention were held in January and June of this year. On both occasions, there has been an election deadlock resulting from two equal splits of the total votes cast by the electorate.

In the January elections, an election stalemate arose when the militant Afro-Shirazi Party won ten seats out of the 22 seats in the Legislative Council. The less militant Zanzibar Nationalist Party won nine seats leaving three seats for the weak Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party the successful candidates of which split up with two of them joining the ZNP and the one remaining candidate lining up solidly with the militant ASP.

The June elections were by no means different from the January ones. Once again a constitutional deadlock developed when the ASP and the ZNP both got ten seats each, leaving the ZPPP with two seats.

It was during the June elections that the outcome of the vile and venomous imperialist underground manoeuvres brought matters to a head when elections which could have otherwise been very peaceful, erupted into the worst form of violence in the island's memory. Soon the world radio stations were blurting out news of violence in Zanzibar.

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The True Source of Settlers' Fears in Southern Rhodesia

by T. H. Mudzingwa

THERE is no better and sounder way of knowing a person than what his past reveals. The oppressed African has more truth to put before the world, but what he lacks is the means to do so. His counterpart, the white settler, who has nothing but mountains of lies to tell the world—take Southern Rhodesia for instance—has his kith and kin to propagate machinery. The contradictory and conflicting statements in imperialist newspapers, as regards situations in Colonial Africa, bewilder the outsider who may be seeking the truth.

It is interesting to note that when all is peaceful and quiet, these colonies are labelled as progressive fine markets and capital investment potentials. They do not end there. They further sugar the pudding by saying that towns in these "quiet" colonies "spring and grow up" like mushroom from day to day. But when African awakes and demands the right to the affairs of his country, description swings directly there and then to the opposite. The moment the African demands the right to run that which is African, he immediately turns from being peaceful into a "black savage" clad in animal skins ready to "massacre the civilized whites."

The towns that were previously reported as booming with progress instantly turn jungles in a matter of days. Descriptions of jungle creepers—yet unknown—sprout through the magnificent buildings that were reported springing up. The wide spacious tarmac streets turn to winding forest paths. So do

all diseases—ranging from common fever to the highly infectious small pox—become rife and prey on the Africans—killing them in thousands. Said to be doing its worst is famine, let alone reports of looting and burglary.

Such are the contradicting pictures painted by all imperialist papers, ranging from Britain to Belgium. But how the populations of these so-



called Western Free World swallow such contradictions is difficult to understand. And one wonders—if they do swallow them—whether imperialism has not succeeded in making them insane. However, the theme of this article is what appears from its heading. We shall deal

with the contradictions as we go on. In Southern Rhodesia, the unwarranted fears of the white man stem from his iniquitous history since the day of his arrival.

The white men first came to Southern Rhodesia—in considerable number—in the year 1891—the so-called Pioneer Column, which should rightly be called "a savage and vagabond Column" was composed of Vagrants or Vagabonds of British Stock.

They came from South Africa where they had failed in mineral ventures. History of their own writing says they got into Southern Rhodesia without firing a single shot; which shows how peaceful and hospitable the Africans of Southern Rhodesia were. They are still as peaceful as all that to date, except that they have come to know the naked evils of the white man now.

But despite the fact that the white man entered Southern Rhodesia without any African resistance, he decidedly thought it imperative to provoke the African to anger, so that history should record bloodshed in Southern Rhodesia. This was to be enforced by a foreign law which was to be savagely and ruthlessly executed.

British Justice?

British justice, the law was called, though in effect, it was tantamount to mockery of all same laws, was thuggery. The law was to be established as follows: Armed corps of the Pioneer Column were to be turned into police forces, which were to be established over the police forces; presided Magistrates to be named *Native Commissioners*, from whose offices thuggery decrees, in the name of British justice,

were proclaimed:

"The police force and camps were established. Whips made from Rhino and hippo skins were supplied to the police, not only to enforce but also to inflict 'British Justice'."

African villages were established in rural areas. The whips-equipped

police force went into these newly established African homes inflicting "British Justice" by whipping all those found at drinking or working parties. The whipping was not only confined to men but to women as well. They felt this was not enough. Soon they demanded "worship" from the African—examples of these diabolical acts can still be found in some of the elderly Africans today. That did not satisfy them either; their next demands were African women, wherever they spent a night on patrol.

The Native Commissioners

Not only were the police the offenders: the Magistrates who in this country are called *Native Commissioners* did their part, too—they were all free to exercise their wishes in a newly founded "heaven." But these were a bit dignified. Their fault was that they demanded heavy fines from those who were brought before them, for trial—which amounted to robbery.

The fines ranged from a herd of cattle to several irrespective of how trivial the case might be. As a result of this indiscriminate fine charging, some *Native Commissioners* got wealthy; some are even so up to now. Some of these *Native Commissioners* have been nicknamed "CHITEMA MHURU", which translated in English means "the man who charges a bullock for a case irrespective of how trivial." Others have been nicknamed "PONDORIRI," which means a man who fines two pounds sterling (£2) for any trivial matter.

The result of the said iniquitous acts was an African uprising, six years after the white man's advent (1896-97).

In the uprising more evils of the white man revealed themselves—ranging from the climax of treachery to outrageous savagery. There is an English saying which goes thus: "Courtesy begins at home." I should change it to read:

"Savagery begins at home," for this representing British or Western civilisation, committed the worst atrocities in the history of African colonization.

Their record: Raping African women—these are the grandmothers

of the present generation in Southern Rhodesia, extermination of men—some of whom were our grandfathers, burning African villages—where thousands of herds of cattle were stolen and driven to South Africa, they turned into beef and sent to their needy kiths and kins in Britain. That was the beginning of trade between Southern Rhodesia and Britain.

The uprising was truly an undecided war, ending only by a truce called the "INDABA." The whites took advantage of this truce and hanged most of the African leaders, labelling them instigators.

More Repressive Measures

The above mentioned white man's inhuman activities may be unbelievable to those who have never been under harsh occupation. But the history of Southern Rhodesia, written by the British, does reveal even more than this.

Other moves were made to make industry and agriculture, the feeding of African farm labourers on Brazilian beans and maize meal, the crowding together of Africans in intentionally built slums in all industrial establishments, and the pathetically inadequate medical facilities for Africans—All these iniquities committed by the white man in Southern Rhodesia make him a totally intolerable enemy of the African, hence the strife in the colony today.

It is this iniquitous loving of the white man which makes him dread the idea of power being handed over to the African.

He fears the African, if given power, may take revenge of the past wrongs and bring back the lessons of rape, murder and arson to the teacher, who in this case happens to be the white man.

This is the true source of the white man's present fears in Southern Rhodesia today; not the open distortions of the African reality, which appears in all British papers wherever they happen to be circulated.

But on the contrary the African has not such intentions to take revenge of the past. All he demands is immediate power to govern his own country, and nothing more.

Zanzibar

Continued from page 13

The *Manchester Guardian* of the 3rd June, 1961, reported that about 145 people had been treated for serious injuries and that about 103 were either detained or arrested.

Although it is difficult to be precise with regard to the actual cause of violence during the June elections, several suspicious circumstances point in the direction of the disgruntled puppets and secret agents of foreign domination in the island.

Barbaric Minded Elements

The leaders of political parties started levelling some malicious allegations against each other with regard to the actual cause of violence. But one nationalist leader of the most influential party in the island, attributed the eruption of violence to hostile activities of the members of the opposite camp whom he accused of having caused violence by intimidating the electorate, and hurling insults at the people who did not exhibit the desire to vote for their party.

These barbaric minded elements were reported to have wrecked election meetings of the Afro-Shirazi Party, and although their actions were always reported to the police, no step was ever taken to bring the cowardly thugs to justice.

This unfortunate incident resulted in 36 Afro-Shirazi Party members being arrested by the island's biased police and ultimately charging ten of them for murder and other serious crimes. Were it not for the timely intervention coupled with a brilliant way in which a Ghanaian lawyer, Mr. K. Swanzy, conducted the defence of the accused, these innocent people could have, perhaps, been condemned to death.

Since the eruption of election violence in Zanzibar, the British have been trying to cook up some form of a Coalition Government. Regardless of what the elements hostile to African liberation may attempt to do in Zanzibar, they can rest assured that the island will, in the not-too distant future, emerge as an independent state.

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The Essential Duplicity of Apartheid

by Rev. Michael Scott

APARTHEID has two faces. With one, it looks out ingratiatingly on the civilised world, claiming that its philosophy in practice represents the pattern of development for the future peace and happiness for the respective races of South Africa. Thus it is claimed, each race will go forward along its own lines of development on the basis of its own separate culture and traditions. The other face of apartheid that is turned inwards towards South Africa, has on it the marks of fear, hatred and brute force. To the non-European peoples apartheid means baaskap or white supremacy, and that they have no part in the white man's civilisation and city life save as servitors of the master race.

In their own reservations only will they be allowed to practise some of the professions, but they must not expect to be educated and trained in skilled occupations where they compete with white skilled labour in the cities and mines and industries of the white man. The population of South Africa consists of 3,067,638 white people, 10,807,809 Africans, and 1,488,267 of mixed race and 477,414 Asians, who were brought from India in the last century by an agreement between South Africa and the British Administration in India at that time.

But in the Parliament of South Africa, which has been thought of as a self-governing

Dominion of the British Commonwealth for more than fifty years, the representation is all white. The African people, who number three quarters of the whole population, are not represented in the House of Assembly. The people of mixed race (Coloured) have four white representatives. The Asian people have no representation at all, though in India and Pakistan their kith and kin have attained full self-government.

So the Parliamentary system that we have liked to think of as a Western democracy is in reality what in fact Dr. Verwoerd boasts that it is in his own country, namely baaskap. But the essential duplicity and hypocrisy of apartheid consists in the fact that while it claims to allow Africans to develop along their own lines and to preserve their social systems and tribal customs, its legislation is designed to strengthen an industrial and agricultural system which is economically dependent on cheap migrant labour. That is really why the majority of white people in South Africa have again at the last election returned the Nationalist Government to power. Migrant labour supplies the gold and diamond mines, the farms, factories, shops and houses of the white people with cheap labour for which it pays an abysmally low wage, on the pre-supposition that Africans have all got land in the reserves on which their wives and children can maintain

themselves while their able-bodied husbands and brothers are away at work.

The problems of South Africa, the poverty and the break-up of homes and families and the social system of the African people, cannot be understood without a grasp of this main fact of the situation, namely the perpetuation of the migrant labour system by successive South African governments under the doctrine first of segregation under General Smuts and that of apartheid under the Nationalists.

For all that preachers have said about apartheid from the pulpits of the Dutch Reformed Churches, the fact remains that Africans are still dispossessed of their land. They have been reduced by the white man's laws to about ten per cent of the total land surface, so that these Native Reserves have become over-populated, overstocked and sordid and the population so squeezed that the Reserves are today little more than reservoirs of cheap labour to supply the white man's towns, industries and farms.

The South African State today constitutes a whole intricate network of legislation, designed to keep the non-European peoples in their place and to prevent any organised resistance to the policies imposed upon them and the status assigned to them by the Master Race. In the pages that follow, are given some of the practical implications of the policies of apartheid in terms of legislation and the regulations which govern the whole life, labour and education of the non-European peoples.

Apartheid and South Africa

The word apartheid means "aparthood" or segregation. The word comes from Afri-

kaans, the language of the white people of Dutch ancestry in the Union of South Africa. In theory, apartheid stands for an ultimate objective of the present South African Government, namely, to partition the country so that the "Europeans" (white people) and Africans will each have their own distinct areas.

The cities and most of the rich farm land would be European areas, and Africans would be admitted to them only as servants or migrant labourers. This "ideal" of apartheid is tacitly admired to be unattainable in the foreseeable future by the Government, and the only comprehensive plan for territorial apartheid, contained in the report of the Tomlinson Commission, has been rejected as too expensive and impracticable.

Practical Apartheid

Practical apartheid differs greatly from "ideal" apartheid. It means the imposition of white supremacy combined with complete segregation of Africans. Under apartheid the white one-fifth of South Africans is forcing an inferior status of virtual servitude, upon the non-white four-fifths of the population. To achieve this, the Government has denied Africans the rights to vote; to strike or to bargain collectively; to worship publicly in white areas; to travel; to seek work; to stay overnight in urban areas; or to engage in many other normal activities without special permission. It has forced thousands of Africans to leave their homes in order to enforce complete residential segregation. Some of the laws by which practical apartheid is being accomplished include:

1. Pass laws require Africans to receive special permission in order to travel, to find a job, to stay out after curfew, to live in a particular locality, etc.

2. Group Areas Act provides for complete residential and business segregation for the four main racial groups (African, Asian, Coloured and European). Under this law thousands of non-whites are being forced to leave their homes and move to new areas set aside for them.

3. Native Laws Amendment Act gives the Government power to prohibit Africans from attending churches or other institutions located in European areas.

4. Bantu Education Act provides an educational system for African children which will prepare them only for unskilled or menial jobs in a white man's society. Under this law education has been taken out of the hands of the churches, which had a more liberal approach.

5. Separate Registration of Voters Act removes Coloured voters from the regular voting rolls. Africans were similarly removed in 1936. No non-whites may be elected to the Parliament of the Union of South Africa.

6. Industrial Conciliation Act gives the Minister of Labour, at his discretion, the right to determine what occupations members of various races may engage in.

7. Population Registration Act provides for the classification of the people of South Africa according to race, with each individual required to carry identifying papers.

8. Suppression of Communism Act gives power to the Minister of Justice to declare any person to be a "Communist" and suspends the rights of such "Communists" to work for the Government or any labour union, to travel freely within the country, and to attend public meetings. The definition of "Communist" is so broad that anyone who opposed any policy of the present Government might be included.

9. The Separate Amenities Act legalise existing patterns of segregation in public places and permits the owners to declare what their policies will be.

10. The Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Acts empower the Government to declare a state of emergency and rule by decree, fixing severe penalties for those who protest against any racial laws or incite others to do so.

In addition the Government has arrested 156 South Africans on the charge of treason. 60 of these were released after preliminary hearings lasting nearly a year.

Apartheid in Schools

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was enacted to transfer African primary and secondary education from provincial authorities to the central government. The twenty-five per cent of the African children for whom there are "government Bantu schools" are now being educated for subservience. As the Minister of Native Affairs expressed it, "There is no place for Africans in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour." Mission schools which have refused to conform to the government educational programme have been made to close.

In March, 1957, the Government introduced the Separate University Education Bill, which was passed at a subsequent session of Parliament. The Act empowered the Government to establish state-controlled university colleges for non-whites and to take over two non-white colleges without compensation. The administrative and teaching staff of all state-controlled colleges are now public servants, appointed, promoted, disciplined, and dismissed by the Government. Misconduct for which the Minister of Native Affairs (not the Minis-

ter of Education) may discipline or dismiss university personnel is defined to include: commenting in public "adversely upon the administration of any department of the Government or of any province..." and the propagation amongst any section of the population... or which would "impede, obstruct or undermine the activities of any Government department."

The Act provides for the establishment of five university colleges organised on an ethnic basis: a college for Coloureds in Western Cape Province; a college for Asians in Natal Province; and three colleges for Africans; one for Sotho and related tribes, one for the Zulus, and one for the Xhosa, in all of which instruction will be given in native languages. When these colleges are ready, non-white students will be forbidden to attend any other institutions of higher education, including the "open" English-speaking universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), where all students attend the same classes and become members of the same student societies.

University Education Bill

Leading educationalists overwhelmingly opposed the Bill as undermining university autonomy and academic freedom. Prof. Z. K. Matthews, Acting Principal of Fort Hare at the time and one of the 156 South Africans who were charged with "treason" because of their opposition to apartheid, has pointed out the absurdity of using native languages for subjects not encompassed in their vocabularies.

Which dialect of a given language is to be used, he asks, and what of the student who does not speak any of the languages of instruction or who is geographically close to a college not of his ethnic

group? Prof. Matthews finds the creation of five new colleges wasteful when existing facilities could have been expanded, particularly since money could not previously be found for essential research.

The Chancellor of Cape Town University, a former Chief Justice of South Africa, the Hon. A. Van der Sandt Centlivres, finds the Bill "subversive of the very concept of a university," lowering standards and repelling "teachers with the necessary independence of mind and general academic standing required for a reputable university." Professor MacCrone of Witwatersrand voiced general academic distress when he said, "The two open universities are being politically butchered to make a Roman holiday for racial ideologists." The student bodies of the "open" universities have staged demonstrations against the Bill. The Natal Branch of the South African Medical Association has declined "to cooperate in any way with any authority other than the University of Natal."

Apartheid and Workers

Of the 16 million South African citizens, approximately two-thirds are African.

Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to be represented by unions at all. African labour unions are denied recognition by law, and employers are forbidden to deal with them in any way. The Minister of Labour stated in 1953, "I want native trade unions to disappear."

All workers are denied the right to meet and organize freely. Government officials are empowered to ban any meeting they believe to be "dangerous" and to prohibit any person from attending any meeting. The Minister of Justice may forbid any person to hold any position in a labour union by blacklisting him.

White unions are forbidden to have African members and must establish separate branches for Asians and Coloureds (persons of mixed descent).

Two-thirds of all workers have no right to determine their own working conditions. African workers are compelled to accept the wages and working conditions set by their employers and the Government. Disputes are settled by Government agencies without African representation. Africans are systematically denied equal pay for equal work.

Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to choose their own jobs. Africans are allowed to do only the least desirable and lowest paid work: domestic and agricultural labour and unskilled industrial jobs. In order to force more Africans to work on farms and in the mines, where labour is scarce, the Government has passed laws to prevent Africans from seeking work in any city or town without Government permit. Africans found to be "idle" or "undesirable" persons are sentenced to "work farms" or "prison camps" for as long as two years.

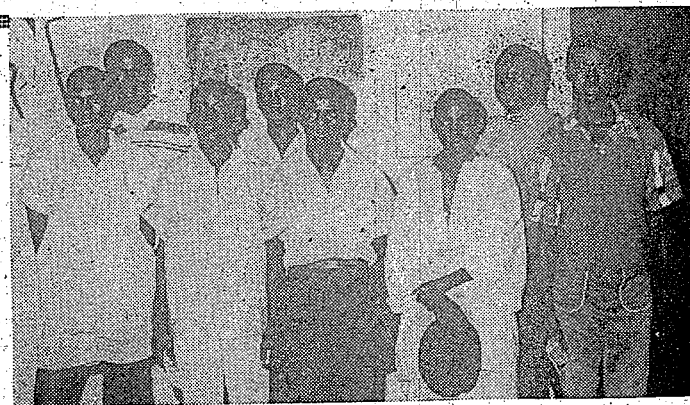
Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to strike. Africans who strike or break an employment contract may be fined or put in jail for as long as three years.

All workers are denied the right to decide where they will live. Government officials are empowered to determine the areas which will be open to each race for homes or businesses.

Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to own homes. Africans are now prohibited from owning land or any buildings on the land. The Government has used its power to assign living areas to

Continued on page 30

Gambian Youth Train in Ghana



This picture shows the last batch of the Gambian youth who were airlifted from Gambia by Ghana Airway to study techniques in Ghana

THE Ghana Government in pursuance of her policies and ardently faithful to her avowed belief that the Independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of the African continent and its islands, has not only championed the cause of progressive African Liberation Movements at international forums but has lent moral and wherever necessary concrete material support to brother Africans who for no fault of theirs are languishing under imperialist domination. This expression of brotherhood and unity common to Africans was clearly demonstrated last month when a chartered Ghana Airways plane piloted by Ghanaian crew landed on the tarmac of the sizeable Bathurst Airport to airlift 45 youths to Accra. That African Unity ultimately leading to a Union of African States is a possibility and could be achieved in our lifetime could be judged from the spontaneous outburst of joy and songs of solidarity and belongingness with which the Ghanaian crew was welcomed by the hundreds of people who gathered at the airport to witness the promise and vision of the great leader translated into action.

To a student of contemporary African history believing in Pan-Africanism the occasion sym-

bolised two significant factors in the African Liberation Movement.

Firstly, it proved beyond every reasonable doubt that the African given the opportunity could equal if not surpass the European in every field of learning. It is only when a country is completely liberated that unlimited visas of know-how are readily made available to her without let or hindrance. It was no wonder that during the bleak days of the struggle to liquidate colonialism and imperialism Osa gye f'o shrewdly said: "Seek ye first the political Kingdom and everything shall be added unto thee." That statement is pregnant with political reasoning. Whoever thought that hundreds of years of exploitation, suppression and intimidation, not to mention colonial white washing of the African brain, an African of all nature's creatures could pilot a plane during our own lifetime?

Secondly, it gave the lie to imperialist bragging that Ghana was not sincere in her advocacy of Union of all African States. The Government of Ghana true to her noble course and confident of the practicability of the Union of the whole continent of Africa could not sit complacently until her economy became buoyant before rendering assistance to her neighbours. The little we

have must be shared with our needy brothers.

In the onward march of Africa to complete Independence and Unity, we cannot afford to do without training the youth who after all will stand firm for the new African Age.

In Ghana and many parts of Africa youth movements are emerging with vitality and strength.

The Ghana Government has established the Ghana Young Pioneers. Apart from inculcating into the youth the love of country, devotion, sense of duty to the state, and ideals of world peace and African Unity, the Pioneer Youth provides basic technical training in trades requiring long term preparation, such as aviation seamanship, radio and marksmanship. Thus it aims at not only emphasising the need for being patriotic and developing one's talents to the full, but also at gearing the outcome to the benefit of society as a whole.

Today there are 45 Gambian Youth in Ghana to study youth work. The Ghana Pioneer Youth Authority has organised programmes covering the major part of supplementary education in reading, physical education, photography, modelling, weaving and other arts and crafts for the Gambian Youth.

Decouverte de la Politique Anti-Africaine de la Angleterre

DANS le numero de la "VOIX DE L'AFRIQUE" paru en Octobre nous avons publié la photocopie d'une lettre secrète de 13 pages émanant du "Bureau des Relations avec le Commonwealth" à Londres. Cette lettre faisait état du complot de camoufflage de la Grande Bretagne à l'endroit des peuples des Rhodésies parmi lesquels l'Angleterre compte perpétuer sa présence et dans toute l'Afrique.

La lettre datée du 17 Mars 1961 et adressée à "Mon Cher T" est signée "Affectueusement votre: Sandy—nom que nous croyons signifie Duncan Sandys—Le Secretaire aux Relations avec les pays du Commonwealth.

La lettre mentionnait l'intention du gouvernement britannique d'inclure le Katanga (province de la République du Congo) dans une fédération à venir avec les Rhodésies sous le contrôle de Roy Welensky—le piètre raciste et "Premier Ministre" de la fédération littéraire des Rhodésies et du Nyasaland.

La lettre assurait Mr. T que cette intention n'était nullement délaissée à Londres mais qu'on ne pourrait pour l'instant en parler ouvertement, vue la présente situation aux Nations Unies.

"C'était une catastrophe que Sir Welensky ait laissé échapper ceci au matin de la crise congolaise. Néanmoins et par bonheur le public a vite oublié cette indiscretion.

Après avoir rassuré Mr. T que le plan n'était qu'en veilleuse, la lettre l'intimait de n'en rien dire à présent car ceci porterait gravement préjudice à tous les plans futurs."

Nouvelles Methodes

Afin de satisfaire au besoin "de nouvelles méthodes et apparence"

que requiert la situation nouvelle en Afrique," la lettre cita "quelques amarres qui, dit-elle seront jetées de part et d'autres en Afrique sous prétexte de stabilisation des conditions économiques et sociales. Ces amarres-intime la lettre-sont basées sur des faits narrés dans des documents qu'un ami au Bureau des Affaires Coloniales m'a fait voir. Les faits sont:

Donner l'impression que les nouveaux Etats Indépendants d'Afrique développent leurs propres industries. Ceci peut être réalisé en reformant les compagnies marchandes selon le vœu des indigènes, en nommant d'admissibles Africains aux postes de direction et en contrôlant l'économie de ces territoires. L'objectif majeur sera de pourvoir aux besoins techniques et sociaux de ces pays et partant établir un contrôle minutieux sur l'industrie locale.

Nos Difficultes

Un autre plan consiste à persuader et induire ces pays à garder 20,000 fonctionnaires anglais (maintenant nommés les fonctionnaires d'outre-mer) pour une période indéfinie. Ces fonctionnaires seront couverts par nos services spéciaux; dit la lettre.

Après avoir discuté des possibilités de une opposition du territoire ace plan, la lettre déclare "Cette difficulté sera vaincue" Un peu de camoufflage dire par exemple: Vous aurez des aides techniques—l'expérience des européens, etc. ...

Que L'Angleterre Controle la Securite et les Mines

La lettre propose la création d'une chaîne de collèges et d'universités "dont le personnel sera scrupuleusement choisi" et qu'une telle création

soit mise sur pied au plus tôt en Afrique centrale et orientale où les étudiants seront sermonés à "réaliser la nécessité de coopérer avec nous que ce soit dans le domaine politique syndical ou autre.

En ce qui concerne la situation en Afrique centrale et orientale, la lettre prevenait qu'une forte différence existe entre le pouvoir politique et la puissance proprement dite; or-continue la lettre c'est la seconde que nous recherchons."

La chose la plus importante est que la sécurité, les mines, les relations extérieures et judiciaires ressortent de nos compétences quelque soit la concession ou la place que nous accordons aux Africains.

"Et je crois nous obtiendrons cela" Quiconque à la majorité dans l'Assemblée n'en est rien.

La lettre continue—"Il est nécessaire de convaincre les Africains qu'ils ont gagné" quelque chose alors qu'en réalité ils n'ont obtenu rien qui soit d'importance.

Vos amis et vous êtes très imbéciles pour ne pas réaliser que c'est en faisant semblant de decevoir les européens jusqu'à un certain degré que le gouvernement de Sa Majesté pourra faire accepter aux Africains, un plan qui plutôt satisfait les demandes et espoirs de Welensky.

Au sujet de l'Afrique du Sud, la lettre disait que le Gouvernement Britannique était de l'avis qu'il serait catastrophique de répudier l'Afrique du Sud du Commonwealth à la dernière Conférence.

"Apparemment, nous avons à peu près 900 millions de livres sterling investies en Afrique du Sud. En dehors de cela, il y a toute la question complexe de paiements de devis, l'or etc. Le Premier Britannique a essayé de traiter en privé de la question avec l'Union Sud Africaine avant la Conférence et l'a encore fait pendant la session même, conclut la lettre.

Nous croyons qu'une telle lettre peint dans toutes ses couleurs, la politique du gouvernement britannique donc coloniale dans l'ensemble. Il appartient aux Africains d'ouvrir les yeux, de bien saisir le sens des propos étalés par les puissances coloniales ayant d'obliger leur signataire qui conditionnera la vie des générations à venir de l'Afrique.

Le Secretaire General de la C.A.P. S'Adresse à la Jeunesse Africaine

PERMETTEZ-MOI tout d'abord de remercier chaleureusement en votre nom tous, les Jeunes Pionniers ghanéens, le C.P.P. et le gouvernement du Ghana pour la réception fraternelle qu'ils ont ménagée aux délégués du Comité Préparatoire. Ce n'est pas là, la première contribution que le Gouvernement du Ghana sous la direction de Osagyefo le Président Dr. Kwame Nkrumah apporte aux peuples en lutte pour la libération de l'Afrique.

Chers frères,
C'est avec une émotion profonde et un grand espoir que je vous adresse le salut fraternel et chaleureux du Comité Directeur de la Conférence des Peuples Africains, à l'ouverture de cette réunion préparatoire de la conférence constitutive d'une organisation Pan-africaine de la jeunesse.

A ce moment solennel, je vous demande d'observer une minute de silence à la mémoire de tous nos morts en général et, en particulier à la mémoire des jeunes et obscurs héros qui tombent tous les jours en Angola, en Algérie, en Afrique du Sud, au Mozambique et dans diverses parties de notre continent pour que l'Afrique vive libre, digne et prospère.

Pensons ensemble aux nombreux jeunes, garçons et filles qui ne peuvent aller à l'école, à ceux qui cultivent le riz, le maïs, le mil, la patate ou le blé, à ceux qui surveillent les boeufs, à ceux qui apprennent sur le tas ou dans les ateliers, à ceux qui assurent la sécurité comme à ceux qui, peu nombreux, poursuivent des études laborieuses dans les classes de grandes écoles à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur de l'Afrique.

Toute cette jeunesse laborieuse constitue notre espoir le plus grand pour la construction d'une Afrique heureuse.

Mais le bonheur et le régime colonial sont incompatibles. Le bonheur réel ne peut non plus cohabiter avec la désunion. Le bonheur ne peut exister dans l'indignité.

C'est pourquoi la Conférence des Peuples Africains dont vous connaissez l'histoire et dont vous faites partie intégrante s'est fixée comme tâches essentielles:

- 1°/— la promotion de la compréhension et l'unité entre les peuples africains,
- 2°/— la libération de l'Afrique de l'impérialisme et du colonialisme,
- 3°/— la mobilisation de l'opinion mondiale en faveur de la cause de la liberté africaine,
- 4°/— la recherche de voies et moyens concrets pour la réalisation de ces objectifs; le développement du sentiment d'une seule Communauté africaine dans le but d'accélérer la création des Etats Unis d'Afrique pour le bien de l'Afrique et du monde.
- 5°/—

Une jeunesse organisée et unie sur le plan national et inter-africain, une jeunesse engagée et dynamique, une jeunesse faisant partie intégrante de toutes les forces vives de nos pays constitue un des moyens les plus efficaces dans notre lutte commune pour l'indépendance, l'unité, le développement économique et social, pour le bien des populations africaines tout entières.

Vous comprendrez alors que les organisations politiques et syndicales membres de la Conférence des

Peuples Africains accordent une importance particulière à la mobilisation de la jeunesse dans cette lutte exaltante.

Immense sera le rôle de la jeunesse dans cette tâche gigantesque qui nous préoccupe tous.

Mais pouvons-nous y aboutir dans la désunion? Non. De nombreuses associations de jeunesse basées sur le regroupement ethnique, religieux ou régionaliste peuvent-elles être efficaces? Non.

Le danger de la division de la jeunesse en de nombreuses petites sociétés qui se combattent dans divers pays de notre Afrique apparaît clairement à chacun de nous.

Une telle division réduit la force dynamique de la jeunesse et l'empêche de contribuer de façon suffisante à la libération et à la construction de nos pays. Seule la transcendance possible de petites contradictions intérieures dans chaque pays ou dans chaque région de l'Afrique nous permettra de satisfaire les aspirations profondes de la jeunesse.

Mais l'unité de la jeunesse n'est possible dans aucune des internationales qui se partagent l'opinion mondiale. Par contre elle se réalisera facilement dans une organisation africaine indépendante des internationales et entretenant avec elles des relations amicales et fraternelles sur la base de l'égalité.

Une telle organisation rendra plus dynamique la lutte des peuples africains. Elle accélèrera la libération politique, économique et sociale de nos pays.

La jeunesse, pourra alors être à l'avant-garde de la lutte contre l'impérialisme. Le rôle joué par elle dans certains pays nouvellement indépendants contre les manœuvres et complots impérialistes est un exemple encourageant.

En effet, non seulement la jeunesse africaine se doit de lutter contre l'impérialisme pour la libération de l'Afrique. Mais elle se doit de lutter pour la sauvegarde de sa construction et pour sa construction.

Cela est indispensable à la création des conditions d'un heureux épanouissement de nos cadres futurs. Cela est favorable à la réalisation de la paix et de la fraternité universelles.

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Conditions in South West Africa

by Louis Nelengani, (Vice-President of SWAPO)

SOUTH West Africa is rectangular in shape. It is the size of Texas and Oklahoma in the United States. It is situated on the West Coast of Africa North of South Africa and South of Angola. It covers an area of 317,725 square miles with the total population of 500,000 Africans and 72,000 European Settlers. It is mostly plateau and desert. Some of the towns have to import their water supply, and there is no single river in the whole of the country that holds water for the whole year.

Before the First World War of 1914-1918, South West Africa was a German Colony. The Allied and Associated Powers at the end of the war, took the territory away from the German regime and made it a mandate of the League of Nations. This mandate was to be administered by the Union of South Africa on behalf of His Britannic Majesty "as a sacred trust of civilization," on the understanding that the well-being of its people formed the paramount interest of the mandate.

Under the terms of the mandate the South African Government agreed to promote to the utmost the material well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of South West Africa. The South African Government further agreed that no forced labour would be permitted in the territory. Other terms of the mandate agreement state that no military or naval bases would be established and that the South African Government should ensure for the territory freedom of conscience and a free exercise of all forms of worship, and should allow missionaries to reside in the territory for the purposes of their calling.

Despite the fact that the international obligations of the South African Government have been clearly defined, it has deliberately refused to discharge its duties regarding the mandated territory of South West Africa.

Recently, the United Nations Committee on South West Africa reported in its findings that the policy of APARTHEID was being applied in South West Africa in a way which in the Committee's own words is "a flagrant violation of the sacred trust which permeates the mandate, and the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

In spite of the decision of the International Court of Justice which stated that "the South African Government should submit to the supervision of the United Nations," the South African Government has flatly refused to render any report to the United Nations and its subsidiary Committees. In the ensuing paragraphs; I will try as far as possible, to deal with the most humiliating living conditions under which the people of South West Africa have been placed by the South African Government.

Education

The South African Government with the support of missionaries have tried very hard to keep the Africans of South West Africa educationally backward. The point of view of the missionaries has been only defended by one Dr. Vedder: "Education to an African is just like ordering a white man in South West Africa to cut his throat with his own knife." African ignorance ensures the perpetuation of white supremacy. Education in South

West Africa has been and is up to the present time the most backward factor in the territory.

The official language is that of the Boers known as Africans. Education is free and compulsory for white children up to the age of sixteen (16) their schools are well equipped in all spheres, whereas education for African children is neither compulsory nor free. Moreover, educational facilities are provided on the basis of apartheid or segregation. All the government and mission schools in the whole country can hardly be compared with modern training schools and are no more than brain-washing centres of the South African Government.

Slave Labour

The labourers come mostly from the reserves in the Northern part of the territory called Okavango, Ovamboland and Kaokoveld. They are not free to choose their masters on arrival at the place for work, or to bargain with their employers or to leave them when exposed to harsh treatment. They are among the lowest paid workers anywhere in the world. They are herded together in cattle trucks in the trains with tickets or labels around their necks and they are not well fed or accommodated.

They sleep in the open with only one blanket, even if the temperature is below zero. On farms of their masters they encounter the most malicious treatment. They are flogged, shot to death, and their bodies burned. Justice is denied to them before the Courts of Law. It is always frustrating to find that the law is always on the side of the white man to whom the workers are returned after punishment by the government officials. Workers in South West Africa have nowhere to turn for justice and are forced to accept death from their masters.

Cheap Labour

The demand for cheap African labour is a never-ending one in South West Africa. The territory has become South Africa's cheap labour reservoir. Able bodied young African men are being taken away from their homes and families to fill this demand of the imperialist mine owners, at 1/3 per day. It is stated in

the South African Government blue book that Okavango and Ovamboland in South West Africa constitute a potential labour recruiting field for South African capitalists. The administration in South West Africa has agreed to fill this labour shortage for the South Africans.

The contracting and the recruiting system whereby labour in South West Africa is sent to the internationally financed mines of South African imperialists is a disgraceful one. The law in South West Africa provides that when an African is dilatory in finding employment, an employer may be indicated, and if he refuses to engage himself, he is subject to arrest under the vagrancy law.

Land

Land has been and will remain the perennial demand of the Africans in our country, until the Government of South Africa is overthrown. The general policy of the South African Government has been that of converting Africans into wage slaves of the European Settlers. Our people have been denied all rights of human beings, and the development of their social and traditional heritage. The Africans occupy less than 15 per cent of the land area in the rural slum paradises. In the north the available land to the Africans is less than five and a half per cent of the land area. In addition, the people find it difficult to raise cattle in these areas due to cattle disease (splenic fever), a gall infection caused by protozoans transmitted by ticks, and through lamb disease (caused by deficiency of phosphorus in the soil).

To further consolidate its apartheid policy and the suppression of the Africans in our country, the South African Government is now busy drawing up resettlement schemes for the Africans. One of such schemes is "KATUTURA." This obnoxious scheme is patterned on the German concentration camps. Africans are herded into specially selected areas where they could easily be kept under control by the Government. In this area all Africans will be placed under strict observation regarding their daily movements.

It is this scheme which resulted into the 1959 Windhoek riot. To the astonishment of the Government, the African people have completely refused to be moved to another area chosen for them by the government. The South West Africa People's Organisation has made it very clear that it will stand behind the people and will see to it that our people remain at the present spot until freedom is won in our country.

Apartheid

The policy of apartheid in all its aspects and manifestations, as applied to the Africans in South West Africa, is designed for the purpose of keeping our people in a state of perpetual serfdom and preventing their normal human development. Such a policy is not only detrimental to international peace and security but that it will soon involve the independent African States in a serious crisis with the South African Government.

The time for Africans to remain servile and ingratiating is past. Beneath the volcanic crust of these smouldering dangers of apartheid lies a deeper peril still and that is the irreconcilable hostility which has been brought about as the result of the South African Government's policy of apartheid in South West Africa. For the past fifteen years the question of South West Africa has been a regular part of the deliberations of the United Nations. Resolution after resolution has been passed but South Africa remains unshaken in its determination to keep our country in a colonial status.

South Africa is supported in its position by the United Kingdom Government and all other international financiers. The imperialist powers of Western Europe have through devious means sought to support South Africa in its effort to preserve its colonial empire at the expense of the oppressed people of Asia and Africa. The people of our country through the resources and initiative of the South West Africa People's Organisation are now determined to overthrow the South African Government by all means.

We hope that the United Nations will take into cognisance the explosive situation in South West Africa.

The Western imperialist powers must understand that empires built on subjugation and supervised by machine guns will crumble down of their own weight. The South West Africa People's Organisation is striving to achieve complete independence now for our country and for the establishment of an African Government in our country.

The South West Africa People's Organisation will give moral and material support to our brothers and sisters in Angola who are now engaged in a war against Portugal. We shall not stop fighting until freedom is achieved in our country. We stand undivided against our enemies be they South Africans, British or their international financiers.

Jeunesse Africaine

Suite de la page 2

Dés conditions seront créées pour que nos jeunes reçoivent une éducation liée à la vie du peuple tout entier.

Chers frères,

Vous comprendrez alors que cette réunion du Comité Préparatoire soit l'aboutissement de nombreux efforts des jeunes différentes parties de l'Afrique et du Secrétariat de la Conférence des Peuples Africains.

La période de notre réunion, le développement de la lutte en Algérie, en Angola, en Afrique du Sud, de l'Est, du Nord et du Centre, le regroupement des impérialistes et leurs efforts ultimes pour tenter de maintenir ce qui est périmé, c'est-à-dire, leur sordide domination, sont autant de facteurs qui soulignent l'importance de notre session.

Vous devez préparer les meilleures conditions possibles à la naissance d'une Pan-Africaine de la jeunesse agissante et vigilante.

Vous adopterez des critères, vous prendrez des résolutions.

Mais les meilleures idées couchées sur le papier ne serviraient à rien si les mesures pratique de leur application concrètes ne sont pas prises. Le problème de l'organisation est un problème politique. Vous êtes, frères, des jeunes maheurs; par conséquent des responsables.

Vous agirez donc en hommes conscients et responsables.

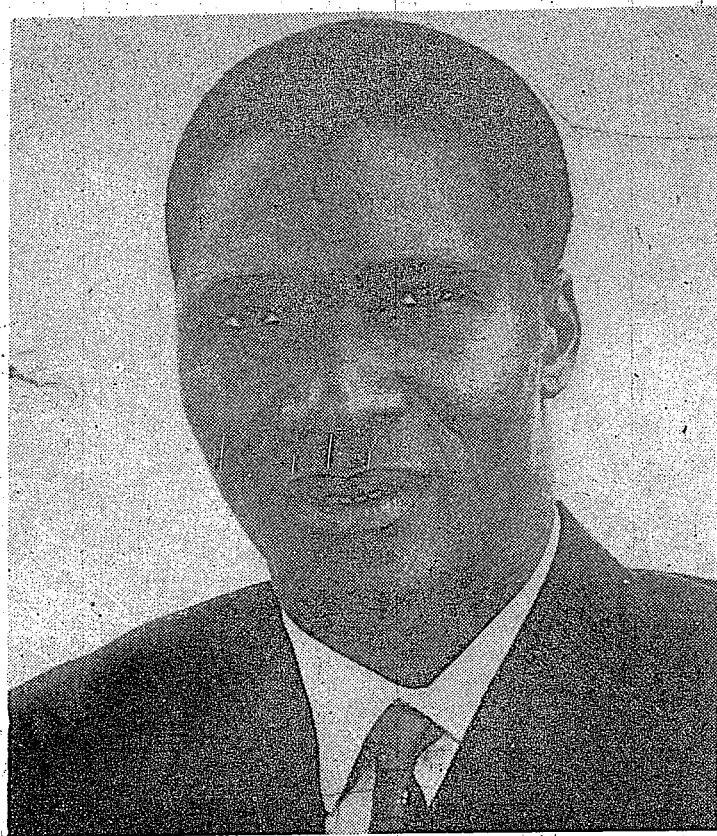
The Republic of Guinea

by C. L. Patterson

ON the 28th of September, 1958, Guinea captured the imagination of the world, by voting herself out of the French community. She alone of France's eight former West Africa Colonies took this unprecedented step. Everyone wanted to know what sort of people they were, who dared to do such a thing, and what their country was like. Not different really from other Africans who have lived for years under colonial rule, the people of Guinea inhabit a country that is extraordinarily varied, one of the most varied, in fact, on the whole of the West Coast of Africa.

In it are represented all the physical features to be found in the West African landscape—coastal plains, forest lands, savannah and mountains. No other country in West Africa provides such an epitome of natural phenomena on quite the same scale.

First, there is the coastal zone known as lower Guinea, in which the capital, Conakry is situated. This is a thin strip of low-lying land embedded in the cliff formed by the deposits from the plateaux of the Fouta Djallon mountains. Here there are rivers with large, deep estuaries, dividing into numerous arms or "rias" as the Portuguese called them, encircling marshy archipelagos. Hence the reference to the Rivers of the South, so frequent in the accounts of the early explorers from Portugal who first came to Guinea towards the middle of the fifteenth century.



M. SEKOU TOURE, President of the Republic of Guinea

But for the small mountain chain Cap Verga and the Kaloum peninsula, a mass of laterite at the tip of which Conakry, the capital is situated, extended out to sea by the lovely islands of Loos, a favourite tourist centre, this region is entirely flat and unrelieved.

One of the richest areas of the country, it is ideal for rice cultivation, which is carried on there on a large scale. There is also a good deal of fishing, and cultivation of fruit and vegetables, oil-palms, coconuts and groundnuts, though as yet not to full capacity.

The climate of Lower Guinea is very humid, Conakry having an average annual rainfall of about 15 inches, one of the highest in West Africa. Only in the Cameroon moun-

tain can a higher incidence of rainfall be met with in these parts. The rainfall, though heavy, is unevenly distributed in this region, most of it occurring between June and November. August is the wettest month, when the monsoon rains are blown across by the South-westerly winds, and collect greater force as they hit against the mass of the Fouta Djallon region, which is very mountainous.

From that mountain range many of the big rivers of West Africa—the Gambia, the Bafing (one of the tributaries of the Senegal River) and the Niger make their way through deep precipitous valleys cut by rapids and picturesque waterfalls. Here, as in Lower Guinea, there are about six months of heavy rainfall,

but apart from the south-western portion of the mountain, the total incidence of rainfall is less than in Lower Guinea, and diminishes as you go further inland.

The dry season is less clearly marked and the rainfall more evenly distributed throughout the year, due, no doubt, to the influence of the mountains. This is one of the coolest regions of Guinea, and the health resort at Dalaba up in the cooler reaches, makes it a favourite holiday during the hot dry season.

The chief occupation is cattle breeding. Unfortunately, as a result either of over-herding, bad farming methods, or unfavourable soil conditions, the problem of soil erosion, somewhat generalised throughout Africa, exists there to an alarming degree.

And so we come to the third region: Upper Guinea or the pre-Sudanese zone. We are now in savannah country, rather like the north of Ghana past Navrongo on the way to the Upper Volta. Here we encounter a succession of low-lying plateaux, monotonous grasslands, red laterite, without any relief, the whole gently inclined towards the large sloping territory of Mali in the North West.

The climate and the topography of this region are very similar to that of Mali, and until 1899, the region

was in fact, administered as a part of Mali. There is a very definite dry season, and at Siguiri, on the border, the rainfall from December to March is very little, only point four of an inch.

Finally, the forest region. This is to be found on the confines of Liberia and the Ivory Coast, and contains the famous Nimba mountains, one of the highest peaks in West Africa, measuring about 6,000 feet. It is a region extraordinarily rich in iron ore. The temperatures though not as low here as in the Fouta Djallon, are not as high as on the Mali border, and certainly more varied than in the coastal belt of Lower Guinea, and more evenly distributed throughout the year.

The rainy season extends throughout eight months of the year. The only month of the year that can be said to be really dry is January, when the rainfall is point three of an inch. This fact explains why the area is so thickly wooded, although in actual fact the vegetation becomes even denser, as you go further South into the Liberian hinterland.

This forest belt, together with Lower Guinea is, as it were, the granary of Guinea—it's richest and most diversified agricultural region. Here, in addition to the products already mentioned, are found coffee and

copal, a sort of resin used for varnishing.

The population of Guinea, some two and half to three million, can be divided up, like the geographical regions, into various groups: The Soussous for the most part in Lower Guinea, the Peuhls, a pastoral people who are said to have come originally from the Sahara; they are to be found mostly in the Fouta Djallon area, the Tenda group, proud independent people in the region near the Senegalese frontier, the Malinkes in the savannah or Upper Guinea, and in the Forest Area many small groups consisting of Kissis, Guerzes and Konos, some of whom overflow into Liberia and the Ivory Coast.

Conakry, like most of the capitals of Africa, is a crossroads of all the tribes, and its population has increased from 26,000 in 1945 to 78,000 today. At the present time, however, tribal origin does not matter very much in Guinea. It is, in fact, a crime punishable by law to ask anyone to what tribe he belongs, so strong is the memory of the strife and conflict that has resulted in the past from tribal jealousies and hatreds.

The overriding concern is to repair the damage of yesterday and develop the nation now for those alive today and for posterity.

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The Government Continued from page 10

This should not surprise any right thinking person for they (the British) usually say they are the most democratic minded people in the world, and yet in the colonies they always become intolerant to political parties which enjoy the democratic and majority support of the people. This is the reason why a certain Creech-Jones once called Dr. Kwame Nkrumah a "Communist" when he realised that, (in the then Gold Coast) the British Imperial Government was on the defensive as a result of Kwame's world famous Positive Action. This is their argument again in Basutoland about the only nationalist party in the country—B.C.P.

It should by now be clear to everybody that in our determination to keep Basutoland what it should

rightly be, we shall find ourselves being compelled at times to disregard the consequence of our actions as long as we hold the conviction that our actions are right and calculated to benefit Basutoland and Africa in general.

Concluding Commentary

The aim has been to convey, as briefly as possible, the idea that it is not so much material benefits which Basutoland desires to possess, but on the contrary, much of that indispensable spirit of goodwill, mutual tolerance and co-operation which alone forms the solid foundations of that cherished desire of uprooting the evils of colonialism from this continent, and substitute them with that Pan-African brotherhood which will make the nations of this con-

continent proud of what they should really be.

The road is long and full of the traps of neo-colonialism. African leaders need courage and determination to gird their waists with belts of African self-determination and with the indestructible weapon of Pan-Africanism in their hands, declare an uncompromising war on what they, (as Africans first and everything last) regard as wrong principles deliberately calculated to cast a mean shadow on the uprightness of the people of this continent.

Doubtless they shall at times find themselves surrounded by hostile forces of foreign intrigues, and the way out would not be by throwing up their arms in despair expecting some mysterious being to come out of the blue with the salvation of the oppressed and humiliated millions of this continent, whose lot is disease, ignorance and want.

The Struggle for Freedom in Angola

by Lucio Lara

THE war that has just started in Angola is the result of the brutal and rotten colonial policy of Portuguese officials who are incapable of realising the deep changes the world has known in the last decade.

The Angolan people's claims have always met with the violent hate of the colonial administration, and the people's unrest has developed into a chronic disease which is aggravated every day. Since the arrest, in 1959, of about fifty Angolan patriots, tension rose considerably and the people began to demand political organisation and a concrete action against the oppressor.

In January and April 1960, Angolan patriots revealed the explosive situation prevailing in their country to Afro-Asian peoples and, for the first time, special resolutions on Angola were adopted to stress the urgent need for an efficient aid to the struggle of the Angolan people.

Simultaneously, the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA) launched an appeal to all political parties, all mass organisations and patriots, urging them to unite in a solid front capable of facing the tremendous responsibilities of the liberation campaign.

On June 13, the MPLA released a statement to the Portuguese Government, denouncing the bloody repressions and warlike provocations conducted in Angola. While reaffirming the people's desire for a peaceful solution, the statement made the following conditions for such solution: The solemn and immediate recognition of the Angolan people's right to self-determina-

tion; full and unconditional amnesty for all imprisoned patriots; the implementation of public liberties; the immediate withdrawal of Portuguese armed forces; a round table conference with the participation of all Angolan parties and representatives of the Portuguese Government with a view to reach a peaceful solution of the colonial conflict in Angola.

At the same time, the MPLA released a message to the Portuguese people, warning them against their Government's attempts to drag them in an all-out colonial war and urging them to take a fair position against oppression and exploitation which the Portuguese Government is perpetrating in their name against other peoples.

The reply to this message came in the mouthpiece of the Portuguese Government *Diário da Manhã* which in its edition of June 19, 1960, was stated: "Portugal will never accept to discuss self-determination for her overseas territories". And through its cabinet members, the Portuguese Government continued refusing to admit even the existence of a problem of colonial nature in overseas territories "where peace is still prevailing."

Beginning of Repression

All diplomatic approaches failed to "liberalise" the Portuguese colonial system. Insisting to go against the "wind of changes" that was (and still is) blowing in Africa, Portuguese authorities reinforced their military apparatus in Angola and intensified their means of repression.

In July 1960, a massacre in the village of Icolo-Bengo caused the death of thirty people and over 200 were wounded among a population whose only guilt was demanding, peacefully, the release of Dr. AGOSTINHO NETO, honorary president of MPLA, who had been arrested together with another great patriot, Rev. PINTO DE ANDRADE and over 800 nationalists. Icolo-Bengo was the home town of Dr. NETO.

The people became more and more concerned over the fate of patriots arrested in 1959, who were being tried behind closed doors by a specially military court. They did not hide their willingness to take action.

On December 6, 1960, a few days before the adoption at the United Nations of the Declaration on the granting of independence to all colonised peoples, the leaders of MPLA proclaimed during a meeting held in London by some political organisations in Portuguese colonies, that all peaceful means to settle the Angolan issue having been exhausted, one way was still available to the people: Direct action for self-defence.

The 4th of February last marked the first violent explosion. MPLA commandos ambushed a military jeep patrolling through African quarters of Luanda, seized the arms and with other rather rudimentary weapons, valiantly attacked three prisons where thousands of political detainees were jailed.

This operation did not succeed. However, the undesigned presence on the spot of many foreign correspondents contributed to calling the attention of the whole world, the more so on the following day. Portuguese settlers supported by the army and the police, shot dead 3,000 Africans in the capital alone as a reprisal for the six Portuguese victims who died during the assault on the prison.

The nation-wide armed rebellion quickly developed after March 14, as a result of the acts of violence perpetrated by the Portuguese owner of the "Primavera" farm situated in the suburbs of Sao Salvador, against the labourers who claimed a salary increase and a reduction of the fourteen hours daily work that was

imposed upon them. The farm owner went as far as opening fire on the workers who revolted against their master and killed him. All settlers living near the "Primavera" farm immediately undertook a "black man hunt." To face this threat, Africans had to organise themselves, and it can be said that the chain reaction that followed led to the war which is now taking place in the north of Angola. Political parties did not hesitate to take sides in favour of the people and to organise armed resistance.

People Take up Arms

A statement dated June 22, and released by the General Command of the MPLA Militia forces, read among other things:

"The MPLA Militia has joined the people in their armed struggle from the very first day. Militia men spread throughout a vast zone covering 100,000 square kilometres (30,000 square miles) along the advanced combat lines with the main purpose of raising the standard of struggle, and of uniting the action of all patriots with a view to spare as much human lives as possible. They did that by either conducting operations or by closely co-operating with the various bulks or freedom-fighters."

Drawing a balance-sheet of attacks, acts of sabotage and ambushes undertaken by a platoon under the command of TOMAZ FERREIRA in 30 days of action along a 700 kilometres zone, the statement gives the figures of 230 Portuguese servicemen dead in the course of these operations, against ten dead and 90 wounded among patriots. Casualties inflicted to coffee and cotton plantations were evaluated to over one million sterling pounds without including destroyed farms, trucks set on fire, dynamited bridges, captured arms and ammunition, electric cables cut, etc. The statement emphasises "the overwhelming co-operation of the populations who have, at all times, helped patriots with the utmost enthusiasm."

Referring to the ferocious reaction of colonialists, the statement reads: "Being unable to strike the armed militiamen, the Portuguese army is

conducting atrocities against innocent population. Villages have been completely destroyed with napalm especially in the regions of Ucuia, Uige, Tomboco and Canda.

Without the slightest respect to international conventions, the Portuguese army has not only avoided taking prisoners by shooting all captives on the battlefield, but is also persecuting families who seek refuge in the Congo, without hesitating to cross the border sometimes as far as ten kilometres within Congolese territory, to massacre refugees."

It is noteworthy to state here that refugees, who fled to the Congo, come to 130,000 and that the number of Angolés killed during the past four months reached the figure of 50,000.

Colonialist Barbarism

However, the Portuguese Government authorities do not intend to modify their attitude. Everyday, more ships and planes loaded with troops and military equipment arrive in Angola. The Portuguese command hopes to crush the resistance during the "cacimbo" (dry season) starting in June and ending in October. It is counting upon an army of 30,000 men most of whom are being specially trained for guerilla warfare.

It is also counting on the civilian European population which has been mobilised within the "Voluntary Corps" fighting side by side with the army, and in the Civilian Defence of the territory. In any case, the European population has developed a taste for killing Africans and many lynchings have taken place in cities where innocent people accused on false charges of having co-operated with freedom-fighters.

Angola and the U.N.O.

Following a demand by the Afro-Asian group of nations, the Angola question was brought up before the Security Council of the United Nations in March last. The issue was debated and finally the United States voted against Portugal, its NATO ally, in an attempt to make believe that American policies towards colonised countries had changed. As a matter of fact, US Ambassador Stevenson voted with a

certain feeling of disgust at the Security Council, in favour of a resolution that urged Portugal to "co-operate with the United Nations" in granting Angola a self-government.

Despite its soft phrasing, the resolution lacked support with two votes less than the required number. One can easily understand the American attitude by noting that certain "automatic voters" such as Chili, Ecuador and Nationalist China—who always vote with the United States—this time abstained.

Stevenson then indicated in his speech in the Council that his sympathy was with Portugal and not with Angola when he stated, explaining his vote that "this is a gesture of concern, a gesture of goodwill and beyond that, an effort toward genuine co-operation in achievement of goals which are shared by all of us."

On the other hand, it is most significant that the positive vote had only been decided on the eve of the Council meeting following a meeting between President Kennedy and Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, who must have certainly taken into consideration an energetic letter addressed to Mr. Stevenson by 33 Asian and African countries.

When the issue was raised before the General Assembly in April last, a resolution was adopted by 72 to two votes, asking Portugal to stick to the U.N. Charter by creating a sub-committee to investigate on the situation in Angola. The United States voted for the resolution but the American delegate Charles Yost asked Portugal to consider this vote as a "friendly advice" and criticised the acts of violence which Angolés patriots were forced to use in self-defence against Portuguese atrocities.

In June last, the United States again voted reluctantly for a new resolution of the Security Council (nine in favour, no negative votes), asking Portugal to desist forthwith from all repressive measures. According to the *New York Times*, the American delegation was not pleased by the phrase "desist forthwith," and that it had tried in vain to introduce an amendment which would only express the desire for a "peaceful solution."

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Colonial Exploitation in Africa and Land Problem

by "African" (This article is mainly based on "Africa the Roots of Revolt" by Jack Woddis)

COLONIALIST exploitation always takes different forms in different countries. It depends on the local geographical, economic and social composition and structure. In Africa it took three main forms—expropriation of its manpower, mineral and agricultural resources and its land. Today the freedom struggle in Africa is not only directed towards achieving political freedom, its main purpose is the complete liquidation of all those forms of exploitation and closing the doors to other forms of encroachments. In this article we will confine ourselves to the key question of land.

When the imperialist powers started occupying parts of Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, their main activities were directed towards grabbing rich and fertile lands, for this they employed all the methods possible from naked oppression, terror to trickery and swindling. Nothing was spared. The result of this expropriation is that in the Union of South Africa, 89 per cent of the land was taken from Africans and reserved for Europeans.

In Southern Rhodesia, Swaziland and some other parts it was about fifty per cent. In Congo, Kenya, Ghana, etc., though percentage was comparatively less, the acreage per head of the Europeans was far greater than per head of the Africans. In Kenya for instance some four thousand farmers have been given the monopoly of 16,500 square miles or thirty per cent of good land and the six million Africans have a part

of the bad land, same is the case with other colonies.

More important still, the land left for Africans was the poorest and that taken by the Europeans was the best. The Africans could neither get facilities for irrigation to raise any product nor could they breed cattle and so they had to concentrate themselves in a very small and comparatively suitable land. The result was that a lot of land was left uncultivated and the question of land has become a key question in the struggle for freedom in Kenya, Rhodesias and other colonies.

Why Land Robbery?

The facts stated above are such that nobody can deny them today. If we study the history of this land robbery, some very interesting and revealing facts come before us. It is true that in the early period when the white colonialists grabbed those tracts of land their main aim was to utilise the mineral wealth and the crops grown on them for their own benefit, but we find that only a very small proportion of the land reserved for the Europeans has been used by them and large areas from where Africans were driven out are practically empty of inhabitants. For instance in Northern Rhodesia only five per cent of 4,500,000 acres of land owned by Europeans is actually cultivated. Same is the story in Southern Rhodesia and Kenya, etc.

The reason for this, and for the wholesale taking of land in so much of Africa, was twofold: to prevent the African peasant from becoming a

competitor to the European farmer or plantation owner and to impoverish the African peasantry to such an extent that the majority of adult males would be compelled to work for the Europeans, in the mines or on the farms. Thus not only the enrichment of the Europeans but the deliberate impoverishment of the Africans became a corner-stone of official policy; because this policy on the one hand protects the exploitation of the land resources by the whites, on the other hand it provides cheap labour for the exploitation of the mineral wealth and in this way it provides twofold weapon for the enrichment of the whites.

With the discovery of gold, diamonds and other minerals and development of railways and other means of communication, door opened for, European colonialists to exploit the wealth of Africa on a big scale and this was not possible without cheap labour and that is the reason why the process of impoverishment of the African peasantry was intensified in the later years with more earnestness, with much more barbarity and cruelty. For this purpose various means of slavery direct-statutory compulsion, imposition of different types of taxes and use of naked force were employed.

African Economy Destroyed

Every means adopted not only to destroy African rural economy but various methods were worked out so that this economy may not flourish in future. Only parts of West Africa and part of Uganda escaped this fate because the Europeans did not settle here on a big scale.

This expropriation of land did not take place only in the earlier part of the colonialist penetration. This process has continued throughout this century and it is still continuing.

After the state of emergency was declared in Kenya in 1952, thousands of African peasants were thrown out of their lands, their huts, burned or bull-dozed to the ground, their livestock taken and their crops confiscated or burnt. In 1957 some 45,000 Africans in Southern Rhodesia were turned out of land earmarked years back for Europeans

use yet lying idle. History of Africa is full of this type of eviction.

Result of the Colonialist Policy

The policy chalked out by the imperialist and colonialist powers for Africa, the policy of land robbery and the destruction of agrarian economy, could result only in one thing. It plunged the majority of people into the most abysmal depths of poverty and misery. It resulted on the one hand in the over population of small areas on the other hand a vast area has turned into barren lands or the preserve of white settlers and exploiters. This policy of destruction of African agriculture is resulting into huge migration of populations from one place to another. It is accentuating the misery of the people still further.

Africa, with such vast and fertile lands and such small population, has been reduced to worst poverty. According to a U.N. report in the majority of African territories "meat is a rare luxury, and except in certain pastoral tribes, milk is not consumed even by children." In some areas, "only five or six hundred children out of every thousand born alive reach the age of five years." Even in a country like Nigeria which has suffered less, comparatively the death rate of children admitted to hospitals suffer from malnutrition.

In Nigeria, according to a British House of Commons report, about 20 million people are living on an agricultural subsistence of a very low order and malnutrition and disease are widespread." An investigation in Northern part of Ghana, conducted in 1945-46, revealed that food consumption was only ten per cent of what is necessary for a man. This is the position in Ghana and Nigeria where, during the last few years, many African farmers are able to acquire some land and raise cash crops. Here, even rich African farmers are found who employ African labour.

New Land Policy

During the last few decades the policy of colonialists has ruined the agrarian economy of Africa so much and it has brought this continent at the verge of such disaster that the black hearted

imperialists themselves have been forced to review their policies. They have started, on a very limited scale, encouraging an African farming class. The imperialists think that these farmers will become a richer, more satisfied and contented section, and thus more likely to co-operate with the white settlers.

For a number of years the colonialist governments were putting pressure on the African peasantry to abandon their traditional system of communal land tenure and to adopt instead individual title to land. In this way the African land into a commodity which can be brought or sold in the market or rented out. This policy did create in certain parts of Africa a very small section of African rich peasants but it did not change the lot of the general peasantry. It increased their misery and poverty.

The colonialist powers in recent years have started concentrating on cash crops along with the change of land tenure. This policy has been followed so relentlessly with the only objective of getting quickest possible profits, both for the European plantations as well as big European commercial concerns. This has further aggravated the agrarian crisis.

Struggle for Freedom in Angola

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The most shocking thing is that while they claim to be on the side of African peoples, the U.S. Government continues to favour Portugal through NATO. In June last, it was announced that the Portuguese Air Force was about to purchase from the United States 6,440,000 dollars worth of military equipment.

Need for Unity

From the Angolese nationalist point of view, the most burning problems are, on the one hand, the need of urgent and concrete assistance from Asian and African countries and, on the other hand, the

In this effort to get quick profits a system of monoculture has been introduced. Whole territories are given up entirely to one or two crops—cocoa in Ghana, cotton in Uganda and Sudan, coffee in Kenya, palm-oil in Nigeria and tobacco in Southern Rhodesia. This is a typical example of colonial exploitation.

This policy resulted in destruction of valuable forest lands, and spread of many plant diseases. It has tried down the whole economy of these countries to the trading machinery of the colonial countries. This has reduced the production of food grains and intensified famines and under-nourishment.

The cash crop produced by both European and African farmers is purchased and exported by big European companies. They force the prices of the crops raised by the Africans to the lowest level on the other hand the white farmers manage to get good prices as they hold sufficient influence on the colonial governments. The white farmers get all sorts of concessions and earn a good profit to lead a prosperous life. These white owners of plantations and farms combine with trade monopolists and mine owners to wield full control over the economic life of Africa.

immediate creation of a National Front which is, in fact, the only thing capable of facing Portuguese colonialist and imperialist machinations aiming at dividing the Angolese people.

It is known that talks have already taken place in Leopoldville and in Monrovia between leaders of the MPLA and UPA, the two most important Angolese organisations. The MPLA has even submitted a draft statute and programmes for the Angolese Liberation Front. The serious dangers that threaten the country and the living example of the Congo make us believe that such a Front will soon be a reality.

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The Essential Duplicity of Apartheid

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each race to move Africans from the communities in which they owned their own homes to new areas where they have to rent.

Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to worship freely. Africans are forbidden by law to attend all churches in urban areas which have been founded since 1938 or which are specified by the Minister of Native Affairs. Africans may be fined or imprisoned for attending a prohibited church, and clergy who protest at the statute or advise their African parishioners to continue attending a prohibited church are subject to a fine and imprisonment or whipping.

African workers' children are denied the right to adequate education. Seventy-five per cent of all African children have no school to attend because the Government refuses to spend more money on their education. The few who do attend school are being deliberately trained for a future of segregation and servitude by limiting instructions to "practical" subjects which only prepare them for work as domestics or unskilled labour; by using double sessions and lowering teacher qualifications; and by teaching them in tribal groups and languages so that they have no chance to develop Pan-African interests or loyalties. Mission schools, which have not been willing to submit to the Government's educational plan for African children, have lost their Government subsidies and are now being forced to close.

Four workers out of five are denied the right to vote. All Africans, Asians and Coloureds have been removed from the common voters registration rolls by law. The Govern-

ment allows Coloured group only to select from four white candidates to represent it in the Houses of Parliament, which have a total membership of two hundred and ten.

All workers are forbidden to criticise Apartheid. The Government is empowered to arrest any person who criticises the country's racial laws or advocates peaceful change, even by legislative amendment.

Apartheid and Churches

Almost every major religious denomination in South Africa has condemned apartheid.

Protestant: "The denial of freedom of association and the enforcement of compulsory apartheid, in any sphere of life is a denial of the law of God and a repudiation of the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus spoke a Conference called by the Christian Council of South Africa, March 19, 1957.

Catholic: "Apartheid cannot be reconciled with the moral law.... (It) necessarily implies a belittling and demeaning of non-whites, a slighting of their essential humanity." This statement was made in August, 1957, by The Most Reverend Denis Hurley, the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, South Africa.

Jewish: "The principles of social ethics in Judaism are the same both in the orthodox and in the progressive interpretations of our faith. No Jew, of whatever section, may regard racial discrimination, either in theory or in practice, as morally permissible", stated Rabbi Dr. Andre Ungar, former head of the Jewish Reform Congregation in Port Elizabeth, on October 12, 1956.

Although apartheid has been the official adopted policy of the South African Government since 1948, only this year, 1957, has the Government attempted to impose this policy on the churches directly, with the passage in May, 1957, of the Native Laws Amendment Act, which provides that:

● No church or other institution established since 1938 which caters mainly for Africans and is situated

in a "European" (white) part of a city may continue without the special approval of the Minister of Native Affairs.

● The Minister of Native Affairs has the power to prohibit any African from attending a religious service outside an African residential area if he believes that the Africans are causing a nuisance to European residents in the area where the services are held, or in the areas through which he must go to reach his destination. Under the law, the Africans, and not the church, will be punished for violating the prohibition, but the clergy are subject to severe penalties, including imprisonment and whipping, for urging Africans to continue to attend their churches.

Church Reaction to the Native Law Amendment Act

With the exception of the Dutch Reform Church (to which most of the Government leaders belong), all the major Christian bodies in South Africa have denounced the law. Only a few hours before he died, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town wrote to the Prime Minister on behalf of the bishops: "We are commanded to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's.... We believe that the matters dealt with (in the church clause) are amongst the matters which are God's... We recognise the great gravity of disobedience to the law of the land.... but feel bound to state that if the Bill were to become law... we should ourselves be unable to obey it, or to counsel our clergy and people to do so." Shortly after this letter was written, the Bill, without appreciable alteration, became law.

The Roman Catholic Archbishops of Durban, Pretoria and Cape Town issued statements that their churches would continue to remain open to everyone regardless of the consequences.

Strong opposition to the law was voiced by the President of the Methodist Church, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, the President of the Baptist Union, and the President of the Seventh Day Adventist Church Conference.

Dangers of new Colonialism in Mozambique

by A. C. Gwambe (National President, Union Democratic Nacional de Mozambique)

THE "Diploma Legislative" No. 36 passed in Lourenço Marques in 1927 by the white members of the Mozambique Legislative Council, created the "Law of Assimilation", which is a system of making Africans stooges of the Portuguese Colonial Government. Any African who satisfies the following requirements becomes a "Portuguese Assimilado":

- (1) Must be proficient in the Portuguese language.
- (2) Must not adhere to the customs of the indigenous people.
- (3) Must hold a professional post in commerce and industry, and earn enough money to be able to lead a decent life.

These three requirements form the basis of conditions one must satisfy before he can be assimilated, and this system leads Mozambique to a new form of neo-colonialism.

It was not until 1940 that the oppressed Africans started to engage in movements which aimed at the overthrow of the Portuguese imperialist government.

From 1940 to 1950, there was a total of about 4,349 Africans who still adhered to the policy of assimilation which gave them certain social privileges which differed from those enjoyed by the Mulattoes.

People of Asian origin, Portuguese and all the Mulattoes are not expected to satisfy the above mentioned con-

ditions as they are by law not affected by the system of assimilation.

Asians together with the Portuguese control the country's economy along a tight system of capitalistic monopoly backed by the English, Americans and Germans. The 1955 official records indicated that the biggest agricultural enterprises amounted to about 1,283 and that of this total, 1,088 belonged to the Portuguese colonial masters, 59 to Indians, 34 to the Germans, and 14 to the Pakistanis.

In accordance with the rules of assimilation, all Africans who have undergone this process, are regarded not as Africans but as "Portuguese", and yet not a single one of these people is in possession of a farm. This applies equally to the Mulattoes.

The Portuguese and the Mulattoes number about 50,000 as against 6½ million Africans. The chief occupation of this minority group is to execute Portuguese colonial laws which compel Africans to work under slave conditions in the plantations.

These people are beaten in a savage manner while they toil in the plantations.

The Assimilados and the Mulattoes act as a medium through which the Portuguese slave owners issue orders to the oppressed and humiliated Africans who have not qualified to be regarded as Assimilados.

The 1954 statistical records showed that the Portuguese slave owners

earned about £25 a month through agriculture and allied pursuits. The Assimilados earned about £13, while the Mulattoes got a little over £17, and the Africans who worked under the system of forced labour received only £1 19/-. and no allowance was made for the two basic necessities of life—shelter and food.

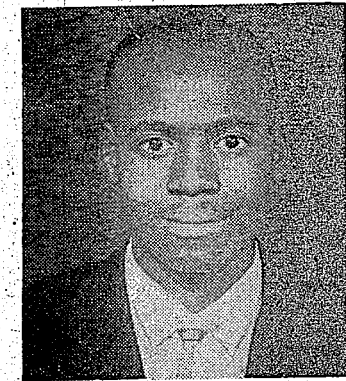
The people of Mozambique are clearly aware of the fact that Mulattoes and Assimilados are puppets who execute Portuguese colonial instructions of slavery without question. One Mulatto or Assimilado can take charge of about one hundred African plantation labourers.

This arrangement has created animosity between the African labourers on the one hand the Mulatto-Assimilado group on the other.

Nor is there any co-operation between these groups which only work together when they have to execute oppressive measures over the African labourers. The Mulattoes still continue to look down upon the Assimilado because of the difference in salary scales, for Mulattoes get more than the Assimilados.

There is social discrimination, too. All so-called Assimilados must produce identity cards or certificates of exemption before they can be admitted into cinemas and dance halls. This does not apply to Mulattoes who have free and unhampered access to all public places. The people of Mozambique are today uniting to overthrow the Portuguese oppressor government in the country.

The fact that the people do not



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seem to be prepared to follow the Mulatto-Assimilado political leadership retards the national liberation struggle. They exclaim with anger that this group cannot do them any good for it has always been a collection of Portuguese stooges who aim at retarding national progress towards total freedom and independence.

Education

Discrimination in education is worse than in all other spheres of life in Mozambique.

Only Portuguese children can acquire secondary and high school education, with a small number of Mulatto and Assimilado children who must give an assurance before they are admitted into schools that they will act as Portuguese spies and stooges after completing their studies. Even as we write this, there is not a single university graduate in Mozambique, with the exception of a few Portuguese, Mulatto and Assimilado children who have completed their secondary school education.

Immediately after completing the secondary or high school education, these people are taken to Portugal where they undergo a thorough training as future Portuguese spies and stooges in Mozambique.

Education for African children is limited to Primary Catholic Mission Schools where they are taught Portuguese language and catechism. In 1954 only 400,000 African children were attending the mission schools. Protestant missions produce better results than the Catholic ones.

Assimilados and Mulattoes attend their own private and separate schools, and this arrangement again is fraught with danger for the ultimate aim is to bring about a feeling of hostility and racial superiority and inferiority between the African children on the one hand and the Mulatto-Assimilado children on the other. A Mulatto-Assimilado pupil who has passed standard I is far better than an African child who has passed standard III. A Mulatto-Assimilado child is not compelled to do catechism at schools while this rule is rigidly applied when it comes to African children.

Most people have never understood the reason why our Party is

so solidly backed by all the oppressed people of Mozambique.

The reason is simple. At the age of 13 in 1952, I was already working as a forced labourer. I worked with about 700 senior forced labourers, and as the only person who had received little education, I used to render them some assistance by writing their letters and giving them an idea of the colonial problems confronting them.

As a result of this, I was thrashed every single day and imprisoned on a number of occasions. At one stage I was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, but the labourers were able to raise a sum of £25 for me which was paid to the goal guard and I was released.

Two members of our Party's National Executive have also worked under the system of forced labour. The Vice-President of our Party, F.C. Mahluzza, was at one time sold to the South African Round Gold Mines, while the Party's Publicity Secretary J.R. Siguake was always strictly policed by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique.

Immediately after the formation of our Organisation, I received many congratulatory messages from many people thanking and admiring our courage and determination for having launched a Party under such difficult conditions.

We got more help and messages of solidarity from some of our old friends who had seen our picture in one newspaper. This resulted in many people from Mozambique itself giving tremendous support to our Party.

From my own experience I have realised that what the oppressed people of Mozambique want is not a highly educated leader but just a determined and dedicated leader armed with the principles of Pan-African Nationalism, because the political leadership of the Mulatto-Assimilado group will never be accepted by the people of Mozambique.

Nothing can shake us from the conviction that the policy of Multi-racialism would lead Mozambique to a new form of colonialism, i.e., Neo-colonialism.

The dangers of neo-colonialism in Mozambique became clear recently when a Portuguese Minister of

so-called Overseas Provinces made a declaration that all Africans in the Portuguese colonies are citizens of Portugal. This means that the same stooges who have always been dominating the legislative Council will still be regarded as the representatives of the oppressed people.

No Mozambican can be elected to the Legislative Council if he is not a Portuguese stooge. Like in all colonial countries, all Mozambicans who are backed by the majority of people are declared traitors. Orders of arrest are issued against them, and if arrested they are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The National Democratic Union of Mozambique rejects any type of government or representation in the Councils of State if such representatives were not democratically elected by the majority of the people in the country.

Our aim is immediate and unconditional national independence with a government democratically elected by the working class majority.

The National Democratic Union of Mozambique draws tremendous support from all Africans working under forced labour conditions in the country, i.e. mines, plantations, farming industries, railways, manufacturing industry, and stevedoring and dock workers.

We are determined to resort to any measure which will result in the overthrow of the Portuguese colonial government, and which will result in the country attaining national independence.

We make an open declaration to all people that we are fundamentally opposed to the system or policy of multi-racialism.

It is not our aim, however, to attack those who believe in multi-racialism, despite the fact that multi-racialists are instruments of imperialism.

We will never allow racial representation in our national government; for we shall consider individual merit as sufficient. A rule by the majority is our only aim, and individuals who become intolerant to a rule by the majority will be dealt with accordingly by our Immigration Ministry.

We propose the name "Monomotapa" in the place of a colonial name "Mozambique".

Towards an African Philosophy

by Rev. Father Mongameli (An African Priest in Rome)

THERE is no doubt that the world of today bears the image of Europe. Under Europe I subsume the Americas, Canada and Australia. The European Way is, therefore, still the way. But nobody need idolise this image, because what the world really needs is the complete image of humanity patterned on the various ways of thought and forms of culture of the diverse ethnic complexes composing the human family.

Some people, put on guard by the unpleasant memory, or the depressing actuality, of the exaggeration of ethnic differences to the point of unbearable tension or even explosive violence, instinctively shrink from recognising the existence of any diversity in the basic ways of thought of the different peoples of the world. We on our part, however, submit that this enthusiastic, wholesale but realistic rejection of diversities among men in any form, will issue not in the desired harmony but in confusion worse confounded. Diversity, though, need not be cause for friction or tension but rather for complementary activity in harmony created by mutual understanding. This harmony means in effect, the clear recognition of individual deficiencies of the different

groups and the full acceptance of mutual complements. In other words, it is the recognition of human interdependence and solidarity.

One of the conditions for fruitful co-operation is that each group should know what values the other groups contribute or can contribute to the universal cultural treasure. But to arrive at the proper estimation of the cultural values of any society, it is necessary to grasp first the philosophy or rather the metaphysical attitude which underlies those values. History and archaeology show that there has been in Africa a Civilisation which extended from Egypt to Angola, from Timbuctu to Zimbabwe. This Civilisation consisted of a complex of cultures which in their structure showed a marvellous formal and thematic uniformity to be observed in their literature and mythologies.

Historians and ethnologists of the calibre of Gabriel Hanotaux, Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne; Cheikh Anta Diop, Nations negres et Culture; Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, A History of Ethiopia, vol. 1, 1928; Eugene Guernier, L'Apport de l'Afrique a la Pensee Humaine; have proved beyond doubt that Egyptians themselves were purely African. The historians also show clearly that

Ethiopia and Meriotic Sudan played the principal part in the evolution of Egyptian culture.

The history of the highly-civilised West African and Congo-Angola Kingdoms, found as such by the Portuguese, is too well known to require mention. The Mashona or Zimbabwe Civilisation seems to have been connected with that of Angola. Historians say this Civilisation was at its peak about the year 800 A.D. It had a highly-developed system of agriculture as shown by the network of canals and terraces now coming to light under research. Its forts stretched the whole way from Angola to the present Zimbabwe ruins. Lidio Cypriani (Le Antiche Bovine e Miniere della Rhodesia) informs us that the Portuguese have recorded that when they reached the old kingdom in its last days they were told that its Ruler dominated the whole country from Angola to Zimbabwe down to the Cape. The Portuguese were no amateurs or freelances in seeking information on land ownership.

In this particular case, moreover, as Lidio Cypriani points out, they clearly had territorial ambitions. The things which the Portuguese seem to have got wrong were the name of the place and the Ruler which are recorded as Zimbabwe and Monomotapa respectively. I am aware of the interpretations of Robert Cornevin, Cheikh Anta Diop, and C. Tastevin, but, relying on the careful researches and study of Lidio Cypriani and the reports of Egyptian and Arab writers, I would suggest that the above are distorted Nguni words.

According to the theory Zimbabwe ought to read Zimbiwambiwe. The word Zimbiwambiwe itself would be a short form for kwazintaba Zimbiwambiwe i.e. Mountains full of Mines. In Nguni this shortening procedure is quite licit and usual. The Ruler, moreover, was most probably not called Monotapa but Mninitapho i.e., Master of the Mines. This was not the proper name of the King as the Portuguese themselves afterwards found out, but was a general designation for the sovereigns of the kingdom.

Some further light may be thrown on my observations by this quotation from Dr. Hermann Barth's *L'Africa*

Oriental written in 1876. This eminent historian says:

"Intorno all'anno 977 l'arabo Masudi visito la costa africana fino a Sofala, che a quei tempi era il piu importante emporio aurifero, creduto da alcuni l'Offir di Salomone, e la descrisse nelle sue Novelle del Tempo. Masudi ci lascio una vivace descrizione della Cafreia dove narra di un re Zingi, che possedeva un esercito di 3,000 soldati, i quali in luogo dicavalli montavano dei buoi" (Dr. Hermann Barth, L'Africa Orientale, p. xxv, Introd.; It. Trans Dr. A. Bunialti, Tipogr. Eredi Botta, Roma, 1876).

This passage tells us that Masudi, the Arab, visited Sofala around the year 977 and found there a prospering city with a population which he chose to call Kafirs or unbelievers.

The kingdom carried on a flourishing gold trade with China and India, as we learn from further reading in Masudi and the works of Persian writers who had visited the African coast more than a century before Masudi. As for the name of the King recorded by Masudi, we note that it is one that is common among the Nguni people. The custom of riding cattle is also known to have been common among the Sotho and Nguni people till some twenty years ago. The Portuguese, who were also eye-witnesses, tell us that the Monomothapa in the seventeenth century was a Mukalanga.

Lastly, the Antropologist Arthus Keith, after examining the skeletons found in the graves at Zimbabwe, which had always remained the Capital of this civilisation, affirmed that they were clearly Bantu skeletons.

I have dwelt rather at length on this old South African civilisation because there are still some people who obstinately throw doubts on its African origin. Yes, this was a civilisation of Bantu African origin, if we accept the evidence of History and Archaeology. I wish to remind my readers that Greco-Roman civilisation is a comparatively new phenomenon in the millennial history of human culture.

Most of the eminent Greek mathematicians and philosophers grew up in the famous schools of Egypt.

Thus Greco-Roman civilisation was the foster-child of the older civilisations. In fact, if one looks at the map of the world one soon notices that all the older, protohistorical and historical civilisations are to be found well below the 40th degree latitude. Think of the Indian and Mongolian civilisations, think of the South—and Middle—American civilisations.

The massive populations which the conquerors and slave-traders found in these regions were a clear testimony of precedents of great prosperity and therefore high fertility and low death rate. This truth applies in equal measure to the continent of our study: Africa. It is the great irony and lesson of history that all these regions of ancient civilisation are today the underdeveloped areas of the world: Nature seeks equilibrium, and the scales will keep tipping one way and then the other till men learn to feed and clothe one another and, generally, to care for one another.

As for Africa, the first shocking and brutal blow it got was the loss of Egyptian independence to the Greeks and the Romans. This brought Africa into partial isolation and, therefore, somewhat retarded its cultural evolution. The second and decisive blow came with the failure of the great negro-Phoenician general Hannibal, to exploit his evident chances of victory overseas followed by his consequent defeat by the Romans. Here started the penetration of Africa by foreign nations, a process which was to culminate only between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the fall of the Southernmost African kingdom of Monomothapa under the domination of the Portuguese. African culture succumbed to the violence of man and the destroying exuberance of nature, especially in the tropics.

Other Cultures and Philosophies

It would be easier, starting from the above historical introduction to go on immediately the study of African culture: its values and its philosophical basis. But in order to show that we are not using arbitrary and made-to order methods we wish to use criteria first in the analysis of the metaphysical orientation

of other peoples and cultures.

If we take European society as the first example, we find that the ethos of this community, though uniform in its content and significance, is the overflow of two strong undercurrents: the Greco-Roman and the Teutonico-Celtic or Nordico-Celtic traditions. The diversities of these two temperaments manifest themselves in mythology, literature, and art. In philosophy they manifest themselves as objectivist tendencies prevalent in the South, and subjectivist tendencies prevalent in the North. All the way from mythology to Faust and the masterpieces of Shakespeare, the North differs from the South which has given us the Iliad, the Aeneid and the Divina Commedia. Sublime and expansive in tendencies is the one temperament, profound and tragical is the other. What is, however, common to both traditions is the search for final illumination as exemplified in Roland, in Faust, and in the Divine Commedia.

But the touchstone of all thought is its attitude toward hypercosmic or superhuman reality. To clarify the position of original Aryan thought towards this level of reality, I will quote from Professor J. M. Neill:

"Sara sufficiente dire che noi abbiamo prove sicure per ritenere che gli antichi celti assomigliarono ai greci, ai latini, ai germani, agli indu e agli altri popoli della famiglia indoeuropea nell' adorare molti dei e dee" (J. M. Neill, La Religione Celtica, in Storia delle Religioni, p. 81; It. trans. Bruscoli).

Thus the Professor tells us that it is characteristic of Aryan religion to have many divinities, and he goes on to make this other assertion:

"Sembra che sia stata dottrina comune dell' antico ceppo Ariano. . . . supporre che gli dei, anziche i creator idella razza umana ne fosser gli antenati."

Thus we have a complete picture of the religious thought of the Aryans: multiplicity of deities and the divine origin of the (Aryan) race.

Three fundamental characteristics of the European emerge from the analysis: search for illumination, belief in a multiplicity of gods, belief in the divine origin of (his) race.

It is all very understandable. The Aryan mind wants illumination, clearness, logic, definition. When deity is defined, it has to be set within special categories and thus becomes limited and humanised. At this point human divine genealogies may get confused, and if to all this is added the very common human element of racial pride, we well understand the Aryan belief in the divine origin of their race and therefore in their divine mission. This at the same time makes us understand the mentality behind the mythological Greek and Roman gods, the Celtic, and the Nordic deities and their issues.

In the same light we understand the idea of God as presented by Jansenism, Lutheranism, Puritanism and Calvinism. This analysis has been deliberately negative in emphasis, since no eulogy of the great and splendid masterpieces of European culture could have revealed to us the basic metaphysical attitude of this great community. This basic orientation, as we have seen, is towards clearness, logic, and the Truth. In this light we cannot believe that the entrusting of the fact and doctrine of the Incarnation of the Divine Logos first to "the people of this race" was entirely fortuitous or arbitrary.

When we come to the study of the oldest Indian writings, we find there again two traditions and two trends of thought which, in thousands of years, have mingled to give rise to Indian Philosophy with its various systems. The two traditions we have alluded to represent the Indo-Aryan and Dravidic elements.

The typical writings of the Indian system of thought are the Vedas and the Upanishads. Though the Upanishads form part of the Vedic writings yet they stand in such contrast with all that precedes them, that they mark a turning point in dominant Indian thought: The Vedas were written over centuries by rishi (seers). It is also noteworthy that the very word Veda means knowledge. The polytheism of the vedic Aryans is unmistakable. There are the myths of the nature gods: Indra—Thunder, Agni—Fire Varuna—Sea, Surya—Sun, Ushas—Dawn, Maruts—storm and others. Indra and Agni are the most favoured. Thus other Aryan culture traits which appear in the

Vedas are this nomadic fire cult (cf: bonfire, vestal olympic flame), and the practice of cremation—the Aryan nomads could not take their dead along, so they burned them and took their ashes along.

The Upanishads, on the other hand, mark the growing fusion between the Indo-European elements and the Melano-Dravidic factors. Here arise the ideas of the Purusa and Atman. In his valuable work, Hinduism (Liberia Gentes Editrice, Roma, 1953), Father B. Papali, C.D. refers to this fusion on pages 5—12, mentioning specially the important excavations at Mehengo Daro and Harappa. Allusion to this change is made also by Father P. Johanns, S.J., on page 5 and passim in his book, La Pensée Religieuse de l'Inde (59, rue de Bruxelles, Namur). The reason for the change was that the melanic Dravidians, like their melanic brothers in Africa and in Oceania, were traditionally an agriculturo-pastoral people and thus were imbued with the idea of union, life, fertility.

On this phenomenon of fusion between analytic Aryan thought and Dravidic synthesis views, Guiseppe Tucci, the eminent Italian orientalist, says:

"Da questo vastissimo mondo prevedico s'insinuano gia nei Veda alcuni miti, come per esempio quello del Purusa, del Macantropo, dal quale deriva tutto l'universo: essere asseso-suato generatore, col sacrificio di se medesimo, di tutte le cose. L'universo e dunque un uomo, le singole parti e vicende sono le sue membra e le sue funzioni: il suo cuore e la matrice dell' infinito possibile, il pensiero la sua forza magica. Per converso l'uomo e un microcosmo nel quale il Micantropo si riproduce; egli e un piccolo Purusa. C' e un equilibrio, un' equivalenza fra l'uno e l'altro: ebbe cosi uni dei presupposti piu vitali della religione Indiana: analogia tra microcosmo e macrocosmo; nel individuo e incluso l'universo; il suo cuore da cui emanano le straordinarie visioni degli iniziati e scaturisce la potenza dei maghi, contiene le infinite possibilita della coscienza cosmica" (Guiseppe Tucci, nella serie:

Il Mondo della Fede, II vol., Asia Religiosa, pp. 26—27).

In the light of this statement we can understand what Dr. Haridas Choudhary said in an article on the "Spirit of Indian Philosophy" (United Asia International Review, Vol. X; No. 6, 1958), where he affirms that the central principle of Indian thought is advaita or non-dualism, which in practical life is translated into ahimsa or non-violence.

All the great Hinduistic masters were commentators of the Vedas. As we said above, the Vedas under the influence of Dravidic gnosis, underwent a significant change in the Upanishads. The Aryan polytheistic tendencies were modified by the monistic inclinations of the Melanians. Thus the Vedic high gods such as Vishnu and Krishna become Brahma the all god or, as Father Johanns comments: "L'aspect impersonnel de Dieu" (ibid., op. cit.). This god, however, is characterised as being intelligence, and bliss (saccidananda). As the philosopher Vailabha maintains, the stress is on the last quality, ananda (bliss). One last remark, the oriental Aryans, in a sharp contrast of temperament to their western brothers, had always represented their gods as benevolent beings.

Anyway, from the Upanishads onwards the difference between the two currents of Indian thought is crystallised into a difference of either a static or a dynamic representation of reality. Cankara and the whole civaitic school follow rigorous logic to the extremes when they affirm complete advaita (non-dualism) between Brahma (all-god, impersonal aspects of God) and atman (self). This is because Brahma, according to the rules of strict logic, is considered as a state, a form. Therefore, according to this school saccidananda does not mean being, intelligence, bliss any more but rather absolute form, intelligibility, beauty. No wonder this school rejects the Samuccay Doctrine taught by Ramanuja and the other schools according to which deliverance or union with Brahma is not achieved only through knowledge and good works. Thus the civaitic school

Continued on next page

represents the trend in Indian thought that holds a static view of reality. Vishnuism, Krishnaism, and Ramaism on the other hand represent a realistic monism in which a moderate form of advaita between the Atman and the Brahma is taught. The Divinity is qualified as Brahma (infinite, spirit, therefore ubiquitous, all-penetrating), and at the same time bhagavan (all-powerful, all-glorious, therefore personal). According to these systems therefore, the Atman attains deliverance or saccidananda by the performance of works prescribed by Scriptures (kruti) or by tradition (smirti) and by means of divine love (bhakti). This on all hands is a dynamic presentation.

But whatever may have been the difference among the Indian schools in the stress they laid on the principle of advaita (its opposite was called dwaita—dualism), they all agreed that the Supreme Reality was pre-eminently ananda (beautitude) and if we remember the beautiful Indian myth of the goddess and the lotus and the fact that the gods in Indian mythology were always considered as sovereign good (ananda). Thus the Indian mind has highly teleological (not theological) and mystical tendencies with all the virtues and weak points of such a temperament. M. Nehru in his speeches often insists on the "Main Point." I say he is a prophet. The whole of Indian thought is based on the idea of the "Main Point", i.e., on the idea that the main business of life is the achievement of an ideal, and reality is looked upon fundamentally as the end of desire. Definitely, Indian Philosophy is not a philosophy of means; it is eminently a teleological philosophy.

Mongolian thought has interested the whole for a long time. This philosophy has a rich literature to its credit and has been ably expounded by famous and skilled thinkers of the calibre of Confucius, Lao-tse, Mencius, Giuang-ze, and others. If we forget the abuses of Yang-gui and some other triflers, we have to admit that this tradition of thought has a past almost unequalled in level-headed reasoning and plain common sense.

The two currents of Mongolian thought are represented by the Chinese and Japanese traditions.

Leaving aside the fact that Japanese culture has been influenced by Chinese civilisation, we know that both cultures have a wealth of original myths. The most important of their mythical was the concepts belief that there is a Way or Bridge (Ama-no-hashidate, in Japanese, i.e., Heavenly Stairs) between heaven and earth. Of the development of this embryonic concept into a full-blown idea and ideal, Tucci says:

"Questa intuizione condusse assai per tempo all'idea di un indissolubile principio che regge a governa le cose, una legge cui l'universo e l'uomo sottostanno . . . Questa legge o principio ebbe piu tardi un nome e fu detto T A O (capital letters mine), con parola che tanto le scuole taoiste quanto le confuciane accolsero, dando ad esso un proprio accento particolare" (p. 205, op. cit.)

This expert tells us quite reasonably that the idea of Tao (way, principle, method) originated from the old myth of the Bridge of Heaven:

We notice also that there are two schools in China: the Confusion and the Taoist schools. The difference between these schools was in the application of the taoist doctrine. The Confucians or Leggists, as they came to be called

later, were more concerned with the application of the Tao (way, system, order) to the state, whereas the taoists concentrated on the application of the doctrine to individual moral life.

In Japan the principle of the unity of the earthly and heavenly spheres came to be expressed openly in the saying Saisei-Itchi, i.e., religion and politics are one and the same thing. The spirit engendered in the Japanese by this principle was called in the old

terminology Kãnnagara-no-minchi, i.e., way of nature. It is enlightening to see that this same spirit was also expressed in terms such as *yamato-gokoro* (Japanese heart), *yamato-damshii* (Japanese soul). Later under the influence of Chinese culture the writer Sugawara Michizane coined the Sino-Japanese expression *wakon-kansai* (Japanese soul and Chinese talent). All these expressions, however, have been eclipsed by the purely Japanese phrase; *Nippon Seishin* (Japanese Spirit). This spirit is said to consist of *shinto* and of *bushido* (way of the gods, way of the knight, respectively).

Here we notice clearly the Chinese influence because the real Japanese word *michi* for "way" has been dropped and the Sino-Japanese word *tao* (tao) is used. Thus we find *nippon seishin* being explained also as *koko* (imperial way).

In the *Review*, Cultural Nippon, vol. VII No. 1, April 1939, there appeared an article by Ken Ishikawa on Ekiken's Thought and Reasoning in Yamatozokoku.

To be Continued

EDITORIAL

Ghana on the Security Council

THE 16th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations elected Ghana to the Security Council, by 88 votes. This was achieved by secret ballot.

The Ghana victory is not only a glorious vindication of her principled, militant, and progressive stand on international issues but also a spectacular triumph of the increasing influence of the forces of liberation in world councils.

Since it is an open secret that 1963 is the target date for Africa's freedom the years 1962-1963 are the years of Africa's destiny.

Throughout the length and breadth of Africa freedom fighters are rejoicing that their chief spokesman on the world's steering committee should be a country committed to the upholding of the interests of the indigenous masses.

La Republique de Guinee

Par C. L. Patterson

LE 28 Septembre 1958, la Guinée défraya incontestablement la chronique du jour. Elle venait de se détacher d'une façon spectaculaire de la Communauté Française en votant "NON", lors du fameux référendum. Elle fut le seul des huit anciens territoires français de l'Afrique Occidentale qui se déterminât ainsi, et naturellement à l'étranger, on voulait avoir tous les renseignements concernant ce pays, qui avait tout d'un coup frappé l'imagination du monde entier. Comment était-il ce peuple qui eut le courage d'accomplir un tel acte. Quelle était son histoire et la nature du pays qu'il habite?

En réalité, le peuple de Guinée ressemble aux autres peuples d'Afrique, qui ont souffert pendant des années sous la domination coloniale. Il habite un coin de la terre d'Afrique dont la structure est d'une variété extraordinaire, puisque la Guinée offre un échantillon de toute la topographie africaine: côte, savane, forêt et montagne. Aucun autre pays de l'Afrique Occidentale ne résume ainsi les phénomènes naturels de cette partie du monde.

Il y a tout d'abord la région côtière qu'on appelle la Basse Guinée, et où se trouve la capitale, Conakry. C'est une mince bande de terre basse, figée dans la falaise que constitue la retombée des plateaux du Fouta-Djalou. C'est là que l'on trouve de grands estuaires entourant des archipels marécageux. Les explorateurs portugais venus en Guinée vers le milieu du quinzisième siècle les appelaient des "rias", (mot portugais qui veut dire rivière), et c'est pourquoi il est souvent question dans leurs récits des Rivières du Sud.

Sauf les petits rubans rocheux du Cap Verga et la petite île de Kaloum; masse latéritique prolongée au large par les îles de Loos, centre touristique très recherché, cette région est entièrement basse et sans relief. C'est

une des régions les plus riches de Guinée et très propice à la culture rizicole. On y fait aussi de la pêche, on y cultive des fruits, des légumes, des palmiers à huile, des cocotiers et des arachides.

Le climat de la basse Guinée est assez humide. Conakry, par exemple a un total annuel moyen de pluie de 4.30 mètres: un des plus élevés de l'Afrique Occidentale. Il faut aller sur les flancs du mont Cameroun pour observer un niveau plus élevé. Bien que les pluies soient abondantes elles se situent entièrement entre Juin et Novembre. Le mois d'août est le plus humide et c'est alors que les pluies de mousson sont amenées par les vents du Sud-Ouest, se découpant à mesure qu'elles se jettent contre la masse montagneuse du Fouta Djalou.

On sait que plusieurs grandes rivières de l'Afrique Occidentale prennent leur source dans la grande arête qu'est le Fouta Djalou, telle que la Gambie, le Bafing (tributaires de la rivière Sénégal) et le Niger. Ces rivières passent par des vallées profondes d'où se dégagent de jolies cascades.

Pourtant, il faut noter que la saison sèche n'est pas si nettement accusée et que les pluies sont plus également réparties par suite vraisemblablement de l'influence des montagnes. La région du Fouta Djalou est un des endroits les plus froids de Guinée et, à Dalaba, il y a une station climatique qui est très recherchée pendant les grandes chaleurs.

L'élevage constitue l'occupation principale de cette région. Malheureusement le problème de la conservation du sol qui existe un peu partout en Afrique est ici d'une acuité toute particulière. Cela est sans doute le résultat de plusieurs facteurs dont de mauvaises habitudes de culture et de pacage.

On aborde la troisième région: la Haute Guinée, région de savanes et qui rappelle un peu le Nord du Ghana au-delà de Navrongo en allant vers la Haute Volta. Ici des plateaux relativement bas et monotones se succèdent. C'est une région qui par son climat et son paysage, rappelle le Mali. La saison sèche est très marquée et à Siguiri le total annuel des pluies est très faible pas plus de 10 mm. de décembre en mars.

Il ne nous reste maintenant qu'à parler de la région forestière de côté du Libéria et de la Côte d'Ivoire. C'est là que se trouve la fameuse arête de quartz du nimba, un des plus grands pics de l'Afrique Occidentale s'élevant à 1.752 mètres. C'est une région extrêmement riche en minerais de fer. Les pluies s'étendent sur huit mois de l'année et c'est la raison pour laquelle cette région est si boisée et l'est encore d'avantage plus on avance vers l'intérieur du Libéria. Avec la basse Guinée, la région forestière constitue ce qu'on peut appeler le grenier de la Guinée. On y trouve toutes les cultures déjà nommées, et en plus, le café et le copal.

Chacune de ces régions dont nous venons de parler possède des caractéristiques particulières également sur le plan des populations. Il y a par exemple les Soussous qui se trouvent pour la plupart en basse Guinée, les Peuls, peuple pastoral qui dit-on est d'origine saharienne. On y trouve des Tenda, les Malinkés de la haute Guinée, et dans la zone forestière de petits groupements de Guirzé et de Kono, qui s'étendent partiellement au Libéria et en Côte d'Ivoire.

Comme la plupart des capitales d'Afrique, Conakry est un carrefour où se confondent plusieurs races. La preuve c'est que sa population a passé de 26 mille en 1945 à 78 mille aujourd'hui. Mais peu importe la tribu à laquelle on appartient. C'est même un crime passible par la loi que de chercher à le savoir car les responsables de la République de Guinée se rappellent toujours les torts que les colonialistes ont fait à leur pays sur ce plan.

La préoccupation qui prime toute autre c'est de réparer les dégâts du passé colonial, et d'élaborer une politique qui promouvra le plein épanouissement du pays.

Foreign Investment and South African Struggle

by Special Correspondent

PRECISE figures of foreign investment in South Africa are available up to the end of 1956.

At that time foreign investment amounted to £1,396 million and by the end of 1959 this figure was believed to have grown to about £1,580 million.

More than half of all foreign investments have taken the form of investment in companies controlled outside South Africa (direct investment).

A very large proportion of foreign money is in the private sector of the South African economy and in this sector which at the end of 1957 accounted for 87 per cent of all foreign investment, direct investment was as high as 63 per cent.

Britain was the major supplier and about two-thirds of foreign direct investments and two-fifths of foreign indirect investments came from and were held by individuals or bodies resident in Britain.

The American stake was smaller and concentrated mainly in mining.

French and Swiss investors follow a long way behind. No other private source is of any significance.

South Africa could be attacked economically in three ways:

- (1) by denying it fresh capital and withdrawing existing capital,
- (2) by cutting off supplies of essential commodities, and
- (3) by boycotting South African exports.

Since Sharpeville investors have taken increased alarm

on political grounds, and capital has begun to flow out more rapidly.

Following March 21, 1960, French, Belgian and Swiss shares sold at once and at rapidly falling prices. On March 30, date of declaration of state of emergency, shares on the Johannesburg stock exchange fell by £70 million, gold shares losing 5 per cent of their market value.

By May 15, the loss since January was £600 million.

Total damage caused by the Cape Town strike to industry was £10 million.

By end of May the public was averse to investing their moneys and new ventures both home and abroad had to be postponed.

In April 1961, £500,000 a day was the net capital outflow from the country.

The voluntary withdrawal of all capital from the Union and refusal to advance fresh capital would lead to the collapse of the South African settler regime, and here again investors in Britain and the U.S.A. hold the key to the situation. They have made the Verwoerd regime and can unmake it.

The South African reserves stood at £153.2 million on the eve of Sharpeville. Two months after Sharpeville these reserves had fallen by £34.1 million.

A year later these reserves had fallen to £76 million. Since Sharpeville the South African exchange reserves had fallen by more than one-half.

Increased political pressure both at home and abroad would lead to the complete

disappearance of all exchange reserves. The stay-at-home campaign organised on the eve of the proclamation of the settler republic failed to affect both the fall in capital investments and the drop in reserves since it was a miserable flop.

Cutting off oil supplies to South Africa would seriously injure her economy. In 1959 86 per cent of South African oil supplies came from the Middle East.

Most of South Africa's oil comes from Iran (69 per cent in 1959) and Saudi Arabia (42 per cent in 1956). The oil monopolies are controlled mainly by U.S. and British capital. These rest from Iran over 70,000 million rials in oil profits every year. The United States and British investors therefore hold the key to the cutting off of supplies.

Other commodities through which the South African economy can be injured are metals, metal manufacturing, machinery and vehicles.

South Africa gets one-third of its outside needs from the United Kingdom and less than one-fifth from U.S.A.

South Africa's gold, uranium and diamonds are bought mainly by Britain and the U.S.A. Boycott of these would help to disrupt the South Africa's economy.

Boycott of South African goods involving gold, and uranium would be more effective, with the co-operation of Britain and the U.S.A. governments.

In the field of capital investment, cutting off essential supplies and boycotting South African goods the willingness of the British and the American investors or governments to co-operate would lead to the total collapse overnight of the South African economy.

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Dark clouds over Mozambique (III)

Mozambique as a Nation

by Dr. Edwin Munger

IF Portugal loses control over this huge country, will permanent partition ensue or will Mozambique retain its present geographical identity in a new nation? One doubts whether purely African nationalism could now hold the country together. It is one of the weaker strains of such nationalism on the continent because of the lack of African education, poor communications, and the suppression of African organizations. The Swahili-speaking Macuas of the north are drawn to Swahili-speaking Tanganyikans, and other tribal pulls affect Nhangas, Carangas, and Tonga tribesmen. However, politically conscious Mozambique Africans have been successful in rising above tribalism. Portugal's non-tribal direct administration has encouraged this.

Furthermore, of all the countries in southern Africa, Mozambique has the least specifically racial tension. The strides Portugal has made toward a non-racial Portuguese nationality may contribute significantly toward a non-racial Mozambique nationality, especially if an African leadership emerges comparable to that of Julius Nyerere's in Tanganyika. For Mozambique nationalism not only reaches beyond tribe, it reaches beyond race. Many factors favour the creation of a new nation. Should one be set up, the Portuguese born in Europe would naturally lose their superior position and some would leave. But many of them have developed a real identification with Mozambique significantly different from, say, that which the Belgians had for the Congo. Portuguese businessmen keep more

of their assets in Africa and retire here. It is unusual for a civil servant who has served for long in Mozambique to retire to Portugal and never return. Whatever racial prejudice may be institutionalized here is so minor compared with South Africa that it would disappear overnight.

Mozambique also has a growing population of locally-born whites. In the last decade they have ceased to be considered socially inferior to European-born Portuguese or, as was once true, to whites born in Goa. Many of those born in Mozambique feel a strong identification with Portugal but a stronger one with the territory. Their anti-Salazar feelings reflect this. Because of the high cost of visits to Europe—the annual European holiday of highly paid Congo Belgians has no parallel here—and the lack of jobs in Portugal for citizens of any race, the Portuguese feel committed to Mozambique.

Blended with the "white Portuguese" are the "white foreigners" of whom 1,500 speak English. Those locally-born of German, Italian, South African and other descent have an attachment for Mozambique but not necessarily for Portugal. Foreign businessmen have long pressed for consideration of Mozambique's economy before that of Portugal.

By their relatively tolerant racial attitudes the Portuguese have drawn toward them the minority groups which are repelled, for example, by the South African Government. The 8,000 odd Goans in Mozambique have a strong religious, occupational and national identification with the

metropolitan Portuguese. When I made a door-to-door survey in Pangim (Goa) a few years ago, there was no mistaking the loyalty to Lisbon of the many Goans who had been in Africa. This has roots in the days when Mozambique was a dependency of Goa and came under the Supreme Court there. However, the influx into Mozambique of metropolitan Portuguese has meant that fewer Goans occupy important positions in Mozambique than they did even a decade ago. The resulting dissatisfaction works toward a bond with other dissident elements, primarily white.

"Indians" and "Pakistanis" have less loyalty to the Portuguese. They have been actively harpered in their commercial dealings and their numbers have dropped to less than one-half of the Goans. A few Indian merchants are making secret deals with the African underground—as much to cover all bets as out of enthusiasm.

The Portuguese-African mixed population of over 25,000 is partially assimilated by the Portuguese but suffers from lack of education and economic opportunity. Although the group is probably loyal *en masse* to the administration, a few brainy and energetic individuals are active underground. Stories of "mulattoes" organizing plots in Angola have made the Mozambique Portuguese nervous. In a new African-led nation the mixed group would blend in easily. There is not the same distrust between it and the purely African population that exists between the Coloured and the African masses in South Africa.

The Assimilado System

Since 1917 the liberal Portuguese answer to problems of nationalism has been the *assimilado* system. To qualify as an *assimilado* an African must live as Portuguese in language, customs, etc. Although it has added a thin layer of support for the administration, the "solution" of gradually assimilating "civilized" Africans is a failure. By 1956 there were only 4,555 and of those only 206 had been added after 1950. The Government is strangely reticent these days on the numbers of *assimilados*. The Governor-General

evaded a direct question on the total when it was put by the representative of a foreign government. On previous visits to Mozambique, I had found that the number and rate of increase of *assimilados* were a source of pride and open discussion for some government officials. The gates have now been widened to include Africans with higher incomes but shy of some cultural requirements such as the ability to write Portuguese. But a policy of granting rights to indigenous people of a territory which embraces less than one-tenth of one per cent after 44 years is worthless in Africa 1961. The *assimilados* will have to provide the bulk of African leadership in a new nation. Although there is an understandable tension between some of them and their less-favoured fellow Africans, the wind of change will blow this away. Actually, the Portuguese have been aware for some years that the wide gap between so-called "civilized" Africans and the "tribal"

Africans required a separate approach. Professor Marcelo Caetano, former Minister of Colonies, has been pushing since 1955 for a category of rights for Africans who have left tribalism but are not *assimilados*. No announcement has been made of a major policy switch but striking changes in Mozambique date from the beginning of this year. Non-assimilated Africans can now be on the streets after 9.00 p.m. without passes. In practice they now attend certain cinemas and restaurants where they were formerly unwelcome. Racial discrimination is now prosecuted. The Conselho Administrator, Sr. G. Pires, told me in his office that he had just punished a "mulatto" restaurant owner for refusing to serve two non-assimilated but well-dressed Africans. Sr. Pires said "the mulatto deserves to be sent to Johannesburg or Little Rock." He also spoke of fining two "white" Portuguese cinema operators for a similar offence.

Another example of the new policy is in the Polana Hotel where I am writing. In deference to Rhodesian and South African visitors the hotel has long been segregated. The late Aly Khan caused a flutter a few years ago when he proposed having a cocktail party on the lawn. But a few hours ago, when I was having tea with a local couple, the Ghanaian Ambassador to Ethiopia, Miguel Augustus Ribeiro, came in with an aide and a Portuguese official. My companions said they had seen a few "mulattoes" and Asians at the Polana in the last two years but never before a "pure African."

To be Continued

STRIKE IT OUT

IT happened in Settler South Africa. The scene was the interior of the settler House of Assembly in Cape Town during the 1949 session. The debate centred around the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act sponsored by the settler government.

"This Bill, to my mind is the immoral offspring of an illicit union between racial superstition and biological ignorance," said one unofficial opposition M.P.

"Unfortunately for the Minister of the Interior, who is South Africa's leading political misanthropologist, humanity has been in the melting pot for unknown millennia, and it is too late for any section of mankind now to seek to give the sanction of law to the pseudo-biological phantasies about race purity which are incorporated in the Bill before the House."

The settler government ordered this part of the speech to be struck out of the records. And that was done.

This time it happened at Lake Success. A representative of settler South Africa told the UN Assembly that the result of their enslaving the Africans in their midst has been to make them better off than those in the Independent African States!

By an overwhelming majority settler South Africa was censured and the offending passage struck off the record.

Foreign Investment

Continued from page 38

The collapse of the economy would lead to the collapse of the fascist settler republic of South Africa which was ushered in on May 31 to the founding of a truly national republic.

The governments of Britain and the United States are under the control of forces that put economics before humanity. It is, therefore, a foregone conclusion that nothing short of a political miracle can induce them to disrupt South Africa's economy.

The British and American investors will continue not only to be a party to the oppression of the African people in South Africa but also to condone the monstrous atrocities of the settler regime and to give them their explicit or tacit support. Even when forced to pay lip-service to the struggle for freedom it can

safely be predicted that they cannot go beyond that.

The revolutionary task of the African masses therefore becomes that of positive action directed towards total disruption of the South African economy.

This eventually is desired by nobody but if it must be it must be. The P.A.C. as the mass political organisation of the people, is today committed to a peaceful solution of the problem.

The time is now overdue for them to review that commitment.

Whatever measures the South African masses take to redeem themselves from their slavery the only source where they could expect material and moral support seems to be from the peoples and governments of Africa and Asia and from the democrats of the world.