

Voice of AFRICA



COMMON MARKET OF A UNITED AFRICA

WE believe that overall economic planning on a continental basis is an inescapable necessity for the advancement of Africa.

I am convinced that we the independent States of Africa should now be thinking seriously of ways and means of building up a common market of a United Africa, rather than allow ourselves to be lured by the dubious advantages of the European Common Market.

Africa has for too long looked outwards for the development of its economy, transportation and even for its arts and culture. From now on, Africa must look inwards into the African continent for all aspects of its development.

Our communications in the past have stretched outwards to Europe and elsewhere, instead of developing internally, between our cities. All this must be changed.

We realise that it is only by our own exertions that we can bring progress, unity and strength into Africa.

—DR KWAME NKRUMAH

Contents		3 - MAR - 6
● UNITED STATES OF AFRICA	by Nana Kwabena Kena II	Copy 1963
● SOUTH AFRICA IS IN FERMENT	by Peter Molotsi	10
● THE RAPE OF SWAZILAND	by Fr. Trevor Bush	12
● TOWARDS A UNITED AFRICA	by Osagyefo Dr. Nkrumah	20/21
● HISTORY IS ON OUR SIDE		23

Towards **AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE** *and* **UNITY**

VICTORY may be delayed or obstructed, but it can never be snatched away. You the patriotic sons of the Motherland now engaged in a glorious struggle at home to dislodge the wily foreign oppressors must realise this; you must not let yourselves be distracted by side shows and imperialist sponsored fissiparous tendencies. Keep the flag flying; the flag of African Independence and Unity. You have got many friends and sympathisers abroad. You are therefore not alone in your struggle. At the same time you must be sure that by doing this you are keeping up the sound and time-honoured tradition of fighting your own battles yourselves; excessive reliance on outside supports is delusive and dangerous. The torch has been lighted; it will burn on for ever and ever. **FORWARD EVER BACKWARD NEVER.**

Those of you, sons and daughters of Africa, who are fortunate to be abroad, have a special duty in fully girding yourselves for the struggle which awaits you at home. At the cross-roads, where we find ourselves, we have no room for ideological differences. You must close your ranks and strengthen the foundations of monolithic pan-continental fraternity dedicated to the immediate liberation of the African Motherland and the ushering in of a bright and glorious New Order—A United States of Africa.

Above all read; read. Read everything, something of everything. It will enable you to break the one-sided indoctrination to which the Motherland has been subjected by the stubborn imperialists. It will enable you to develop a critical acumen, to increase your vigilance, to sharpen your sword for the rapidly approaching final show-down with the foreign oppression. Furthermore, it will enable you to see Africa in her true setting and the role the imperialists and their agencies have been playing therein since the last century. Africa must be liberated. Remember always that you have four stages to make:—

- THE ATTAINMENT OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE;
 - THE CONSOLIDATION OF THAT FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE
 - THE CREATION OF UNITY AND COMMUNITY BETWEEN THE
 - FREE AFRICAN STATES;
 - THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AFRICA
- FORWARD THEN TO INDEPENDENCE. TO INDEPENDENCE NOW
TOMORROW THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA.**

Guilty men . . .

Oliveira Salazar



SALAZAR: Guilty as Charged

THE Portuguese masses are not morons but forces heavier than frost have for centuries weighed upon them until today they behave like morons. They are victims of a chain of unfortunate circumstances.

Such is the environment that produced Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. For Portugal and for Africa 1889, the year when the fascist colonialist dictator-monster was born, was indeed a year of ill-omen.

Tony Salazar later left his home village of Santa Comba Dao and became a "professor" thus confirming the saying that in the land of morons the near mediocre is king.

This lean-witted and uninspiring "professor" of law at the "University" of Coimbra lived in obscurity until 1928 when Dictator Carmona overthrew the existing republican feudal regime and replaced it with a fascist feudalistic regime.

From 1928 to 1940 Tony was Minister of Finance and he imposed a ruthless budget upon the Portuguese and their colonies. Such a budget did not pull Portugal's economy from its primitiveness. To this day that economy remains the most rural and most backward in all Europe.

Continued on next page

Hendrik Verwoerd



VERWOERD: Convict No. 1 of Sharpeville Incident

HIS parents named (or christened?) him Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd. The settlers call him Dr. Verwoerd and the African people Dr. *Vuilgoed* (Dr. Rubbish).

Born 60 years ago in Holland, Verwoerd obtained his schooling in three fascist nurseries: Settler South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Germany.

He is an intellectual and faced the inescapable choice between supporting the slave-owners and the slaves. He made his choice and enjoys an "enviable" position today: chief Boss-boy of the South African Chamber of Mines, the main body of slave-owners in South Africa. His primary function is to ensure the uninterrupted flow of profits for his bosses.

An early tiff with his prospective bosses was nearly his undoing. He wrote ardent leaders supporting the Nazi cause during the last war. The Johannesburg *Star*, organ of the mining interests rebuked him. He sued them for libel and lost. The presiding judge ruled that: "he did support Nazi propaganda, he did make his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa and he knew it."

Continued on next page

Oliveira Salazar

In 1930 as chief agent of the colonial oppressor, alias Minister of Colonies, Tony Salazar drafted and piloted the colonial act which governed the administration of the Portuguese colonial empire.

It was the Carmona fascist regime which destroyed the nascent colonial legislatures of an earlier regime on the ground that these were the breeding ground of agitators and Salazar's colonial act was their chief instrument.

On the death of Carmona in 1951 Salazar became President of the Fascist Corporate State, a position to which he was sworn in on August 9, 1951 and which he has held to this day.

By proving to his admirers that he could out-fascist the fascists, Salazar had qualified for the position of head of government and head of state.

Salazar claims that "the Negro has got his intelligence at the tail and not in the head." This is the spurious logic of the hind-thinking man. Small wonder that after thriving upon colonial exploitation for four hundred years the Portuguese remain the most backward and uncivilised and degenerate people on the European continent. And still they claim that they can "civilise" and "advance" the African people. And that is another example of the spurious logic of the hind-thinking man.

In 1952 by a stroke of the pen, Salazar converted the Portuguese colonies into "Portuguese overseas provinces." By this ruse he hoped to swindle the United Nations into believing that Portugal has no more colonies.

The African people themselves are today wise to all the tricks of the colonialists and imperialists. They are fully aware of the fact that a colony by any other name will smell as foul.

Salazar has openly declared himself an enemy of liberalism, humanism and democracy and he has lived up to his declarations.

In spite of all this, Salazar has powerful friends and these include the whole of the NATO military bloc. The fact that they can have a friend like Salazar when they wish to boast that they are "civilised" and "free"

Continued on page 25

Hendrik Verwoerd

He ran for the 1948 settler parliament and lost. He was then nominated as senator and soon became the chief stores clerk for African cheap labour *alias* "Minister of Native Affairs."

His greatest asset for this job lay in his having convinced the settlers that God Himself had chosen them to be the boss-boys of the colonialists and imperialists.

He rolled up his sleeves to deliver the goods. He made a law to consolidate and co-ordinate the pass laws and called it the "Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of other Documents Act."

It was intended to facilitate the procuring of cheap labour.

He made another law this time to ensure that the top Boer boss-boys get their fair share of cheap labour. He called this law the "Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act." It was intended to help the Boer "Government" to set up border factories in the "reserves" in competition with the English and Jews.

Today the consolidation of this measure claims that it aims at the promotion of full internal self-government for the "Bantu."

He was a party to a law to crush the African liberation movement and this was called the "Suppression of Communism Act." When that failed the "Unlawful Organisation Act" under which the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress were outlawed was passed.

By deciding on and launching final and decisive positive action against the pass laws the African people forced the mask off this fiendish brutish gentleman crook and 69 of them were ruthlessly massacred at Sharpeville.

Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd is convict No. 1 of the Sharpeville and Windhoek massacres.

He decided on republican settler regime. This gave the progressive forces within the Commonwealth the long-awaited chance to throw him out. The British Government decided to back him to the hilt but their approach had to be "diplomatic". Duncan Sandys canvassed for disapproval for apartheid and approval of South Africa's stay in the Commonwealth. The ruse failed and Verwoerd was booted out.

Continued on page 25



Published by the

Bureau of African Affairs

and

Printed in the

REPUBLIC OF GHANA

by the

Guinea Press Ltd., (and reduced), Accra

Subscriptions:

Subscription fee is 9/- or its equivalent in other currencies per annum (postage inclusive)

A copy of the VOICE costs 9d.

Subscriptions should be addressed to
BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS
P.O. Box M24, Accra, Ghana

Editor-in-Chief:
KOFI BATSA

Voice of Africa

Vol. 2 No. 3

March 1962

A MAGAZINE OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

EDITORIALS

Ruanda-Urundi Freedom

THE movement for the freedom and independence of the Belgian-administered 54,000 square-mile Trusteeship Territory of Ruanda-Urundi poses the crucial question of independence in unity.

For 16 years Belgians exercised trust over the territory but betrayed that trust in the interests of the Belgian mining houses and of other imperialist and neo-imperialist interests. In the administration of Ruanda-Urundi the Belgians ruthlessly applied the imperialist technique of DIVIDE ET IMPERA aimed at the maintenance of this territory as a reservoir of cheap labour for the infamous Union Miniere. For such policy to continue even after "independence" it became crucial for the Belgian vested interests to create their own Tshombes and Kalonjis even as they had done in the Congo.

It was in pursuance of such policy that on the eve of the independence of Ruanda-Urundi the Belgians fanned the flames of inter-communal hatreds and diabolically set up separate legislatures for Ruanda and Urundi which they themselves had been ruling as an entity. And once elections had taken place under such conditions the Belgians knew that the die of disunity had been cast. Having fought elections for separate legislatures the "victorious" leaders now felt they had a vested interest in the continuation of that disunity.

The Afro-Asian bid to heal the breach of that disunity deserves praise. Because the Belgians had had the advantage of sixteen years of

March, 1962 • 3

colonialist machinations over them, the Afro-Asians fought an ostensibly losing battle. They and the Ruanda-Urundi fighters for unity are, however, bound to win the war for unity and independence as the scales begin to fall off the people's eyes and as the movement for unity and independence gains momentum.

The UN must be congratulated on setting July 1, as tentative independence date for Ruanda and Urundi and on their grim determination to create foundations of political unity among them.

It is in the interests of the five million Ruanda-Urundians and the 260 million Africans that the independence and unity of Ruanda-Urundi should be a living reality.

Britain's Foul Role

THE news that the British Government has delivered tear-gas to the so-called government of the Republic of South Africa exposes further the foul role of the British Government in colonial Africa in general and colonialist South Africa in particular.

Because of the £1,000 million that British financiers have invested in South Africa they have a vital stake in the maintenance of Apartheid and of White domination.

Since British investors, who are the legitimate wards of the British Government, thrive upon the *dirty*, cheap African labour inherent in the system of White domination, the only choice open to the British Government is to support them. The British Government are therefore, a party to the plot to enslave the African for ever and as such are irrevocably committed to supporting the perpetual African enslavement.

The tear-gas delivery is the concrete expression of that support.

That is why the British ruling class cannot help feeding the British people on the staple diet of the BIG LIE that they live in the FREE WORLD.

And small wonder that the sun never sets on the British Empire because no one can trust the British imperialists even in broad daylight!

The Darkening Horizon

LIKE all the remaining by-products of imperial and colonial slavery this day still precariously balanced in certain parts of this continent which still have to be liberated, the South African settler regime is being compelled by the fast changing events of our epoch to become even more stupid and confounded.

Africa has devised and accepted an ideology which instils fear into the hearts of these shaky and isolated remnants of the protagonists of racial arrogance.

As the black man lays an unconditional claim to every inch of this vast continent as his own heritage, we find a settler regime occupying the Southern tip of the continent, nervously trying to gather up courage by issuing hysterical but empty military threats calculated to intimidate no one in particular except the settler regime itself.

The regime recently issued a startling statement through its Defence Minister J. J. Fouche that Republican South Africa was faced with serious internal and external dangers. The borders of the settler Republic would have to be patrolled by army helicopters, in particular the Republic's South-West African border.

Speaking in Parliament recently, Fouche was again at pains to inform his cowardly and confounded followers that the clouds on the horizon darken by the minute. He observed that the Korean frontier was once far away from them, but he regretted to say today it was much nearer than many of them actually realised. This is true and we find ourselves agreeing with Fouche for a change!

It can never be difficult, even for the most simple minded person with the scantiest knowledge of settler arrogance and stupidity, to make a clear analysis of the jargon and hot air this little man is so fond of puffing out even at odd moments.

The simple reason is that the torch of African liberation is fast approaching Cape Town where the whole of free and united Africa will soon celebrate the total and permanent defeat of

Continued on page 28

FELIX MOUMIE

Martyred Freedom Fighter

WHEN the news finally came out from a Geneva hospital on the 3rd November, 1960, it was the shocking revelation that Dr. Felix Roland Moumie, President of the Union of the Populations of the Cameroons, had succumbed to the poison administered to him by the murderous secret Red Hand Organisation of France. His death brought to an end, once again, a chapter in the life and struggle of one of Africa's greatest nationalist leaders, precisely twenty-six months after the General Secretary and Co-founder of UPC—Mr. Ruben Um Nyobe—had been callously murdered by the French army in the Kamerun. The whole history is woven in the overall picture of the determined efforts by all Africans to free themselves from the yoke of the long tortuous and frustrating colonial domination.

Dr. Moumie belonged to the Bamileke tribe of Fomlan region in the South-western Cameroon Republic. He graduated as a physician at the University of Dakar, Senegal. Back in the Kamerun, he became a member and the President of UPC which was formed in 1948 with the slogan INDEPENDENCE AND UNIFICATION of the Kamerun as in the German era. His nationalism emerged from the deep-seated love for his people and the country to which he belonged. Once a slogan had been found, he plunged doggedly to full swing, in his characteristic relentless and dauntless fighting spirit, to achieve the thirsty goal of independence from France.

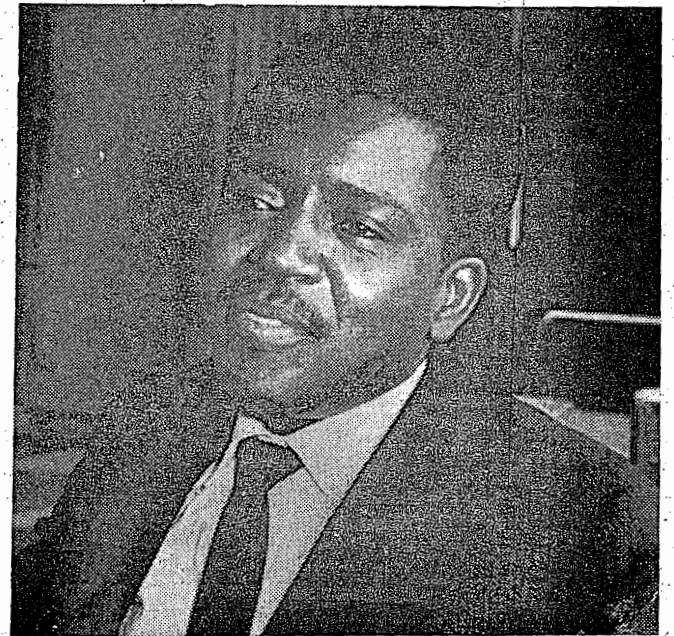
The French authorities watched with disquiet and fear as he moved frequently between Cameroon and U.N. to plead the case of Kamerun. The result was that in 1955 the party was banned when

the forbearance of the thought of an ultimate death knell on French colonialism in the Kamerun collapsed. Consequently Dr. Moumie and other members of his party sought refuge in a friendly country where he and his followers adamantly and consistently launched two frontal attacks against French colonialism within and outside the country.

Under his leadership, the party, well organised, and with a clear cut policy, was the largest and most powerful single party in the Kamerun. This explains why, despite his absence from the country, the French never succeeded in suppressing nor wiping out the party and its injections of influence. His Pan-Africanist outlook was the dedication and sacrifice of his life for the total liberation of the whole of Africa. Ironically he died fighting for the cause of Congo and the other nationalist leader—Patrice Lumumba—while his house was in disorder.

It is an irony of fate that while he lived to see independence achieved, he did not live long enough to see Kamerun united (1st October, 1961), nor had he the fortune of enjoying the fruit of his arduous labour which should have been his logical right. But every one who knew him well would feel that the partial unification of his country, which Britain succeeded in manoeuvring in collaboration with the U.N. Mission which Mr. Jha of India headed, would never have satisfied him.

The current trouble in the Cameroon is a legacy left by France which has been noted for her confused and instable political history. But what the fascist Red Hand forgot was that it was Moumie of the flesh they destroyed and not Moumie the ideal. Yes, Dr. Moumie died at the age of 36 but his ideals and name have, and will continue to live in the minds of Kamerunians, in particular, and African freedom fighters as a whole.



DR. FELIX ROLAND MOUMIE

United States of Africa

by H. E. Nana Kena II, (Former Ghana High Commissioner in India)

THE great Continent of Africa is passing through a period of change; and a true understanding of present and coming events is of importance for the peace of the world.

The present decade has seen a keen awakening all over Africa. The trends of events in Africa and Asia during the last few years have demonstrated that African and Asian nationalism has come to stay. For many centuries Africa has been dominated and exploited by imperialist powers for their own gain. Centuries of domination stifled that in the African which distinguished his personality and made him capable of progress. Social theories were evolved and the world came to accept social and anthropological theories which sought to prove that the African was intrinsically inferior and incapable of progress. Years of usage tended to force the African himself to accept this position of inferiority. But now things have changed. Today it is Spring again in Africa and the African is no longer prepared to accept an inferior position.

Recent events in the Congo and other parts of Africa have been disquieting. The causes of these incidents are obvious and it is sheer hypocrisy to lay the blame at other people's door. The greatest problem in Africa today, to which a quick solution must be found, is how independent African states could preserve their hard-won independence and sovereignty.

The people of Africa have a choice of three things: to unite, to stand separately and disintegrate, or to sell themselves to foreign powers. If the

United States, the Soviet Union, China and India could achieve unity in diversity, there is no reason why Africa should not. If Russia could unite 16 states in the Soviet Socialist Republic, and America 50 states in the United States of America, no power can prevent a similar union of African states, provided the African leaders themselves realise that this is their only salvation. In the opinion of the Ghana Government, if the African states do not form a real political union, we can see nothing that can save Africa.

A vivid picture of the danger threatening us in Africa is provided by the present example of colonialist and imperialist intrigues in the Congo.

The fact that Congo has achieved independence has not prevented her detractors from causing trouble and dissension by subversion or overt treachery in persuading some states to secede and in trying to incite one leader against the other. What is happening in the Congo today is a positive warning to all Africans to unite in action to defend and preserve the independence of Africa.

This century—the twentieth century—is one of African liberation. The year 1960 was the most challenging and significant year in this historic development. It was the year of the climax of the revolution in which Africa had rebelled against the scheme and injustice which for so long had plagued her. The clarion command in the words of Dr. Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, echoes across the mountains and the valleys, across the rivers and the lakes,



NANA KWABENA KENA II

across the oceans and the deserts, "Hands off Africa", "Hands off Africa".

We in this African liberation movement are fully alert to this new form of colonialism, which is struggling to get a hold in our continent. To perpetuate imperialism in Africa, the colonial powers now make it a point to grant fake independence, chaos ensues and this enables the ex-colonial master to re-enter the territory on the pretext of maintaining security, law and order. Their idea is to grant independence with one hand, and take it back with other. We vehemently oppose this chicanery of granting fake independence. We demand real independence for all the African territories still under foreign domination. We demand that when the colonial powers quit, they quit for good, baggage and all, and leave us to sink or swim.

The time has now come, we feel, when we must speak to our detractors in plain blunt words. We are telling them that we know the game they are playing and that we are tired of watching it and demand that they play it no more. Every African wants and is determined to make his own contribution to the world and this can only be done in an atmosphere of political and economic freedom.

Ghana like India evolved a foreign policy based upon positive neutralism and non-alignment. We are convinced that by our policy of non-alignment, we are able to speak our mind without fear or favour on international issues as they arise.

Our policy is not a negative one. Positive neutralism and non-alignment do not necessarily mean keeping from the burning international issues. On the contrary it means a positive stand based on our own convictions completely uninfluenced by any of the power-blocs. As clearly demonstrated by the President of Ghana in the United Nations General Assembly debate, we believe that along with like-minded people like India's illustrious statesman and politician, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, we in Ghana could help to bridge the unfortunate and undesirable gap between the so-called East and West blocs by not aligning ourselves to either side. We hold the view that as to the issues between them, neither bloc can claim to be permanently right or permanently wrong.

Ghana Shows the Light

As such it will not be in the best interest of international understanding and unity for us and other independent states in Africa to involve in the disputes of power blocs by taking sides. We will continue to cultivate and maintain friendly relations with all countries and be enemy to none.

Concerning Africa, Ghana has shown the light and the people will surely find their way. We are proud of our achievement in this regard and we make no apologies whatsoever to any one for the role Ghana continues to play in pursuing the cause of independence and unity of Africa.

We shall continue to give encouragement, comfort and support to nationalist movements for independence throughout Africa. One of the cardinal tenets of our policy is to see all Africa free from foreign rule, for we believe that freedom for Africans in their native continent of Africa is essential for world peace. The great wave of nationalism which the British Prime Minister has termed the "wind of change" is a real hurricane sweeping Africa; it is a

force that no one can hold in check. Whether the protagonists of colonialism like it or not, and whatever will be their machinations, African nationalism will not budge an inch until the whole of Africa is free from foreign rule.

Africa is in rebellion against oppression and discrimination and is now a continent to be reckoned with. All sections of opinion in Ghana agree with the policy of our government in the conduct of our relations with foreign countries, and the established objectives of our policy in Africa are two: namely independence and unity. By this we mean that we have dedicated ourselves to the cause of African redemption. When the peoples of Africa have gained their freedom and independence, it is essential in the best interests of our common security and prosperity that we should all work together to establish the union of African states.

The Convention People's Party, the ruling political party in Ghana today, led by our dynamic President Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has achieved tremendous success in the struggle for African freedom. A little over ten years ago since President Nkrumah took the courage to declare "positive action", the nationalist movements throughout Africa have gained momentum with ever increasing speed. All over the Continent of Africa, the Africans are asserting their right to govern themselves, and there is a determined demand for complete independence and unity. The colonial powers have now been compelled to recognise the force of African nationalism and they have now realised that it is absolutely impossible, and, in fact, unrealistic on their part to resist the rising tide of nationalism in Africa.

Colonial Independence

The new policy or concept of "colonial independence" which colonial powers are now planning to adopt is a policy intended to create several weak independent states in Africa. These states are designed to be so weak and unstable in the organisation of their economies and administration that they will be compelled by internal as well as external pressures, to continue to

depend upon the colonial powers who have ruled them for several years.

The weaker and the less stable an African state is, the easier it is for the colonial power concerned to continue to dominate the affairs and fortunes of the new state, even though it is supposed to have gained independence. *This policy of creating several unstable and weak, but none the less, independent states in Africa is the same policy adopted by the Great Powers at the Congress of Vienna which balkanised Eastern Europe.*

Tremendous Impact

It is now an undisputable historical fact that the creation of smaller independent states in Europe provided the fertile soil, out of which developed the national jealousies, dissensions and disputes which culminated in the First and Second World Wars.

There is strength in the political unity of our continent and that is why the government of Ghana, as the vanguard for African liberation, is always against any policy aiming at the balkanization of Africa into small, weak and unstable states. We, in Ghana, believe that consideration of mutual security and prosperity of our people demands that all the independent states in Africa should work together to create a union of African states.

Fruitless Rivalries

We are aware of the various plans of the colonial powers and the enemies of African freedom to check the movements for independence and unity of Africa. We are determined not to fall victims to these plans.

The imperialists know that a union of independent states of Africa will be a force to reckon with in world affairs. They are aware of the tremendous impact a free and united Africa can have on all aspects of world affairs.

They would prefer Africa balkanised into small states which will dissipate their energies and efforts in fruitless rivalries among themselves for they know that independence without unity can still give them room in our continent to perpetuate economic imperialism and racial discrimination.

It is, therefore, plain common-sense and in Africa's own interest that the attainment of national independence by new African states should be accompanied by the evolving of an African personality within an African community.

Fortunately, in Africa today there is a healthy wave of nationalism and leaders throughout Africa are pre-occupied in their respective territories with the achievement of political independence, and the idea of the unity of the continent—the desirability of the union of African states or republics—is broadly acceptable to all leaders and movements of Africa.

Inspired by the example of the thirteen American colonies, which, on the attainment of their independence constituted themselves into a confederacy which ultimately developed into the United States of America, inspired also by the tendencies among the people of Europe, Asia and the Middle East, to organise in a rational manner; and inspired further by the declaration of the Accra Conference regarding the African personality, the governments of Ghana and Guinea have agreed to constitute their two states as the nucleus of a union of West African States.

As a first step, the two countries have agreed to adopt a Union Flag and to develop between them the closest contacts in order to harmonise the policies of our two states, especially in the fields of defence and economic affairs. Our next step is to work out a Constitution giving effect to the establishment of the Union.

In preaching and practising the unity of African States, Ghana is motivated not by any ambition for political hegemony in Africa but by a genuine, burning desire to bring to the realisation of Africans the intrinsic worth and appeal of a union which can successfully resist the onslaught of foxy imperialistic domination, direct or indirect, in any field of national

activity, and to bring about the voluntary formation of a United States of Africa. As evidence of the selfless role Ghana is playing, there is a provision in our Constitution which enables her, if necessary, to surrender in whole or in part her sovereignty to facilitate the achievement of a Union of African States.

Differences in culture, language, and political outlook, no doubt exist in Africa, but they can be overcome. Our goal is one of unity in diversity, and the length of time it will take to achieve it and the difficulties that will have to be surmounted, make it all the more priceless to Africans and strengthen our zeal and moral courage to strive for it.

I should like to refer now to the most regrettable situation in Algeria. For more than six years the sands of Algeria have been stained red with blood and French and Algerian youths in their thousands have been hastened to their death in an attempt to maintain an impossible fiction that Algeria is part of France. France cannot win a military victory in Algeria, and the only way out of this tragic situation is the way of negotiation. My government strongly feels that whatever has happened in Algeria, French and the Algerian nationalist governments can still sit face to face on equal terms and work out a plan that will bring peace to both sides.

Algeria is part of Africa. The Algerian question is, therefore, essentially an African question; and it must be put within the context of the struggle of the African peoples to free themselves from foreign domination. Algeria is not part of Europe and, therefore, cannot be part of France. We refuse to accept the juristic theory that any part of the African Continent can be, or is, part of Europe.

In some parts of Africa the struggle is made difficult by another fact, the existence of a small European settler community whose interests conflict with the rightful aspirations of the

majority of the African population and who yet arrogate to themselves the right to determine the policy of administration which amounts to nothing but repression and arbitrary rule. It is in these areas that mock democracy is practised by the white people, who in other circumstances would proclaim it from house-tops. The situation in South Africa is an apology for democracy. For, how can any righteous person assert that a country is free where so many citizens are inhumanly suppressed, repressed and oppressed by so few?

The government and people of Ghana believe that, in spite of the complexity of the problems which confront us in modern international life and the high tensions which exist in different parts of the world today, there is still hope for the survival of mankind in the cosmic scheme of things.

In her struggle against imperialism, Africa expects to have the sympathy of all freedom loving people everywhere. Africa expects the support of her brothers in Asia, for they understand more than any other people what it is to be under colonial rule. I agree with the great Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, when he urged Asians in Africa to identify their interests with those of the Africans and there is no doubt that the Asians see eye to eye with him.

Africa is for ever awake and she will never go to sleep again. If there is to be peace, security and stability in the international community, we should all realise that man is not the enemy of his fellow-man. The real enemies of man are disease, poverty and squalor and we should all agree among ourselves to fight against these real enemies of mankind, eliminate them from our national as well as international life, and establish a new system of human relationship and a new conception of human good based on freedom, justice and truth.

This, in my view, is the greatest challenge of our time.

Sinful, Sinister and Slothful Duncan Sandys Does it Again

IF there is any nation which is stupidly blind to history, the British are No. 1. The African people of Central Africa have told the Englishmen that they do not want Federation in any form. But these ungodly islanders continue to confuse the situation in an effort to preserve their so-called spheres of influence. Ghastly! Sandys, has been in the Rhodesias for nearly two weeks and all that he has been able to do is to sell the idea of a "Federation of Rhodesia and Barotseland." Stupid!

Some elementary facts seem to elude the slothful mind of Duncan Sandys and his co-imperialists, and among these are the following:

Historically and ethnically Barotseland is an integral part of Northern Rhodesia and is by no stretch of the imagination a separate entity. The Barotses have rejected the imperialist idea of separating their province from Northern Rhodesia. The application of the imperialist technique of divide and rule in Uganda, Congo and in Ghana failed lamentably and is bound to meet a similar fate in the case of Northern Rhodesia. In the Congo with their ugly unreasonable and slothful puppet Tshombe they have failed; and they are attempting it in Kenya, where even the most stupid boy from

Eton will tell them that they will FAIL!

Sandys, do you realise that the aging aristocratic potentates you are misleading in Barotseland can never hope to carry the day!

The United National Independence Party (UNIP) have told you Britons that:

(a) Federation must go right now,

(b) Africans must have a representative majority in the country's Legislature.

(c) Barotseland is part and parcel of Northern Rhodesia and NO POWER ON EARTH will decree it otherwise!

On these, UNIP is prepared to fight to the finish! Britons, put these facts into your pipes and smoke them. Africa is awake to your Tshombeistic manoeuvres and is ready to crush them.

Sandys, you have sown the wind, and you are bound to reap the whirlwind! YOU WILL NOT BE FORGIVEN!

You (Britons) sanctimonious liars and hypocrites; break-up this infamous and diabolic "Federation" if you want peace to come to Central Africa. Give the African people what they demand: THE RIGHT TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. On this alone rests your only chance of respectability on earth.



DUNCAN SANDYS: British Die-hard Imperialist

South Africa is in Ferment

by Peter Molotsi (Excerpts from his speech delivered at the Addis Ababa PAFMECSA Conference)

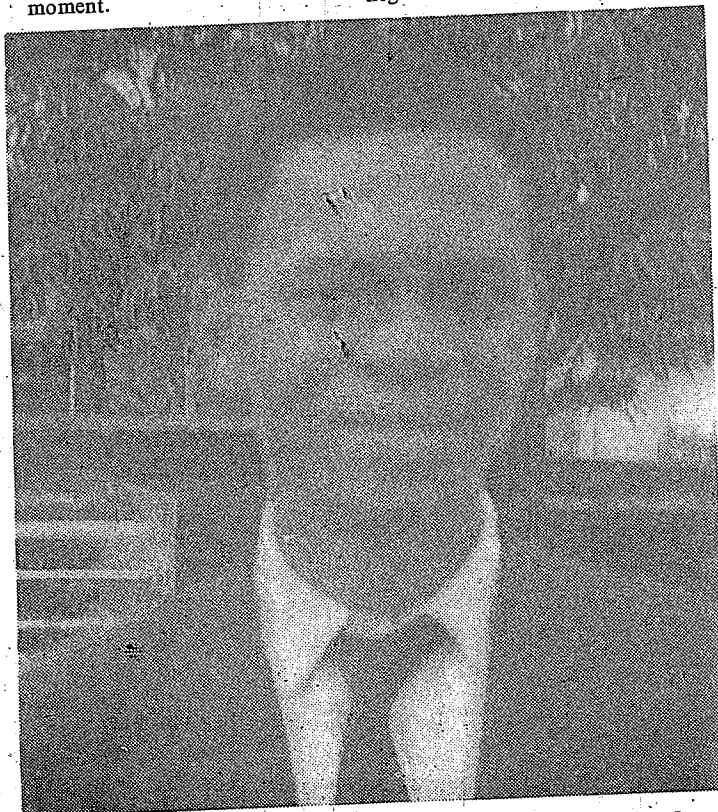
THE whole of Southern Africa is in ferment and the liberatory forces of Mozambique, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, South Africa and South-West Africa are pausing momentarily to take stock of their situation before plunging into that last phase of the liberatory struggle that will rid Africa once and for all of colonial enslavement, white domination and racial arrogance.

We regret that with the war clouds on the horizon, with the war-drums taking on a shriller note every day and every hour, as the Welensky-Salazar-Verwoerd axis prepares to make a last-ditch stand, we cannot pause long enough to try and recapture the glory that was Africa.

We are certain that we are voicing the hopes and dreams of the Pan-Africanist youth here assembled that at another time, we may meet again here with the tools not of war but of research with our archaeologists and architects to try to recreate our lost and buried cities; when from the southern regions of Ethiopia, Konso and Kaffa, which have managed throughout the centuries to preserve some secrets out of the African past, we may find pathways that will take us back into antiquity and throw light on the Azanian civilization which flourished in the territories that are now Tanganyika and Kenya and whose traces extend as far south as Rhodesia, Mozambique and the Transvaal.

- We shall rediscover the lost shrines.
- We shall throw new light on the golden treasures and the golden burials of Mapungubwe.

- We shall rebuild the ancient Zimbabwe ruins. Azania shall relive. Timbuktu shall be re-peopled.
- We shall reclaim our lost heritage! But enough!
- Let us harken to the things of the moment.



PETER MOLOTSI

What of Africa?

"There she stands in the centre of the World,
The cinderella of the ages;
Naked but unashamed,
Morally superior to her despoilers".

A week ago 20 African States met in summit—a meeting pregnant with possibilities, a meeting which should have crystallised the hopes and dreams and yearnings of millions of Africans and set a new course for the liberatory forces poised in the brink of a final onslaught on the last bastion of white domination now closely guarded by NATO arms and western armaments.

At such a moment of breathless expectation, of unparalleled possibilities, word went out from the high councils of Africa appealing to Britain, France and America to negotiate with South Africa!

Is it perhaps that the African States have failed to gauge the temper of the nationalist freedom fighters in Africa? Are they so out of touch with colonial intransigence and the determination of the Welensky-Salazar-Verwoerd axis, backed by present and former metropolitan colonial powers to fight to the last ditch? Is it perhaps that the African States have failed to appreciate the urgency, the desperate gravity of the Southern African situation?

We live in a crucial moment, at a time for far-reaching decisions. The future of Africa is at stake. This is the time to speak and having spoken, to act. If the struggle in Africa is to be co-ordinated, if it has to have purpose and direction then the African States must realise that any decision or resolution they take without direct consultation with the recognised freedom movements in any particular area, will not only hamper and confuse the struggle, but has within it the seeds of throwing Africa into warring and conflicting camps—and this we submit, Africa cannot afford.

Co-ordination of Revolutionary Action

Africa has paid a heavy price in blood—is it not stated somewhere that the history of Africa is written in blood?—because for centuries we have never tried to co-ordinate our plans in resisting imperialism and colonialism. We have fought in isolation—we have planned in isolation—and the net result has been the dismemberment of Africa.

Whilst we sat in majestic isolation from one another, Europe came together in 1885 and the scramble for Africa began in earnest. We were defenceless against their combined planning. The planning is still going on on a more subtle basis; thus in the language of neo-colonialism Africa is now described as falling within the sphere of influence of certain western powers.

Is Africa to be raped again and be made a speculator's paradise, an outlet of western investment? Is Africa to be duped again with the shadow of freedom as opposed to the substance which is absolute self-determination?

Conscious of the historic role of the Pan-Africanist youth, the re-

cent Consultative Conference of the Pan-Africanist Congress leaders abroad meeting in Accra from January 21/22 directed its call not to European powers to speed up the liberatory struggle in Africa but to the nationalist forces engaged in the actual life and death struggle. Among other things it proposed:—

In an effort to co-ordinate and speed up the liberatory struggle in Africa, and believing that the liberatory struggle must go hand in hand with the move for African unity, the PAC leadership have decided as a priority to urge for the establishment of consultative machinery between the nationalist leaders of the peoples of Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Angola, S.W. Africa and South Africa.

The price in terms of loss of life will be heavy but it will be nothing compared to the losses that would result should the nationalist leaders fail to co-ordinate their efforts. In South Africa the toll in losses is already rising.

In Pondoland for almost three years now the Africans have fought bravely with their backs to the wall. They are faced with NATO arms and with nothing to detract the settler army from concentrating all their heavy artillery on them, they are cut off from fresh supplies and have to content with old and rusty World War I weapons. This is the tragic recurring feature of the African liberatory struggle. We have for too long fought in isolation—and we have for too long allowed ourselves to be outnumbered, outmanoeuvred, and outclassed.

We hope that this conference will decide as a priority on the creation of SPECIALISED AGENCIES which will be at the disposal of the Pan-Africanist freedom movements to help with specialised knowledge in the planning and speeding up of the liberatory struggle.

South Africa

We said it elsewhere and we wish to repeat it here that a situation is building up in South Africa which will only compare with Algeria, because we have in our country a minority white settlement of three million which will fight every inch of the way to maintain its privileged position.

Because we love freedom more, because we value human dignity more, our people have faced twentieth century weapons of destruction unarmed and defenceless, ready to die in the belief that their blood will nourish a new generation born to freedom and the African search for unity and solidarity.

In spite of momentary drawbacks in South Africa today the struggle continues unabated. We have crossed our historical Rubicon. We have burnt our boats and for us there can be no turning back. The liberatory movement continues to suffer bludgeons, blows and harassment under the so-called Unlawful Organisations Act from the trigger-happy armed police and soldiery of the alien government. Our leaders and activists continue to suffer victimisation and untold persecution in the prisons of the settler oppressors.

Only fourteen days ago we learnt that Elliot Mfana, a member of our national executive committee, is now paralysed as result of the torture. Messrs Makwetu and Sokanyile were arrested in Pondoland where they will not be brought to trial because a "State of emergency" still exists in that part of our land. Numerous other freedom fighters are still being banned, banished and rusticated. Yet the determination of our people to win freedom and self-determination is unflagging and unmistakable for "the wind that is blowing across Africa is no ordinary wind but a raging hurricane."

It becomes necessary at this stage that we should pin-point certain aspects of the S.A. situation which may mislead outsiders unfamiliar with S.A. internal politics.

The so-called "self-determination" announced by Dr. Verwoerd for the Trankaian Territories should deceive no one. Not even the Verwoerd henchmen and sychophants have been taken in by this proclamation. They see it for what it is—a deception perpetuated to deceive the world into thinking that there is a change of heart in white South Africa. Speaking in Parliament on this deception Dr. Verwoerd said: "If we are to choose between suicide and dismemberment of South Africa we shall

Continued on page 40

The Rape of Swaziland

by Fr. Trevor Bush

SWAZILAND is one of the smallest territory in Africa. It enjoys the unenviable privilege of being sandwiched between fascist South Africa and the Portuguese prison colony of Mozambique. Not only is this tiny territory a perfect example of colonial subjection of the most humiliating type, being governed from London through an official in Pretoria, but it is also completely isolated from the world of free people. There is no access or egress except through hostile territory and both travellers and mails are intercepted and checked, as of right, by the South African and Portuguese authorities with the full knowledge and apparent co-operation of the British colonial government.

But the winds of freedom are beginning to reach Swaziland and much is being spoken and written about a possible constitutional advance similar to that registered recently in the sister protectorates of Basutoland and Bechuanaland. But unlike the other two countries Swaziland is extremely rich. It is also cursed with a primitive tribal apparatus which has stifled all political consciousness in the past. Needless to relate the British imperialists are determined to make use of the Paramount Chief and his *indunas*, (headmen), in alliance with white financial settler interests in the country, to exploit and filch every available source of wealth. So the programme of constitution-making must be so planned that the Swazis will have no effective say in the affairs of their own country until the rape of its resources has been completed and the people are consequently doomed to a permanent condition of dependence and slavery.

Bishop Ambrose Reeves once

declared that the High Commission Territories of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland should be used by Britain as a showwindow in which to demonstrate a more enlightened race policy than that of the neighbouring Union of South Africa. Judging by the visible wares in the Swaziland window, however, it must be admitted with sorrow and anger that the reverse is true. All that can be seen at present are the rags and tatters of nineteenth century colonialism, with neither apology nor promise of change from the owner of the shop. Swaziland in fact resembles a house where the family is being entertained in the lounge by a confident commercial traveller with the bright toys of so-called political advancement, while everything of value in the home is being carried quietly through the back door by his criminal companions. Let us take a closer look at what is happening.

First on the burglar's list is the country's mineral resources. Nothing can excuse the complete rape of the country's raw materials by outside companies. Since the early decades of the present century metals have been mined and carried away in their raw form. Firms like McCreevy Mines have stripped the territory of its tin, while the Turner and Newall Havelock asbestos mine, the largest in the world, has taken millions of tons of ore over the Northern mountains in overhead trolleys to Barberton in the Transvaal. Processing and sale of the product are confined to South African territory.

Swaziland gains nothing from the operations except the mine workers' miserly wages and the handout in taxes to the colonial government. Tin deposits are virtually exhausted

the asbestos reef is almost worked out and the country, robbed of vast mineral wealth, cannot boast of a single industry in the mining areas. On the contrary the tin and asbestos regions are populated by some of the poorest and most illiterate peasants in Africa, their natural birthright taken from them by the commercial aristocracy of South Africa, Britain and America.

Other examples can be cited, most spectacular being the pending exploitation of iron deposits at Bomvu Ridge by the Anglo-American Corporation, the South African based group which controls big sections of the gold mining industry, most of Africa's copper and a large part of the continent's diamonds. Millions of tons of precious ore are to be removed and exported to Japan over a period of ten years. Profits from the deal will go straight to Johannesburg, London and New York.

Swaziland will gain nothing. Where factories and foundries could be established, powered by the limitless hydro-electric potential of the surrounding countryside and aided by abundant processing materials in close proximity, nothing will, in fact, be seen in ten years' time except barren shafts, unsightly dumps and the inevitable unemployment and poverty experienced by uprooted and abandoned peasant people all over the world. The burglars are concerned only with the multiplication of their investment capital and the provision of sufficient profits to finance dividends which will satisfy the rapacious greed of parasitic shareholders.

So instead of becoming a rich industrialised society with an assured economic future during the next ten years, Swaziland will become a dry cow, permanently dependent upon her fat and corrupt neighbour and upon the niggardly dole, channelled through the High Commission by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mineral exploitation is only one of the fields invaded by the foreign profiteer. The same fate befalls agriculture. The best land is cultivated by big foreign combines to produce maximum short-term returns, regardless of harm to the soil. As with mining, earnings from the sale of timber from Usuthu Forests and peak Timbers, from the

sulphate pulp mill being set up by Courtaulds in the same area, from the sugar milled by Hullels of Natal, from land utilisation and sales by South African lawyer Todd and others in the fabulously wealthy Big Bend area, all is being funnelled into the bank accounts of corporations and individuals who care nothing for the Swazi or his salvation from the crippling blight of illiteracy, poverty, disease and malnutrition. Government shares responsibility for the piracy because it is only with official assistance and blessing that the process began and is continued. Those responsible for the nation's life have failed criminally to halt such merciless assaults upon the very vitals of the country.

The depressing picture repeats itself in every department of national activity. Foreigners own the trading stores while poorly paid Swazis man the counters. In the garages white supervisors watch their black mechanics perform the dirty work, knowing that they can never advance beyond the status of apprentice under the present discriminatory system dictated by white ownership. Hotels are held by the same small section, controlling tourist revenue and liquor profits. The best farms are owned by white South Africans, and every other business opportunity, whether it be the milling of corn or the buying and selling of hides, or the hundred and one commercial activities of any community, has been snapped up and firmly held by aliens from the Republic.

Even in Government departments, senior positions are reserved for whites and there is no indication that this will change or that Swazis will be trained to contribute to the day-to-day administration of their own country. Yes the slogans of the mining press may be correct when they claim that a period of great wealth will accompany the "opening up of Swaziland" following the Japanese ore deal. The first railway in the territory, at present being planned, is claimed as a contributory factor, while the newly tarred roads will, we are told by Mr. Oppenheimer's editors, greatly facilitate the transport of the companies. But they fail to add that the gain will be monopolised by the moguls of the

Johannesburg Stock Exchange and their friends. For the people of the country the pace of destruction will be accelerated. They can expect nothing but a limited period of underpaid hard labour followed by intensified poverty when the ore is exhausted, the foreign capital and personnel withdrawn and the land has been abandoned by the spoilers to permanent backwardness and ruin.

What, then, must be done to halt the criminal process? Can anything be done in spite of Government connivance or blind neglect? Words of protest alone will solve nothing, while the barricade erected against possible change is terrifying. The agents and minions of imperialism in Swaziland are part and parcel of the international gang which operates in all dependent countries. They will draw on enormous power and resources to maintain their position. Nevertheless there is growing awareness of the issues involved amongst the Swazi people, and leaders of vision and courage are arising who are demanding a national crusade to halt the bandits and initiate a new order in the life of the country. With careful planning and with the assurance of solidarity from friends and brothers in free Africa, all the necessary objectives can and must be attained.

The first goal is real and immediate democratic government. When the people who rule the country are truly responsible to those they govern, they will be able to direct the affairs of state in the best interests of Swaziland. Government and patriotism must go hand in hand. It is the Swazis who know what is best for their country and will incorporate this knowledge into the laws and statutes binding on all citizens. The haphazard theorising and experimentation of Whitehall and Pretoria which has plagued the country with inefficient and wasteful government for so long must give place to responsible home rule.

At present there is only one political party, but its very existence is due to the realisation by men of vision that fundamental and early change is essential to save the people from ruin. The Swaziland Progressive Party has earned the right to lead the people to independence

through the courage and forthright demands they have already put forward in their campaign for changes in the constitution of the territory. A further tribute to their political quality is the tremendous activity now going on in the ranks of their tribal and colonial enemies who are artificially creating the investor-supported "Convention Party" of traditionalists to oppose them. But Dr. Zwane remains undaunted and determined to launch a bold campaign for national independence and an end to colonialism. The way has been prepared by the visit of the Party's President, Mr. J. J. Nquku, to London to demand full voting rights for his people.

Of course, the enemies of freedom who have vested interests in Swaziland will raise every obstacle available to them to prevent change. If the new stooge party fails in spite of heavy subsidy, they will not hesitate to use the lowest stratagem, even murder and assassination as in the Congo, to retain effective control over the resources of the country. They will be assisted in this by the financial difficulties and political inexperience of the young S.P.P. Every possible assistance will have to be made available by friends outside to ensure that this courageous Party reaches its goal of liberation and self-respect for another segment of the African family of nations.

But purely political reform is only the beginning of necessary change. Together with unqualified self-government must come nationalisation of the country's raw materials and large agricultural estates, the logical return of the sources of the country's wealth to the people from whom they have been robbed. Iron, asbestos, timber, sugar and the numerous untapped riches which lie beneath the soil must serve the new national industries which will form a foundation, together with scientific farming, of the future greatness and prosperity of this geographically small territory.

As in other parts of Africa where whites have grown fat while the people have withered and died, the neglect of the human raw material must

Continued on page 15

The Struggle is Fierce

by G. M. Kolisang

WE are engaged in a struggle of action and counter-reaction, of action and reaction, with the imperialist powers who have evolved a colonial structure with its concomitant form of neo-colonialism. When the people of Africa met in Accra in December of 1958, they expressed their reaction to imperialism in concrete principles; and when in 1959, 1960, 1961 and even today countries that had for centuries laboured under varying forms of slavery became free, the people of Africa expressed in concrete form their counter-reaction to imperialism; and now that those countries which have achieved their independence are consolidating their newly regained freedom, the African people are acting to preserve themselves from the extinction which befell the Red Indian and the Australian aborigine.

Lumumba and Mounie

After that historic conference, after the torrent of African liberation had come down in spite the imperialists acted, reacted and counteracted, too. Since the flood has subsided we gather to take stock of our assets and liabilities. Liabilities there are for Patrice Lumumba, Felix Mounie and others are dead, murdered by the cold hand of the imperialists; Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and his fellow men, whose names are associated with Sharpeville and Langa are in prison the Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia has been banned. These are but few of the multiple manifestations of the action, reaction and counter-action of the imperialists.

The sum of unity is a prodigious challenge because the imperialists are actively engaged in all possible

ways in preventing our unity for our unity is their disunity. They are attacking us left and right in all spheres, political, economic and sociological. They know that if we survive the onslaught their beautiful cities of London, Bonn, New York, Brisbane and Paris will be reduced to hollow skeletons of poverty, hunger, starvation and disease. For it is not a fact that when Stanley and Livingstone left their homes to explore our continent the countries of Europe were faced with an excessive population for which they had to find a place and food. The imperialist has brought no mercy or kindness to Africa because he knows none. Instead his name is tarred with slavery, brutality, repression, murder, looting and plunder. And if he should attempt to deny this, Bizerta is fresh in our minds, Angola is there, Congo is there, Ruanda-Urundi is there, Northern Rhodesia is there, Southern Rhodesia is there, and Algeria is there. These are extant and irrefutable examples.

Bitter Struggle

The imperialist offers reconciliation. We can be reconciled with the imperialist under one condition only. INDEPENDENCE. This means that the army must be ours. The Air Force must be ours. The navy must be ours. The social usages must be ours. That is our condition for reconciliation. The struggle is bitter and long. Independence! That is what we want. The question is how do we get it.

Unity is our weapon. In our efforts to achieve unity what instruments do the imperialists use to frustrate us? Balkanisation and militarism. All other forms of

divide and rule centre around these two, and only these two, whether it be the creation of stooges or puppet governments, the moral disintegration of our personality by change of values, the granting of the shadow of political power rather than its substance. These manoeuvres of the imperialists are possible only within a framework of balkanisation—supported by their armies. Therefore of great interest to those of us who are held in the claws of British imperialism is the trilineal system of balkanisation which the British have adopted.

It is a territorial and psychological structure based on the theory of the balance of power which is no question of balance of power but one of preponderance of power in favour of the British at all times. It is based on a simple proposition of forces namely that you cannot keep two identical human forces antagonistic for an extended period of time. They soon realise that you are playing each against the other. In reaction they combine and present a united front. But if a third human force is introduced, the centre of gravity can always be shifted resulting in a multiplicity of complicated relationships which will enable, to the advantage of the ruling power, any two forces to be kept antagonistic for a considerable period of time and the possibilities of immediate concerted action removed.

Britain, having learnt a great lesson from the American War of Independence, adopted this system whereby any newly acquired or conquered territory was divided up into three or so commissions under separate governors and administered differently. So it was in those days of the scramble for Africa that Britain designated some of her territories crown colonies and others protectorates.

This protectorate status was more often than not imposed upon the conquered people rather than a voluntary behest by the conquered people themselves, because protection meant protection of British possessions from the greedy hands of other imperialists rather than the security of the conquered people. What security is there in conquest?

Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone; Northern Rhodesia, South-

ern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. That is the pattern.

Nkrumah, Balewa and Margai find the basis for common action difficult if not well nigh impossible. Small wonder.

Kaunda, Nkomo and the Great Kamuzu want not only to meet but to act together. British imperialism will only be effectively challenged if a basic structure of unity to counteract this discrete force is evolved. It can be evolved and has been evolved for as one writer says there is nothing which human ingenuity can invent which the human mind cannot undo. The Tunis Conference in this regard is significant. The Independent States should be pressed to commit themselves to an operational structure modified to suit the needs of each area or region.

British Militarism

Here I am reminded of something that happened at Nairobi Airport recently. My fellow freedom fighter from Zimbabwe and I were conversing with a white pressman stationed in Nairobi when aloft came a BBC reporter and joined in the conversation. The conversation turned to the question of independence for Northern Rhodesia. My friend from Nairobi observed that in the event of Northern Rhodesia becoming independent Kaunda would secede from the federation. My friend from the BBC retorted sharply "Britain would not allow that. Kaunda will be creating a military situation." That is the crux of British colonial policy. Kaunda will not be creating a military situation, nor will Nkomo or any African leader. The military situation was created by Britain a century ago and she perpetuates it by building on African soil military bases with the help of NATO.

The British have risen by the sword, have maintained their presence in Africa by the sword, and still hold their grip on Africa by the sword. When all sweet words and persuasion fail to convince the Africans to refrain from demanding liberty the British imperialist power uses force against them. If even Americans, their own blood brothers had to fight before attaining their

freedom from them, what moral obligation have they then to abandon it where we who have no close links with them are affected? How many people within the last 12 months have died in Salisbury, Bulawayo and Lusaka at the hands of the British? Think of the expulsion of Major Alexander from Ghana by Dr. Nkrumah: Are the bases in Kenya, Rhodesias, Sierra Leone, Libya and Cyrenaica intended for the security of the African people? For the sake of those bases only the British will intrigue in order to prevent the unity of the African people.

The British are imperialists like the French, the Romans and the Greeks. The reason for their continued presence in Africa is their militarism, which they do not admittedly use as stupidly as do the French but with exactly the same effects of suffering for the people of Africa.

These are the conspicuous challenges to our unity. If we recognise them for what they are then the enemies within our ranks who foster disunity will be relegated to their proper place. These internal foes of African Unity are complacency, opportunism, dishonesty and disloyalty to our cause.

When we are loyal to our cause we cannot afford to underestimate the strength of our foe nor can we afford to overestimate our own strength. When we are honest and dedicated to our declarations and programmes we settle down and study also the realities of the moment and formulate proposals to meet actively the new contingencies.

The Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, the United Arab Republic and Angola, all these have important lessons for us. In 1959 we were thrilled by the prospects of an independent Congo and the glorious future that would flow from it. The imperialists were quietly eyeing it with a covetous eye, too. The Tshombes, the Kalonjis and Mobutus have emerged from that strife. Britain has demonstrated in Katanga her ignominious role in the suppression of the liberatory struggle of the African people. When the imperialist call a "graceful retreat." They mean to launch a greater offensive, and to make us pay heavily for the careless mistakes of judgment that we may make.

Swaziland

Continued from page 13

also be rectified. The blight of illiteracy almost universal in spite of centuries of alleged white education and mission activity, must be removed for ever. Swazi men, women and children must be trained as technicians, executives, planners and administrators. Until local training facilities are provided young people must be sent to colleges and universities outside the country financed by bursaries and the previously embezzled natural revenue of the country.

In spite of initial teething troubles and slow progress, the criminal prostitution of a nation will give place to reconstruction and self-respect. Swaziland will have found its rightful place as a nation of Africa.

For the Swazi himself there can be no way of compromise. The choice before him is clear and stark. Either he must accept the slow-to-begin-with process of building a permanently stable national economy, involving hard work and sacrifice; or he must recognise the alternative as the continued swift denudation of the country's basic wealth in the interests of foreign gamblers and speculators. The entire nation, from Paramount Chief to smallest herdsman, is involved in this vital and permanent decision.

Time is short. No longer can there be consideration of long-term palliatives or of the change in all ill-defined future. These are the classical devices of those who seek to procrastinate in order to perpetuate slavery and their own profits. To return to the metaphor, while the family is kept amused in the lounge, precious vital minutes are slipping past and the rape of the house continues through the back door. Soon all will be empty, the house itself will be a useless hall and the family realise, too late, that the political toys offered by the salesman, the successive unsatisfactory constitutions and legislative models concocted in London, are simply tricks to steal time in which to complete the enslavement of the household to the international money lender and pawnbroker.

We Shall win

by Nelson Mandela

THE movement for the boycott of South African goods and for the imposition of economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa, has served to highlight most effectively the despotic structure of the power that rules South Africa, and has given tremendous inspiration to the liberation movement in our country. We thank all those States that have given asylum and assistance to South African refugees of all shades of political beliefs and opinion.

The warm affection with which South African freedom fighters are received by democratic countries all over the world, and the hospitality so frequently showered upon us by governments and political organisations has made it possible for some of our people to escape persecution by the South African Government, to travel freely from country to country, and from continent to continent to canvass our point of view and to rally support for our cause. We are indeed extremely grateful for this spontaneous demonstration of solidarity and support, and sincerely hope that each and every one of us will prove worthy of the trust and confidence the world has in us.

Imperialist Forces Weakened

We must work out concrete plans to speed up the struggle for the liberation of those territories in this region that are still under alien rule. In most of these territories the imperialist forces have been considerably weakened and are unable to resist the demand for freedom and independence—thanks to the powerful blows delivered by the freedom movements.

Although the national movements must remain alert and vigilant against all forms of imperialist intrigue and deception, there can be no doubt the imperialism is in full retreat and the attainment of inde-

pendence by many of these countries has become an almost accomplished fact. Elsewhere, notably in South Africa, the liberation movement faces formidable difficulties and the struggle is likely to be long, complicated, hard and bitter, requiring maximum unity of the national movement inside the country, and calling for level and earnest thinking on the part of its leaders, for skilful planning and intensive organisation.

South Africa is known throughout the world as a country where the most fierce forms of colour discrimination are practised, and where the peaceful struggles of the African people for freedom are violently suppressed. It is a country torn from top to bottom by fierce racial strife and conflict and where the blood of African patriots frequently flows.

Bullhoek Massacre

Almost every African household in South Africa knows about the massacre of our people at Bullhoek in the Queenstown district where detachments of the army and police, armed with artillery, machine guns and rifles opened fire on unarmed Africans killing 163 persons, wounding 129, and during which 95 people were arrested simply because they refused to move from a piece of land on which they lived.

Almost every African family remembers a similar massacre of our African brothers in South-West Africa when the South African Government assembled aeroplanes, heavy machine guns, artillery and rifles, killing 100 people and mutilating scores of others, merely because the people concerned refused to pay dog tax.

On May 1, 1950, 18 Africans were shot dead by the police in Johannesburg whilst striking peacefully for higher wages. The massacre at Sharpeville in March, 1960 is a matter of common knowledge and is

still fresh in our minds. According to a statement in Parliament made by C.R. Swart, then Minister for Justice, between May 1948 and March 1954, 104 Africans were killed and 248 wounded by the police in the course of political demonstrations. By the middle of June 1960, these figures had risen to well over 300 killed and 500 wounded. Naked force and violence is the weapon openly used by the South African Government to beat down the struggles of the African people and to suppress their aspirations.

The repressive policies of the South African Government are reflected not only in the number of those African martyrs who were massacred by the imperialists but in the merciless persecution of all political leaders and in the total repression of political opposition. Persecution of political leaders and suppression of political organisations became ever more violent under the Nationalist Party Government. From 1952 the Government used its legal powers to launch a full scale attack on leaders of the African National Congress. Many of its prominent members were ordered by the Government to resign permanently from it and never again participate in its activities. Others were prohibited from attending gatherings for specified periods ranging up to five years. Many were confined to certain districts, banished from their homes and families and even deported from the country.

Unprecedented Trial

In December 1956, Chief A.J. Luthuli, President General of the ANC, was arrested together with 155 other freedom fighters and charged with treason. The trial which then followed is unprecedented in the history of the country, both in its magnitude and duration. It dragged on for over four years and drained our resources to the limit. In March 1960 after the murderous killing of about 70 Africans in Sharpeville, a state of emergency was declared and about 20,000 people were detained without trial. Even as I am writing now marshal law prevails throughout the territory of the Transkei, an area of 16,000 square miles with an African population of nearly 2,500,000.

The Government stubbornly refuses to publish the names and

number of persons detained. But it is estimated that about 1,000 Africans are presently languishing in jail in this area alone. Amongst these are to be found teachers, lawyers, doctors, clerks, workers from the towns, peasants from the country and other freedom fighters. In this same area and during the last six months more than 30 Africans have been sentenced to death by white judicial officers, hostile to our aspirations, for offences arising out of political demonstrations.

On August 26 last year, the South African Government even openly defied the British Government when its police crossed into the neighbouring British Protectorate of Basutoland and kidnapped Anderson Ganyile, one of the country's rising freedom stars, who led the Pondo peoples' memorable struggles against apartheid tribal rule.

Unknown Warriors

Apart from these specific instances there are numerous other South African patriots, known and unknown, who have sacrificed in various ways on the altar of African freedom.

This is but a brief and sketchy outline of the momentous struggle of the freedom fighters in our country of the sacrifice they have made and of the price that is being paid at the present moment by those who keep the freedom flag flying.

For years, our political organisations have been subjected to vicious attack by the Government. In 1957, there was considerable mass unrest and disturbances in the country districts of Zeerest, Sekhukhuniland and Rustenburg. In all these areas there was wide-spread dissatisfaction with Government policy and there were revolts against the pass laws, the poll tax, and Government-inspired tribal authorities. Instead of meeting the legitimate political demands of the masses of the people and redressing their grievances, the Government reacted by banning the ANC in all these districts.

In April 1960 the Government went further and completely outlawed both the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

By resorting to these drastic methods the Government had hoped to silence all opposition to its harsh

policies and to remove all threats to the privileged position of the whites in the country. It had hoped for days of perfect peace and comfort for white South Africa free from revolt and revolution. It believed that through its strong-arm measures it could achieve what white South Africa has failed to accomplish during the last fifty years, namely, to compel Africans to accept the position that in our country, freedom and happiness are the preserve of the white man.

But uneasy lies the head that wears the crown of white supremacy in South Africa. The banning and confinement of leaders, banishments and deportations, imprisonment and even death have never deterred South African patriots. The very same day it was outlawed, the ANC issued a public statement announcing that it would definitely defy the Government's ban and carry out operations from underground. The people of South Africa have adopted this declaration as their own and South Africa is today a land of turmoil and conflict.

In May last year a general strike was called. In the history of our country no strike has ever been organised under such formidable difficulties and dangers. The odds against us were tremendous. Our organisations were outlawed. Special legislation has been rushed through Parliament empowering the Government to round up its political opponents and to detain them without trial.

General Mobilisation

One week before the strike, 10,000 Africans were arrested and kept in jail until after the strike. All meetings were banned throughout the country and our field workers were trailed and hounded by members of the security branch. General mobilisation was ordered throughout the country and every available white man and woman was put under arms. An English periodical described the situation on the eve of the strike in the following terms:

"In the country's biggest call-up since the war, scores of citizens force and commando units were mobilised in the big towns. Camps were established at strategic points; heavy army vehicles carrying equipment and supplies moved in a

steady stream along the Reef; helicopters hovered over African residential areas and trained searchlights on houses, yards, lanes and unlit areas. Hundreds of white civilians were sworn in as special constables, hundreds of white women spent week-ends in shooting at targets. Gun shops sold out their stocks of revolvers and ammunition.

"All police leave was cancelled throughout the country. Armed guards were posted to protect power stations and other sources of essential services. Saracen armoured cars and troop carriers patrolled townships. Police vans patrolled areas and broadcast statements that Africans who struck work would be sacked and endorsed out of the town."

Republic Celebrations

This was the picture in South Africa on the eve of the general strike, but our people stood up to the test most magnificently. The response was less than we expected but we made solid and substantial achievements. Hundreds of thousands of workers stayed away from work and the country's industries and commerce were seriously damaged. Hundreds of thousands of students and school children did not go to school for the duration of the strike.

The celebration which had been planned by the Government to work the inauguration of the Republic were not only completely boycotted by the Africans, but were held in an atmosphere of tension and crisis in which the whole country looked like a military camp in a state of unrest and uncertainty. This panic-stricken show of force was a measure of the power of the liberation movement and yet it failed to stem the rising tide of popular discontent.

The review has been expressed in some quarters outside South Africa that in the special situation obtaining in our country, our people will never win freedom through their own efforts. Those who hold this view of point to the formidable apparatus of force and coercion in the hands of the Government: the size of its armies, the fierce suppression of civil liberties and the persecution of political opponents of the regime. Consequently, in these

March, 1962 • 17

quarters we are urged to look for our salvation beyond our borders. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

It is true that world opinion against the policies of the South African Government has hardened considerably in recent years. The All-African Peoples' Conference held in Accra in 1958, the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa also held in Accra in April 1960, the Conference of Independent African States held in Addis Ababa in June of the same year, and the conference at Casablanca and Monrovia last year, as well as the recent Lagos Conference passed militant resolutions in which they sharply condemned and rejected the racial policies of the South African Government. It has become clear to us that the whole of Africa is unanimous behind the move to ensure effective economic and diplomatic sanctions against the South African Government.

Sanctions Against South Africa

At the international level concrete action against South Africa found expression in the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth which was achieved with the active initiative and collaboration of the African members of the Commonwealth. These were Ghana, Nigeria and Tanganyika (although the latter had not yet achieved its independence). Nigeria also took the initiative in moving for the expulsion of South Africa from the International Labour Organisation. But most significant was the draft resolution tabled at the fifteen session of the United Nations which called for sanctions against South Africa. This resolution with only one exception had the support of the entire African members of the United Nations.

The significance of the draft was not minimised by the fact that a milder resolution was finally adopted calling for individual or collective sanctions by member states. At the sixteen session of the United Nations last year the African States played a marvellous role in successfully carrying through the General Assembly a resolution against the address delivered by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw,

and subsequently, in the moves calling for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations and for sanctions against her. Although the United Nations itself has neither expelled nor adopted sanctions against South Africa, many Independent African States are in varying degrees enforcing economic and other sanctions against her.

This increasing world pressure on South Africa has greatly weakened her international position and given a tremendous impetus to the freedom struggle inside the country. No less a source of danger to white minority rule and a guarantee of ultimate victory for us is the freedom struggle that is raging furiously beyond the borders of the South African territory: The rapid progress of Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar towards independence; the victories gained by the Nyasaland Malawi Congress, the unabated determination of Ken Kaunda's UNIP, the courage displayed by the freedom fighters of the ZAPU successor to the now banned NDP, the gallantry of the African crusaders in the Angolan war of liberation and the storm clouds forming around the excesses of Portuguese repression in Mozambique; the growing power of the independence movements in South West Africa and the emergence of powerful political organisations in the High Commission territories—all these are forces which cannot compromise with white domination anywhere.

Cornerstone of the Struggle

But we believe it would be fatal to create the illusion that external pressures render it unnecessary for us to tackle the enemy from within. The centre and cornerstone of the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa lies inside South Africa itself. Apart from those required for essential work outside the country, freedom fighters are in great demand for work inside the country. We owe it as a duty to ourselves and to the freedom loving peoples of the world to build and maintain in South Africa itself, a powerful, solid movement, capable of surviving any attack by the government and sufficiently militant to fight back with a determination that comes from the knowledge and conviction that it is first and

foremost by our own struggle and sacrifice inside South Africa itself that victory over white domination and apartheid can be won.

The struggle in the areas still subject to imperialist rule can be delayed and even defeated if it is unco-ordinated. Only by our combined efforts and united action can we repulse the multiple onslaughts of the imperialists and fight our way to victory. Our enemies work collectively and combine to exploit our people.

The clear examples of collective imperialism have made themselves felt more and more in our region by the formation of an unholy alliance between the governments of South Africa, Portugal and the so-called Central African Federation. Hence these governments openly and shamelessly gave military assistance consisting of personnel and equipment to the Tshombeistic regime in Katanga.

At this very moment it has been widely reported that a secret defence agreement has been signed between Portugal, South Africa and the Federation, following visits of Federation and South African Defence Ministers to Lisbon; the Federation Defence Minister to Luanda, and South African Defence Ministry delegations to Mozambique. Dr. Salazar was quoted in the *Johannesburg Star* of July 8, 1961 as saying "OUR relations — Mozambique's and Angola's on the one hand and the Federation and South Africa on the other — arise from the existence of our common borders and our traditional friendships that unite our Governments and our people. Our mutual interests are manifold and we are conscious of the need to co-operate to fulfil our common needs."

Welensky-Verwoerd Meetings

Sir Roy Welensky and Dr. Verwoerd have had regular meetings over the past few years, particularly in 1959, when they met in secret in Pretoria. No communiques were issued on the details of their discussions.

Last year, Southern Rhodesian troops were training in South Africa and so were R.A.F. units. A military mission from South Africa and another from the Rhodesian

Federation visited Lourenco Marques in Mozambique, at the invitation of the Mozambique Army Command and took part in training exercises in which several units totalling 2,600 men participated. These operations included dropping exercises for paratroopers.

A report in a South African aviation magazine *Wings* (December, 1961) states "The Portuguese are hastily building nine new aerodromes in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) following their troubles in Angola. The new 'dromes are all capable of taking jet fighters and are situated along or near the borders of Tanganyika and Nyasaland", and gives full details.

Can anyone therefore doubt the role that the freedom movements should play in view of this hideous conspiracy?

As we have stated earlier the freedom movement in South Africa believes that hard and swift blows should be delivered with the full weight of the masses of the people who alone furnish us with one absolute guarantee that the freedom flames now burning in the country shall never be extinguished.

Importance of Discipline

During the last ten years the African people in South Africa have fought many freedom battles, involving civil disobedience, strikes, protest marches, boycotts and demonstrations of all kinds. In all these campaigns we repeatedly stressed the importance of discipline, peaceful and non-violent struggle. We did so, firstly, because we sincerely worked for peaceful changes. Secondly, we did not want to expose our people to situations where they might become easy targets for the trigger-happy police of South Africa. But the situation has now radically altered.

South Africa is now a land ruled by the gun. The government is increasing the size of its army, of

the navy, of its air force and the police. Pill boxes and road blocks are being built up all over the country. Armament factories are being set up in Johannesburg and other cities. Officers of the South African Army have visited Algeria and Angola where they were briefed exclusively on methods of suppressing popular struggles. All opportunities for peaceful agitation and struggle have been closed. Africans no longer have the freedom even to stay peacefully in their houses in protest against the oppressive policies of the Government. During the strike in May last year the police actually went from house to house, beating up Africans and driving them to work.

Hence it is understandable why today many of our people are turning their faces away from the path of peace and non-violence. They feel that peace in our country must be considered already broken when a minority government maintains its authority over the majority by force and violence.

Strategy and Tactics

A crisis is developing in earnest in South Africa. However, no high command ever announces beforehand what its strategy and tactics will be to meet a situation. Certainly, the days of civil disobedience, of strikes, mass demonstrations are not over and we will resort to them over and over again.

But a leadership commits a crime against its own people if it hesitates to sharpen its political weapons which have become less effective.

Regarding the actual situation pertaining today in South Africa I should mention that I have just come out of South Africa, having for the last ten months lived in my own country as an outlaw, away from family and friends. When I was compelled to lead this sort of life, I made a public statement in which I announced that I would not leave

the country but would continue working underground. I meant it and I have honoured that undertaking.

Situation Becomes Explosive

During the past ten months I moved up and down my country and spoke to peasants in the countryside, to workers in the cities, to students and professional people. It dawned on me quite clearly that the situation had become explosive. It was not surprising therefore when one morning in October last year, we woke up to read press reports of widespread sabotage involving the cutting of telephone wires and the blowing out of power pylons. The government remained unshaken and white South Africa tried to dismiss it as the work of criminals.

Then on the night of December 16 last year, the whole of South Africa vibrated under the heavy blows of UMKONTO WE SIZWE (The Spear of the Nation). Government buildings were blasted with explosives in Johannesburg, the industrial heart, of South Africa, in Port Elizabeth and in Durban. It was now clear that this was a political demonstration of a formidable kind, and the press announced the beginning of planned acts of sabotage in the country.

It was still a small beginning because a government as strong and as aggressive as that of South Africa can never be induced to part with political power by bomb explosions in one night and in three cities only. But in a country where freedom fighters frequently pay with their very lives and at a time when the most elaborate military preparations are being made to crush the peoples' struggles, planned acts of sabotage against government installations introduce a new phase in the political situation and are a demonstration of the people's unshakeable determination to win freedom whatever the cost may be.

DAY after day, week after week, month after month, I have called loud and persistently for African political and economic unity. I am sure that I have been misunderstood sometimes even by friends. Enemies of African prosperity have a vested interest in misinterpreting my motives.

Our Constitution provides for the surrender in part or in whole, of our sovereignty, if necessary, in the interest of African unity. Let me make it clear that this is a condition which we in Ghana are prepared to accept in order to promote the cause of unity in Africa. We would not, of course, presume to make conditions for others. Indeed, I can envisage a strong and effective union without surrender of sovereignty.

In my view, a united Africa—that is, the political and economic unification of the African continent—should seek three objectives:

Firstly, we should have an overall economic planning on a united continental basis which would increase the industrial and economic power of Africa. So long as we remain disunited, so long as we remain balkanized, regionally or territorially, we shall be at the mercy of colonialism and imperialism.

There is a great contrast in this respect between Africa and Europe today. Whereas Europe is making frantic efforts in the direction of economic and political integration, Africa is sadly being torn apart by the manoeuvres and intrigues of neo-colonialism.

Secondly, we should aim at the creation of a Joint Military Command. I do not see any wisdom in our present separate efforts to build up or maintain vast military forces for self-defence which, in any case, would be ineffective in any major conflict. If we examine this problem realistically, we would be able to ask ourselves this pertinent question: which single state in Africa today can protect itself against an imperialist aggressor?

Recently, anti-apartheid leaders have alleged that South Africa is building great military might

with all the latest weapons of destruction, in order to crush African nationalism. If this is true, only the unity of Africa can prevent South Africa from achieving such an aim. If we do not unite and combine our military forces for common defence, the individual States, out of a sense of insecurity, may be drawn into making defence pacts which will endanger the security of us all. There is also the expenditure aspect of this problem. The maintenance of military forces imposes a heavy financial burden on even the most wealthy States. For young African States, who need every penny they can get for development, it is ridiculous—indeed, suicidal—for each State, individually, to assume such a heavy burden when the weight of this burden could be easily lightened by sharing it among themselves.

The third objective which we should have in Africa comes from the first two which I have just described. If we in Africa set up a common economic planning organisation and a joint military command, it follows that we shall have to adopt a common foreign policy to give political direction to our national continental defence and our national continental economic and industrial development planning.

In the higher reaches of our endeavour, it should be possible to devise some constitutional structure which secures these objectives and yet preserves the sovereignty of each country joining the Union. For example, countries in such a union will naturally maintain their own constitutions, continue to use their national flags, their national anthems and other symbols and paraphernalia of sovereignty which they don't have to surrender. Our survival depends upon the political unity of Africa. The forces that

Towards a united Africa

by Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah



OSAGYEFO NKURUMAH

unite us are far greater than the difficulties which divide us at present.

I have referred to the need for economic planning on a continental basis. It is most important that African leaders must now begin to find the best and quickest means by which we can pool our economic resources together for our mutual benefit. If we achieve this, we shall raise in Africa a great industrial, economic and financial power comparable to anything the world has seen in our time.

It must be said, however, that we cannot establish such sound economic links in Africa without giving them sound political direction, force, and purpose. We must therefore come to grips with the major and basic issue of African unity which alone will make the artificial boundaries and regional demarcations inherited from colonialism obsolete and superfluous.

In my own view, local associations, regional commonwealths and territorial groupings will be just another form of balkanisation, unless they are conceived within the framework of a large union based on the model of the United States of America or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. When the first thirteen States in the North American Continent tried to promote the idea of a United States of America, this was ridiculed as an empty dream which was vigorously resisted by many.

And who would have thought that seventy-five different nationalities at various levels of economic, social and political development in Russia could have been welded into the mighty force which the Soviet has become within this comparatively short space of time? I believe that Russia even began with three States. It is therefore for African leaders to continue to work ceaselessly in order to give flesh and

blood to the fond hope of African Unity to which we are all so resolutely dedicated.

The example of Europe which is left in confusion after centuries of mutually-destructive economic warfare and competition, because it has so far failed to build a sound foundation for political action and understanding must be a lesson to us all. I know that when we speak of political union, our detractors are quick to observe an attempt to impose leadership and to abrogate sovereignty. This is not the case. It would be futile to expect that so soon as millions of our people secured their release from colonial oppression they would wish to surrender that sovereignty to an ideal, however great and laudable it may be.

We are realists enough to know that no one seeks a revision of present boundaries unnecessarily. Indeed, it will be naive to ignore the reality of these territorial relics of colonialism. But this notwithstanding, under a major political union of Africa in which the limits of our present territorial sovereignty are not ignored, there could emerge a United Africa, great and powerful working for the complete and total mobilisation of the economic planning organisation under a common political direction. Imagine the strength of such an economic force in Africa with the combined potential of all that we now possess and the fabulous mineral and agricultural resources which we are yet to uncover.

Once this was achieved, what would be needed is a common foreign policy which took the basic overall requirements of Africa in international relations into account; and if all this were to be capped with a unified military force, the picture of the restoration of Africa's dignity and greatness would be complete. This should be our aim and goal; this must be our task.

I have emphasised in my discussions and speeches that the political union of Africa would not only be a strong guarantee for peace, but also a great instrument for world economic prosperity.

The Role of African Women

by Kay Beauchamp

MY first morning in Bamako, capital of Mali, was an unforgettable one.

Unless your atlas is very up-to-date you won't find Mali on it, but simply a great area marked "French West Africa."

What is now the Republic of Mali was formerly the French colonial territory of Sudan, and its independence was won on September 22, 1960.

On my first morning, the streets were gay with flags and streamers. A general holiday had been declared, and the people crowded the streets and pavements, all in their best clothes—the brightest and gayest imaginable.

There were lorry-loads of villagers coming into town; there were columns of trade unionists marching; there were small and large groups dancing and singing.

Young, old, middle-aged, every one was out—many of the young women with their babies on their backs. In side streets and tree-lined avenues people shook us by the hand and greeted us.

The occasion was the arrival of Mikoyan, Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union. But by a coincidence, it was also the day when delegates started to arrive for a women's conference.

Representatives of women's organisations in Africa met to discuss the role of African women and their organisations in the struggle for independence, for women's rights and for the building up of their countries.

As Mrs. Modibo Keita, wife of the Mali President, said in her speech welcoming the conference:

"Throughout our history, but even more in the last fourteen years, the women of Mali have fought alongside their men for the restoration of human dignity.

"Since liberation, our living conditions have improved day by day and our women are becoming more and more conscious of the part they must play to ensure a better future to coming generations."

Dozens of Mali women attended the conference, in addition to delegates from African and other countries.

Many of the Mali women could not understand French, but at the end of each session one of their leading women gave what appeared to be a most lively account of the proceedings in Bambara, their own language.

Their hospitality was fabulous. Not only did the younger ones, in most glorious robes, ply us with cold drinks and fruit during the conference, but almost every evening there was a reception for us at a different place.

At these, we were given African food of bewildering variety, and toward the end of the evenings whole roasted sheep were brought in on iron spits.

The conference reflected the new, vigorous life in newly independent countries, as well as the bitter but heroic and confident struggles in those parts of Africa still fighting for independence.

"Lazy women cannot be found in Africa," said Mrs. Loffo Camara, Secretary of State for Social Affairs in Guinea.

She went on to describe how they do the heaviest work—carrying

water from long distances, cultivating the land, carrying produce to the market and selling it, weaving, washing, cooking, etc.

Families

In some districts they even look after the cattle as well as bringing up their families.

In the colonial days African women were slaves, both to the white settlers and to their own husbands.

Now, she said, in Guinea and other newly independent countries, women have equal rights with men and are advancing to positions of great responsibility.

What a contrast between these reports from Guinea, Mali and Ghana, where women share in running their countries, and the reports from territories still under colonial rule!

Most outstanding of the latter was that given by Mrs. Mamina Chentouf, representing the Algerian Liberation Movement.

Young, pale, and dark-haired, she made a most thoughtful report on the part played by women in the struggle for Algerian freedom.

Mrs. Mary Letele, representing the Federation of South African Women, said: "The fact that this meeting is being held in Africa fills our women with great hope that we shall also be free to enjoy the liberties of life, love and laughter, and some day be able to invite you to a meeting such as this in South Africa."

As mothers, she said, South African women regard the Bantu Education Act as the greatest curse on earth.

In the past, with tremendous effort, Africans could get an all-round education. She herself, during her school days worked in a mission, scrubbing, cleaning and cooking to raise money for her school fees.

But even that chance is denied the children of today. It is now illegal for an African child to receive an all-round education—they are only allowed to be educated to become the servants of the white man.

The conference issued an appeal for solidarity with African women in those countries still struggling for their independence.

History is on our Side

by Jariretundu Kozonguizi (President of SWANU)

THE historical background of South-West Africa is well known. Many people have been able to follow the discussions on "The International status" of South-West Africa in the League of Nations and later as now in the United Nations. Very little seemed known at the time I was entrusted by my people with a mission to the United Nations about its internal situation.

Let me say that the foundation of the South-West Africa National Union (SWANU) ushered a new phase in the political situation in the country of my birth. For many years the basis of politics had been tribal with tribal chiefs dominating the scene. When the Germans first came to South-West Africa it was the chiefs who led the patriotic struggle for our country's independence; and then it was the chiefs who petitioned the United Nations from time to time.

In their petitions to the United Nations our chiefs departed from their original stand for independence and asked for United Nations Trusteeship. For more than fifteen years the chiefs petitioned the United Nations sending in over hundred written petitions over this period. In 1959 the South-West Africa National Union was launched:—

- to unite and rally the people of South-West Africa into one national Front;
- to fight relentlessly for the implementation and maintenance of the right of self-determination for the people of South-West Africa;
- to work with allied movements in Africa for the

propagation and promotion of the Pan-Africanism and unity amongst the people of Africa.

SWANU was established, therefore, to destroy the dangerous and innocuous trend towards regionalism that was developing as the chiefs continued to petition the United Nations as representatives of their tribal groups. The apartheid government of course seized this opportunity in an attempt to destroy the patriotic objectives of the people by setting one tribe against the other. Against this SWANU had to act and act swiftly. SWANU was established to lead a united people in the struggle for national liberation and



JARIRETUNDU KOZONGUIZI

independence. For SWANU Trusteeship was what it is: internationally legalised collective colonialism. No one, not even a group of people have the right to rule or as it is referred to euphemistically "administer" others. It is worse when this is done without the sanction or co-operation of or even consultation with the people concerned.

Though history had it on record that South-West Africa belonged to us and our valiant ancestors had shed their blood in its defence our people were not invited to the discussions of the League of Nations in 1920, where the future of the country was debated nor were we consulted when the United Nations at San Francisco in 1945-6 discussed an item entitled: "The Question of South West Africa."

SWANU, therefore, rejected from the onset the "imposed desire" for trusteeship on the part of those chiefs who petitioned the United Nations; it saw it in its true colours, as a strategy for the continuance and consolidation of colonialism. Even the colonialists themselves have now moved from that position to that of neo-colonialism which means the withdrawal of direct methods of subjugation in favour of either economic control through the empires of mining and industrial combines or sabotage and of elected governments of the people in favour of puppet administrations always in the hands of paid henchmen. SWANU stood for independence as has been well put by some of the leaders of the Independence Movement in Africa:

"We prefer self-government in danger to servitude in tranquillity" Dr. Nkrumah has said.

"We prefer freedom in poverty to slavery in opulence" Sekou Toure has declared.

"We want to be friends with everybody but we do not want to be told who our enemies should be" Julius Nyerere has proclaimed.

In these days of the winds of independence, SWANU has declared itself for positive independence. SWANU felt as it does now, more so as a matter of fact that the struggle in South-West Africa is not and can never be isolated. It is not an oasis in the Namib or Kalahari Desert but is part and parcel of the African struggle for liberation and

March, 1962 ● 23

unity. SWANU position was vindicated by its admission to the full fledged membership of the All-African Peoples' Conference in 1960.

Despite all the restrictions imposed by the vicious Pass Laws our men have been able to trump the length and breadth of South-West Africa from the Orange to the Okavango River and from the Kalahari to beyond the Namib Desert to spread the gospel of independence and Pan-African unity amongst the peasants and the workers, to establish branches and cells for political education.

I am happy to say that we in SWANU have never been shy or hesitant 'to steal' from the programmes of our sister, if more senior, movements in Africa and in particular from the ANC and PAC with whom we have very warm relationship indeed; we have endeavoured to select those aspects in their programmes which suited our conditions and to include them in our own to forge a militant Nationalist Movement which can be the only answer to the 'better end' and 'back to the wall' men of the fascist government of South Africa. Perhaps we have not yet succeeded, but certain events can be quoted to support the fact that we are on the road to success.

We have managed to create a true national organisation with support and direction from the four corners of our motherland;

In 1959 just a few months after the establishment of the National Union we launched a 100% successful boycott of municipal facilities in the Windhoek area: Cinemas and Dance Halls, Buses and Beerhalls. This was done under the personal direction of our Organiser Nathan Mbaevain. The Government answer to the boycott was the massing of troops from Pretoria in Windhoek and the murder on the spot of 12 patriots.

At its 16th regular session the United Nations General Assembly passed the most positive, if 'positive' is the word, resolution so far on South-West Africa. It declared itself for self-determination for the people of SWA; it decided to send a Special United Nations Committee to South West Africa by May 1962 charged with the achievement of the following objectives amongst others:

Evacuation of all military forces of South Africa from the territory;

Repeal of all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants to Reserves and denying them all freedom of movement...

Preparations for General Elections to the legislative assembly to be held as soon as possible.

Our position on the resolution was made clear in a subsequent Memorandum to the Secretary-General of the U.N. We felt that the achievement of those more or less acceptable terms of the Special Committee is hampered by the provision in the second paragraph that these objectives be achieved "in consultation with the Mandatory Power" in this South Africa; we further stated that we could not accept elections based on no Constitution of the people as the "Constitution" presently operating in South-West Africa was the Apartheid one which barred us from either electing or election to the Legislative Assembly.

We therefore insisted that the first function of the Special Committee upon entry into South-West Africa, which we doubt very much if it has to be done in consultation with the South African Government, should be to convene a Constituent Assembly where the people themselves, through their representatives, will draft the country's first democratic constitution under which elections would take place.

Much as the resolution contained these drawbacks, the reaction of the settlers in South-West Africa has been panicky but as aggressive as it has always been. In a dispatch from the headquarters we have this:

"The settlers are panic-stricken following the recent resolution of the United Nations and its attitude towards events in Goa and Katanga. But this has found expression in the formation of a body 'to preserve the continued existence of the white man in SWA by opposing U.N. intervention.' Their immediate objectives were outlined as being: "to send a delegation to Dr. Verwoerd to get assurance that South Africa will take up arms to defend them in case the U.N. intervenes; to urge the government that they be supplied with modern armaments as well as

suitable and adequate training centres."

Be that as it may—God curse the settlers—the reaction of our people has been swift and equivocal. At a meeting called by SWANU it was declared that: United Nations or no United Nations it is the people of South-West Africa who will bring true independence to their country. So that the resolution of the U.N. has in no way affected our position and our programme and work for 1962.

Our plans include measures that could be taken by SWANU singly or collectively with other organisations in Africa to destroy the 'unholy alliance' of South Africa, Welensky's Central Africa and Portugal. These three fascist states have dedicated themselves to the preservation of White supremacy and domination over the Blackman. This they have vowed to achieve and to maintain militarily, economically and spiritually and if necessary politically. A few examples of the activities of this 'unholy alliance' or its representatives can drive this home. The South African Government has had its Air Force Training School in the Caprivi Ziphel the point that brings together Angola, Bechuanaland, Northern Rhodesia and South-West Africa.

Manoeuvres have been held together by Portuguese and the South African Forces in the strip. In 1958 the South African Government requested the British Government for right of passage through Bechuanaland to South-West Africa for their troops when necessary. During 1961 the South African Government patrolled the border between Angola and South-West Africa and South African documents were amongst those picked up by Angolan Nationalists during the fighting. During 1961 the South-West African settlers' newspaper the *Windhoek Advertiser* reported that a movement has been launched in South-West Africa for the "freedom of Angola" to assist the Portuguese in Angola.

Ovamboland which has been earmarked for the "self-government" proposal of Dr. Verwoerd has been declared a part of what they call *Police Zone* which means that troops could now be

stationed there. And they actually have mobile forces in Ovamboland. A military base is under construction at this moment, at Walvis Bay. Moreover, hundreds of impoverished Angolan Boers have been moved into South-West Africa over the last few years under a scheme called "Repatriation Scheme" to South-West Africa. On the economic side we find that there is very close relationship amongst the countries of the "unholy alliance": The people who control the copper mines in South-West Africa are the same people who control copper in Northern Rhodesia. Diamond mines in Rhodesia are under the same owner-

ship with those in South Africa and Angola.

I have stated all this just to show that SWANU is much aware of the hideous schemes of the "unholy alliance" backed by foreign investors who rely on the totalitarian measures of the Verwoerd, Welensky and Salazar regimes reminiscent in modern times only of Nazi Germany, to exploit both the natural and the human resources of our countries whilst in return they provide the necessary economic backing which is vital for the maintenance of these brutal savages, brand of "law and order."

We are convinced that the struggle in Southern Africa is bound to be

bitter if this "unholy alliance" is allowed to establish itself firmly.

It is our feeling that the answer, indeed the alternative, to this "unholy alliance" is a "holy but militant and effective alliance" of the forces of liberation, in particular those that are directly threatened by these frogs blown up by military and economic assistance from such bigger "unholy alliances" as NATO.

If we act more than pass mere resolutions we are bound to reach our cherished goal even much earlier than we expect it. History is on our side.

LONG LIVE AFRICAN SOLIDARITY

Salazar

Continued from page 2

baffles the average school-boy until he becomes fully initiated into the ways of the colonialists.

Early last year the Angolan Africans rose in revolt against the centuries old colonial oppression of the Portuguese colonialists. Salazar wiped out more than 50,000 of them with the help of his armed thugs and NATO napalm bombs.

He has imprisoned such illustrious freedom fighters as Dr. Agostinho Neto, National leader of the Angolan people. His agents have poisoned freedom fighters, shot them at sight, raped their women, dropped them from planes into the sea and perpetrated many other unspeakable atrocities and crimes against them.

In Mozambique the African people are now preparing to overthrow his tyranny. After allowing Salazar to abuse their patience the people of India at last pounded him into nothingness.

Antonio Oliveira Salazar, you stand charged with the murder of several thousands of African people in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. You stand charged for conspiring with the blood-stained imperialist lackeys, Roy Welensky and Hendrik Verwoerd, to prepare war against the African people in order to

Verwoerd

Continued from page 2

Once more backed by the British Government he is plotting with Salazar and Welensky to subvert the liberation movement. He is arming the settlers to the teeth in a desperate bid to enslave the African people for good or to destroy them altogether.

The days of Dr. *Vuilgoed*, the lousiest cheat, liar, bloodsucker, murderer and blasphemer in the colonialist camp, are numbered and so are the days of his fascist colonialist regime. Both are the scum of the world.

The Dependent African State of South Africa must be free and independent by December 31, 1963.

perpetuate their slavery. You stand charged for rank insolence and rabid racial arrogance. You have stood against the conscience of all decent humanity and have allowed yourself to fall into the abyss of satanic atrocities from which you cannot now be rescued.

The *Voice of Africa* finds you guilty as charged and reserves the sentence and conviction for a later day. One thing is clear: Vermin like you must be wiped off the face of the earth.

Why I Hate Federation of Rhodesia (Part II)

by M. Sipalo

NINETEEN fifty-four, two Northern Rhodesia leaders were banned from entering Southern Rhodesia;

Nineteen fifty-nine, three Nyasaland leaders and four Northern Rhodesia leaders were banned from entering Southern Rhodesia;

Nineteen fifty-nine, two Northern Rhodesia leaders were banned from entering Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Some cases within Northern Rhodesia are not even brought to public notice. A recent example dug out by the African nationalist movement, is that of Mr. Muchengwa who has been removed from his village in Chipya and restricted indefinitely in a lonely village—25 miles away in Samfya District of the Luapula Province.

Under the Police (Amendment) Ordinance, the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures have been violated. Police searches and seizures have gone on without warrants supported by oath or affirmation describing the place to be searched and the papers or articles to be seized. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Federal leader of the Central Africa Party, Mr. Garfield Todd, said in Livingstone, as recently as November 30, 1959, that: "In some cases the Federation has moved closer to the formation of a "Police State" instead of nearer to a Democracy." And yet, what is really behind these panic measures is the knowledge of the whites in Central Africa that the inevitable is bound to occur; that the current African political resurgence will never cease until it has reached its shores—African Self-Government.

This year our people are being imprisoned for merely welcoming nationalist leaders.

Still the road to insanity stretches on. Northern Rhodesia Police strength, we learnt late last year from Colonel J. P. L. Fforde, Commissioner of Police, is to be doubled in a Four-Year Plan from its present strength of 4,130 Africans and 832 Europeans, of whom 400 are in the "Special Branch" (Political or Secret Police) who in turn employ several civilians as informers or agents at a total annual cost of £50,000.

Public Security Bill

The Africans have got one fear: less representation in the Legislative Council or in the Northern Rhodesia Government. The result is that severe anti-African laws, such as the Public Security Bill, are passed without opposition.

Under this law, Northern Rhodesia is, in fact, under Martial Law. The Governor is a dictator. Law and the Governor are synonymous. We are no better than the Germans under Hitler. You can read the Bill for yourself. This is how it is summarised by a Government publication, (NSHILA) of January 5, 1960, at page 10:

"The Bill would enable the Governor 'if at any time he is satisfied that it is necessary for the preservation of public security to do so' to take powers to control publications, prohibit or control assemblies, the movement of persons, acquisition, occupation and use of property and to regulate and control supplies and services.

"It would also enable him, if at any time he was satisfied that the situation

in the Territory was so grave that the exercise of these powers were inadequate to ensure the preservation of public security by proclamation, to make further regulations.

"These further regulations might also make provision for the payment of compensation and remuneration of those affected by the regulations: for the arrest and trial of offenders against them; for suspending laws and for the delegation of powers."

How does this Bill compare with the German Law of 28th June, 1935, which reads:

"Any person who commits any act which the law declares punishable or which is deserving of penalty according to the Fundamental conceptions of a penal law and sound popular feeling shall be punished. If there is no penal law directly covering such an act he shall be punished under the law of which fundamental conception applies most nearly to the said act."

Various sections of the community interpret this law variously. The important thing is that the life and liberty of the African people depend entirely on the whims, caprices and goodwill of one man. We know that it is said that this applies to Africans as it applies to Europeans. This is open hypocrisy.

A few months before this Public Security Bill was introduced, sections of the public in Central Africa were already worried at the encroachment the Settler Government were making on the freedom of individuals. We quote again the memorandum passed at Joint Meeting of Central African Catholic Hierarchies at Kacebere on October 14, 1959:

"Their Lordships view with much concern the legislation (Emergency Powers) recently enacted for the Preservation of Public Order, and hope that it may not be regarded as a permanent feature of the law as administered in this country."

Speaking in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council in November, Sir John Moffat, a European elected member said:

"These laws (Public Security and Emergency Laws) can be used to prosecute opponents of the Government; I appeal to the Government to come to its senses not only because the longer we follow it the more difficult will it be to deviate from it."

We have no reason to disbelieve the man the British Government knighted, and so the road to insanity stretches on.

London or Salisbury

The imposition of Federation has brought in its trend the division of loyalty between London and Salisbury so that Settlers now demand the abrogation (transfer of Protectorate Treaties from London to Salisbury is tantamount to abrogation) of treaties between Her Majesty's Government and our forebearers and even urge Africans to look to Salisbury and not to London. The former Protectorate Governor of Northern Rhodesia went to the extent of proposing the liquidation of the Colonial Office.

The above clearly shows that the power and influence over African Protectorates by the British Government is relatively diminishing as the Federation's powers relatively increase. This has developed to such a degree that the appointment of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia has been local rather than external as was formerly the case. This present Governor is Southern Rhodesia born.

The Franchise

The imposition of Federation was and still is primarily designed to entrench settlers into positions of political power *ad infinitum*. The Federal Franchise law has been made to allow the politically and economically powerful settlers to maintain their domination over Africans. It enables them to determine, uninhibited, the number of Africans they wish to dole off the voters' roll. This franchise divides citizens into three classes, the Ordinary, the Special and the Ungraded.

To qualify as a full voter, you need:

- | | | |
|---|----------|---------------------|
| a) Income | Property | Education |
| £720 per year | £1,500 | Nil |
| £480 | £1,000 | Eight year school |
| £300 | £500 | Standard ten |
| b) To be a special voter, i.e. one whose vote is one third of a full vote, needs: | | |
| Income | Property | Education |
| £150 per annum | £500 | Literacy in English |

£120 per annum Nil Standard Eight

- a) Then there are the rest of the millions of Africans who are voteless.

When it is realised that the average wage of the African Mine Worker in the highest paid industry in Central Africa—the Northern Copper Mines—is £99 per annum and that of his white counterpart is £1,932 per annum it will be seen that this highly qualitative franchise virtually renders every European a voter on the basis of "One Man One Vote" while it effectively excludes Africans.

This unethical and impolitic division of normal human beings into "ordinary," "special" and "ungraded" (voteless) is unchristian and contrary to Western democratic values; it is impolitic in that Africans who can qualify are so few that they cannot effect any political opinions or changes. It is the queerest Constitution the world has ever produced.

Not satisfied with this Constitutional madness, people who framed the Constitution went out of their way to make it even more complicated for African candidates (rural) by making it obligatory on the candidates' part to obtain certificates of candidature from two thirds of the Chiefs in their constituencies. The Chiefs are directly under the control of the white District Commissioners.

What is the difference between the universally enfranchised Africans in Basutoland, Nigeria or Somaliland and ourselves in Northern Rhodesia who are voteless?

Remember Tanganyika! Remember Gambia! Remember the Sierra Leone! What excuse have the British got to offer the African people of Northern Rhodesia?

Political Propaganda

All the most powerful means of political propaganda have been converted to the full use of the Federal Government in an attempt to sell the idea of Federation to the Africans who are opposed to the scheme. Newspapers, newsreels unrelated to actual conditions obtaining in Central Africa; Broadcasting Services and Information Services abroad are all in the hands

of European Federalists. African political opinion is either hindered by discrimination in law, as proved above, or is restricted by lack of monetary resources.

Recently, £500,000 was voted by the Federal Government to sell the idea of Federation to the very African who is opposed to it. It is important to note that the African in the Federation is as much a tax-payer as any other inhabitant in the Federation and yet he is denied direct representation. Several British M.P.s. have been invited to visit Central Africa on this money with a view to fulfil Sir Roy Welensky's ambitions. And indeed they did at the recent talks on Northern Rhodesia.

The American Freedom Fighters said: "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and we cannot see Northern Rhodesia as an exception to this historic declaration!

Finally, the proviso in the Federal Constitution that the said Constitution would not be changed (amended) during the trial period of seven years has been tampered with resulting in the enlargement of the Federal Franchise Act and many other discriminatory acts, such as the Army Service (Conscription) Act. The African Affairs Board, which was described in 1953 as an impregnable safeguard, is under a threat of removal by Sir Roy and his henchmen who want to institute in its place a Senate composed of stooges and Chiefs.

The fact that Her Majesty's Government endorsed all these Acts and many other differential legislations all of which are *ultra vires* to the spirit and letter of the Federal Constitution, clearly shows that even Her Majesty's Government is no longer in a position to discharge its duties faithfully to the African people and therefore no longer enjoys the confidence of the African people. An eminent former British Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, once remarked: "THE ONLY WAY TO TEACH PEOPLE'S LIBERTY IS BY GIVING THEM LIBERTY."

Economic Reasons

The Federation was fervently supported by the rentier class in Central Africa in an effort to maintain a uniform tariff, centralise the Central

African money market and ultimately increase their profit portfolios.

In 1953, Southern Rhodesia had a National Debt to the tune of £120 million and it is interesting to note that these in debt were the only inhabitants of Central Africa who were given the right to endorse the scheme in a referendum—and it is not surprising that they all said "Yes" to the idea. Immediately after the Federation, £60 million of this debt was transferred to the Federal Government.

Those who pander to the popular fancy that Federation increased the economic prosperity of Central Africa should know that:

- (a) The Copper boom could have come about without the Federation. Copper production is dependent on factors which no government can do anything about—both labour and capital are independent of any political influences: the selling of copper is dependent on the international fluctuations in the international metal exchange.
- (b) Tobacco and grain are dependent on the behaviour of the rains and not on the behaviour of Federal politicians. Thank God for this, otherwise fields would go without rain!!!
- (c) The Rhodesian Selection Trust's £2 million Development scheme for Northern

fitting here:

In stating our economic reasons against Federation, Adam Smith's most celebrated statement is

It is not from benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard of their own interests. We address ourselves, not to their humanity, but to their self-love and never talk to them of our necessities, but of their advantage."

The Federal Government took away all the revenue raising industries. For the annual turn-over of copper now standing at £185 million the Federal Government takes two-thirds in taxes and the Northern Rhodesia Government takes a third. At one time the Federal Government got £22 million and the Northern Rhodesia Government got £11 million from a total tax turn-over of £33 million.

On all revenue raising taxes—customs and excises, and all round "Company Taxes," the Federal Government takes two-thirds of the total amount collected. Federation created a disparity in the amount of

and Luapula Provinces and the Kafue polder scheme could have come about without a Federation.

A uniform tariff and a centralised money market could be maintained by a form of loose economic liaison as obtains today in East Africa.

capital flow into Northern Rhodesia. Most of the capital has flown to Southern Rhodesia and even European supporters of the Federation complain bitterly about this. All big companies have since Federation moved their headquarters to Salisbury, e.g., the Rhodesian Selection Trust. It is also interesting to note that most departments dealing with European affairs went Federal while most of those dealing with African Affairs remained territorial.

The distribution of National Income between the two sections of the community—Black and White—is economically unbalanced by the creation of two distinct economic planes manipulated by the State budget estimate in such a manner as to render the African community a subsistence existing society in all welfare services of the country such as in agriculture, education, maize, and health services. This subsistence economy was recognised by paternalistic exploiters of the Africans during the Colonial era before 1953. This subsistence economy has, since been removed by the white Federal business tycoons, in spite of these services being classified as "economic necessities" for the African existence. African produce such as maize grain are always graded "second class" to the European produce and sold at fantastically low prices.

These prices are not determined by market trends, as would have been the case in all capitalistic communities, including England.

Darkening Horizon

Continued from page 4

colonialist and imperialist evils. This is bound to happen because the torch is carried by ardent and dedicated freedom fighters who are more than eager to regain the time lost during the period of colonial oppression.

Panic-stricken Fouché sees the darkening cloud on the African horizon, while Africans see a clear morning horizon already red with the streaks of the gloriously rising sun of liberation.

Fouché plans to patrol, by helicopters, the frontiers of his fast crumbling fascist and

foreign regime, while Africans would not like to witness any form of military balkanisation of their continent.

This godforsaken little man is busy importing into this continent thousands of half-naked and starved Germans of needy and greedy Europe to strengthen his defence forces, while Africans would not like to see the continent turned into a dumping ground to degenerate specimen of the European population.

Let him tell Verwoerd that the clarion call has been sounded and that the struggle is joined. No power on earth can ever halt the triumphant march of the progressive forces of African nationalism.

An Elegy in Rhodesian Copper Mines

by Staff Writer

GLORIOUS moments of supreme victory of the Pan-African revolutionary forces are just round the corner. The nationalist forces of this great continent shall have by that time trampled underfoot all the hostile and disruptive forces of colonialist-minded Europe.

Taking a glance at the state of affairs in the so-called Central African Federation, we find that even journals belonging to some stiff-necked conservatives, who never dreamed that they would one day find themselves face to face with the realities of African advancement, being compelled to accept the fact that the "Federation" enters 1962 caught up in a vicious circle.

Political Fodder

A correspondent of the newspaper *The Statist* painfully observes that there is a frightening outflow of capital from the Central African Federation as a result of political instability. Political disorders, he argues, were solely responsible for that state of affairs and also for blocking the overseas investments. Starting with Southern Rhodesia, the paper sorrowfully observes that many people are without employment, and that the teeming unemployed black masses would provide political fodder for extreme black nationalism. *The Statist* might be right, but who is really to blame for such a state of affairs? Surely it cannot be the oppressed and the unemployed Africans in the white man's "Federation." The paper's correspondent should take the trouble of looking for the culprit

and see whether he will not find him somewhere in Salisbury presiding over a puppet government which receives its instructions from London via Elisabethville in the Congo.

The fear that there is capital outflow from the Federation is also clearly apparent in the mind of the settler tyrants in the Southern Rhodesian Government, and it is the sort of fear which has resulted in the Rhodesian Government employing Verwoerdian tactics of attempting to repatriate the so-called "foreign natives" from the neighbouring Mozambique back to their country.

Whilst the British imperialists want to develop the country at a slow pace so as to be able to entrench their capitalist monopoly system which will further the interests of the Buckingham Palace at the expense of the down-trodden African masses of the land, the rate of political advancement is such that if economic advancement does not keep pace with it, there is bound to be a shuttering explosion in Rhodesia South.

Economic Importance

The elegy for the fast disintegrating Central African Federation is continued by drawing our attention to the economic importance of the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia. Even the most simple minded person knows that this is the only reason why Britain is playing hide and seek with her own conscience when it comes to the constitutional discussions as affecting this country in particular.

The profits of the copper mining industry in Northern Rhodesia, are such that all British political parties in the House of Commons would never risk incurring the displeasure of their supporters, who have vested interests in this important extractive industry, by coming out openly and support measures which would result in Northern Rhodesia attaining sovereign status in the immediate future.

The paper indulges in some prophecy that the settler copper mining magnates would work satisfactorily with "a Government dominated (emphasis mine) by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda." It goes on to make a cynical plea that the standard of living of what it chooses to call "bush population," must be raised.

Whatever the settler regime can do in the Federation in its attempt to hold the tide of progress, it will only be too fair for all concerned to come out with the truth that the Federation is dead simply because it was never meant to be a success. Our friends must accept the fact that it is more than an insult to Kenneth Kaunda to imply that he can ever agree to be a partner to a foreign machinery of exploitation (the copper mines), designed to enrich foreign interests while empowering his people every single moment.

Vicious Circle

The Statist has got to be more careful in future with regard to its choice of words. What is actually meant by Kaunda "dominating" the Government of Northern Rhodesia is completely beyond our comprehension. What is actually going to happen in Northern Rhodesia is that the British dictatorship which has been terrorising the African population in the country for the last thirty-eight years, is bound to collapse. Needless to state that its place will be taken by a sovereign and a democratically elected Government presided over by Kaunda.

We attach great importance to *The Statist's* admission that their Federation enters 1962 caught up in a vicious circle. This vicious circle will continue to give headache to the British imperialists as long as they maintain their arrogant outlook towards the legitimate aspirations of the rightful owners of the land in Northern Rhodesia.

March, 1962 • 29

Price of Freedom in South Africa

Mangaliso Sobukwe: Idol of Africanist Youth

THE First Consultative Conference of Leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa outside that country held in Accra from January 20 to 22, 1962, issued a communique reaffirming "loyalty to the leadership of MANGALISO SOBUKWE, President of the PAC, now imprisoned in South Africa."

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and South Africa, meeting in Addis Ababa from February 2 to 10, 1962, called for "the immediate and unconditional release of Mangaliso R. Sobukwe, National President of PAC."

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa was arrested on March 21, 1960 in Johannesburg. He was later found guilty on a charge of incitement, convicted and sentenced to three years imprisonment with hard labour.

It appears that no settler jail can contain Mangaliso Sobukwe. He was held at the Johannesburg Fort Gaol before and after conviction. He was later transferred to Boksburg jail, to Stofberg jail, (a former teacher-training institution) to the Winburg jail and to the Witbank jail.

He has been to several other jails such as the Pretoria Central and the Vereeniging jails while appearing as defence witness for his followers in the mammoth and marathon trials that followed the launching of the PAC Positive Action Campaign. At one such trial he was brought into the witness stand, tied hand and foot in chains—a veritable V.I.P.—Very Important Prisoner.

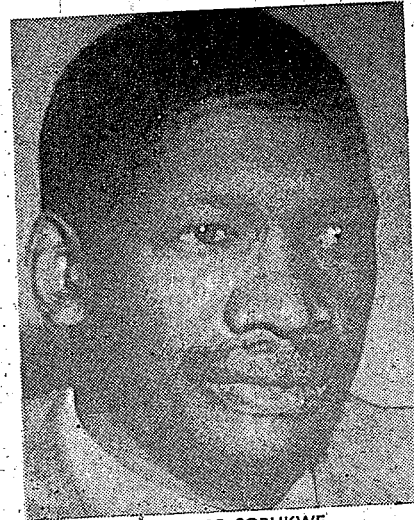
Since January 1912, when the South African Native National Congress was founded, Sobukwe enjoys the distinction of being the first and only national president in South Africa ever to serve a jail sentence as a freedom fighter.

And yet his claim to fame and distinction does not rest primarily on such tenuous foundations.

Mangaliso (the "Wonder-boy") Sobukwe's claim to fame rests on more solid grounds. He will surely go down to history as the man whose faith and courage rocked the foundations of White domination in South Africa and may yet go down to history as the man who overthrew White domination and liberated South Africa.

The final and decisive positive action against the "pass laws" which Sobukwe launched resulted in the suspension of the operation of the hated settler-imposed pass laws for full sixteen days, a political miracle viewed within the context of South Africa politics.

This campaign ripped the mask off the face of the South African settlers and exposed them as trigger-



MANGALISO SOBUKWE.

bappy blood-thirsty savage murderers who usurped political power by naked brutal organised violence and who continue to wield it by naked brutal violence. It brought into focus the monstrous Sbarpeville episode whose second anniversary is being commemorated on March 21, of this year. It exposed the hollow mockery of the moral and political foundations of the settler fascist colonialist regime.

The campaign shook the economic foundations of South Africa by causing the greatest flight of capital and greatest fall in financial reserves that the country had ever experienced.

The campaign resulted in the imposition upon South Africa of its longest state of emergency and in the arrest and detention of the biggest number of political activists—many of whom had "retired" from politics for more than five years.

The campaign resulted in the first meeting of the UN Security Council ever to be held on the South African issue and in the virtual expulsion of Settler South Africa from membership of the Commonwealth.

Mangaliso Sobukwe, former lecturer of the University of the Witwatersrand, is South Africa's first national president who is a devoted Pan-Africanist, a genuine African nationalist and a dedicated freedom fighter. Small wonder that he is the scourge of the colonialist and his agents, the wonder-boy of South African politics and the idol of Africanist youth.

The Price of Freedom in Central Africa

IN Northern Rhodesia alone, there are well over 120 Central and Local prisons. Taking this as an average for all the "Federation" of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the total number of prisons hits the figure of 500. In fact, in the 1961-62 Budget, the racist imperialist Welensky regime voted a £500,000 for "building new prisons and improving the old ones to fit modern requirements." The "modern requirements" is a tutored imperialist expression for containing the raging hurricane sweeping inside and outside Central Africa—the march to FREEDOM!

Apart from these "gestapo hovels", Welensky has built concentration camps at each administrative centre!

The Livingstone prison (N. Rhodesia) had the misfortune to witness the hanging of four Zambian Freedom Fighters:—Cresta Ngebe, John Chanda, Robin Kamina, Paikani Phiri; for no crime at all save that these youths were nationalists. The death of one European Woman, led to the brutal murder of these four youngmen!

Rest Ye Sons of Africa! AFRICA SHALL NEVER FORGET NOR FORGIVE HER TORMENTORS! WOE TO THE UNGODLY BRUTAL BRITISH WHO SHED THIS COSTLY BLOOD ON THE 22ND OF NOVEMBER 1961!

At present, there are over 3,500 nationalists jailed in Northern Rhodesia; several hundreds in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. All freedom fighters in Central Africa are mobile prisoners.

Edgar Whitehead is still keeping 15 African National Congress leaders in a concentration camp far away from any human habitat.

George Nyandoro—the Secretary-General of the A.N.C.

Robert Chikerewa — Vice-President of the A.N.C. are still in these torture camps. They have never been brought before a court of law

nor has Whitehead the courage to tell us the length of their sentences. These two great sons of Africa have since 1959 been confined to a waterless, peopleless area of Gokwe! Whitehead be careful!

In Nyasaland, one of our most fiery leaders, Chipembere; National Treasurer of the Malawi Congress Party is serving a sentence for three years. His crime is that at a public meeting in Blantyre last year, CHIP, as he is popularly known, called the Leader of the European United Federal Party in Nyasaland—a "usurper, thief and trespasser." But surely aren't European settlers usur-



"Sure I believe in self-determination—I'm gonna determine everything myself!"

pers, thieves, trespassers et hoc genus omne'

In Northern Rhodesia, the Deputy National Treasurer of UNIP N. Hundia, serving a Sentence of two years for telling a public meeting in Lusaka that UNIP will remain "impossible, dangerous and uncompromising as long as Federation or its spectre exists!"

To these gallant sons and daughters of Africa, the VOICE OF AFRICA extends hearty congratulations. When you are inside there without having done any wrong, except the fight for liberty, the bolts and bars disappear—you are free even there! To you all, we say hurrah! The chains of imperialism are fast breaking and the sooner the imperialists realise this—the better for them. There will never be another garden of Eden. We are expecting the experience of the Tower of Babel for ALL THE IMPERIALISTS!

Liberation Movement in Portuguese Guinea

by Amílcar Cabral, (Secretary-General, PAIGC)

DURING the year 1961, our liberation struggle has recorded considerable progress while the oppressors had for their share, innumerable defeats in both Guinea and Cape Verde Island—just as it has been in other colonies toiling under Portuguese claws.

Within our territories, our political party has successfully carried on its task of developing in all fields the liberation struggle and inflicting, to the colonialists, notable defeats. Unity among our people is as strong and unshakable as ever. The rank and file of our populations has been organised and held in readiness to follow the orders of the Party. The Portuguese repressive forces were faced on many occasions with the courageous resistance of the people who have overtly demonstrated their legitimate aspirations for freedom and the end of Portuguese colonialism.

Under popular pressure the colonialists have been compelled to set free a number of political detainees and conceded urgently to various "reforms": Our people have naturally disapproved of those "reforms" calculated to throw dust into their eyes.

Furthermore, the direct action undertaken against the Portuguese oppressors since August 3, 1961 in accordance with the Party's line of action, has yielded better success. Our people have discovered a means whereby their liberatory activities could be successfully employed to off-balance the oppressive violence of the Portuguese criminals. Our people have discovered that solidarity among themselves could win victory over the Portuguese soldiers, despite their arms superiority. Colonialists' means of communications have been damaged and much more damage

and havoc should be expected on roads, bridges, telephone lines, etc.... These will be performed not at random but on strict and definite orders from the Party Headquarters whose present watch-word is: "strengthen the organisation in all its aspects and create insuperable difficulties for the colonialists."

One of the remarkable achievements our Party has recorded is the political consciousness of our people and their resultant determination to outroot foreign domination from their motherland once and for all: Courage, selfless devotion, political awakening

Price of Freedom in Basutoland

Born in 1936, and easily one of the most fiery youths on political platforms, Mohau Mokitimi, an Executive Member of the Basutoland Congress Party Youth League is one of the many people who are undergoing disgusting persecution in the Basutoland central prison at the hands of the colonial police.

Like all nationalists freedom fighters who have had the misfortune of being accorded "British Justice" this man was imprisoned simply because the Basutoland Colonial Government had lost a deportation case against him. The inhuman methods of persecuting him are in no way different from those which were employed by the British Colonial Government in Kenya during their Mau-Mau mental figment.

He is beaten daily by tough

and readiness to respond to the national cause witnessed among our people constitute our Party's strength and might. This has created for the colonialists cause for isolation, despair and contradictions; a state of affairs openly noticed within the Portuguese army itself. The colonialists have lost confidence in the African soldiers, the white officers are faced with passive resistance and revolt within the barracks is imminent as many soldiers have deserted the imperialists camp to join hands with their brothers in the struggle.

Although repressive measures have been greatly increased these last months, we have noted that conditions created within the territories by our Party, are in our favour. Our organisation is nevertheless aware of the numerous obstacles in its path and has taken the necessary care to strengthen the revolution and step up vigilance within the Party itself.

While the struggle continues, the organisation of our masses and active militants is at its best and victory is round the corner.

colonial police who never stop this ghastly act until he loses consciousness. He is always accused of being stubborn and for having caused the recent riots in Maseru which resulted in about seventy-five people being arrested and refused bail.

At times he is starved for insubordination the whole week, being given water with a bit of sugar in mornings only. This is the sort of thing the British Colonial Government did in Kenya, yet they knew that in the long run they would fail. Like all colonial numskulls, they never have a permanent enemy or a friend only if they can continue to protect their permanent interests by brute force. The cause for which Mokitimi stands will triumph over the filthy actions of the British colonialists in Basutoland.

Serment à la Lutte

Rededication for the Struggle



Sit-down protectors with uniformed and plain clothes police guard

Groupe de démonstrateurs entoure' de policiers en uniforme et d'autres en civil

La Guinée 'Portugaise'

par Victor Maria (Représentant du Parti Africain de l'Indépendance de la Guinée et Cap Vert au Ghana)

Le pays africain appelé Guinée Portugaise est situé dans l'hémisphère Nord entre 12°, 50 et 59 de latitude et entre 16 43 et 13° 90 de longitude Ouest soit entre la République du Sénégal au Nord et la République de Guinée au Sud et à l'Est et l'Océan Atlantique à l'Ouest.

La superficie est de 36,000 kilomètres carrés, étant constituée par une partie continentale, un cordon d'îles près de la côte et l'archipel des Bissagos formé par des dizaines d'îles et d'îlots.

Les frontières terrestres établies par les impérialistes français et portugais (convention 1886) ont une étendue de 680 kilomètres.

La Guinée est un pays caractéristiquement bas. Elle est formée de plaines littorales et de plateaux intérieurs, dont émergent des petites collines de pentes suaves. L'altitude monte vers l'intérieur du pays et atteint sa plus grande hauteur aux environs de la frontière sud-est du Fouta-Djalon 300 mètres. Le territoire est traversé par plusieurs fleuves, rivières et canaux naturels: tous les cours d'eau de la région littorale sont influencés par les marées; dans la région littorale où sont fréquentes les zones marécageuses, il y a plusieurs lacs et lagons. La Guinée est un pays de végétation exubérante où on peut distinguer 17 forêts, donc les plus importantes se trouvent au sud et au centre du pays constituant une ceinture qui sépare le littoral de l'intérieur.

Le climat est tropical, chaud et humide avec deux saisons annuelles, la saison des pluies Mai-Novembre et la saison sèche Novembre-Mai.

Economie

La Guinée est un pays agricole sous-développé. Les conditions climatiques et agrologiques sont très favorables à l'agriculture et à

l'élevage. Les africains se donnent à la culture les palmeraies spontanées et du caoutchouc. Ils cultivent aussi de la cire et du miel. L'arachide est une culture imposée par les colonialistes et occupe aujourd'hui 36% de la surface destinée aux cultures non irriguées non comprises les rizières inondées. Il y a des conditions favorables au développement de la culture des fruits, bananes, citrons etc... La Guinée portugaise possède une richesse forestière considérable (bois précieux) et son bétail est remarquable: comptant des bovins, chèvres, porcins et volailles.

Jusqu'à présent l'agriculture et l'élevage sont pratiqués exclusivement par les paysans africains. Outre les possibilités potentielles en agriculture et en élevage la Guinée possède des richesses minérales remarquables. Présentement des gisements de fer, de bauxite et de pétrole sont connus. L'existence d'autres minerais est bien probable; y compris l'or.

La Guinée exporte: de l'arachide, riz, du caoutchouc, de la cire, du cuir, de l'huile de palme, de la noix de palmier (coconote), du bois et des peaux de crocodile.

Les impérialistes sont entrain d'y introduire la culture obligatoire du coton et du ricin et se préparent pour l'exploitation des gisements de bauxite, du fer et du pétrole.

Tandis que l'agriculture est pratiquée par les africains, le commerce et l'exportation sont entièrement aux mains des colonialistes. L'industrie pour la transformation locale des matières premières et pour d'autres produits bruts peut trouver en Guinée un développement rapide. Actuellement il n'y a que deux petites usines de production d'huile d'arachide, 3 usines de décortiquage de riz, l'usine de fabrication de papier ordinaire et 5 scieries.

Colonisation

Les colonialistes portugais ont conquis la Guinée par la force des armes. Notre peuple n'a jamais accepté la présence des portugais et il s'est battu jusqu'au bout de ses forces contre la domination étrangère. Ce fut seulement après la création et le renforcement du front impérialiste mondial que les colonialistes portugais ont réussi à structurer leur domination chez nous. Quoiqu'étant arrivés en Guinée vers la moitié du XV^{ème} siècle et après avoir pratiqué le commerce des esclaves, c'est seulement au XX^{ème} siècle que les portugais ont put organiser l'exploitation et le pillage des richesses et du fruit de travail du peuple. Les dernières batailles se sont déroulées en 1915.

Il est intéressant de remarquer que l'occupation portugaise a été grandement facilitée par l'action néfaste de quelques chefs féodaux, de quelques africains aventuriers et bandits et notamment par la trahison d'un africain qui était à cette époque le plus riche de la Guinée le grand propriétaire foncier et commerçant: Honório Barreto.

La repression militaire est donc le trait fondamental et une constante de la domination portugaise en Guinée. C'est elle qui a permis et permet l'exploitation de notre pays. C'est elle le support de la repression économique et de la repression policière des dernières années, ainsi que la suppression totale des libertés démocratiques.

Conscients de ces faits, les nationalistes portugais, face à notre lutte de libération et au réveil de l'Afrique, ont renforcé et renforcent chaque fois leur armée coloniale.

Cette armée compte aujourd'hui 5,000 soldats portugais, plus nombreux que la population civile européenne et environ 5,500 soldats africains nos frères obligés de servir dans l'armée coloniale.

Quelques dizaines de parachutistes, depuis un an, à Bissao. Des casernes, des aérodromes et des postes militaires de frontières ont été bâties à la hâte. Des manoeuvres militaires et des démonstrations de force (y compris le napalm) sont choses fréquentes.

Des centaines d'agents secrets européens et traîtres africains surveillent les activités des africains, avec

la collaboration des autorités administratives et des colons. La torture et l'assassinat sont des pratiques courantes, les prisons et les camps de déportations et de travail forcé sont remplis des patriotes africains et résistants. Quelques patriotes sont déportés au Portugal, tandis que les villages et les quartiers africains ainsi que les simples maisons d'habitation d'africains suspects d'opinion anti-colonialistes sont objets d'assauts armés de la police. Au pillage et au vol de notre travail, les colonialistes portugais viennent ajouter une autre procédure infâme de repression économique: tout en exportant le riz, aliment de base de notre peuple, celui-ci est obligé de subir la famine.

Terrorisé par notre lutte et devant le courant montant nationaliste africain les colonialistes portugais arrêtent et tuent les africains au moindre signe de désobéissance... En 1956 fut organisée une grève par les travailleurs des bateaux fluviaux et du port de Bissao, pour l'augmentation du salaire La grève a eu du succès. En 1959 fut organisé une grève nouvelle avec le même but. Le 3 Août durant une manifestation pacifique au quai de Bissao, des travailleurs ont été frappés par la police. Ils ont retourné. La troupe a été appelée mais les soldats africains se sont refusés d'agir. Les officiers portugais ainsi que la police et les colons civils ont abattu 50 travailleurs désarmés, en quelques minutes. Cet événement sanglant qui a fait les premiers martyrs agissant de façon organisée dans notre lutte actuelle, nous a montré que les portugais ont peur de nous. Il nous a fait prendre connaissance de ce que nous avons besoin pour liquider le colonialisme portugais.

La Guinée est jusqu'à présent une colonie de factorerie. En général les européens ne s'y fixent pas. Trois entreprises commerciales dont le siège est à Lisbonne, achètent à des prix vils, par l'intermédiaire de petites succursales et quelques commerces européens, les produits du travail des cultivateurs guinéens. Il y a aussi une grande société libanaise au service de laquelle travaillent quelques dizaines de petits commerçants libanais.

Mais le commerce est chaque fois plus concentré dans les mains d'une seule société de trust portugais.

Compagnie Union Fabril (CUF) qui on peut dire est aujourd'hui le maître de la Guinée. Une seule banque donne la vie financière-la banque d'outre-mer-siège à Lisbonne, avec une filiale à Bissao.

Tout récemment le gouvernement portugais a fait des concessions de terrains pour l'établissement d'entreprises agricoles européennes. Il est entrain d'élaborer un plan pour la colonisation de la Guinée avec un grand nombre de familles paysannes du Portugal.

Le pétrole et l'exploitation de quelques autres combustibles furent concédés à une société américaine (Standar Oil).

La bauxite et le fer aux Hollandais et aux allemands de l'Allemagne Fédérale. Une autre concession a été accordée à une autre société américaine pour la production des poutres de chemin de fer, par la destruction de nos forêts.

On constate qu'en Guinée comme dans les autres colonies portugaises, le colonialisme portugais est chaque jour moins portugais. Le Portugal, pays sous-développé, est le gardien féroce du trésor de nos richesses et le travail de notre peuple mis à la disposition des impérialistes américains et d'autres.

La société guinéenne est divisée par les impérialistes portugais en deux groupes bien distincts: les civilisés ou assimilés et les non civilisés ou indigènes. Les indigènes ne jouissent pas de la citoyenneté et sont considérés comme chose, soumise aux caprices des autorités coloniales et des colons. Après 500 ans de présence portugaise et d'action réclamée civilisatrice, il n'y a que 0, 3% d'africains assimilés. Les assimilés sont considérés en principe comme des citoyens mais ne jouissent pas des droits de l'homme blanc.



La Libération du Sud-Ouest Africain

PAR une majorité écrasante, la 16ème session de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies a proclamé le droit inaliénable des peuples d'Afrique du Sud-Ouest à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté nationale.

Cette déclaration est d'une portée historique, du fait qu'elle donne une interprétation positive au verdict de la Cour Internationale qui a jugé que les exploitateurs d'Afrique du Sud ne peuvent pas modifier le statut international de l'Afrique du Sud-Ouest

Piraterie "Moderne"

DANS notre édition d'Octobre 1961, nous avons publié la pièce maîtresse du complot britannique contre l'Afrique. La presse anglaise et un porte-parole du Bureau des Relations avec le Commonwealth ont nié l'authenticité de ce document. Néanmoins, le rôle que joue l'Angleterre dans l'affaire du Katanga démontre clairement que ce document était bien authentique.

De la onzième page du dit document, nous reproduisons: "La possibilité d'annexer le Katanga et ses richesses minières dans une éventuelle fédération n'est pas oubliée. Mais il ne faut simplement pas en souffler mot à présent vu la situation actuelle aux Nations Unies. C'était presque désastreux que Welenky en ait laissé échapper le secret au début de la crise congolaise. N'empêche par bonheur, le public a oublié cette indiscretion. Je peux vous assurer que le gouvernement de Sa Majesté et l'Office d'Outre-Mer Colonial n'ont pas oublié ce projet. De toutes manières, je t'en prie de n'en rien dire pour l'instant, car cela porterait gravement préjudice à tout plan futur (fin de citation). N'est-ce pas que cette politique est en ligne avec le rôle que joue la Grande Bretagne au Katanga?"

Le Dr. Connor Cruise O'Brien, l'ex Chef des opérations de l'ONU au Katanga nous dit et nous citons: "La politique du gouvernement britannique telle que je l'ai vécue en pratique, a été d'accorder clau-

destinement toutes les aides possibles au régime secessionniste Katangais cependant qu'elle clamait à la surface, l'unité du Congo". (fin de citation).

Nous savons pourquoi l'Angleterre s'intéresse tant au Katanga. Elle veut à tout prix se saisir du cuivre. Elle veut piller cette terre et les ressources qu'elle recelle. Elle veut tout voler tout dévaster.

Nous nous devons de rappeler ce que l'histoire a enregistré à ce sujet à savoir que la première accumulation notable de capitaux qui a marqué la transition de la Grande Bretagne d'état féodal à l'état capitaliste fut possible de part la piraterie en hautes mers, piraterie conduite et dirigée sous les pavillons du breton Jolly Roger. Mais la grande roue de l'histoire a fait une rotation complète. Maintenant que le soleil et la lumière se sont levés sur l'empire britannique et qu'en aucune partie du globe, de telles fusteries et flibusteries ne peuvent plus être utilisées sans recueillir l'indignation du monde honnête entier, l'Angleterre a donc déposé ses coutelas, ses épées et ses canons pour trouver une autre méthode de brigandage. Mais c'est en effet trop tard.

Le monde a changé de physionomie. Maudite soit la diplomatie ignoble du meurtrier anglais. Katanga doit se remettre dans la grande famille unitaire du Congo et en cela rester une partie intégrante de la République Congolaise.

sans l'approbation des Nations Unies. Mais aussi, la Cour Internationale de justice a également dissipé le doute en ce qui concerne le droit de l'ONU quant à la modification de ce statut.

Cette décision a de plus éclairci ce nuage épais qui pendant une quarantaine d'années s'est entouré du destin de l'Afrique du Sud-Ouest. Elle met aussi fin à tout le langage raffiné et malicieux qui a été modelé au sujet des conditions actuelles dans ce pays.

La dissolution de la commission des Nations Unies pour le Sud-Ouest Africain, Commission nommée en 1952 pour faciliter la représentation et l'interprétation des doléances des populations africaines et d'autres combattants pour la liberté, marque la fin d'une période dans l'histoire Sud-Ouest Africaine. La dissolution de cette commission marque également la fin toutefois partielle des incertitudes et doutes au sujet de l'affaire maîtresse. Nous sommes donc arrivés à un tournant où l'incapacité du régime colonial de l'Afrique du Sud de gouverner ce territoire est hors de doute et il ne s'agit point de se faire de l'illusion d'aucune sorte à ce sujet.

La formation d'une nouvelle commission de sept membres chargée d'arranger le transfert des pouvoirs de l'Afrique du Sud aux Africains est incontestablement une démonstration du zèle avec lequel l'Organisation des Nations Unies s'adonne à sa tâche. La commission traitera de questions comme le renvoi des brigands armés de Verwoerds, la mise en liberté des détenus politiques et aussi d'arranger des élections générales sous le contrôle de l'ONU.

Le récent refus du régime Sud-Africain d'accorder des visas aux membres de la Commission de l'ONU chargée du Sud-Ouest Africain et aussi le refus de l'Angleterre pour quelque raison aussi technique qu'elle soit d'accorder ces visas aux membres de la commission, révèlent la futilité qu'est l'espoir d'obtenir la coopération du gouvernement britannique dans la libération du Sud-Ouest Africain.

Après tout, le Sud-Ouest Africain est pour l'Angleterre, la porte principale à sa fosse aux richesses à

Voir suite à la page 38

Les Nobles Ideaux Africains Ridiculises Dans le Drame de Lagos

(Ristourne des Pourparlers de Lagos)

par A. K. Barden

LA réunion de quelques Chefs d'Etat à Lagos baptisée faussement de "Conférence Africaine au Sommet", vient de se terminer. A l'aube même de la Conférence, deux éléments ont surgi:

Tout d'abord, parler d'une "Réunion d'Etats Africains et Malgache" serait insinuer que l'Etat malgache ne fait pas partie intégrante de l'Afrique. Pareille interprétation basée comme de fait sur la théorie fallacieuse des colonialistes à savoir que l'Etat Malgache appartient à un continent disparu, et ne serait autre chose qu'accepter les idées impérialistes selon lesquelles aucune identité de vue et d'intérêt n'existe entre les divers Etats Africains d'une part et l'Etat malgache d'avec le reste du continent africain. Cette théorie est sans aucun doute une confusion politique et une approche idéologique ambiguë.

Aucune Barriere

Tout comme le desert du sahara est une partie intégrante du continent Africain et non une barrière ou une limite entre l'Afrique du Sud et celle au Nord du sahara mais au contraire constitue le trait d'union entre ces deux quartiers, l'Océan Atlantique qui entoure l'Etat malgache et qui est par erreur appelé Océan Indien, n'est autre chose que le trait d'union entre les quartiers malgaches et africains.

scrupuleusement le genre d'indépendance qu'obtiennent certains Etats Africains.

Ceux qui croient fermement pouvoir promouvoir la compréhension et la coopération tendant à l'établissement de l'unité africaine ont été choqués de voir leurs nobles aspirations bafouées dans le drame de Lagos.

La position du Dr. Azikwé devra aider tout Africain à comprendre les lacunes que comportait son discours d'ouverture.

On ne peut mieux dire que ce discours a été préparé à Londres et lu à Lagos.

Cependant que le Dr. Azikwé reconnaît "qu'il y a une différence idéologique de base entre les deux groupes, il a eu le malheur de penser que ces différences étaient motivées par "la foi dans des principes fondamentaux quant au droit irréfutable des Etats Africains à présent constitués de jouir de la légalité sans égard de population ou de superficie, le droit des Etats Africains à l'auto-détermination, leur droit de se garder contre les ingérences dans leurs affaires intérieures par le truchement d'éléments subversifs et préserver l'invulnérabilité de leur Etat contre les agressions extérieures.

A la première conférence des Etats Indépendants d'Afrique en 1958, le Ghana, l'Ethiopie, la République Arabe Unie, la Tunisie, le Maroc, le Libéria, la Lybie et le Soudan ont clairement déclaré leur foi quant au droit "des Peuples Africains à l'indépendance et à l'auto-détermination et ont décidé de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour accélérer la réalisation de ce droit". Ils ont en outre résolu de préserver cette indépendance si chèrement acquise, de sauvegarder la souveraineté et l'intégrité de leur pays.

Fermete de foi

A la conférence tenue à Addis-Ababa, l'Ethiopie, l'Algérie, la Somalie, le Soudan, la Tunisie, La R.A.U. ont proclamé leur respect pour l'intégrité de tous les Etats Africains.

Les Puissances de Casablanca ont aussi démontré soit par leurs déclarations, soit par leurs actions, leur foi

irrévocable dans l'intégrité territoriale de toutes les Nations Africaines.

Si nous devons donc parler de différence idéologique, il serait bienvenu et réaliste de commencer par mettre en relief la presque totalité des gouvernements représentés à la conférence de Lagos et d'étudier scrupuleusement le système politique de ces gouvernements représentés.

Evidemment la première chose qui décourage le spectateur impartial est le fait que la majorité de ces Etats était d'anciennes colonies françaises. La plupart sont toujours sous la ferrule française. D'autres, à tout prendre, gémissent sous le fardeau des exigences économiques et militaires de la France. Sans aucun doute il y avait à Lagos de ces dirigeants dignes du nom qui ne perdent pas le Nord quant au mouvement africain de libération, mais notons que d'autres ne sont que des fantômes colonialistes qui ne représentent en aucune façon la force et la puissance de l'ère nouvelle africaine.

Ce fait donc important a été traduit par l'incapacité de la conférence de Lagos à s'opposer sans équivoque au colonialisme. C'est clair comme le jour qu'aucun pays représenté à Lagos n'a visiblement rien contribué à la lutte anti-colonialiste et anti-impérialiste qui se développe en Afrique.

Pitoyable Aspect

Un des pitoyables aspects de la conférence de Lagos a été l'interprétation que certains leaders ont accordé au terme "néo-colonialisme" pendant la discussion de ce sujet.

Ne sachant jusqu'à quel point quelques-uns de ces leaders sont tombés victimes aux intrigues néo-colonialistes, ces leaders ont défini ce terme comme "ingérence de certains pays indépendants dans les affaires d'autres pays." Ces leaders n'ont aucunement vu le danger des ingérences européennes dans les affaires africaines. Mr. Sylvanus Olympio qui, en proposant cette définition non avenue et superficielle n'a pas compris qu'en nourrissant dans son pays des réactionnaires politiques contre un autre Etat Africain, s'ingère du fait dans les affaires d'autres pays.

Le manque de courage de certains leaders présents à Lagos a été

ouvertement démontré pendant la discussion sur l'affaire algérienne.

Algerie Trahie

Bien que le Libéria et l'Ethiopie aient pris place avec l'Algerie à Accra en 1958, bien que le Nigeria, le Cameroun, la Somalie, le Libéria et l'Ethiopie ont encore partagé le même banc avec l'Algerie à Addis Ababa en 1960, ces Etats ont sans honte sacrifié pour ne pas dire trahi, la lutte il y a 8 ans que les Algériens mènent pour leur liberté, tout simplement à cause des manigances diplomatiques du groupe de Brazzaville. Tout africain sérieux se demande quels sont donc les fruits de la conférence de Lagos. Rappelons que le Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe qui, dès le début de la conférence s'imaginait l'unité africaine dans un lointain avenir a découvert "un progrès substantiel vers l'unité africaine", pour la seule raison qu'après une semaine entière de délibération, cette conférence a décidé de créer une "Organisation Inter-Africaine". Comment et dans quelles conditions ceci est réalisable reste à savoir.

Qui dit Monopole

En effet, personne ne veut monopoliser la lutte pour l'unité africaine. Le sujet est encore à la tribune libre pour discussion et planification. Mais un fait demeure inéluctable pour ceux qui sincèrement croient en l'unité africaine sauf évidemment ces leaders téléguidés, à savoir que la question de cette unité est d'abord et essentiellement africaine et dans ce même ordre d'idée elle doit être discutée par les africains qui se reporteront aux africains pour conseils et inspirations pendant tout le processus de sa réalisation.

Cette question ne doit pas être le point de mire de ceux qui veulent faire mais mises sur les richesses africaines et considérer notre continent comme une source de matières premières.

Les masses africaines connaissent leurs leaders. Ils connaissent ceux qui luttent véritablement pour reconquérir à l'africain sa dignité. L'avenir glorieux qui sera celui de l'Afrique ne peut évidemment pas être maculé par ceux-la qui ne veulent pas s'accommoder des réalités du moment.

La Libération

Suite de la page

savoir l'Afrique du Sud où effectivement l'Angleterre a investi £1,000 millions de livres sterling.

On peut donc prédire que les véhicules, les armes et les munitions de l'OTAN chercheront de plus en plus à faire diligence vers l'Afrique du Sud en passant par l'Angleterre et la France. La seule raison pour de tels armements serait d'intensifier le massacre des Africains pour le simple fait que ces derniers ont osé demander leur indépendance IMMEDIATE. Les forces de l'OTAN et leurs adeptes qui vénèrent le matérialisme, feront un dernier effort désespéré de survivre en Afrique du Sud-Ouest.

De nos jours, le monde entier réalise que le seul langage que les colons de l'Afrique du Sud parlent et comprennent est celui de la cruauté, la barbarie, le langage de la violence organisée comme l'a maintes fois crié le fameux Eric Louw et traduit en action dans les ignobles massacres de Bondelswarts, Windhoek Sharpeville et Langa.

L'Organisation des Nations Unies doit bientôt s'apercevoir que le seul moyen efficace pour la libération systématique du Sud-Ouest Africain est l'intervention par la force armée. Les Etats Indépendants d'Afrique et leurs alliés doivent quant à eux s'approprier en réunissant leurs forces pour mener sinon appuyer une telle intervention.

L'adoption de la motion d'indépendance du Sud-Ouest Africain par l'ONU est un grand succès du dynamisme et de la force du mouvement de libération du Sud-Ouest Africain.

La libération de cette partie du continent des griffes et antennes du régime vicieux des séparatistes et colonialistes oppresseurs des autorités de Prétoria doit être considérée comme une priorité d'urgence. Les populations africaines réclament leur indépendance sur l'heure. Leur dose de patience se trouve fort diminuée et les Nations Unies doivent agir maintenant et sans plus tarder.

VOICE OF AFRICA

RADIO GHANA TRANSMISSION TIMES AND WAVELENGTHS

SWAHILI SERVICE		JUMATATU		JUMANNE		JUMATANO		ALHAMISI		NUMAA		JUMAMOSI	
WAKATI JUMAPILI		JUMATATU		JUMANNE		JUMATANO		ALHAMISI		NUMAA		JUMAMOSI	
1413	Habari Za Leo	15:285 and 15:210 M/C	19:62 and 19:72 Metres—East Africa	15:285 and 15:210 M/C	19:62 and 19:72 Metres—East Africa	15:285 and 15:210 M/C	19:62 and 19:72 Metres—East Africa	15:285 and 15:210 M/C	19:62 and 19:72 Metres—East Africa	15:285 and 15:210 M/C	19:62 and 19:72 Metres—East Africa	15:285 and 15:210 M/C	19:62 and 19:72 Metres—East Africa
1415	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1425	Ghana Leo	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1435		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1450	Ustaarabu Wa Asili	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1914		INTERVAL SIGNAL											
17183		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1720	Habari Za Leo	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1730	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1740	Muziki Wa Watu Mbal Mbal	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1750	Muziki Wa Watu Mbal Mbal	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1804		INTERVAL SIGNAL											
14583		INTERVAL SIGNAL											
1829		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1830	Habari Za Leo	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1840	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1905	Chaguo Letu	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1912	Ghaguo Letu	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
PORTUGUESE SERVICE													
TIME—GMT SUNDAY													
1413	The News	MONDAY		TUESDAY		WEDNESDAY		THURSDAY		FRIDAY		SATURDAY	
1415	News Talk	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1425	Music of Africa	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1435		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1450	Our African Cultural Heritage	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1458/30		INTERVAL SIGNAL											
1628		(i) 17.740 M/C. 16.91 Metres (ii) 9.554 M/C. 31.43 Metres (i) Angola, Mozambique (ii) Guinea, Angola											
1630	The News	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1650	News Talk	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1660	Moments with the Masters	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1705	Moments with the Masters	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)											
1713/30		CLOSE DOWN											
ENGLISH SERVICE													
(i) SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA													
1415—1500 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres											
1830—1915 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres											
(ii) EAST AFRICA													
1500—1545 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres											
(iii) SOUTH, SOUTH-WEST AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA													
1500—1545 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres											
2000—2045 GMT	15.285 Mcs	19.62 Metres											
(iv) WEST AFRICA													
1500—1545 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres											
1700—1745 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres											
2000—2045 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres											
2130—2215 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres											
FRENCH SERVICE													
(i) CONGO, CENTRAL AFRICA, MADAGASCAR													
1745—1830 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres											
1915—2000 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres											
(ii) WEST AFRICA													
1745—1830 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres											
1915—2000 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres											
2050—2135 GMT	9.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres											
PORTUGUESE SERVICE													
(i) ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE													
1415—1500 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres											
1630—1715 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres											
(ii) 1630—1715 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres											
HAUSA SERVICE													
(i) WEST AFRICA													
1545—1630 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres											
1830—1915 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres											
ARABIC SERVICE													
(i) UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, SUDAN, LIBYA													
1630—1715 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres											
(ii) MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA													
2005—2049 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres											
SWAHILI SERVICE													
(i) EAST AFRICA													
1415—1500 GMT	15.285 Mcs	19.62 Metres											
1720—1800 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres											
1830—1915 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres											
SPECIAL ENGLISH SERVICE—U.K. AND EUROPE													
2050—2135 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres											

Africa: The land and the People

IT is a pleasure to find a book on the future of Africa, *Remaking Africa*, by Nigel Heseltine (Museum Press, 18s) by someone who has clearly studied Africa's economic and social problems at first hand and has something useful to say.

The author is a member of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation, and naturally shows particular interest in the need for a revolutionary change in African agricultural methods and the conservation of her rapidly deteriorating soil.

He also makes valuable suggestions

on improving transport, on trade, electric power, and the development of African towns linked with African economic activity instead of with colonial administration or exports to imperialist countries.

Mr. Heseltine is a little lost as soon as he gets away from his subject and enters politics and his final chapter wanders off into religion.

But his conception of a planned and co-ordinated development of Africa's great river valleys, for agriculture, electric power, transport, regional industrial development and the growth of towns is an inspiring

and important contribution to present discussions on Remaking Africa.

Livingstone

Professor I. Schapera, who has previously given us "Livingstone's Private Journals, 1851-1853," and Livingstone's Family Letters" has produced another valuable volume, Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence 1841-1856 (Chatto and Windus, 42s).

Though not a book for the general reader, this is excellent source material for the student, especially his criticism of the treatment of Africans by the Boers, and his comments on the Portuguese slave trade in Angola.

Evolution

Ignorance of the major facts about Africa cannot be excused, says L.S.B. Leakey in *The Progress and Evolution of Man in Africa* (Oxford, 9s. 6d).

"Africa was the birthplace of man himself, and for many hundreds of centuries thereafter Africa was in the forefront of all world progress," explains Dr. Leakey in one of the two lectures he gave in England last year and which make up this volume.

Man developed from lower animals when he made tools to a set and regular pattern over 600,000 years ago at what is now called Olduvai Gorge in Tanganyika, the scene of Dr. Leakey's exciting excavations.

How man in Africa fell behind man's development elsewhere, and the present renaissance in Africa are Leakey's later themes which help to expose the ridiculous roots of race hatred and to explain the development of African freedom.

For many, Africa means elephants, lions, rhinoceroses, hippopotamuses, and other teeming wild life.

But the numbers of the once abundant animals are declining for reasons, including wanton destruction, explained by Julian Huxley in *The Conservation of Wild Life and Natural Habit in Central and East Africa* (Unesco 6s.).

Huxley reports sympathetically on what should be done to preserve Africa's scientific and cultural heritage and recommends the extension of National Parks and more benefits from them to the African people.

South Africa is in Ferment

Continued from page 11

choose the lesser evil which is the latter."

Mangaliso Sobukwe, our leader, had already declared that: "we have granted nobody the right to balkanise our land. Every inch of Africa belongs to the Africans." The PAC still holds to this view. Unfortunately, unlike the African States recently met we do not believe that counselling Verwoerd and his ilk to bring "white raiment that thou mayest be clothed and that the shame of thy nakedness may not appear and anoint thine eyesalve, that thou mayest see" will help. Verwoerd is beyond redemption!

We must pay tribute to those selfless men and women who are striving for African unity. We must pay tribute to those leaders who have played and continue to play the

lead in the struggle for African brothers who for eight long years have fought and continue to fight against French colonialism. We must pay tribute to our Angolan brothers who are waging the struggle for freedom against Portuguese imperialism. We must express the belief that despite imperialist intrigues the Congo will turn out not in the distant future a field of victory for the insuperable forces of African nationalism.

For our part, we shall never rest until the Welensky-Salazar-Verwoerd anti-revolutionary axis has been crushed; until the dream of African unity from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Malagasy has been realised.

**FORWARD TO INDEPENDENCE
—FORWARD TO AFRICAN
UNITY!**