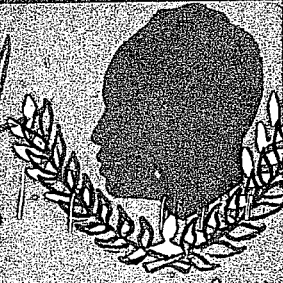


JULY—AUGUST, 1964

Vol. 4 No. 7 & 8



Voice of AFRICA



UNION GOVERNMENT FOR AFRICA

BUT a Union Government of Africa would end the dilemma of the industrialized nations, because inevitably that wealth will be converted into capital for the development of Africa.

The fact that imperialism and neo-colonialism are in that dilemma should be for us the clearest indication of the courage we must follow.

We must unite for economic viability, first of all, and then to recover our vast mineral wealth in Southern Africa, so that our vast resources and capacity for development will bring prosperity for us and additional benefits for the rest of the world.

—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Cairo, July 1964.

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EDITOR : BOAKYE KWAKWA

OUR OPINION

THE ZAPU-ZANU AFFAIR

RECENT developments in Southern Rhodesia have not only brought to the open the strategy of the white settler minority régime but also indicated the inevitable course open to the African nationalists.

For racist Ian Smith he has crowned his efforts to cripple the liberation movement in that colony by banning the People's Caretaker Council (although P.C.C. is not a party) and the Zimbabwe African National Union.

Of course, we did not expect him to do otherwise—being the racist he is.

For the majority African nationalists there is now only one open course, namely, a united front for a major and final offensive, backed by the Organisation of African Unity, against the settler régime.

It was in anticipation of this inevitability that the Bureau of African Affairs appealed for a reasoned patch-up of ZAPU after its emotional fissure a year ago.

And shortly before the African Summit in Cairo President Nkrumah personally invited both ZAPU and ZANU to Accra.

In all our efforts we have endeavoured, undiscouraged, to help provide a common platform for the African nationalists.

In Cairo the heads of state and Government endorsed the necessity and urgency for a united front in Southern Rhodesia by appointing a reconciliatory Committee to persuade ZAPU and ZANU to sink their differences—at least for the present—and form a common front.

In taking this step the O.A.U. have expressed not only concern over the explosive situation in the colony but also confidence in the four million oppressed Africans' ability to provide a united front against White domination.

We are interested in the immediate establishment of an African majority Government in Southern Rhodesia; and, for the present, any other consideration is of secondary importance.

CONGO

U.S. imperialism is busy manipulating its puppets in the Congo (Leopoldville) in a political plot for "national reconciliation" to save itself from a dismal failure. Hence all the bustle now of the quislings in that country.

Western press reports have revealed that the United States intends to line up its agents and the Right-wing forces fostered by the old colonialists with a view to checking the growth of the popular armed forces and misleading and sowing discord among the Congolese patriots.

That is why Tshombe, chief of the Katanga group who was in the pay of the old colonialists but driven out of the country last year by the neo-colonialists, now suddenly returned to Leopoldville at the request of Adoula.

Almost at the same time Kalonji, former "Emperor" of Kasai Province was back in the Congo from his refuge, Spain.

All the puppets of the colonialists, old and new alike, now join in the chorus of "national reconciliation", in spite of their tussling on three previous occasions.

Western press reports have disclosed that the United States now changes its tactics of aggression in the Congo because it wants first of all to halt the vigorous upsurge of the patriotic armed struggle of the Congolese people. It also wants to cope with the situation in the Congo following the forced withdrawal of the "UN Force" on 30th June.

To realise its designs of dominating the Congo, the United States had used the "UN Force" and its puppet Kasavubu-Adoula regime as its tools and murdered Lumumba, Congo's national hero, subverted the legitimate Congolese Government headed by Gizenga, killed large numbers of Congolese patriots and ousted the puppets of the old colonialists.

U.S. imperialism thought that by so doing it could achieve the purpose of dominating the Congo.

But, contrary to the wishes of the United States, the Congolese people started the fire of armed struggle in several provinces since the beginning of this year. Adoula's, troops were demoralised and have suffered one defeat after another. The patriotic forces have won the support of the suffering Congolese people everywhere.

This has made U.S. imperialism very panicky.

The 'Washington Evening Star' said on 17th June: "American officials have feared for many weeks that the Congo Government might collapse if the guerilla war in Eastern Congo spreads to other areas."

It was at this critical juncture that the "Defence Minister" of the Adoula clique, J. Anany, issued a statement on 18th June declaring the necessity for holding a round-table conference and let Moise Tshombe and other exiled leaders return to the Congo.

Tshombe had secret talks with "President" Kasavubu and

"Prime Minister" Adoula the moment he returned to Leopoldville on 26th June, and advocated in a public speech a "total and sincere reconciliation of all Congolese".

He said he wanted "to reconcile everybody". Upon his return to Leopoldville from Spain on 27th June, Kalonji had secret talks with Cyrile Adoula and Tshombe separately and declared that he was prepared to join the new Government as Vice-Premier.

On 29th June, Tshombe said he requested the release of Antoine Gizenga and that Adoula "promised" his release.

On 1st July, Kasavubu asked Tshombe to carry out investigations and to approach different political forces in connection with the formation of a new Government.

In the meantime, the US and British capitalist press made a lot of fuss about the necessity of the union of all Right-wing forces in the Congo. There was loud cry for "national reconciliation".

The 'New York Herald Tribune' said in an editorial on 29th June: "The proposal to invite all non-communist elements, including Tshombe, to form a national coalition is a good beginning." AP reported on the same day: "The Congo will experience some of the most intense jockeying for power."

To maintain its control over the Congo, US imperialism is playing a political fraud, while militarily intensifying the training of troops for the puppet government and introducing various types of military material into the country.

The Diplomat In Africa

by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

This is the Osagyefo's Speech at a recent dinner he gave for diplomats in Ghana.

THE sharing of a common meal as we have done to-night is a symbol of goodwill and friendship and I am happy to think that such goodwill and friendship can strengthen and promote the relations between Ghana and the countries which you represent here.

More than half the nations of the world have decided to establish diplomatic relations with us. I like to feel that this is not only a tribute to Ghana, but also an indication of the interest that these nations have in the policies we pursue, as well as the way in which we manage our own affairs.

I thank those of you who have unbiased understanding of our problems and policies and who try to interpret them accurately to your respective Governments.

In doing so, you may perhaps fall short of the standards believed to have been set at one time by the conventional diplomat who was sent abroad to "lie" for the good of his country.

Goodwill is perhaps the greatest need in the world today. It is the chief duty of the diplomat to do everything in his power to promote international understanding. And the first step in this direction is to get acquainted with the history, customs and way of life of the people in the country to which he has been assigned.

It is only when he really gets to know the country and its people that he can be in a position to distinguish fact from fiction.

And more important still, that he has the courage to come out boldly

in defence of facts when he recognises that they have been distorted. For the sake of goodwill and complete understanding between the countries he is concerned with, he must ensure that news items are presented to his own peoples correctly and objectively.

We must admit that history only seems to repeat itself; it is the historians who repeat each other, and thus determine the attitudes of mind from which contemporary problems are viewed.

When we in Africa look at the world today, we are often struck by the double standards of our continent.

For example, some of the former colonial powers still believe in a policy of divide and rule by which they consider that political difficulties in other parts of the world can be solved.

And so, whenever there appear different political views in any one country, they always seek a solution by dividing that country into two. The only inconsistency in the application of this dead theory is that none of the nations advocating it have ever applied it to their own country. In other words, they believe in unity at home, but are balkanizers abroad.

Let me refer to another example of double standards. For a long time, diplomatic thinking has been dominated by the idea of maintaining the balance of power.

Peace, it was thought, could be preserved by ensuring that no nation became either too powerful, or too weak in a world of rivalry and competing claims.

Such a theory demanded, for instance, that if a great power disappeared, then the balance of power could only be maintained by dividing up its former territories into small States.

These States would then be bound

to come under the influence of one other of the great powers and thus the balance of power would be maintained.

The partition of Africa was made frankly for this purpose. None of the great powers at the Berlin Conference of 1885 considered the effect of their decisions.

They had no regard for any arguments based on the economic social or ethnic groupings in Africa. They were solely concerned to see that there was a balance of powers who had carved up Africa into the strange jig-saw puzzle which it pleased them to refer to as "spheres of influence".

This laboriously constructed balance of power in Africa did not, however, prevent the great powers from indulging in two major world wars.

In our effort to unite Africa today, we are still bearing the burden of this baneful and iniquitous decision.

One would have thought that their experience in this alone would have shown the Powers the futility of this baneful and iniquitous decision as a factor for preserving peace. But no—even after the second world war the great nations of the world still pursue this fantasy and illusion.

In my view, far from partition and balkanisation being a stabilising factor, it is one of the greatest dangers of world peace.

In the nineteenth century the great powers outside Africa believed erroneously that they could secure their own safety and economic security by dividing up the African continent.

Little did they realise then that their economic and political interests could be enhanced if they had fostered African unity.

(Continued on page 6)

GHANA TRAINS AFRICAN STUDENTS



Since 1961 over 30 African students from Basutoland, Bechuanaland, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Somalia have passed through the Government Secretariat School in Accra. Here, Ugandan Students at a typing class at the School.

Ghana's accelerated educational programme since her independence in 1957 has made her the country with the highest expenditure on education in relation to her national income.

Her target to produce a literate population by 1970—the tenth anniversary of her Republic—springs from the Government's profound belief that strength and power can only come to a people through edu-

cation.

But as several new Faculties are established and the total student population increases in her higher institutions of learning; as the enrolment in the primary, middle and secondary schools quadruples, the people of Ghana are proud and happy to enjoy these benefits with their brethren from other African States.

African Students in Ghana who are benefiting from the

immense educational facilities come from all parts of the Continent.

Since 1961 over 76 African students who have benefited from, or now enjoy full Government Scholarship were recommended by the Ghana Bureau of African Affairs.

They have come from Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), Kenya, Somalia and Uganda in East Africa, from Gambia in West Africa and from Basu-



Ghana's educational programme is buttressed by an intensive study of science. First year girl students, including three from Kenya, of Nungua Secondary School near Accra, listen attentively to their teacher as he explains a diagram for the preparation of chlorine gas.

October, 1963.

Doing a diploma course in political science at the famous Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, in the Central Region of Ghana are five students from Kenya. They are Messrs Jackson Kaitula, David S. Masila, Alois Muboi, Hezekia N. Kareithi and James N. Kihuna. Two others who are reading for their Institute of Public Administration are: Mr. D. Osoro Nyarchaga and Mr. Eric M. O. Machoka.

Emphasis on Ghana's educational policy has rightly been placed on the study of science and Ghanaian boys and girls and their counterparts from other African states are taught to realize that science is not just something which works in the laboratory,

(Continued on page 8)

toland, Bechuanaland and South Africa from Southern Africa.

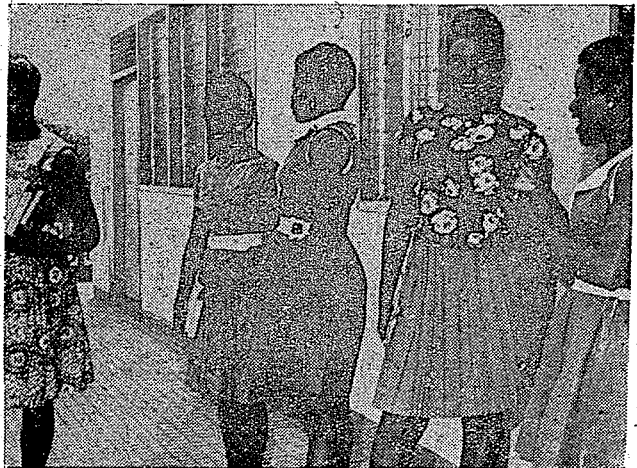
They are undergoing various courses in secondary and technical institutions, teacher training colleges, secretarial schools and in the universities.

Thirty-one boys and girls from Northern Rhodesia, Kenya and Gambia are in nine Secondary Schools in Ghana under full Government Scholarship. These schools include the renowned Achimota Secondary School (President Nkrumah is an old Achimotan).

Wilson Gari and Enoch T. Isinta both from Kenya are under government scholarship undergoing a four-year Teacher Training Course leading to the Teachers' Certificate "A".

From Basutoland, Miss

Gloria Moruthoane is doing an arts degree course at the University College of Cape Coast. Mr. C. J. Chiwale and Mr. Francis Mdala both from Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) are reading for their social Administration Certificate at the University of Ghana. Mr. Francis Kaunda also from Zambia who was doing a science degree course at the university of Ghana left for Harvard University U.S.A. in



Kenya Students and their Ghanaian counterparts get ready for their next class.

THE ROLE OF DIPLOMAT

(Continued from page 3)

It is therefore not too much to call upon the powers of today to assist in making the unity of Africa possible. Indeed, the political unification of Africa is the most urgent and decisive issue of our time.

It is to the advantage of the African States to have a large enough internal market to sustain the effective industrialisation of the continent.

If the industrialised nations of the world are to export their capital goods to Africa they can only find a strong and stable market for such exports in a unified African economic area.

The age of the hoe and the camel is past and gone forever. Africa, in common with other countries of the world, is already in the age of the tractor and the jet plane.

We therefore have to think in terms of the optimum areas of development and population. A united Africa, with a union government of its own, will provide this optimum land mass and optimum population.

UNITED AFRICA

The countries which you represent, with their vast growing industrial complexes, particularly in Europe, America and Russia, will surely prefer to trade with a politically stable and united Africa, with its great economic and material resources, rather than with numerous weak states with fragile disputable frontier barriers.

Africa's population—even with the inadequacies of our census system—now stands at 300 million, with a cohesive and compact land mass covering an area of 12 million square miles.

Recently the world press has made much of the bombing of "dissident tribesmen". On this occasion, I do not wish to discuss such a controversial issue as this.

We in Ghana do not even give legal recognition to the existence of tribes or of tribal groups. I would only like to ask why those who have to deal with the people they

call "dissident tribesmen" do not apply their methods impartially.

If one looks round the African continent, the most obvious example of a group who could be referred to as "dissident tribesmen" are the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia.

They have peculiar attributes. They are a small minority less than six per cent of the population of Southern Rhodesia.

They, like the so-called Afrikaners of South Africa, believe in maintaining their tribal position by force.

They obstinately maintain social and religious barriers between themselves and the rest of the population. They even refuse to intermarry with the people among whom they are living.

Suppose these settlers in Southern Rhodesia are able to overthrow the Constitution and proclaim themselves as the rulers of the country, what then?

Will they be treated in the same way as other "dissident tribesmen" have been treated elsewhere? I cannot of course advocate the solution of the Southern Rhodesia problem by the bombing of the clearly defined and segregated white tribal lands of Southern Rhodesia.

I am against the bombing of all tribesmen irrespective of their colour.

If the solution by bombing is to be ruled out, what then? It seems to me that in the case both of Southern Rhodesia and of South Africa, a kind of paralysis of will affects many of the great nations of the world.

They all acknowledge that the system of apartheid and racial discrimination practised in these countries is not only morally wrong, but is in itself a threat to world peace.

Yet on these particular issues on which the world is practically unanimous, there is a singular failure to take effective action, because their economic and financial interests are involved.

Moral scruple appear to overtake many countries when asked to take action on African matters, although these same scruples do not seem to trouble them when dealing with their own affairs.

For example, why cannot the de-

isions of the United Nations in regard to South Africa be implemented by the establishment of a blockade?

If one looks at the arguments against this course they would seem to be based not on a defence of the South African position, but on the moral ground that a blockade for political reasons is improper and immoral.

DOUBLE STANDARD CONDEMNED

Yet, if one looks round the world, one sees attempts to organise commercial blockades to enforce a change of regime upon countries whose political systems are condemned by some of their neighbours.

It is double standard in approaching world problems which I believe should be condemned. The countries of the world must accept and maintain in their dealings with each other, the standards of justice and fair play.

If we did this, I am sure it would not be long before problems such as we have in Laos, South Vietnam, Cyprus and in the Middle East would be solved in a spirit of mutual understanding and harmony.

In the same spirit, I am convinced that it will be possible to find a solution to the burning Arab-Israeli problem one way or the other.

The dynamic impact of Africa's awakening has shaken the world. It was Ghana that first stirred that slumbering African giant.

Because of this, neither Ghana nor Kwame Nkrumah have been forgiven by those whose economic and political interests are incompatible with what we stand for.

We have been attacked relentlessly and mercilessly by the Western press, often by journalists who have assessed the position after a few hours in Ghana spent leaning at the bar of the Ambassador Hotel.

You who live among us and who know the sort of people we are, can perform a great service not only to Ghana, but to all Africa, by letting the true facts be known and by exposing the utter irresponsibility and damage of this kind of absentee reportage.

Continued on page 8

HAPPY BIRTHDAY! OUR DEAR KWAME

On the occasion of your 55th birthday, (September 21, 1964) we, the Director and Staff of the Bureau of African Affairs, humbly extend Our Love and Sincerest Wishes to you.

WE pray for God's guidance that you may have many happy returns of this memorable day, enjoy long life, happiness and prosperity and above all, that your dream for a United Africa may be realised.



OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKUMAH
President of the Republic of Ghana.

Hail! illustrious son of Africa,
Born amidst the songs of the
Hot September days;
Born into the land of
Your oppressed people.
You saw your duty clearly before you.

Hail! Kwame the Nkrumah,
Ghana acknowledges the
Fulfilment of your great work,
Africa's "show boy"
We hail thee.

From the clutches of aggression
You have saved your brethren
With one hand,
Now what else
Thou worthy son of mother Africa?
Yes! We know your aim
Kwame, the brave freedom fighter,
Africa is to be free whole
And entire;
Until then,
You rest not on your oars.

We join in the fight, Kwame,
Relentlessly, until even
The smallest island of Mother
Africa is free and united
African unity is a real one.

Hail! illustrious son of Africa,
Father, friend, and fighter of
The true course,
We hail and acknowledge your greatness.

by VERONICA COBBINA.

THE ROLE OF A DIPLOMAT

Continued from page 6

I am tolerated by the Western press "as affectionately as toothache and as tenderly as a thorn".

But it is not I or Ghana who are worried about all this. We in Ghana don't care a rap what they say about us.

We know where we are going, what we want and how we are going to get there. We will not be deterred by any criticism. As Omar Khaayam wrote: "The dogs bark the caravan moves on".

Diplomats are sometimes looked upon as legalised international spies. I don't share that view.

But in as much as they should keep their eyes wide open and snatch every opportunity to strengthen the ties between their country and Ghana, the more so-called spying they do the better for us all.

A diplomat alive to his responsibilities can make a most valuable contribution towards the creation of

public opinion. To those of you who have accorded to Ghana that understanding and friendship, I say: Thank you.

To those others, I say: May you adopt a more reasonable frame of mind towards us in the future.

What are you here for, anyway? Is it not to promote friendly relations between your country and Ghana?

To build up such a fund of goodwill and understanding between us that peace, friendship and co-operation are assured not only between our countries, but throughout the world.

This is your challenge.

Continued from page 5

but is all around us in nature and in the things we see in our daily lives.

Africa has vast potential-

ties and resources and it is vital that her educational programme should be buttressed by an intensive study of science.

African education, an example of which is taking place in Ghana, need be geared to Africa's aims, purposes and aspirations.

The educational systems left us by the colonial regimes and which were designed to produce persons best suited to serve the interests of the colonial powers are anachronistic.

Africa must build a new society in which the best educational opportunities shall be the right of every citizen and the education of the individual shall be an opportunity for the service of Africa.

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SEPTEMBER ISSUE

Neo-Colonialism Holds The Congo To Ransom

SINCE the end of World War II, the victorious socialist countries and the vigorous development of national-liberation movements have greatly diminished the domain of imperialist rule.

As a result, the imperialists, as never before, have intensified their battle for colonies and spheres of influence as each seeks to defeat his competitors and bolster his own position.

The sharp struggle over the Congo in recent years is one such example.

Long known as "the world's store-house of raw materials" and the "gem of Central Africa" the Congo is one of the most richly endowed countries in Africa, ranking high in strategic resources such as rare and non-ferrous metals.

For instance, it leads the capitalist world in output of industrial diamonds, germanium (an important raw material for semi-conductors), cobalt and tantalum which are indispensable for manufacturing missiles and jet planes.

RICH DEPOSITS

It holds fourth place in the capitalist world's output of tin and fifth in copper and manganese. The Congo also is an important producer of uranium used by the imperialists.

In addition, it has rich deposits of lithium, niobium, cadmium, beryllium and thorium—all needed for making thermonuclear weapons as well as gold, silver, tungsten, zinc and other metals.

Finally, it is rich in agricultural products, such as palm products, rubber, cotton, coffee, cocoa, large quantities of which are annually exported.

Occupying an important strategic position in the heart of Africa, the

Congo has invariably been the scene of competition between imperialist countries in their attempt to extend their influence on this continent.

At the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, because none of the powers were willing to see the Congo swallowed up by any one contestant, it was decided that all participating countries enjoyed freedom of navigation and trade there; at the same time, its administration was left to a small country, Belgium.

CHEAP RAW MATERIALS

For the past 80 years, Belgium has regarded the Congo as an inexhaustible source of profit. It uses the large quantities of lowpriced raw materials plundered from that country not to meet the needs of its home markets, but also to make up for its shortage of foreign exchange.

Almost ten per cent of the total value of Belgian exports comes from the resale of Congolese raw materials.

Statistics show that in 1955 over 30 per cent of the Belgian corporations' profits after taxes were made in the Congo. The four big Belgian financial monopoly groups—Societe Generale de Belgique, Brufina, Empain and de la Comiere—have large investments in the Congo more than quadruple the combined total of the other three.

Britain, too, has enormous economic influence in the Congo. British monopoly capital almost exclusively controls the insurance companies.

The Unilever group monopolises the Congo's palm production and controls the biggest share in rubber and cocoa production. Palm products alone constitute 11 per cent of the total value of the Congo's exports. This group controls about 20 per cent of Congolese imports.

U.S. monopoly capital has long coveted the Congo's rich resources. When the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga was founded, the U.S. copper trust, seeking to monopolise world copper production, tried to squeeze into the company but was rejected by Britain and Belgian capitalists.

Some time afterwards, through the efforts of Belgian King Leopold II the American Guggenheim group obtained 50 and 25 per cent of the shares of American Congo Company and the Societe Internationale Forestiere et Miniere du Congo respectively.

In spite of this, U.S. interests in the Congo were long restrained by their British and Belgian counterparts who dominated the Congolese economy.

In order to grab the capitalist worlds' biggest sources of raw materials found in the Congo for its atomic industry, U.S. imperialism during world war II took advantage of its favourable position and forced Britain and Belgium to sign an agreement.

As a result both recognised the right of the United States to run the Congo's uranium industry and to get threefourths of the output, leaving the remainder to Britain.

After the agreement, however, the British were forced to hand over their share to the Americans. Yet until the World War II ended the Congolese economic lift-line on the whole was in the hands of British and Belgian monopoly capital. In 1943, according to statistics, U.S. investments (including those in Ruanda and Burundi) only amounted to \$6.5 million far less than British and Belgian.

U.S. IMPERIALISM STEPS INTO THE SCENE

Following World War II, U.S. monopoly groups, taking advantage of the general weakening of West European countries, pushed their efforts to elbow the old colonialist out.

This applies even more to the Congo than elsewhere because of its rich resources and important strategic position, and especially because the United States urgently



*Patrice Lumumba; victim
of United States imperialism*

needs large imports of the Congo's rare metals for manufacturing atomic weapons and developing the military technique of jet propulsion.

Former US President Eisenhower made no bones about this when he said that if the Congo, the Middle East, and the Suez Canal were gone, "where would we get the materials needed for existence? For making steel, for making atomic bombs?"

In a 1959 research report, US Senate Foreign Relations Committee also frankly admitted: "**Because of the contribution the mineral resources of the Congo make to the industrial and military requirements of the United States, it is essential that our future relations with it be such that the contribution of the supplies be assured.**"

OLD AND NEW COLONIALISTS COMPETITION

In February 1954 the US Foreign Operation Administration sent a delegation, headed by W. M. Rand, ex-president of Monsanto Chemicals, for an on-the-spot investigation in Inga and began preparations for organizing a company to build the hydropower project.

This move alerted the British and Belgian monopoly capitalists. They feared that if the Inga project was completed and the mining industry established, the Bas Congo, with its low-priced power and convenient sea transport facilities would overwhelm the Katanga mining industry.

They therefore, preferred to leave the water and mineral resources of

the Bas Congo unexploited or develop them gradually rather than let the United States get involved. In the words of the American magazine Collier's they, "plan to save both Inga and the Bas Congo minerals for their grand children".

The British and Belgian old colonialists have long taken great precaution against U.S. imperialism undermining their interests by means of its powerful financial strength.

But the United States with its economic and political strength far superior to that of the other imperialist countries cannot condone such resistance. It is eager to wrest the Congo from the old colonialists.

A customary tactic employed by the United States to extend new colonialism at a time when the rule of the old colonialists is faltering is to push them aside and take their place the pretext of "filling a vacuum".

In talking about his so-called "areas of trial", the late US President Kennedy said: "There is no place so full of opportunity as the Africa north of the troubled Union of South Africa and South of the great Sahara Desert".

BITTER CONFLICTS IN KATANGA

The underhanded activities of these new colonialists to control the Congo aroused strong opposition from the British and Belgian old colonialists. However, because the Congo had become independent and it was difficult to contest the United States in all of the country, they were forced to safeguard their interests by holding on to the mining areas in the south-eastern Congo, especially, Katanga.

Katanga is also an important part of "the mining Kingdom" founded by the monopoly groups of Britain, France, Belgian, Portugal, South Africa and other countries in Central and Southern Africa.

Pivoting on the British South Africa Company, the "kingdom", by means of interlocking investments and directorates and other

Continued on next page

methods, incorporates the British and French Rothschild group in South Africa, the Societe Generale de Belgique and other international million, it has the mining industry in the vast area of South Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Angola and the south-eastern part of the Congo under its thumb.

It monopolises 75, 25 and 80 per cent of the capitalist world's production of gold, copper, and cobalt respectively, almost all of its production of industrial diamonds and at least 60 per cent of the uranium.

Katanga and the southern part of Kasai produce 40, and 80 per cent of the "kingdom's" copper, cobalt and diamonds respectively and a major part of uranium.

Possession of Katanga, therefore, has a direct bearing on whether the economic position of the old colonialists in all of Central and Southern Africa will be maintained. The loss of Katanga would mean the virtual doom of this old colonialists' "mining kingdom".

Katanga is also a bone of contention for the U.S. imperialists. As admitted by the New York Times, "Katanga is a rich prize for anyone who can control its riches". **THE UNITED STATES IS NOW BECOMING MORE AND MORE DEPENDENT ON THIS REGION FOR MANY OF ITS VITALLY NEEDED RAW MATERIALS.**

The total value of raw materials it took out of the Congo jumped 34-fold from a paltry 3 million dollars in 1937 to 103 million dollars in 1957, and the latter figure does not include its purchases of the Congo's raw materials from Britain and Belgium.

This is not all the story. The aim of the United States in seizing Katanga is to make competition impossible for its opponents by gaining control over their sources of raw materials. In the eyes of the US monopoly capitalists, British and Belgian possession of mineral wealth in Katanga is most disadvantageous. Copper production in Katanga, for instance, poses a direct menace to the interests of the US copper trust.

MILITARY BASES IN AFRICA

FOREIGN military bases are set up in Africa with the idea of giving the colonialists control over these territories and the capitalist monopolies the opportunity to extract and export strategic raw materials and other natural wealth.

The strategic and economic interests involved in the setting up of bases are intertwined. "In some sections of Africa as in other parts of the world", W. Alphaeus Hunton has noted in his book **Decision In Africa**, "military bases and oil concessions appear to have an affinity for one another. A government which will accommodate one will often welcome the other. And a military base may be regarded in some circles as a sort of insurance against expropriation of oil properties."

The military ideologists of imperialism have recently put forward the "flexible response" strategy which is in part supposed to devise more effective forms and methods on armed suppression of the national liberation movement which threatens the fabulous profits derived by the imperialist monopolies. No attempt is made to conceal the fact that local wars against the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America depend very largely on the existence of western bases abroad.

The American military commentator, Hanson W. Baldwin, wrote: "The greatest military value of bases... is for limited war—anything from another Korea to a Lebanon-type intervention. Limited war—the type of war we are most likely to face—required rapid reaction by sea, air and naval power.

Overseas bases make quick reaction possible and facilitate supply."

In the United States, 'special troops' are being trained to penetrate into the territories of other states. One of these groups is destined for operations in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa while another is orientated to tropical Africa. Similar measures are being taken by the other colonial Powers.

The bloody suppression of the independence movement in Madagascar by the French colonialist in 1947-1948 the British colonial war in Korea in 1952-1956, the Anglo-French-Israeli intervention in Egypt 1956, when foreign bases were used as the jumping off ground for these and other colonial military gambles, are still fresh in the memories of the peoples of Africa, and people throughout the world.

ISOLATION

During their lengthy colonial war against the freedom-loving Algerian people, the French imperialists relied on their bases in Algeria and in other parts of Africa for example, at Bizerta, in Tunisia and Meknes and in Morocco. By means of their bases to the south of Algeria, French militarists tried to isolate the Algerian people from the other African peoples and deprive them of their support. US bases in North Africa were also used in conducting military operations in Algeria.

The collective imperialist intervention in the Congo convincingly demonstrated the danger to the newly independent African countries of foreign bases on their territories or in adjacent regions. The bases at Kamina Kitona and Banana retained by the Belgian colo-

nialists after the proclamation of Congolese independence were in fact the main centres of troop concentrations during the operations against the lawful Congolese Government.

In the summer of 1963, British troops were flown from Kenya to break the strike movement among the Africans in Swaziland.

ANGLO-AMERICAN AGGRESSION

Foreign bases in Africa have often been used in military adventures against the peoples of the Middle East. At the time of the Anglo-American aggression in Lebanon and Jordan, the staff and several units of the 24th Brigade were dispatched to the area from Kenya, and a Vampire jet fighter squadron flew in from Rhodesia. A British special task force was sent from the Kahawa base in Kenya to Kuwait during the British intervention there in 1961.

Today wherever the colonialists feel the ground giving way under them, they strengthen their bases and mass their troops for the struggle against the rising national liberation movement. The authors of the booklet *What Is Neo-Colonialism?* published by the Movement for Colonial Freedom correctly point out that "the importance of strategic interests and military bases has often prevented the granting of independence." This is further indication of the close connection that exists between the national-liberation struggle and the fight for disarmament and world peace.

The colonialists have always established and maintained their rule by force of arms. Naturally therefore to deprive them of their teeth, and would do away for all time with the possibility of any kind of colonial revanche, and finally and irrevocably undermine the foundations of their rule in the remaining colonies.

In recent years the African peoples have achieved not unimportant successes in the fight to liquidate foreign bases. Several years ago the Egyptian people forced the British imperialists to evacuate the big Suez Canal zone base which

had long served as a centre for suppressing not only the Egyptian but other African people too. Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Sudan have cleared their territories of all foreign bases, Morocco and Tunisia have partly accomplished this task, and French troops are now drawing out of Algeria.

In consequence, vast areas of Africa, until quite recently used as military strongholds by the Western Powers, are now beyond their control. This has not only helped to strengthen peace and security in these regions but has also created better conditions for the newly independent countries to conduct an independent foreign policy and implement economic development plans.

AFRICA—NUCLEAR FREE ZONE

The 16th UN General Assembly resolution put forward by the African countries and actively supported by the Socialist and other peace-loving states, declaring Africa a nuclear free zone, is an important gain of the African peoples helping them in their fight against foreign bases. This resolution, approved in the face of imperialist opposition, gives moral support to the African peoples who wish to isolate themselves as much as possible from the possible effects of a devastating nuclear-missile war and sets a good precedent for establishing nuclear-free zones in other parts of the world.

BEN BELLA'S STAND

The African peoples are increasingly vigorous in protesting against the imperialists' dangerous nuclear preparations in Africa and adjacent regions. In connection with the latest nuclear blast in the Sahara, Algerian Prime Minister Ben Bella stated:

"We shall never agree to our country being used as a test site for bombs." The permanent secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation in its statement on US and NATO plans to turn the Mediterranean into a un-

clear missile jumping-off ground called on all peoples and especially the peoples of the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Libya to thwart these plans which threaten the peace and security of Africa.

FIGHT AGAINST FOREIGN BASES

Lately, the fight against foreign military bases is becoming more organised and is sweeping the whole African continent. This question was an important item on the agenda of the 3rd Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held in Moshi, Tanganyika, in February last year. Delegates from Kenya, Mozambique, Zanzibar, Southern Rhodesia and other African countries stressed that the existence of tremendously large armed forces within the aggressive military blocs and the presence of foreign troops and bases in other people's countries were not only a threat to peace but a very serious obstacle to national independence in African and Asia. In its political resolution the conference declared that the fight to eliminate foreign military bases for the withdrawal of foreign troops and liquidate aggressive military blocs is an integral part of the fight against imperialism, for complete national liberation and the peace the world over. The conference participants proclaimed that no country can get really free if it has foreign bases on its soil.



Cold War in Tanganyika-Zanzibar?

EAST and West are at present carrying out a trial of strength in the Republic of Tanganyika-Zanzibar, in which the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union are involved in the front line.

Just as Bonn continues to insist that the Soviet Zone has no justification for its existence in the Republic, Pankow is trying just as tenaciously to cling to the first diplomatic outpost which it has gained on African soil.

Confusion is the only word to describe the present situation.

So far, the Soviet Zone, backed up by the Soviet Union, has ignored the order from the Central Government in Dar-es-Salaam, which declared that all Embassies in Zanzibar were to be converted into Consulates from midnight on 30th June.

It is however, questionable whether the Soviet Zone is actually

refusing to comply.

Well informed circles assert that the wish of the Central Government for the conversion of all Embassies in Zanzibar was conveyed in Notes.

The Note to the Soviet Zone had however been withdrawn because the Central Government argued that it maintains no diplomatic relations with Pankow. The Soviet Zone could thus rightly say that it does not refuse to do something it has not been asked to do.

If this information is correct, Nyerere has adopted an African solution to leave all decisions open for time to settle. On the other hand, Bonn would find it difficult to plug the Hallestein Doctrine, for the Zone Embassy in Zanzibar would not be accredited to the Government of the Republic of Tanganyika-Zanzibar...

In advocating for the immediate formation of a United Government of Africa, President Nkrumah pointed out to the Africa leaders who met in Cairo that "the price of our disunity is continued exploitation from abroad and foreign interference in our internal matters."

He stressed that only under a strong Union Government would we have the material resources for rapid industrialisation, whereby all of us big or small would be benefited.

"But so long as we are divided we will to this extent, remain colonies in an economic sense. We shall remain puppets and agents of neo-colonialism."

KAMERUN:

Kingue Abel is dead

EXTORTIONATE ROYALTIES TO BE HALTED IN ZAMBIA

MR. Arthur Wina, Northern Rhodesia Finance Minister, has said in Lusaka the Government considered it imperative to acquire control of the rights of the British-South Africa copper mining company which was at present drawing royalties of more than six million sterling a year.

In his first budget since Northern Rhodesia achieved self-government, which will guide the country through most of the first year of independence, Mr. Wina said his government would take action to acquire control of the mineral rights as soon as it was in possession of all the relevant facts.

Under an unfair and exploiting agreement the British-South Africa Company was given mineral rights until 1986 by the British Government.

In London, Mr. John Stonehouse (Labour) has told Parliament of the extortionate royalties which the British-South Africa Company obtains through its control of mining leases in Northern Rhodesia.

He said it would be impossible for Zambia to be able to afford the extortionate royalties to the Company when the country needed the money to invest in items such as agricultural development, roads and irrigation.

He expressed the hope that the company would decide voluntarily to renounce all its rights in respect of royalties from Zambia on independence day.

No matter where we look in the continent of Africa, we will find that to a greater or lesser degree, this same pattern of exploitation persists.

IT is with profound pain that we report the cruel disparition of one great freedom fighter Kingue Abel, vice-President of the U.P.C.

For 16 years he fought a good battle at the head of the U.P.C. for independence and unity of Kamerun, for Independence and Unity of great mother Africa, and for true peace throughout the world. After Ruben Um Nyobe and Felix Roland Moumie, secretary-general and President of the U.P.C. respectively, Kingue Abel has again fallen on the field.

But the revolutionary banner which death has seized from their hands would not be allowed to fall on the ground. Kingue Abel has departed this life at an epoch that the imperialists have become more ferocious and cunning, indeed at a time that the French armed with American weapons continue in a country said to be independent to terrorise the population, pile the prisons with thousands of political detainees and some even executed publicly.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM OVERSHADOWS AFRICA

FRANCE'S February intervention has not put an end to popular unrest in Gabon.

Although President Léon M'Ba has been restored, his power remains illusory and his position shaky. The Presidential palace is guarded day and night by French paratroops. French patrols comb the streets of Libreville. Mass demonstrations nevertheless go on.

The Gabonese are demanding M'Ba's exile, the withdrawal of the French forces and democratic elections.

Viewed apart from what is going on in other former French colonies south of the Sahara, the developments in Gabon may seem a chance and transitory occurrence. There are some in Paris who would like to think they are only that. But the fact is that the attempt to overthrow the President was brought

about by the same causes as those which had led to the overthrow, somewhat earlier, of the Presidents of the Brazzaville Congo and Dahomey and to the present political instability in the Ivory Coast, Chad and other countries.

These developments—unexpected rather than accidental—mark the beginning of a new process in Africa: the disintegration of the neo-colonialist empire set up by the French imperialists on the territories where they were forced to yield direct political power in 1960.

It is a process that deserves close study, for no other imperialist power has succeeded in building so vast a neo-colonialist system as France has done south of the Sahara.

This system extends to all former French colonies in the area with the exception of Guinea and Mali (consequently, none of what follows

applies to these two genuinely independent republics).

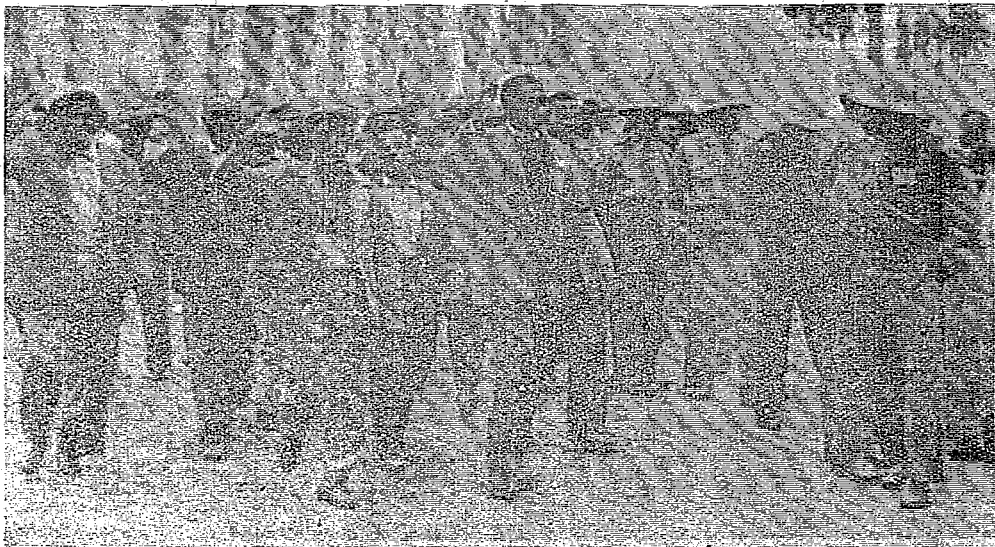
Let us first take a look at the structure of the French neo-colonialist empire and then analyse the processes going on within.

History is definitely indebted to the French colonialists. No one has ever proved so convincingly that armed suppression of the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries is doomed to failure. France has waged two long costly colonial wars—in Indo-China and Algeria—and has lost both.

Although General de Gaulle who came to power in 1958, continued the war in Algeria for a time, he steered a course towards "peaceful decolonisation" in the remaining French dependencies.

The French propaganda machinery expertly handled by the President of the Fifth Republic palmed off this decision as an act of good will. It was a virtue assumed by necessity. The war in Algeria, trying up the bulk of the French army, made other military ventures impossible.

Faced with this situation, de Gaulle decided to switch over from



Mangaliso Sobukwe, leader of PAC (South Africa) leads his people in protest demonstration against the Passbook "law". This was shortly before the Sharpeville Incident on March 21, 1960.

the old methods of ruling colonies by sword and fire to neo-colonialist methods. While formally granting them independence, he sought to shackle them with new, noiseless chains.

As things stand today the colonialist see many advantages in this policy.

Firstly, they no longer bear the responsibility for everything that goes on in the colonies. It is the local governments and not they who are responsible for maladministration, injustice, economic difficulties poverty and hunger.

The metropolitan country, whose assistance is not so much generous as it is well publicised is free to parade as a benefactor.

Secondly, the former metropolitan countries continue to exploit the politically independent territories as much as before—if not more. There is also this advantage: The absence of formal reasons for accusing it of colonialism, for criticism in the United Nations and intervention by the 24-Nation Committee.

Thirdly, noiseless chains being harder to discover than clanging chains, the colonialists presume that the former colonial peoples will wear them uncomplainingly, lured by the illusion that they are independent and free.

All the pros and cons duly weighed, the imperialists set forth on a pleasure cruise on the seas of neo-colonialism. Developments show that their judgement has been at fault.

In decolonizing their dependencies, the French imperialists took care to make the newly-independent states as possible in every respect.

In the colonial era, the French possessions in Tropical Africa were united into federations—French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa. The former consisted of Chad, the Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari and Gabon; the latter of Senegal, Mauritania, the French Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger. Each federation had its own governor-general and its own administrative centre (Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa, Dakar, in French West Africa).

Consolidation of the two federations could have made the newly-independent states strong and viable. The prerequisites—both ethnic and economic—were there. Though rich in natural resources, many of the former French colonies are incapable of making full use of them single-handedly. Jointly, they could tackle many of the economic problems which are too much for each singly.

THE BACKBONE OF THE NEW EMPIRE

The French colonialists, however, did not want strong partners. They wanted weak states which could not exist without outside assistance, which would agree to shackling agreements for meagre handout. This explains why the two federations were dissolved at the time of their decolonisation.

The local organs of power were set up not within the framework of the federation, but within that of each separate territory. As a result, there came into existence many weak, sparsely populated states (1,000,000 to 5,000,000 in most, less than 1,000,000 in the Brazzaville Congo, Mauritania and Gabon).

Having dismembered the colonial empire and recognised the parts as independent states, de Gaulle offered them his paternal protection. His supporters in these countries argued that they could not get along without France, because they were economically and militarily weak and their leaders lacked administrative and political experience.

In 1960-61 France imposed military aid defence, diplomatic and economic agreements on almost all of her former colonies.

Since space prevents us from analysing in detail all these agreements, let us deal only with the

military ones, which may be said to be the backbone of the neo-colonialist system.

Outwardly, these agreements look quite proper. They deal with co-operation in defence, with mutual assistance in the event of aggression, with military and technical aid. In actual fact all the rights are conferred on only one of the signatories.

There is, for instance, an agreement on the granting of bases "on the basis of reciprocity". But not a single African country has any in France, and it is hard to imagine it having one.

France, on the other hand, has bases in Dakar (Senegal), Fort-Lamy (Chad), Pointe-Noire (Congo), Duala (Cameroon), Port-Etienne (Mauritania), Diego-Suarez (Madagascar) and other places.

MILITARY AGREEMENTS

Officially, they are to enable France to fulfil her obligations to her African partners in the event of an attack from without.

Such an attack, however, is hardly to be expected. On the other hand, France is empowered to "intervene directly" in the affairs of these states if she deems her interests imperilled.

The concept of reciprocity is interpreted just as uniquely in the agreements providing for the use of the French armed forces to "maintain law and order" in the former colonies.

These agreements have not been made public, but press reports say they give the African governments the right to appeal to French troops for assistance if their authority is threatened.

So, after all, the Africans do enjoy some rights? Don't be too hasty. France, it turns out, decides herself whether or not she should come to the aid of the government in distress. As we know, she decided against it in the case of the Presidents of the Congo and Dahomey but rushed to the rescue of the President of Gabon.

DURING the 1963 session of the all-White South African Parliament, the Minister of Justice, B. J. Vorster, an open admirer of Nazism and ex war-time internee, piloted through the House of General Amendment Bill which put an end to the rule of law, such as it was, in South Africa.

Among other provisions the Act enabled the Government to continue the detention in prison after the expiry of his sentence of any person convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act, the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 (outlawing passive resistance), the Riotous Assemblies Act or the Sabotage Act, if the Minister was satisfied that

or "obtained any information from a source outside the Republic" which could be of use in furthering the achievements of any of the aims of communism.

This clause was made retrospective to July, 1950, the year in which the Suppression of Communism Act came into force, so that the death penalty could be imposed for acts which were not crimes at the time they were committed.

But undoubtedly the most sinister clause of all was that enabling any police officer without warrant to arrest any person whom he suspects of having committed or intending to commit any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act or the Unlawful Organi-



Fascist Verwoerd of South Africa.

NAZISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By B. Bunting

the prisoner on release, was likely to advocate, advise, defend or encourage the achievement of any of the aims of Communism.

"THIS SIDE OF ETERNITY"

The Minister admitted that this clause was specially aimed in the first place at the continued detention of Robert Sobukwe, former leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, who was due to be released from prison after the expiry of a three-year sentence for incitement arising from the P.A.C. anti-pass campaign of 1960. But of course any other political prisoner could be affected. Those so held, said the Minister, could expect release "this side of eternity".

A minimum of five years imprisonment and a maximum of death was provided for anybody advocating the use of force to bring about any political, industrial, social or economic change in South Africa with the co-operation of any foreign government or body, or who underwent training outside South Africa

sation Act (outlawing the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress) or the offence of sabotage and cause him to be detained for interrogation in any place for up to 90 days. No person save a magistrate shall have access to such person and no court shall have jurisdiction to order his release.

The Bill was rushed through Parliament with almost indecent haste, and such was the atmosphere of the time that the official opposition was stamped into supporting the Government on this issue and only one M.P., Mrs. Helen Suzman, of the Progressive Party, had the courage to vote against it.

The Act was passed ostensibly to give the Government powers to deal with the organisation Poqo, believed to be the underground wing of the PAC, which had been responsible for the Pearl riots in November 1962 and the Bashee River bridge murder in February 1963; and in fact the legislation had been framed on the receipt by the government of an interim report by

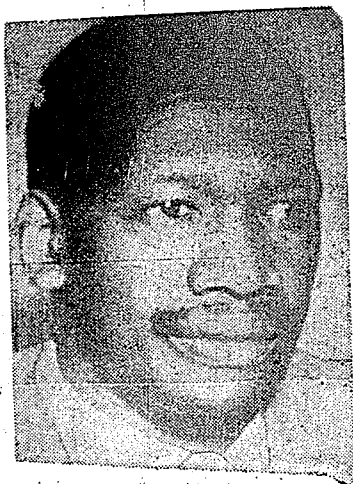
the judge inquiring into the Pearl riots who considered emergency legislation necessary to deal with Poqo, which he alleged aimed to overthrow the Government by force in 1963.

The 90-day no-trial Act was a confidence trick perpetrated on Parliament by a Minister who had another target in mind—the members and supporters of the Congress Movement in South Africa whom he regarded as a more serious threat to the future of White supremacy.

According to figures released by the Minister of Justice on November 8, 1963, a total of 544 had been detained under the 90-day no-trial clause since the Act was passed.

They have almost all been members of the African National Congress, the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Indian Congress.

All 90-day detainees have been subjected to intolerable mental tor-



*Mangaliso Sobukwe
South African nationalist leader*

ture in the form of solitary confinement with only half-hour each day for exercise, day after day, week after week, denied books or writing materials or any form of human contact.

Left alone in their cells with nothing to do or to occupy themselves with, they have been subjected to interrogation by the Special Branch at intervals. If they refuse to answer questions or do not answer to the satisfaction of the police, they are left alone again, sometimes for weeks on end. They may not consult a lawyer and warders have been instructed not to talk to them.

Conditions in the jails and police cells where the detainees are held are appalling. A report has been smuggled out of one of the main police cells where many people are being held that conditions are deteriorating fast. The food is shocking, prisoners get three meals a day of hard porridge and in this particular police station they may get meat once a week, but no fruit or vegetables at all.

At another police station where a number of youths were arrested for interrogation in connection with Poqo activities they were held for 87 days before being released. In all that time they were only twice

given water to wash themselves in. The only food they had was hard porridge three times a day. That was literally all. Other prisoners have been denied a change of clothing or any facilities for washing the clothes they had. Some prisoners are kept in cells where the walls are painted black, creating an impression of gloom and depression.

CUT OFF FROM THEIR FAMILIES

One of the most horrifying aspects of 90-day detention is that in many cases the relatives of the detainees have been unable to trace them. Many wives and mothers spent weeks looking for husbands and sons. There seems to be a definite plan to keep moving prisoners around.

Time and again African women have taken clothes to their husbands only to be told they are not there and the women must go elsewhere to find them. When they arrive at the next jail they are again told the prisoner has been moved.

Prisoners are moved, not only from one jail to another in the same town, but from town to town and even from one province to another which the Non-White people live in South Africa often makes it difficult for relatives to visit the detainees or keep in touch with their movements.

Prisoners in detention have been subjected to every form of pressure and intimidation. The term "90-day detention" is indeed a misnomer, because detainees have been immediately rearrested on the expiry of their 90 days and the courts have upheld the right of the police to detain them indefinitely.

Inside the jail the detainees have been threatened with death. Husbands have been told that their families have disowned them and left the country, that their wives are carrying on with other men.

One detainee, a mother of three children was allowed to see them for a short visit. Later she was asked whether she would like to see her children again. When she said, "yes" they replied: "Well, talk first otherwise you will never see them again."

Police behaviour has mixed bru-

ality with the apparently kind. Detainees who have been fed only on porridge are, during interrogation, offered chocolates. Some have been taken for a motor ride so that they can get a glimpse of freedom in the outside world before they are again returned to the solitary confinement of their cells. Every refinement of mental torture has been systematically applied to break the morale and resistance of the prisoners.

TORTURE AND BEATINGS.

Nor have the police shrunk from the use of outright torture. The following are extracts from statements made by prisoners. Each tells the same story of torture and beatings, of unchecked police violence.

PRISONER "A" aged 55:

This prisoner was questioned about his relationship with some other men. He refused to answer saying that he would make his statement in court. He was then beaten but refused to answer police questions. This is what happened next:

"A canvas bag was put over my head and tied round my neck. I felt something put on both my small fingers and I then felt shock in my arms..."

This treatment was repeated until the prisoner said he was prepared to talk.

PRISONER "B":

"I was handcuffed and a canvas bag was put over my head and this made breathing difficult. I was ordered to sit down with my knees up in between my arms, and a stick was put through so that I could not move. Then I felt something like wire tied to my little fingers on both hands. Then I felt electric shocks which were applied occasionally. Then I would be lifted with the stick and while applying electricity I would be left to drop down on my back... I was whipped with a hose pipe and also applied judo chops on my kidneys and on the back of my neck."

The statement goes on: "I was handcuffed for the second time and told that they were going to kill me and that nobody would ever ask



South Africans demonstrate against the fascist Verwoerd rule

them anything. I was put to the same treatment of electric shocks. . . The pressure was so high that I messed myself up. Then I was released to go to the lavatory. On my return from the lavatory the same treatment was applied and I messed myself again. . .

"The wounds made by the handcuffs can still be observed on the right and left wrists of my arms and the scorches made by the electric-wires on the fingers."

THE DEATH OF LOOKSMART SOLWANDLE

So far it would appear that only Non-Whites have been subjected to this physical brutality, probably in the belief that if anything did leak out it would not arouse the same indignation as similar assaults on Whites. But already torture has led to the death of one detainee, Looksmart Solwandle, who is alleged by the police to have hanged himself after giving information to the police.

POLICE FORCE

Those who knew Solwandle say he was not the sort of man to take his own life unless driven to do so to escape further torture. It is known that he was mercilessly beaten just after his arrest in Cape Town, and other detainees have stated that he was further assaulted and given electric shock treatment after being transferred to a prison in Pretoria.

He died after being in the hands of the police for only 16 days—a



Nelson Mandela, South African nationalist leader.

man who was healthy, optimistic, spiritually and physically strong up to the time of his arrest, but who was broken and destroyed on the rack of South Africa... police terror. Afterwards other prisoners say they were told of Solwandle's death and warned that the same thing would happen to them if they did not talk.

Many of the detainees, after being kept in solitary confinement for many months and subjected to all forms of pressure and torture, have eventually been brought before the courts and charged. Thereafter they have been treated as prisoners awaiting trial and could be seen by their lawyers and relatives. It is as a result of these visits that the details of the torture have become known.

The wife of the prominent leader of the former A.N.C. who saw him after he had been charged reported that he was showing definite signs of physical and mental deterioration. He had a big scar across his forehead, his speech was incoherent and his mental reactions slow and uncertain.

He was later removed to the prison hospital. Another prisoner had a broken jaw. A third showed his wife burn marks on his body consistent with electric torture. Similar reports have been received from all over the country.

Slowly the facts of torture in the South African jails have filtered through to the South African public. In Government-supporting circles they have been received with indifference, but among a large

section of the people they have caused shock and dismay.

At the national congress of the Progressive Party in Cape Town on November 25, 1963, Mr. Hamilton Russel, a former United Party member of Parliament who resigned in protest against his party's support of the 90-day no-trial Bill, cited cases of detainees being subjected to the "water treatment" (prolonged to unconsciousness) and the "electric treatment" (during which a man is tied down sprayed with salt water and then electrically massaged in an agonising way).

THE TORTURES CONTINUE

On June 13, 1963, the Minister of Justice announced that 5,000 prisoners had been arrested for so-called "security crimes" and the Commissioner of Prisons boasted at about the same time that 67,636 people were in jail—an "all-time record." Many of these prisoners have also been subjected to torture and in case after case allegations of police violence have been voiced by the prisoners from the dock.

The November 1963 issue of the journal FORWARD reported that so far last year there had been 78 political trials in South Africa involving 997 persons. Forty of these have been sentenced to death, six to life imprisonment, 650 to various jail terms totalling 4,020 years in jail. Only 301 have been acquitted or had the charges against them withdrawn. So far four of those sentenced to death for sabotage have already been executed.

These are the methods which are being used by the white supremacy government of Verwoerd to maintain themselves in power, to suppress the opposition of the peoples and prevent social change from being brought peacefully.

Is it any wonder that hatred is burning ever more fiercely in the oppressed peoples? More and more the violence of the State is provoking the response of violence from the people. Yet the Government refuses to make a single concession to the demands of the people, repeating over and over again that to retreat one step is to imperil

Continued on next page

Africa and Non-Alignment

NON-ALIGNMENT is very popular in Africa these days, but unfortunately, not every African State is in the position to apply it, and in most cases it is not, their fault.

France, for instance, continues to dominate its former colonies by a network of agreements and treaties which cover foreign relations, as well as military and financial affairs.

Some African States, although formally independent cannot make any diplomatic move without previous reference to French authorities, whom they are bound to consult. As a result of the so-called 'common defence' agreements, African States must endure the presence of French troops.

Finally, African States are subjected to various hardships when their finances are in French hands. In brief, through its association with some of its former colonial possessions France is able to dominate them.

"Such an association is", in the words of President Sekou Toure, "like that of the horseman and his horse". Having formerly hitched some African States to her chariot France is driving them into the sphere of NATO . . .

Some African leaders do not see or do not want to see a way out of this situation. Experience has proved that the only solution in this case is to abandon the disastrous unilateral dependence on the former "mother country".

The examples of Guinea, Ghana and Mali show that today even a young state can raise its independent voice in the international arena and decide its own destiny. If they have extensive international relations, young African States can pursue a neutralist policy and preserve their independence . . .

Thus, the Congolese (Brazzaville) National Assembly, soon after the resignation of Fulbert Youlou's pro-French regime, made some important decisions—to revise its

treaty with France, to break away from the Afro-Malagasy Union and to establish friendly relations with all peace-loving countries.

These important decisions prove that the young African States want to free themselves from the colonisers' tutelage and to consolidate their national independence.

Report from Angola

THE Portuguese Fascists cling to Angola and oppose any idea of independence because they are reaping the highest profits from the colony they enslave.

Angola territory is sold by the square mile to the highest bidder. Foreign investment is encouraged on an unprecedented scale and new concessions are granted daily with a threefold purpose: (i) to appease international opinion; (ii) to bolster up the Portuguese economy, undermined by the war effort; (iii) to achieve maximum exploitation of the colony before the Portuguese monopolies are forced to grant independence to the country.

The recently-formed "Angola Exploration Company PTY Ltd." has already started in a vast area its work of prospection for precious stones.

Angola had an output of 800,000 tons of petrol in 1963. Plans are afoot for the formation of an industrial combine for the exploration and processing of iron ore.

This industrial concern has the backing of great European trusts (which is kept secret by the Portuguese Press); it is also supported by the Companhia Portuguesa de Fornos Electricos, the Angases Company and the Mogas from Mozambique. It is estimated that the annual output of alloys iron products by this new concern will be worth between £1½m. and £2m. The building project of the industry is estimated to cost initially £1,850,000.

Companhia de Celuloses do Ultramar (The Overseas Company of Cellulose) has been granted a loan of £875,000 by the State to con-

tinue and expand its activities in Angola.

In 1963 Angola exported 143,806 tons of coffee worth £24,538,375. This total falls below that of 1962.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U. Thant, submitted a report to the Security Council on March 17th in which he stated that at least 400 former members of the Gendarmerie in Katanga were assembling in Angola. This force included also a number of European mercenaries. Apparently, the intention is to use this force to attack the Central Congolese Government, when the United Nations force withdraw.

The Secretary-General described the reports as "fully reliable". The Portuguese Government denied them.

NAZISM

Continued from previous page
white domination. With every passing week the South African crisis deepens and the possibility of a peaceful solution becomes more remote.

PEACE AND FREEDOM ARE INDIVISIBLE

The South African people are locked in mortal struggle with their oppressors. They have called with ever-increasing urgency for the peoples of the world to come to their aid. Surely the time has come now for action to be taken to end the hideous nightmare of apartheid once and for all, and open the way for the creation of a true South African democracy in which all people will enjoy equal rights and opportunities irrespective of race, creed or colour.

Failure to take action now may not only be a catastrophe for South Africa. It may lead to the extension of the conflict beyond South Africa's borders and even lead to the outbreak of a third world war, with all its attendant horrors of nuclear destruction. Peace and freedom are indivisible. The struggle of the South African people is the responsibility of all people everywhere, a responsibility which can no longer be burked but must be faced and honourably discharged before it is too late.

UNITED STATES OF AFRICA

by

Mangaliso Sobukwe

NOBODY disputes our contention that Africa will be free from foreign rule.

What is disputed by many, particularly the ruling White minority, is that she will be free either "within our lifetime" or by 1963, or even by 1973 or 1984.

However, the African nationalist organisations, which met at the All-African People's Conference in Accra, put 1963 as the target date for African Freedom.

If, however, by this date there are still some parts of Africa that are under foreign rule then certainly, they said, by 1973 every part of Africa must be free.

Even though I live in South Africa, I have no doubt this prophecy will be fulfilled.

But the question is: After Freedom then what?

The ready answer of White ruling minorities is: Chaos and a reversion to barbarism and savagery.

THE READY ANSWER of all Pan-Africanists—and this includes all genuine African nationalist organisations on the continent—is: *The creation of a United States of Africa and the advent of a new era—an era of freedom, creative production and abundance.*

To many Africans the United States of Africa symbolises the fulfilment of an emotional urge for formal African Unity. What its nature and structure will be—and its role and tasks—have not been determined.

BITTER FIGHTING

Before I give an outline of the United States of Africa we envisage, I will list some of the obstacles we are bound to come across.

Let us assume that by 1973 every part of the continent will be free from foreign domination.

In some parts the change over will have been comparatively peacefully

The article reproduced below was written and first published in 1959 and has been reprinted several times in leading and other Pan-Africanist journals since; but it remains as piquant and topical as ever.

Its author, MANGALISO R. SOBUKWE, is President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa.

For Sobukwe's as yet unmatched, clear-sighted and courageous leadership in South African struggle to reverse the outcome of those colonial wars of land-grabbing and unmitigated plunder; for his deeply-held conviction in the cause of freedom and against man's inhumanity to man, he was imprisoned for three years at the time of Sharpeville and Langa massacres (1960) and is now kept incommunicado on South Africa's "Devil's Island" for all time "this side of eternity", to use the language of his fascist incarcerators.

Now read his forthright views on Pan-Africanism...

achieved. In others, there will have been bitter fighting, which leave in its wake a legacy of destruction and hate.

SUPREMACY OF AFRICAN INTERESTS

In such countries the first 10 or 15 years will be years of readjustment and feverish reconstructions.

There will be plenty of work to do. And the capital for that work will be forthcoming from both East and West—because there can be no greater guarantee against both political and economic instability than final recognition of the supremacy of African interests in Africa.

DR. NKURMAH'S FOUR STAGES

By then, the older stage will have passed through the first two of the four stages defined by Dr. Nkrumah at the All-African Peoples' Conference as:

- * The attainment of freedom and independence;
- * consolidation of that freedom and independence;
- * The creation of unity and community between the free African states;
- * The economic and social reconstruction of Africa.

ONE-EYED DWARFS

These states will probably act as Big Brothers to the younger states.

Of course, we will have recalci-

trants.

I am certain that some of the leaders of the African states who are "great"—either the press has made them so or because they are one-eyed dwarfs in a land of blind dwarfs—will advance a number of excuses to put off the complete unification of the continent. They will do this for fear of losing their "greatness".

Others, while paying lip-service to concept of Pan-Africanism, will probably demand autonomy for each state with the object of remaining in the public eye.

Fortunately, all genuine African nationalist leaders on the continent are Pan-Africanists, and are not likely to allow personal ambition to hamper the cause for which they have laboured and suffered so long in their countries throughout Africa.

THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY

On the structure of the United States of Africa, there appear to be no clear agreement yet among African nationalists. (For Dr. Nkrumah's proposals for a Union Government for Africa, please read "The Nkrumah Plan For Africa" in this issue—Editor)

At the Accra Conference, Dr. Nkrumah stressed the necessity for such a communion of our own to give expression to the African personality.

The conference adopted the late George Padmore's outline of an initial federation of states on a re-

gional basis, finally merging into a federal United States of Africa.

ONE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Pan-Africanist Congress, though it has adopted the same outline, is not enamoured of federations because they entail compromise sometimes on vital issues.

Federation tend to kill effective unity, because inherent in them is the idea of "trial for a period" and the threat of ultimate secession by one state or another.

So it is a unitary constitution that the Pan-Africanist Congress envisages for the United States of Africa, with all power vested in a central government freely elected by the whole continent on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

In such a set-up, only continent-wide parties committed to a continental programme and cutting across sectional ties and interests, whether of a tribal or religious nature, are possible.

SOCIALIST GOVT.

This will in turn promote the idea of African unity, and the concept of a free and independent African personality.

The potential wealth of Africa in minerals, oil, hydro-electric power, and so on, is immense. By cutting out waste, through systematic planning, a central government can bring about the most rapid development of every part of the state.

By the end of the century the standard of living of the masses of the people will undoubtedly have risen dramatically under an African socialist government.

DISAPPEARANCE OF MINORITIES

Subsistence farming will have disappeared, and a large internal market will absorb a very large percentage of the industrial and agricultural products of the continent.

All nationalist movements on the continent aim at wiping out racialism, imperialism and colonialism in all their manifestations.

In a United States of Africa there will be no "racial groups" and I am certain that with the freedom movement from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Madagascar, the concentration of so-called "minority groups" will disappear.

Letter from Southern Rhodesian Restriction Camp

SIR,

That I am here as a thug or hooligan or because I had associated myself with acts of violence and intimidation, as the order against me suggested, is one of the greatest surprises of my life. The suggestion that I am a thug is the worst insult to be hurled at me since I first saw the light of day. Of course the diaphanous arguments advanced to justify our detention or restriction carry no weight. One wonders what morality there is left in our politics. By holding us in this camp out of the way the Government is giving a chance to the party they like (ZANU) to organise itself. We are now 128-93 PCC and 35 ZANU.

Mr. Dupont has in practice given all power to the police—to arrest, to try the accused and sentence him to three months' detention at Wha Wha. This is worse than the original Detention and Vagrancy Acts because in each case the so-called accused passed through the hands of a judge or magistrate, even if there was no trial in the true sense of the word. Up to date we don't know whether we are detainees or restrictees. The fact is that we are herded in a five-acre camp surrounded by barbed-wire and we are not allowed to get out any time. We are not allowed visitors any time unless the visitors get special permission from Mr. Dupont. This is completely different from the rules that applied both at Marandellas Prison and Gokwe to the 1959 detainees and restrictees.

W. D. Musarurwa,
Wha Wha.

A SLAP FOR TSHOMBE

THE Mali Government has issued a communique denying an alleged claim by the Congo (Leopoldville) Government that it had Mali's support against Congolese rebels.

The Government regarded the claim as unqualified calumny.

The statement pointed out that the Mali Government has always sought the genuine independence of the Congolese people.

While noting that Moise Tshombe, the Congolese Prime Minister, had kept his pledge to free M. Antoine Gizenga, the statement said: "There remain other points of national reconciliation programme which cannot conceivably be realised without the effective participation of those who are paying their lives for the independence, freedom and dignity of the Congolese people."

Mali has never hidden her active sympathy with Congolese patriots, the statement added.

At the same time, the Tshombe Government has called on foreign—notably American—forces to fight the patriots...

The statement went on: "It is clear that Mali has never been, and could never be able to sanction this anti-revolutionary, anti-popular and pro-imperialist attitude, fundamentally opposed to the aspirations of all African peoples."

"The Mali Government therefore issues a most formal denial of allegations concerning a special message of support to Tshombe.

SUCSESSES and OBLIGATIONS —

After the U.N. Trade and Development Conference

THE results of the three months' work of the UN Trade and Development Conference have justified the efforts made by the developing countries; first to prove the rightness of the idea of convening the conference and, secondly, to bring it to a successful end.

Though the attitude of the advanced countries of the West prevented the conference from reaching final agreement on numerous questions which had been discussed, the aims of the conference were accepted in general.

First of all, the need for economic development as a pre-condition for promoting the progress of all countries, and of the world economy as a whole, was recognised; and it was acknowledged that this could be reached only by complete agreement and the most extensive international co-operation, for which the Conference set up the necessary organisational forms. This means that success, the consequences of which are of far-reaching importance, has clearly been achieved.

SUCCESS

This vital result of the Conference's work shows how right the emergent countries were in the attitude they adopted when they were faced with the dilemma forced on them by the industrialised countries: whether to accept a limited trade conference or an economic conference on a broader basis.

They rejected the pragmatism proposal to hold a conference to consider only a few practical questions regarding trade between the industrialised and the emergent countries. Instead, they advocated the idea of holding a conference whose aim would be the establishment of active and positive international co-operation in the sphere of trade and development, on the basis of new principles and practice.

Hence the tendency to minimize the importance of the Conference to give preference to some inade-

By Dr. Bozidar Frances

quate and unsatisfying actions in the form of bilateral and multilateral trade should be denied, owing to its eminent and unbiased part in world trade should be denied, owing to its complete failure.

The necessity for comprehensive study and radical and efficient solution of the problems of the emergent economic, social and political changes in the post-war world.

These changes have been intensified in the course of the last few years when the process of de-colonization advanced at a very fast pace, and when the appearance of a number of new independent states urged the need for finding solutions to the crucial problems of world trade.

TRADE ON EQUAL BASIS

Liberation from colonial rule, and liquidation of the remnants of the past, demanded adequate changes in the economic field, too. Stabilization of political independence implies the creation of the necessary economic conditions, and a sufficient degree of economic independence.

This means changes, not only in established international relations in the economic and political sphere, but also changes in the trade and economic policy of the industrialised countries which, by virtue of their economic strength and political power, they have turned into a universal system of international relations.

At the same time, changes in policy imply the need for such an economic machinery and rules as will correspond to the degree of economic development of the emergent countries, and enable their inclusion in international trade on an equal basis.

This makes it easy to understand why the emergent countries insisted that the Conference should not only

take decisions about particular questions and proposals put by them, but also proclaim new principles and define a new policy and mode in international economic relations.

With the confirmation of the principle of equality, these countries would be guaranteed such treatment in the world trade as would consolidate their independence and render them capable of fully participating in world trade, according to their capacities and needs.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

This gave the Conference a political and deeply principled character, the importance of which is beyond the framework of specific problems connected with the relations and practice in some areas of international trade and general economic co-operation.

It did not represent an isolated action, but was the reflection of a process which is going on, and which will be accelerated and facilitated by it. The conference was not limited to the consideration of present conditions and the present situation, and therefore its results should not be assessed from the point of view of whether some particular problems were solved, with more or less success, or not.

For it was not dependent on the good will of one or another country; by sticking to the most topical and outstanding problems it avoided the usual political manoeuvres and speculations, as well as temporary and short-lived decision and solutions.

Therefore its recommendations regarding the principles which define the development of the world trade and international economic relations are of special importance. The acceptance of the general principles on which relationships in world trade should be based, as

well as the specific principles regarding the treatment of the emergent countries, despite their lacking the full approval of the industrialised countries in the West, will certainly be deeply reflected in the promotion of international co-operation in this sphere; and will facilitate further activities along these lines and contribute to the more favourable approach to outstanding and real problems, and their settlement.

In view of the fact that long-term international action, as well as efforts by all countries to approximate their views on many vital questions is needed in order to achieve the basic aims of the Conference, the emergent countries have made special efforts to provide adequate organisational forms and create a material basis for co-operation.

AGREEMENT

In this respect the agreement on the mechanism for promoting international co-operation in the sphere of trade and development is of special importance. The holding of periodical sessions of the Conference and of its permanent bodies does not yet mean the creation of a new organisation for trade and development, as desired by the majority of the member-countries, but it is a significant step in this direction.

It promises that the problems of trade and development will be treated on the basis of the principles proclaimed by UNO, and it may be expected that the new institutions will become an important factor of international economic co-operation in its broadest sense.

With the acceptance of these institutions, conditions were created for further discussions on all those problems on which agreement was not reached, or for which only partial solutions were found.

First, this concerns the question of free access of primary products to the markets of the industrialised countries, as well as the problem of preferences for industrial products from the developing countries; the

latter could not be solved because of firm resistance by the U.S.

As for international financing, some positive recommendations were adopted, such as that one per cent should be set aside from each national income, for the financing of the emergent countries, or for increasing the activity of the existing international financial institutions in compensatory financing and the financing of development.

However there is still much to be done in the way of finding real solutions to problems concerning extension of the trade of the emergent countries and the augmenting of their foreign currency earnings as well as in taking concrete action in the field of trade and international finances in general.

In the whole, the UN Trade and Development Conference means the opening of a new chapter in the process of economic relations and international co-operation.

Although it failed to find answers for many vital problems, or to fulfil the justified hopes and expectations of the majority of countries, which had to be satisfied with some compromise solutions, the mere fact that the Conference was accepted by all countries as a necessity is of special importance.

Though the industrialised countries of the West were not on the whole ready to meet the basic demands of the emergent countries in this phase of the talks, they could not but admit that these demands were just, and that it was necessary to create institutions whose task would be to find the proper solutions to the problems involved.

UNITY OF APPROACH

Thus, the problem of the emergent countries have found their place in the forefront of international co-operation and relations. UN authority has been extended to the field of trade and development, so that one of the great shortcomings of the world organisation has been removed.

The efforts made by many countries, especially by the emergent ones, to direct world opinion towards the finding of solutions to the crucial problems of today; have been successful. Hence the work of the Conference is of historic importance, and has played a great moral and political role.

Merit for the political success of the Conference is due to the emergent countries, whose mature and united attitude contributed to its successful conclusion. The unity of the developing countries, which was a decisive factor in the work of the Conference, undoubtedly constitutes one of its most significant results.

This unity is all the more valuable and impressive since it was established between a great number of countries, which make up the major part of the world community; between countries which differ considerably in historical and economic conditions, as well as in political and social systems, so that they often have diverse problems and interests.

But just on the basis of their differences a common platform was created, which represents a real ground for negotiation. It was possible to create this platform through the avoidance of futile radicalism and the making of exaggerated concessions. Consequently, it can rightly be expected that the emergent countries, aware of the great importance of their unity, and of the responsibility it implies, will be in future the most positive factor of co-operation, which will firmly follow general aspirations and endeavours to find new approaches to the outstanding problems of international economic co-operation. The declaration of 77 countries adopted by the Conference is the best guarantee of this.

The rôle and responsibility of the emergent countries is all the greater because their unity has been accepted as an accomplished fact by all the delegates to the Conference. This is to say nothing of the socialist countries, which have made a step forward towards harmonising their stands with those of the

emergent countries, and tried hard to meet their demands.

The socialist countries gave their full support to these demands, and indicated that there were good prospects for advancing economic relations with the countries concerned, thus confirming the justness of the demands, and the real possibility of their fulfilment.

Something must also be said about the industrialised Western countries which, despite their rather negative attitude towards the demands of the emergent countries, have finally realised that the Conference has opened a new phase in international relations, and that they should accommodate themselves to the new conditions of co-operation and negotiation.

Greater differences of opinion among the industrialised countries of the West and their disunity regarding some acceptable solutions, which prevented the Conference from achieving greater success, prompted some commentators in these countries to urge the Western countries to establish the unity which is necessary for future negotiations with emergent countries.

WESTERN APPROACH

The political atmosphere in general was favourable for such developments. International relaxation has done away with the classical problems of West-East relations which in the period of the cold war, obstructed any positive action for international co-operation and understanding.

In the present favourable atmosphere the policy of active and peaceful co-existence has been fully manifested, so that the solution of the problems of economic development, particularly those of the emergent countries, on which depends the strengthening of peace and stabilization in the world, has become one of the primary tasks of the international community. This paves the way towards further action on the part of the developing countries, and enables all countries to concentrate on solving the crucial problems of the present world.

This is Southern Rhodesia



The racist thugs of Southern Rhodesia will stop at nothing to show their contempt for the African population under whose charity they thrive; various instruments of oppression are being used by the settlers to cast the African majority into a state of perpetual deprivation.

In the above picture, a white police thug drags along an African woman to the police station; her only crime being she demonstrated against the detention of her fellow African nationalists.

This is a common scene in Salisbury and Bulawayo today: a settler policeman, a hound and an African victim.

PORTUGUESE ATROCITIES IN MOZAMBIQUE

THE revolutionary struggle against Portuguese imperialism and colonialism in Mozambique continues with much determination as the people are daily engaged in the struggle for the liberation of their fatherland. Each advancement of the struggle by the freedom fighters of Mozambique is met with ruthless suppression and counter-struggle by the Portuguese imperialist bandwagon.

With the aid of their NATO allies, the Portuguese dignity without any regard to the present scientific age of civilisation and social advancement of the peoples of the world, which call for political freedom and individual liberty, have kept the people of Mozambique perpetually dark and subjected them to all forms of inhuman treatment.

ARBITRARY ARRESTS

Kidnaps, arrests, tear-gasing, whipping and other forms of inhuman torture which are yet to find their way into the dictionary, have become the only food and freedom Salazar has guaranteed the people. Real freedom namely freedom of association, of speech, of choice, of worship, of work, is unknown to the people of this country.

To enable them carry out their notorious assignments in Mozambique, the imperialists established training centres in the country, where political secret and other state apparatuses of coercion are taught how to trace and treat freedom fighters. They also receive instructions in the art of "Ruthlessness and Brutality" in which subjects is situated in Vila Coutinho, about two hun-

dred yards from the Malawi (Nyasaland) border.

In the year 1953, during the popular revolt in Mambone, a district in the Southern Province, the Portuguese and their henchmen arrested over twenty-eight people including Rev. Andrea M. Machawa and Mr. N. Majena who have since then been languished in the Lourenco Marques Central dungeon.

The arbitrary arrest of the President of the Neucleu Negrofisco de Manica e Solafa, Mr. S. Simango and his comrades since 1956, simply because they made a legal representation and protested against the treatment of their people to the Portuguese authority, goes to enhance the injustice the Africans have been shown by these heartless crooks.

DETENTIONS

During a peaceful demonstration by the people in September, 1961, in Lourenco Marques, the Portuguese gestapo opened fire and as a result over thirty people were murdered and two hundred-and-eight were detained. These detained people have no hope of any freedom, no hope of seeing their respective families any more.

Again in July, 1961, during the mass shooting of Angola people and the Mozambican Nationalists by the Portuguese fascists, Lt. Colonel C. Hornung, a British die-hard colonialist and exploiter who owned the Sena Sugar Plantation Company in Mozambique, revealed in the annual report of that year that his company was playing its part to maintain imperialism in the country.

AFRICANS SHOT

He thus declared "our European employees are vastly out-numbered by Native workers and it is only right that we should take steps to protect them against any eventuality and that is what is being done. Our company will of course shoulder its part of the burden in the support of the policy of the Prime Minister, Dr. Salazar, as I was able to assure

him when I again had the private of discussing the situation with him earlier this year". (Quote *South African Contact* of July 27, 1961). There his prattle ended and he forgot what his fate would be if the people liberate themselves.

Between March 1962 and March 1963, many officials of the National Liberation Movements were arrested or kidnapped. Those kidnapped, in Southern Rhodesia included members of the Mozambican Nationalist Party such as Messrs Samuel Moyana, Gabriel Moyana, Manuel Machawa, Antonio Chigwe, Antonio Sekesi and Jose Nkovan. They were afterwards handed over to the Portuguese rascals who in their turn dealt with them in their own fashion.

In 1963 many freedom fighters were shot while trying to cross the Mozambique border. These include Mrs. Seve Maveneza, Mr. B. F. Muandida and Mr. Mumbuca. In December of the same year, Mr. Samson Ali Makaba, the assistant administrative secretary of the then Mozambique African National Union, was arrested while finding his way into Tanganyika from where he was running the Party.

BRUTALITY

The African workers are always arrested or shot whenever they picket for better pay and condition of service. In August, 1963, hundreds of African workers were arrested and detained at Mahewa prison, and over thirty were shot including Mr. Paulo Baloi, the spokesman of the workers, during a demonstration, peaceful of course, of the workers at the Dock of Lourenco Marques.

On the 5th of December 1963, fifteen African labourers were murdered when they protested against the criminal laws imposed upon them by the colonialists.

This in short denotes clearly the helplessness of the African and the brutal dealings of the Portuguese imperialists.

By JAIME KHAMBA

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTH AFRICA

THE Security Council's resolution on South Africa of June 18 cannot be described a step forward in solving the problem of apartheid.

As compared with the resolution which the Security Council adopted on December 4, 1963, the recent measures are, in fact, a step backward, which gives rise to the assumption that the United Nations will revise their policy on this matter.

At its session of December 4 last year, the Security Council decided to form an expert group to examine the whole matter by the end of May at the latest, and to recommend methods, for the peaceful liquidation of the present state of affairs in South Africa, in accordance with the legitimate rights of those who are suffering under pressure exerted by the white minority.

EXPERT GROUP

This term was recommended so as to enable the Heads of African States to declare themselves on this problem at their summit meeting scheduled for July, 1964, as well as on the measures which the Security Council might recommend, on the basis of the report of its experts.

The Security Council wanted to show in this way that it was taking care of Africa's interests as regards this question. Some delegations, especially those representing Africa, could not but be reserved as to the forming of the expert group and the consideration of the South African problem in general.

Some of them saw that this was bringing the work of the General Assembly's Special Committee for Apartheid into question while others feared that such a parallel action might lead to undesired confusion and the postponement of United Nations measures for the liquidation of apartheid, which had

long ceased to be merely a matter of discussion, and which should now be studied with the object of taking well-planned action.

As a result of endeavours to adjust the term for the settling of this problem, which can be solved only on the basis of the report of the UN expert group, some of those who maintained certain reserves on the matter adopted a "wait and see" attitude, without committing themselves in relation to the expert group, and preserving full freedom to form their final conclusions as to adequate action at the African summit meeting.

In the meantime, the African Foreign Ministers met at Lagos towards the end of February, and the recommendations to the African summit meeting, for the settling of the South African problem. These recommendations included a most important one—the closing of all African sea and airports, and the suspension of all means of communications to and from South Africa, by sea, land or air.

The expert group prepared its report in such conditions, while its text revealed that they themselves considered it advisable to shorten the time limit or its submission.

For this reason they submitted the report as early as April 20, 1964; and it is still unclear why the Security Council only tackled the South African problem two months later, i.e., on June 18, 1964.

After having considered this report, and a report of the General Assembly's Special Committee for Apartheid, submitted simultaneously, the Security Council decided to form a new committee composed of experts from its member-countries. They would be asked to make a technical and practical study of the matter and submit a report on

the practicability, efficiency and consequences of the measures the Security might take.

The Committee has been asked to finish its task by February 1, 1965, which indicates that the Security Council does not share the general view "and that of the expert group" that the apartheid problem is acute, and that the situation in South Africa necessitates urgent and serious measures.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Particularly striking is the fact that the Security Council when determining the tasks of its new committee and contemplating the whole question, was very careful not to mention economic sanctions or emergency measures against South Africa.

Economic sanctions, however, are demanded by a majority of the United Nations member-countries. These demands were expressed at the last session of the General Assembly and other international gatherings. The unofficial but representative gathering in London of April this year voiced the same demands, precisely in connection with economic sanctions.

On the other hand, the view prevails in some quarters that sanctions—the only efficient means of liquidating apartheid—are exclusively the affair of the United States, Federal Germany, France, Japan and Sweden: South Africa's most important business partners.

Owing to the fact that emphasis has been laid on the technical study of possible measures against South Africa, and that a new prolonged term has been fixed for their proposal, it may be concluded that the Security Council's main concern in the present stage is to postpone the settling of the problem for as long as possible, although the view prevails that the United Nations should tackle it urgently and radically.

It is true that the Security Council has accepted the idea of world wide consultation as an initial measure for inaugurating a process of change in South Africa. It has therefore asked the South African Government to accept this idea by Novem-

ber 30, 1964 and get into touch with the General Assembly for discussions about an amnesty.

But if the behaviour of the South African Government in the past 18 years, and the refusal of its most important economic partners to join any action of pressure, is any

indication, the effect of such a liberal approach to the South African Government will only encourage it to continue its resistance and its present policy.

It would be wrong, however, to underrate other consequences of

such an approach by the Security Council, influenced by the patrons of South Africa, to the problem of apartheid.

It is difficult not to believe this is simply a matter of marking time until a compromise is found—should the need for it arise.

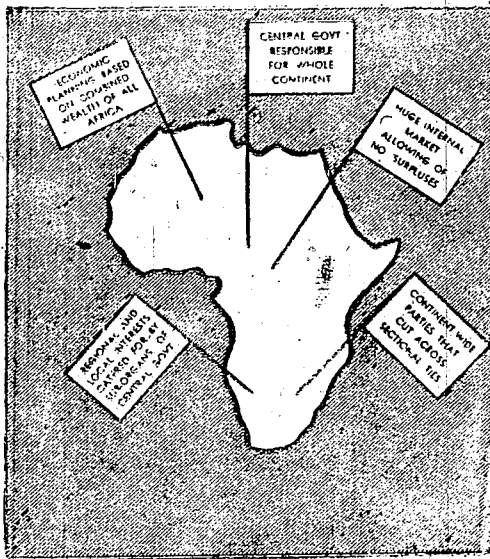


Mrs. Winnie Mandela is seen here flanked by her two children, Zenani (left) and Zinzi (right).

This picture was taken many months before the Verwoerd settler gangsters set upon Mr. Mandela.

Mr. Mandela is now brutally confined for life on desolate Robben Island, a gloomy isle off the coast of South Africa.

(See page 20)



SPEECH DELIVERED BY OSAGYEFO THE PRESIDENT AT THE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENTS CONFERENCE AT CAIRO ON SUNDAY, 19TH JULY, 1964

Mr. President, Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers: Fifteen Years ago, I had the onerous responsibility to make this statement:

"There comes in all political struggles rare moments, hard to distinguish but fatal to let slip, when even caution is dangerous, then all must be set on a hazard and out of a single man is ordained strength."

We who have been called to leadership have the privilege and the high responsibility of determining, to a very large extent, the future of Africa. It lies very much within our collective power to determine if our people, who live on the world's richest continent, shall exploit these resources in our own interests and for the primary benefit of our own people.

It lies within our power to redress the monstrous crimes of imperialist history by setting Africa on the high road to full and meaningful freedom.

The decisions we make here now will not only influence the lives of the two-hundred-and-eighty million inhabitants of our continent today. These decisions will influence the course of events for countless generations of Africans yet unborn.

Before I go on any further, I would like to express on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my heartfelt gratitude to our distinguished host, President

THE NKRUM FOR

Abdel Gamal Nasser, and the Government and people of Egypt, for the generous hospitality and fraternal welcome extended to us in this historic city of Cairo.

A little over a year ago we were fortunate to be the guests of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie the first in another ancient African city where the seeds of our new-found unity were sown.

It is no mere coincidence that this, our second conference, should have taken place in Egypt.

Historians tell us that five thousand years ago Egypt was already here. According to Herodotus Egypt is the gift of the Nile. It is obvious that if Herodotus had had the good fortune to meet President Nasser and to see the beginnings of the Aswan high Dam, his verdict would have been radically different.

Whether Herodotus was right or not, there is a cardinal fact of history which has a significant bearing on our meeting here. We are told that the Egyptians were the first to divide the year into twelve months of thirty days each, keeping the five remaining days as holiday at the end of the year. The European calendar is directly descended from this ancient Egyptian practice, although the Europeans failed to adopt the healthy and wise habit of keeping all the holidays together at the end of the year.

CLIMAX FOR OUR REDEMPTION

I am convinced, therefore, that Egypt was the cradle of world civilisation, so will she provide a fitting climax for our African redemption. From here, from this illustrious city of Africa's ancient glory and power we shall see the birth of our greatest and highest aspiration—The Union Government of Africa.

In the year that has passed since we met at Addis Ababa and established the organisation of African unity, I have had no reason to change my mind about the concrete proposals which I made to you then, or about the reasons I have for my conviction that only a union government can guarantee our survival.

On the contrary, every hour, since then, both in the world at large and on our own continent, has brought events to prove that our problems as individual states are insoluble except in the context of African Unity, that our security as individual states is indivisible from the security of the whole continent, that the freedom of our compatriots still in foreign

MAH PLAN FRICA



DR. KWAME NKURMAH

ardent advocate of Africa's liberation and unity.

chains, and under colonial rule awaits the redeeming
might of an African Continental Government. ...

We took a monumental decision at a Summit meeting in Addis Ababa last year. No amount of disappointment or impatience with the pace at which our charter has been implemented, can detract from the epoch-making and irrevocable nature of our decision to affirm the unity of our Continent.

It was an act of faith, a recognition of reality that we forged the organisation of African Unity fully conscious of all the difficulties facing our various states in committing themselves to common obligations. We have passed through the first year victorious over trials on our loyalty, and over hostile forces seeking to disrupt our unity.

Where and whenever the subsidiary bodies set up by the Addis Ababa charter have met, the spirit of unity, of cooperation and goodwill have prevailed. On that score, none of us can complain, none of us have cause to doubt the strength and permanence of the spirit of unity which found its expression on our charter.

Yet, even more than last year, I must urge that the historical conditions in which African Independence has emerged and the concrete manifestations of our weaknesses and difficulties, call for immense radical and urgent measures which the Addis Ababa conference did not fulfil. Measures which would have been accounted adequate for dealing with our problems a few years ago, cannot now meet the exigencies of the African revolution.

It is not single states or single continents which are undergoing de-colonisation, but the greater portion of the world. It is not one empire which is expiring, but the whole system of imperialism which is at bay. It is not individual communities, but the whole of humanity which is demanding a different and better way of life for the world's growing millions.

Great positive and social revolutions have created mighty nations and empires, and the waves of those revolutions lap our shores no less than they do those of our continents. Great technological and industrial revolutions have transformed the economies of large portions of the world, and the waves of those revolutions will not stop short on the continent of Africa. A revolution in communications brings knowledge of every change in the world to the remotest corners of our continent.

MENACING UPSURGE OF IMPERIALISM

It is against this background of great political social cultural, scientific and technological revolutions that the emergence of African independence and the development of Africa must be viewed. None of us imagines that we can keep our own pace, immune from interference, isolated from the world's upsurges and revolutions. What differences there are between us arise from a difference in appreciation of the sense of urgency, not in the understanding we have of our tasks and responsibilities.

Time, indeed, is the crucial factor, for time acts for those who use it with purpose and not for those who let it slip by. Those who do not use time as their agent, give the advantage to those who do.

When we met last year we were at the beginning of an era of peaceful co-existence. The risk of a world war was abating and the prospect of peaceful cooperation between the great powers appeared to bring to an end the struggle of foreign influences in Africa. We embraced non-alignment in order to escape involving ourselves in the prevailing cold war politics. Instead we have witnessed the menacing upsurge of imperialism and revival of colonialism itself in Africa, and foreign interference and subversion in the internal affairs of our African states.

'I PROPOSE TO YOU THE FRAMEWORK FOR A UNION GOVERNMENT FOR AFRICA'

The one essential factor which united us at Addis Ababa—the over riding factor which made all differences and difficulties seem trivial and irrelevant—was the need to free that part of our continent which is still in the grip of imperialism. In spite of our charter, in spite of our resolutions, in spite of our common front at the United Nations and other international gatherings what have we witnessed?

Far from deterring the imperialists and neo-colonialists from giving support to the apartheid regime in South Africa and to the fascist regime in Portugal, the NATO powers, on the contrary, have poured and are pouring vast sums of money and vast armaments into the apartheid regime of South Africa and Portugal. Not only is South Africa being assisted to grow stronger economically and militarily but the cruelty, repression and exploitation of our African-brothers have reached new heights.

At this point I must comment on the activities of the Liberation Committee set up under the organisation of African Unity at Addis Ababa last year, on which both we and the Freedom Fighters pinned so much hope.

LIBERATION COMMITTEE

It is with great regret that I raise the matter at all, but I would be failing in my duty to the Freedom Fighters and to the cause of African liberation if I remain silent about the general dissatisfaction which exists regarding the functioning of this Committee.

The frequent and persistent reports from Freedom Fighters about the shortcomings of the aid and facilities for training offered to them make it impossible for the Government of Ghana to turn over its contribution to this Committee until a reorganisation has taken place for more effective and positive action.

This is not a situation in which individuals or individual governments can be held to blame. It is our first essay in a task of stupendous magnitude and with difficulties. But some of the failures of the Committee are inexcusable because they were so unnecessary.

It failed, for instance to make the best use of our resources. Military specialists from a state like Algeria, which has liberated itself through a fierce seven-year struggle against the French armies have been excluded on ideological grounds.

If the Liberation Committee had made effective use of the military experience of Egypt and of Ghana, where neo-colonialist interference and espionage have been frustrated and held at bay, we would have given

freedom fighters the necessary help in their liberation struggle.

The choice of the Congo (Leopoldville) as a training base for freedom fighters was a logical one, and there was every reason to accept the offer of the Congolese Government to provide offices and accommodation for the representatives of the Liberation Movements.

Africa's freedom fighters should not, however, have been exposed to the espionage, intrigues, frustrations and disappointments which they have experienced in the last eight months.

What could be the result of entrusting the training of freedom fighters against imperialism into the hands of an imperialist agent? Under the Liberation Committee set up at Addis Ababa, the freedom fighters had no real security, and were not provided with instruments for their struggle, nor were food, clothing and medicine given for men in training.

DISAPPOINTMENT AND FRUSTRATION

Thus, their training scheme collapsed within two months under the eyes of the Liberation Committee, and the freedom fighters became disappointed, disgruntled and frustrated.

I am giving you no more than bare bones of the complaints of the freedom fighters. It will not avail us to have a length post-mortem over past failures. But these failures must be understood and acknowledged. The disappointment and frustration of the freedom fighters must not be dismissed as unreal or unreasonable. Not only the Liberation Committee, but all of us are to blame, for the way in which we allowed the Liberation Committee to let down the freedom fighters.

We dare not say that they could have done their work better until we have all done better. The enormous task of liberating our continent cannot be undertaken in a spirit of compromise and surrender.

By raising a threat at Addis Ababa and not being able to take effective action against apartheid and colonialism, we have worsened the plight of our kinsmen in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. We have frightened the imperialists sufficiently to strengthen their defences and repression in Southern Africa, but we have not frightened them enough to abandon apartheid supremacy to its ill-fated doom.

It must be said that by merely making resolutions on African unity, and not achieving our goal of a Union Government of Africa, we have made our task difficult and not easier.

**“That is why I have written elsewhere that
the emancipation of Africa could be
the emancipation of man”**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation powers have not been deterred one whit from sending all the arms needed by the Salazar Regime to keep down our kinsmen in its colonies. The Portuguese fascist regime has not made a single move to negotiate with the United Nations or with the Nationalist Forces. It has become more insolent, more mendacious and more repressive since our conference in Addis Ababa.

What has gone wrong ?

The imperialists regard our charter of unity as token unity, they will not respect it until it assumes the form of a Union Government.

It is incredible that they will defy a United Continent.

But it is easy to understand that they do not believe that we will be able to accomplish the next stage—to organise and centralise our economic and military and political forces to wage a real struggle against apartheid, Portuguese fascism and those who support these evils with trade, investments and arms.

We have not yet made the imperialists believe that we can set our Continent in order as a mighty economic force, capable of standing together as a united and progressive people.

BORDER DISPUTES

Serious border disputes have broken out and disturbed our Continent, since our last meeting. Fortunately, good sense and African solidarity have prevailed in all those instances. But the disputes have been smothered, not settled. The artificial divisions of African states are too numerous and irrational for real permanent and harmonious settlements to be reached, except within the framework of a continental union.

How, for example, can we prevent the people of Western Somalia, whose whole livelihood is cattle-grazing, from continuing to look for fresh fields for grazing by travelling beyond traditional barriers without bringing them into clashes with their compatriots in Ethiopia

And yet, in a united Africa, Ethiopian land and Somalian land, even though they may be separately sovereign within the framework of a Union Government of Africa, will belong to a common pool which would assist the general development of cattle-rearing in that

part of our continent, because there would not be artificial barriers to such development. The benefit of the development will be for the benefit of both Ethiopia and Somalia.

I said a little while ago, and I repeat, that the real border disputes will grow with the economic development and national strengthening of the African states as separate balkanised Governmental units. That was the historical process of independent states in other continents. We cannot expect Africa, with its legacy of artificial borders, to follow any other course, unless we make a positive effort to arrest that danger now, and we can do so only under a Union Government.

EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION

The proposed East African Federation has given us a strong confirmation about the danger of delaying a Continental Government while African states grow into national and regional entities at the terrible cost of being neo-colonialised. It has been said that the main obstacle to an East African Federation is the problem of abolishing political offices and posts in the States which should make up the Federation.

In other words, the careers and ambitions of political Leaders, on the one hand, and balkanised nationalism on the other, if allowed to grow and become entrenched, could constitute a brake on the unification of African States. The Balkan States of Europe is a lesson for us.

History has shown that where the great powers cannot colonise, they balkanise. This is what they did to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and this is what they have done and are doing in Africa. If we allow ourselves to be balkanised, we shall be re-colonised and be picked off one after the other.

Now is the time for Africa's political and economic unification.

Much as I see the motives for regional grouping by contiguous states with common services and economic affinities, I cannot support any move which militates against the political unification of Africa.

We must not confuse limited economic problems of a regional or local nature with the major objective of solving wider economic issues which require political action on a continental scale.

“Those who say that the idea of a Union Government is premature are those who want to sacrifice Africa on the altar of Neo-colonialism”

The relief from Regional Political Association can only be illusory and short-lived, and cannot bring that prosperity which will come almost immediately from the economic impetus of a united continent.

We cannot therefore, afford to let the warning clearly illustrated by the East African Federation go unheeded. If, in the short period of the independence of the East African States, the careers and ambitions of political leaders are already strong enough to delay a regional grouping, how much more will every year's delay make a continental union impossible of realisation? Not only the careers of Ministers, but thousands of entrenched bureaucratic posts will raise formidable barriers against the establishment of a Union Government. We saw the futility of this at Addis Ababa and thus our Charter condemned and abolished political groupings of any kind in our continent.

By far the greatest wrong which the departing colonialists inflicted on us, and which we now continue to inflict on ourselves in our present state of disunity, was to leave us divided into economically unviable states which bear no possibility of real development. As long as the chief consideration of the industrial nations was our raw materials at their own prices this policy made sense for them, if not for us.

OUR PROBLEMS—SOLUTIONS

Now that their technological impetus is such that they need Africa even more as a market for their manufactured goods than as a source of raw materials, our economic backwardness no longer makes sense for them any more than for us.

The output of their great industrial complexes is no longer the primitive and simple implements like hoes and shovels. They now need vaster and more prosperous markets for heavy agricultural tractors and electronic machines. They wish to sell to us, not Ford Motors propelled by magnetos or Turbo-prop Aircraft, but the latest in supersonic jets and atomic-powered merchant vessels. Which of us, trading separately in these highly developed market areas, can survive more than a year or two without remaining economically backward, indebted, bankrupt or re-colo-

nised?

There is much re-thinking on this score among the industrially-advanced countries, although their outlook is obscured because their economies are still geared to monopolistic devices for getting hold of our oil and gas deposits, uranium, gold, diamonds and other raw materials, cheap, and selling their manufactured goods back to us at exorbitant prices.

The poverty of the developing world has become a blot on the ethics and commonsens of the industrial nations. The recent United Nations Conference on trade and development was not organised by accident or solely by pressure from the developing nations.

THE U.N. TRADE CONFERENCE

The growing economic gap between the two worlds spells misery for the developing countries, but it also threatens the industrialised nations with unemployment and with dangerous recessions and economic explosion.

We have reason to think that the imperialists themselves are in divided councils about the unity of Africa. They must remain ambivalent, however, as long as they retain direct control over Southern Africa and neo-colonialist control of the Congo. The vast mineral wealth of those territories represents profits which they cannot willingly give up, even for greater market in the rest of Africa.

But a Union Government of Africa would end the dilemma of the industrialised nations, because inevitably that wealth will be converted into capital for the development of Africa.

The fact that imperialism and neo-colonialism are in that dilemma should be for us the clearest indication of the course we must follow. We must unite for economic viability, first of all, and then to recover our mineral wealth in Southern Africa, so that our vast resources and capacity for development will bring prosperity for us and additional benefits for the rest of the world.

That is why I have written elsewhere that the emancipation of Africa could be the emancipation of man.

“Those forces which endanger our Continent do not stand still. They are not moving step by step. They are marching in double step against us”

Is there any need to point out again that we are potentially the world's richest continent, not only in mineral wealth, but also in hydro-electric power? The wealth of the Sahara is yet untapped; the waters and rivers of Tanganyika and Ethiopia are yet unharnessed. All the capital we need for the development of these regions flows out of Africa today in gold, diamonds, copper, uranium and other minerals from Southern Africa, Northern Rhodesia and the Congo. Every year in the Sahara and in other parts of Africa, new stores of mineral, chemical and petroleum wealth are discovered.

What is lacking for us in Africa, but the will and the courage to unite a divided but compact Continent?

That will grows stronger day by day. It now appears in the masses of our people, who a short while ago, were only conscious of their will to freedom. Today, in countless ways, they learn that their poverty is not a curse from the Gods or a burden imposed by the imperialists; but a political defect of our independence. The general realisation grows that independence is not enough without the unity of Africa, for that is the only road towards the economic emancipation and development of our continent.

FRAGMENTATION OF TERRITORIES

We in Africa are living in the most momentous era of our history. In a little less than one decade the majority of the territories in our continent have emerged from colonialism into sovereignty and independence. In a few years from now, we can stem our onward march to independence and freedom.

While we have cause to rejoice in this achievement, our central problem as independent states is the fragmentation of our territories into little independent states and on our policies and programme into a patchwork of conflicting objectives and unco-ordinated development and plans.

While the post-war years have seen a phenomenal rise in the prices of manufactured goods which will need to sustain progress and development in our states, the prices of the raw materials which we export to these countries have shown an alarmingly steady decline. So the disparity between the “Haves” or the highly developed nations and the “Have-nots” or deve-

loping nations, becomes inevitably wider and wider as our needs grow greater and greater. How can we resolve this paradox except by uniting our forces and working together in Africa as a team?

Let us look further back on the year that has just passed since we first met at Addis Ababa last year. Think of the unfortunate clashes between Algeria and Morocco, between Somalia and Ethiopia and between Somalia and Kenya which nearly damaged and disrupted our new spirit of understanding and unity. If we had lived within a continental Federal Government in which the fortunes and fate of one were the fortunes and fate of all, could we have been drawn into such bloodshed with needless loss of precious African lives?

INTRIGUES, COERCION, SUBVERSION

What shall I say of the military upheavals and mutinies in our sister states of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya? While no-one among us here can tolerate indiscipline and mutiny in our armies, which of us was happy to learn that in their hour of need, our brothers were compelled to resort to the use of Foreign troops—the troops of a former colonial power, at that—to bring these disturbances under control.

Before the harm was completely done our brothers were able to send away the Foreign troops and, in one case, called for the assistance of troops from a sister African State.

Surely, these events have a clear lesson for us all. How can we maintain the safety and security of our respective states as our responsibilities increase and our problems become more complex except through a united defence arrangement which will invest us with the effective and powerful means for joint action at short notice?

On the one hand, internal disagreement and discord, endless manoeuvring for positions among the political leaders, and even the tragedy of fratricidal strife. On the other hand, foreign intervention and pressures, intrigues and coercion, subversion and cajolery.

In all this confusion, the power of imperialism has a fertile ground. It even dares to use openly certain African states to promote its selfish plans. Note the exploitation and degradation of the Congo. We are

unable to hold back foreign intrigues, because we are divided among ourselves. None of us is free and none of us can be safe, while there is frustration and instability in any part of this continent.

I do not need to go on citing specific instances of our common problems and difficulties to prove the urgency and the need for united action on a continental basis in Africa today. There is not one of us here now who does not suffer from the handicaps of our colonial past.

Let us therefore move forward together in unity and in strength, confident in the knowledge that with such immense national and human resources as we possess in our continent, we cannot fail to make Africa one of the happiest, most prosperous and progressive areas of the world.

Two years ago we were exposed to ridicule of the world because they saw us as a divided Africa. They called us names which helped to widen the apparent breach among us: The "Radical" Casablanca powers, the "Moderate" Monrovia group, and the "Pro-French" Brazzaville states. There was no justification for these labels, but to the imperialists they were a very convenient means of giving the dog a bad name and hanging him.

Africa on the altar of neo-colonialism.

Let no one fool us now, brother Presidents and Prime Ministers. Too long have we become the dupes of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Let us move forward together to the wider fields of our heritage, strong in our unity, where our common aspirations and hopes find abundant expression in the power of our united endeavours.

All over Africa the essential economic pattern developed under colonialism remains. Not one of us, despite our political independence, has yet succeeded in breaking, in any substantial measure, our economic subservience to economic systems external to Africa. It is the purpose of neo-colonialism to maintain this economic relationship.

The developed countries need the raw materials of Africa to maintain their own industries and they are anxious to find markets in Africa for their manufactured goods. But there can be no market for these manufactured goods unless the people of Africa have the money with which to buy them. Therefore I say that the developed countries have a vested interest in Africa's prosperity.

In many cases our most valuable raw materials—such as minerals—are owned and exploited by

"How could South Africa dare to sentence Nelson Mandela and his seven brave Colleagues against protests of a United Africa?"

It is to our eternal credit that last year at Addis Ababa we put our enemies to shame by forging a common charter from these groupings and emerging as the organisation of African Unity. Let it be said that at Cairo we put them to greater shame by the establishment of a Union Government of Africa. Have you noticed, brother Presidents and Prime Ministers, that so soon as we achieved this measure of agreement at Addis Ababa the neo-colonialists and their agents proceeded to sow new seeds of disruption and disension among us.

They became particularly active and vocal in preaching the new and dangerous doctrine of the "step-by-step" course towards unity. If we take one step at a time, when they are in a position to take six steps for every single one of ours, our weakness will, of course, be emphasized and exaggerated for their benefit. One step now, two steps later, then all will be fine in Africa for imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Those who say that the idea of a Union Government is premature are those who want to sacrifice

foreign companies. Large parts of the wealth of Africa, which could be used for the economic development of Africa, are drained out of the continent in this way to bolster the economies of the developed nations.

It is true that the whole world is poised at a delicate economic balance and that economic collapse in any one part of the world would have repercussions everywhere. But our situation in Africa is so weak that we are bound to be the first and the worst sufferers if economic difficulties should set in Europe or America, and the effect upon us would be absolute and catastrophic.

We have nothing to fall back on. We have become so utterly dependent upon these outside economic systems that we have no means of resistance to external economic fluctuations. We have no economic resilience whatsoever within our own continent.

We are so cut off from one another that in many cases the road systems in each of our countries peter out into bush as they approach the frontier of neighbour. How can we trade amongst ourselves when we

"How could a white settler minority government in Southern Rhodesia dare to lock up Nkomo and Sithole?"

do not even have proper means of physical communication?

It is now possible to travel by air from Accra to London in six hours. I can fly from Accra to Nairobi or from Accra to Cairo in half a day. But on the ground over which we fly with such ease and non-chalance, it is frequently impossible to engage in the most elementary trade simply because there are no proper roads, and because we are artificially divided and balkanised.

Our few and negligible roads and railways and ultimately, in some part. In a sense they have become symbols of our economic subervience and our dependence on trade outside the African Continent.

I am not arguing that we should cut off all economic relationships with countries outside Africa. I am not saying that we should spurn foreign trade and reject foreign investment. What I am saying is that we should get together, think together, plan together and organise our African economy as a unity, and negotiate our general continental economic planning. Only in this way can we negotiate economic arrangements on terms fair to ourselves.

UNION GOVERNMENT A MUST.

The organisation of African Unity was a declaration of intention to unite. It was an optimistic beginning. But we need more than this. We must unite now under a Union Government if this intention is to have any meaning and relevance.

Talk is worthless if it does not lead to action. As far as Africa is concerned, action will be impossible if it is any further delayed. Those forces which endanger our continent do not stand still. They are not moving step by step. They are marching in double step against us.

Everyday we delay the establishment of a Union Government of Africa, we subject ourselves to outside economic domination. And our political independence as separate states becomes more and more meaningless.

Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers: As I said a few minutes ago, this decade is Africa's finest hour. Great things are in store for us if we would but take our courage in our hands and move towards them.

How could South Africa dare to sentence Nelson Mandela and his seven brave colleagues against protests of a united Africa? How could a white settler minority government in Southern Rhodesia dare to lock up Nkomo and Sithole? How could Portugal dare think of continuing the violation of the sovereignty of Angola and Mozambique or so-called "Portuguese Guinea", if these formed part of a United Government of Africa.

We have gone to Geneva to seek a major victory in our quest for fair play and justice international trade. There were no less than seventy-five of us in one group set against the few of the great industrialised communities of Europe and the United States. And yet how weak was our bargaining power because of our political and economic disunity and divisions.

How much more effective would our efforts have been if we had spoken with the one voice of Africa's millions.

WE ARE ONE PEOPLE

With all our minerals and waterpower and fertile lands, is it not a cause for shame that we remain poorer and content to plead for aid from the very people who have robbed us of our riches in the past?

How can Egypt, strategically situated as it is, combat the imperialism and neo-colonialism and solve the pressing and urgent problems of the Middle East unless it has the backing of a Union Government of Africa?

Let us remember, brother Presidents and Prime Ministers, the Sahara no longer divides us. We do not see ourselves as Arab Africa, Black Africa, English Africa or French Africa. We are one people, one continent and one destiny.

I see no way out of our present predicament except through the force and power of a union Government of Africa. I seek no Regional Unions as basis for unity. Indeed the more independent states there are within our Union Government, the stronger will be our unity, and the freer will be each sovereign state within the union to attend to its specific and exclusive problems.

The specific fields of common action I have in mind are: Defence, Foreign Policy and Economic Development (including a common currency for Africa).

In this way, instead of a charter which operates on the basis of peripatetic or widely-separated commissions under the control of an Administrative Secretariat without political direction, we shall have a Government for joint action in at least three fields of our Governmental activity.

This would be a more realistic 'Step' towards the unity of Africa.

Two-hundred and Eighty million people in strength with a common destiny and a common goal could give progress and development in Africa a new momentum and impetus which could go beyond our widest dreams.

Today there may be frustration. Doubt and distrust in every part of our continent. But tomorrow will see a new hope and a new march to glory; under a United Government capable of speaking with one voice for all Africa.

For a few moments, please permit me to refer to the pattern of economic structure which we inherited

This capital, as we all know is everywhere desperately short. The men with the know-how are few and scattered. It is by our coming together and pooling our resources that we can find a solution to this problem.

In other words, only by unified economic planning on a continental basis with a central political direction within a Union Government can we hope to meet the economic challenge of our time.

It takes millions of pounds to build the basic industries, irrigation and power plants which will enable us to escape from our present economic stagnation. Our various individual, separate balkkanised states cannot mobilise the enormous amounts of money required for these major projects and industrial complexes. We cannot bargain effectively for the essential funds from foreign sources on the best possible terms. What we are doing now is to compete between ourselves for the little capital available from foreign sources

"How could Portugal dare think of continuing the violation of the Sovereignty of Angola and Mozambique or so-called "Portuguese Guinea", if these formed part of a United Government of Africa?"

from the colonialists in Africa.

All of us, under colonial rule, were encouraged to produce a limited number of primary commodities, mainly agricultural and mineral, for export overseas. Capital for development was owned by foreigners and profits were vigorously transferred abroad.

A trade pattern of this sort stagnated the rest of our national economy, and our resources remained undeveloped. In consequence, indigenous capital formation was negligible, leaving all our countries in a state of abject poverty.

Since independence, we have been making energetic efforts to reverse and overhaul these unsatisfactory features in our economy. In some of the independent African States great efforts have been made to relax traditional economic links with the ex-colonial powers, but none of us can say we have succeeded in breaking those dangerous links.

Another handicap which we suffered from colonialism was the restriction of our economies which has hampered economic development in many ways. The very fact that all the independent African States produce and maintain development plans is an indication of our deep concern for realising nationalist aspirations and improving the conditions of living of our people.

But however deep our concern, however strong our determination these development plans will avail us nothing if the necessary capital is not available.

In our scramble to get this capital we grant foreign firms extensive and lucrative concessions for the exploitation of our natural resources. These concessions to secure this capital exacerbate the colonial pattern of our economy. We invest more in raw materials output than in industrial development and the continued drain abroad of profits which should have been re-invested in economic development retards the progress of our industrialisation plans.

In a continental federal union, we can easily mobilise the amount of capital available to the African States by the establishment of a central monetary development finance development bank. This however cannot succeed without a continental economic plan and without the necessary political direction which only a Union Government of Africa can provide.

An African Monetary Development Bank of the kind I envisage will enable us to formulate continental agreements concerning the terms of loans and investments by foreign interests.

Together we can bargain far more effectively with Foreign firms and Governments for investments and loans for the kinds of industries we desire and not those they desire. We can bargain on the terms of these loans and we can ensure that the increased savings which will arise from Continental Development of Africa's huge resources will enable us to develop even more rapidly.

The unnecessary competition amongst us for

"Today there may be frustration, doubt and distrust in every part of our continent. But tomorrow will see a new hope and a new march to glory, under a United Government capable of speaking with one voice for all Africa"

capital would cease and moreover we can work up continental tariff policies designed to protect newly developing African industries. The great risks involved in investing in our individual countries will be reduced, for in an African Economic Union our development projects would be backed by all the African States together.

But even this healthy sign of development is in grave danger of driving us against one another. As the general conditions of our economy are similar in all the independent African States, and as our national development plans are not being co-ordinated this can ably lead to a concomitant expansion of our separate productive capacities in excess of the quantity which can be profitably marketed either internally or abroad. The result of this is obviously the certainty of establishing cut-throat competition among us with heavy financial losses to our respective economies.

ASPIRATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

The problem of African Unity must therefore be examined against the background of the economic position of the independent African States, our aspirations for rapid development and the difficulties with which we are confronted in our separate existence.

If we examine these problems carefully we cannot evade the conclusion that the movement towards African Political Unity will substantially and immediately contribute to the solution of the economic problems of the independent African States.

Indeed I will make bold to state that African Unity based on a Continental Union Government is the only, I repeat only, possible framework within which the economic difficulties of Africa can be successfully and satisfactorily settled. The appeal for a Union Government of Africa is therefore not being made merely to satisfy a political end. It is absolutely indispensable for our economic survival in this modern world of ours.

We must remember that just as we had to obtain political independence from colonial rule as a necessary pre-requisite for establishing new and progressive communities for our respective states so we cannot achieve economic stability in Africa as a whole without the pre-requisite of a Continental Union Government.

Indeed we cannot hope to sustain the economic Development of Africa without first accepting the

necessity for a Continental Division of labour to ensure that particular states specialised in their respective fields, for which geographical, economic and social factors make them the most suitable, can develop to their fullest capacity with the best interest of the continent as a whole in mind.

Take, for example the steel industry. This could be developed to the highest possible limit in Nigeria, Egypt or Mauritania, or Liberia or Ghana, to mention only a few instances. If we do not unite under a Federal Government it is clear that each of the states mentioned will wish in their own national interests to pursue the possibility of establishing and expanding its own steel mill.

DISUNITY MEANS EXPLOITATION

Indeed this is being done already by some of us to the benefit, profit and gain of foreign concerns.

If however our resources were combined to set up steel mills on a continental basis, at strategically chosen points in Africa we would be in a position to make the greatest possible contribution to the industrial progress of the whole continent without a conscious effort based on a common Governmental programme. We cannot hope to achieve this end. We might even find ourselves using the resources of one area of Africa to retard the progress and development of one or more other areas by cut-throat competition.

How then, at this moment of history, shall we meet this great challenge.

Certainly, we cannot blink at the harsh facts of life which are all too tragically familiar to us. This is especially true when we consider the economic development of Africa, on which all our other aspirations depend.

The most casual glance at our continent should convince anyone that the price of our disunity is continued exploitation from abroad and foreign interference in our internal matters. No matter where we look in the continent, we will find that to a greater or lesser degree, the same pattern of exploitation persists.

For example: the economy of the Congo (Leopoldville) is still dominated by three foreign groups which represent Belgian, French, British and American interests. Herein lies the woe and tragedy of our beloved Congo.

**"I see no way out of our present predicament
except through the force and power of
a Union Government of Africa"**

Two Foreign Firms—the Rhodesian Anglo-American Corporation and the Rhodesian-Selection Trust—control the mining output of Zambia. Copper makes up Eighty to ninety per cent of Zambia's exports, yet profits and interest shipped abroad annually often mount to as high as half of Zambia's total export earnings.

Thus you can see that despite political independence, nearly all of us here today, are unable to exploit our agricultural and mineral resources in our own interests.

Under a strong Union Government we would have the material resources for rapid industrialization, whereby all of us big or small would be benefited. But so long as we are divided we will to this extent, remain colonies in an economic sense. We shall remain puppets and agents of neo-colonialism.

The truth of this is even more evident when we examine monetary zones and customs unions. Most African States are still in monetary zones linked to the former colonial power. One-fourth of these states are in the sterling zone and one-half are in the Franc zone. Owing to this currency arrangement Trade between the independent African States is restricted and hampered. Indeed trade is practically impossible within this financial environment.

An example of our present economic limitations as separate independent Government, may be cited from our experience in our economic relations with our brothers from Upper Volta and Togo.

NEO-COLONIALIST MANOEUVRES

Two years ago, in furtherance of our natural desire for closer collaboration in all fields of development with our sister states we performed a historic ceremony by breaking down the physical barriers established between Ghana and Upper Volta before our independence by the colonial powers. The two Governments signed a long-term trade and payments agreement under which each Government agreed to grant a non-interest bearing 'Swing' credit of about two-hundred and fifty-thousand pounds sterling.

The Bank of Ghana on behalf of the Government of Ghana was appointed as the technical agent to operate the payments agreement. In the case of the Upper Volta Government the Banque De L'Afrique

Occidental was nominated by the Upper Volta Government as its agent.

To this day, the Banque de L'Afrique Occidental in Ouagadougou have refused to execute the banking arrangements drawn up by the Bank of Ghana to implement the agreement. Payment instructions issued by the Bank of Ghana to the Banque de l'Afrique Occidental have so far not been honoured.

On the other hand the Bank of Ghana has been requested by the Banque de l'Afrique Occidental to transfer sterling in their favour before the payments instructions will be carried out, in spite of the fact that it is expressly laid down in the agreement that all payments to or from either country should be effected through the clearing account to be maintained by the two Banks.

WE NEED INDEPENDENT CURRENCY

If the agreement instituted between Ghana and Upper Volta had worked successfully, the operation of the French currency arrangements which are the medium of commercial undertakings in Upper Volta would have been seriously undermined. Is it therefore any wonder that the Banque de l'Afrique Occidental made the operation of an agreement signed between two sister African States with the best of intentions unworkable and inoperative? Our difficulties with the Republic of Togo arise from the same limitations.

It will clear from these examples that until we are able to establish our own independent currency and financial institutions we shall continue to be at the mercy of the financial arrangements imposed by Foreign Governments in their own and not our interest.

As long as we are forced to compete for foreign capital and to accept economic ties to foreign powers because in our separate entities we are too small, weak and unviable to "Go it alone" we will be unable to break the economic pattern of exploitation established in the days of outright colonialism.

Only if we can unite and carry out co-ordinated economic planning within the framework of African political unity, will it be possible for us to break the bonds of neo-colonialism and reconstruct our African states big or small.

I know that some of you will say that we cannot form a Union Government now.

"Circumstances and our common experience in history have made all of us a people with one destiny"

I don't share that view.

Have we not the men?

Have we not got the resources?

Have we not got the will?

What else are we waiting for.

I know, and some of you know that we can right now if we have the will and determination to do so.

Mere resolutions cannot help us. Not even another charter. The Ghana-Guinea Union, Casablanca charter, Monrovia charter and others have long completed this resolution and charter-writing exercise.

It is therefore with great honour and privilege that I propose to you the framework for a UNION GOVERNMENT of Africa.

THE PROPOSALS

This Union Government shall consist of an Assembly of Heads of States and Government headed by a President elected from among the Heads of States and Government of the independent African States.

The executive of the Union Government will be a cabinet or council of Ministers with a Chancellor of Prime Minister as its head and a federal house consisting of two chambers—the senate and a house of representatives. If you agree we can appoint our Foreign Ministers to work out a constitution for a UNION GOVERNMENT of Africa.

Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers: With our common suffering and aspirations we should be one and a united people. Our continent surrounded on all sides by oceans is one of the most compact land masses in the world. Nature has endowed us with the richest and the best of natural resources. Circumstances and our common experience in history have made all of us a people with one destiny. Let us not belie the great promise of our future or disappoint the great hopes of the masses of our people by taking the wrong turning in this critical and momentous hour of decision.

We cannot save ourselves except through the unity of our continent based on common action through a Continental Union Government. Only a united Africa under a Union Government can cure us of our economic ills and lift us out of our despair and frustration.

I make this sincere and serious appeal in the interest of our common progress, our security and our future well-being. I hope that all of us will accept this appeal with equal sincerity.

Nevertheless, I charge those of us who are ready to do so now—even if we are only a few (and how I wish it could be all of us).

Firstly to come away from Cairo having agreed to the establishment of a Union Government of Africa.

Secondly, those of us who subscribe to this solemn agreement must designate our Foreign Ministers to constitute a working committee to draft the Constitution for the Federal Union Government of Africa.

Thirdly, those who subscribe to this agreement would within six months meet at a place to be agreed upon to adopt and proclaim to the world the Federal Union Government of Africa.

Mr. President, Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers: It has been said that "Great things from little causes spring". How true this saying is, can be judged from the beginnings of some of the world's great powers of today.

The United States started with thirteen weak economically non-viable colonies exposed to serious political and economic hardships. Yet today the United States of America is a world power with not less than fifty constituent states.

SOME GREAT UNIONS

The Soviet Union whose scientists have astounded the world with their interplanetary exploits, began their union amid untold hardships and difficulties with but three states. Today the Soviet Union is comprised of sixteen federated states.

We cannot wait, we dare not wait until we are encompassed by our doom for failing to seize this grand opportunity rising to the call of Africa's finest hour.

This is the challenge which history has thrust upon us. This is the mandate we have received from our people, that we set about to create a Union Government for Africa Now. And this is also the challenge which providence and destiny has thrust upon us.

WE CANNOT, WE MUST NOT, WE DARE NOT FAIL OR FALTER.

AFRICA LIBERATION DAY

You will recall that the First Conference of Independent African States held in Accra in 1958 just one year after our independence, decided that the 15th of April will be "Africa Freedom Day".

Now the organisation of African Unity has also decided that the anniversary of the signing of its Charter in May, 1963 shall be "Africa Liberation Day".

Africa Liberation Day therefore is now celebrated in all independent African States in remembrance of the epoch-making summit conference held last year in Addis Ababa when the Heads of Independent African States subscribed to the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity.

In 1958, there were only 8 independent African States. Today there are 33. Very shortly, this number will rise to 35 with the independence of Malawi and Zambia.

There are still some 17 African territories to be liberated including South Africa, not mentioning some 25 Islands. We must now redouble our efforts to accelerate the liberation of these remaining territories in Africa.

We in Ghana are proud of the contribution we have made, materially physically and morally to the liberation struggle.

We shall continue to do so, because of our conviction that our own freedom and independence must depend on the total liberation and unity of Africa.

On this occasion therefore we salute the gallant freedom fighters who are actively engaged in the struggle for the liberation of territories in Africa not yet free and independent.

We pay tribute to the memory of those who have fallen in the struggle.

I have spoken to you on many occasions about the tragedy in Angola and other territories under Portuguese administration.

Portugal continues to pursue a

senseless and barbarous colonial war simply because it is haunted by the spectre of a past "Colonial Glory".

Portugal refuses to accept the realities of the modern world and clings stubbornly to its inglorious colonial past. Portugal is an impoverished state hardly able to attend to the needs of its own population.

It therefore uses a colonial war as a diversion of its sufferings at home. But Portugal can never win this war even with the support of powerful external forces.

As a client state of the major NATO countries, Portugal has been able to obtain assistance from these countries to pursue its vicious policies in Angola, Mozambique and in other African territories under its domination.

The ultimate responsibility for the continuance of this criminal and senseless colonial war, in which peaceful citizens including innocent children have been slaughtered, must rest at the door of the NATO countries.

In spite of the desperate stand of the Portuguese colonialists and their allies, the struggle for the total liberation of Africa continues with vigour.

It is now time that we gave consideration to the means whereby the independence of the various states can be guaranteed.

As I have said time and time again, the salvation of the various liberated African States lies in Unity. Only a Union Government can safeguard the hard-won freedom of the various African states.

Africa is rich, its resources are vast and yet African states are poor. It is only in a Union Government that we can find the capital to develop the immense economic resources of Africa.

Only a unified economic planning for development can give Africa the economic security essential for the prosperity and well-being of all its peoples.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

It is also quite clear that not a single African State can today defend herself effectively. Therefore many African States are forced to enter defence agreements with their former colonial masters.

Recent events in Gabon and elsewhere show clearly how these military pacts can be used to subvert the independence and territorial integrity of African States.

The only real and lasting solution is a defence arrangement for Africa on the basis of a united military command.

We can go on to multiply the advantages of a Continental Union. Frontier problems disappear in a Continental Union.

Irritating customs and other formalities cease to be barriers separating brother from brother. We can think of the great economic advantage of a common currency and a common market.

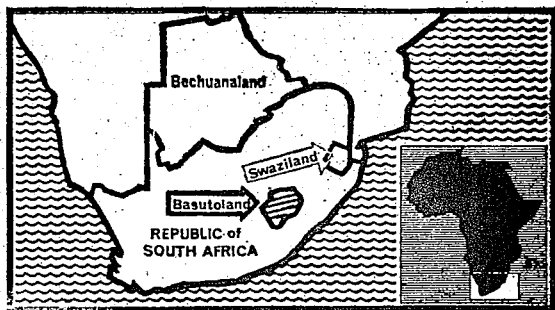
But all these can only be brought about by common aims and ideals under an effective political direction which can come only through a Union Government.

That is why on the occasion of the first anniversary of Africa Liberation Day we should centre our thoughts on the establishment of a Union Government for Africa.

There is no time to waste. The longer we wait the stronger will be the hold on Africa by neo-colonialism and imperialism.

A Union Government for Africa does not mean the loss of Sovereignty by independent African States. A Union Government will rather strengthen the sovereignty of the individual states within the Union.

Basutoland



THE strenuous colonial history of Basutoland begins from 1833 when the European Evangelists came to Basutoland for the first time. Although they came on the word of God yet they played a great part in the politics of Basutoland as advisers and interpreters between the Basuto and the warlike European people who came afterwards.

The first such Europeans came to Basutoland in 1836. They were the Boers (Dutch origin) who had packed away from the Cape Province and Natal in South Africa, refusing to be ruled by the British people, who had conquered those territories from them in the 18th century.

The Boers who (the present fascists and racialists of S. Africa) humbly asked for protection from the then King of Basutoland, Moshoeshoe I, were received with open hands and allowed to till and graze the land.

No sooner had these people settled down than they began trivial quarrels and charges against the Basuto, and, when they had enlarged in number and strength, declared the land lent to them as their property to which the Basuto no longer had a right. Negotiations began on this matter and continued until they culminated into an armed demand by the Basuto people. This was enough for the Boers, and they quickly answered by raids and attacks of Basutoland, with the purpose of annihilating the entire Basuto nation and annexing Basutoland. Thus began a series of long and dangerous wars.

At this time the British, not

satisfied with Natal and the Cape alone, came following up the Boers until they too arrived in Basutoland. Having weighed the strength of the Basuto in war, and finding themselves running a risk if they dared fight them to take their country, the British this time made treaties with their former enemy, the Boers, financed their war against the Basuto and even contributed troops, with their usual tactics of letting the "two dogs fight until they are exhausted and then step in and easily conquer them both."

But, in this instance the plan failed as the resistance of Basutoland and her eventual victory over the Boers was now a threat to Britain herself. At this turn of events Britain could not help but declared war against Basutoland in 1852, for petty reasons, and she was crushed by the young and determined Basuto pony-fighters at Berea.

PROTECTION NOT SLAVERY

During this time the Boers themselves were mobilising their forces again and their contingents were occupying the territory of Basutoland. A cloud of defeat hand over the eyes of the Basuto, for the Boers had even strengthened their forces with their brothers who came from the Cape Province, Natal and the Transvaal after destroying the resistance of the Xhosa, the Zulu and the Pedi African nations in the respective provinces.

King Moshoeshoe himself, finding all forces of colonialism (Britain not excluded) over his head, this time appealed for support from the

mentioned South African nations. Difficult transport and other factors of the time made such a unity impossible. Then in 1865 began heavy war between the Boers and the Basuto which lasted three years and resulted in the siege of Basuto fortress by the Boers for six months. Both sides lost heavily and the Boers lost courage when their commander in chief, Wepener, was himself killed in the front line.

Moshoeshoe, realising the starvation and disease amongst his people as a result of the blockade, appealed to his enemy, Britain for protection. The latter could not help but jump at the opportunity she had been working up to. Thus, on the 12th of March 1868, she declared Basutoland a British protectorate and warned the Boers that if they continued war on Basutoland, they declared war on Basutoland. The Boers, now weak from long and heavy war, and satisfied that Britain did not demand a return of Basutoland territory to the owner, withdrew.

In his appeal for protection Moshoeshoe wanted nothing but military protection, and wisely stated that whichever officer from Britain came to Basutoland, must be prepared to be ruled by the Basuto. But England, having bribed the missionaries (advisers of Moshoeshoe) to twist the letter of the 1859 treaty with Britain, and the fact that King Moshoeshoe himself was now old and tired of quarrels and wars, forcefully and diplomatically occupied Basutoland and, pretending to be arbitrators gave a large portion of Basutoland to the Boers.

The nation protested against these and in 1871 there was a new rebellion against British occupation of Basutoland, her annexation of the latter to the Cape Colony Government, and her wicked decision on land in favour of the Boers.

This was met with a modification to rule Basutoland from London and therefore as something like a colony and not a protectorate.

The people never got at rest until in 1880, when with another wicked manoeuvre to silence them, Britain ordered that all the nation be disarmed, and enforced her colonial laws in Basutoland. A more serious rebellion arose which cost Britain about three million pounds. She failed to disarm the Basuto or convince them about their land.

During this British occupation of Basutoland the discontented Boers throughout South Africa had remobilised themselves and had formed the Boer Republics of Orange Free State, and the Transvaal with the purpose of uniting to drive Britain out of South Africa. Thus in 1900 began the well-known Anglo-Boer war where although it is said that Britain was victorious yet she lost heavily, both manpower, control and influence in the entire South Africa, while the Boers, united more than ever before rejoiced with their victory.

Thus the then British High Commissioner in South Africa with Lord Chamberlain could not help but yield to the Boer demand to form the Union of South Africa in 1910. The British on the other hand were looking with fright the loss of their mines and farms which they had built in South Africa and were determined to maintain them. In her bid to control South Africa she even promised to hand over Basutoland and other two protectorates of Bechuanaland and Swaziland to the Union of South Africa at a later date. She then placed herself at the head of the Union of South Africa, to which the Boers did not object very much as they even had their own parliament run on democratic lines.

What was the reaction of the African population to this? Sporadic battles occurred in Natal and Transvaal but were suppressed. From these lessons a new thought

of unity of the African people as a whole against the foreign conquerers of South Africa spread like a lightning flash throughout Southern Africa. It was realised more than ever before, how unity made successes where there seemed none.

Then this led to the holding of a historic conference at Bloemfontein by the Africans in the Republic of South Africa and the Protectorate in 1912. At this Conference was formed a united force against the Union of South Africa and Britain, and an organisation known as the African National Congress of South Africa was formed to co-ordinate the activities of the struggle. Basutoland was represented by the chiefs of that time.

GEOGRAPHY

What remains of Basutoland today is a piece of mountainous land, eleven thousand square kilometres in size and surrounded entirely by the Republic of South Africa. It lies between the Orange Free State, Natal and Cape Province.

POPULATION

Within Basutoland the African population is about a million, while about two or three million are now citizens of the Republic of South Africa either forced to settle there in search of work, or left there after the taking of parts of Basutoland by South Africa. There are about two thousand Europeans in Basutoland composed mainly of British officers, traders and missionaries, and a small number of Asians.

MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD:

With an obvious purpose of forcing the Basuto to join the slavery of the Republic of South Africa, Britain has all along aimed at making the life of the Basuto solely agricultural, while at the same time she reduced the fertility of the soil to such a state that Basutoland is now nothing but bare stone and today she depends on the imported food from the South African Republic.

Grants and taxes are spent on experiments which never produce any good results while British agri-

cultural officers, like their colleagues in other branches of the government, are paid fabulous sums of money for just roaming about in the country. The nation has not only been ill advised to reduce its life-stock for the so called lack of grazing ground, but also the very stock has been deliberately destroyed by poisonous dipping.

Quality wool and mohair of the country are not organised and sold on national basis, and no markets are available to the stock-owners while they are forced to sell these materials cheaply to the local British traders who in turn sell them at high profits in international markets.

In short the nation lives on mealie, corn, wheat, fruits and vegetables and stock-rearing produced at low rate and forcing large importation of such from the South African Republic.

Almost 50 per cent of the male Basuto work under British arranged contracts in the mines and farms of the Republic of South Africa, where Britain has about 1,000 million pounds of investments. The average pay per man is six pounds per month including the benefits. Within Basutoland the educated people look for better paying jobs as civil servants, teachers and servants of the British traders. Most intellectuals flee the country to seek jobs worth their education or forced by the pressure and tortures of British Colonial policies.

NATURAL RESOURCES:

Many and good rivers are a potential source of Basutoland's hydro-electrical and irrigation wealth. Sand and stone industries can flourish. Facts are there that oil sulphur, coal, gold and other minerals are available, while diamond is already being exploited by a certain British capitalist contractor Jack Scott, also of the Oppenheimer company.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Basuto nation is composed of all the South African tribes who fled from tortures of all kind in their territories and formed themselves into a nation, thus, among

them are the Bakwena, Zulu, Xhosa, Batswana and so on.

As it has been said the European population forms a very small minority and today has negligible influence in the country as a result of the intensification of the struggle for independence. The chiefs with their relatives making about 10 per cent of the population still wield a great influence in the country-side and are used by the British as their means of approach to the nation, in her exercise of colonial policies.

The people of Basutoland have been greatly influenced by religion under the three powerful churches: the Catholic, Anglican and Paris Churches. These churches have played a great part in the creation of disunity among the Basuto and in general life. For instance the Catholic and Anglican churches up to recently have been against the popular demand of independence. In education almost all the 953 schools including the University College belong to the Churches.

Today politics is of great interest to the nation. There are now four political parties in Basutoland: The first of these is the Basutoland Congress Party, a party formed by young revolutionaries in 1952 taking from a well-reputed anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist party of the old days the Khotla la Bafo.

The Congress Party enjoys an overwhelming support of all sections of the population but has its roots in the working class; the peasants and the nationalists. The Congress forms the opposition in Basutoland Legislative Council, and, with external offices in U.A.R., Ghana, and London has put the case of Basutoland before the world, while it twice appeared before the United Nations demanding independence for Basutoland.

The Basutoland National Party came up to represent the interests of the Catholics although it's fast losing support from the Christians on account of some of its dangerous policies of promising to hand over Basutoland to Verwoerd. The Marama-tlou Freedom Party representing the interests of the feudal chiefs and the bourgeoisie and dances to the tune, of the imperialists.

The Communist Party has recently come into being and works underground on account of the witchhunt of the communists; by the South African police who work hand in hand with the Basutoland police and intelligence service.

The Basutoland Federation of Labour, the Women's League and the Youth League are carrying out the whole revolution spearheaded by the Congress Party, and most members of these wings are in jails for terms ranging up to 10 years each and are subjected to brutal tortures similar to those meted out to the Africans in the jails of South Africa. Their crime has been to take part in demonstrations demanding freedom and independence. On the other hand, the Basutoland African Students and the Basutoland African National Teachers Association fight it out from the intellectual flank.

EDUCATION:

The following extract of 1961 gives a clear picture of the deplorable education in Basutoland: "Our population is 800,000. Total schools catering for primary, high and secondary education are 953, with one University College. Of the 136,816 children who begin school 7786 managed to reach an intermediate school, while 1776 reached a Secondary School and only twenty the University. Literacy is high if only the standard of education was high and opportunities available for all. Many children do not attend school, and many leave at standard three or four. This reveals a serious waste in human resources. Most of such boys and girls loiter in the streets from the age of fifteen; away from the education officers they stray into the hands of the police officers, who, regardless of their age or sex imprison them. Their only crime is that they have no means to advance their education. The colonial Government takes no interest to help them, and so they loiter in the streets and are arrested as vagrants. Prisons are sufficiently accommodated all over the country but lack of accommodation in schools. At the age of twenty the economic pressures on them force them into the

farms, the manufacturing and mining industries owned by the British financiers in the apartheid Republic of South Africa. There are no technical schools or colleges in Basutoland. The few trades and crafts schools teach boys and girls some crafts to enable them to be useful in the European kitchens and in doing some repair work for the imperial offices and works. The Basuto people themselves contributed and built their own technical school 62 years ago but was ruthlessly closed by the colonialists, when they realised its fruits.

Most children who enter secondary schools cannot afford to pay school fees in the boarding schools. Most parents receive an income of 48 pounds per annum and have to pay annual school fee of 24 to 30 pounds a year excluding money for books and clothing. At University level where fees—excluding books and clothing range from 70 to 700 pounds per annum the situation is worse. While a fair number of children still finish their secondary education, they are not able to proceed to the universities. A few of them can only do by alteration work and go to college. If not, they must be granted scholarships by the government. Since 1940, government scholarships have been restricted to a maximum of five students entering the universities in any one year. The courses that students had to take were censored by the British officers who would not grant scholarships for certain courses. Hence, over the last 94 years of British rule, Basutoland has only about 500 university graduates; a very large number of them having obtained their degrees by private studies. Students were often scared away from courses such as engineering, commerce, economics, medicine, law, and others. Hence, while a large number of them obtained their degrees in arts and pure sciences—we only have 12 Medical practitioners, two Commercial graduates, one economic graduates one statistician, one veterinary doctor, one agricultural scientist, one electrician and one civil engineer.

In 1948 the nation collected 80,000 pounds for students to study.

higher and technical education overseas but up till now not a single technician has been produced."

PRESENT DAY GOVERNMENT

The Queen of England is the ruler of Basutoland through the High Commissioner. She is only advised by the Legislative Council of Basutoland half of whose members are elected and half nominated according to the ranks they hold in Society, the majority of whom are chiefs. The council, apart from the fact that it is only advisory to the Queen, does almost nothing for the nation as a result of its being composed of a majority of nominated reactionaries.

The progressive elected persons find themselves an opposition, while bearing in mind that amongst them some have crossed over to the government side. Thus, of the 80 members of the Council 40 others have crossed. Among the nominees are included the four British officials who together with four Basuto only two of whom are elected, form the Executive Council which is not responsible to the Legislative Council for its activities, but to the High Commissioner. This type of government came into being in 1960 as an answer to the demand for independence. Up till now it has produced nothing good for the nation except to intensify discord, and the people rejected it from the onset.

DEMAND OF THE NATION

As it has done for the last 100 years the militant Basuto nation is pressing for full independence now, and, as a result of its appearances firstly before the then Committee of 17 of the United Nations in May 1960-1962 and the second before the General Assembly's 17th session, the United Nations passed resolutions demanding Britain to give independence to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland protectorates at once. Up to this day Britain has not done so.

It should be observed that the nation of Basutoland, naturally peace-loving, and experienced with the disaster of war, has been follow-

ing peaceful means, and minimising cases of violence. It has also been avoiding British provocations and incitements to violence and is using peaceful means in its demand for independence, but at the same time it shall not surprise the world if the dillydallying and other acts of British sabotage drive the nation to impatience and use of other means. For it is no secret that Basutoland has fearlessly done it before and even today she shall not be threatened by any one's atomic bombs in her just demand. The nation of Basutoland believes that annihilation of Basutoland is better than Basutoland in chains of slavery.

Indeed in its demand for independence the nation is being encouraged by the words of its late King and diplomat Moshoeshe I who, in July 1858 said to the Queen of England: "I gave the Europeans permission to live in my country; they never obtained any right of property to the laws of our nation, which allows no such alienation of land... the people so well received in my country should acknowledge my rightful sovereignty and should live in peace with my people", which words Britain has never obeyed.

DEFENCE

It is very unfortunate that a country so badly situated within a fascist enemy of the Republic of South Africa, has no defence. Basutoland has no army either of its own or of Britain. She depends on police. The nation has for several times demanded the forming of a national army and Britain has each time refused. Instead she and the South African Republic have a large army base in Simonstown which is keeping a watch over any African uprising in the Southern part of Africa, Basutoland include.

Today Verwoerd's guns and cannons are surrounding Basutoland with their trickers ready; all around Basutoland are the police posts and camps of the fascists in their attempt to threaten the Basuto people. In addition to these acts of terror on another country, the Republican police and citizens have embarked on assaulting and killing

Basuto people crossing over into the South African Republic even when they have permission to go through.

This year the militant Basutoland politicians have been declared prohibited immigrants in South Africa therefore cannot pass through South Africa to other countries. The people of Basutoland know it very well that Britain has a hand in all these acts which are her attempts to discourage the nation's demand for independence. She has already passed statements about the insecurity of Basutoland in future, yet she cannot even like to see her free and independent, as she would be a threat to her exploitation and to the existence of the Republic of South Africa, in her way of thinking.

TRANSPORT

It is another shame on the colonialists that they have not done anything to improve the transport system of Basutoland, while denying the Basuto chance to do it themselves. There is no railway system in Basutoland, because, if there was, then there would be no market for the fashionable British cars and lorries which monopolise the Basutoland market and cause great expense to the country.

On the other hand trains in Basutoland would cut off the exploitation scheme of the Republic of South Africa. For, a 1/2 Kilometer long railway line on the border of Basutoland near Maseru, the capital of Basutoland, belongs to the Republic of South Africa and brings only goods made in the Republic and as it brings no profits to the Republic of South Africa.

The air transport is very poor and yet very necessary for Basutoland, and is monopolised by those traders and money mongers who smuggle wool, mohair and diamonds out of Basutoland by all means at the disposal of the colonialists and the apartheidists.

It was only in 1963 when the posts and telegraphs system of Basutoland was separated from that of the Republic of South Africa and nationalised.

Basutoland has no Broadcasting Station and has been discouraged

to have one by Britain so as to subject the people of Basutoland to the apartheid indoctrinating programmes of Radio South Africa. Yet in Basutoland are a police radio station that passes police messages, and Catholic church pirate radio station both of which are used to perpetuate colonial domination.

The imperialists do all they can to cripple the national liberation press, while government papers such as "The Voice of Basuto" run smoothly and are printed in the presses of the South African Republic. Theirs is to sow and water the seeds of division among the people for they know that unity is strength.

INDUSTRIES

Basutoland does not have a single industry and yet she has immense natural resources and manpower. The nation has clamoured for industries, but England suppressed it because if Basutoland opened her industries, then the nation would seize to lay waste its labour in the Anglo-American mines in the Republic of South Africa. Today Basutoland is faced with a terrible economic blockade, even worse than that of Cuba because it may not even be able to trade freely with other countries through the Republic of South Africa. Worse than all it will be when the government falls into the hands of the anti-Verwoerdists. But in answer to any one who thinks that in her demand for independence, Basutoland is taking risks, the people of Basutoland say they have suffered so much under British colonialism that to them getting independence is no risk but an immeasurable glory.

CURRENCY

Another blow is that Basutoland does not have its own currency. The people have demanded their currency so that their energies could circulate inside the country. Could the colonialists permit such a "dream"? Instead Britain has done the most wicked thing of using the currency of the Republic of South Africa in Basutoland to tie the lat-

ter to the economic wheel of the former. The nation has protested against this in vain.

The High Commissioner without consulting the Basuto imposed this Verwoerd currency on them in 1960 even when South Africa had become a Republic and no longer a member of the British Commonwealth. Basutoland does not have its national bank, and instead the international banks of the imperialists such as the Barclay's Bank and those of the Republic of South Africa are mercilessly sucking the blood of the nation of Basutoland. In 1963, the government, frightened by the growth of Co-operative Banking controlled by the Basuto people themselves, closed the bank.

GOVERNMENT WICKEDNESS:

The High Commissioner, who it was said is the ruler of Basutoland on behalf of the Queen, stays in the Republic of South Africa and has his offices there. He is also a British Ambassador in the Republic. He only visits Basutoland and other two protectorates. How long has the nation in vain protested against this amphibious status of this man. In the Republic the High Commissioner enters into negotiations and agreements with Verwoerd about Basutoland without the knowledge of the nation. One recent example is his signing with the Republic of South Africa to allow her to use the water of the Orange river (which originates in Basutoland and covers a large area) for irrigation and electric power scheme. The Basuto people have themselves many years before appealed for the scheme were promised but later the scheme was turned down only to be given to Verwoerd in this manner. This is one of the spears that have pierced the hearts of the Basuto and have driven them further away from Britain and the Republic of South Africa.

With his sole control of the civil service he appoints the key civil servants from the police to the clerks, the directors of departments, even the Resident Commissioner (highest authority in the protectorates after him) from the Republic of South Africa in order to disse-

minate South African apartheid policies into the government machinery of Basutoland and therefore give South Africa a political control of Basutoland, while he has smuggled the South African Criminal laws into Basutoland.

BRITISH FAILURE

In all their efforts to enslave the nation of Basutoland the British imperialists failed in one thing: To seal the mouths of the Basuto nation. Therefore in this way the nation has been politically ripened, is anti-imperialistic, anti-colonialistic, anti-incorporation into the hellish Republic of South Africa and is renovated to the dedication, love and suffering for a one time free Basutoland. And if Britain will today hinder free press, free speech and assembly then we shall all be sorry for the consequences.

If again she continues with her present neo-colonialist tactic of delaying independence until she has prepared her puppets (which she is busy doing by encouraging the formation of numerous splinter groups and parties) to win elections, then she and those puppets will not see their régime. For the people of Basutoland have suffered too much to bear the game of hide and seek.

As a result of free movement, the liberation leaders of Basutoland not only organised within but have spread the situation of Basutoland through Africa and the world enlisting help from sources that can. For this is not the world of yesterday when men committed genocide around the corner and no one else knew about it. Today a drop of a pin is heard at once from all corners of the world, and in this globe are heard and attended at once by the good Samaritans.

SHE IS CORNERED

In answer to the demand for independence, Britain gave Basutoland a mock Legislative Council in 1960 and the people rejected it as totally undemocratic. They pressed in answer to this Britain allowed a setting up of a Commission in 1961 to find the feelings of the people about independence.

Although the nation disliked the

Commission, viewing it as another means of procrastination, yet to avoid clashes and pretext for not granting independence, it gave evidence and it all wanted independence while an overwhelming majority demanded it as soon as early 1963. But the British, puzzled by this popular feeling, used the chiefs and other puppets to delay the working of the Commission and its report was tabled to the Legislative Council only in January, 1964. At this time Britain had managed to sway Legislative Council to turn against the report as being improper. Why? Because it demanded immediate independence, and deprived Britain of all key powers such as defence, foreign affairs, internal security and control of Civil Service.

This silly attempt so infuriated the people of Basutoland that they flocked in thousands to the capital city in January to launch protests and plan new moves. All the same, the delegation for constitutional talks left for London in April 1964. And Britain made her latest attempt. On the eve of these talks the Republic of South Africa banned the president of the Congress Party and the vice-president of the same party both of whom are members of this delegations, from passing into South Africa and attending the talks in London.

FREEDOM OR NOTHING

The Basuto have long been aware of British schemes to set them against each other so as to sow a seed of civil war in Basutoland and therefore a pretext for a Basutoland after independence on grounds of protecting internal security. They also realised this as a reason for South Africa to attack Basutoland on grounds that trouble inside her is a threat to South Africa.

The whole world can rest assured that with the present leadership of the revolution, Basutoland will safely march into independence. For safety of the nation and its

development are major questions of Basutoland today. Basutoland does not only need leadership but needs a militant, wise and dedicated leadership which while not betraying the interests of the Basuto people in the transformation of the country's independence into reality, because of the unfortunate geographical position of this country, such leadership must have a careful dealing with the surrounding Republic of South Africa.

RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA:

The people of Basutoland as a nation have a right to self-determination and independence, and shall continue to fight for that whether surrounded or not surrounded by South Africa. Concerning the African population of the Republic on this matter, it supports the independence of Basutoland and vehemently opposes her being incorporated into South Africa. On the other hand the people of Basutoland do not recognise the balkanisation of Africa by the imperialists and therefore with the African population of South Africa they are one. Not only politically, but family and anthropological ties bind Basutoland to the African side of South Africa. Moreover, languages and culture are the same. From the political point of view no one in the whole South Africa on the side of Africans can claim that South Africa belongs to him alone, for it is known that it was conquered by foreign powers from the forefathers of all African nations there. . . . So even in its becoming free it shall be free for all.

The political turn of events in Basutoland and South Africa in our time has often brought questions of why there is not one form of political organisation and thought in the entire South Africa. The above given history of Basutoland and the different histories of the other two protectorates and South Africa itself, have led to the fighting in different forms and therefore under different political organisa-

tions. For instance, the struggle throughout South Africa was too slow before because all were looking at one enemy, Verwoerd, while the key operator of South African imperialism was Britain. She was lying behind the scenes and working upon the protectorates to make them part of the South African Republic and to see that the Africans in those protectorates do not unite with those in the Republic against foreign domination. In the protectorates she created a liberal policy, while seeing to it that the population is British minded, in the Republic she encouraged apartheid and Boerishness among the African people. The protectorates noticed this, together with the role Britain was playing in order to make them forget about their independence. To day they have brought Britain to the open and are chasing her away. The South Africans too in this manner have been able to see clearly who their main enemy is (Verwoerd) and are face to face with him. Another difference is that in the protectorates Britain has all along been prepared to negotiate for independence while in the Republic of South Africa Verwoerd allows no talks and only understands the language of violence; the people of Basutoland are driving away a colonial power, while in South Africa they want equal rights.

These are some of the differences that have necessitated the splitting of a fight on two fronts. It can be mentioned here however, that there is unity and co-operation on common matters between the South African freedom fighters and those of the Protectorates.

With the foreign dominating section of South Africa Basutoland is a bitter enemy, especially if it is considered that a large part of Basutoland, eleven times larger than the present piece, has been mercilessly stolen by these settlers. Their threat of incorporation of Basutoland together with the tortures and exploitation of the African people in the Republic stand in the minds of the Basuto.

AFRICA'S NEW PATH

By A Special Correspondent

WITHIN the brief time span of less than a decade Africa experienced both her revolution and the breakdown of alien rule, which had lasted for over a century.

The greatness of the African revolution lies in the fact that it is not only for political and national liberation, as in the case of the French Revolution or for social liberation as in the case of the Russian Revolution, but in that it is also for the liberation of Man.

This means that the African revolution has restored to the Africans the dignity of which they had been deprived, and liberated them from the state of bondage to which they had been subjected by the white man, because their race and colour were different.

TYRANNY

African liberation and African independence differ from American liberation and independence. American liberation was the liberation of the colonizers, and its benefits were enjoyed primarily by the immigrant population. The liberation of Africa is African in the full sense of the word. Its fruits will be enjoyed primarily by the African peoples.

No continent ever emerged with greater rapidity from the darkness of the tyranny of a century onto the historical scene, as an active protagonist and creator. Never has obsolescent, legal and governmental system and international order been unmasked and broken so rapidly as in the case with colonialism in

Africa. Today Africa is a continent with the greatest number of independent countries. Only a few years ago it was a continent with very few independent states.

Colonialism has been finally broken in Africa although she has not yet been definitely freed of its presence. In the vast regions of South Africa the colonialists are still defying the victorious march of progress, international conscience and human feeling. It is the duty of Africa and of all the progressive forces in the international community to overcome this resistance as soon as possible, destroy its last vestiges and heal the wounds it has inflicted.

Africa is confronted with gigantic tasks. Her future imposes serious responsibilities upon her. What is her new path?

Contemporary Africa is the offspring of the anti-colonialist movement, which is one of the great historical ideas and processes of our times. Her peoples selflessly and persistently carried the banner of freedom and, in the face of innumerable trials and hardships, bore it triumphantly to the shrine of victory.

ANTI-COLONIALISM

Anti-colonialism has liberated Africa. It is the principle of the African revolution. Anti-colonialism is the doctrine of her freedom.

The defence of the principles from which life springs forth—whether an individual, a people, or a continent is in question—is the law

of life itself. It is consequently the prime duty of the free African peoples to defend anti-colonialism as the principle of their genesis, to remain faithful to this principle, to elaborate it, not only as a negation of colonialism whose fetters they have cast off but also as the negation of all its variants under various cloaks.

RESURGENT COLONIALISM

Neo-colonialism is a form of resurgent colonialism, the rebirth of its objectives and vices. Its methods is co-operation, but its essence is colonialism. This is why it can be just as dangerous for the long-term interests of Africa as overt, classical colonialism.

Needless to say, reserved attitude to neo-colonialism does not mean that Africa rejects international co-operation, thus prolonging the isolation of Africa from economic, cultural and social intercourse with the rest of the world.

NEW AFRICA

The isolationism imposed by the alien rulers should not be replaced by an African isolationist policy. The crux of the problem lies in devising carefully-thought out forms of co-operation, and in the careful analysis of the possible effect and consequences of future relations between the African states and other countries.

At all costs and in all forms anti-colonialism must remain a permanent principle of African policy.

Africa is a continent of infinite variety and diversity—racial, historical, tribal, linguistic, religious and cultural. More than on any other continent this variety is an obstacle to the achievement of a joint platform for the solution of common

problems. But this very diversity is the wealth of Africa. Under the yoke of colonialism she was immobilized and inactive; confined within the traditional colonial framework she was static. Now that the fetters have been discarded she is mobile, active and ready to broaden her scope of action. Colonial Africa was a mosaic. Free Africa is a kaleidoscope.

This unflagging mobility and confrontation of differences, which are creating new, over-changing patterns, provide the stimulus of African progress, but there is the ever-present danger of discord, as there is in confrontation of opposing elements. The kaleidoscopic picture may be a harmonious entity of different elements, but it can also be disharmonious, illogical and distorted.

To uphold the idea of African unity, ensure harmony of interests, foster mutual assistance, promote complementary economics, adopt a common policy of independence: this is the great task confronting the free African people. The policy of African unity at the level warranted by the concrete conditions will make it possible for the African peoples to overcome the difficulties ensuing from the motley pattern of diversity.

MIGHT OF O.A.U.

Consequently, just as anti-colonialism is a principle of African policy—unity is its necessity. The Organisation of African Unity as an expression of this necessity is an instrument of that magnetic force whose purpose is to prevent diversity from degenerating into conflict.

If unity is a necessity of Africa, socialism is its need.

Africa is a continent of enormous resources and vast opportunities for progress. This wealth should be preserved for the people; the fruits of these opportunities should be ac-

cessible to them. The liberation of the African has also broken the alien strangle held over these resources and restored them to the African peoples. They will certainly never again entrust them to foreigners, anti-popular forces or individuals.

If history was too lavish towards the African peoples in misfortune and prolonged slavery, it has perhaps spared them the necessity of the direct experience of all stages of development.

AFRICA'S NEW LIFE

Aliens brought capitalism to Africa. But the essence of capitalism remains unchanged even if there is a change of masters. Therefore Africa ought to pass over certain stages, for the simple reason that others lasted too long. The African peoples are indeed fortunate that the stages which may be omitted are those obsolete forms of economic and social relations that are gradually disappearing in other regions of the world.

The African peoples have the resources, force and ability to build their own life. They have no need to learn a new life from the teachers of the old learning. They are seeking the basis of their economic system along the lines of a socialist economy, and they have chosen well, since this is the right path to follow.

In international affairs the African peoples have declared themselves unanimously for the principles of active coexistence and the vast majority have adopted the policy of non-alignment. Free Africa is a new and positive force of this policy, whose influence in the international arena is constantly increasing.

If anti-colonialism is a principle, unity a necessity, socialism a need—active co-existence and non-alignment are the wisdom of African policy.

The definition of the principles and objectives of the African libera-

tion struggle coincide with those of the United Nations Charter, with the definition of active and peaceful coexistence. Hence the struggle of the African peoples and all colonial peoples for liberation and independence coincides with the policy of non-alignment and, on this basis, is also a struggle for the victory of its principles. The policy of non-alignment and active coexistence showed the African peoples the way, and enabled them to protect their countries from the consequences of alignment in the existing blocs. And the African peoples have embarked on this road.

The ideals, aims and interests which constitute the basic postulates of African policy and express the vital aspirations of the African peoples also constitute the basis of non-aligned policy. The liquidation of colonialism, the abolition of discrimination, the right to self-determination, respect of human rights, co-operation based on equality of rights, international assistance to the underdeveloped regions and the protection of their interests—these are the common postulates of African and non-aligned policy.

NON-ALIGNMENT

Non-alignment is a principle which brings the African peoples onto the scene of active international policy, without any risk to their independence, and with the full guarantee of freedom of action in co-equal relations with other peoples. Non-alignment is the path by which Africa can give its most valuable contribution to a constructive policy of lasting peace, and ensure the necessary conditions for peaceful development, progress and international friendship.

In foreign policy—anti-colonialism. In Inter-African relations—unity. On the internal plane—socialism. In international policy—non-alignment. These are the four great principles which mark out the path of new Africa.

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Colonialism is Contrary to U.N. Charter

by PETER MOD (at the U.N.)

THREE years after the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, we can draw certain teachings from the way in which it was applied. Three years, of course, do not seem to be much; but the very character of our work in the United Nations does not make it possible for us to wait indefinitely. While our work is in progress, we have to draw certain conclusions and findings which are in keeping with the everchanging situation.

May I recall the struggle which had preceded the adoption of this Declaration, which was the result of numerous compromises. The principles enunciated in it had become since 1960 a material element of force for the people living under colonial oppression, struggling against colonialism, and also for the other peoples of the world who are solidly with them.

EQUALITY OF PEOPLES

It is beyond doubt that the acceleration of the process of decolonisation is largely due to the fact that through the adoption of this Declaration, the United Nations has taken a position unequivocally in favour of the principle of equality of peoples. The Charter itself reflects the principle of equality of peoples.

In 1960, when the international situation made this possible, the Declaration had formulated the idea of the complete and final eradication of the colonial system.

In so doing, the Declaration sounded the death knell of a pheno-

menon which is a natural concomitant of a historically determined social form of the capitalistic society.

It is an undeniable fact that while the formation of empires and the oppression of peoples were, so to speak, permanent symptoms throughout the history of mankind, the concept of the colonial empire is historically and socially inseparable from the concept of capitalism.

May I be allowed to refer to the authority of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who is one of the most eminent theoreticians of the peoples of free Africa—and I shall emphasise only that particular aspect, on this occasion, of his very broad activities. In his book entitled, "Towards Colonial Freedom", he refers to a passage of a statement made by Mr. Albert Sarraut, Colonial Secretary of State of the colonies of the French Government in the 1920's, who said:

"...colonization, at its origin, is only an enterprise of personal, unilateral, egotistical interest which was undertaken by the strongest against the weakest." And President Nkrumah continued: "This is the phenomenon of capitalist European aggressiveness which had been very properly named 'colonial imperialism'."

The Declaration does not merely denounce colonialism, but it also states it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, that it constitutes a grave threat to world peace and that it is an impediment to international co-operation. In other words, it outlaws colonialism with all its ideology.

One would have thought it possible to assume that three years after the adoption of the Declaration this

would be an undeniable principle not contested by anyone. But this is not so. The apologists of colonialism have continued their struggle to maintain and to preserve their right to exploit others.

This struggle continues, but—the situation having changed—the struggle is continued by far more subtle methods.

Here are three quotations which are taken out of the present discussion and general debate of the General Assembly. The representative of the Republic of South Africa, referred to a speech made by Prime Minister Verwoerd, who said:

"...South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all by means of political independence coupled with economic inter-dependence."

ACCOMPLICES

The Foreign Minister of United Kingdom stated:

"We have always held in the Kingdom that the dependent colonies which we won should be made independent and that the territories should stand on their own feet in the world."

And then added:

"The only check on the transfer of power from the United Kingdom to the government of the country concerned is that we want to be sure that when independence is granted, the country will be able to make both ends meet economically and that it will accept a constitution from the day independence, which will work for the well being of every section of society in that country."

Finally, the representative of Spain, speaking on behalf of Portugal, which has not participated in the discussion, said:

"On the contrary, it would be necessary to recall Portugal's sincere and continuous age-long attempt to build up, within its metropolitan and overseas borders, a multiracial, equalitarian society that would correspond in a Christian way to the human diversity of its peoples."

Really now, does not this colonial "best of all possible worlds"

recall Dr. Pangloss, that wise character of Voltaire, whom I shall quote at this time;

"It is obvious" said he, "that things cannot be otherwise for since everything was made for a purpose everything is necessarily for the best purpose... Stone was made to be quarried and to build castles; thus My Lord has a very beautiful chateau. The greatest baron of the province should be the best-housed. And since pigs were made to be eaten, we eat pork all year along. Therefore those who say that everything is well are wrong; what they should say is that everything is the best it possibly can be."

But we of the delegations representing the anti-colonialist majority of the General Assembly not only do not agree with our contemporary Dr. Panglosses, but also are in disagreement equally with Candide, who thought that Dr. Panglosses was 'the greatest philosopher of the province and, therefore, of the whole world.' We are consistently fighting against them by every appropriate means, in order to unmask them.

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

During the three years that have passed since the adoption of the 1960 Declaration, the political map of the world has changed a great deal, and many I add, the changes have been to good advantage. Each year has seen the accession of new countries to independence and their admission to this Organisation.

The progress which has been made is therefore incontestable. However, the results attained, when compared to the aims we had set ourselves, are but partial results. Colonies still exist in Asia, in America and in the Pacific Ocean, but the greatest obstacle to the final liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism is the situation in the South of the African continent.

The conditions in which people there live and the struggle in which they are engaged have already been set out in detail, in recent years and this year as well, by numerous delegations. This is not the first time that we are here discussing the question of the "unholy alliance" of

countries that dominate the neighbouring geographical areas included in the territories of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

This is not the first time in the history of mankind that an oppressor, not content with inflicting evil on an oppressed people, feels no qualms about trying to explain why it is necessary for him to do so.

The evil of our times—colonialism—utilizes more than one method to disguise its repulsive face. The "explanation" offered by the white colonists living in the Southern part of the African continent—in South Africa, in Rhodesia, in the Portuguese colonies—is that of racial discrimination, or, more accurately, the theory of the alleged superiority of people with white skins.

In view of the great volume of information already submitted on this subject I wish first to present a few conclusions drawn therefrom.

First, racial discrimination is one of the aspects of colonialism, which, in its turn, is a historical phenomenon that reveals the exploiting nature of the capitalist system.

Second, the theoretical basis for the methods of racial discrimination practised in South Africa is identical with the theory of genocide adopted by Hitlerite Germany, a theory already refuted, historically, politically as well as scientifically. Nevertheless, here is what the Sunday Tribune of Durban had to say in an editorial:

"As South Africans, we are firmly opposed to racial integration. We see no biological or or even moral justification for following such a course, and in any case we do not wish it.

Third, the continuance of the racial discrimination practised in the Southern part of the African continent would long ago have been made impossible, in the local conditions of opposing forces, if those who practice racial discrimination did not enjoy the political, economic and military assistance of a group of countries, which, being all members of the NATO military bloc and all of them living within the system of capitalist production, regard the maintenance of racial discrimination and the principles of

their own foreign policies as compatible.

Fourth, one of the principal causes for this fact is to be found in the circumstance that in the majority of these countries—as has already been stressed in the debates in the Committees—there are economic groupings which exercise great political influence and which are materially interested in possession of the raw-material resources and the exploitation of the man-power of territories administered under the system of racial discrimination.

Here is another example. Chester Bowles, in his book entitled *Africa's Challenge to America*, writes:

"We have seen that American industry, in war just as in peace, is more and more dependent upon certain essential types, of materials from Africa. If the rumbling South African volcano were to erupt, or if the unstable balance of force in the Congo were broken, our position in this age of nuclear rockets would be fatally exposed." I do not believe I need comment on this quotation.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Fifth, in order to wipe out racial discrimination it is not enough merely to change the impossible situation prevailing in the southern part of Africa; the foreign policies of the countries that support it must also be changed.

Sixth, the nefarious theory of racial discrimination is worse than even the most dangerous epidemic disease. It poisons the atmosphere on the national level, as can be seen in the case of Germany before the Second World War, and, today, in the case of certain non-African countries as well. It equally poisons the atmosphere internationally.

There is mistrust among nations. This theory was one of the causes that brought on the Second World War in Europe and it can also lead to the unleashing of another conflagration in Africa. It must be understood once and for all that neither skin-colour nor any other outward trait makes an individual, a group or a country superior to others. The entire human race forms a single racial group.

Finally, I wish to stress that the crimes committed in the name of the ideology of racial discrimination in the southern part of Africa involve the collective responsibility of having allowed the facilities of their organisation to be used as classic instruments for the oppression of peoples, for colonial oppression. What is more, this collective responsibility will also have to be borne by the whole United Nations if this Organisation does not take the necessary measures to put an end to this state of affairs.

The third question which I should like to discuss in the present debate is also related to a problem which is of a more general nature. At the present time—and this is a view to which many in the United Nations subscribed—the international situation is characterised by the concept of peaceful co-existence of various social systems.

The question arises, what is the interdependence between peaceful co-existence and decolonisation, or in other words, the application of the Declaration, questions concerning the struggle for national liberation, the work and the talks of the Committee of Twenty-four?

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, in his statement on October 1, gave the following reply to this question:

“Yet perhaps I may be forgiven if I give one word of caution, for surely in contemplating wars of liberation, either to alter the direction of Portuguese colonial policy or to compel the South African Government to abandon its policy of *apartheid*, some of them are in danger of falling into the error which they have so vigorously denounced in others. For the lesson of the twentieth century and the nuclear age is this—and it is the same for the African, Asian and European—that force can never solve anything, and however strong the political emotions which inspire the desire to employ it, they must be resisted.”

It is true that in this nuclear age everyone must exert every effort to avoid a nuclear war, to prevent collective suicide. This is one of the cornerstones of the idea of peaceful coexistence. But peaceful coexistence

is not a means of perpetuating the colonial system and can never be considered as such.

The logic which can be extracted from the above-mentioned statement can be outlined as follows. For several centuries, Portugal has been looting and oppressing the peoples of its colonies. So far, the oppressed peoples have not taken up arms and waged an organised struggle of liberation. This is equitable and right because this is a peaceful *status quo*. Portugal massacred the sons of other nations “in peaceful conditions.” This is not aggression; this is *status quo*.

DOUBLE STANDARDS

And if the peoples of the Portuguese colonies have now risen in revolt in order to rid themselves of the Portuguese, this is wrong because this would change the so-called peaceful *status quo*, and, consequently constitute a war. The war of liberation must therefore be abandoned. But if the racist colonists massacre the indigenous people and their leaders and enclose them in ghettos in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, if NATO is supplying these white colonialists with all the necessary arms to carry out their policy of bloody repression, if NATO places at the disposition of Portugal all kinds of weapons of extermination, from napalm bombs to aircraft in order to wage war against the Angolans who are fighting for their liberty, all this does not contradict the “lesson of the twentieth century”; it is only in defence of the *status quo*.

And it seems that the violation of agreements in the case of British Guiana, is not a contradiction of the “lesson of the twentieth century” because the fact that the United Kingdom has not kept its word was for the purpose of preserving the *status quo*, of maintaining the colonial subjugation of British Guiana.

In other words, the delegation of the United Kingdom feels that wars for the purpose of oppressing people, for the purpose of maintaining the *status quo* by force of arms, are justified are not wars which are contrary to the principles of peace-

ful coexistence.

We cannot share this view because that would signify a pure and simple falsification of the very idea of peaceful coexistence. Revolution, of course is not an article of export. But what the Angolan patriots desire is not an independence of export, they wish to recover the independence of their own people. That is their right; it is as much their right as the right of the British or the Portuguese to enjoy their own independence. On the other hand, counter-revolution is not an article of export either. Nevertheless, the Portuguese armed forces are trying to export colonial counter-revolution to Africa with the military assistance of NATO, with weapons furnished by NATO and the utilization of NATO military bases.

If NATO, including Portugal, would put into force the resolution it is considered that a large part of the General Assembly and the Security Council, abandoning the war waged against the peoples of Guinea, it would by so doing follow what the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom called the “lesson of the twentieth century.”

We believe that in the second half of the twentieth century, the epoch of peaceful coexistence, there is a fundamental principle, namely, that all peoples without distinction as to race or colour should be equal and that no people should be prevented by force from freeing itself from the colonial yoke. If the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom declares, in the spirit of the Declaration that:

“We have accepted the principle of self-determination without qualification. We have accepted that the majority should rule.” And if he is at the same time furnishing arms to Portugal, which is the aggressor in Angola, and also for the racist minority of white colonialists in Southern Rhodesia, it is obvious that he is the first to violate the principle which he himself has formulated for the twentieth century in declaring that “force can never solve anything”.

He has moreover qualified as an

aggressor to Angolan people the people struggling against the Portuguese aggressor. This is logic in reverse.

We recognise the right to independence of the Angolan people and of other colonial peoples, just as the British are entitled to their independence. This is not "cold war", but the consistent implementation of United Nations principles. If the colonialists would do the same, it would be possible to avoid a cold war or a hot war, and the principle of peaceful coexistence would then be assured an important victory.

In conclusion I should like to make a few remarks on the activities of the Committee of Twenty-four which we have followed with so much attention. We believe that the Committee is performing a very important task. It is acting in conformity with the spirit of the Declaration and has done a great deal to put an end to colonialism, more than any other organ of the United Nations which has ever dealt with such matters.

THREAT TO PEACE

My delegation concurs in the view that the General Assembly should confirm the decisions of the Committee with respect to colonial matters. In our opinion, it is necessary to adopt again, as has been done in recent years, a draft resolution concerning the general tasks of the Committee. This resolution should proclaim that the continuation of the colonial system, which still dominates 50 million persons, is incompatible with the Charter and with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

It should be stressed that colonialism in all its manifestations is a grave threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly should energetically condemn the attitude taken by the colonial Powers, which are sabotaging the decisions of the United Nations relating to the liquidation of colonialism.

Special attention should be paid to the activities of foreign mining companies and other monopolies operating in colonial territories.

These companies are important tools in the perpetuation of the colonial system.

My delegation further suggests that the General Assembly should launch an appeal to the colonial Powers to cease immediately all military operations directed against the indigenous populations. They should withdraw all their armed forces and military missions. They should liquidate the military bases which have been established on colonial territories. They should ensure to the local populations the full exercise of their civil and political rights, and all laws inspired by racial discrimination should be immediately abrogated. Political prisoners should be immediately freed and authority should be immediately transferred to the representative of the people.

My delegation believes that the Committee of Twenty-Four should be entrusted with the task of following up in the future the situation as it develops in colonial territories. If necessary, the Committee should inform the General Assembly and the Security Council of any significant events. The Committee should also submit a report to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly on the progress of the implementation of the Declaration.

After so long a period of domination and so many years of shameful colonial exploitation, at a time when science has produced unprecedented results to serve the interests of all mankind, the same has really come to put an end to colonialism and to eradicate it from the pages of history.

In their joint programme proclaimed at Addis Ababa, the Heads of State of thirty-two African countries expressed their determination that this should be done. The United Nations has made a considerable contribution to the liquidation of colonialism.

But it is the duty of all Member States to exert every effort to continue and to complete this task in the spirit of this Declaration. We can be hopeful of achieving success, but we must bear in mind that the forces of colonialism are being strengthened from year to year.

Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

It has been announced that the Government of Kenya is going to nationalise the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. The "Voice of Kenya" will be the voice of this African state.

The decision to nationalise the radio has been adopted out of political considerations. The country cannot have its broadcasting controlled by outside circles.

Mr. Achieng Oneko, the Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, told the House of Representatives to the sound of loud applause. This state of affairs cannot really be regarded as normal so the State take-over of the radio is of great political value to Kenya.

It serves to show that Kenya is continuing its onslaught on the remnants of colonialism.

Political independence is not an automatic road to the complete removal of the influence of colonial elements in the liberated states.

These elements are still powerful in many spheres of life, and the sphere of propaganda is no exception.

In a number of African countries papers and periodicals are owned by foreigners. After the colonialists lost their political positions, the pro-colonialist press was assigned special tasks.

Propaganda was aimed at camouflaging the neo-colonialist substance of the Western policy. Before they left Kenya the British colonialists did all in their power to hold on to the means of propaganda.

The decision to nationalise this corporation deals a telling blow at the plans of neo-colonialists calculated at using radio Kenya for their propaganda.

This closes the loophole through which they sought to influence the activities of this corporation.

P.A.C. (S. Africa) Proposals to African Summit

At the recent African Summit in Cairo, various Freedom Fighters and political parties submitted memoranda to the heads of state and Government.

We intend to publish as many as possible of these statements. In our present issue, we bring to our readers the memorandum submitted to the conference by the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa.

In this memorandum, the P.A.C. feels that economic measures against South Africa should be coupled with military action "to achieve the quickest result".

"It has long ceased to be an issue whether or not an armed struggle should be waged in South Africa", says the P.A.C., "what is of grave concern is the military imbalance that is growing as the Verwoerd Government's defence budget soars year after year, having reached the £115 million mark".

Following is the full text of the memorandum:

THE Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa hails the Second Summit Conference of the African Heads of State and Government and the great strides taken during its first year of existence by the Organisation of African Unity towards the consolidation of African Unity.

This great progress needs no elaboration by us; what we are concerned here with is the awkward fact that, whilst this dynamic process is taking place, other parts of the continent are still vanguishing under the most inhuman conditions of oppression.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, the Portuguese colonies and the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland requires the urgent attention of a united Africa.

The Verwoerd regime in South Africa is without doubt the most intransigent, recalcitrant and reactionary. Its continued flouting of world opinion is now legendary. The threat it poses to peace in Africa and the world generally cannot be overstated.

MANGALISO SOBUKWE

The case of the President of the Pan-Africanist Congress, MANGALISO R. SOBUKWE, is a glaring

example of the lengths to which the Verwoerd government goes in suppressing the genuine aspirations of the African people, as of the complete breakdown of the rule of law in this troubled land.

Sobukwe, the tried and tested leader of the African people in South Africa, was sentenced to three years imprisonment in 1960 for leading a positive action campaign during which the revolting massacres of our people by police at Sharpeville and Langa took place.

Instead of releasing him after he had duly paid the penalty for his action, the Verwoerd regime in an unprecented move in 1963, brought a bill which was rushed through the settler Parliament specially to enable the government to hold Sobukwe in indefinite detention. Sobukwe was detained for an indefinite period or, in the words of the Minister of Injustice, for all time "this side of eternity".

In this way the Verwoerd government hoped to break Sobukwe or, better still, to do away with him gradually, by some process of slow death.

In spite of all this, however, Sobukwe remains as determined as ever and, with his now legendary courage, to continue to play his role in the liberation struggle even

from behind prison bars. A few weeks ago, at one of what are now becoming routine visits by the settler press which take place each year when the question of detention is reviewed—visits which are used by the detention is "justified"—Sobukwe relentlessly declared "I will not be silenced; only death and the grave can stop me from speaking for the cause of African freedom."

His incarcerators had made it a condition of his release that he would desist from political activity. Sobukwe chose imprisonment behind bars rather than the imprisonment of his spirit.

From the onset, when the detention order was first issued and it was suggested he might save himself from further suffering by undertaking to have nothing to do with the struggle of his people, he had once more set the pace by declaring: "If you believe in freedom then you have to suffer for it."

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Forced labour, nprooting of whole township communities to enforce apartheid in total disregard for the human suffering all this entails—these are but a few of the traces of a Nazi-type ideology the implementation of which, left unchecked, could result ultimately in the exter-

mination of the Africans in South Africa.

Ruthless political methods are applied in the furtherance of this inhuman end. The total suppression of all sorts of political activity among the African, including mock trials, banishment, restrictions to certain areas, jailings and detentions without trial as well as downright torture, is the order of the day in Apartheid land.

On Robben Island—where Sobukwe is held—alone there are more than 900 political prisoners, including the recently-convicted leaders of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

FEAR AND UNCERTAINTY

These were convicted following the rounding up of approximately 10,000 leading P.A.C. activists last year. Of this total, about 5,000 are still being held without trial or being tried for sabotage, furthering of or belonging to an outlawed political organisation. In the year 1963 alone no less than 40 PAC men were sentenced to death, 12 of whom have already been executed, and six to life imprisonment.

A total of 43 persons—of whom 723 are PAC activists—were convicted on political offences in that year and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from one to 25 years and totalling 4,724 years.

This is a calculated campaign to terrorise the entire African population into submission to tyranny. The revolting bloodbath that shocked the world at the time of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres (1960), when police armed with machine guns and rifles mowed down 72 and maimed 200 P.A.C. activists, was all part of this terror campaign to beat down the awakened masses of our land.

While commending the economic measures taken by the African States and the campaign they are waging to secure the participation of the entire community of nations through the United Nations in economic sanctions against South Africa, the Pan-Africanist Congress feels that the time has come when these mea-

asures must be coupled with military action to achieve the quickest results.

It has long ceased to be an issue whether or not an armed struggle should be waged in South Africa. What is of grave concern is the military imbalance that is growing worse as the Verwoerd Government's defence budget soars year after year, having now reached the £115-million mark. How many more lives and how much suffering must be added to the already heavy toll on the liberation front before the revolutionary forces in South Africa can be placed in a position to return fire?

It is our considered view that, useful as economic sanctions are, should these be taken in isolation, the Verwoerd regime, aided and abetted by the Western powers, can sustain itself for a long time yet.

There is no more room for sanctions or boycotts unless these are part of a grand design, a master-plan which is carried out with military precision towards a complete blockade with sufficient material and technical aid for internal military action, then the Western powers will begin to realise the gravity of the situation and the need to abandon their double-dealing, thus making it possible to bring down the Verwoerd régime in the quickest possible time and with the least possible loss of life.

PROPOSALS

We suggest as the first step the convening of a conference of military experts to study all the military aspects of the South African problem, followed by a political conference where some permanent machinery can be created as contained in the following four-point proposal:

1. That the African States accept the imperious necessity of immediately embarking on a large-scale programme of training and equipment of the revolutionary forces in South Africa for a total war of liberation.
2. The setting up of a Commission of Military Experts to study the logistics of revolutionary war-

fare and other attendant and relevant matters, with special reference to the capacity of this highly industrialised modern State.

3. The creation of a Permanent Political Commission to study the Report of the Commission of Military Experts and adapt it to the realities of the Continental and International situation.

4. The establishment of an Education Commission for the promotion of the academic and technical education of cadets from the non-independent countries, and for the co-ordination of all international aid rendered for this purpose in the form of scholarship and finance.

STOP PRESS

"VOICE OF AFRICA" IN SOUTH AFRICA ?

MRS. Helen Joseph, British-born sociologist, has been acquitted of charges of furthering the aims of a banned organisation and possessing banned literature.

Mrs. Joseph, 58, was the first person to be placed under house arrest under the suppression of Communism Act of 1962.

...She was alleged to have taken part in the activities of the banned African National Congress (A.N.C.) in 1961 and to have possessed a copy of the *Voice of Africa*.

The state alleged that Mrs Joseph had received a cheque for 200 sterling paid to her on the instructions of Mr. Walter Sisulu, the former Secretary-General of the A.N.C. who is now serving a life sentence for sabotage.

In her defence, Mrs. Joseph said the 200 sterling was repayment of a loan made to Sisulu through a bail fund which she controlled in 1961 for the Federation of South African women.

She also had never subscribed to or asked for the banned magazine *Voice of Africa* but copies were sent to her from Ghana.

They were usually thrown in the waste paper basket, she said.

The magistrate, Mr. T. L. Van Zyl, said that the State had failed to prove that Mrs Joseph had furthered the aims of the banned A.N.C.

Regarding the banned magazines, he said she had thrown them away and was no longer in possession of them.

RELIGION IN AFRICA

By Dr Marcus James

NO aspect of African culture has been more misunderstood and misinterpreted than African religion. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Suffice it to say that this is an understandable concomitant of European cultural aggression in Africa.

The "superior" approach to African religious life made from the vantage point of this successful invader has, for the most part, not even attempted to understand the "how" of African religion let alone its "why".

This widespread ignorance and misunderstanding have been crystallised in the words of the well-known hymn "The heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone".

Recent research has established that, despite diversity of culture and geography, there is evidence of uniformity in the pattern of African religion.

For a long time it was believed abroad that African religion was simply "primitive" and could not bear comparison with the "great religions" of the world. It was assumed that, due to the relative isolation of the greater part of the African Continent, African religion remained "primitive" in the primeval sense of the term; hence it was regarded as ideal for the study of the origins of man's religious experience.

It is this fallacy, coupled with the assumption of the under-developed nature of African culture as a whole, which led so long to the tendency to dismiss African religion as unworthy of serious study. The gravity of this cannot be over estimated. Significantly enough, this error was made not least by Christian missionaries who failed to realise that religion is, per se, a living thing.

There has been a remarkable lag

between the study of political and economic aspects of African social systems and comprehensive research into the African's religious and moral ideas.

In comparison with the "higher religions" African religion is at a disadvantage because of its lack of the written word. It is true that the advent of writing in the greater part of the African Continent is quite recent. Hence the absence of a scored literature; but there is abundant evidence of a vivid oral tradition often taking the form of elaborate ritual language.

VIVID TRADITION

Far from being "primitive" in the sense that it is primeval, there is reason to believe that African religion had once developed to the stage of monotheism and in time has degenerated to polytheism.

The worship of a "Supreme Being" may be found, for example, in the East among the Kikuyu in Kenya and in the West among the Ashanti in Ghana. African religion is not fossilised or dead but is rather a living and fundamental element in African life and culture. Indeed, African religion is short through with the concept that there is spiritual energy in everything. This concept, which has so often been mis-cept, which has so often been misunderstood and regarded as animism, bears a strange similarity to that propounded now by modern science to the effect that all matter contains energy—powerful, but in itself non-moral.

African religion sees the world as one vast spiritual arena in which there is constant interaction of psychic forces. It knows no sharp dichotomy between the sacred and

the secular, the material and the spiritual.

Yet any serious and systematic study of African religion demonstrates beyond a shadow of a doubt the African's ability to evolve elaborate metaphysical system of thought.

It is admitted abroad today that, at least in Africa, no "heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone". The object of his worship is a spiritual being, the material object being only an ad to that worship—an idea not unknown among the "higher religions". Even those who are contemptuous of the African's scientific achievement concede his almost inexhaustible spiritual energy. It is a commonplace to say that the crisis of contemporary Western technological society is a spiritual one. The conspicuous failure of modern industrial man's spiritual power to keep pace with his scientific progress has now brought humanity to the brink of annihilation. The spiritual bankruptcy of the technological nations, which have hitherto viewed African religion if not with contempt then at least with derision, is now evident to the world. With some understatement Professor Arnold Townbee (1) puts it:

"When we look into our religious history in the West over the past 250 years, we cannot, I think, fail to see that we... have been drifting further and further away from our Western Christian tradition. We may not have admitted this to ourselves but if we look into our hearts, we shall see how far we... have moved away from our Christian past."

Africa is part of the world, involved in its agonies and turmoil. In view of the increasingly important role which Africa will play on the world stage it may be worth considering what contribution so fundamental an element of African life as African religion may make to the development of "the African personality".

Under the impact of European cultural invasion, African culture is changing. So, too, is African religion which for so long, held a central place in the African's scheme of things. This change is taking

place both in form and content; but let it be said emphatically that the mere fact that aculture is weakening or disintegrating does not mean that it deserves to die. The serious student of African religion, therefore, need not be as pessimistic as Malinowski (2) who in the content of the Trobriand Islanders, but seeking conclusions for "the nature of religion in general", states:

"Myth ritual, and ethics are definitely but three facets of the same essential fact... Take away from the natives the belief in the reality of their scared lore, destroy their sense of the spirit world as it exists and acts upon them, and you will undermine their whole moral outlook."

On the contrary, those who maintain that African religion has been and is a living reality should seek to re-assess it and endeavour to conserve the best in it for the reconstruction of a system of religion and morals worthy of the new African system of religion in Africa, bearing in mind that religion is a universal human activity and that no society has existed in any stage of cultural development in which it has been unknown. The latter fact would seem to imply that religion is grounded in some universal human need and, indeed, reflects some feature of human experience which is in fact common to all men regardless of socio-cultural conditions. So then, in reconstructing and morals we should not hesitate to discard what is irrelevant and outworn—difficult as it may be—since

"Time makes ancient good uncouth.

They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth."

We turn to the elements in African religion which would seem most worthy of preserving. African religion has been criticised for viewing the world as one vast arena in which there is a constant interaction of psychic forces; but is this so untenable a view or, indeed, so "primitive" a concept? St. Paul, the Apostle of one of the "higher religions" declares: "We wrestle not against flesh and blood but against principalities; against powers,

against the rulers of the darkness of this world; against spiritual wickedness in high places".

Both African religion and Pauline Christianity join in asserting that in this world, man's real fight is not so much against any physical enemy as against spiritual powers—invisible forces which are in the world and around him. We may express it differently in modern technological society, but we realise and know what St. Paul and African religion mean. Man's real enemies are those things which warp the mind and pervert the spirit.

We know that neither the individual nor the group is immune to their attacks. Greed, the desire to exploit our fellow men, pride, the lust for power, racial prejudices—whether we use St. Paul's terminology or that of African religion, such are among the spiritual forces at work against man.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

African religion has often been accused of laying undue emphasis on the relative importance of the psychic element in it. This allegation is not without some foundation. The student of the psychology of African religion soon learns how wide a margin there is for charlatanism. Nevertheless, recent research into the field of extra-sensory perception is now opening up a new world of knowledge and expanding the frontiers of man's understanding in this area.

It is now evident that man's powers of perception are not wholly or exclusively connected with the physical senses. Furthermore, these researches suggest that human beings are not entirely subject to the limitation of time and space as has been hitherto believed. The implications of such researches are becoming increasingly evident. It must suffice to say that to our knowledge of human personality is being added a new dimension, and African religion's pre-occupation with the psychic may not after all have been so "primitive" their work.

Another element in African reli-

gion by which it compares favourably with the "higher religions" is its insight into psychotherapy—its endeavour to ensure for the individual emotional security in his society. In their discussion of African Political System, Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (3) point out the unifying role of religious symbols, rites, and beliefs in the social systems to which they belong:

"The African sees these ritual observances as the supreme safeguard of the basic relations that make up his social order—land, cattle, rain, bodily health, the family, the clan, the state... Periodical ceremonies are necessary to affirm and consolidate these values because, in the ordinary course of events, people are pre-occupied with sectional and private interests and are apt to lose sight of the common interest and of their political inter-dependence."

The Nyakyusa of Tanganyika believe that misfortune comes when conflict exists between people who should be co-operating together. Therefore, in rituals, participants are urged to "speak out" and confess "anger in the heart" which has been adversely affecting relationships. This surely is a psychotherapeutic technic of a standard which few of the "higher religions" can equal.

African religion knows no sharp dichotomy between the material and the spiritual, the secular and the sacred. In spite of its due regard for the spiritual world, African religion is this-worldly and is concerned with the development of the individual's powers and "vital force" in this life. A vivid illustration of this is given by the anthropologists, Dr. S. Hofstra, who worked among the Mende people of Sierra Leone. He relates that he once attended a village service conducted by an English missionary.

Most members of the village were present and were evidently impressed. At the end of the service they were invited to put questions to the missionary. Immediately the missionary was asked to explain why the current price of palm kernels was so low. To the European mind this may seem strange. Yet it displays a healthy, though perhaps

strange correlation between the material and the spiritual. Who can deny correlation between the material and the spiritual. Who can deny that the contemporary crisis of technology society is due in large measure to an unwholesome dichotomy between the material and the spiritual, the scientific and the moral?

Having attempted to analyse briefly some of the more salient elements of African religion in general, we may well ask "What of African Christianity, in particular? for Christianity, like Islam, is one of the "higher religions", which is gaining and will continue to gain adherents in Africa.

Speaking not only within the Christian orientation but as a Christian, two propositions: may be stated first, that there is no justification for the complaint assumption so widely held in nominally Christian European countries that Christianity will automatically become the religion of the African; second, that Christianity in Africa must be African.

While Africa owes much to European Christianity, Africans cannot forget the cultural invasion of which it has been a part. Like all religions, it cannot be understood in isolation from the cultural structure in which it is embedded.

Christianity in Africa today is, the result of 19th century European missionary enterprise. This, however, was the third European effort to Christianize Africa. By the 5th Century North Africa was the most vigorous centre of church life in Christendom. By the end of the 7th century the only traces of Christianity left in Egypt and Ethiopia.

What accounted for this? Even today it sounds strange, indeed. Why did groups of Christians in North Africa welcome into their cities the armies of Islam? Why did the Church in Africa of St. Cyprian, St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom perish? The answer is plain; namely, because it failed to become indigenous in spirit as well as in form.

It was too much of a Roman and Africa. It was implanted by the conquerors and failed to win the allegiance of the natives. It was afraid

to become truly African. Hence it is not surprising that when Roman Christians fled back to Italy and Sicily, such as was left of the Church in North Africa was doomed to die because it had no roots in the African soil and soul.

The second attempt to plant Christianity in Africa was in the 15th and 16th centuries when the Portuguese came to West Africa; but by the end of the 17th century they, too, had left few traces of

The lesson learnt from these two episodes in history is clear and should not be lost on contemporary African Christianity. These episodes emphasize the second proposition: namely, Christianity in Africa must be African. Startling as this may sound, it not without ample historical and theological basis. The Christianity which came to Europe from Palestine did so in Judeo-Hellenistic garb. This, in time, was adopted and adapted to the European milieu. Eastern Christianity, in time, developed its own form of Christianity. So why not Africa?

RETHINKING ADVOCATED

History shows us that resurgent nationalistic sentiment influences a people's beliefs about God and their worship. For example, the influence of early 16th century nationalism in England on the Church of England, its Prayer Book and its worship, is still felt to-day. In the very nature of the case the Christian Church in Africa must be affected by the new nationalism which is sweeping that Continent.

It is absolutely essential, therefore, that there be a radical rethinking of Christianity within the specifically context—shown of its European cultural accretions; bringing into operation African ways of worship and African formulations of Christian theology and doctrine within the framework of African life and thought. This may well result in African Christianity not at first being welcomed or, indeed, even recognized, by Euro-like this is at present happening in Chinese Christianity.

Let us not minimise the scope necessary for this process of Africanisation. African theologians must examine fearlessly the Christianity implanted in Africa and prune it of irrelevant European (or other) impediments. This means, for example, rethinking in the specifically African Christian context the important question of polygamy.

It is quite inadequate for African Christians to dismiss as "forbidden" a deep-rooted sociological institution which in places serves a positive moral function, simply because polygamy (as practised in Africa) is forbidden in Europe. The decision of African theologians will be even more crucial when the "forbidden" pattern of behaviour is not expressly prohibited in the Bible.

Traditional African religion serves to stimulate and give expression to the consciousness of fellowship and community in its members, thereby emphasizing the sense of their belonging together. Religion usually takes as element in the life of the community and clothes it with a particular significance—something which is already a normal activity of the group, such as singing, eating or dancing together; thereby making it sacred. Already World Christianity has the sacred meal, the Mass. Would it be asking too much of African Christianity to enrich it with the Sacred Dance? On no other continent and among no other people does the dance play so conspicuous a role.

Whether we find the origin of the word religion in the Latin religare, to bind together, or in religere, to rehearse, to perform carefully, it is obvious that in its primary character religion is not a set of beliefs about God or the individual's fellowship and community with his fellow men. It is essentially a social phenomenon, and assumes many of its most important aspects in and through the interaction of the group. Of the tasks confronting religion in Africa today, not the least is the recapturing and fulfilling of its generic role, namely, the infusing into men's minds of a sense of community and a determination to enhance the common life.