



Voice of AFRICA



UNITED AFRICA

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1962

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

Firstly, we should have an over-all economic planning on a pointed continental basis which would increase the industrial and economic power of Africa.

Secondly, we should aim at the creation of a joint Military Command. I do not see any wisdom in our present separate efforts to build up or maintain vast military forces for self-defence which, in any case, would be ineffective in any major conflict.

The third objective which we should have in Africa comes from the first two which I have just described.

If we in Africa set up a common economic planning organisation and a joint military command, it follows that we shall have to adopt a common foreign policy to give political direction to our national continental defence and our national continental economic and industrial development planning.

—DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

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

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

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

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

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

TOMORROW THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA.

Guilty men . . .

Moise Kapenda Tshombe



TSHOMBE
"Traitor most accursed"

IN the November 3, 1961 issue of the *Time* magazine, Thomas V. Jones, the notorious financial tycoon, President of the Northrop Corporation, Beverly Hills, California, said in a letter that: "Being on the cover of *Time* is like facing the judgment of history while you still have to live with it."

To the disgust of all decent people, Moise Kapenda Tshombe appeared on the cover of December 22, 1961 issue of *Time*. It is not necessary for judgment on this man to be suspended. The evidence is available for the verdict to be passed at once. In Africa, *The Voice of Africa* has declared him the "traitor most accursed" for 1961.

Tshombe's shabby approach to the realities of the African situation and his short-sightedness in an age when leadership of even a scout group demand some amount of foresight, prove how right we are to say that Tshombe has

Column One

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Roy Welensky



This man ROLAND WELENSKY: Semi-Literate Bloodstained British Puppet "Ruler" of the Rhodesias

THE process of decolonisation in Southern Africa seems to have struck a rock in the Rhodesias and an important chip in that rock is no other than that protege of the white herrenvolk below the Limpopo—Roland Welensky. The herrenvolk of settler South Africa stoutly cling to the master-race bating propensities of the late Dr. Malan and Welensky has imbibed these from them.

The South African born Welensky whose mother is a Boer and father a Polish-Jew, grew-up in Salisbury a barefooted ducktail. After completing standard IV he joined the Rhodesia Railways as a fireman and later became locomotive driver—the only rank a man of his slothful mentality could ever reach.

In the Railways he acquired one other delinquent title—that of champion boxer. In the

Column Two

Continued on next page

Tshombe

not got the slightest touch of leadership. Long before he entered politics for the sake of filthy lucre he was known in the back streets of Elisabethville as an incorrigible rogue. In his politics today Kapenda Tshombe reflects this rancid background of his early days.

Apart from his unpopular role as a confusionist and a collaborationist in the Congo, Kapenda acts as a liaison in surreptitious deals between colonialists and reactionary African nationalists.

Recently, Harry Nkumbula and Bennings Lambe of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress visited Katanga and arranged for 2,000,000 francs (about £14,000) and six Land Rovers from Tshombe to fight against the dynamic Northern Rhodesian leader, Kenneth Kaunda and the UNIP. Tshombe has paid the money through a bank in Kitwe.

Every schoolboy in Africa knows that Kapenda murdered Lumumba, Okito and Mpolo. Blood does not seem to get a chance to dry in his palms.

North Katanga remains littered with mountainous piles of rubble and myriad possessions of the murdered dead. All the ineffable suffering in the Congo today stems from the greed and avarice of this mere *factotum* of vested interests in Katanga.

Every African knows that Tshombe is running at breakneck speed towards the great cavernous emptiness of a most tenebrous future.

But that he is a traitor—a nervous one at that—we are duty bound to tell the world. We hold that he is politically bankrupt. We have always emphasised that he is an arch-imperialist stool-pidgeon. His chronic nervous breakdown sums up our estimation of him. He is always haunted by the nightmarish aberration of the dark, hallucinatory underworld to which he belongs.

A correspondent of the *Voice* who saw Tshombe recently says, he is aging shockingly. His face now haggard, lined and sallow, wears a hollow haunted look. His hands shake uncontrollably. It is known that he does not sleep at night. His eyes, which seem to stare at the fearful world about him have great dark pouches under them.

Moise Kapenda Tshombe is ending like all traitors and murderers do.

Welensky

thirties he moved to Northern Rhodesia and like all other "promising" poor whites, was assisted by business tycoons to purchase a farm at Broken Hill.

In 1938 he entered the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council and was automatically made leader of the white-elected members because of his donkey oratory. His donkey oratory and deep-seated hatred for the African people quickly won him favour with the giant money magnates of the British South African Company, the Rhodesia Select Trust and the Anglo-American Group. He was thus introduced to their spokesman, Godfrey Huggins who was then the brain behind the plot to impose "Federation" upon the African people.

In 1953 they formed the "Federation". In 1956 Welensky was knighted and became "Prime Minister" of the "Federation."

The unusually fat for a Prime Minister, 300 lb—Welensky is a notorious tea-drinker and non-smoker. This is the fattened calf the British rentier-class have planted in Rhodesia to halt the upsurge of African nationalism both within the "Federation" and from the North.

Welensky is in sinister league with that equal unholy trio Verwoerd, Salazar and Tshombe in a diabolical plot to subvert the African struggle for freedom and perpetuate the African's enslavement.

Die-Hard Colonialist

His recently exposed activities in Katanga clearly show Welensky to be a die-hard colonialist and imperialist puppet, a lackey of the White moneyed class and an irredeemable degenerate specimen of humanity.

Roland Welensky—bloodstained capitalist agent, is deeply implicated in the murder of Great Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjöld—small wonder that he is unashamedly and irrevocably committed to backing to the hilt that notorious murderer and traitor Moise Kapenda Tshombe.

Welensky, you are on Africa's "BLACK LIST" as Criminal Colonialist Puppet No. 1. Your "Federation" is a time bomb that is sure to explode in your hands and smash you, your masters and your "Federation" to smithereens.



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EDITORIALS

African Unity

GREAT ideas, if firmly believed, can become as real as reality. When magnified by multitudes, they are rendered irresistible. Great ideas have conquered conquerors, routed legions, made armies invincible and sired civilisations.

Like the biblical grain of mustard which grew up as the greatest among herbs and became a tree, so that the birds of the air came and lodged in the branches thereof, the great seed of African Unity which touched the soil of Africa in Accra in 1958, is growing as the years go by.

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's recent speech on African Unity before the Ghana Parliament has made the whole idea of African Unity very realistic.

The fear of some African leaders that they will be swallowed in a union of Africa, has been allayed by the Osagyefo's statement that:

"Countries in such a union will naturally maintain their own constitutions, continue to use their national flags their national anthems, and other symbols and paraphernalia of sovereignty which they don't have to surrender."

He declared that a United Africa should seek three objectives:

- An over-all economic planning on a united continental basis.
- The creation of a Joint Military Command for common defence and

Continued on next page

● A common foreign policy to give political direction.

Osagyefo Dr. Nkrumah's speech has clearly mapped out the basis of African Unity. It has clearly put forward the idea that African Unity is not an Utopia.

We recommend the speech to all African leaders for study and scrutiny.

The sands of time have already run perilously low; for the shape of things glaringly show the danger that awaits a disunited Africa. From Bizerta to Pretoria expensive lessons come up each passing moment. The lessons to be learnt, therefore, had better be learnt in dead earnest, lest our great Africa be made to plunge into darkness instead of into the glory of the future.

FORWARD TO A UNITE AFRICA!

Incorrigible Rogues

WE publish on page nine of the "Voice" a thorough revelation of imperialist shameless manoeuvre in Katanga. The facts are accurate and the figures are true to the type.

We have more facts on hand.

The incorrigible rogues in this shameless plot aimed at perpetuating the present impasse in the Congo are known to us. Their activities and their movements are quite clear to us.

We are strategically placed, to destroy these unrepentant violators of human rights who are plagued by the monstrous alchemy of converting human blood into gold. We know where to hit.

Indeed, as if eager to accelerate still further their rapid decline, these colonialists choose to ride with the least enlightened forces; and more—to become the paladin of combatants preparing to make their mode of life prevail, not by the creation of ennobling ideals but by use of force.

The African masses are advancing to a glorious future. Surely, any sane person should feel the thunderous march of the African giant racing to a bright future.

The colonialist must accept the realities of the African age, however harsh they may be.

The target date—December 31, 1963—will surely see Africa free. This fact has become as real as reality. It has been magnified by the action of the African masses and has been rendered irresistible.

We Take the Lead

DR. Samuel Johnson, famous scholar and lexicographer, added two new words to the English language: Johnsonian and Johnsonese, but these two do not appear in his famous dictionary.

The two epithets may only seem to be reckoned as synonymous; but a close study of their context of usage will confirm the truth of the well-known aphoristic injection: "there are no synonyms in the English Language". Johnsonian refers to Johnson's style or work at its best and Johnsonese at its worst.

More important than the words themselves are their suffixes—*-ian* and—*-ese*. The one has clearly a complimentary meaning and the other a derogatory one.

It is small wonder, therefore, that the imperialists whose guiding philosophy is: "give a dog a bad name and hang him," are today indulging in the favourite pastime of bandying backwards and forwards such coinages as Angolese, Katangese and Congolese.

It is time that in liberation circles such coinages are replaced by such usages as Angolan, Katangan and Congoan.

The *Voice* will in future give the lead in this matter.

Positive Action

Nkrumaist Effective Weapon Against

Colonialism

MANY years ago, a great Indian leader and Saint, Mahatma Gandhi, conceived the philosophy of non-violence. He claimed that the man who renounced the use of violent weapons and even violent speech and thought, was still a fighter, and could achieve positive results, contributing to his country's progress. He need not, of course, be passive, when faced with evil, but his weapons first and foremost must be those of truth, love and goodwill. And it was largely by the application of this philosophy of non-violence, based on the use of civil disobedience, non-co-operation and passive resistance, that Gandhi succeeded in winning independence for the Indian people.

At first sight it seemed a negative philosophy, which could not possibly produce any positive results. Even later practitioners of the method at first doubted its efficacy. Writing in his Autobiography, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah expressed himself as follows:

"At first, I could not understand how Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence could possibly be effective. It seemed to me to be utterly feeble and without hope of success. The solution of the colonial problem, as I saw it at that time, lay in armed rebellion. How is it possible, I asked myself, for a revolution to succeed without arms and ammunition? After months of studying Gandhi's policy, and watching the effect it had, I began to see that, when backed by a strong political organisation, it could be the solution to the colonial problem."

On January 8, 1950, twelve years ago, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah launched "Positive Action" which, by a series of chain reactions,

(NEWS TALK)

wrested concession after concession from the British and finally secured independence for Ghana. It must not be imagined, however, that it was all as easy as it sounds. Threats hung over the head of the person responsible for invoking "Positive Action." To recapture the atmosphere, we must go back to the Autobiography, which carries the following account of an interview between Osagyefo the President and the late Mr. Saloway, who was then Colonial Secretary.

The Colonial Secretary began: "It's all very well, Mr. Nkrumah . . . but things are getting to a point when I've just got to find some way of bringing some kind of order into the country. The reply came: "But order, as far as Government officials are concerned, means suppressing the rank and file, having them where you want them, to be told what is best for them and what they have to do. The whole country is politically awakened and it cannot be lulled to sleep again so easily. The people want their grievances redressed."

To this Mr. Saloway said: "But don't you see that this "Positive Action" that you are planning will bring chaos and ultimate disorder into the country? . . . And I'm afraid I must warn you that if anything disastrous happens as a result of this action—if anybody is killed or hurt—you will be held to be personally responsible. You must think seriously before you take this step. "Now take India, for instance," he went on, "the Indian was used to suffering pain and enduring privation, but the African has not that spirit of endurance. Mark my words, my good man: within three days the people here will let you down—they'll never stick it. Now, had this been India. . ."

The President cut him short. "I must make myself quite plain Mr. Saloway, if I have failed to do so up to now. If the British

Government refuses to consider the resolution adopted by the Ghana People's Representative Assembly, then no alternative remains to me but to keep my word with the people and declare "Positive Action." All we are asking for is a Constituent Assembly which necessitates, calling a general election, and letting the people decide for themselves whether they will adopt the Coussey Report or not."

Well, "Positive Action" was launched a few days later, Osagyefo the President and other leaders of the Convention People's Party were arrested and imprisoned by the British Colonial Administration. A year went by, and the imprisoned leader came back upon the political scene, from which he was indeed never absent; straight from prison to the highest office then held by a Ghanaian, that of Leader of Government Business. From then on events moved with speed. The "bogus and fraudulent" constitution (it was in those words that Osagyefo described the constitution that followed upon the Watson Commission's recommendations), had made certain concessions, but not enough. It was soon to be amended, until the three ex-officio expatriate Ministers of Defence and External Affairs, Justice and Finance were replaced by genuine Ghanaians. The wheel of change had come full circle round.

In Accra, that memorable occasion the launching of Positive Action, was recalled at the West End Arena, the very spot from which it was launched twelve years ago. There were other celebrations commemorating it throughout the country. As one looks back over the past twelve years, one can count a number of positive results in more fields than one: town-planning, economic advance and general overall planning. One wonders whether, if positive action had not been invoked, such a record of achievement would have been available.

The Blazing Fire of African Struggle

"SINCE Ghana achieved her independence in 1957, a blazing fire of African nationalism has been sweeping away colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations from Africa." Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, said in his 1961 new year message.

"The only hope for Africa's survival is the complete and final liquidation of the colonial system and the uniting of the African continent."

Lawless Bands

Nineteen-sixty-one fittingly opened with the Casablanca eight-power summit conference held from January 8, and attended by Ghana, Guinea, Mali, United Arab Republic, Lybia, Ceylon, Morocco and the Algerian Provisional Government.

That summit demanded *inter alia*, the disbanding of "the lawless bands of Mobutu," the reconvening of the Congo Parliament and the expulsion of mercenaries from the Congo.

Political Maturity

The summit also set up a joint African high command the consolidate of the independence of liberated African states and to give support to the African people's movement for freedom.

The conference embodied the will of the African peoples to prevail and served as a proof of their attainment of a new level of political maturity.

The savage and brutal assassination of Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo, aroused wave upon wave of righteous indignation against his imperialist murderers and their agents and tools. The Third All-African Peoples' Conference meeting in Cairo in

March noted that Lumumba had died in the course of the glorious struggle against reactionary, enslavement and colonialist oppression forces."

Conference also noted that the situation in the Congo had been created by the imperialists, helped by a handful of opportunists, with the sole aim of destroying the Congoan nation and thus ensuring the continuation of the colonialist regime in that country.

It demanded immediate punishment of Kasavubu, Mobutu, Tshombe and Kalondji for the crime of assassinating Lumumba.

Conference proclaimed Lumumba "Hero of Africa."

On March 7, 1961, Dr. Nkrumah told the UN General Assembly that the UN command in the Congo "must immediately fulfil its duty to maintain law and order and to preserve the integrity of the Republic." He also called for the convening of the Congo Parliament.

After the imperialist had succeeded in seating the unlawful Kasavubu delegation at the UN as against the lawful Lumumba delegation they allowed the convening of the Congo Parliament. That Parliament took a decision to end Katangan secession and the imperialists continued to do all in their power to subvert its implementation.

Forces of Liberation

The people of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) fought a determined bitter fight against the Welensky-led settlers and the British Government. They waged a struggle of such intensity and ferocity that the colonialists and their agents banned in parts the United National Independ-

ence Party of Zambia and wholly and permanently the National Democratic Party of Zimbabwe.

Boxer Welensky and the British colonial Office are fighting a losing battle against the forces of liberation. Nineteen-sixty-two is sure to leave them in a worse position than they are today.

"The objective condition of Colonial Algeria," Ben Khedda, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, has said "forced us to take to armed struggle as the principal form of the struggle to win independence."

Continued Slavery

The struggle in the Portuguese colonies proved the greatest surprise of the year.

The African people of Angola launched a ferocious attack upon the Salazar colonialist armed gangsters. That struggle has, to date, kept these gangsters at bay, besides draining their coffers to an unprecedented degree.

Roberto Holden, Commander-in-Chief of the Angolan armed forces, continues to direct the struggle from the Congo. His armed forces have now increased from 3,000 to 30,000. During 1962 these should completely paralyse the 60,000 armed thugs of Dictator Salazar.

In Mozambique, Dictator Salazar has mobilised more than 80,000 of his armed thugs in the hope of intimidating and terrorising the African people of this state into accepting their continued slavery.

The National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO) under the leadership of Hlomulo Gwambe, has fully awakened the consciousness of the masses who have forced Salazar to turn Mozambique into an armed camp—1962 should witness the liberation of Mozambique.

Crowned With Success

In the struggle for the liberation of Goa the people of India dealt Dictator Salazar a knock-out blow. Had this blow synchronized with the 1961 climax of the Angolan struggle the people of Africa could have celebrated the emergence of the Republic of Angola during 1961.

Nineteen-sixty-one saw the struggles of the Sierra Leonean and Tanganyikan peoples for freedom and independence crowned with success. Sierra

Leone celebrated her independence in April 1961 and Tanganyika in December 1961 bringing the total number of Independent African States to twenty-nine.

Measure of complicity

In Uganda the British-created African feudal landowning class bent on the destruction of the territorial integrity of Uganda and the subversion of the people's will to freedom suffered some set-back. The failure of the British to come out clearly in favour of direct elections in that country, is a measure of their complicity in the plot against the struggle of the people.

In Kenya the release of Jomo Kenyatta was the people's most spectacular victory of the year. Continued imperialist intrigue has, however, resulted in the failure of Jomo Kenyatta to unite the Kenya African National Union and the Kenya African Democratic Union. Jomo's assumption of the leadership of KANU provides the key to the freedom and independence of Kenya.

Imperialist Electoral Machine

Imperialist intrigues are busy plotting the dismemberment of Kenya by such devices as the regionalisation of Kenya and the secession of the ten-mile coastal strip. Nineteen-sixty-one will witness the intensifying of the fight to root out these obnoxious tendencies.

In Unguja (Zanzibar) the struggle for freedom and independence exploded in communal clashes during and after the June 1961 general elections resulting in the death of 68 people.

Although the Afro-Shirazi Party scored more votes than the combined Zanzibar Nationalist and Zanzibar and Pemba People Parties the imperialist electoral machine was deliberately so weighted against them that they failed to secure the majority of seats.

Nineteen-sixty-one saw the Unjuja political parties united in the demand for freedom and independence.

Leading political organ

In Malawi (Nyasaland) the Malawi Congress Party scored a resounding victory in the mid-year elections and thus made solid gains towards their objective of dismantling Boxer Welensky's Federation."

In South-West Africa the African people scored a victory when the United Nations, for the first time in fifteen years, adopted a resolution proclaiming their right to freedom and self-determination.

During 1961 the South-West African National Union under the leadership of Jariretunda Kozonguize proved itself the leading political organ of the African people in that state.

Aggressive Colonialism

In South Africa the campaign to isolate the settler regime forced that country out of the Commonwealth.

The struggle to destroy white domination and gain freedom and political independence for the African people continues, although the main political organ of the African people, the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa remains a banned organisation and its President Mangaliso Sobukwe is still serving a jail sentence.

Ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, mouth-piece of the multi-racialists in South Africa, was awarded the 1960 Nobel peace during 1961. Since it was during 1960 that he picked up enough courage to burn his pass after the PAC had forced the settler regime to suspend the pass laws for ten days, he deserves the award.

In Gambia the British and French are plotting to sell that state "down the Gambia river" to Leopold Senghor of Senegal, one of the client states of the French Community. The British have hitherto refused to fix a target date for Gambia's independence.

For fully eight years now the people of Algeria have waged a sustained struggle against the aggressive colonialism of France. Twice during 1961 peace negotiations between them and France failed mainly because of France's refusal to respect the territorial integrity of Algeria.

The struggle against neo-colonialism received its greatest impetus of the year from the Third All-African Peoples' Conference held in Cairo.

Conference defined neo-colonialism as "the survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries, and dubbed it the greatest threat to African coun-

tries that have newly-won their independence or those approaching this status."

"The main Perpetrators"

Realising that the transfer of political power to the African people is an inevitable process the colonialists have decided to hand over the shadow of that power while retaining its substance. They have decided to quit Africa while at the same time maintaining their presence there. When the condition of national independence become inevitable they try to deprive that independence of the essence of real independence.

Conference branded the United States, Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Holland, South Africa and France as "the main perpetrators" of neo-colonialism.

Economic Dependence

Conference denounced, *inter alia*, these manifestations of neo-colonialism in Africa.

Puppet government represented by stooges and even based on fabricated elections, anti-popular politicians, big bourgeois compradors, or corrupted civil or military functionaries.

Regrouping of states, before or after independence by an imperial power in federation or communities linked to that imperial power.

The economic entrenchment of the colonial power before independence and the continuity of economic dependence after formal recognition of national sovereignty.

Mobilisation of the Masses

Conference exposed *inter alia*, as active agents of neo-colonialism:—

Colonial embassies and missions serving as nerve centres of espionage and pressure points on the local African governments directly or through their civil or military technicians.

So-called foreign and United Nations technical assistants who ill-advise and sabotage national economic, educational and social development.

Military personnel in armed forces and police, as officers or advisers who serve, above all, the colonial interest directly or through local

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Editorials Summary— 1961—the Fire of Liberation

KINDLED in Ghana in 1958, this fiercely burning fire of African liberation cannot be extinguished by the enemies of African self-determination, simply because it was lit with that grim determination of burning down with incredible fury all the ungodly imperialist structures this day still entrenched in 29 African countries which still have to attain their independence.

Lest we forget, we must make it our duty from the out-set to remind all imperialists together with their nervous puppets that their unholy granite facade of imperialist brutality concealing acts of savagery and material exploitation, is being mercilessly cracked by the fierce heat of this fire. The call has gone out and Africa has responded with astonishing courage and determination!

Undoubtedly, there are people who are trying to pretend that they are not aware of the fact that Africa is fast advancing towards its cherished goal. These people will find themselves trapped and being compelled to wriggle in the straight-jacket of their evil actions. This will be for no reason other than the indisputable fact that the tide of history is in favour of the African giant who is sick and tired of the insults the pugnacious foreigners have been heaping on his shoulders since the beginning of time.

Since the enemies of African freedom are aware of the fact that the sands of time are fast running out, since the clock of African advancement cannot be put back indefinitely, and since the colonial thieves are now haunted by a sense of insecurity as a result of their diabolical actions, all the sons and daughters of the soil should strive to raise even higher that torch of African liberation which inspires so much panic and confusion into the hearts of confounded foreign exploiters.

Through its fiery editorials, that

ever vigilant mouthpiece of oppressed Africa—*The Voice of Africa* has for the past twelve months been pouring out the message of African freedom to those parts of mother Africa still painfully groaning under the heavy burden of NATO oppression.

The year 1961 (like the year 1960), has again been rightly referred to as the year of irresistible African Revolution. Despite certain set-backs here and there, Africa has been able to demonstrate it clearly to all the imperialist blood-suckers that she is determined to be an indisputed master of her own destiny!

The month of January 1961, saw the continent marching irresistibly towards a brighter future of her own creation. Events moved with bewildering rapidity to demonstrate the power of emerging Africa. The courageous heroes of determined Algeria had entered their seventh year in their fight against the evil forces of ruthless French colonialism. Huge demonstrations swept across the face of racist South Africa as an expression of angry repudiation of the inhuman policies of European domination in the country.

Came the month of February, during which that great son of the soil, Patrice Lumumba, was murdered by that blood-thirsty and cowardly thug of a Belgian puppet in Katanga—Tshombe. The imperialists forces in Africa nearly thought they had scored victory over nationalist forces. They were to be sadly disappointed later to find that their "victory" was temporary and that this wicked action had in fact accelerated the peace of African advancement. We shall never forget by sterile part played by the United Nations in the Congo.

Yet because the wheels of history had already been turned by Lumumba's noble actions in the Congo, the third month of the year saw the Third Annual Session of the All-African

Peoples' Conference in Cairo, where emerging Africa was confronted with the task of regrouping the forces of African liberation.

This historic gathering succeeded in taking decisions which will most undoubtedly lead to the martialling of all forces for a united and independent Africa.

The ripples of time rolled on and we suddenly saw Mennen Williams appearing on the stage with a startling admission at a Press Conference in Accra that the United State was obliged to back Kasavubu's vile activities in the Congo. Williams must have thought that the salvation of Congo depended on the dismembered Congo ruled by Colonial thieves and imperialist foot stools. He deserves pity for his inability to look into the future.

The month of May, came with an editorial warning to Salazar that his bestial colonial policy in Africa faced the greatest test of the African era. This colonial hooligan had exhibited all his animal characteristics and determination to kill tens of thousands of defenceless Africans in a vain effort to quell the determination of the Angolan people in their desire to get their freedom.

It is the middle of the year and startling changes continue to take place in Africa of our times. The dedicated *Voice* hails few major achievements in our struggle for African Freedom and Independence—the formation of the All-African Journalists Union coupled with the rededication by the All-African Trade Union Federation to the task of mobilising our labour resources on a continental scale.

"The African lion is today devouring the last remains of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism." Dependent Africa was then attending the historic Winneba Meeting when the Victorious Liberator declared "we here have given a last notice to imperialists to quit Africa. Our next All-African Peoples' Conference will not repeat this order of going, for I am sure that at that time our meeting together will be to celebrate the imperialist retreat from Africa." All the important messages which form the editorials of this revolutionary magazine had one underlining character—the persistent warning that Africans must never be caught unawares.

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Britain Stabs Africa Again

Here is the Truth . . .

BRITISH imperialism is today a wounded tiger at bay. It is desperate and bent on mauling its hunters to pieces.

Dr. Conor, Cruise O'Brien says Britain is pursuing an "opportunist policy" in the Congo. Since

being used as a military base for Katanga and as a gateway for the illicit traffic of arms to Katanga.

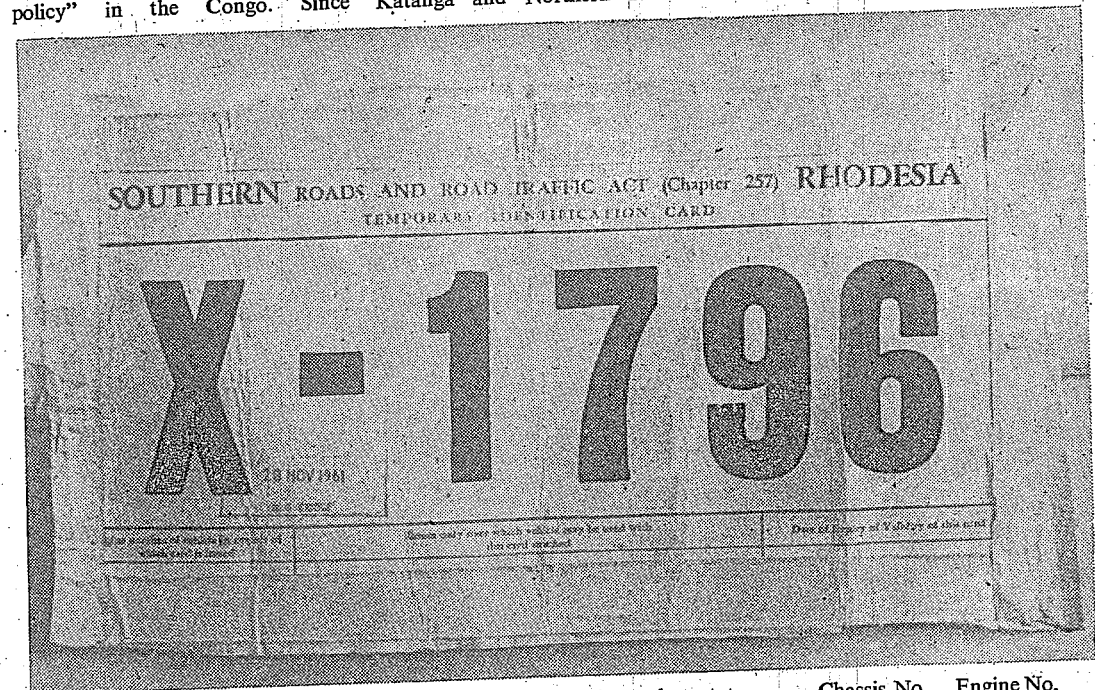
The *Voice of Africa* confident that the truth will be out sent an on-the-spot investigator to the border of Katanga and Northern Rhodesia

our investigator saw between 3 and 3.30 a.m. on December 27, 1961, the following heavy lorries flying Katanga flags and carrying arms: AD 596, 619, 478, 479 and 595 as well as AB 319 (Landrover) and AB 256 Vanette.

On December 21, 1961, our investigator saw thirteen (13) Landrovers of two types sent by Central African Motors to Katanga. These were cleared by Customs in Kitwe on the December 22, 1961 under bill of entry 275.

The agent for Central African Motors is R.D. Wolf.

The one type of vehicle was the 109 Landrover Pick-ups. These are U.K. manufactures and their chassis and engine numbers are:



Britain's behaviour in the Congo is true to type we take that description to be an under-statement.

The British have always had a reputation for having a flair for diplomacy. Now that the mask is off, the British diplomat has been replaced by the crude British imperialist, a mean and filthy creature.

Boxer Welensky has attempted to deny that Northern Rhodesia is

and we publish in this issue photostat copies of his notes and of other results of his findings.

We challenge the British Foreign Office as is its wont, to play down the authenticity of our findings. A superhuman task!

Finding of our Investigator

Standing at Mokambo near Mufurira on the borders of Katanga

Chassis No.	Engine No.
152104949	151125029
152104029	151126024
152103417	151121240
152103963	151125404

According to our informant the total value of these Landrovers was EG4,580.

The other type of vehicle was the 88" Landrovers Regular. Their

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chassis and engine numbers are as follows:—

142101423	151117682
142101245	151115252
142101256	151106596
142101252	151106691
142101815	151122408
14201256	151115635
142101253	151106255
142101268	151115772
142101267	151115676

These Landrovers were valued at £G8,685.

The firm of Duly and Company issued Bill of Entry No.274. This was cleared by the customs on December 21, 1961. Seventeen vehicles issued by the same company entered Katanga on the same day. These were Thames Trader five Ton Diesel Trucks with Canojures. They are U.K. manufactured and their engine numbers are 71194, 74049,

75447, 71171, 71918, 74042, 7530, 70917, 74170, 77038, 76439, 76439, 76891, 74850, 75652, 75600, 72852 and 73993.

At 10.25 a.m. on December 23, 1961 our investigator saw a Northern Rhodesian Government Vehicle at the head of fifty (50) Katanga vehicles. The Rhodesian Government vehicle, Landrover AB 486 along the Mwinilunge-Solwezi Road from Kolwezi.

The Voice investigator saw ten (10) Bedford Trucks of the Northern Rhodesia Military Police Transport of these vehicles was stuck on the road between Solwezi and Kipushi about 20 miles East of Solwezi. The investigator took the exhibit shown in one of the photostat copies from one of the numbered Bedfords.

On December 27, 1961 our investigator also saw five (5) Thames Trader Five (5) Ton Diesel Trucks carrying such food as corned beef, milk, jams, and mealie meal. There was no foodstuff in the local shops as the foodstuff from the trucks had all been delivered to the army. He also observed that while the people are starving the soldiers are very well kept.

Katanga planes, according to our investigator, use a Northern Rhodesian Border airstrip which has been constructed by the Rhodesia Select Trust, which in 1959 gave £120,000 to Welensky's United Federal Party which champions the oppression of the African people. There is no other airstrip besides this. A Lusaka firm is, however, constructing another airport for Katanga near Kipushi.

The Traitor Tshombe regime has been allowed to construct a network of secret roads in Northern Rhodesia such as the Solwezi-Kolwezi-Mwinilunga road and the Jadotville-Kipushi-Tshinkolobwe road. Although these roads are in Northern Rhodesia they are maintained by the Tshombe regime.

Our investigator also saw roads being maintained and one of these was the Solwezi-Kipushi road.

Our investigator also saw a military type Landrover Regular stuck 45 miles along the Solwezi-Kipushi road. It carried dark green wooden boxes with marks and these contained beef and milk.

He saw airmen landing on Northern Rhodesia airstrips. These

entered a waiting car and drove through the customs without any formalities.

He established that Katangan soldiers came as far as Solwezi and Kasenshi. He also established that these came direct from the Northern Rhodesia Regiment.

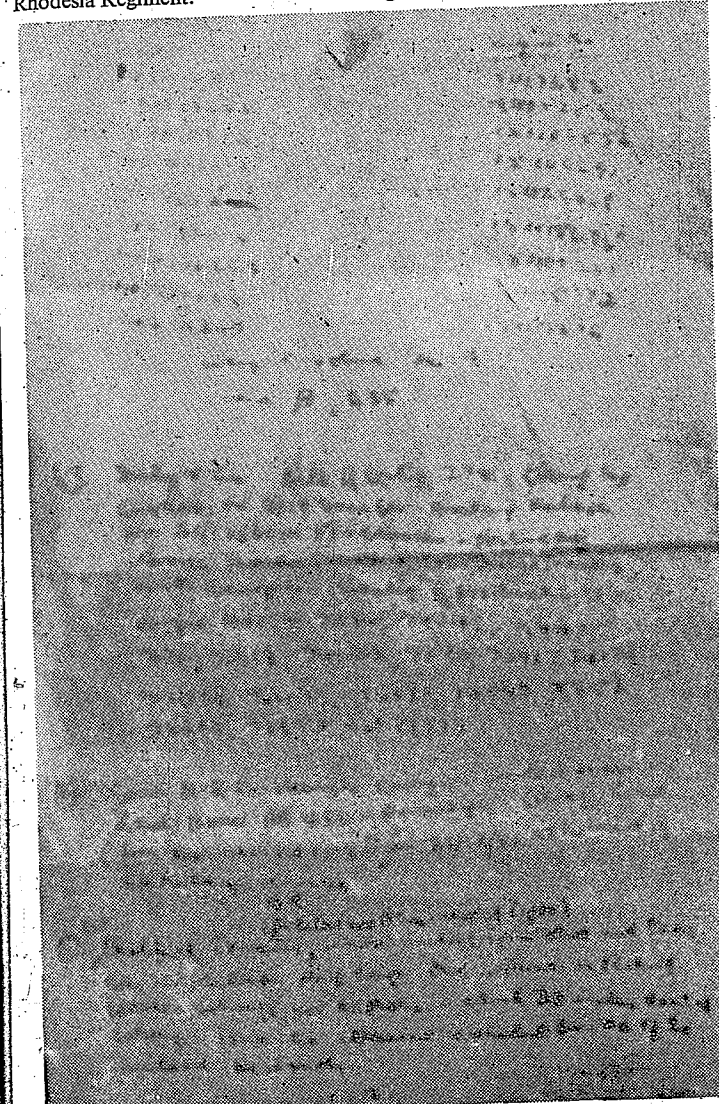
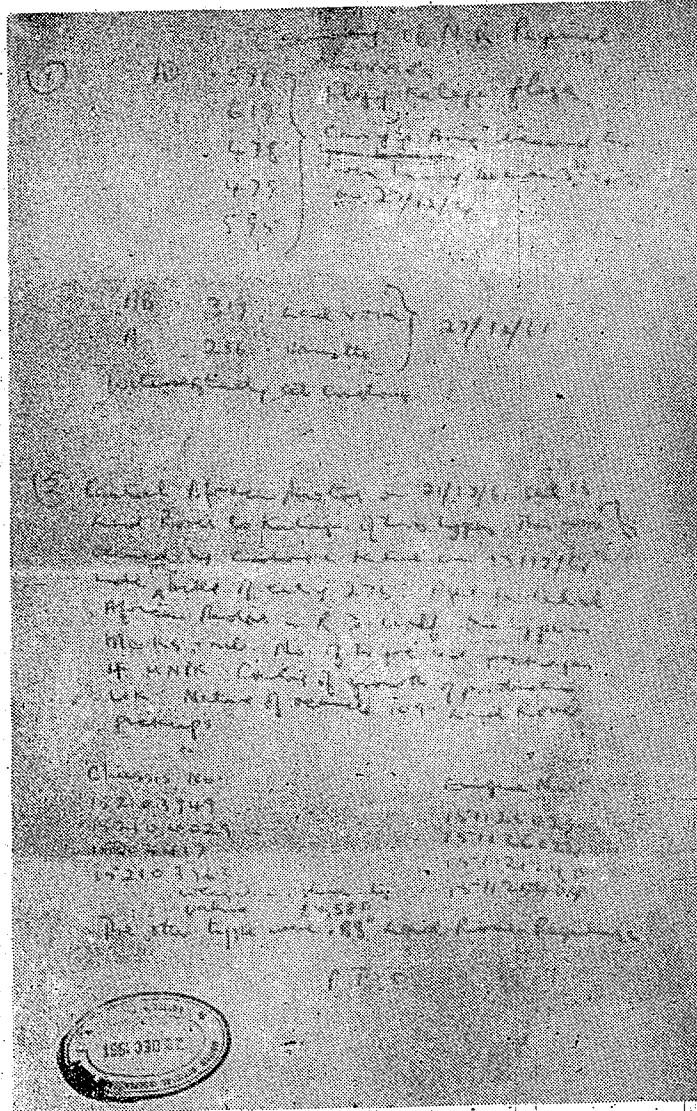
consignments were not delivered to any business concern but directly to the army and he saw them all there.

Conclusion

We cannot help quoting once again from the British master plot

future federation is as I have already said not to be forgotten. But it simply cannot be mentioned now in view of the situation in the United Nations. It was almost disastrous that Welensky should have let this cat out of the bag at the beginning of the Congo Crisis: However, with luck the public have forgotten his indiscretion.

Continued on next page



The loads of all vehicles that our investigator came into contact with were consigned to CECEAC Comp. Box 975, Elisabethville. These

Ghana- Guinea- Mali Calipso

by Joe Eyison

Ghana, Guinea, Mali Union
Has laid down a strong foundation
For redemption of Africa
For which we've been strongly
fighting.

CHORUS:

Ghana, Guinea, Mali
The nucleus of the great Union
Ghana, Guinea, Mali
Africa's strongest foundation
Ghana, Guinea, Mali
The nucleus of the great Union
Ghana, Guinea, Mali
Has now once been laid for ever.

First it was Ghana and Guinea
Later Ghana, Guinea, Mali
Soon it will be all Africa
The achievement of our greatest aim.

The Imperialists are still trying
To break up this great Union
The Congo's grave situation
Is the best of all examples.

Africa is now awakened
That unity can save her
All leaders of mother Africa
Are called to join this great Union.

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"But I can assure you that H.M.G. and the Colonial Office have not forgotten this plans I beg you, however, to say nothing about this at present. It would be disastrous to future plans if these possibilities leaked."

The whole "operation sabotage" that the Welensky's settler government is carrying out with the help of the British Government in Katanga

is the pinpoint around which Katanga politics today revolves. The findings of our investigator show clearly that both Welensky and the Macmillan Governments are co-conspirators against freedom and independence and territorial integrity of the African people.

In Ndola today Katangan troops and arms are ready to be leashed against the Congoan army and the

UN troops at any moment.

The so-called Kitona agreement is a U.S. device for allowing Traitor Tshombe enough time to mobilise his armed thugs against the Central Congoan Government and the freedom and independence of the Congo.

The British have invested £106 million in Katanga and a lot more in the Zambia copperbelt. Since the only God they worship is the mammon of materialism, our struggle against British imperialism is bound to be uphill.

We are, however, wise to all the tricks of the imperialists and it is for this reason that the Welensky-Macmillan conspiracy is bound to fail.

Africa is determined to be free and shall be free.

We Shall Fight to the Last Man

by Kenneth Kaunda (President, UNIP)

WE are obviously now in the process of making and writing the most difficult and complicated chapter of our history. We of the United National Independence Party to look at the problem squarely in the face and are prepared to meet blows as they come and give twice as much.

The evidence I gathered on my recent trip of the Northern and Luapula provinces makes me charge the so-called security forces of murder, arson, plunder and savage atrocities. Four cases of rape were reported to me but I did not receive sufficient evidence because these are alleged to have taken place in Chinsali and Abercorn where I was not allowed to go. I know the charge I make is a serious one but it is true. What has been happening in these troubled areas—and is still happening in Chinsali, Abercorn, Mporokoso and Kasama areas to a certain extent—I am positive the Central Government does not possess full facts of—much less His Excellency the Governor himself. In the words of one prominent chief "I thought we were going to meet the Governor but he came and stayed with those Europeans at the Boma and went away." He was a disappointed ruler.

Whole villages have been razed to the ground; food stuffs including goats, sheep and fowls have been taken away to say nothing of clothes, pots, pans and other utensils. What they could not take away they destroyed. It is either gross ignorance or downright insincerity on the part of those in authority to say those Africans who wished could complain to their District Commissioners. For instance one official was involved in a riot and has since been presiding magistrate over cases of the very people he was rioting with. How does any sane person expect Africans to take their

complaints to such a man? In any case, does anyone think justice can be done?

One of our local dailies reports that I was not at all welcome in the Northern Provinces and it reports its source as Government Information Department. It is no longer a secret that the Kasama Government Information Department has been biased against United National Independence Party because of one man there. To prove my point, I was just coming from interviewing one of the four chiefs organised by a certain official not to see me. The chief in fact received me very traditionally. In one place Boma messengers rushed to shake our hands.

One white cadet came out and shouted them back to their sitting places. They were punished a few minutes later. One thing is clear, these messengers are Africans. In the same District we were told no one would see us—yet just outside crowds were swelling as news spread we had arrived. Chiefs received us with open arms and we discussed our problems as 'beloved father and son.' Wherever we went our people simply poured in to see us—who are Government agents deceiving? No one apart from the Government itself of course! Because of intimidation African businessmen and those in high scale employment played the Nicodemus. All these atrocities just help to make United National Independence Party more and more popular! This is the Gospel truth. Our people simply love the party!

As for the Paramount Chief Chitimukulu, I still hold him in high esteem and will always be happy to serve him. In his wisdom, what is happening today he predicted in a long talk with Mr. James Johnson, former Labour MP for Rugby when



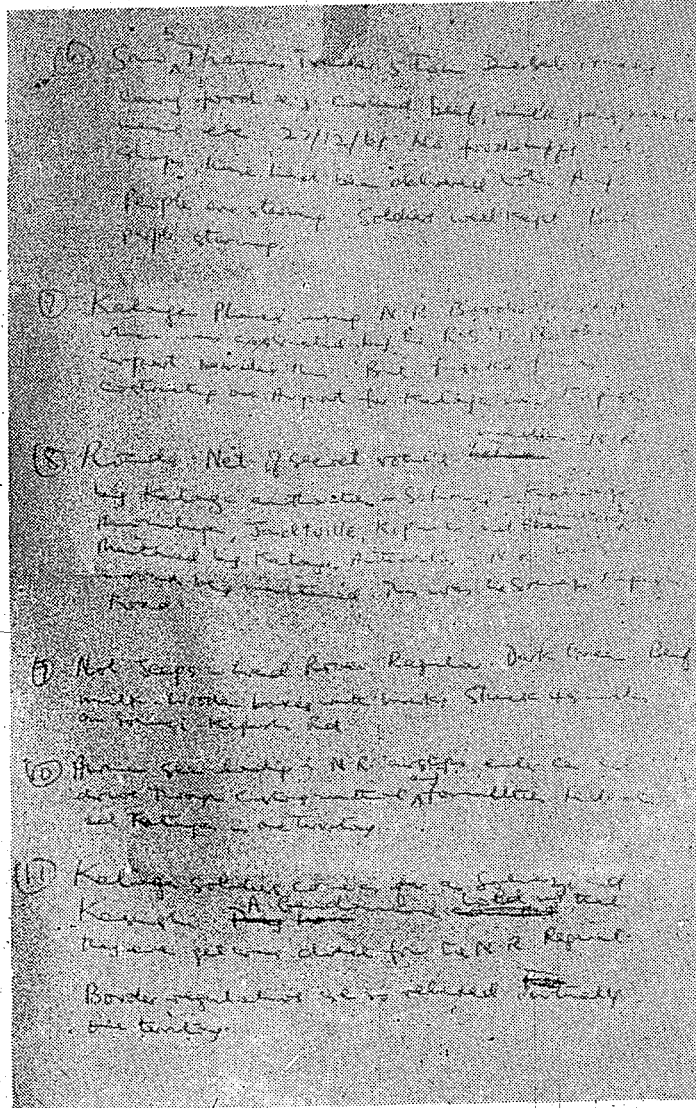
KENNETH KAUNDA

we invited him in 1957. When we take over, which won't be too long from now, he is one of our natural rulers we shall long remember for his courage and wisdom. He has fought against Federation and nothing can change my admiration for him—no matter what colonialist intrigues may try to plant between him and me. He is my beloved natural ruler.

The campaign against identity cards has been so successful that the authorities are now so perplexed that all they can do is to compel my followers to pay fines which they refuse and then they send messengers and others to forcibly take some property of the persons concerned. Prisons are so full now that most of the prisoners at certain Bomas are using their own clothes, there are, as in the one case I am sure of, as many as three prisoners to a blanket. Savage beatings by Police go on.

In view of all this, I once more appeal to the British Government to send a judicial commission of inquiry. I have been charitable by thinking they don't know what is happening—and I believe this. If they don't I will have no alternative but to take this matter to some August International Organisation.

Continued on page 27



FORWARD

TO

FREE

UNITED

AFRICA!

Lest We Forget

Patrice
Lumumba,
first Prime
Minister of the
Republic of
Congo in his
last days being
Mishandled
and Tortured
by his
Murderers,
the Belgians
and Tshombe



Freedom is a Strange Feeling

by Henri Alleg

(An Algerian hero, who escaped from a French jail after five years' imprisonment and torture and is now in Czechoslovakia, a free man).

NOW that I am free there is an odd feeling that I cannot shake off. It is the strangeness, after years in prison, of being able to walk freely in the streets, of being able to open a window and finding that no iron bars obstruct the view. Now my heart does not shrink every time I meet a policeman; now I can smile at him, knowing he is a friend.

I often think of the prison where I left so many friends. Particularly I do remember the hard times in the de Barberousse Prison in Algiers.

In a few days time it will be two years since we began a hunger strike which was to have lasted 12 days.

My prison mates and I were just above the death cell in which there were 120 prisoners at that time.

We staged the hunger strike to obtain some improvement in the terrible conditions which prevailed in that and all other Algerian prisons.

The French colonialists refused to consider us as political prisoners. Our people were often treated worse than the common criminals who enjoyed advantages we were denied.

We didn't have beds, bed-clothes or tables. We ate from rusty pots on the floor.

The prison guards beat the prisoners with keys, fists and constantly insulted them. On the slightest pretext prisoners got two or three months solitary confinement.

Step Failed Them

Each morning death awaited two or three Algerian prisoners. At night we waited in vain to sleep. Sometimes sleep would not come, and when it did we hoped that we would not wake up in the morning to see another of our friends die.

Nor did those sentenced to death sleep. They remained awake so that they would not be surprised by the sudden arrival of the guards and the police who would drag them to the guillotine hardly awake.

They wanted to die fully awake and alert so that they could shout their confidence in the victory of their country. Or if others were to die we wanted to hearten them with our songs.

We lived under such conditions in 1957 and 1958. Thanks to the actions organised by the prisoners and our hunger strikers, thanks also to international solidarity and above all the struggle of the Algerian people, things changed.

There were some improvements, but no sooner were they won than the French administration put an end to them and our problems started all over again.

This is why hunger-strikes were held so often. A recent one lasted until the Algerian prisoners forced the French administration to concede to their demands and grant them the status of political prisoners.

This was a big victory for the prisoners who had been demanding this for years.

Patriots

Their determination and their heroism have won the admiration of the whole world. Yet it is still necessary to say that the conditions of the concentration camps in which patriots are held, are reminiscent of those of Nazi prisons.

The Algerian people as a whole have suffered terribly during the seven years of war. More than a million of their sons have been murdered by the French colonialists.

Thousands of Algerian men and women who have been driven out of their villages now live in camps.

Negotiate

In spite of this they continue their struggle under the leadership of their Government. But their hopes for peace are great.

Peace is possible if the French Government stops manoeuvring, if it stops talking about peace while continuing the war, if it ends its plans to divide Algeria, and if it sincerely wishes to negotiate with the provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

This is what the French people themselves want.

No matter what happens Algeria will become independent sooner or later and the people of Algeria will take the road of social progress and real democracy.

The Beath of Central Africa Federation

by Serious African

THE British colonies in Central Africa were considered till recently, regions of relative tranquillity among her possessions on the continent of Africa. After the establishment of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, however, the situation there radically changed.

In examining the situation in these extensive countries, it is better to consider the situations which led to the lumping together of three different countries—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—against the will of the African people.

For over 20 years the industrialists and planters of Southern Rhodesia, where over two-thirds of the Federation's white population live, have fostered the idea of setting up under their rule in Central Africa a big state with dominion status. This would give them hold on the two Rhodesias enormous natural resources of gold, copper, chromite manganese, lithium, and so on, and also enable them to utilise the labour reserves of over-populated Nyasaland, which annually provides some 70,000 workers for the mines and plantations of her more developed neighbours.

Analyzing the results of the Federation's eight years of existence, one sees that the Federation forced on the Africans has not solved a single problem of Central Africa, but on the contrary, has only aggravated the relationships between white settlers and Africans, and brought further complications to the political situation. A sober look at the schemes of the European colonialists, not on the basis of what they say, but of what they do, one sees in their present efforts to strengthen the unpopular Federation, the wish

to consolidate their rule over one of Africa's richest regions.

Let us consider the composition of the Federation's white community. Between 1947 and 1957 alone the number of immigrants from the Union of South Africa nearly doubled. The majority of industrialists and planters of the Federation are linked by origin and tradition with their white brethren of the Union of South Africa. This undoubtedly has a great impact on the attitude of the white settlers towards the native population of the two Rhodesias.

White domination in both Rhodesias began seventy-one years ago and was linked with the name of one of the most shameless colonialists, Cecil Rhodes, who, in the words of Lenin, "pursued an imperialist policy with the utmost cynicism."

Through one of his agents, Rhodes concluded an agreement with King Lobengula of the Matabele tribe giving him right to mine gold in the King's domain. A territory of fabulous wealth was acquired with the help of Whisky, in exchange for a month's rent of £100, one thousand rifles, a steamer for tripe along the Zambesi River, which, however, the King never had the good luck to enjoy. A trifling incident was provoked and the deal started by deceit was clenched by force of arms. A war, which cost British four men dead and the Matabele hundreds, made Southern Rhodesia a British colony. The South African Company, founded by a charter granted by Queen Victoria, actually ruled Southern Rhodesia for decades.

Having got its bridgehead for future advancements, the company bought for a song the "copperbelt", one of the world's largest copper deposits on the upper Zambezi—and

another British colony appeared—Northern Rhodesia. Then the British seized Nyasaland.

Racialism

We see Southern Rhodesia as a classic country of legalised racialism, where the colour bar embraces all spheres of public life. In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act gave all the best and most of the land to the white settlers. Figures published in the "Land in Southern Rhodesia", a pamphlet recently published in London, show that 2.2 million Africans in the country own only 41 per cent of the land, and some million Africans have no land at all, while 50,000 white settlers possess one-and-a-half times more land—the most fertile.

At the mines in Northern Rhodesias where the Africans get higher wages than elsewhere, 40,000 African receive approximately £7,000,000 a year, while 7,000 white workers get £14,000,000.

Race discrimination bars Africans from any professions. Recently, it is true, African doctors and lawyers have appeared in Central Africa, but they can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The African, the legitimate ruler of Africa, has to suffer race discrimination at every step: in the hotels, railway restaurant cars, in the shops, where he is served with inferior goods through a "black" window. The pass system restricts his freedom of movement. The Federation has a total of 60 colour bar laws.

And this is all the more disgusting, because the doctrine of race segregation—apartheid—which blossoms so profusely in the Union of South Africa, is not the official ideology of the Federation's ruling circles. Today when colonialism is disintegrating all over the world, and one African people after another is winning its independence, it is becoming increasingly clear that the old way of ruling cannot go on. Racial policy in the Federation has therefore, been made to look respectable. It is now called "partnership."

To believe the racialists, the Federation is destined to become a "great experiment zone." "The Central African man will cease to be considered as black, white or brown," and "henceforth the division will be drawn between the civilised and the

Colonial Instrument of Torture in N. Rhodesia



These are freedom fighters in Northern Rhodesia Prison. For three days these men were told to hold the food in their hands without eating it. Later they were transferred to another Prison some 5,000 miles away from Lusaka and were forced to carry these tins containing food which was never served on their way to another Prison. This is the moral fibre of the so-called British "civilizing mission" in Africa

primitive." But Cecil Rhodes also advanced the principle of "equal rights for equally civilised people."

In his book *Central African Witness* published in 1959, Cyril Dun, correspondent of the influential British Sunday paper, the *Observer*, sarcastically ridicules the colonialists' notion of "Civilised Man." "Provided a man earns more than £750 a year, he is civilised even if he is barely literate. Contrariwise if a man's income is low, his civilised state can be recognised only if his standard of education is high."

Partnership

"Partnership" envisages the parallel development of both races and gradual bringing of the fruits of culture within the reach of the native population. But what is being done, to bring this about in practice? Nothing.

The policy of "parallel development" is a gigantic fraud. In Central Africa, every member of the segregation Society—which supports the apartheid policy has the vote. Their blatant racialism receives no check from the authorities!

Only the white man is allowed to assert his right to rule. Every attempt of the African to defend his legitimate right to rule his own country is immediately treated as a threat of "black racialism" and is repressed.

Despite the great publicity which has been given to the "partnership" policy, nothing is being done in the Federation to ease the policy of race discrimination. For all the manoeuvres of the Federation's leaders on this question are linked with current political expediency and dominated by the desire to assure public opinion that they are not pursuing the racists from the Union of South Africa.

The ruling Federal Party acts according to what an author calls "the businessman's ethic." The proponent of this point of view considers that the Africans must be granted some measure of freedom in the economic field, otherwise the whites cannot prosper. But at the same time they do everything to halt the political activities of the African and preserve the existing social barriers. Years will pass, they say, and these barriers will

vanish of themselves. But how long will this take? "Even in a hundred or two hundred years' time," answers Premier Roy Welensky, "the African shall never hope to dominate the Federation."

The fight

The peoples of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, however, cannot accept this geological rate of change. They understand perfectly well that under the whiteman's rule they will never be able to overcome their profound economic and cultural backwardness.

Despite the flood of loud hypocritical phrases of the colonialists about their "civilising" mission, they are more alarmed than pleased at the prospect of acquainting the Africans with education. At any rate, they are not at all keen on the job. The Federation's former Premier, Lord Malvern, spoke quite frankly on this subject:

"There is no need to suggest to the African that we came here to help him", he declared towards the end of 1956. "We came here to earn our living..." And in truth during the last years more foreign capital has been invested in the Federation's economy than in any other African country, except the Union of South Africa and the Congo (former Belgium).

The situation has been made clear to us that it is the aim of Britain to allow the minority white group to govern the Rhodesias and Nyasaland to the exclusion of the seven million inhabitants.

The British Conservatives, still empire-conscious, sensitive to the plight of their fellow countrymen settled overseas, aware that the white community has made itself rich by exploiting the African, feel that the British Government has a moral obligation to safeguard European interests.

It is surprising that despite the British boast that they have faith in democracy, they find it difficult to accept that universal adult suffrage is the first measure which must be considered in guaranteeing the right of the many over the privileged few. Despite the arrest and imprisonment of African nationalist leaders on flimsy charges; the alerting of

troops throughout the Federation; the threat of Europeans to sabotage any constitution which ensures universal adult suffrage; the double tongue role of Iain Macleod, the British Colonial Secretary; the numerous raids by Roy Welensky's Police on the homes of Africans; and the tightening of already stringent laws, the African nationalist movements have made several strides.

It is the view of some people that a path must be found in Central Africa for a multi-national community in which the African would, of his own free will, co-operate with the white man, who would continue the skilled work in developing the resources of the region. For ensuring this co-operation an interim period of ten—fifteen years is necessary during which time the metropolis is to act as a stabilizing factor between white and black. This, they say, may save us from both the threat of apartheid looming from the South and from "black dictatorship."

Thus have these people based their argument for preserving colonialism in Central Africa. This "positive programme" is not new. It is beneath criticism and unacceptable to the African.

Such formulas as "multifarious community" or "internal self-determination" mean nothing. This mystification is aimed at depriving Africa of her rights to freedom.

The Africans of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland are determined to win their freedom and decide on what to do with the minority groups in their midst.

The pressure of the nationalist forces has increased in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. No use of attempting to damn the revolutionary tide. The British Government by attempting to side with Roy Welensky and his crazy white settlers is precipitating the destruction of the European in Central Africa in rapids more precipitous and turbulent than the Victoria Falls.

The nationalist leader of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda has sounded the warning note: "Not even an inch of Africa will be given to a foreign race. We are determined to clean the entire Central Africa of the evils of imperialism and colonialism."

History and Civilisation

by Staff Writer

MR. Verwoerd recently assured us once again that "it is the White man to whom all progress must be ascribed of which people all over the world at present boast."

The learned Doctor obviously knows nothing or prefers to know nothing about the history of Europe, Asia or Africa. He finds it more convenient to replace history by myth just like his admired model, Alfred Rosenberg, the "philosopher" of Nazi Germany.

According to one of the most cherished myths of the racialists Europeans created civilisation out of nothing, rather like God creating the world out of chaos.

But the blessings of civilisation are not the property of any one human group which they can graciously distribute or rightfully keep, as they see fit. Civilisation happens to be the product of mankind as a whole and to its development peoples from all over the world have contributed. No group, least of all the people from the North and West of Europe, who arrived so recently on the historical scene, can claim a monopoly of contributions to civilisation.

West Came Late

One wonders where civilisation would be if Asian and African peoples had not invented the use of writing, discovered how to smelt iron and cultivate grains, created the wheel, produced multiplication tables and minted coins thousands of years ago before the people of Europe emerged from the most primitive savagery.

We could easily fill several issues of *Voice of Africa* if we tried to give an exhaustive list of Asian and African contributions to civilisation

because it would turn out to be practically a history of human civilisation as such.

White civilisation, in the "purity" with which it is propagated in Verwoerd's South Africa, does not compare too well with the ancient civilisations of Asia and Africa.

Just to take one example from the material sphere, it may surprise some of the pundits of apartheid to know that the elaborate drainage system of the ancient Indian cities which flourished on the river Indus about 4,000 years ago was superior to that provided by White civilisation in that part of its towns which it refers to as the "location."

Moral Ideas

And the moral ideas of these ancient civilisations would seem to have risen to a conception of universal justice and human brotherhood which is far beyond the grasp of the "civilised" defenders of Afrikaner tribalism.

"Behold it is not to make for himself slaves of any people," stated the traditional address delivered by the Egyptian Pharaoh two thousand years before the birth of Christ.

Upon assuming office, high state officials in Ancient Egypt were told: "Forget not to judge justice... Look upon him who is known to thee like him who is unknown to thee; and him who is near the king like him who is far from his house."

The social philosophy of Ancient Egypt reached its climax in the universal moral doctrines of Ikhnaton (fourteenth century B.C.). In his beautiful hymns Ikhnaton makes no distinction between his own people and foreigners.

All men are in the same degree God's sons and must regard them-

selves as brothers. For the first time in human history religion is conceived as a bond uniting men of different colour, language and custom!

Greek Learning

The wisdom of the Bronze Age civilisations of the Ancient Near East provided the basis for the later cultural achievements of the Greeks who were great traders and travellers and so were able to benefit by learning from the Asian and African peoples with whom they came into contact.

Subsequently, the barbarian invaders from Northern Europe destroyed the old Graeco-Roman slave civilisation and most of its cultural achievements. Europe entered the long period of its Dark Ages, while the cultural heritage of the ancient world was productively developed by the great civilisation of the Arabs.

When the Crusaders from Western Europe invaded the Near East from the end of the eleventh century A.D. onwards they were amazed to find themselves in the presence of a civilisation far more advanced than their own. The same discovery was made by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo when he visited China in the thirteenth century and found there a degree of culture which made most of Europe look like a jungle.

Surprise in Africa

And a similar surprise awaited the readers of the first reliable description of the Negro civilisation of West Africa to be published in Europe.

Its author, Leo Africanus, described to his astounded readers the huge libraries of African scholars in university towns like Timbuktu, the great wealth of the African rulers and merchants, their efficient and peaceful administration and other matters which might make many an inhabitant of war-torn sixteenth century Europe feel envious.

Civilisation has never been confined to particular human groups but has grown step by step through the contribution of people of every race and colour. At different historical periods different kinds of contributions have been made by different kinds of people. Some

Continued on page 27

KENYA: The old Tory Game of Divide and Rule—John Siddon

THE statement on Kenya by Mr. Maudling, Britain's Colonial Secretary, shows the Tory Government is up to its old tricks again. Divide and rule. Bolster up reaction. Play for time in order to give added strength to the chosen collaborators, and to allow disunity to deepen and spread.

Most people know how British imperialism has used these tactics. Hindu versus Moslem in India. Arab versus Jew in former Palestine. Catholic versus Protestant in Ireland. Tamil versus Sinhalese in Ceylon. Africa has been no exception to this rule. But in Africa further refinements to the method have been added.

Division

Faced in the past decade with a growing insistence by the African people that they be allowed to rule themselves, British imperialism has worked hard to play on every division and backward-looking force.

Its aim has been to make possible the creation of "federal" States in which feudal and tribal reaction would play a key role, and British imperialism be left, in effect, to rule the roost from behind the scenes. If anyone doubts this, let him read Kwame Nkrumah's autobiography and learn how this trick was attempted in Ghana.

Despite the clear verdict of the 1954 General Election, which gave the Convention People's Party an overwhelming majority, reactionary politicians in alliance with semi-feudal chiefs in Ashanti, started a separatist agitation, hoping to secure the establishment of a federal form of government which would enable them to resist and sabotage the central government's programme.

This agitation points out Nkrumah, was backed by most of the Press; while the actions of the British Government "served as a stimulant to the unrest."

Majority

By strong decisive action, backed by the overwhelming majority of the Ghanaian people, Nkrumah smashed this separatist plot and Ghana was thus enabled to embark on a programme of advance.

Though balked in Ghana, British imperialism has scored in Nigeria, making use of the feudalised Northern People's Congress to ensure that the leading positions are in the hands of a feudal reaction.

In Northern Rhodesia, where the "threat" of independence draws ever nearer, British imperialism has already made the first moves to foster a separatist agitation in Barotseland.

While in the Congo, largely due to British imperialist influence, the same classic game has been played with Katanga.

Background

Some understanding of this background is necessary if one is to appreciate what Maudling and the British Government are trying on in Kenya.

The present crisis arises from the refusal of British imperialism to accept the demands of the Kenya people. In the 1961 elections, deliberately held before Jomo Kenyatta's release and appointment as leader of the Kenya African National Union, that party received 550,000 votes against 150,000 votes for the Kenya African Democratic Union.

Yet it is not KANU, with nearly 80 per cent of the votes, which is the

Government of Kenya. It is the British Government with a Council of Ministers composed of KADU representatives together with Europeans.

KANU, with support from all the different peoples of Kenya, stand for a united Kenya, for the formation of a strong central government which will be able to stand up to imperialism and plan the development of the country's economy. It has called for independence by February 1962.

KADU, which is supported by the Governor as well as by many settlers in Michael Blundell's New Kenya Party, stands for a regional federation.

This would give full scope to tribal, separatist and parochial tendencies, lead to disunity and leave British imperialism in the background but with decisive control still in its hands.

Regional

At the beginning of October, KADU put forward a plan for a "regional government system" which would establish no fewer than five regional governments in a land of only seven million people.

"The details of the plan," said *The Times*, "were worked out by KADU's European associates."

Since then, KADU has stirred up hostility in the country and openly threatened "civil war" if its plans are unheeded.

Kenyatta has rightly warned against the dangers involved in this agitation by KADU. "Regionalism leads to a Congo situation," he said, "and we don't want that to happen in Kenya."

But the British Government, far from trying to damp down the spreading flames, is only fanning them further, as Maudling's statement shows.

In his announcement last week he gave backing to the federal scheme and refused to accept Kenyatta's proposal of February 1962 as the date for independence, arguing that it "will still take some time" before independence.

Even on the very day of his arrival in Nairobi, before he had acquainted himself with the situation, Maudling said: "Clearly, there could be very

African Struggle

by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

WE in Africa today are engaged in a relentless struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. The continent is in a great nationalist ferment and the chains of oppression are breaking down everywhere. In nineteen fifty-seven, when Ghana became independent, there were only eight independent African states; today there are no fewer than twenty-eight, with many others still to follow. The struggle is hard and fierce. The events in the Congo, in Angola, in Algeria and more recently in Tunisia, are clear indications of the determination of the colonialists and imperialists not to give up.

It is also a clear reminder of the necessity for the political unification of the African continent. We are confident, however, that the days of colonialism are numbered and that the evil which it represents will be crushed once and for all. In addition to the preservation of world peace, the two basic aims of our foreign policy are African independence and African unity. The one is inextricably bound up with the other. I repeat here what I told the Ghana Parliament on July fourth, "the people of Africa have learnt to their cost that independence is not just a matter of political constitutions or changing of flags. There are subtle and sur-

reptitious ways by which the colonial powers can maintain their grip of the subjected peoples even after the visible trappings of foreign sovereignty have disappeared. So long as the peoples of Africa are divided into so many wholly artificial political units arbitrarily fixed for them by their colonial masters, it is not possible to attain true independence or economic equality.

If we in Ghana are so much in favour of Pan-Africanism, it is not on account of any selfish motive of increasing our own importance but because we are so deeply convinced that it is only through African unity that the peoples of this great continent can really free themselves from foreign domination and rule.

Confining

Our struggle against colonialism and imperialism is part of the struggle for world peace; for the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism means the positive removal of the fundamental causes of war. This is why we support all efforts aimed at establishing the fundamental rights of all peoples, and the promotion of peace and security throughout the world. It is also for this reason that we have persistently supported the just demand of the Chinese people's republic for admission to the United Nations. It does not make sense to us that over six hundred million people should be excluded from the only international body dedicated to the pursuit of peace.

The British Government is playing with fire.

There is only one way out of the impending crisis. And that is for British Government to concede the demand of the Kenya people for independence in February 1962, to respect the wishes of the majority of Kenya people for a unitary form of government, and to stop giving encouragement to the forces of disruption.

Divide and Rule

great advantages in a federation." A week later, on the day he left Kenya, Maudling gave his views in more detail.

Rights

In his statement he pushed forward the idea of regional "governing authorities" with "their own defined rights which do not derive from the Central Government."

Significantly, he added that the powers of these regional government "would be entrenched in such a way that they could not be swept aside as they had been in Ghana."

Clearly Maudling favours the Nigerian pattern rather than that of Ghana.

And when one remembers that the Nigerian Government representative at the U.N. last month was coolly suggesting that colonialism should not be ended until 1970, while Ghana is playing a leading role in the battle to liberate the whole African continent, one can easily understand Maudling's preference.

Equally dangerous—and all of a



OSAGYEFO DR. NKUMAH

reptitious ways by which the colonial powers can maintain their grip of the subjected peoples even after the visible trappings of foreign sovereignty have disappeared. So long as the peoples of Africa are divided into so many wholly artificial political units arbitrarily fixed for them by their colonial masters, it is not possible to attain true independence or economic equality.

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The National Struggle in South Africa

by Peter Raboroko

EVER since the South African Settler regime received its most serious challenge on the launching of the Positive Action campaign of the Pan-Africanist Congress in March 1960, they have been tightening their measures of repression and terrorism against the African people. Their most important step in that direction was the imposition of a ban upon the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress and their attempt to confiscate the property of these organisations.

Their measures against known politicians have been reflected in the arrest of twelve former members of the Pan-Africanist Congress and of thirteen members of the continuation committee.

The alleged members of the PAC were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment and their alleged leader Abednego Ngobo, National Treasurer of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress was sentenced to two years imprisonment with hard labour under the Unlawful Organisations Act. He lost his appeal and is today serving sentence.

Among members of the "Continuation Committee" who have been convicted and sentenced but are now out on bail pending their appeal are Messrs Congress Mbata, Field Officer of the Institute of Race Relations, Jordan Ngubane, well-known journalist and Vice-President of the Liberal Party of South Africa, Paul Mosaka, a well-known African businessman and the Reverend Ben Rajuli, Presiding Elder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of South Africa in Orlando.

Mr. Makwetu, former chairman of the Western Cape Region of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress and Mr. Sokhanyile, former Chairman of the Transkei Region of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress have

both fallen victim to the repressive Unlawful Organisations Act of the Pretoria settler regime.

Both Messrs Makwetu and Sokhanyile have been removed to Pondoland where a state of emergency has existed since March 1960. Here they can be indefinitely detained because of the existence of the state of emergency. And there are no signs that these will ever be lifted except under terrific pressure either from within or without South Africa or from both sources.

Mr. Elliot A. Mfana, former National Organiser of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress has been in jail since the launching of the campaign. He is serving a two-year sentence. It is learnt that he has been so tortured and persecuted in jail that he has become paralysed. Attempts are being made to obtain his release from jail.

Mr. Joe Molefi, a well-known Pan-Africanist leader, is now in Basutoland. Joe Molefi who was propaganda secretary of the ANC Youth League in the early 1950s has probably spent a record time of any other political leader both in the settler regime jails and before their courts although he has so far never been convicted of any "crime."

He successfully led the Evaton Bus Boycott of 1955-1957 and became in those dangerous days the chief target of the hirelings and agents of the Bus company.

Together with Ysumuzi Make, Permanent Pan-Africanist representative in Cairo and New York, Joe faced many phoney trials of the herrenvolk.

For full four years he appeared in the Treason Trial and was discharged when it finally collapsed.

Before his departure for Basutoland Joe was before the settler courts again this time on a charge of unlawfully running the Pan-Africanist Congress by publishing

and distributing *Mafube* an alleged organ of the PAC.

Joe appeared together with Matthew Nkoana, veteran journalist and well-known PAC leader. The *Mafube* copies which had been distributed before the May 1961 pre-Republican Telephone Booth fiasco, had warned the African people against being misdirected by the multi-racialists who were asking them to protest because the settler regime was changing their form of government from monarchism to republicanism.

The journal accused the multi-racialists of attempting to use the African people to serve the interests of one settler party against another.

It made clear the point that to African nationalists the settler government Nationalist Party and the settler opposition United Party were Tweedledum and Tweedledee, all agreed on the basic question of the need to oppress the Africans and differing among themselves only on matters of detail.

The journal, of which thousands had been issued, exposed the aim of the Telephone Booth demonstrations as an attempt "to turn the people from the goal of freedom and independence now."

"In place of the vacillation and loud-mouthed badinage of multi-racialism" the journal said, "must be raised the standard of Positive Action."

Incidentally, the Telephone Booth fiasco received its name from the behaviour of one of its multi-racialist puppet directors, who attempted to direct it from one telephone booth to another and who has since gone into hiding—from the wrath of the indignant masses.

Matthew Nkoana had led 142 fellow freedom fighters on the day of the launching of the Positive Action campaign. He and all his colleagues had each been sentenced to three years imprisonment with hard labour or £300 fine. They had all elected to serve their sentence.

Their sentence was later reduced by the suspension of half the sentence and half the fine.

In the *Mafube* case Mr. Nkoana was sentenced to three years hard labour with no alternative of fine.

Continued on page 25

Federation of Rhodesias and Nyasaland (1)

by M. Sipalo

HERE in the Centre of the Southern African plateau the British imperialists have worked night and day to create an artificial state in an effort to "dominionise" the interests of the British rentier class, create a white paradise for the 297,000 of their kith and kin now settled there and to act as a buffer against the surging waves of the African liberatory forces from the North.

The creation of the Federation in September 1953 was such a political swindle as no White historian can compare to any event in the annals of the ugly British Colonial record. For this misdemeanour both Labour and Conservatives are equally charged: for the Labour, (when in office) laid the egg which the Conservatives hatched.

The two Rhodesias and Nyasaland form a land-locked unit bounded by the Union of South Africa, Bechuanaland and Angola to the South; South-West and West respectively. By Tanganyika in the North-East, Mozambique in the East and Katanga in the North. Within this area of 475,000 square miles live nearly nine million Africans, 297,000 Europeans, 25,000 Asians and 13,000 members of the coloured community.

In 1938, a Royal Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Lord Bledisloe "to enquire and report whether any, and if so what, form of closer co-operation or association between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and

Nyasaland is desirable and feasible, with due regard to the interests of all the inhabitants, irrespective of race."

The Bledisloe Commission examined the alternative of amalgamation of the three territories or of associating them in some form of Federation. May it be noted here that at this very time a movement to incorporate Southern Rhodesia into the Union of South Africa was under way. This movement was strongly supported by the South African Premier, J. B. M. Hertzog. In Southern Rhodesia itself a "Back to the South" movement was mooted-out supported mainly by White settlers of South African extraction.

The Bledisloe report came out clearly that to federate the three territories "enjoying such different measures of responsibility and in such different stages of social and political development was unlikely to succeed." The Commission went on: "the striking unanimity in the Northern territories, of the native opposition to amalgamation, and the anxiety of the natives in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland lest there should be change in the system was clearly visible everywhere."

It was not until 1950 that the question of a form of political association of the three territories was again seriously examined. And in 1951 James Griffiths—the Labour Colonial Secretary—was busy organising Conferences in Rhodesia and London. He was assisted by

Patrick Gordon Walker the Labour Commonwealth Secretary. When Labour lost the elections, the Conservatives took up the matter with full vigour and brought about the Central African Federation on September 23, 1953.

The support the Labour are trying to give to the Africans, struggling against Federation, is a mere confidence trick. They cannot escape the fact that they are the progenitors of the Central African Federation and in that sense the authors of all our woes and the fore-runners of the atrocities now being perpetrated by the Conservatives in the name of the British people.

May it be stated here that at no stage did any of the British Governments consult the African people about the whole scheme.

The Federal Scandal

The inception of Federation was procedurally undemocratic in that, in spite of the overwhelming opposition by the Africans, it was imposed. A referendum by a few European settlers in Southern Rhodesia decided the issue and since 1953, the direction of the affairs of Central Africa have always depended on the political wishes of the settlers in Southern Rhodesia in particular and on whites as a whole. Adequate examples are the Federal Franchise, National Army Service and now the calling up of "White Troops" in case the constitutional talks may lead to African majority in the Legislature.

The Federalists threw overboard two essential requisites necessary to a federal state namely, Cultural uniformity and the Equality of the political status of the federating units. They also ignored the fact that there was and still is a great constitutional diversity, between the constituent parts. The two Northern Territories are Protectorates by treaty, whilst Southern Rhodesia is a white self-governing colony by conquest (even though wars fought between white nations have not ended in permanent foreign occupation such as is the case of Germany, Italy and Japan).

The Protectorate Treaties are legal contracts entered into by the United Kingdom Government and the

hereditary rulers of the African people to the effect that the Protectorates would be developed on clear and unequivocal understanding that the African people would ultimately take over the reigns of government and these treaties did not envisage any other contrary constitutional arrangement, certainly not settler domination, however, temporary. The overwhelming influence of the Federation over the Protectorate (Northern Rhodesia) matters have been such that even the Northern Rhodesia pre-Federation franchise which could have allowed a larger number of Africans to qualify as full voters has been dropped in favour of the highly qualitative Federal Franchise.

We interpret this unwarranted increase in the franchise qualifications according to the words of the Federal Premier, Sir Roy Welensky, when, in a moment of political unwisdomness at Ndola on December 2, 1959, he said:

"Responsible Government for Northern Rhodesia should be on the same basis as Southern Rhodesia had enjoyed since 1923."

Knowing the type of government Southern Rhodesia has enjoyed since 1923, the African people actually wonder just how much the Federal Government is in touch with the British Government. In August 1959, the British Prime Minister said:

"The conception is that as power is transferred from the United Kingdom, in respect of the two Northern Territories (Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland), it will be transferred, not to the Federal Government, but to the Government of the two Northern Territories, which will become more and more representative of the Africans until they have African majority."

In fact the whole picture of the role of the Federal Government was aptly put by Mr. Garfield Tood, former leader of the Central African Party, when speaking in Livingstone on November 30, 1959, he said:

"It (Federal Government) does not represent the people, as by its own designs it has set the qualifications for the franchise so high that it is not possible to visualise Africans

having anything real in any election." The Federal policy of "Partnership" killed the pre-Federation policy of African Paramountcy upon which lay the foundations of an ultimate African Self-Rule. Politically, partnership is only possible among equals, i.e. persons enjoying the same rights in the spheres of politics, education, remuneration, uniformity in social up-bringing and unrestricted avenues to Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness, all of which the Federation does not provide.

Thus did Lord Malvern, then the Federal Prime Minister, have the arrogance to say, in 1954, that "the partnership we mean between Black and White is the same as exists between Rider and Horse."

At a joint meeting of the Catholic Hierarchies of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which took place at Kacebere Major Seminary, Fort Manning, on October 12 and 14, 1959, a memorandum was drafted which was then forwarded to the Federal Governments and the three Territorial Governments in Central Africa. Among other things it said:

"The Bishops protest against the disparity which exists between the ideal of partnership so greatly publicised and the practice of it in all three Territories, a disparity which regrettably seems to stem from statutory law based on race distinction, and cannot too greatly insist on the necessity of according to all men, irrespective of race, the rights due to them as human persons and citizens."

In pre-Federation days no African Chief was deposed because of his political ideas, but during the struggle against Federation and after, several important Chiefs have been deposed and some of them imprisoned as well. The list includes Senior Chief Milambo, of the Ushi—deposed and rusticated, Senior Chief Chitimukulu of the Bemba was stripped of his hereditary and traditional powers because he has all along fought against Federation and refused to meet Sir Roy Welensky as that would have meant acceptance of Federation on behalf of his people.

After the imposition of Federation the expenditure of the Federation on Police increased, consequently, personnel and weapons increased as if

there was to be a state of war. (Budgets for 1950 and 1957).

Law and Order

In pre-Federation days there were two shooting incidents on the Copper Mines, but after the imposition of Federation the armed Police have become "trigger-happy" and rule by gun powder and lead has inhumanly resulted.

The British Colonial Office has it on record that:

1952 Tear-gas bombs were used in Luapula against an up-to-then peaceful and law abiding villagers, followed by depositions rustications of chiefs.

1953 Tear-gas bombs were thrown at women and children at Broken-Hill; 1954 Women and children were tear-gassed at the District Commissioner's Office in Lusaka;

1955 Tear-gassing at Kasama, in the Northern Province, and at Fort-Jameson in the Eastern Province;

1956 Tear-gassing at Chingola on the Copper Mines followed by numerous arrests;

1957 Tear-gassing and shootings at Luwingu, Abercorn, Kasama, Lusaka, Ndola, Mufulira, Chingola, Kitwe, Luanshya, Choma and Lundazi;

1958 Cold-blooded shootings at Gwembe leading to the death of 11 persons. Still in 1958, cold-blooded shootings at Ndola leading to the deaths of six persons.

1959 Cold-blooded shootings on Chilubi Island, Northern Province leading to deaths of four persons.

In all these numerous arrests, injuries and unofficially recorded deaths occurred. It is a shameful record which could be a smear to the record of any Colonial Power. And yet all this crime on the part of the Government is excused by quoting "Law and Order" and the blame put on innocent Africans who are seeking nothing more less than natural rights.

In pre-Federation days there were no political imprisonments but during the struggle against Federation and after its imposition political imprisonments have become the rule rather than the exception of State Policy. Since 1952, but for a few Native Authority and Central Government Courts (the former are entirely in the hands of District

Commissioners) there have been political cases leading to fines and fantastic terms of imprisonments in the rest of the courts every year.

In March, 1959, a popular African Political Organisation the ZAMBIA AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, was arbitrarily banned, all its leaders, numbering well over 60, unlawfully arrested and rusticated to areas far away from their homes and places of work. Some of them were later re-arrested, charged and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and the rest, among whom no charges were preferred languished in the solitary places of rustication until January 8, 1960. This was apart from imprisonment of 137 people convicted on various political charges whose sentences range from four to ten years.

Rustications and imprisonments of popular African leaders are intended.

(a) To keep out of the way intelligent and effective Afri-

can opposition leaders in order to make it easier for the settlers to have their way towards Dominion Status;

(b) To create a fear complex amongst African Freedom Fighters so that the African should not claim for that which is politically and legitimately his by right.

The post-Federation period has seen the entire neglect of the Rule of Law and a consequent disregard for the place of Law.

(a) FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY has been completely tempered with, to the detriment of African interests, through the operation of the Police (Amendment) Ordinance of 1958, the Societies Ordinance and the Penal Code Amendment Ordinance, 1959, outlawing boycotts.

(b) FREEDOM OF SPEECH is completely denied and police have powers to record

in writing or by tape the proceedings of African political meetings, i.e. if they are in a sufficiently good mood, in the first place, to allow the meeting to be held; police have powers to prohibit popular African leaders from addressing public meetings and experience has shown that only popular leaders have been so prohibited. All these powers have never been used against a European political party or individual white leader. Police have powers to lay down conditions governing the conduct of a public meeting and the nature and text of what speakers should say and what they should not say at public meetings. Here too the Master Race—the Europeans—are, of course, not affected.

To be Continued

National Struggle in S. Africa

Continued from page 22

He has since appealed against the conviction and sentence and has been allowed bail of £250.

These are some of the people that are today the victims of the persecution and terrorism of the sadistic settler regime.

Those among the settlers who have at long last sprouted a conscience and those of them who are panic-strickers at the course of events in South Africa are busying, packing and going.

The census figures of a year ago showed for the first time more emigrants than immigrants. Bookings on ocean liners especially on those going to Australia and Canada are today unavailable.

Only the West German Republic has once more thought of stabbing the struggle of the African people in the back. They have promised the settler regime immigrants to the number of 50,000. Most of these are intended for South-West Africa where by some strange quirk of

logic the Germans seem to think the country belongs to them.

Settler South Africa has always been a police state but now it threatens to be a military state, as well.

Settler regime has issued a call to 10,000 settler ducktails to train for nine months to crush African nationalism.

The war expenditure of the settler regime has risen by £14,000,000 to £35,750,000 during last year.

The settler regime is also reported to have entered into agreement with a French arms firm to establish a factory in the Transvaal, capable of producing rocket missile equipment. They are also buying either "Mark Two Victor" bombers at a cost of £12,000,000 from the British firm of Handley Page.

French and British industrial houses are thus playing an active part in the criminal role of preparing a genocidal attack on the African people.

The South African settler regime is also known to have had conspiratorial agreements with Welensky and Salazar on the need to crush the rising tide of African nationalism.

Already the people of South Africa are so impatient that a number of attempts are being made to blow this and that but some of those engaged in these look too amateurish to achieve anything worthwhile.

Once in South African history Raul Kruger, President of the "South African Republic" chose to go to war rather than grant the vote to other Europeans whom he contemptuously referred to as *uitlanders* (foreigners). He boasted that these would receive the vote over his dead body.

When they did receive the vote he had run away to Europe.

The present Prime Minister of settler South Africa was born in Holland. Today he is busy boasting that the African people will receive "one man, one vote" over his dead body. History has a strange tendency of repeating itself and it may soon do so.

February, 1962 ● 25

Goa—Five Centuries of Oppression

by Bob Leeson

THE Indian military action in Goa follows demands—which have mounted since India itself became independent in 1947—that this last imperialist foothold in India be freed.

Goa, south of Bombay on the west coast of India, together with the tiny enclaves of Daman and Diu, cover some 1,500 square miles with a population of about 640,000—60 per cent Hindu and 40 per cent Catholic.

It forms a part of the oldest colonial system in the world. The Portuguese set up forts on the India coast in 1510 to guard trade routes to China.

On October 25, 1955, *The Times* described the empire of the 72-year-old dictator Salazar as a "colonial system on the lines of the Roman Empire," with a "remarkable degree of political stability."

From this empire Portugal draws oil, asphalt, coal, diamonds, uranium, manganese, iron, gold. Figures quoted by *The Times* in 1955 show that Portugal paid about £5 10s. for every ton imported from her colonies.

Exports

But the colonies paid about £7 a ton for all that Portugal exported to them. Since then, the trend has been for this "gap" to widen.

While Portugal has a population of some ten million and a land area of 35,000 square miles, the empire, spread South America, Africa and Asia, covers 800,000 square miles and 12 million people.

Under Salazar's "democracy" the colonies send 17 "deputies" to sit in a Portuguese Parliament of 130 deputies.

The "right" to vote in this empire is extended to about one in eight adults in Portugal itself. In the colonies "democracy" is even more diluted. Thus in Mozambique, 8,000 Africans out of a population of five million can vote.

The empire is held together by deploying the bulk of Portugal's 80,000 soldiers throughout it. Armed forces in Goa are estimated to be about 10,000.

When India became independent of British rule in 1947 she demanded that French and Portuguese occupation of various enclaves around the coast be ended.

Negotiations with the French to liquidate France's colonial possessions were concluded in 1956 with the French giving up Pondicherry, Make and Yanaon.

But requests to Portugal were rejected outright in 1950. In 1952, Salazar issued a decree turning the colonies into "provinces" and declaring them to be "an integral part of Portugal" . . . at a distance of several thousand miles.

From then on, Portuguese oppression of the Goan population worsened as the struggle to reunite Goa and India developed.

From 1953 to 1957 3,000 Goans, one in 200 of the population, were arrested, 87 shot or killed by torture, and 15 deported to penal settlements in other colonies.

Efforts to liberate Goa grew, and in 1953 the tiny enclaves of Dedra and Nagar Haveli were freed by an uprising.

Struggle

Non-violent efforts to free Goa in 1954 met with a bloody response from Portuguese armed forces, 15 people being killed and 225 injured.

Inside Goa, the struggle against Portuguese occupation grew, while in the rest of India people grew impatient with the slowness of the Indian Government to take stronger action than the issuing of Notes to Portugal.

Prime Minister Nehru was charged by Joao Cabral, Secretary of the Goa League, in London last month of "having prevented us from using force to liquidate Portuguese colonialism in Goa."

Throughout this autumn the Portuguese hold over Goa has been increasingly challenged by the Goan people. Some 7,000 strikers brought the manganese and iron ore production to a standstill.

Conditions in Goa were reported as "chaotic," a description confirmed by the state of emergency declared by the Portuguese authorities, who instituted a curfew with "shoot-at-sight" orders.

Volunteers

Nevertheless several villages ejected Portuguese forces and ran up the Indian flag, while police posts were attacked and political prisoners freed.

The Goan Political Convention, uniting all organisations in the colony, announced its intention of calling for 5,000 volunteers to liberate Goa, if the Indian Government did not take action.

In early December, a series of Portuguese frontier violations, firing on an Indian passenger ship and a fishing vessel, killing one man and others, caused anger to injure reach storm level.

In face of the Portuguese provocations, Indian Army units were moved to the border.

American and British pressure on Nehru not to push the Goa issue to open conflict grew. Not only is Portugal a cherished NATO ally, but the natural harbours of Goa are regarded as very useful for Seato operations.

Indeed India more than once had to warn against the use of Goa as a foreign base.

But inside India the demand that the liberation of Goa be achieved without more ado, grew and grew to include all except the extreme Right Wing.

Even the *Hindustan Times* said that Portuguese actions "call for not only deterrent but punitive action."

While the Communist Party's *New Age* asked: "What is the Indian Army for, if it is not sent out to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu?"

Premier Nehru declared on December 10 that while still wanting a peaceful solution, "if the other side pays no heed to reason we have to be ready."

The bulk of the British Press have, of course, assailed Nehru as an aggressor, but *The Times* is shrewd enough to point to the real reason for their anger.

"So far as the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar is concerned, this disaster, coming on top of the insurgence in Angola must affect his regime."

Salazar's empire is crumbling. Its peoples are on the move, inflicting another great blow against imperialism as a whole.

We Shall Fight

Continued from page 13

On the lower level, it is important that the conditions in detention and prison camps be investigated by some unbiased Red Cross International members immediately. In one prison camp, one of my followers has died from what medical authorities believe to be dysentery. Others were taken ill at the same time. They are in Hospital.

The stage is now set for Her Majesty the Government to act and meet the representations of various sections of our community who approached them. We have been too liberal as a nationalist party. I am beginning to wonder whether Her Majesty's Government would have gone back on their word had we played as tough as Welensky has been playing it. If Mr. Macleod's removal means Welensky's victory, I shall implement the 3rd and 4th stages of my master plan. When the 3rd and 4th stages of my Master Plan are launched there will be few smiles and indeed no capital will come in—at least not in Northern Rhodesia. Now

is the time for Her Majesty's Government to grant to the chiefs and people of Northern Rhodesia what is divinely theirs. (Welensky, we shall fight to the last man.)

GOD BLESS AFRICA—HER SONS AND DAUGHTERS.

Blazing Fire

Continued from page 7

officers who remain loyal to their former masters.

Conference expressed the conviction that it is by intensifying the mobilisation of the African masses for the liberation of Africa that the African will find the most efficient way to fight neo-colonialism.

Counteracting Neo-Colonialism

Conference condemned the balkanization of emerging states, and federations created before independence under the patronage of colonial states.

Conference invited all Independent African States to give aid and assistance to liberate the African countries still under foreign domination and urged those Independent African states which still retain foreign military and para-military bases, to liquidate these bases as soon as possible.

The launching of the All-African Trade Union Federation in Casablanca during May, 1961, provided the African working classes with an effective means of counteracting neo-colonialism.

The USA continues to finance the colonialist war against African liberation.

Out of the 376 million dollars of American aid given to Salazar 286 million dollars were given for military assistance.

De Gaulle has since he was against Algeria received the fabulous sum of 9,786 million dollars as aid from the USA. He hasn't used half of this money in effect to exterminate the Algerian people for the sake of Algerian oil and other Algerian riches.

The Winneba meeting of African nationalist leaders from the Dependent African States discussed imperialism and colonialism in the light of the mounting repression of the African peoples and discussed *inter alia*.

As the struggle for the liberation of Africa gains momentum the need for a monolithic continent-wide liberatory party becomes accentuated. Such a party must be based on African nationalism and committed to African unity and to the creation of an Africanist socialist democracy.

Sekou Toure, leading Africanist, moved directly towards the definition of such socialist democracy when he declared that:

"We have never excluded co-operation with capital. We have only rejected capitalism as a form of social organisation because it does not suit our stage of development.

"My country will not attempt to imitate or copy the economic system of any other country, either capitalist or socialist, because the present conditions of life and problems of development in Guinea are not the same as those of any other country.

"Rather, it will employ all means, take advantage of all possibilities, and borrow from all experiences, in so far as they are adaptable to and contribute towards Guinean advancement."

Civilisation

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contributed new technical discoveries, others new ideas and others again new kinds of artistic production.

The European pirates and traders who penetrated into the Indian Ocean during the sixteenth century did not and could not consider themselves more civilised than the ancient communities which they attacked. They killed and plundered in the name of the Christian religion, not in the name of "White Civilisation."

Western technical superiority is hardly more than two centuries old, and it is already being lost again.

"Katanga's Wealth is all They Care for"

by Special Correspondent

KATANGA, a province of the ex-Belgian Congo which borders on Welensky's Northern Rhodesia, has become the focal point of the political struggle in the Congo.

Its importance lies in its wealth. On one side of its border are the great Rhodesian copper mines (with British, American, Rhodesian and South African owners), on the Katanga side stretches the huge territory of the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga.

This huge concern controls a copper area of about 7,700 square miles, containing also, cobalt, zinc, radium, cadmium, germanium, manganese, silver, gold and most important—uranium.

In addition, it has a tin area of about 5,400 square miles.

The British company of Tanganyika Concessions holds a large slice of Union Miniere's capital and is entitled to substantial royalties on the minerals produced.

"Tanks" (as it is known) also owns the Benguela Railway, which runs through the Portuguese colony of Angola—and by which ore has been shipped out of Katanga since Tshombe declared the territory's "secession."

Control

Holding decisive control in Union Miniere, along with "Tanks," is the Belgian Societe Generale. The French newspaper *L'Express* wrote of this concern:

"When independence for the Congo became inevitable to Generale's great concern was to keep its Katanga empire."

Today Generale and "Tanks" have 30 per cent of the shares in Union Miniere. The other largest share is

in the hands of the "State"—which in practice has meant the Belgian Government and the Tshombe puppet government in Katanga, which has used some of the money to build up its armed forces.

"Tanks," with substantial holdings in Rhodesia as well as Katanga, has three of Union Miniere's directors on its board, while three British directors of "Tanks" sit on the board of Union Miniere. They include:

The Earl of Selborne, a Tory peer, is deputy chairman of Boots Pure Drug and a director of the National Provincial Bank.

He is also a member of the central council of the Economic League, and before the war was a member of the committee of the United Christian Front, an organisation which supported General Franco at the time of the Spanish War.

Director

Sir Ulick Alexander, a director of the Banque Belge, and at one time a Comptroller of the Household to the Duke and Duchess of Kent, has been Keeper of the Privy Purse and Extra Equerry to the Queen.

Also on the board of "Tanks" (though not of Union Miniere) in addition to Captain Charles Waterhouse, who has been referred to by Dr. Conor O'Brien, are:

Lord Robins, who is president of the British South Africa Company which thrives on copper royalties in Northern Rhodesia.

He is on the Board of African Explosives, the great I.C.I. subsidiary Barclays Bank, and many other companies with South African and Rhodesian interests. He was elevated to the peerage in 1958.

Sir Robert J. Hudson, a chief justice of Southern Rhodesia from 1943 to 1950, is also a director of the Standard Bank of South Africa.

Harry Oppenheimer, the great South African magnate, is chairman of De Beers Consolidated Mines, the diamond concern and Mines, director of about 44 other companies.

He and Philip Oppenheimer are both directors of Societe Miniere du Beceka, a diamond concern which has a number of common directors with Union Miniere.

The resources and wealth of Katanga have remained largely in the hands of the massive monopolies which have their roots in powerful groupings in Belgium, Britain, the United States and elsewhere.

And the hope has always been for a separate Katanga independent of the Central Congolese Government, which would permit them to continue drawing profits from their vast interests.

Before independence, the Katanga province provided 60 per cent of the Congo's income—the aim of imperialism has always been to retain as much of it as possible.

In the five years before independence, it has been estimated, around £464 million flowed from the Congo into Belgium alone.

Behind the "ultras" or "mercenaries" which are leading the troops in Katanga against the U.N. forces is the power of the Anglo-Belgian imperialists.

And anxious to wrest some of the wealth of Katanga from this imperialist grip—in order to line their own pockets instead—are the big American financial interests.

The main sufferers of this grappling to maintain or seize financial dominance in Katanga, and in the Congo as a whole, are, of course, the Congolese people.

Exploited

They have been ruthlessly exploited for years by these imperialist concerns.

Union Miniere paid its African miners less than three shillings a day and refused them any right to trade union organisation.

Nominal independence has not ended this thralldom—this will only come when those who have battered on their country for so long are compelled to release their grip.

Colonial Mentality

by T. Y. Enin

IT is difficult to define "colonial mentality", an expression frequently used on nationalist platforms but which no speaker has yet bothered to analyse adequately. I do not pretend to offer a definition myself, except to point out that it is a way of subjective thinking, resulting from the systematic bombardment of the ego by social, political and economic pressures induced by the educative process which govern the development of the society in which victim of colonial mentality lives. It is the worst form of inferiority complex, beset with inhibitions which dwarf the perceptions, and restrict the mental growth of a person into the full stature of a man who can discriminate between truth and falsehood, liberty and serfdom.

Operation

Colonial mentality works both ways. It occurs in old colonial officers and settlers as well as in the colonial peoples themselves. Take, for example, the colonial officer who, faced with a rising tide of African nationalism, withdraws into his armour of evil propaganda, lies and frequently brutality, and refuses to realise that the colonial people have a birthright—a stolen birthright—to reclaim.

When he is at last disillusioned (fortunately for him) he shakes his old head and benignly pats the people on the back with enforced good humour. Or consider the other chap who by reason of the colour of his skin, and backed by the crushing colonial policies of his government at home, acquires huge tracts of land in a colony for himself and his family. When the day of reckoning comes and he realises that his fat living, made on the sweat and poverty of cheap African labour must stop, he, displaying the most crude form of colonial mentality which his own

government's officers find embarrassing, snarls and threatens to cut his own throat in protest against "black domination".

The problem facing the emergent nations in Africa and Asia is not that of colonial mentality in a few hundred ex-officials or colonists, but that of the disease in our own people. It is especially dangerous in educated, or shall we say mis-educated, people. For a man suffering from that mentality can lead others into apathy and selfishness and encourage them to have a contempt for the rule of law and order. He is usual tool which imperialist agents use to stir trouble in otherwise peaceful and orderly demonstrations and to sabotage the legitimate aspirations of nationalist movements. He usually dissociates himself from such movements and acts the stooge and brags about his superior intelligence.

When the bitter struggle is over (in spite of him and his kind) and independence is won, he refuses to believe that he is in a different age and continues to live in the old colonial days, preferring to kowtow and cringe and eat his humble pie before his masters, despite his physical existence in the present free and independent society whose progress and well-being it is his duty and privilege to maintain and foster. He is ashamed of his people's customs and culture and delights in flinging mud at his own Government and leaders. He is an "intellectual", he sometimes claims, but his thinking is as woolly and confused as his masters.

Under a European supervisor at his office or workshop, he is wonderfully efficient. But let the same man be put in charge of an equally qualified African supervisor. With his colonial mentality he thinks it is the worst thing that could ever happen to him. He becomes sullen and

aggressive and deliberately causes delay to important work, to spite "his own brother". The malady manifests itself in humbler walks of life too. During an election campaign in Ghana I met an old woman who asked me whether "you are driving away the English to let in the Americans". I told her that we were neither driving out the English nor letting in the Americans.

What we were doing was claiming the right to govern our own country and who went out or stayed was immaterial. "Bless you my son", she said, "and bless Kwame Nkrumah and the day when my eyes will see the liberation of my people". Her eyes, she told me, had seen the British engagement in Ashanti in 1896 and 1900. She saw the mighty King Prempeh taken away by the "Abusofo" (the accursed). Since then life had not been as it should be and she always prayed for freedom. "For", she continued, "when Nana Prempeh was eventually returned to Kumasi he was like a bird with clipped wings." Good old lady, she saw the restoration of Ghana before she died last year. The point of my story, however, is a little episode which occurred immediately I left the old woman's house. I met her son just outside the house.

He told me he could not help hearing out conversation, and warned me not to come to the house again with "that Nkrumah nonsense". In spite of all I did to convince him that Dr. Nkrumah needed the support of everyone in the country in order to achieve victory for Ghana, he solemnly declared, "I am a loyal African and will continue to serve the white man till the day I die." He is not dead yet, but he still carries about with him the yoke of bondage. The slogan, "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquillity," has no meaning for him. A perfect example of the colonial mentality.

The Salvation

Is it possible to save people like this and others higher up the scale from colonial mentality? The answer is yes. Various means may be employed to do this. The first important thing is to re-educate the

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Mozambique Freedom Struggle—Special Correspondent.

"INDIA should liberate Goa within six months by the use of force if necessary," Bwana Hlomulo Gwambe, President of the National Democratic Union of Mozambique, (UDENAMO) told a seminar on Portuguese colonies in New Delhi during October 1961.

"Indian action in Goa would encourage African freedom fighters to throw off Portuguese rule in their own states."

Barely two months after this exhortation the Government of India liberated Goa, Diu and Daman by force of arms.

The action of the Government of India is completely in consonance with the philosophy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who holds that if violence is bad slavery is worse. He could no longer tolerate the continued enslavement of his compatriots by the Portuguese.

Dictator Salazar today licks his wounds over the routing of the Portuguese thugs and gangsters in India.

Under the Portuguese-British Treaty of 1661 the British Government undertook "to defend and protect all conquests or colonies belonging to the crown of Portugal against all enemies."

That treaty has since been reinforced by the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) a body of the "free" world dedicated to the perpetuation of colonialism and imperialism by force of arms.

Because of the knowledge that their policies have the blessings of "respectable" colonialist powers the Portuguese have stepped up their fascist terrorism and brutality in their so-called "overseas provinces" and Mozambique is beginning to feel the weight of the jackboot of their armed gangsters and thugs.

In July 1961, the 2,037 ton Portuguese liner "still shave" 550

passengers aboard went a ground at the mouth of the River Tinde, in Mozambique. These included 50 Portuguese gangster leaders and 500 African armed thugs.

At the end of July, 1,400 Portuguese armed thugs arrived by sea in Lourenco and a week earlier 2,000 other armed thugs had arrived. By this time 20,000 Portuguese terrorists were already in Mozambique.

In September 1961, the new 19,000 ton Portuguese liner *Principe Rerfeito* arrived in Lourenco Marques with 1,000 Portuguese terrorists aboard. These were to be deployed in Northern Mozambique since the southern part is already well protected by Verwoerd's armed gangsters.

In November 1961, a contingent of 1,400 Portuguese armed thugs left Lisbon for Mozambique on the Portuguese steamer "Imperio".

In December 1961, 1,300 more armed thugs arrived in Lourenco Marques.

All these armed thugs are being brought in to step up the terrorist aggression against the African masses whose only crime is that they seek to throw the Portuguese colonialist yoke.

"Your real battle," stated leaflets distributed secretly among the armed thugs by the Mozambique Democratic Movement, a liberal multi-racial body in November 1961, "is against the traitor and cynic Salazar and his government of gangsters. Portuguese can only be truly free and progressive when it no longer enslaves others."

These armed thugs have certainly not been on a Sunday school picnic in Mozambique.

In a statement smuggled out of terrorist besieged Mozambique in April 1961, UDENAMO called out:

"We call the special attention of radio and telegraph stations all over the world to transmit urgently the following message specially addressed

to the General Assembly of the United Nations:

"The African population of Mozambique is in a desperate situation. Police and Administrators are arresting daily hundreds of Africans and mixed persons (coloured in Lourenco Marques, Beira, Nampula, Quelimane, and Villages in the interior.

"We confirm the massacres of African labourers by Portuguese troops last month on cotton, sisal and sugar plantations at Mueda Vila, Cabral, Millange and Xinavane.

"We ask for the immediate intervention of United Nations troops to prevent the operation of terrorist acts similar to those in Angola or Kenya."

Recently 7 Africans died instantly and 92 were taken to the Beira hospital after drinking Portuguese poisoned beer which is being sold to African only.

As far back as 1952, James Mtemaganda, an African freedom fighter in Mozambique, was an eye-witness to the callous murder of five African youth aged 17 and 18 years. Eggs were placed on the heads of these youth and Portuguese terrorists aimed and shot at the eggs—and shot the youth dead. And none of these were ever brought to justice.

Many a grim story is being told about Portuguese atrocities perpetrated against the African people especially against the African freedom fighters. If there was a grain of truth in these ghastly tales the Portuguese fascists would willingly agree to the appointment of an international commission of enquiry to investigate these.

One meets in the flesh many an African freedom fighter who testifies to be eye-witness of these horrible atrocities. There are stories in current circulation of freedom fighters being buried alive at the notorious Nyan-gawo upon the island of Bazaruto near Beira. There are stories of freedom fighters dropped from aeroplanes into vast forests or into the sea. Stories of hungry political prisoners being offered nothing but poisoned food "sustenance".

Portuguese terrorists are going all out to intensify oppressive measures against the African people of Mozambique.

According to a statement released

during December 1961, by Bwana Paul Gumane, an executive officer of UDENAMO, the Portuguese terrorists in Mozambique are enforcing a new law under which Africans in the Lourenco Marques districts are not allowed to be in groups of more than two adults.

The statement adds that many people are being arrested, charged and even beaten up for contravention of this regulation.

Those arrested, Mr. Gumane said, were being sent to the sugar plantation of Xinavane, Manica and Machangalala as part of the unpaid Portuguese labour force. Several educated Africans are being sent to jail without any trial in the courts of the land.

In a press statement released also in December Bwana Sigauke, Permanent Representative of UDENAMO in Accra, asserts that:

"African people in Mozambique are prohibited from reading foreign newspapers and from listening to radio programmes by other world radio services!

"Anybody found tuning his radio to a foreign station or found with a

piece of an old foreign newspaper is beaten up and thrown into prison."

Poll-tax has been increased from £3 15/- per year to £4 10/-.

During November 1961, 15 men including two chiefs were arrested because they were found reading the *Drum Magazine* and because they were suspected of being in contact with African nationalist organisations outside.

Agostinho Ilunga, the 34-year-old former Secretary-General of the Mozambique Liberation Party has been sentenced to four years imprisonment, 15 years loss of "political right" (which is in any case non-existent) and to security restriction for six months to three years.

The charge against Bwana Ilunga was that of "treason." His "treason" consisted in his being associated with African national liberation movement and in his having identified himself with a petition to the U.N.

In a statement to the Press Bwana Marcelino Dos Santos, Secretary-General of the Nationalist Organisations of Portuguese Colonies said:

"We have once more asked the

Portuguese Government to agree to negotiate. They have unfortunately rejected this offer. We entertain no illusion on this matter. The fascist nature of the Salazar regime does not allow it to recognise the right of the people to self-determination."

Meanwhile as a reprisal measure against India's action in liberating Goa the Salazar terrorists have interned 12,000 Indian nationals in concentration camps, put their property under surveillance and sealed their homes and shops.

UDENAMO has informed Dictator Salazar that Verwoerd's armed bandits on the Mozambique frontier and the NATO imperialist powers are assisting Portugal to eliminate Mozambicans.

UDENAMO also accused Salazar and Welensky of plotting the slaughter of Mozambicans and Rhodesians.

"A national revolution similar to that in Angola is inevitable in Mozambique," Bwana Hlomulo Gwambe has said in a press statement. And that observation seems to sum up the whole course of the Mozambique revolution unless the UN intervenes.

of living immediately after independence is further proof of the colonial peoples' will and ability to manage their own affairs. On the international level, the new nations pour vitality and freshness into the United Nations and its subsidiary organisations.

For the illiterate, signs and symbols strengthen his grasp of the situation. To him the chief's symbol of authority is the stool, the linguist is known by his staff and no messenger's errand is valid unless he is accompanied by his golden sword. To obliterate the symbols of imperialism therefore is a vital element in the process of "re-educating" the illiterate.

This is why no level-headed African should give heed to the criticism by imperialists and their stooges that for Dr. Nkrumah's head to appear on the coins and stamps of Ghana is an unwise thing for the Government to do. When the Union Jack gave way to the Tricolour of Ghana, "God Save the Queen" to our own National Anthem and Nkrumah's image re-

placed the Queen's on our coins and stamps, the presence of the imperialists among us no longer bothered the illiterate. They felt the image, studied its typically African outline and were really convinced that we had seen the back of the imperialists for ever. The visible and concrete symbol of our sovereignty was here and everywhere.

Direct Government propaganda, in broadcasts, in films and in community development is essential for a better informed public. Above all, it is very important that the individual citizen takes an active part in this work of educating the nation. It is he who is in constant intercourse with his fellow citizens and by his example and unselfish dedication to his daily task he can be a potent influence in shaping the destiny of his country. It is a great privilege to live in this age—the age of Africa's redemption; and to accept the invitation which she extends to every one of us to come home and help to build the new society is the noblest service we can render to our generation.

Mentality

Continued from page 29

victim by restoring confidence in himself and in the ability of people of his own race to run a nation successfully. To refer to the achievements of past Africans and other coloured peoples is to throw the issue out of focus. He already lives in the past and is aware of the facts. What must be brought home to him is the reality of the present and faith in the future. A reference to current happenings, quoting the world as well as the local press, has awakening effect.

Perhaps most important of all is evidence of the spectacular progress made by emergent nations a few years after independence. The rapid increase in public utilities, roads, railways, bridges, schools, colleges, hospitals and clinics. These are good evidence of progress made possible by better economic and social planning. The raised standard

The Right and Might in the Liberatory Struggle—Angry Pan-Africanist

FOR Fourteen years India had been seeking a peaceful solution over Goa, but as usual the Portuguese imperialists refused to negotiate. Finally India made up her mind to exercise force, being the only language that imperialists can understand. In less than thirty-six hours India liberated Goa from the decayed yoke of colonialism and imperialism. For that brave action we in Africa and other countries (who sympathise with Africa's struggle for freedom) sincerely congratulate Prime Minister Nehru and the entire Indian people.

Africa's High Command

Goa should be a typical example, sufficient enough to justify the need for the African High Command which Osagyefo the President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and other Heads of Casablanca States have been trying to achieve.

The colonial powers want to consolidate their imperialist and colonialist positions for their common objective of spreading neo-colonialism, pressing the cause of imperialism and of the merciless exploitation of the entire African people. Their chief aim is to degrade African dignity in Africa and in the outside world to keep Africa in ignorance, and to reserve poverty for the African people so that they may remain in hunger, disease, and perpetual slavery.

The big Giant

Is the big giant fully awake? Has he really broken the chains of slavery and set himself free from the yoke of colonialism and imperialism? If not when is he to awake? And how are we to unchain him?

Africa's Giant is awake. It only remains for him to unchain himself from the political servitude of the colonialists. That can only be achieved if all the Independent African States unite for the liberation of the oppressed African States.

One united Africa is essential to the maintenance and consolidation of freedom and independence. It is the only means of enabling us to make good use of our land together with its mineral wealth and human labour which are for the time being, greedily exploited by the imperialists. A united Africa can within a short time abolish colonialism and imperialism and establish a very highly civilized society.

How can Unity be Achieved?

It will be noted that all the colonial powers, namely Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain have fully approved and appreciated the dreadful actions of one another and also impudently determined to massacre, torture and enslave the entire African people. Yet some Independent African States flatly ignore the necessity for joining the African High Command.

Simultaneously, they underestimate the immediate effect it will produce towards the total liberation of the African people. Wherever the colonialists have to satisfy their insatiable greed no sacrifice is too great.

Only force liberated Goa, and the threat of force liberated New Guinea. Only force will liberate Angola, Katanga, Algeria, South Africa and all places that are now dominated by the colonialists and the puppets. How and when will the French colonialists say peacefully, and

friendly say to Algerian people: "You are now independent. We are leaving your wealth in the Sahara, because we believe we have sufficient. Thank you very much. Good-bye."?

When and how will the Portuguese colonialists vacate the rich lands of Angola for the Angolans or the British colonialists Zambia (N. Rhodesia) for and Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia) for the Zambians and Zimbabweans? In all these places they came by force and stay by force and only force will push them out.

In Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and Rhodesia where the Africans are kept most backward in every respect, the imperialists went further. They illegally legalised their illegal occupation of these states and unashamedly claimed these areas as their own.

Shame! How can you expect such shameless blood thirsty vampires to quit peacefully? Beside the countries they have been grabbing, the imperialists have struck yet another blow in a desperate attempt to snatch Katanga from Congo in order to debar the Africans from enjoying the wealth of their own country. What a shameless monopoly!

Lackey Tshombe the Shameless

For over a year the United Nations could not bring Tshombe to his knees. Dr. Conor O'Brien has now made very amazing but convincing revelations. Thanks heaven a member of the Afro-Asian group is now handling the situation.

Tshombe the shameless, Tshombe the quisling, Tshombe the stooge, Tshombe the number one enemy of the African people has agreed to the colonialists to murder his fellow Africans. Tshombe has agreed with the colonialists in their attempts to undermine the Congo's independence and her territorial integrity.

Tshombe invites the white Boers from South Africa and all other white colonialists to join his treacherous army to exterminate the African people.

Tshombe obeyed the orders of his Belgian masters to murder the legally elected first Prime Minister of the Congo, the martyred Patrice Lumumba of saintly memory. If left unchecked Tshombe will negotiate with colonialists to merge Katanga with

the "Federation." It is the desire of the colonialists to grab and retain the richest parts of Africa and keep them as their own. We formerly blamed Belgium for the Congo trouble. Now, from the revelations of Dr. O'Brien and the hostile attitude of Boxer Welensky the true culprit now exposed is Britain, the mother of colonialism and imperialism; the hypocritical Britain who supports the United Nations as a permanent member in security council with veto power but again opposes the organisation in the Congo operation. Shameful double dealer!

How can President Youlou and his associates imagine that the notorious Tshombe and his masters would enter into any genuine negotiations?

Tshombe is made to believe that Boxer Welensky and other colonialists die-hards would help him gain power or to achieve Katanga's independence.

There are African nationalists in the "Federation" who are fighting for the change of the electoral system. Why does Boxer Welensky not help them? These are also Africans but unlike Tshombe, these African nationalists are fighting for Africa and the Africans.

For years now the Africans in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Kenya have been fighting for their independence. Many of them lost their lives during the struggle yet up to now Britain is not prepared to give their freedom. Why do they choose to help Tshombe instead of Jomo Kenyatta or Joshua Nkomo?

For fully eight years now the Algerians have been in a grim life-and-death struggle against French colonialist aggressors. France has mobilised over 300,000 armed thugs for the subjugation or extermination of the Algerian people. If the French do believe in giving people freedom why can't they give it to the Algerians?

After the Congoans had driven the blood thirsty and blood sucking Belgians away, Tshombe called them back to overthrow the Republic's freedom and independence and destroy its territorial integrity. If the Belgians want to help the Congoans why were there never any university graduates in the Congo from the beginning to the end of their rule?

Let Tshombe and his associates stop deceiving themselves. They should know by now that colonialists came to Africa not to help the Africans but to exploit them.

The Katanga war is not between the United Nations and the Africans. It is United Nations versus the white mercenaries who were imported to volunteer for the cause of taking away the rich province of Katanga for the imperialists and colonialists. All colonialist powers supply arms for this perfidious deed and it is proved beyond doubt that Boxer Welensky persistently smuggles arms into Katanga.

Sudan is Disappointed

One wonders how Sudan feels about this stab at the back attitude of the imperialists. Sudan refused to transport to the Congo aid offered by the socialist countries. She claimed she could do so only through the United Nations.

Now Macmillan, de Gaulle, Adenauer, Salazar and Boxer Welensky are caught red-handed supplying arms to their mercenaries to fight, obstruct and paralyse the United Nations Operation in the Congo.

What will Sudan do about it? The Sudanians can now see the colonialists and imperialists in their true colour. It is time for the Sudanians to allow aid to the Congo from any country that is prepared to help in the liberation of our mother Africa to pass through their country.

The Whites are always united. The United States did not drop an atom bomb over Germany because Germans are White but they did drop it upon Japan.

"Baas" Verwoerd invites all Whites to go and settle in South-West Africa so that they may raise the numerical strength of the white settler minority to equal that of the African population in the event of a plebiscite. For the time being the imperialists and colonialists are doing their best to delay the plebiscite while the West Germans flow into that state in their thousands.

Even during the Congo operation the mercenaries never killed Swedish or any European soldiers but what happened to Ghanaian, Nigerian, Indian or other African or Asian troops? They were slaughtered.

The Western colonialists have their NATO, their European Command Market and many similar organs. The socialist countries have their WARSAW pact. We do not see why in Africa we should not have our own African High Command! Colonialists and imperialists came to Africa by force and maintain themselves by force and only force will push them out. Only the African High Command will effectively counter the fresh colonialist aggression in Africa.

Liberation

Continued from page 8

We had witnessed depressing incidents such as the Bizerta slaughter of Tunisian citizens by the savage troops of a discredited colonial power which still held a dangerous impression that Tunisia was an extension of her imperialist domains.

But the feeling and conviction that the world could easily do without the evils of human greed and wickedness calculated to bring about the third world conflict of arms has been clearly demonstrated by the success of the Belgrade Conference which declared emphatically—"Lasting peace could only be achieved if colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations were radically eradicated."

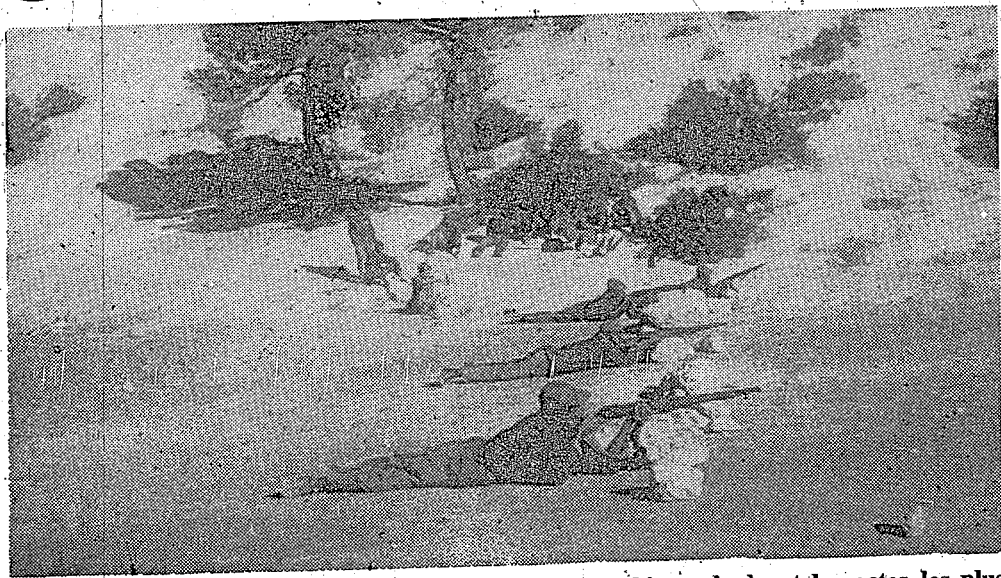
Despite the presence of sinister leagues in our midst, comprising such dishonest animal-minded beings like Salazar, Verwoerd and Welensky, another glorious chapter was added to the history of emerging Africa—the Independence of Tanganyika.

Africa must never think that her enemies will ever be pleased by the giant strides she takes towards our cherished goal. We must never wait for our enemies to tell us that we must march forward with determination towards a brighter future of free and united Africa!

Our task should simply be to call upon the oppressed masses of this great continent to inspire themselves with confidence so as to be able to rise with the eagle of African freedom to welcome the rising sun!

Voire faces 1962 with stern determination to ensure that Africa is totally free by December 31, 1963.

Un Avertissement



LES atrocités du Portugal en Angola et au Mozambique s'avèrent les actes les plus barbares qui ont défrayé la chronique du mois de Décembre 1961. "La voix de l'Afrique" a en conséquence utilisé tous les moyens disponibles pour apporter à ses lecteurs, un compte rendu minutieux de la situation, en utilisant les services de commentateurs politiques renommés et des observateurs sur les lieux en vue de rapporter une image assez claire de la "petite guerre" qui a eu une si large repercussion à travers le monde.

L'implacable détermination du peuple de l'Angola de combattre pour sa liberté et aussi pour la liquidation totale des vampires portugais se traduit clairement dans le cliché ci-dessus. Nous avons pris ce cliché sur le front même de la bataille; et nous avons décidé de le publier de façon à montrer au monde, le prix auquel l'Afrique consent pour sa liberté. La date limite pour la libération du dernier pouce du territoire africain est le 31 décembre 1963. Aucune partie de l'Afrique, (y compris les îles alentours) ne sera plus assujettie aux influences colonialistes après cette date.

Nous savons à quel prix ceci se réalisera mais nous savons également que l'âme et le corps africains de nos jours s'y sont préparés. Nous pouvons le payer, ce prix là. Tout Africain qui en penserait le contraire s'adhère de par ce fait même au camp opposé et il sera sans aucun doute broyé ensemble avec l'ennemi.

Les honteuses manigances désespérées des colonialistes endurcis de la trempe des Verwoerd, Welensky et Salazar n'est qu'une preuve de leur prise de conscience du fait qu'il existe en Afrique, des forces capables de les réduire en un pétrin agonisant.

La cloche du destin qui pendant des décennies a sonné la chute des tyrans s'appête à sonner le glas de ces vampires. Nos hommes ne peuvent jamais battre en retraite. Le présent sombre se détache irrésistiblement du passé et se dirige vers la liberté future de l'Afrique où les aspirations captives se resplendiront dans une liberté sans entrave que l'Afrique contemporaine réclame sans désespérer. L'homme du continent bénéficiera tout comme les générations futures de l'émouvante gloire qui couronnera l'âge d'or africain.

Ni Juste ni Sain!

LA crise en Rhodésie du Sud est loin d'avoir passé et le pays se trouve toujours sous l'emprise du mécontentement résultant des mesures totalitaires, injustifiées et ignobles qui y sont prises pour supprimer le Parti Nationaliste le plus démocratique du pays à savoir: le Parti National Démocratique.

Ces étrangers qui pour l'instant détiennent les pouvoirs gouvernementaux en Rhodésie du Sud, nous ne pouvons que donner un avertissement amical à savoir les nobles idéaux que le Parti a soutenus ne peuvent être bafoués par une clique d'exploiteurs étrangers sans vergogne dont le souci constant est d'amasser injures et dégradations sur la totalité des Africains opprimés de la Rhodésie du Sud aussi longtemps qu'eux mêmes s'enrichissent à nos dépens et essaient de nourrir les millions

d'anglais affamés et mi nus de cette terre stérile qu'est l'Angleterre.

Nous avons cru que les ennemis de l'autodétermination et de la liberté en Afrique, comme les exploiters capitalistes Anglais ont appris la leçon du fait qu'en tuant brutalement et honteusement Patrice Lumumba Premier Ministre du Congo, les impérialistes occidentaux n'ont en aucun cas arrêté ou retardé les forces progressistes du nationalisme africain au Congo.

Les Anglais, fanatiques dans leur politique coloniale n'ont rien appris de tout cela. Mais alors, à quoi servent les expériences du passé. De nos jours, Edgar Whitehead se fait une terrible illusion et en ce la induit en erreur ses collègues colonialistes leur donnant l'impression néfaste que le colonialisme et l'imperialisme anglais seront éternels

en Afrique Centrale.

Mais bien au contraire, l'étoile de la libération africaine fait irrésistiblement son ascension et ceci à la grande stupéfaction des néo-colonialistes qui ont réalisé avec grande douleur que leur régime appuyé par l'OTAN en Rhodésie du Sud sera à jamais mis en réduit pour la simple raison que l'Afrique ne peut en aucune façon être le terrain d'expérience des manoeuvres impérialistes britanniques.

L'Union des Peuples Africains du Zimbabwe à donc repris la tâche noble et sacrée de travailler pour la réalisation des idéaux qui conditionnent la lutte de la liberté et l'indépendance en Rhodésie du Sud. Nous croyons qu'il soit seulement normal de prodiguer un avertissement amical à Whitehead pendant qu'il est encore temps que ses efforts négatifs tendant à supprimer les mouvements populaires nationalistes courent un échec inéluctable.

Il semble qu'il soit sage à tous les Africains en Rhodésie du Sud et partout ailleurs d'accorder autant d'aide que possible aux affamés capitalistes anglais afin qu'ils puissent creuser leur propre tombeau beaucoup plus vite qu'ils ne le font en ce moment.

L'Unité Africaine—Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

A mon avis, l'Unité de l'Afrique c'est-à-dire l'union économique et politique du continent Africain doit se fixer trois objectifs:

Primo, nous devons avoir une planification économique sur la base unitaire continentale qui augmenterait dans son ensemble, la puissance économique et industrielle de l'Afrique.

Secundo, nous devons parvenir à la création d'un commandement Militaire conjoint. Je n'entrevois aucune sagesse quant à notre système actuel d'organiser et de maintenir chacun pour soi des forces militaires pour défendre la patrie. Ce système s'avère d'ailleurs inefficace devant un conflit majeur éventuel.

Si nous examinons ce problème d'une manière réaliste nous ne pouvons échapper à la pertinente et éternelle question à savoir quel état Africain peut à lui seul se protéger contre un agresseur impérialiste?

Notre troisième objectif sera la fusion des deux premiers que j'ai déjà annoncés. Si nous devons organiser en Afrique une planification économique continentale et un Haut Commandement Militaire conjoint, il va sans dire que nous devons adopter une politique étrangère commune pouvant donner une direction uniforme à notre défense nationale continentale et à notre planification économique et industrielle du continent.

Travailleurs en Chaines

par Malcolm McVeigh

A la grande surprise et stupeur du Portugal, et malgré tous ses efforts de contrôler et de trier les nouvelles, l'attention mondiale a été de plus en plus attirée sur sa colonie d'Afrique Occidentale nommée l'Angola. Le pays de l'Angola se trouve pratiquement en état de guerre civile. Les plus basses estimations portent à 1000 européens et 50,000 Africains de tués déjà mais la rébellion continue. On rapporte que 160.000 réfugiés africains se sont déjà enfuis en République Congolaise. Ce qui nous paraît fort bizarre c'est que ceux qui ont suivi de près l'évolution de la situation en Angola ne se sont aucunement montrés surpris par les événements et leurs résultats.

La tragique situation qui s'est développée en Angola démontre une fois de plus la vérocité et la sagesse contenues dans le proverbe: "Qui sème le vent récolte la tempête". Portugal dans ce contexte a semé la haine, la violence et l'injustice sociale dans ce pays pendant des siècles. Face à la vague montante d'agitation et de mécontentement, le Portugal a refusé tout compromis et aussi de reconnaître ses erreurs du passé afin d'apporter des réformes conséquentes. Portugal a aveuglément poursuivi sa politique de "status quo" pensant que ce qui a été possible d'ily a 500 ans l'est encore de nos jours. Il a refusé en outre d'accepter les exigences du vingtième siècle et de reconnaître qu'une nouvelle ère s'est ouverte en Afrique. La graine de cet énorme échec se développe, soulève la terre et voit le jour dans une maturité de violence.

Les causes principales de la révolte en Afrique sont énormément surprenantes et renfermées. La vie de tous côtés présente quelques énormes difficultés sociales, des gémissements se font entendre même depuis la

source du limon et des relations humaines, criant justice et réformes. C'est impossible de relever un quelconque de ces problèmes et en dire dire qu'il est le plus important de tout le reste. Ils contribuent tous équitablement au cancer général, et il serait justifiable, de dire qu'il n'existe en Angola une injustice sociale, économique plus honteuse et désastreuse que le travail forcé.

Sur le plan international, les fonctionnaires Portugais nient que le travail forcé est toujours imposé et pratiqué en Angola et il ne leur est pas difficile de produire des tonnes de documentations appuyant leurs déclarations que ce système de travail forcé est aboli depuis des années. Naturellement cela n'est simplement et purement que de la propagande destinée à tromper l'opinion mondiale. La bonne intention peut toujours être pervertie déclarent ces fonctionnaires qui accusent le monde de ne pas vouloir comprendre le caractère bénévole de la politique "réaliste" de colonisation du Portugal.

Un fait fort intéressant est qu'en Angola même nul ne peut nier l'existence du travail forcé puisque c'est une affaire courante et de tous les jours. Pratiquement aucune activité ou développement économique n'a lieu en Angola sans l'utilisation de la main d'oeuvre forcée.

En Angola, non seulement le travail forcé est pratiqué; il est également admis et préservé comme un élément social normal. Les Portugais se félicitent du système qu'ils qualifient de gracieux non seulement pour les colons qui lui doivent leur existence mais aussi pour les Africains eux-mêmes. Quelques uns de ces colons dans leurs moments de grandes contemplations idéalistes considèrent les chantiers de

travaux forcés comme des écoles où les "Paresseux" naturellement apprennent à travailler. Je me souviens d'un entretien que j'ai eu en Mars (1960) avec un administrateur colonial à Caxito, petit bourg Africain près de Luanda; celui-ci maintenait fortement le système du travail forcé comme étant le seul moyen "d'interdire aux hommes de désertir leurs femmes". Il avait pris des précautions pour ne pas dire que les femmes sont également comprises dans ce programme.

Selon ce système, chacun doit travailler et montrer le fruit de son labeur. La plupart des Africains travaillent et vivent de la terre, donc il est du devoir de chaque Africain en Angola de démontrer qu'il est un élément productif dans son cercle et entourage et selon la façon dont il l'entend. Il (l'Africain) doit prouver cela aux autorités locales. S'il a de la chance, il pouvait se trouver classé parmi les planteurs particuliers et se voir délivrer un document Modelo J établissant son statut. Quiconque n'a le certificat Modelo J doit se chercher du travail chez un employeur et s'il ne trouve d'employeur, les autorités coloniales se chargent de le placer. Quiconque possède le Modelo J est libre de vaquer librement à ses travaux et développer sa plantation. Il est néanmoins très difficile d'obtenir le Modelo J. Ceci, pour plusieurs raisons.

Des fois, il y a une forte pénurie de terre cultivable dans un emplacement donné. Evidemment, si l'on considérait l'Angola dans toute son entité à savoir 14 fois plus large que le Portugal avec 5.000.000 d'habitants, la question de pénurie de terrain cultivable ne se pose absolument pas ! Mais dans certaines parties du territoire, la terre arable comme celle fertile au café suscite un constant problème épineux. Dans l'Angola du Nord par exemple où la plus chaude bataille sévit, des centaines d'européens se sont arrogés de larges plantations au détriment des Africains pour la simple raison que les colons enregistrent officiellement avec les autorités coloniales, toute terre qui leur semble bonne, ignorant complètement quelque réclamation que ce soit émanant des Africains quant à la possession du terrain.

Le résultat est qu'en plusieurs localités, il y a une pénurie considérable de terrain fertile et les Africains sont donc forcés de travailler au compte des colons qui leur ont volé la terre.

Dans d'autres cas, un Africain peut bien produire suffisamment pour mériter le "Modelo J" mais les autorités locales, sous la pression des colons qui désirent bénéficier de main d'oeuvre à bon marché, peuvent refuser de lui délivrer ce permis. Selon la loi, un Africain possédant 5 000 pieds de caféiers est qualifié pour être classé comme propriétaire privé; mais, à travers la région Dembo où j'ai énormément voyagé l'an passé, j'ai rencontré des Africains possédant 10 000 à 15 000 pieds de café qui attendent toujours leur Modelo J.

Ils doivent en conséquence travailler pour les planteurs blancs et recevoir un traitement de quelques 65 francs CFA par jour, quelquefois même moins si le travail alloué d'une journée n'était pas achevé. Alors et alors seulement si le temps et la force le permettaient, ils allaient travailler dans leur propre plantation.

Dans la plupart des cas, la seule garantie que l'Africain a en ce qui concerne la délivrance du Modelo J, est le consentement de son employeur blanc, ce que ce dernier n'est toujours pas disposé à accorder.

En conséquence, la majorité des Africains se trouvent serrés dans les états d'une atmosphère vicieuse dans laquelle ils deviennent malgré eux, des servants appauvris et mal empoignés des européens qui alors amassent fortunes sur fortunes et de la terre et de la force humaine africaines.

Les planteurs coloniaux des localités, maintiennent un rapport constant avec l'administration locale. Quand un nouvel administrateur ou ce que les portugais appellent "Chef de Posto" arrive, on s'empresse de gagner son estime en le comblant de présents pour lui faire sentir qu'il est parmi les siens. Plusieurs fonctionnaires se complaisent à dire que leur salaire était insuffisant pour subvenir aux besoins de leur famille et qu'un revenu additionnel était nécessaire. En acceptant ces cadeaux, l'Administrateur se trouve donc impliqué et ne peut se refuser de satisfaire les demandes qui quelques jours plus

tard affluent sur son bureau réquérant des monoeuvres supplémentaires.

La récolte du Café

A la période des récoltes du café, le Chef de Poste passe le plus clair de son temps "à satisfaire" les demandes de "mains d'oeuvres" déposées par les planteurs blancs. L'administrateur envoie des émissaires aux villages et conseils des notables de villages avec des listes comportant le nombre de manoeuvres requis hommes comme femmes. Si le chef Africain qui est d'ailleurs nommé par le chef de Poste pour gérer les affaires du village n'honore pas cette requête il est sommé au poste de police où on lui inflige des punitions corporelles. J'ai eu l'occasion de m'entretenir avec un Soba (chef de village) à Quiculungo l'an passé; celui-ci avait reçu 500 coups de palmatoire qui ont enflé ses deux bras jusqu'au corps; ses mains déchirées en s'infestant, se sont verdies. Il n'a évidemment pas pu travailler pendant deux mois.

Ceci a été le prix de ce qu'il n'a pas pu trouver le nombre de travailleurs que les autorités coloniales lui réclamaient; bien que ce Soba leur ait fait dire qu'il a déjà envoyé tous les travailleurs que comptait son agglomération et qu'il était absolument impossible de fournir le nombre exact du fait que ce nombre demandé dépasse la population de son quartier. Si un Soba ou encore un "Regedor est" malin" ce qui ne veut pas dire "malhonnête" il peut gagner quelques sous en protégeant ses "amis" contre les travaux forcés.

Il serait déjà fort cruel si ce programme n'était destiné exclusivement qu'aux hommes; mais pire encore est le fait que femmes et enfants y sont inclus d'une façon très écoeurante. Là encore il est chose courante de voir des femmes et enfants pendant six mois d'affilée travailler au moment des récoltes dans les plantations des colonialistes. Généralement, le premier trimestre est consacré à la cueillette du café et le dernier au tri après que la récolte ait passé par les engrenages mécaniques. Comme on peut se l'imaginer, il est très difficile sinon impossible de formuler un programme scolaire devant un tel état de choses.

Les étudiants commencent très tard leur scolarité et ne se présentent guère aux examens qui ont lieu en Juillet, à cause des travaux dans les plantations. Au cours des récentes années, il y eut certaines concessions: Les colonialistes portugais ont permis à ce que les élèves passent les examens avant de les mobiliser pour la récolte du café.

Il est chose commune de voir des mères indifféremment séparées de leurs enfants. Les uns travaillent dans telle plantation, les autres dans un autre chantier. La dégradation et l'annihilation spirituelles sont des résultats néfastes des séparations forcées dans les familles et une vie morale déreglée pour ne pas dire de débauche est férocement exhibée dans les casernes des fermes. Ceci est un des problèmes fort épineux auquel doivent faire face des jeunes filles qui tombent victimes des brutalités bestiales des blancs, des mulâtres et aussi de quelques noirs. Comme si tout cela n'était pas assez honteux, les femmes et les enfants ne sont généralement pas rémunérés pour leur travail. Les Portugais se plaignent de leur donner quelque "pourboire" en fin de saison; quelquefois ces "pourboires" ne se chiffrent qu'à 1.000 francs CFA. A mon passage à Ucuja pendant le mois de Mars (1960), j'appris que la saison passée c'est-à-dire que l'an dernier, les femmes ont pour la première fois, touché ce que l'on peut avec indulgence appelé Salaire régulier dans la région. Elles ont touché à peu près 5 francs CFA par jour pour la cueillette d'un sac et demi de café (100 kilogrammes approx). Il n'est donc pas surprenant que la région riche en café au Nord de l'Angola soit le domaine de la plus violente attaque anti-colonialiste et impérialiste qui se soit produite en Afrique.

Et le Coton ?

Le travail des femmes et des enfants ne comporte pas exclusivement la cueillette du café dans la région. Femmes et enfants noirs sont également utilisés comme bêtes de somme dans les travaux de construction et réparation de la plupart des voies carrossables de l'Angola et parallèlement, ils jouent un rôle important dans l'exploitation du coton. L'exploitation du coton en

effet est une entreprise des plus barbares introduite dans le territoire. Dans cette entreprise, les travaux forcés sont particulièrement à noter. Des fois la méthode suit la ligne générale appliquée dans le recrutement de manoeuvres et de leur traitement que dans l'industrie caféière. Les Africains sont donc utilisés, à l'avantage des grandes firmes d'exploitation. Très souvent, les Africains restent cultivateurs privés sur des parcelles de terrain que les autorités coloniales ou leurs fonctionnaires distribuent. Les Africains sont retribuéés pour leurs produits; mais les vampires portugais se réservent le droit de décider du produit à semer pendant les saisons.

Des fois les colonialistes décident que soient semés des arachides, du maïs, des haricots mais plus souvent c'est le coton qu'ils décrètent. Des surveillants sont envoyés sur les lieux et emplacements pour délimiter les lots, surveiller la semence et le sarclage. Les colons ont beaucoup d'estime pour ces surveillants si cruels dans leur fonction vis-à-vis des Africains qu'on considèrent "paresseux". Mais pigé encore est que les Africains essaient néanmoins de se faire estimer par ces surveillants afin de ne pas tomber victimes de leur cruauté. On leur offre des cabris, moutons, argent (s'ils en font la requête).

La culture du coton présente un problème particulier à savoir qu'il pousse à profusion dans certains milieux et consomme rapidement les ressources minérales du sol. En Angola, où les fertilisants ne sont nullement utilisés, une période de deux ans suffit pour que la culture du coton détruise entièrement la teneur fertilisante du terrain. Les forçats aux travaux de coton peuvent donc cette année cultiver près de leur village l'année suivante, ils sont emmenés à plus de vingt kilomètres de chez eux.

Toujours Plus Loin

Quelques mois plus tard, ils sont expédiés à des centaines de kilomètres et souvent, forcés de travailler dans des endroits où ils n'ont même pas une goutte d'eau potable pour leurs besoins. Il leur faut donc en acheter chez des commerçants qui disposent des moyens de

transport. La pénurie d'eau est plainte courante dans les plantations de coton. La nourriture n'en est pas moins; il faut subvenir aux besoins de deux chez, ou abandonner sa première résidence.

Généralement, un Africain qui a à faire face à un tel problème de mutation, divise la famille en deux équipes. La première laissée au bercail s'occupe des champs de manioc et du bétail; tandis que la seconde travaille dans les plantations de coton lointaines. Le côté le plus décourageant et à vrai dire déconcertant du drame de l'Africain en Angola, est à tout prendre, la récompense si mince que les colons portugais lui donnent pour tout ce sacrifice et cette endurance de longue haleine; vue la malhonnêteté des tarifs appliqués, la fausseté des poids et l'énorme profit que les commerçants accumulent dans ces chantiers; de sorte que la plupart des Africains sont débiteurs en fin d'année.

Cet état de choses a été la cause de la révolte à Baixa de Cassange en Février l'an dernier. Cette révolte fut une démonstration spontanée contre les méthodes d'abus ignobles du Cotonag Company. Plusieurs Européens qui se sont enfouis du lieu en raison de la révolte ont exprimé beaucoup de sympathie pour les Africains. Mais les forces armées et aériennes du Portugal ont bombardé plusieurs villages et agglomérations tuant ainsi des centaines et même qui sait des milliers d'Africains. Une large publicité a été présentée à la Presse Internationale quant aux conditions "sous contrat" des travailleurs en Angola.

Les Portugais maintiennent qu'ils louent sur une base purement volontaire des travailleurs pour leurs plantations et qu'en aucune façon, on ne recourait à force pour de tels recrutements. Et pourtant il y a un fait indéniable à savoir que les principes qui gouvernent la politique portugaise vis-à-vis des travaux en Afrique, sont les mêmes dans toutes leurs colonies. Dans plusieurs parties de ces territoires où n'existent pas de plantations appartenant aux colons, les autorités portugaises se livrent à une chasse aux hommes qu'ils envoient enchaînés travailler dans leurs plantations ailleurs. "Ces

émigrants travailleurs" constituent le pilier essentiel de la main-d'oeuvre forcée en Angola et sont considérés comme essentiels dans la production industrielle du café et du sisal tout comme ils le sont dans les mines de manganèse, de diamant, dans les grandes industries et aussi dans les chantiers de construction etc...

Quand un homme d'affaires portugais ou en général, un colonialiste portugais désuait obtenir un nombre plus important de manoeuvres, il s'en remet au chef de poste ou selon le cas au commandant de cercle. Ce dernier, la plupart du temps fournit ces travailleurs par le truchement de son service.

Mais des fois aussi, le commandant de cercle peut faire une petite fortune en faisant personnellement des contacts en vue de ce recrutement par force. Les pourboires et en général la corruption sont choses communes dans pareilles circonstances.

La condition de travail accordée plus couramment au "contrado" est de un an de service et six mois de congé. Il reste à savoir ce que le "contrado" fait pendant ces six mois. Devant de telles circonstances on ne peut que s'attendre à ce que le Portugal institue des réformes radicales et conséquentes pour remédier aux attaques si violentes qui ont secoué jusqu'à sa racine l'Angola, ses populations et ses âmes depuis bientôt quelques mois.

Les observateurs ont attendu en vain pareille attitude réconciliante de la part du Portugal ou du moins quelques signes de réforme.

Il y a un fait indéniable c'est que les travaux forcés dans les colonies portugaises ne sont nullement abolis mais ont été au contraire énormément intensifiés ces derniers-temps. Les autorités colonialistes portugaises, ont, il y a quelques mois seulement mobilisé de force des centaines d'Africains qu'ils nomment "voluntarios" au Luanda et en Angola du Sud pour les travaux forcés de la récolte du café. Mais alors ces mêmes Portugais maintiennent que eux seuls savent bien coloniser.

● Ceci est le dernier article de Malcolm McVeigh sur la désastreuse situation dans les colonies portugaises.

RADIO GHANA TRANSMISSION TIMES AND WAVELENGTHS

PORTUGUESE SERVICE		MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	
TIME—GMT	SUNDAY	17.440M.C. 16.91 Metres—Angola, Mozambique (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)						
1413		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION						
1415	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	
1425	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	
1435	Music of Africa	Music from the Films	Music Album	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days	Moments with the Masters	Highlife Hits	
1450	Our African Cultural Heritage	The African Scene	Ghana Calling	One Continent, One People	Dancing Days	Moments with the Masters	Highlife Hits	
1458/30		INTERVAL SIGNAL						
1628	17.740 M/C.	16.91 Metres (ii)	9.554 M/C.	31.43 Metres	Angola, Mozambique (ii)	Guinea, Angola		
1630	The News	DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)						
1640	News Talk	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	
1650	Moments with the Masters	News Talk	Highlife Hits	Music of Africa	Music Album	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days	
1705	Moments with the Masters	Ghana Calling	Our African Cultural Heritage	The African Scene.	One Continent, One People	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days	
1713/30		CLOSE DOWN						
SWAHILI SERVICE WAKATI		JUMAPILI	JUMATATU	JUMANNE	JUMATANO	ALHAMISI	JUMAA	JUMAMOSI
1413		First Transmission: 15.285 and 15.210 M/C. 19.62 and 19.72 Metres—East Africa, North-East Congo						
1415	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1425	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari
1435	Ghana Leo	Chaguo Letu	Habari	Habari	Habari	Habari	Habari	Habari
1450	Ustaarabu Wa Asili	Chaguo Letu	Mambo Mbali Muziki Wa Afrika	Mambo Mbali Muziki Wa Afrika	Mambo Mbali Muziki Wa Afrika	Kontinenti Moja Lenye Watu Mamoja	Muziki Kutoka Kusini	Muziki Kutoka Kusini
1914		INTERVAL SIGNAL						
1718/3		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)						
1720	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1730	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari
1740	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Chaguo Letu	Chaguo Letu	Muziki Wa Afrika	Ghana Inaimba	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Muziki Kutoka Kusini
1750	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Chaguo Letu	Chaguo Letu	Muziki Wa Afrika	Ghana Inaimba	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Muziki Kutoka Kusini
1804		INTERVAL SIGNAL						
1458/3		Second Transmission: 21.545 and 15.210 M/C 13.92 and 19.72 Metres—East Africa						
1829		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)						
1830	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1840	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari	Mazungumzo Ya Habari
1905	Chaguo Letu	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Muziki Kutoka Kusini	Muziki Kutoka Kusini	Muziki Kutoka Kusini
1912	Chaguo Letu	Kontinenti Moja Lenye Watu Mamoja	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Muziki Wa Watu Mbali Mbali	Mambo Mbali Muziki Wa Afrika	Mambo Mbali Muziki Wa Afrika	Bandi Shoo	Siku Za Dansi
ENGLISH SERVICE		SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA				SPECIAL ENGLISH SERVICE U.K. AND EUROPE		
(i)	1415—1500 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	2045—2130 GMT 11.805 Mcs 25.41 Metres				
	1830—1915 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres					
(ii)	EAST AFRICA		21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres				
(iii)	SOUTH, SOUTH—WEST AND SOUTH—EAST AFRICA		17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres				
	1500—1545 GMT	15.285 Mcs	19.62 Metres					
(iv)	WEST AFRICA		9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres				
	1500—1545 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres					
	1700—1745 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres					
	2000—2045 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres					
	2130—2215 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres					
FRENCH SERVICE		CONGO, CENTRAL AFRICA, MADAGASCAR		SWAHILI SERVICE				
(i)	1745—1830 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	(i) EAST AFRICA				
	1915—2000 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	1415—1500 GMT 15.285 Mcs 19.62 Metres				
				1715—1800 GMT 21.545 Mcs 13.92 Metres				
				1830—1915 GMT 11.805 Mcs 25.41 Metres				
(ii)	WEST AFRICA		9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres				
	1745—1830 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres					
	1915—2000 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres					
	2045—2130 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres					

Awakened Africa

by R. Palme Dutt

(Author of "The Crisis of Britain and British Empire")

AFRICA, which has been the home of ancient civilisations in the past, has suffered most heavily for centuries from the brutality and barbarism of the Western European invaders, adventurers and conquerors. The ravages of the slave trade in the dawn of the capitalist era to fill the insatiable maw of the American slave market have been

followed in the modern era by the ruthless depredations of the land-grabbers, the concession-hunters and the monopolist exploiters. But events today are demonstrating that Africa will not long remain the "backward continent." The African is rising to his feet.

Throughout Africa, from Morocco in the North to Capetown in the south, and from French Equatorial Africa, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria in the west, to Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika in the east, this period has seen the upsurge of popular indignation against colonial subjection and the colour-bar, and against alien appropriation of the resources of their countries; the development of trade unions and political parties, despite frequent banning and imprisonment of leaders; strikes and demonstrations against inhuman conditions and repressive legislation; and repeated clashes with the police and troops, resulting in numerous incidents of shooting and killing of strikers and demonstrators.

General strikes, both for economic and for political aims; peasant resistance and risings; the struggle against repressive laws and colour bar discrimination; and national movements for self-government and independence—all these and many more forms of popular struggle have developed.

All the variegated methods of imperialism to prolong its domination and maintain its grip over the peoples of Africa cannot finally defeat the rising movement of the African peoples for independence. The vitality of their struggle, their capacity for organisation, sacrifice and heroism, and their eagerness to learn from the example of the victorious colonial liberation movements, and especially from the manifold lessons of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chinese People's Republic, is the guarantee of their future victory. The dreams of a new revival of imperialism on the basis of intensified African servitude and exploitation are built on sand.

The Judgment of History

by Jack Woddis (Author of "Africa, the Lion Awakes")

IN its well-known special supplement "The African Revolution," the *Economist* ended with a dramatic plea to "Western society" to act while it still held "the levers of policy" in its hands.

"The profoundest matter at stake in Africa," it declared, "is the quality and capacity of Western society itself." The danger was that the "judgment of history" would be that the West ploughed up Africa "for gold and minerals, transformed it for wealth and trade, destroyed the old tribal order, and drove away the old cruel gods, but in the end, put nothing stable in their place."

History has already passed its

judgment. The African people have already condemned what Western imperialism has done to Africa, not alone in words but in deeds, by their very revolt for freedom. Never before has imperialism had such a preponderance of armaments over oppressed peoples as it has today over the people of Africa. The West has all the most modern means of warfare, including nuclear weapons and germ warfare; the African people have but their tools and their simple hunting weapons. And yet Africa is winning the apparently unequal contest.

Only the most serious crisis of the colonial system, is social and political

disintegration, could explain this phenomenon. The establishment of a powerful socialist system embracing a thousand million people has weakened imperialism beyond repair. The achievement of political independence throughout nearly all Asia and by other former colonies has inspired the continent of Africa, which is winning increasing support from working people in the metropolitan countries. But decisive, above all else, has been the courageous and determined struggle of the lion-hearted African people.

The biggest battles are yet to come. Algeria, Angola, Congo, Cameroon—these continue their bitter struggle. Mozambique, Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Union of South Africa—here major explosions will shortly be heard. The tide of independence is sweeping rapidly southwards and eastwards and must eventually reach the Cape.

And with that, a new stage will open for Africa—a stage has already begun in the north and west—the stage of the building of a new glorious Africa for which so many have struggled and sacrificed.