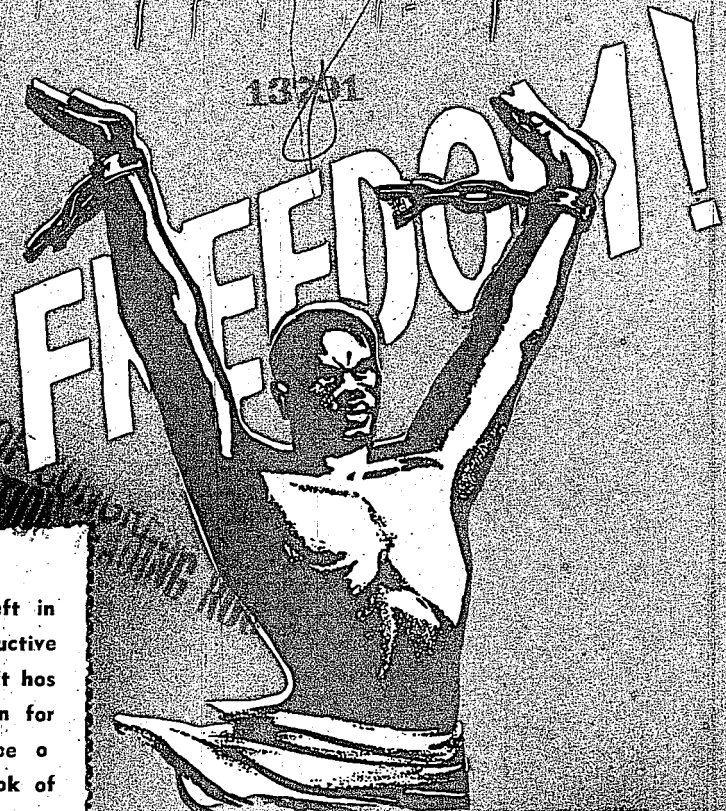
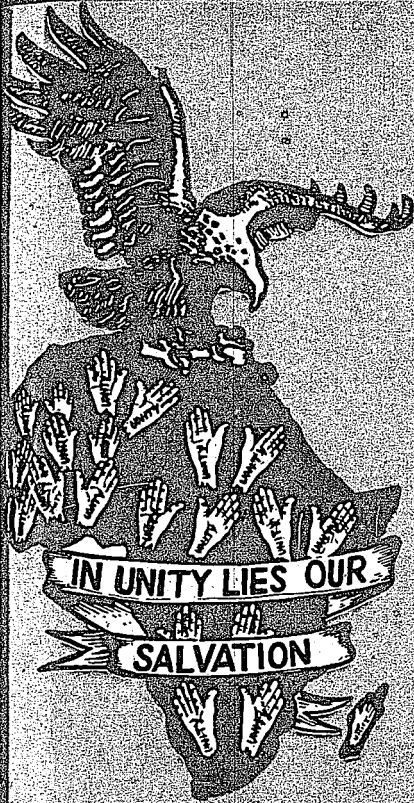


Voice of AFRICA



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

—KWAME NKRUMAH.

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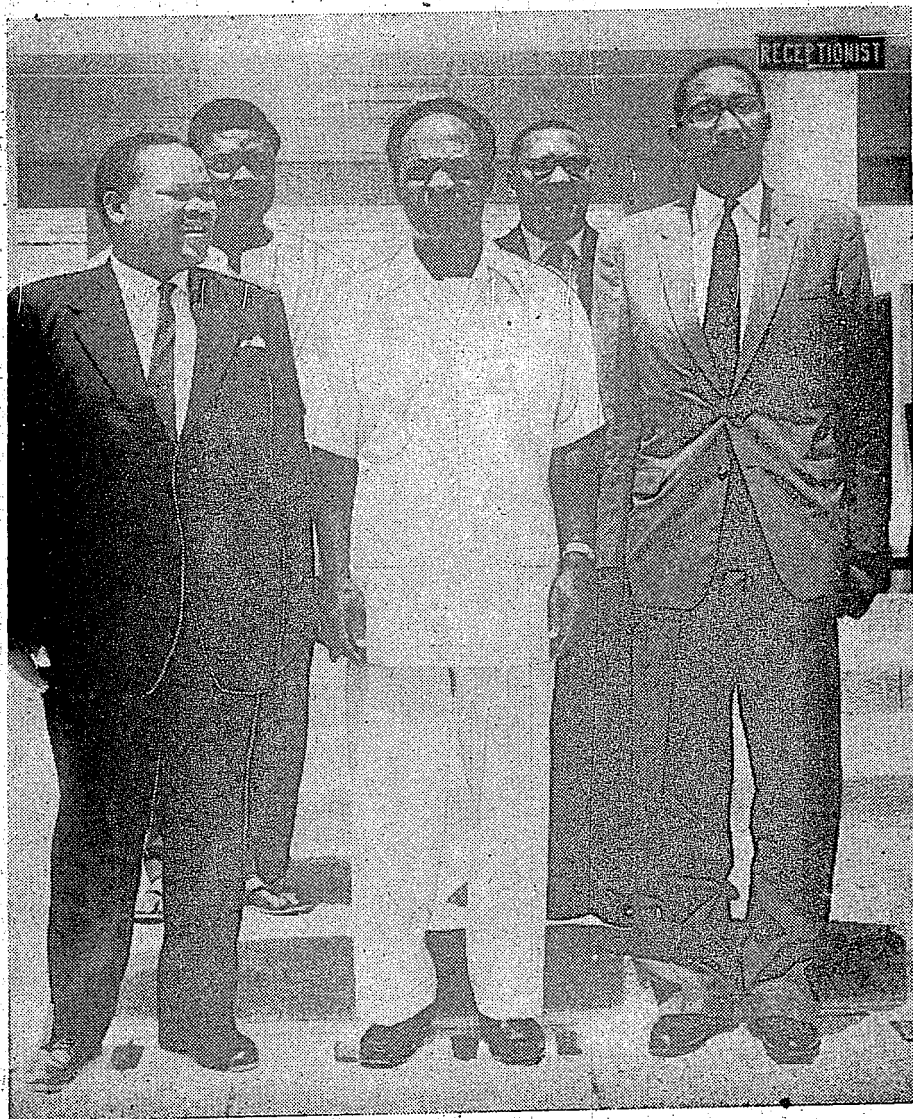
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Brother Meets Brother . . .



Posing for picture at Flagstaff House is Ghana's President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah flanked on both sides by His Royal Highness Moshoeshoe II of Basutoland (right) and Chief S. S. Matete (left) Basutoland's Minister of Local Government. With them on the back row (from left) are, Mr. A. K. Barden, Director of Bureau of African Affairs, Ghana, and Chief N. Molapo, also of Basutoland.

The Cheek of it

A full page advertisement entitled "LAND OF OPPORTUNITY" appears in many sections of the British Press. Under this caption, there is in one British periodical, a quarter page photograph of a super modern city with all the latest buildings and skyscrapers, with broad avenues, side walks, parks and so forth. Next to this first picture, there is a second of two European women with their offspring, all clad in bikinis and basking under a sun-shade on a typical waikiki-like beach. The first general impression that these two pictures give is of some great American city where both activity and beauty are combined.

It comes as a great shock when it is, in fact, discovered that the advertisement refers to the supposed federation of Rhodesia. The realisation of this makes one ask: whose land is it and whose opportunity?

Are both for the indigenous Africans, who total 95% of the population, or for Welensky and his five per cent white settlers? The answer is quite obvious.

The short script below the pictures begins with the history of the Rhodesian federation as interpreted by the settler regime: the "discovery" of an unknown land by British explorers, and the subsequent raising of living standards.

"The federation", the advertisement goes on, has developed on sound, progressive lines based on its British heritage. Its institutions, its way of life, its administration—are all British. In fact, Roy Welensky says "Being British is our pride. We know no other way of life and we want no other."

If being British means racial discrimination and segregation, enslavement and bondage for the African majority, social and economic oppression, denial of political rights to Africans exploitation and plain brigandage, we thank God that the empire which they so assiduously built up is being torn to pieces by the forces of the national liberation movement now raging through Africa.

The advertisement enumerates the many opportunities which can be had in the federation, no doubt opportunities that are open to one ethnic group—the white. This advertisement apart from its undisputed falsity, has a very significant aspect, as far as the African majority is concerned. It shows the desperation to which the Welensky fascist settler regime is prepared to go in attracting Europeans to come to Rhodesia to help in the continual enslavement of the African people, and to which Welensky is prepared to sink to distort the facts of life in Rhodesia. The advertisement ends with the ominous words: "The Federation has huge natural resources. And a future that is just as large."

In these words Welensky has sounded both his battle cry and his death knell, for he will use any means to keep those resources, and guarantee that future for his fellow fascists; but his determination will only strengthen that of the African people to take those resources and that future for themselves.



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KOFI BATSA

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EDITORIALS

The OAS

THE French imperialists exploited, oppressed and degraded the Algerian people for over one hundred and thirty years. Seven years ago the Algerians decided to tell them "thus far and no further." Under the heroic leadership of the FLN (*Front de Liberation Nationale*) the Algerians rose against their overlords for the primordial objective of national independence. When it became clear to the French imperialists that no power on earth could stop the march of the Algerian people to freedom and independence the degenerate among them banded themselves into an unholy league styling itself *Organisation de l'Armee Secrete* (OAS) or Secret Army Organisation.

The objective of the OAS is to keep Algeria French. Since Algeria is an integral part of Africa and Africa itself is no extension of Europe, Algeria has never been nor ever shall be French. Algeria is African and she will forever remain so.

The real political objective of the thugs and gangsters of the OAS is to facilitate the continued exploitation of Algeria and of the Algerians and to perpetuate the enslavement of Algeria and of the Algerians.

With the coming into being of the Franco-Algerian ceasefire proclamation the OAS has increased the ferocity of its desperate bid to maintain the *status quo*. These thugs and gangsters are now stubbornly bent upon blowing up and destroying everything even including themselves.

They have attempted to blow up and destroy oil wells and installations, harbours, drains,

public and other buildings rather than allow the Algerians take over the government of their own country.

The OAS is officered by men who deserted the French army and has had a clear field because hundreds of French officers will take no action against them and because hundreds of them work secretly for it.

It has been strongly alleged that West German intelligence agents and Israeli business interests support the OAS. Politics makes strange bedfellows!

In Algeria itself the OAS has dragooned the white settler community which is overwhelmingly French into supporting them.

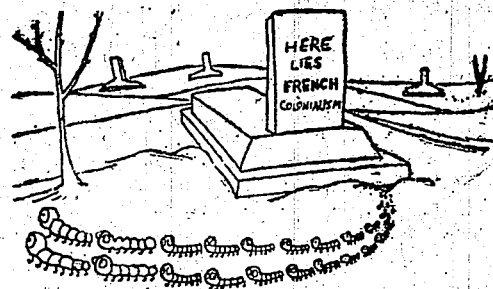
Even after the sentencing to death of ex-General Edmond Jouhaud, and the arrest of ex-General Salan, the Algerian Provisional Government continues to accuse the French military and administrative authorities of negligence in protecting the lives and properties of the Algerians against the destructive activities of the OAS.

The OAS can never hope to win in their struggle against the freedom and independence of the Algerian people. Their only hope lies in creating chaos in Algeria on the eve of the self-determination referendum. Only the FLN Algerian Government is sure to smash these unwholesome elements overnight.

Already some of these elements have sought refuge in South Africa, Central Africa and Mozambique but the forces of the national liberation movement are sure to smoke them out of their new-found dens in the fullness of time.

Algeria, like the rest of Africa has and can have no room for such scum and filth of the earth as the men who run the OAS or for any of their supporters even if some of them happen to be ex-Prime Ministers.

The ceasefire itself signifies the victory of the Algerians against French colonialism and imperialism. To ensure the consolidation of that victory every whiteman in Algeria must be screened and those found to be having OAS connections or OAS leanings must be unceremoniously and ruthlessly bundled out of Algeria. Algeria is for the Algerians and Africa for the Africans and not for any Ku-Klux-Klan type of thugs like the OAS.



(The Secret Army)
(Bahgat - Rose El Youssef)

The Afro-Americans and Angola

AFRICAN nationalists in Portuguese colonies have made a charge that Afro-American writers and journalists in America are being used by the Portuguese Government in a heavily-financed publicity scheme to foist off a distorted picture of conditions existing in Angola.

The Afro-American press has unleashed a very vicious propaganda war against the Angolan nationalists.

The *Voice of Africa* is informed that the Government of Portugal has engaged the George Keabody Agency in New York to peddle its handouts. The Overseas Companies of Portugal have raised over a million dollars for an enormous propaganda campaign for which they have also hired the firm of Selvage and Lee, a Washington (D.C.) public relations organisation.

They have arranged for a number of Americans to go to Angola where they are given the red-carpet treatment and are, at the same time, handed a guided tour.

One of such men, General Haweyl, has since written extensively in praise of the Portuguese colonial system. But for all he learned from his trip to Angola, one is obliged to believe that most of the articles bearing his name were drafted by the Portuguese Information Ministry in Lisbon probably even before General Haweyl ever left America.

It is very depressing to read the disgraceful articles written by Dr. Max Yergan, the former director of the International Committee on African Affairs in the *Readers Digest*.

(Continued on next page)

Mr. George S. Schuyter's hypocritical defence of the Portuguese colonial policy is very shocking. Schuyter is a noted columnist and journalist with the *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the leading Negro newspapers in U.S.

In early January 1962, two Afro-American journalists visited Angola under Portuguese Government sponsorship. They since have published a series of articles in support of Portuguese atrocities in Angola.

In fact, some of the Afro-American journalists have virtually built up a powerfully backed anti-Angolan nationalists propaganda organisation in the United States which has become quite influential in American politics.

The realisation of this has been, to say the least, most disheartening to African nationalists for if there is any section of the American community to which Africa looks for support in her struggle against the oppressing forces of imperialism it is the Afro-Americans. What with the identical background of exploitation, economic inferiority and dependence, social ostracism, which has characterised the policy of whites to both Africans in Africa and America? It is not much to expect Afro-Americans to give their full support to the African liberation movement and to the determination of African politicians to improve their social and economic standing.

Sir Patrick Unmasks Britain

SIR Patrick Dean, British delegate to the United Nations, unmasked the fatal defect of Britain's intellectual case when he declared that any solution of the so-called Central African Federation "should be one that can obtain general acceptance" of all people concerned.

Sir Patrick explained that the British Government was not wedded to "any particular solution" of the "Federation" problem.

The issue in the "Federation" is so simple that it hurts: continuation of the exploitation and oppression of the nine million Africans by the British imperialists assisted by the three hundred thousand White settlers or freedom and independence for the African people and dissolution of the Federation.

Either Britain is committed to freedom and independence for the Africans or to their continued oppression. To say she is committed to neither of these alternatives is to display puerile naivete.

Either Britain satisfies the oppressed nine million or the oppressing three hundred thousand and their handful of masters. She cannot satisfy both.

The facts of the situation are simple: the nine million have categorically rejected "Federation" and are irrevocably opposed to its continuance. The three hundred thousand and their bosses have imposed that "Federation" and continue to support its continuance. These acts are not in dispute.

If the British imperialists were democrats they would support the majority against the minority. They would interpret the "demos"—the people—as the majority. But imperialists—like the British, are by definition not democrats.

If the British imperialists were freedom fighters they would champion the case of the oppressed against that of the oppressors. They would know that to claim to be supporting both the oppressors and oppressed is crass stupidity. But then the imperialists are by definition not freedom fighters.

The dilemma of Sir Patrick Dean is the dilemma of his masters, the British imperialists and his apparent naivete is calculated to conceal the contradictions inherent in the "Federation" set-up.

The Battle Before us

by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

THE duty of African politicians is to explain patiently, continuously and persistently, to the outside world the essence of African nationalism and its problems.

In the first place, whether any particular continent is backward or developed, is a pure question of the moment in time when one happens to study the continent in question.

"Civilisation probably dawned contemporaneously in Africa and in China. Certainly, the origins of European culture trace their roots back to the ancient civilisations of the Nile Valley. An English writer has thus compared the conditions in the ancient kingdom of Ghana with those of England of the same date: I quote:

"In 1066 Duke William of Normandy invaded England. In 1067 an Andalusian Arab, El Bekri, wrote an account of the Court of the West African King of Ghana."

This King, whenever holding audience, 'sits in a pavilion around which stand his horses caparisoned in cloth of gold. Behind him stand ten pages holding shields and gold-mounted swords, and on his right hand are the sons of the Princes of his Empire, splendidly clad....' Barbarous splendour, perhaps, but was the court of this African Monarch so much inferior, in point of organised Government, to the court of Saxon Harold?

Wasn't the balance of achievement just possibly the other way round?

Why was it that Ghana, which was in the eleventh century, at least equal in power and might to England, disappeared as it did? The answer is obvious. It was through the disunity of the African Continent created by serious external influences

and internal disharmony and discord.

Throughout the middle ages, Great African States existed and indeed the culture and traditions of the ancient world were preserved not in Europe, but in the countries of Africa.

The total error of the North African States of that day was that they were engaged in conflict not only in the north with the powers of Europe, but also in the south with African States of the day.

We have, however, now overcome this ancient disunion. The Sahara no longer divides us, it is no longer a physical or a political barrier between us.

One of the greatest achievements of the Conference of Independent African States is to bring together in one organisation the African States north and south of the Sahara.

Balkanisation

We have all of us come to realise that our interests are not conflicting but that we all have a common interest in preserving the unity and independence of Africa.

Perhaps the greatest danger that Africa faces today is balkanisation.

The term "Balkanisation" is particularly appropriate for describing this danger since it arises from the action of the then Great Powers when they divided into a number of small and competing states the colonial possessions of the Turkish Empire in Europe.

At the very time when these Great Powers were splitting up the Balkans in Europe into a number of states, they were also engaged in partitioning Africa amongst themselves. In Europe the political situation had

developed to an extent which made it impossible openly to apportion the Turkish Empire among the other Great Powers.

Already there were small independent States in the Balkans and therefore all the Great Powers could do was to ensure that whatever happened no Balkan state should be created which was strong enough to stand on its own feet.

The Great Powers at the end of the nineteenth century established their domination over one or other of the little states which had been created. The effect was to produce a political tinder-box which any spark could set alight and involve the whole world in flames.

The explosion came in 1914 when in one part of the old Turkish Empire an Austrian Archduke was murdered by a Serbian from another former part of the same Colonial Empire. This murder involved the world in the greatest war which history had ever seen up to that time.

The war occurred primarily because Serbia, from whence the murder came, was a Balkan State under the protection of the then imperialist Russia, whilst Bosnia where the murder took place, was a colonial possession taken over from Turkey by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Russia came to the aid of Serbia; Germany to the aid of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. France then joined in support of Russia.

In order to attack France, Germany invaded Belgium, and in order to defend Belgium, the United Kingdom declared war upon Germany on behalf of all members of the then British Empire.

I have given this account of the history and effect of balkanisation in Europe to illustrate the extreme danger of a similar policy being applied by the colonial powers to the African continent. In the same way as defensive alliances by the Balkan powers with rival powers outside the Balkans resulted in a world war, so a world war could easily originate on the African Continent if African States make political, economic and military alliances with rival powers from outside Africa. The new colonialism creates client states, independent in name, but in point of fact pawns of the colonial power

that is supposed to have given them independence. When an African balkanised state concludes a pact with its colonial power, then that state has lost control over its foreign policy and is therefore not free.

On the other hand, if Africa is converted into a series of tiny states, such alliances are inevitable. Some of these states have neither the resources nor the personnel to provide for their own defence or to conduct an independent foreign policy. Nor can they become economically independent. They have not the resources to establish their own independent banking systems and they are compelled to continue with the old colonial framework of trade. The only way out is to stand together politically.

Political freedom is essential in order to win economic freedom, but political freedom is meaningless unless it is of such a nature that enables the country which has obtained it to maintain its economic freedom.

The African struggle for independence and unity must begin with political union. A loose confederation of economic co-operation is deceptively time-delaying. It is only a political union that will ensure a uniformity in our foreign policy projecting the African personality and representing Africa as a force important to be reckoned with. I repeat, a loose economic co-operation means a screen behind which detractors, imperialist and colonialist protagonists and African puppet leaders hide to operate and weaken the concept of any effort to realise African unity and independence. A political union envisages a common foreign and defence policy, and rapid social, economic and industrial developments. The economic resources of Africa are immense and staggering. It is only by unity that these resources can be utilised for the progress of the continent and for the happiness of mankind.

We must learn from history. The genius of the South American people has been to a considerable extent frustrated by the fact that when the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires dissolved they did not organise themselves into a United States of South America. At the

same time, when South America became free, the colonial states which acquired their independence were potentially as powerful as the United States in North America. Their failure to come together resulted in one part of the American continent developing at the expense of the other. Nevertheless, there is only one country in South America, namely, Paraguay, which has a population of less than 3 million. At the moment independent states in Africa are being established with populations of less than a million.

Territories in Africa which have become independent or are likely to become independent in the near future, and which have populations of less than 3 million, include the Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Niger, Sierra Leone and Republic of Togo. Gabon and Congo (Brazzaville) each has a population of less than one million. It is impossible to imagine that the colonial powers seriously believe that independence could be of much value to these African states in such a terrible state of fragmentation. Surely this is only in pursuance of the old policy of divide and rule. Colonialism invented the system of indirect rule. The essence of this system was that a chief appeared nominally in control while actually he was manipulated from behind the scenes by the colonial power. The setting up of states of this nature appears to be only a logical development of the discredited theory of indirect rule.

It would be highly presumptuous for Ghana to criticise any defence organisation into which other powers seek to enter in order to preserve their own positions. It is, however, proper for Ghana to comment on such defence arrangements when they are used to under-write and insure colonialism on the African continent. Whatever may be the purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation on the shores of the North Atlantic, so far as Africa is concerned, that organisation should not be used to under-write régimes which in viciousness, regarding oppression and degradation of the African, surpass even what is taking place in South Africa.

I refer to the Portuguese territories

of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea and the Spanish territories of Rio Muni, Rio d'Oro, St. Isobel, Ifni and Fernando Po. Portugal and Spain also possess a number of African colonies which the wind of change in Africa has not yet stirred visibly. It is necessary, however, for African states to put forward constructive proposals in regard to the future of these territories. The NATO powers should realise that so far as Africa is concerned, they compromise themselves if they do not bring pressure to bear on their colonialist NATO partners to grant independence to their colonies in Africa.

It has often been said that Africa is poor. What nonsense! It is not Africa that is poor. It is the Africans who are impoverished by centuries of exploitation and domination.

To give one example. In Northern Rhodesia the Government considers that the country is so poor that, to quote the Colonial Office Report for 1958, "no rapid progress can be expected in secondary education." In fact with an African population of nearly two million there are only 1,900 African children in secondary schools. Northern Rhodesia, however, is not poor. Its copper mines are among the most successful and profitable in the world. They pay a far higher rate of interest on the capital invested than would be found in other parts of the world.

Let me give you another example. The mandated territory of South-West Africa is always described by the Union of South Africa as one of the "poorest" territories in the world. But it is not poor from the point of view of the foreign shareholders in the Tsumeb copper-lead-zinc mine.

I have frequently emphasised that imperialism in the present stage of African nationalism will employ many feints. With one hand it may concede independence, while with the other, it will stir up the muddy waters of tribalism, feudalism, separatism and chicanery in order to find its way back in another guise.

Tanganyika Concessions Limited was originally registered in London but in November, 1950, control was

Continued on page 10

EEC—AND THE THREAT TO AFRICA

The integration of Africa into the European Economic Community (the Common Market) is rapidly moving apace.

Last November, the Foreign Ministers of the EEC countries—France, W. Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg—met in Brussels and agreed on proposals to renew the Common Market's "association" with a number of African states which until recently were the colonies of France, Belgium and Italy. In December, representatives of sixteen African states met French and Common Market officials in Paris and broadly agreed to the proposals. For 12 of them, at least, the old system of "association" in the Common Market will continue unchanged. For the others, a new system is being worked out.

It now seems likely that by the end of 1962, the West European Governments working collectively in the Common Market will inaugurate their grand design for what they term "Eurafrica" and by firm treaty commitments bind a major part of the African economy to that of Western Europe.

The decision of Britain to apply for membership of the EEC now makes possible an even larger involvement of Africa in the Common Market. Britain has already indicated her intention to associate her African colonies and certain Commonwealth countries with the preferential tariff and trade system of the Common Market. According to the statement of the British Government of October 10, and addressed to the EEC Council of Ministers, Britain would like British Africa to be given the opportunity of being "associated with the Common Market on the same terms as those which in future will be available to the presently associated territories of the EEC member countries.

If this British desire is fulfilled then virtually the whole of Africa would become firmly entrenched in the web of Western Europe's trade, investment and finance. More than this, as this article attempts to show, the "association" of Africa would constitute a particularly successful European bid to collectively dominate and direct the African economy in the interests of European capital, to hold unchanged the exploitative systems of trade and investment developed in the era of open colonial rule and hence to make impossible all those economic transformations necessary to give substance to the newly-won independence of the African people.

The Common Market's Structure

by V. Pillay

THE EEC is considerably more than a customs union or common market. For, apart from the removal of tariff and other barriers on the trade between the six member countries and the creation of a unified tariff system in respect of the EEC's trade with the outside world, the Rome Treaty of 1957 provides for the gradual harmonisation of policies of the members concerned in the whole field of economic, financial and social policy. All restrictions on the movement of labour and capital between the six countries are to be removed and a common agricultural market in which a single system of prices will rule is to be created. The Rome Treaty sets up a number of common institutions and a Court of Justice. The European Commission possesses far-reaching supra-national powers to administer the economic union of the six countries.

Only the First Stage

The economic union is only the first stage in the process of European unification. Already the steps towards creating a political union are being taken. In June last, the heads of state of the six countries decided to give "form and figure to the will for political unification which is already contained in the treaties founding the Community" and appointed a group of experts to formulate firm proposals.

It is known that the proposals likely to be adopted by the governments concerned, will involve obligations on each member country to co-ordinate their foreign and military policies, each pledging the other mutual support in the event of war; the establishment of a common parliamentary assembly and ultimately the framing of a "European Constitution" which would become the basic instrument for the political

institutions of the EEC and for the law and government of each of the member countries.

Ahead of Schedule

The progress towards creating the economic union has been particularly rapid. The reduction in internal tariffs and the creation of a common external tariff are ahead of schedule by almost four years. The first regulations for the free movement of labour have been issued. In May 1960, the EEC countries unconditionally freed capital movements for direct investments and dealings on each other's stock exchange and for the placing of capital issues on each other's capital market. It is now confidently predicted that the common market in trade will be fully realised by 1966.

The rapid progress towards creating the economic union is matched by

the overall economic growth of the six countries concerned. In 1959, industrial production in the EEC area rose by seven per cent and a further 13 per cent in 1960. Nowhere else in the capitalist world has such a rate of industrial advance been achieved in these years. Furthermore, trade within the EEC has expanded at a rate far higher than the growth in world trade or the trade of the U.S., Britain or any other Western Country.

West Germany

Within the EEC the country which has most benefited from the new tariff arrangements is West Germany. This country is now not only absolutely ahead in most categories of economic power in the EEC but has in general experienced the fastest rates of economic expansion in the capitalist world.

This absolute economic dominance of West Germany is paralleled by the immense growth in the concentration of industry and finance in the EEC region. The great combines and monopolies of West Germany, France, Holland, Belgium and Italy have become increasingly interlocked: trusts, consortia and other combinations now characterise the structure of industries concerned with finance, banking and investment, chemicals and synthetics, motor cars and electrical goods, iron and steel, energy and indeed of all the other main branches of economic activity.

Monopoly

The EEC, with its tariff and other unifying provisions, is very much the offspring of these concentrations of economic power in continental Western Europe; the monopolies now possess a vaster and considerably more profitable market, almost the size of the United States, capable of being exploited with less interference from outside.

Further, much of the political rapprochement of France and West Germany finds its source in the interlocking of the combines and cartels in these countries. The political figures that surround Adenauer and de Gaulle are representatives of these combines; far more than even in Britain, the leading industrialists and financiers of France

and Western Germany are in the governments of these countries.

France's almost continuous colonial wars since 1946 had by the early 1950's seriously undermined French prestige and influence in European as indeed in the rest of the world. Other countries, mainly the United States, were engaged in steadily ousting French influence in the Middle East and South East Asia. In Africa, a powerful movement of national liberation had taken root.

'Sick Man of Europe'

Within France, the colonial crisis reflected itself in a profound political instability and a prolonged economic crisis. The "sick man of Europe," as France was now freely called, faced the prospect of becoming a "metropolitan" country without colonies—a prospect which not only intensified the domestic crisis but provided the opportunity for the rebirth of a number of fascist and neo-fascist groups and ideas. The widespread disillusionment caused by the defeats in Indo-China became the breeding ground for the propagation of thoroughly anti-democratic solutions to the domestic crisis. It also gave birth to the campaign for European unity under French leadership for re-establishing Western European as the "centre of the world," and more important for collectively holding back the advance of the colonial revolution in Africa.

The French colonialists quickly adopted the banner of "European unity." In their new thinking, French influence in Africa—now the main centre of French colonialism—could best be maintained if the African colonies could be bound to a vaster, more viable and resourceful framework of trade and investment than that provided by France alone.

"Collective Colonialism"

For the creation of "Little Europe" (i.e. EEC), was to serve purposes well beyond the immediate French interest of containing West German expansion or of re-establishing French prestige in continental Europe. It became an instrument to mobilise the combined investment resources of Europe of the Six for the exploitation of the riches of the Sahara and of French-speaking Afri-

ca and for tying these colonial territories more firmly to the economy of France and the EEC so that irrespective of the constitutional changes that may come in the future, the economic dependence of Africa on Western Europe's needs and decisions would be assured. As early as 1950, Robert Schuman, then France's Foreign Minister and the principal architect of the European Coal and Steel Community (the forerunner of the EEC) coined the term "collective European colonialism" to describe this new thinking in French ruling circles.

For the West German monopolies, long barred from Africa, the association of Africa with the Common Market represented new opportunities for capital penetration and the winning of markets—and hence well worth the price of participating collectively in the EEC's investment and trade plans in the African territories concerned.

Africa's Involvement

When the Rome Treaty and the appended Convention were negotiated there was no consultation between the negotiating conference and the territories that became associated with the Common Market.

The status of the French colonies was at the time determined by the Loi Cadre—this gave France full powers over the external relations, defence, trade and finances of the colonies concerned. Hence the decision to link these territories to the Common Market was a decision of France alone. Belgium brought in the Congo and Ruanda Urundi and the U.N. trust territory of Somalia was similarly associated on the decision of Italy (then administering the Trust).

The Rome Treaty distinguished between two groups of associated territories. The first concerned those colonies which constitutionally were regarded as being part of France (the so-called "overseas departments"). And the second group comprised all those territories with which France, Belgium, Netherlands and Italy "maintain special relations" i.e. colonies proper.

The first group were to a large extent treated under the treaty provisions applying to member states.

The colonies concerned were:

	Population (000's)
Algeria (including the hinterland)	10,270
French Guiana	30
Guadeloupe	260
Martinique	267
Reunion	318

Profit is the Keynote

It is to be noted that those Treaty provisions concerned with the alignment of policies on social insurance, labour legislation, conditions of work, and trade union rights as well as social security, were excluded from immediate application to these territories. Rather, the Treaty sought to integrate the economies of the colonies in this group to that of France and the Six in Europe through the removal of tariffs, freedom of trade, and linking up each of their agricultural industries to the common price system to be applied among the Six and hence to Western Europe's import requirements. The Ministerial Council of the EEC has since directed the removal of restrictions on capital movements to and from these colonies. However, there is one sense in which this group of colonies is treated similarly to those in the second group. This relates to the scope of the EEC's Development Fund: this fund, though to be applied mainly to the second group, could be used to finance investment projects in France's overseas departments as well. The purpose of this important proviso is to bring the rich resources of the Sahara within the purview of the Fund's operations.

French Africa

The second group of colonies is clearly more important. It encompasses virtually the whole of French-speaking Africa and some of the richest and most important colonial regions in the world. Of the 42 territories associated, eighteen with a total population of over 53 million are in Africa. If Algeria is included, well over half of the African land surface will have thus become associated with the Common Market.

Here again, the implementing Convention to the Rome Treaty excludes the application to this second group of all the measures concerned with social policy. Rather, the Convention attempts to seal off

this vast region into an economic preserve for the EEC in three crucially important ways:

First, the Convention makes it obligatory on this group to lower its tariffs on the import of goods from EEC countries to a level at least to that which this group maintains on imports from the metropolitan country concerned. Hence French Africa would lower its tariffs on Western German goods to the same level as applies to imports from France. On the other hand the European Six will abolish their tariff on imports emanating from this colonial group. This, in effect, enlarges to all the European Six the preferential tariff system that exists between France, Belgium, Holland, Italy and each of their colonies. Coupled with the enlargement of the preferential system is the mutual obligation on the Six and the colonies to remove quantitative restrictions (import licencing controls) over their trade with each other.

Secondly, the European Six will be accorded full equality and complete "rights of settlement" in the associated colonial region. Thus, nationals and business enterprises of any of the member states may now easily establish themselves in any territory of this group. This provides complete freedom for the entry of West German or Italian capital to territories hitherto restricted to the exploitation of the metropolitan power directly concerned.

Thirdly, the Convention establishes a Five-Year Development Fund out of which "investment projects in the associated areas will be financed." The Fund of £581 million receives contributions from each of the Six. France and West Germany will contribute the preponderant proportion, i.e. £200 million each, but the projects for EEC investment will in the main be chosen by that European country which directly governs the colony in question. Of the total Fund of £581 million, £511 million was to be allotted for investment in the French colonial area. In July 1959 the Ministerial Council of the Six decided to apportion the Development Fund to "social projects" (i.e. schools, hospitals, etc.) and "economic investment" in the ratio of 25 per cent and 75 per cent. By June 1961, some £193 million was disbursed in this way from the Fund.

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transferred to Southern Rhodesia. In 1957, Captain Charles Waterhouse, who had been the Leader in the English House of Commons of the anti-United Nations "Suez Group", a Conservative Member of Parliament, resigned his seat to go to Southern Rhodesia as Chairman of the Tanganyika Concessions.

Tanganyika Concessions is also closely concerned with the Portuguese Colonies in that it controls the railway from Lobito Bay to the Congo frontier.

Capital investment from outside is, of course, required in Africa. But if there is real political independence the profits from the investment of this capital can be shared in a way which is fair both to the outside investor and to the people of the country where the investment is made.

The evil of balkanization, disunity and secessions is that the new Balkan States of Africa will not have the independence to shake off the economic colonial shackles which result in Africa being a source of riches to the outside world while grinding poverty continues at home.

There is a real danger that the colonial powers will grant a nominal type of political independence to individual small units so as to ensure that the same old colonial type of economic organisation continues long after independence has been achieved. This in itself is a source of the gravest potential danger for the whole world. The peoples of Africa do not seek political freedom for abstract purposes. They seek it because they believe that through political freedom they can obtain economic advancement, education and a real control over their own destiny. If there is a grant of independence to a State which is so small that it cannot mobilise its own resources and which is tied by a series of economic and military agreements to the former colonial power, then a potentially revolutionary situation is at once created. These are the situations facing the new Africa of to-day.

The present situation presents a great danger to world peace and a challenge to the African States in particular. The situation demands prompt and urgent action.

National Independence in Unity of the People and Territorial Integrity

AFTER eight years of merciless war, after a heroic struggle which has aroused the admiration of people all over the world, after bitter resistance, heavy sacrifices and fierce repression, the Algerian people have arrived on the threshold of victory since the objectives for which they have fought so vigorously are about to be achieved: national independence in unity of the people and territorial integrity.

This is a great victory brought about by the tireless struggle of our people, by the relentless battle of our valiant National Liberation Army and by the continuous efforts of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to translate the primary objectives of our Revolution into reality.

Successive Setbacks of the Colonialists

In order to get a realistic picture of this victory and understand the reasons for its wide scope, we must recall the stubborn position adopted by General de Gaulle since September 16, 1959 when the right to self-determination of the Algerian people was solemnly recognised.

This recognition was undeniably a far-reaching success of our people's struggle since it finally destroyed the myth of "Algeria, an integral part of France," the *leit-motiv* of all the governments of the 4th Republic.

But when he defined the road to self-determination, de Gaulle did his best to deprive it of its very substance. Without following de Gaulle's meanders, it is easy to note that his policy is marked by a remarkable constancy. For him, the National Liberation Front was nothing but "a group of ambitious agitators determined to establish a totalitarian dictatorship by force and terror and convinced that one day the Republic would grant them the privilege of discussing



the destiny of Algeria with them." He was, furthermore, not prepared to discuss with the National Liberation Front unless they "left their knives in the cloakroom," in other words, unless they capitulated unconditionally.

In addition, de Gaulle denied the sacred principles of our Revolution, namely unity of the people and integrity of the entire territory. The Algerian people did not exist as a nation, he claimed that there were only different ethnical and religious communities: French, Kabyles, Mozabites, Caouias, Jews, etc. He wanted an Algeria made up of a host of minorities. This "historical demonstration" was to justify the "Balkanisation" of Algeria and its dismembering. De Gaulle threatened Algeria with an Israel in the north and a Katanga in the south. If Algeria



Let us break our chains

refused to grant the European minority the status of privileged citizenship, she would be punished by partition.

As regards the Sahara, the de Gaulle Government claimed that it was a French creation and consequently French sovereign territory and "a problem in itself."

So as to obtain African support for this policy, he advanced the idea of the "Sahara as an inland sea," devised a *priori* to interest riparian states, but aiming above all, to challenge Algeria's sovereign rights to the Sahara.

This brief review of de Gaulle's policy illustrates that its author—taught a lesson by the failure of the Guinean bet (1)—did his best to restrict the effects of the right to self-determination by various means.

It is obvious that this policy is in complete contradiction with the fundamental principles of our Revolution. Melum, Evian and Lugin (2) demonstrated that if the form has become more flexible, the same cannot be said about the essence of the problem.

An Initial Victory

The de Gaulle power, being what it is; was compelled to seek a genuine agreement with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in view of our increasing armed struggle and the firm determination of people who demonstrated their unshakeable adherence to the aims of the Revolution during the mass demonstrations.

Active solidarity of all progressive forces in the world and in France and the complete support of the workers of the world have helped to impose the necessary setbacks on the French Government. Four months of laborious negotiations were needed before a proper basis could be established for an end to the conflict with the respecting and safeguarding of the fundamental objectives of the Revolution.

Besides, the French Government had discussed the fate of Algeria with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, recognising it as the only representative of the Algerian people and the ceasefire, far from being a mere preliminary arrangement, is nothing but the outcome of a general political agreement.

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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 seemingly be reckoned as synonymous; but a close study of their context of usage will confirm the truth of the well-known aphoristic injunction: "there are no synonyms in the English language."

IN the February 1962 issue of "Voice of Africa" we expressed an editorial opinion on the use of the suffixes—ian and—ese.

We said: 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 seemingly be reckoned as synonymous; but a close study of their context of usage will confirm the truth of the well-known aphoristic injunction: "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.

A Dr. E. A. R. has written us to say that:

In a recent article of "Voice of Africa" I find a most puzzling theory. Because the difference between "Johnsonian" and "Johnsonese" is that while the former is a mark of achievement and the latter one of inferiority, you conclude that to call a person a Congolese is an indication of disrespect, and that we should therefore substitute Congoan. First of all it is a fundamental error of logic to conclude universally from a particular instance. Secondly, you are well aware that there is no logic in a living language, least

of all in English. The same ending "ese" is officially used for example in Italian for such countrymen as French, English, Canadian, Polish, Dutch who certainly have no inferiority complexes (cf. in Italian: Francese, Inglese, Candese, Polonese, Hollandese etc. . . .) Moreover, would you kindly inform us how you intend to translate such standard usages as Portuguese, Nepalese, Chinese, Javanese, Japanese, etc. From these examples (or should I say "Than" examples) you will find that the reason for the ending "ese" comes, not from an intention of degradation, but simply from the fact that the countries mentioned (with the exception of China) end with an "n" or with an "i" and that it would be too difficult to pronounce Portugalan, Chinaan, or Japanan. The same applies to quite a few other countries as a simple look at an atlas that gives more than Africa will convince you of: Siam gives Siamese and not siaman.

And if we want to be a little more sophisticated, investigate a little the two languages from which most European languages derive at least some of their forms: Latin and Greek, you would find that "an" derives from the Latin ending "anus" and the ending "ese" from the Greek "esos" both meaning exactly the same thing.

By the way, has it ever occurred to you that, were it not for English and French, the unity of Africa which you contemplated and which is a very good thing, would become almost impossible, due to the multitude of languages on the African continent?

But these (or "than") few words will be sufficient for the moment.

Our Special Correspondent has this comment to make:

It is just as well that Dr. E. A. R. does not fully reveal his identity, for one can now speak straight without mincing words. He, however, gives some indication of the working of his mind through the several incoherencies of his letter. It is difficult to say where he picked his logic from. Though he makes a show of being able to spell the word correctly, his mastery of it is somewhat unfirm. Perhaps he has never in logic heard of a single instance generalisation.

But does he recognise any difference between an illustration and proof. Surely one is allowed to illustrate a point as distinct from establishing it. On the question of simple instance generalisation however, it is curious that Dr. E. A. R. refers portentously to the lack of logic in English but purports to illustrate his point from Italian.

As he does not seem to have understood the general point of the article he criticised perhaps it would be kind to explain to him that when one says that the ending—ese conveys contempt, one does not mean that the people of whom it is used feel themselves to be inferior. One disparagingly talks of journalese but inferiority is not one of the feelings which its practitioners harbour. Another curiosity in Dr. E.A.R.'s letter is the following: He talks of Portuguese, Nepalese, Chinese, Javanese, Japanese, etc., and claims that the names of the countries involved end with an "n" or an "i" and that this is the reason for the above words ending in—ese. "China" does not end in an n or l, nor is there either in "Java" at all.

When Dr. E. A. R. tries to be sophisticated, in his second paragraph he becomes simply pathetic. The Latin for a Javanese would not be Javanus but Javaniensis. But we shall not give him a little Latin and less Greek.

French and English have not brought Africa together. Indeed, it is through French and English and the deculturisation and enhanced imperialism that their use had made possible that the divisions in Africa have become so hard drawn. A few lessons in the traditions of Africa will make even Dr. E. A. R. see that the basis of unity in the habits customs, and philosophy of Africa will be one of these factions which will enable us Africans to overcome the alienation and petty jealousies involved between the English and the French and the use of English and French.

Derek Kartun's famous book "Africa! Africa!" carries a prophetic message. The varied, resourceful, and relentless advance of the African people in the past decade is the central theme of his thought-provoking book.

It tells the story of the exploitation of Africa and of the crimes committed to safeguard super-profits from gold, diamonds, cocoa, bauxite, copper, and other products drained from the continent by the imperial powers.

Derek recounts the struggle for freedom through British colonial Africa in the face of terrible repressions. He assesses the victory of self-government in Ghana, setting an example for the other dependent countries of Africa. He tells of the fight by the people of Rhodesia. He shows how the people of Africa are rising to their feet.

In this issue, the "Voice of Africa" reproduces an extract from his book.

Is There Another Way?

BUT could Africa be rich? With the best will in the world can she be made to support her population? And if she can, what is needed for her to do so?

It should be clear from much that has been said in the course even of this short book that the potential riches of the African continent are immense. Africa's great and varied mineral resources are most dramatically illustrated, perhaps, by two facts: her iron ore reserves are by far the largest of any continent in the world; and just one of her many coalfields—the Wankie in Southern Rhodesia—is believed to be the richest single coal deposit on the face of the globe.

Africa has power, too. Her water-power resources are three times those of Europe, though only three per cent of them—one three-hundredth part—have yet been developed.

We have said something about the backwardness of African agriculture. We have seen that even with her present inefficient methods Africa's yearly share of the total value of agricultural products grown in the world very nearly equals her share of the world's population. This means that if the people of Africa were getting a fair price for those agricultural products that they export, they would be able, at current world prices, to buy all that they needed to bring their diet up to a reasonable standard. Yet we know that they are

in fact quite unable to do anything of the kind.

One could go further. If anything like a serious effort were made, for instance, to combat the tsetse fly in Africa, an additional area twice the size of the United States of America could eventually be brought into cultivation and could support a cattle population equal to the entire livestock of the Argentine.

The Western Powers in the United Nations and the North Atlantic Council talk a good deal about helping the under-developed areas. Yet the entire budget of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization for a year is only five million dollars—a good deal less than the cost of one long-range atom bomber.

Certainly, Africa needs capital. And it is true that some capital finds its way there. Thus, American public investment in the continent now stands at nearly £200 million, and private investment at about the same amount. British investments in the continent are vast. There are capital development schemes of fair size projected or under way in most of the African colonies—the smelting of aluminium, the mining of copper, manganese and iron ore, the harnessing of water-power, and so forth.

But such schemes, as we have seen, are not for the enrichment of Africa: they are for the enrichment of Britain, France, Belgium and the United States.

It has been very conservatively estimated that if the standard of living in British Africa is to increase by only two per cent per year, at least £150 million of new capital would have to be invested yearly. Some £100 millions of this will be needed, according to this estimate, from outside.

In fact, we find that only something in the region of £15 million of British capital is being invested each year, whereas tens of millions in profits are extracted—profits which could produce that £100 million of capital were they reinvested on the spot for the benefit of the people who produced them.

Labour and Conservative leaders alike have been talking for many years about African development and the need to invest. If we draw a discreet veil over the groundnut fiasco—a scheme publicly described as a means of solving Britain's economic problems—we may search as we will; we shall find no effort to provide for the good of Africa the capital that Africa needs. We find instead the remorseless accumulation of forced loans, described as sterling imperial profit.

This is not the place to examine in any detail the economic needs of Africa. They are well enough known as it is. The question rather is: what policy is required in order to unleash the great resources of human energy and ability in the continent,

to direct the necessary capital resources to the necessary spots at the necessary time, to unlock the riches of Africa and make them available to her peoples?

At the outset one thing must be said. Whatever effort or sacrifice is needed, we in Britain must shoulder a major part of it. For if the peoples of Africa are starving and oppressed to-day, the fault is as much ours as anyone's. We owe a debt that will not easily be repaid. But some effort must be made to repay it.

In actual fact the liberation of Africa would not be a sacrifice for the working people of Britain. On the contrary, Africa's emancipation, the modernization of her farms and the industrialization of her cities would benefit us as it would benefit the Africans themselves. It is the present relations of exploitation and oppression which impose sacrifices on the British people. The release of the African sterling balances by the London banks could easily pay a most substantial first instalment on the capital equipment needed to transform the African economy. And once that process had got under way there would arise in Africa a market of unimaginable size for British engineering and other exports. It would be a mighty expansion of trade in the interests of both traders.

The forces who wax fat on Africa are the forces who wax fat on the exploitation of the working people of Britain. The power that they derive from their colonial wealth is used to maintain their positions of power and privilege at home. In this sense the peoples of Africa struggling to be free are the natural allies of the workers of Britain, struggling for the socialism that the pioneers of our Labour Movement dreamed about and taught to us as an article of faith.

To build up relations of true friendship and equality with the peoples of Africa will mean an end of the colonial wars which regularly kill off a part of our youth every decade. It will mean an end of the heavy cost of such wars, which keeps our living standards down.

One may say: all this is obvious. Is not the Labour Movement fully committed to ending these things?

Are we not all as well disposed as we possibly could be towards the peoples of Africa? Has not the Labour Party gone on record in this sense time without number?

The leaders of the Labour Party have always spoken about Empire with two voices. They have proclaimed the principle of liberation of the colonial peoples, and they have extolled the virtues of imperialism. As far back as 1924 J. H. Thomas was saying as a member of the Labour Government that he loved the Empire and was proud of it. He talked eloquently of the 'incalculable riches of our splendid possessions.' From this to Ernest Bevin's: 'I am not prepared to sacrifice the British Empire', is a short step.

Herbert Morrison has declared: 'We are great friends of the jolly old Empire and are going to stick to it.' And before proceeding to Kenya early in 1953, Mr. James Johnson, Labour M.P. for Rugby, announced: 'We have a fine imperial tradition. I go out to Africa expecting the best and shall, I hope, come back with much to cheer me.'

This is the authentic voice of the jingo. And it is heard again when the economics of Britain's survival are debated.

Sir Stafford Cripps declared to the African Governor's Conference in November, 1947: 'The whole future of the sterling group and its ability to survive depends in my view upon a quick and extensive development of our African resources.'

Mr. Attlee told the House of Commons on January 23, 1948: 'Western Europe cannot live by itself as an economic unit. Hence the desire for wider integration with Africa and other overseas territories, and with the western democracies.'

And—perhaps most significant of all—the Earl of Listowel, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs in the Labour Government, told the House of Lords on April 13, 1949:

It is fortunate that the starting point of so many Government policies, for defence, for foreign relations, and for Commonwealth co-operation, as well as for the Colonies, is

not in itself a matter of Party controversy. This wide area of agreement gives these policies far greater weight in the outside world than they would otherwise have. I was glad to notice that the restatement of Conservative policy by the noble Viscount in his complete accord with our views on these Benches. The special value of this non-Party approach to Colonial matters is that it convinces our foreign critics that the policy they decry is not a mere aberration of the Party in power at the moment.

This is straightforward enough in all conscience. And it makes nonsense of the claim that the post-war Labour Government ever intended to change anything substantial in Britain's traditional colonial policy. It was the Conservative and hard-headed *Daily Telegraph* which tartly reminded the Right-wing leaders of the Labour Party that it was 'part of the general fatuity of the late Socialist Government to continue to deplore "colonial exploitation" while greedily helping themselves to the proceeds of Persian oil and Malayan tin and rubber.'

A slight correction might be in place. They were helping not themselves but the great monopolies of Britain—the forces which they were pledged to fight and which the rank and file of the Labour Party wanted them to fight.

'The Labour Party,' said Mr. Attlee in a *Daily Herald* article early in 1952, 'recognizes the rights of all peoples to manage their own affairs on equal terms with their fellow nations. We therefore reject... old-fashioned colonialism.'

The rank and file of the Labour Party does recognize these things. It was the Labour Government that did not.

What, then, do we need in Africa? We need a completely fresh start. A completely new kind of relationship between the peoples of Africa and the people of Britain.

In the first place, the Africans must have the right to determine their own future. They must have the right to decide how they will be governed. They must be free of foreign domination—completely free.

Without this, all else is illusion. Without it the great resources of Africa cannot be mobilized to make life tolerable for her peoples.

With it, there is no end to the possibilities. On a basis of absolute equality, a Socialist Britain can and would extend to Africa the technical help she will need for some decades to come. The money for her industrial development can be made available without the fear that the aim is further exploitation.

Would the Africans accept such a relationship within a fraternal association which included the former colonial peoples? In answering that question we must bear in mind that the Britain which ended imperialism in this way would be very different from what our country is to-day. For only a truly democratic and popular Government would take these steps—steps along the road to building Socialism in Britain itself.

The peoples of Africa have no quarrel with the people of our country. They would be as glad of our sincere and disinterested help as were the peoples of the former Tsarist colonies for the help of the Russian people after the socialist revolution of 1917.

Consider it. All British forces would be withdrawn from the African continent. The peoples of the former colonies would be free to elect their own Governments and pursue their own policies. They would get what help they requested from Britain herself.

On this basis, there would be a great expansion of agricultural and industrial production as there was in Russia when the fetters of imperial-

ism had been smashed. Britain would provide a natural market for much of the food and raw materials produced in Africa. She would supply in return the machinery and plant needed to develop Africa's resources for the Africans.

From this would grow the conditions to transform the backward economy of the African colonies, and to build a balanced economy which would have as its foundation the growth of heavy industry and machine-producing enterprises. In thus ensuring her own needs, Britain would be building friendship with the Africans in place of fear and hatred, equality and mutual respect in place of white supremacy and intolerance. And the preservation of this close and friendly association would be a valuable protection for all the partners within it against the danger of American imperial domination.

This is the long term view—the only view that serves the interests of Britain and Africa alike. In the short term, there are urgent things to be done. The war in Kenya must be ended and the peoples of Kenya, as of the other African territories, must be helped to improve their living standards. We need to demand here and now the granting of democracy to these territories, the removal of British troops. We need to do what we can at once to bring the end of colonialism as close as can be.

The great majority of British people would be horrified if they knew one-tenth of what imperialism really means to its victims. The traditions of our Labour movement are against it. Our instincts and feelings reject it. What we have lacked is the determination to end it.

Imperialism is a degrading business for those who practise it. Hear how a remarkable African, Aime Cesaire, who sits in the French National Assembly, judges it:

Each time a head is cut off or an eye put out in Viet-Nam and France

accepts, a young girl raped and France accepts, a Madagascan tortured and France accepts, an attribute of civilization is lost, a universal retreat takes place, a gangrene takes hold, a centre of infection spreads out, and at the end of all those broken treaties, of all those lies disseminated, of all those punitive expeditions tolerated, of all those prisoners bound and 'interrogated,' of all those patriots tortured, at the end of that racial pride encouraged, of that arrogance displayed, there is poison instilled into the veins of Europe and the slow but certain reduction of the continent to barbarism.

What has she done, middle class Europe? She has undermined civilizations, destroyed homelands, ruined nations, extirpated 'the root of diversity.' No barrier remains. The day of the barbarian is at hand. Of the modern barbarian. The day of the Americans: violence, excess, waste, commercialism, bluff, stupidity, vulgarity, disorder, ...

We have no defence before such an indictment. Today, the peoples of Africa are rising to their feet and demanding cease to the offences of imperialism. They are our friends and our allies and we have the bounden duty of helping them. They are writing a chapter in the history of the world that we should count it a privilege to be alive to witness. They struggle under difficult circumstances and against great odds. They require all the resources of patience, courage, determination and political sagacity of which they are capable. But under the leadership of the growing African proletariat there can be no doubt whatever that they will achieve their aims.

'There is nothing more deplorable,' Lord Salisbury said, 'than an inheritance of triumphant wrong.' We in Britain have such an inheritance. And when we divest ourselves of it there will be hope, progress and honour for us all.

Ruanda-Urundi Struggles for Freedom

by Peter Raboroko (Part 1)

LIKE the greater part of what was until recently colonial Africa, Ruanda Urundi became victim of the monstrous colonialist rape of Africa usually referred to as the scramble for Africa.

After the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 at which the decision to carve up Africa in the interests of colonial powers was taken, Germany duly annexed Ruanda Urundi as an integral part of her East African Empire in January, 1891. That Empire included the Independent African State of Tanganyika inaugurated on December 9, 1961.

To "legalise" the annexation the Germans paid £200,000 sterling to the Sultan of Zanzibar who claimed the whole territory as his domain.

Ruling Class

For purposes of indirect rule the German colonial authorities recognised both the Mwami of Ruanda and the Mwami of Urundi referring to them as sultans.

Before this period both territories were under the direct rule of the two Bami of Ruanda and Urundi both of whom were usually of Watutsi nationality.

The Watutsi who comprised the ruling class before the advent of the European colonialists had a well-organised system of administration.

They are a Nilotic people who are alleged to have taken over these territories as early as 1450 A.D. They are also alleged to have been from the North.

Landless

A German Imperial Decree of November 26, 1895 claimed all land

in Ruanda Urundi as the property of the German Crown. By a stroke of the pen the African people of Ruanda Urundi were thus rendered landless. In practice unoccupied lands were to be made available for grant to Europeans. Only the State could grant freehold titles. At the end of the German annexation 3,896 acres had been alienated to Europeans. For Ruanda Urundi which is the most densely populated country in Africa this was too much.

As an integral part of Tanganyika Ruanda Urundi remained a German colony until the end of World War I when in terms of the Treaty of Versailles (1919) it was wrenched from the rest of Tanganyika and handed over to Belgium as a Mandated Territory under the League of Nations Covenant.

Collective Colony

It was only on October 20, 1924, that the Parliament of Belgium formally accepted the mandate over Ruanda Urundi. For some reason or another the Belgian Parliament awaited the approval of the United States of America before formally accepting the mandate. That approval was secured by a Treaty of April 18, 1923.

By becoming a mandate Ruanda Urundi had now ceased to be a German colony and had instead become, at least theoretically, a collective colony with Belgium as the chief agent of the colonial powers.

The exact nature of this collective colonialism emerges from a study of the background to the mandatory system and of the terms of the mandate itself.

The Principle Allied and Associated Powers were faced with the problem of disposing of the ex-Turkish and ex-German colonies at the end of World War I.

No Annexation

On the ending of hostilities the Allied Powers declared that the Peace Settlement would not be accompanied by annexation. And all they meant by that was that it would not be accompanied by formal annexation.

Two viewpoints emerged on the formula for the peace settlement. The one viewpoint represented by President Woodrow Wilson evolved the mandatory conception involving the exercise of the right of self-determination for all ex-possessions of the enemy. The other viewpoint the chief exponent of which was General J. C. Smuts of South Africa favoured such a mandatory system only for non-African possessions of the defeated Powers but not for Germany's ex-African colonies.

No Self-determination

The final formula for the mandatory system is usually alleged to have been a victory for the Wilsonians but it was in actual fact hedged around in such a way that it really represented a victory for the Smutsians.

This "compromise" worked in such a way that during the existence of the League of Nations itself not a single African country achieved political self-determination. While Germany's ex-Turkish possessions were all classed as A Class Mandates all former German colonies in Africa were classed either as B or C Class Mandates.

All Mandatory Authorities holding the B and C Mandates were enjoined to respect customary law and practice, to prevent forced labour, to restrict all traffic in drugs and alcoholic drinks and to safeguard the landed interests of the indigenous peoples.

Strenuous Conditions

Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant declared the well-being and development of peoples 'not yet able to stand by themselves in the strenuous conditions of the modern world' to be a 'sacred trust of civilisation.'

The terms of the Mandate for the Territory of Ruanda Urundi left it open for the Mandatory Authority to rule that Territory as a distinct entity or as a 'customs, fiscal or administrative union or federation' with the adjacent territory of the Congo.

Province

On August 21, 1925 the Belgian Parliament passed a law enabling them to rule Ruanda Urundi as an integral part of the Congo for purpose of administration. Ruanda Urundi was thus created into a Vice-Governor-General's province.

The Belgian Government also conferred upon the Government of Ruanda Urundi a distinct legal personality and the right to have a separate budget.

Traditional Authority

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations which had been entrusted with the authority to supervise all Mandated Territories approval all these measures as being within the terms of the Mandate.

The Belgians ruled Ruanda Urundi through a Vice-Governor-General. That functionary in turn ruled the country through the Mwami of Ruanda and the Mwami of Urundi both of whom were empowered to exercise their traditional authority, subject to instructions conveyed to them through the media of Residents acting as their advisers. The Bami were in actual truth the puppets of the Residents.

True Nature of Colonial Policy

Did the Belgian administering Authorities make any honest attempt to honour the duties and obligations imposed upon them by the terms of the mandate?

The answer to this question depends partly upon the true nature of the general colonial policy of the Belgians and partly upon their specific commissions and omissions in the administration of the Mandated Territory of Ruanda Urundi.

Belgium's colonial policy was fundamentally not different from that of any other Colonial Power. It was a colonial policy aimed primarily at upholding the interests of the Belgian

colonialists even if these were to be upheld at the expense of those of the African people.

Interests of the Mining Houses

The Congo before and after independence offers a classic example of Belgium colonial or neo-colonial policy.

That policy has aimed at and is aiming at upholding the interests of the Belgian mining houses whose sole reason for existence is the need to exploit the human and material resources of the Congo.

Reservoir of Cheap Labour

The Leopoldville Congo is equal to India in area while it contains only 13,652,857 people to India's 400,000,000.

Ruanda Urundi with a population of 5,000,000 is only 20,000 square miles in extent. With 250 inhabitants to the square mile, it is Africa's most densely populated area.

Ruanda Urundi has, therefore, proved extremely valuable to the Belgian mining houses as an inexhaustible source of cheap labour.

The foundation for this Trust Territory's role of reservoir of cheap labour was laid during the period of the Mandate.

Agents and Tools

During the Mandatory period the movement for liberation found little or no support because of the Belgium policy of ruthless suppression of all nationalist tendencies as well as of divide and rule under which for example the two leading princes, the Bami of Ruanda and of Urundi were used as the principal colonialist agents and tools.

Early in 1928 the people rose against the Mwami Musinga of Ruanda who had permitted himself to be glaringly used as a tool of Belgian interests against those of the people. The movement proved to be a formidable nationalist rising and spread across the border into the South-West corner of Uganda. Belgian troops were called upon to restore "law and order" but the situation was clearly beyond them so that they had no choice but to call on the ever willing British imperialists to help them to suppress the peoples rising which they did with unprecedented ruthlessness.

When in 1931 the Mwami Musinga of Ruanda resisted being used as an agent and tool of colonialist interests and tended to identify himself with the interests of his people, charges were trumped up against him and he was swiftly removed from the chieftaincy. Charles Mutara III Rudahigwa was immediately installed in his place.

The destooling of a ruling prince by an external agent is a concept totally alien to the basic concept of African law and custom.

Flagrant Violation

Since the terms of the Mandate had specifically enjoined the Mandatory Power to respect African customary law and practice, the destooling constituted a flagrant violation of the terms of the Mandate.

The Belgians, however, seemed to have learned their lesson, for later when they sought to depose Kigeri V, they called an illegal meeting of mayors and councillors to do their dirty work. Their boast then became a claim that they could not go against the will of the people.

When the Belgian authorities took over from the Germans they recognized land titles granted to Europeans in respect of 3,896 acres. Since the Belgians themselves granted additional titles to the Europeans and since by 1938 they had already alienated 93,750 acres out of a total area of 13,300,000 it is clear that they had violated the terms of the Mandate which had enjoined them to safeguard the landed interests of the African people.

The Yelta Conference

In 1945 President Harry Truman of the United States of America, Premier Joseph Stalin of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Premier Winston Churchill of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland met at Yelta in the U.S.S.R. and among the questions they considered was the setting up of an organ that would take over the functions of the old Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations with regard to colonial dependencies such as the Mandated Territories and the new ex-enemy Territories.

The 1945 San Francisco Conference of the United Nations dealt,

inter alia, with the colonial question and included three chapters on it in their Charter.

The San Francisco powers differed in interests but these were now also reflected in a deep ideological cleavage. The chapters on the colonial question reflected all these differences and were consequently full of ambiguities and loopholes.

Strenuous Conditions

In this United Nations' Charter the colonial powers referred to their colonies as "territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government."

Verbose as the phraseology is, it is a marked improvement to that of the League of Nations which spoke of people who are "not yet able to stand by themselves in the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

The colonial powers in the United Nations accepted their duties and obligations towards non-self-governing territories as a sacred trust.

They also declared their object to be the attainment of self-government for the various peoples and the development of free political institutions for them, according to the circumstances prevailing in each country.

The dependent territories falling under the United Nations were to be known as Trust Territories, and the Fourth Committee was to be the main organ supervising developments in such territories.

The United Nations was created as an instrument of the colonialist powers and the chapters of the U.N. charter, on colonialism bear the imprint of their origin.

Limited Powers

In 1946 Belgium handed Ruanda Urundi over to the United Nations as a Trust Territory and agreed to rule it for them. The Belgian Parliament confirmed this by the *Arretes* of April 11, 1949.

By virtue of these provisions vice-Governor General of Ruanda Urundi took over the same limited powers over Ruanda Urundi as the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo had.

A Single Entity

Article 5, paragraph 1, of the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly on December

13, 1946 provided that the Administering Authority "shall have full powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in the Territory of Ruanda Urundi and shall administer it in accordance with Belgian law as an integral part of Belgian territory, subject to the provisions of the Charter and of this agreement."

Under the Trusteeship agreement Ruanda Urundi retained her separate identity in matters of finance and legislation. It was to be ruled as part of the Belgian Congo in administrative matters. The laws and by-laws of the Congo were to apply to Ruanda Urundi only when the Vice-Governor-General had specifically applied them to that territory. That agreement envisaged the whole of Ruanda Urundi and the attainment of its independence as a single entity.

In 1947 an advisory Council of the Vice-Governor-General was formed and its members included three persons representing African interests. The Vice-Governor-General had his headquarters at Usumbura and after the independence of the Leopoldville, Congo his designation was altered to that of Resident-General.

A Relic

For administrative purposes Ruanda Urundi is divided into two 'Residencies': the Residency of Ruanda and the Residency of Urundi.

The Ruanda Residency is further sub-divided into eight territories: Kigali, Nyanza, Astrida, Shangugu, Kisenyi, Ruhengeri, Byumba and Kibungu.

The nine sub-divisions comprising the territories of the Urundi Residency are: Kitega, Muramvya, Ngozi, Muhinga, Ruyigi, Rutana, Bururi, Usumbura and Bubanza.

During the German occupation of Ruanda Urundi a Resident was appointed to each of the two sultanates of Ruanda and Urundi. The term 'Residency' is a relic of that period.

No Target Date

The United Nations Mission which visited Ruanda Urundi in 1954 recommended in its report that the Ruanda Urundi Trust Territory be guaranteed self-government within a fixed date not later than 1974. The Chairman of the Mission dissociated himself from this "radical" view.

The Belgian representatives in the U.N. opposed the target date recom-

mendation very strongly. Since the Belgian Government had not even thought of a target date for the Leopoldville, Congo which they regarded as socially and educationally more advanced than Ruanda-Urundi the suggestion sounded to them completely preposterous. Within six years after this the Congo joined the ranks of the Independent African States.

The United Nations General Assembly failed to support the target date recommendation thus strengthening further the conviction that it was set up as a colonialist organ for the upholding of colonialist interests.

Territorial Integrity

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We have nothing in common with de Gaulle's arguments which he expounded in all his speeches.

Algerian sovereignty exercised by a people that is ONE and INDIVISIBLE covers the entire national territory, including the Sahara.

The After-Effects of Neo-Colonialism

True, for a certain period of time we shall feel the after-effects of neo-colonialism, but they will soon be overcome by the National Liberation Front, a mass party pursuing a genuinely revolutionary policy.

The Revolution is inseparable from independence. The Revolution is more important than independence and to carry out a Revolution means to do away with one political, economic and social order and substitute it by another, a system of the people, for the people and by the people.

True to its revolutionary ideals, the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA) is getting ready to rouse all the forces so that they should make an effective contribution to the economic and social enhancement of the mass of the workers.

Algeria will be what we want it to become. Proud of and fortified by all the sacrifices it has made, the UGTA will be present in the battle for the achievement of an economic and social revolution, for that is the only way of being free and the finest destiny that can be offered to our people.

One Party System of Government in Africa

THE African concept of democracy is similar to that of the ancient Greeks from whose language the word "democracy" originated. To the Greeks, democracy meant simply "government by discussion among equals." The people discussed and when they reached agreement the result was a 'people's decision.'

Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock writing about Nyasaland describes traditional African democracy as: "The elders sit under the big tree and talk until they agree." This 'talking until you agree' is the essential of the traditional African concept of democracy.

To minds moulded by western parliamentary tradition and western concepts of democratic institutions, the idea of an organised opposition group has become so familiar that its absence immediately raises the

cry of "dictatorship." It is no good telling them that when a group of 100 equals have sat and talked together until they agreed where to dig a well, (and 'until they agreed' implies that they will have produced many conflicting arguments before they eventually agree) they have practised democracy. Proponents of western parliamentary traditions will consider whether the opposition was organised and therefore automatic, or whether it was spontaneous and therefore free. Only if it was automatic will they concede that here was democracy!

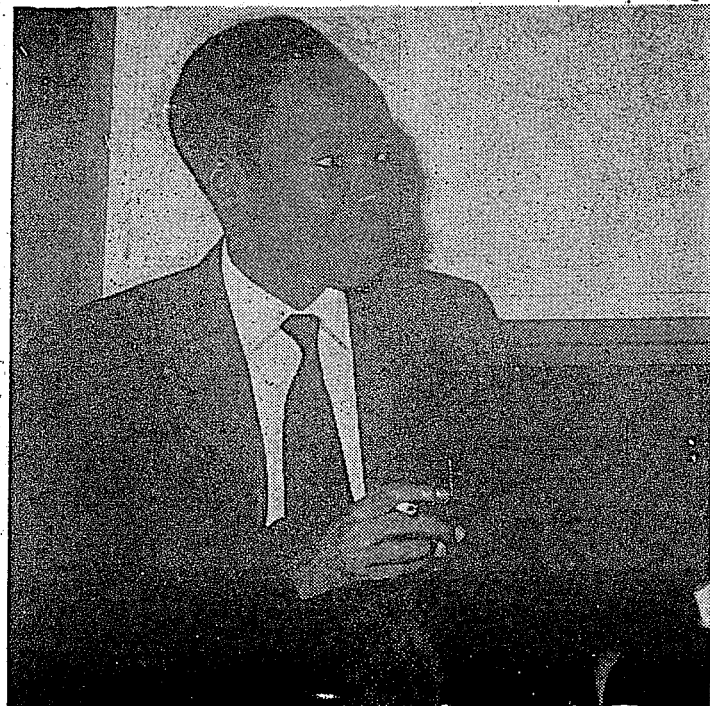
Basically democracy is

Most Western European countries believe that a two party system of government is an effective guarantee of democracy. Their bitterest complaint against independent African States is that because these states are heading for the one party system of government they are in danger of becoming dictatorships.

In the September 1961 issue of "Voice of Africa" Mr. Ndabaningi Sithole, the Southern Rhodesian author of "African Nationalism" stated that "the importance of the two party system, because it guarantees democratic processes, and partly because at this stage of their development, and because the former master countries are only too eager to return by hook or by crook, the opposition is African in appearance but European in fact."

Mr. Madeira Keita, Minister of the Interior of Mali also wrote in the October 1961 issue of "Voice of Africa" that "there have been forms of government without political parties. If a political party is the expression of a class which itself represents certain interests, obviously cannot assert that African society is a classless society. But we do say that the differences in Africa does not imply a diversification of interests and still less an opposition of interests."

In this issue of "Voice of Africa," Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union also expresses his view on the subject of the ONE PARTY SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN AFRICA.



JULIUS NYERERE, President of TANU—the ruling party in Tanganyika

government by discussion as opposed to government by force; and by discussion between the people or their chosen representatives as opposed to a hereditary clique. Under the tribal system whether there was a chief or not, African society was a society of equals, and it conducted its business by discussion.

It is true that this pure democracy—the totally unorganised 'talking until you agree' can no longer be adequate; it is too

clumsy a way of conducting the affairs of a large modern state. The need to organise the people by discussion does not imply the need to organise them into a political party.

I am not arguing that a two party system is not democratic, saying it is only one of the ways in which democracy happens to be organised in certain countries, and no means essential.

I am sure that even if the Labour Party or the Conservative Party in Britain would not have their party could succeed in winning all the seats, they would be happy to form a one party government. They, the winners, would not be likely to turn themselves into a dictatorship in Britain.

Some of us have been in a position that you cannot have a party to oppose the party. But, however difficult it is in Britain and America to accept what to them is a democracy can be that there is no formal opposition. I think we in Africa should

carefully before we abandon our traditional attitude.

'Haves' and 'Have-Nots' Struggle

It is often overlooked that the Anglo-Saxon tradition of a two party system is a reflection of the society in which it evolved. Within that society, there was a struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'—each of whom organised themselves into political parties, one party associated with wealth and the *status quo* and the other with the masses of the people and change. Thus the existence of distinct classes in a society and the struggle between them resulted in the growth of the two party system. But need this be accepted as the essential and only pattern of democracy?

With rare exceptions the idea of class is something entirely foreign to Africa. Here, in this continent, the nationalist movements are fighting a battle for freedom from foreign domination, not from domination by any ruling class of our own. To us "the other party" is the colonial power. In many parts of Africa this struggle has been won; in others it is still going on. But everywhere the people who fight the

battle are not former overlords wanting to re-establish a lost authority; they are not a rich mercantile class whose freedom to exploit the masses is being limited by the colonial powers; they are the common people of Africa.

Thus once the foreign power—"the other party"—has been expelled there is no ready-made division, and it is by no means certain that democracy will adopt the same machinery and symbols as the Anglo-Saxons. Nor indeed is it necessarily desirable that it should be so.

Our Emergency

New nations like Tanganyika are emerging into independence as a result of a struggle for freedom from colonialism. It is a patriotic struggle which leaves no room for differences, and which unites all elements in the country; and the nationalist movements—having united the people and led them to freedom—must inevitably form the first governments of the new States. Once the first free government is formed, its supreme task lies ahead—the building up of the country's economy so as to raise the living standards of the people, the eradication of disease and the banishment of ignorance and superstition. This, no less than the struggle against colonialism, calls for maximum united effort by the whole country if it is to succeed. There can be no room for difference or division.

In Western democracies it is an accepted practice that in times of emergency opposition parties sink their differences and join together in forming a national government. This is our time of emergency, and until our war against poverty, ignorance and disease has been won, we should not let our unity be destroyed by a desire to follow somebody else's 'book of rules.'

If these then are the forms of

democracy what are the essentials?

First, the freedom and the well-being of the individual. Freedom alone is not enough; there can be a freedom which is merely the freedom to starve. True freedom must be freedom not only from bondage, from discrimination and from indignity, but also freedom from all those things which hamper a people's progress. It is the responsibility of the government in a democratic country to lead the fight against all these enemies of freedom. To do this the government, once freely elected must also be free to govern in the best interests of the people, and without fear of sabotage. It is, therefore, also the duty of the government to safeguard the unity of the country from irresponsible or vicious attempts to divide and weaken it, for without unity the fight against the enemies of freedom cannot be won.

When, then, you have the freedom and well-being of the individual; and where the individual has the right freely and regularly to join with his fellows in choosing the government of his country; and where the affairs of the country are conducted by free discussion, you have democracy.

True democracy depends far more on the attitude of mind which respects and defends the individual than on the forms it takes. The form is useless without the attitude of the mind of which the form is an external expression. As with individuals, so with organised groups, this question of attitude is all important. It is not enough to ask what attitude will an African government adopt towards an opposition without also asking what attitude an opposition will adopt towards a popularly elected government.

In the past all that was required of government was merely to maintain law and order within the country, and to protect it from external aggression. Today the responsibilities of governments, whether 'communist' or 'free,' are infinitely wider. However nearly its requirements of

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Africa Freedom Day Message from African Nationalists:

Imperialists dig Grave of Whiteman's Future in Africa

TODAY is Sunday, April 15, 1962 and all true sons and daughters of the soil are observing the Fourth Anniversary of AFRICA FREEDOM DAY.

● April 15 marks the grim determination of the African people to free themselves once and for all from the shackles of colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations.

● April 15 marks the occasion for all freedom fighters to rededicate themselves to the liberation struggle in order to keep alive their pledge to the martyred heroes of Africa and to generations yet unborn.

● April 15 symbolises the triumphant march of the movement towards the unity and solidarity of the African people of both dependent and independent states.

Since April 15, 1961, the world has borne witness to the solid constitutional gains of the people of Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, Ruanda Urundi and the Gambia in their grand march towards the cherished goal of freedom and independence.

Since April 15, 1961, the world has also borne witness to the ceasefire proclamation in Algeria after more than seven years of a life and death struggle in that strife-torn unhappy country.

Since April 15, 1961, the world has further borne witness to the emergence of Sierra Leone and Tanganyika into the fold of the Independent African States.

Since April 15, 1961, the world has furthermore borne witness to the

fourth session of the PAFMECSA Conference at which decisions vital to the cause of unity and independence in Africa were taken.

And yet the days since the observance of the Third Anniversary of Africa Freedom Day have been marked not only by joys but also by deep sorrows.

During these past 365 days the cost of the struggle to the African people has been tremendous both in time and energy and men and materials.

The world has seen the people of Mozambique who have for long suffered in silence rise against their colonial oppressors.

In the High Commission Territories the world has watched the scales falling off the eyes of the African people. Today they are clearly determined to put an end to a system wherein their countries and their people are treated as nothing more than reservoirs of cheap labour for the British Imperialists. These people are today demanding complete political economic and social freedom.

In the Congo the people have clearly seen through the clumsy game of the neo-imperialists to foist leaders upon them and thus continue to rob their country not only of its fruits of independence but also of its wealth and other resources.

In Central Africa the people waged a gigantic struggle against the imposition upon them of a constitution designed to bolster the hated "Federation" and to facilitate the continued exploitation of the masses by foreign capitalist interests.

In the Spanish colonies the mantle of silence that has been spread over

the process of oppression is being ripped into rags and tatters.

In South West Africa against the drowning din of the oppressor's noisy propaganda the people have managed to make their voices heard in international circles. Their plight is a challenge to the effectiveness of the United Nations.

In South Africa the people's struggle has forced the hand of the oppressor. He has now entered into aggression pacts with Salazar, Welensky and Traitor Tshombe in a desperate bid to perpetuate the enslavement of the African people or to exterminate them.

In "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde the people have at long last decided to retaliate against the violence of the oppressors.

In Angola the people decided rather to die as free men than to continue to live as slaves. Their armed liberatory struggle has aroused the admiration and sympathy of the entire world.

On behalf of the oppressed masses of colonial Africa whom we represent we appeal to all African leaders to make the unity and solidarity of the people of Africa a living reality.

We appeal to all political leaders of Africa to insure that their people become ideologically and politically clear as a safeguard of their own basic interests and those of Africa.

We wish to make clear that the task of freeing themselves falls squarely on the shoulders of the people of colonial Africa. This fact should blind no one to the burning need for material and spiritual assistance for the struggle of those colonial peoples whose countries are infested with heavily armed and well-trained settler lackeys backed by their powerful imperialist masters. The responsibility to free colonial Africa is therefore equally the task of the Independent African States and none of them can shirk that responsibility.

The oppressed people of Africa have a date with destiny and that date has been fixed for 1963. The deadline for the freedom of all Africa is 1963. And come hell or high water Africa must be free and totally free by 1963.

The imperialists and their settler lackeys are today busy digging the grave of the whiteman's future in Africa. And for that action they

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South-West Africa and UN

Walls Must Come Down

by Jariretundu Kozonguizi

"AFTER 15 years of effort, the situation remains unchanged. Up to now South Africa has not complied with a single resolution of the General Assembly. Every effort and every attempt that has been made has come to nothing. It could in fact be claimed that the path of persuasion has led nowhere. The increasingly negative reaction of the South African Government indicates beyond any reasonable doubt that the solution of the problem cannot be made contingent upon the voluntary observance by South Africa of the General Assembly's resolution..."

Thus spoke the Representative of Mexico at the U.N.

By decision of the fifteenth resumed Session of the United Nations, the Committee on South West Africa was to proceed to South West Africa with or without the co-operation of the South African Government. They did not succeed in entering the territory. But their tour of Africa was very helpful at least in one respect: the Committee was introduced to the realities of African politics.

As a result they produced the most provocative report so far presented on South West Africa by any Committee or Commission of the United Nations.

A People's Police Force

They proposed:

"The immediate institution of a United Nations presence in South West Africa in the form of a Special Committee of the United Nations to remove the present Administration from the territory and transfer power to the United Nations or the people of South West Africa themselves;

"The training of a People's Police Force by the United Nations and cessation of all organised immigration of Europeans specially South Africans into South West Africa;

That the Special Committee organise a Convention to draft the Constitution for an Independent South West Africa and the election of representatives to the Legislative Assembly on the basis of Universal Adult Suffrage;

The organisation of a special intensive type of fellowship programme to train the largest possible number of South West Africans in the techniques of administration, economics, law, etc..."

In all this planning, the Committee proposed that accredited representatives from the political parties and popular movements in South West Africa should participate.

All People Shall Decide

These proposals of the Committee on South West Africa were in the main the basic recommendations of the petitioners before the Committee in Africa. For example, in a Memorandum presented to the Committee in Accra on the 28/6/61 the South West Africa National Union said:

"...SWANU submits that the first stage of self-determination for the people of South West Africa shall be arranged as follows:

Acceptance of the principle that political decisions shall be taken by the people in the country themselves. For purposes of this SWA may be divided into several regions or constituencies from which representatives would be sent to a Constitutional Convention. The Convention will decide on the political arrangements in the country, i.e. the

form of Constitution and the basis of representation in Parliament or Legislative Assembly as well as the principles to govern elections. The Convention will also address itself to the problems of Administration, the maintenance of peace and security in the country and other matters of importance..."

The proposals of the Committee having been tabled by Chairman Febregat of Uruguay, it was expected that they would form the basis for debate. But South Africa, faithfully backed by Portugal whose vote was the only one in her favour, ignored the Report of the Committee and proceeded to argue that 'South West Africa' could not be discussed whilst litigation was pending in the International Court of Justice on the same question. Mr. Louw then announced that his Government would invite three former Presidents of the General Assembly to visit South Africa, to submit a Report not to the United Nations but to the South African Government.

Draft Resolutions

Most of the debate centred around several draft resolutions which were more the outcome of the South African proposals than the United Nations Committee recommendations.

The United Kingdom draft resolution virtually recognised that nothing could be achieved without the co-operation of the South African government; that a Special Commission would be set up to make a further study of the "problem" of SWA which would take into account the Report of the Committee of Past Presidents—and the judgment of the International Court.

That of Sweden was almost to the same in effect—except that it would bring the activities of the past Presidents of the General Assembly indirectly under the United Nations by having them agreed upon by the current President.

The other Draft Resolution introduced jointly by Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Morocco and Tunisia was to urge any member of the United Nations or "any person connected with or delegated to the United Nations" to refrain from participation in studies or investigations

decided upon unilaterally by the Government of South Africa, and also solemnly to remind the Government of South Africa that any initiative or attempt on its part on any pretext whatsoever to disregard the United Nations would be considered null and void by the United Nations.

This position forced the United Kingdom to withdraw its draft resolution—through after a long fight—and the Fourth Committee to reject the Swedish "draft."

With the rejection of the Swedish resolution the Six Power Resolution was withdrawn by the sponsors in favour of an Afro-Asian one on the lines proposed by the Committee on South West Africa. It was a compromised form of the Afro-Asian group's resolution that was finally adopted as the main resolution on South West Africa.

The United States in their statement strongly condemned South Africa. However their representative stated that nothing should be done that would interfere with 'the most important proceedings' in the International Court. . . There seemed to be several questions on their mind which the Court would have to answer before action could be taken. They made several abortive attempts to amend the main resolution. But had to vote in favour of it in the end.

Foreign Interests Exposed

The Socialist Bloc stood for the strongest possible action to terminate the Administration of South Africa. Yugoslavia whose position was mainly that of the Afro-Asian group insisted that the foreign companies with interests in South West Africa be exposed. This was done by the petitioners in a Memorandum submitted to the Fourth Committee. In the course of the preparation of this Memorandum the petitioners came upon a statement sent by one of these companies to an Organisation that provides Scholarships for African students, which seemed to suggest that these companies had more than mere academic interest in the territory. Part of the statement of the Company to the above-mentioned organisation read as follows:

"There are to my knowledge only two political organisations in S.W.A., which are of any consequence at the present time. These are the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) and the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO). The President of each of these Organisations has petitioned before the United Nations on the question of South West Africa. In addition five other members of SWAPO have appeared in New York to advance the cause of the people of SWA. Of all these petitioners only one, Mr. Kozonguizi, who is President of SWANU gives any indication of unfriendliness for and distrust of the United States.

"From a look on the Map of Africa one can easily conclude that some day in the future SWA will be an Independent State. With this as a premise it seems no more than simple logic for the United States to do all in its power to retain the friendship of those political leaders in an independent South West Africa. . ."

Resolution—Adopted

The main Resolution adopted proclaims the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and establishes a United Nations Special Committee to achieve several enumerated objectives in consultation with the Mandatory Power—South Africa; the objectives are:

A Visit to South West Africa before May 1, 1962;
Evacuation of all military forces of the S. A. Republic;
Release of all political prisoners;
Repeal of all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants to Reserves, etc.;

Preparation for General Elections to the Legislative Assembly based on Universal Adult Suffrage to be held as soon as possible under supervision of U.N.;

Advice and assistance to the Government resulting from the General Elections with a view to preparation of the Territory for full independence;

Co-ordination of the economic and social assistance with which the

specialised Agencies of the U.N. will provide the people in order to promote their moral and material welfare;

The return to the territory of the indigenous inhabitants without risk of imprisonment, detention or punishment of any kind because of their political activities in or outside the territory.

Condemn Compromise

An analysis of the main Resolution was made by the representatives of SWANU in New York and submitted to the United Nations subsequent to the adoption of the resolution. Amongst other things it says:

It is our view that the achievements of the objectives assigned to the U.N. Special Committee is hampered by the provision in the second operative paragraph of the resolution which stipulates that the objectives have to be achieved in consultation with the South African Government—which is the Mandatory Power.

"While we do not think that the Special Committee will ever enter South West Africa if this has to be done in consultation with the South African Government we venture to sound a note of warning in good faith, in the hope that the Committee will force their way in.

"The primary task of the Committee should be the termination of the South African Administration in SWA. This will in effect mean the end of all South African Military and Police authority in and the evacuation of their military and Police Forces from the territory. This in our view cannot be effectively achieved unless an alternative arrangement is made before-hand for administration and the maintenance of peace and security. On this we submit that the Special Committee temporarily assumes the functions of an Administrative Authority with the support of a United Nations force. . .

"The second step should be the convening of a Constituent Assembly in which the people themselves will participate to decide on the following:

Political arrangements and the Constitution of the Country; Administration; Maintenance of Peace and Security; Technical Assistance."

On the paragraph dealing with the return to the territory of SWA of the indigenous inhabitants abroad without risk of arrest, etc., SWANU declared:

"We do not wish to have any special exemptions from imprisonment, detention and punishment while our people continue to be subject to all these. The freedom we must enjoy is the freedom which we enjoy merely because we shall live in a free society and not as personal privilege in an enslaved community."

The International Court

It is expected that the argument in the Hague on the question of SWA will begin sometime in the near future. So far two briefs have been filed at the Court. One is the Liberia-Ethiopian putting their case against South Africa. The other is the reply of South Africa. These are mere preliminaries. As far as one can determine from the position taken by South Africa before, it is most certain that she will in the first instance argue that the Court has no jurisdiction. After the Court has ruled on this South Africa may submit that the Mandate does not exist. The court will have to give a ruling on this before the argument on whether she has violated the Mandate begins.

So far South Africa has refused to indicate whether she will accept the judgment. If given the U.N. will have acquired some teeth and be able to ensure acceptance.

UNO Marking Time

On the whole therefore the position at the end of the sixteenth (regular) session was as the representative of Mexico had put it: The United Nations have moved several steps

forward in the declaration of their objectives. They now recognise self-government for SWA and not only trusteeship.

They are still marking time in as far as action to achieve these objectives is concerned. The question before the United Nations is not what to achieve but how to break the intransigence of South Africa.

Those of us who think the resolution passed in 1961 brought us nearer freedom than that passed in 1946 will merely have to look to the Congo where up to this moment a Security Council resolution on Katanga and the mercenaries there remains in force rather than enforced.

During the last three years as a petitioner to the United Nations I have become satisfied that sympathy for our cause is in abundance there. But I have become more convinced that to convert this sympathy into action the wall of self-interest will have to come down first.

Freedom Day Message

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cannot escape the judgment and condemnation of posterity.

The criminal activities of the imperialists and their lackeys are forcing the oppressed colonial people of Africa to assist them to dig that grave faster and deeper.

Whatever their business acumen may be the imperialists should be knowing that the loss of the goodwill of 250 million Africans is worse than

that of £250 million sterling in a business concern in Katanga.

The Fifth Anniversary of African Freedom Day will give a rude shock to those of the imperialists and their lackeys who persistently refuse to read the writing on the wall written in letters of the blood of the sons and daughters of Africa.

The representatives of the oppressed masses of Africa wish to assure all the imperialists and their lackeys that even if they use all their military might and main, with all their usual recklessness there will still remain one African to rule Africa the continent of his forebears and his undoubted heritage.

The message was signed by—

(Sgd.) MUNU SIPALO
United National Independence
Party
(Northern Rhodesia)

(Sgd.) PETER RABOROKO
Pan-Africanist Congress
(South Africa)

(Sgd.) MOLAPO QHOBELA
Bosutoland Congress Party

(Sgd.) V. SAUDE-MARIA
Independence Party of "Portuguese"
Guinea and Cape Verde

(Sgd.) HLUMULO GWAMBE
National Democratic Union of
Mozambique

N. Rhodesia in Perspective

by M. Sipalo

SINCE October, 1960, Northern Rhodesia has hit the world headlines: Strikes, boycotts, mass arrests, police killings including hangings have been the order of the day. More than five Conferences have been held, two in London and three in Lusaka. All intended to give Northern Rhodesia a "workable constitution." But when all is put together the situation remains confused and extremely explosive.

The three million Africans under the leadership of Kaunda's UNIP have stated their positions: "AFRICAN MAJORITY RULE NOW or else!"

The 72,000 Europeans under the leadership of the "too-fat-for-Premier, ex-boxer" Welensky, have stated "We will keep Rhodesia white—come hell or high water—we will go the whole hog to maintain the Federation."

The British Government who has processed the affairs of Northern Rhodesia, now stands poised as a veritable umpire in this most dangerous situation. The African people have denounced the British Government as a toothless bull-dog and have told them so.

The reasons for the stubbornness of the British and their settler agents are not far to seek. They are political, economic and military. Politically, the British want a

foothold somewhere in their fast dwindling empire in Africa. Hence their obvious support to the Welensky-Salaazar-Verwoerd axis. Militarily, with the moving out of Kenya they want to shift their Kenya bases to Rhodesia. Ndola has already been named as a possible site.

Both the political and military manoeuvres are intended to protect the fabulous British-American wealth in the Rhodesias.

In the following economic analysis of the Rhodesian economic set-up, one thing is brought out clearly. The African earns nothing, no economic power to speak of save for an average wage of £87 per annum. (European: £1,209) The figures have been simply laid-out so that everyone can understand why the British won't give in easily in the Rhodesias.

In Northern Rhodesia, our poverty, our sorrows and miseries are due to one thing: 'Copper'.

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

1. AREA

Southern Rhodesia	150,333	sq. miles
Northern Rhodesia	290,323	" "
Nyasaland	46,066	" "
FEDERATION:-	486,722	" " (5 times area of U.K.)

(Most of Federation over 3,000 ft. altitude.)

2. POPULATION (1959)

	Africans	Europeans	Others	Total
S. Rhodesia	2,800,000	219,000	15,800	3,030,000
N. Rhodesia (more than 30 Years Now?)	2,310,000	75,000	9,900	2,390,000
Nyasaland	2,780,000	9,000	12,400	2,800,000
	7,890,000	303,000	38,000	8,220,000

Approx. 170,000 Nyasas are migrant labourers, working mainly in Southern Rhodesia but a large number work in South Africa. Southern Rhodesia also employs migrant labourers from Mozambique.

3. MONETARY STATISTICS (1959)

	million	million
Net national income	£494	Private consumption expenditure £252
Capital investment revenue	£134	Net capital inflow expenditure £36
Government current revenue	£92	Government current expenditure £75
Average earnings (1960): Africans	£87: 0: 0: per annum	
Europeans	£1,209: 0: 0: per annum	

4. INDUSTRY AND PRODUCTION

Agriculture: (1) *Export crops*: Tobacco; Cotton; Hides and Skins; Hardwoods; Maize; Beef.

(2) *Home consumption only*: Millets, Sugar, Sorghum, Coffee, Rice, Wattles, Groundnuts, Dairy Products.

Mining: Copper (chief product mainly in N. Rhodesia); Asbestos

(mainly in S. Rhodesia)
Cobalt (mainly in N. Rhod.); Chrome

Lead " " Gold " "
Zinc " " Coal " "
Manganese " " Mica " "
Also Lithium, Tin, Silver, Tungsten, Beryllium, Corundum, Iron Ore, Pyrites, in small quantities.

Manufacturing: Metal manufacturing highest output. Others include Tobacco, Textiles, Cement, Asbestos cement, Beverages, Forestry, Paper, Sugar-Refining, Radio, Footwear. None of these fully supplies home needs, except Tobacco.

5. IMPORTS AND EXPORTS (1959)

Total imports: £150.2 million; Trade balance: Total exports: £193.9 million; +£43.7 million.

Main imports—£ million	Main exports £ million		
Metals, Machinery	68.1	Copper (mainly in N. Rhod.)	107.6
Vehicles Textiles, Fibres	19.7	Tobacco (mainly in S. Rhodes.)	33.5
Foodstuffs	13.1	Asbestos, Gold, Chrome	17.7
Oils, Paints, Varnishes	10.9	Tea (Nyasaland)	2.28
(Northern Rhodesia produces 12 per cent of the total world Copper)			

6. MAIN TRADING PARTNERS (1959)

Imports	Exports		
£ million	£ million		
United Kingdom	55.4	United Kingdom	85.9
South Africa	51.3	South Africa	27.8
O.E.E.C. countries	18.6	O.E.E.C. countries	50.6
U.S. & other dollar countries	7.9	U.S. & other dollar countries	10.4

7. LAND APPORTIONMENT

	African	European	Forest, Lake, etc.
Southern Rhodesia	43%	53%	4%
Northern Rhodesia	88%	3%	9%
Nyasaland	87%	2%	11%

BRITAIN AND THE FEDERATION

British South Africa Co.—set up by Royal Charter in 1889, when it governed all S. Rhodesia and N. Rhodesia.

Today's assets:

- (a) Mining rights throughout Northern Rhodesia
- (b) Mineral rights in 16,000 sq. miles, nearly half Nyasaland. Never exploited.
- (c) Half interest until April 1, 1964 in net proceeds of disposal of land by the Govt. in Northern Rhodesia.
- (d) 134,000 acres citrus and other estates in S. Rhodesia.
- (e) 99 per cent in Rhodesian Railway Trust.

Among the Directors:

Lord Robins (also of African Explosives & Chemical Industries, Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Central African Airways Corporation, Rhokana Corporation, and other companies; Vice-Chairman De Beers Consolidated Mines).

Lord Malvern (Prime Minister S. Rhodesia 1933-53; of Federation of Rhod. & Nyasaland 1953-56). Sir Frederick Crawford (ex-Governor of Uganda). Captain Charles Waterhouse, M.P.—(also of Rhodesia-Katanga Ltd., Tanganyika Concessions Ltd., Tanganyika Properties (Rhodesia) Ltd., Union Miniere du Haut—Katanga, etc., etc.,

Copper Mining: Mulufira Copper Mines is a subsidiary of Rhodesian Selection Trust, in turn a subsidiary of American Metal Climax Co. Sir Ronald Prain is chairman of Mulufira Rhod. Selection Trust and Roan Antelope Copper Mines.

Rhokana Corporation and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines are both subsidiaries of Rhodesian Anglo-American Corporation Co. and are part of the Anglo-American Corpn. of S. Africa.

Coal Mining: Wankie Colliery Co.—connected with Anglo-American Corpn. of S. Africa and Rhodesian Anglo-American Co.

Rhodesia-Katanga Ltd. owns perpetual coal-mining rights in 20 areas, and perpetual mineral rights over about 2,500 square miles, subject to a 15 per cent interest of the British South Africa Co.

Gold Mining:

London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Co.: New Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd., a subsidiary of Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa.

Banks: Barclays Bank D.C.O., and others of the 'Big 5'; National Overseas and Grindlays Bank; Netherlands Bank of S. Africa, and the Standard Bank (ex of S. Africa)

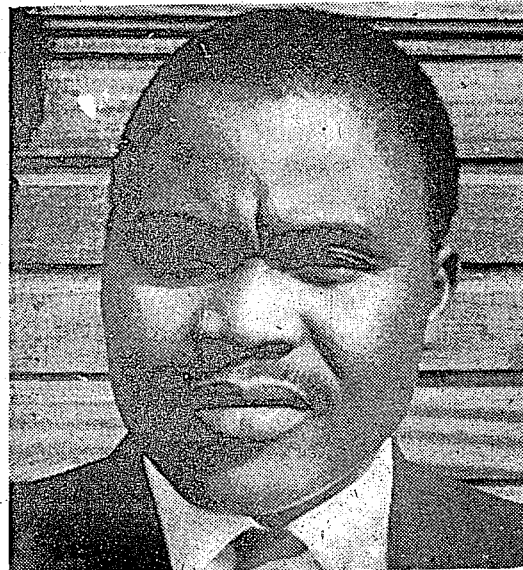
British Firms: Many British firms are now established in Rhodesia through subsidiaries, including such well-known names as Dunlop Rubber, Standard Motors, the Rootes Group, Associated Commercial Vehicles, Lancashire Steel Corporation, Metal Box Co., Bata Shoes, Stewarts and Lloyds, Turner & Newall, F. W. Woolworth, etc.

In 1956 of Company and Corporation Profits in the Federation amounting to £110.5 million, some £50 million was sent abroad. The bulk of foreign capital in the Federation comes from the U.K. and Sterling area; about £25 million from the United States.

Dividends (in percentages) paid in 1956 and 1958

	1958	1956
British South Africa Co.	30%	35%
Mulufira	164%	125%
Roan Antelope	84%	100%
Rhokana	125%	350%
Nchanga	50%	150%
Wankie Colliery Co.	50%	150%
London & Rhodesian Mining and Land Co.	5%	10%

(The fall in dividends since 1956 is due mainly to the drop in the world copper price).



Mr. M. SIPALO

One Party System

Continued from page 21

money and men may be met, no government finds it easy to fulfil all its responsibilities to the people.

These common problems of a modern state are no less formidable in young and under-developed countries. The very success of the nationalist movements in raising the expectations of the people, the modern means of communications which put the American and the British worker in almost daily contact with the African worker, the twentieth century upsurge of the ordinary man and woman—all these deprive the new African governments of those advantages of time and ignorance which alleviated the growing pains of modern society for the governments of older countries, the lack of money, above all the lack of time. To all this add the very nature of the new countries themselves. They are usually countries without natural unity. Their 'boundaries' enclose those artificial units carved out of Africa by grabbing colonial powers without any consideration of ethnic groups or geographical realities, so that these countries now include within their borders tribal groups which, until the coming of the European powers, have never been under one government. To those, in the case of East and Central Africa, you must add the new tribes from Asia, the Middle East and Europe. Here are divisions enough to pose a truly formidable task in nation-building.

As if the natural challenge was not enough, with the raising of each new flag come the intrigues of the international diplomacy of rivalry and all that goes with it: the cynical and the criminal attempts by powerful foreign governments to weaken the unity of any country whose government pursues policies which they do not like. As their sole purpose is to confuse the people and weaken the legal government for their own ends, they are quite indifferent to the fact that their chosen puppets have no following at all in the country itself.

It should be obvious, then, why the governments of these new countries must treat the situation as one of national emergency, comparable al-

most to that of a country at war. In the early days of nation-building—as in time of war—the opposition, if any, must act even more responsibly than an opposition in a more developed and more stable, a more unified and a better equipped country in times of peace. Given such a responsible opposition I would be the first person to defend its rights. But where is it? Too often the only voices to be heard in 'opposition' are those of a few irresponsible individuals who exploit the very privileges of democracy—freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom to criticise—in order to deflect the government from its responsibilities to the people by creating problems of law and order.

The admitted function of any political opposition is to try and persuade the electorate to reject the existing government at the next election. This is reasonable in the case of a responsible opposition with a definite alternative policy in which its members sincerely believe; but that sort of mature opposition is rare indeed in a newly independent

state. Usually the irresponsible individuals I have mentioned have neither sincerity, conviction nor any policy at all save that of self aggrandisement.

The country cannot afford, during these vital early years of its life, to treat such people with the same degree of tolerance which may be safely allowed in a long established democracy.

This does not mean, however, that a genuine and responsible opposition cannot arise in time, nor that an opposition of that kind would be less welcome in Africa than it is in Europe or America. For myself, as I have said, I would be the first to defend its rights. But whether it does or does not arise depends entirely on the will of the people themselves, and makes no difference at all to the freedom of discussion and the equality in freedom which together make democracy.

To those who wonder if democracy can survive in Africa, my own answer, then, would be that, far from it being an alien idea, democracy has long been familiar to the African.

WHAT FACES UGANDA

VOICE OF AFRICA congratulates Mr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, on the electoral victory of the Uganda People's Congress which he leads.

Because the U.P.C. emerged as the majority party in the recent elections it is today the authentic voice of Uganda.

It is to be deeply regretted that no single party in Uganda gained an absolute majority in the Ugandan Parliament. This fact will not endanger Uganda's target date for independence which is already mapped out for October, 1962. It will, however, make the task of the Ugandans to consolidate that independence much more strenuous.

We also congratulate both the Uganda People's Congress and the Kabaka Yekka on the alliance which they have formed and which has given Uganda its much needed coalition government.

We, however, warn all parties concerned to remember that an alliance by its very nature is both a source of strength and of weakness. It is a source of strength because it spells unity only in matters of common interest to both parties. It is a source of weakness because it presupposes lack of harmony in the politics and ideologies of the same parties.

The UPC-KY alliance is, therefore a marriage of convenience.

The course of this marriage is thus more unpredictable than that of a marriage based on true love for even the course of true love never runs smooth.

It is to be hoped that during the honeymoon period the couple will attempt to iron out their political and ideological differences. The future of a free united Uganda demands such a course and so does the cause of African Freedom and Unity.

Let us march in unison to a United States of Africa.

The Facts About This Decade

by Sikota Wina

THERE is no more doubt about the fact that the history of the present decade is definitely going to be written in blood . . . the blood of innocent Africans who are going to sacrifice their lives and future all because somebody in Whitehall hasn't either the sagacity or audacity to realise that the African people of Northern Rhodesia will never accept a constitution which does not grant them a complete majority in both the Legislative and Executive Councils of this Protectorate.

Today, we stand poised before a demarcation line between a peaceful transition from slavery and domination and the continuation of Welensky's hated Federation and his South African pocket book editions of the apartheid policies. This is clearly a choice between life and death. It is a choice which will have to be paid for most dearly.

At the time of writing, rumours are in the air about the difficulties which the British Government find in establishing a constitution for this up to now peaceful Protectorate.

We have done our duty as a responsible movement; responsible for the fate of 3,000,000 people and more of the other races. Kenneth Kaunda, our own leader has demonstrated at every step his statesmanship and patience despite the prevarications of the White Imperialists and their running dogs in Northern Rhodesia. He and his Central Committee have tried to the best of their ability to contain the explosive situation. So far, we have succeeded, but the question now is: How much longer are we going to appeal to our people for patience when our European counterparts, both in the country and overseas, are behaving in such an irresponsible

manner and when the men in the small island of Britain, who are supposed to be our protectors, are more concerned about the London fog and snow than about our own sufferings?

It was exactly 14 months ago that this question of our legitimate and legal right towards self-Government arose at Lancaster House, London. Today is February, 1962 and, talking in terms of solid calendar years, this present wrangle has lasted exactly three years.

What is all the bother about?

The bother is that neither the Governor in the country nor Maudling in his plush Whitehall seat has ever realised that they are sitting on a keg of pure dynamite which might not only blast them into political space but also shatter to smithereens the frail remains of what was once the Almighty British Empire.

Now, we are faced with a spectacle whereby the British Government is taking our outward calm and patience for weakness; whereby they are misinterpreting Ken Kaunda's moderation as lack of power; whereby they have been convinced by the Advertisement Boys of Voice and Vision that Welensky and only Welensky must be pampered.

The situation is ripe for a showdown! Ripe for a final fight against European supremacy in this country once and for all. If we wait until the Constitution is announced we shall be faced with a situation which will be doubly difficult to tackle. This is the time and this is the hour. Arise! Ye the oppressed masses!

It may be necessary here to go back over the period during which we have been fighting for our legitimate right.

The position is that the United

National Independence Party delegation, led by Kenneth Kaunda, and other political parties' delegates from Northern Rhodesia went for a constitutional conference in December, 1960, which was held at Lancaster House. The UNIP delegation, which had sent several memoranda to the Colonial Secretary, then Ian Macleod, made its position clear: We wanted a Legislative Council of 44 Africans and 14 of other races, all, repeat, all, elected on a Voters' Roll whose basis was adult suffrage. We kept the doors to the Legco open to 14 of other races because we knew that there was still some fear in the hearts of a small section of the Europeans here towards an African Government and this is due to the European's guilty conscience and his awareness of his past brutalities and the sufferings he has brought upon the African people of Northern Rhodesia.

We were so reasonable as to suggest a Bill of Rights to protect all citizens and to safeguard their property and investments (which safeguards do not exist today under Colonial Rule) against appropriation by Government. We were so reasonable as to suggest a House of Chiefs which would remain as a watch-dog over tribal and customary law.

After the hammering the U.F.P. received at that first Lancaster House Conference and after Ken and his delegation had exposed the fallacy on which European Rule is built in this country, the Welensky delegation, led by John Roberts, boycotted the second Round of the Conference which took place in February and resorted to childish tactics which would have led to a popular uprising from the oppressed masses if it had taken place in a European country. They resigned from the Executive Council; they drafted a sinister passive resistance campaign plan which included the declaration of the Federation's Independence if Africans here were given a majority. It also included, according to a report in the London *ECONOMIST*, the forced arrest of Governor Hone.

Then came the exposition of the weakness of the British Government. In order to compromise with Welensky, they scrapped the February 15-15-15 scheme (which however, was already unacceptable

to us) and announced in June that while the formula remained the same there would be certain alterations which on analysis proved to be in favour of the Upper Dogs . . . the Whites in this country.

We did not waste much time in replying to this hypocritical nonsense. We promptly called for a huge conference at Mulungushi which unanimously rejected the scheme in toto and set in motion the MASTER PLAN.

Thus from August till November of the last year this quiet country was faced with a reign of terror from Police and Military on the instructions of the Federal Government, who bulldozed the gentle Governor Hone into submission.

A word on the troubled months. Despite our demand that Government should appoint an Independent Commission of Inquiry into the cold-blooded murder of 60 Africans at the hands of Police a different Commission was appointed which consisted of the very people who were in charge of the operations and who watched the villages burn; the men killed; the women raped; and the children starve.

Was there ever such contempt for human life before?

Beaten into submission, the weak British Government went on its knees and pleaded for a period of calm; they also promised a revision of their diabolic June Constitution. The Cabinet sent Maudling to Northern Rhodesia in December last. He came here . . . spectacles and all . . . and went back announcing that there simply wasn't any agreement between the political parties as to the type of constitution best suited to Northern Rhodesia.

The stupidity of this hypocrite was exposed when it was revealed that both at the Lancaster House Conference and at the last December talks in Lusaka with Reginald Maudling, the three parties . . . A.N.C.; Liberal and UNIP . . . stood for an African majority and that only the UFP were opposed to this. Further stupidity on the part of the British Government was revealed when, instead of taking a bold step and announce a constitu-

tion, they sent Maudling over to the West Indies for a nice holiday and, therefore, gave chance and time to the rebel group within the Tories and to Welensky to consolidate their positions in opposition to a fair settlement.

Let us face facts: Macmillan, the British Premier, is a millionaire. Three quarters of the British Cabinet are blue-blooded Tory capitalists and one quarter have vested interest in Northern Rhodesia. The Copper Mines; the loyalties from the B.S.A. scrap treaties of 70 years ago . . . all these are their main source of income. Nobody in his right senses would ever expect that this clique of vested interests could ever surrender the millions of pounds which they derive every year from Northern Rhodesia without a hell of a fight. Soft-headed sentimentalities will say that it is better to accept an evil without a fight than to fight for a right. We do not share this view.

The Swindle of the Century

Granted that the British are past masters at the art of oppressing colonial peoples (they have been at the game for the past 300 years and built their Manchester cotton factories virtually on the dead bodies of African slaves) the "disturbing" news that there was a deep division within the British Cabinet over the new constitution for Northern Rhodesia is the biggest swindle of the present century in Africa and has not come as a surprise to the leaders of the United National Independence Party. "Disburbing" is in inverted commas because there is no such thing like a Cabinet split over the Northern Rhodesia Constitution. There never could be!

What, then, is really happening? What is happening can only be grasped if and when one gives credit to the British mentality. The British Cabinet, by a complicated and intricate process of marriage and intermarriage, is a tightly-controlled family affair, composed of fathers-in-law, sons-in-law, cousins and uncles, from which no accidental leakage could take place. The truth, therefore, is that these leakages about a big split within the British Cabinet; the leakages about such deep dissension over Northern Rhodesia that

some Cabinet Ministers were ready to tender their resignation; about such deep dissension that even within the Bow Group of Young Conservatives a rival group, the Monday Club, had to be formed under the patronage of Lord Salisbury . . . all these tactics are mere strategy to fool the unwary.

The British Cabinet authorised the false leakages concerning a split in the Cabinet for two major reasons:—

(1) Macmillan authorised the false split leakage in order to prove to the Africans of Northern Rhodesia that he was having a difficult time in reaching a satisfactory constitutional settlement for Northern Rhodesia. Once the Africans here are fully persuaded of this, Macmillan is going to announce a hopeless constitution which will give the UFP a majority in both the Legco and Exco. Kaunda is obviously going to protest and reject this constitutional hodge-podge and the African people are going to demonstrate in masses against the constitution. Then Macmillan, that ever Father-Xmas of oppression, will turn round and say: "Look here; we have tried to do our best over this constitution. We even risked a split within the Cabinet and if you, Ken Kaunda, do not appreciate our efforts then you are irresponsible and not fit to head a Government. You know very well that my Cabinet was faced with a split and some of my Ministers even threatened to resign, but this is the best compromise we can offer you."

(2) Macmillan authorised the false split in order to prove to his Conservative Right Wing Rebels that enough is enough. He is going to tell them: "Look here fellow blue-blooded Tories; we have had a quarrel of this constitution. We all know we have deep vested interests in this country of Northern Rhodesia and some of us are making a lot of money from the profits of the Copper Mines. But we must not make fools of ourselves in the eyes of the world. Everybody knows we have played tricks during the past 14 months over this constitution, but we cannot hope to keep playing these tricks for ever."

To be continued

Vers Une Afrique Unie

par Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

JOUR après jour, nuit après nuit et toujours et partout, j'ai lancé d'incessants appels pour la formation d'une union politique et économique du continent africain. Je suis sûr que souvent j'ai été mal compris même par mes amis. Les ennemis de la Nation Africaine à chaque instant s'efforcent à mal interpréter mes intentions.

Notre Constitution au Ghana, prévoit le renoncement partiel ou total de notre souveraineté, si ceci s'avérait nécessaire dans la réalisation de l'unité africaine. Permettez-moi de souligner que telle est une des conditions auxquelles nous au Ghana pouvons acquiescer dans la promotion de la cause d'une telle union. Il va sans dire quant à nous que nous ne pouvons imposer des conditions aux autres. Au fait je peux toute-fois imaginer une union solide, forte et efficace sans l'abandon de cette souveraineté.

Selon moi, une Afrique unie,

c'est à dire une Afrique nantie d'une union économique et politique, doit se fixer trois objectifs:

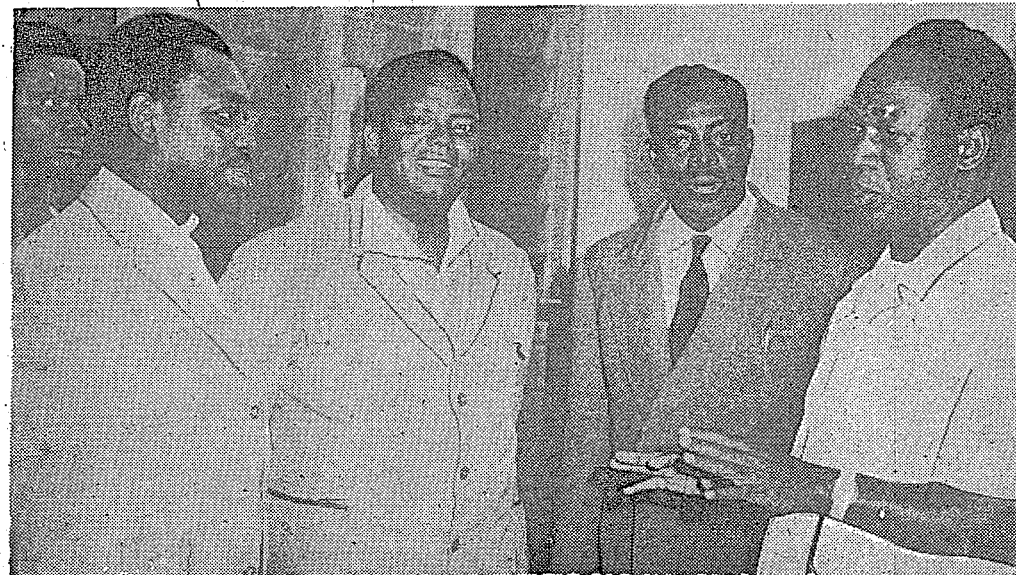
Primo, nous devons avoir une planification économique coudée à base continentale unie qui augmenterait notre puissance industrielle et économique. Aussi longtemps que nous resterons divisés, balkanisés soit dans nos régions soit dans nos territoires respectifs, nous seront toujours à la merci des intrigues colonialistes.

En ce sens, l'Europe et l'Afrique n'ont rien de commun, mais au contraire, un contraste frappant se met en évidence. Pendant que l'Europe quant à elle fait des efforts frénétiques pour une intégration politique et économique de notre continent, l'Afrique se trouve en conséquence pitoyablement déchirée de part et d'autre par les manoeuvres et les intrigues néo-colonialistes.

Secondo, nous devons tendre vers

la formation d'un Haut 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 façon réaliste, nous ne pouvons échapper à la pertinente question à savoir quel état africain peut à lui seul se protéger contre un agresseur impérialiste?

Recentment, des leaders anti apartheid ont affirmé que le gouvernement de l'Union Sud Africaine est en train de concevoir une force militaire gigantesque y compris les derniers engins de destruction, en vue d'anéantir le nationalisme africain. Si ceci devait être vrai, seul un Haut Commandement Militaire Africain pourra conjurer pareil projet de l'Union Sud Africaine. Si nous ne nous unissons et partant combinions nos forces militaires, les Etats individuels pour des raisons d'insécurité nationale pourraient être amenés à signer certains accords de défense qui porteront d'emblée préjudice à la sécurité



Osagyefo le Président s'entretient régulièrement avec le Président Hubert Maga du Dahomey (au centre de la photo)

du continent tout entier.

Il y a également le côté financier de la question. Les jeunes Etats Africains, qui ont besoin de tout un chacun de leurs centimes pour financer leurs plans de développement, prêteraient flauc' au ridicule et marcheraient effectivement au suicide financier en allant établir chacun pour soi une armée avec toutes les dépenses que cela requiert alors que ces dépenses seraient fort minimisées si elles étaient partagées par l'ensemble des Etats.

Notre troisième objectif découlera de la fusion des deux premiers déjà évoqués. Si en Afrique nous établissons une planification économique continentale et sommes dotés d'un Haut Commandement Militaire Conjoint, il va sans dire que nous adopterions une politique étrangère commune qui guiderait notre défense nationale continentale et nos plans de développements économiques et industriels.

Au point culminant de nos efforts vers la réalisation de nos idéaux, il nous serait sans doute possible de trouver une structure constitutionnelle qui nous permettra de préserver toutefois notre souveraineté à chacun en nous souscrivant à l'Union. Par exemple, les Etats appartenant à une telle Union pouvaient toujours conserver leur propre constitution, leur hymne national, leur drapeau et tous les autres symboles significatifs de leur souveraineté qui ne sera pas forcément abandonnée. Notre survivance dépend donc de l'union politique de l'Afrique.

Les forces qui nous unissent sont plus grandes que les difficultés qui nous divisent à présent.

J'ai fait mention du besoin d'une planification économique continentale. Il est d'une importance vitale que les Leaders Africains recherchent dès à présent, des moyens rapides et efficaces par lesquels nous pouvons concerner nos ressources pour le bien de nous tous. Si nous réalisons cela, nous aurons constitué en Afrique, une puissance économique, industrielle et financière comparable à toute autre puissance de ce genre que le monde de nos jours ait jamais connue.

Il est toutefois à mettre en évidence que nous ne pourrions pas établir des liens économiques sains et solides en Afrique sans leur avoir donnée à priori, une directive politique, une force et une raison d'être. Nous devons donc nous saisir tout de suite des questions majeures et de base afférentes à l'Unité Africaine qui seule pourront mettre en lumière la non-légitimité et l'inutilité des barrières artificielles et des démarcations territoriales que nous ont léguées nos anciens maîtres les colonialistes.

Personnellement, les associations locales, les commonwealths régionaux ou les groupements territoriaux ne sont autre chose qu'une forme nouvelle de balkanisation à moins d'être conçus dans l'optique d'une plus vaste union à l'instar des Etats Unis d'Amérique ou l'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques. Quand les treize premiers Etats du continent Nord Américain se sont pour la première fois réunis pour essayer de promouvoir l'idéal des Etats Unis d'Amérique, ceci a été ridiculisé et qualifié de rêves inutiles ou chimériques auxquels plusieurs se sont féroceement opposés.

Et qui aurait pensé que soixante cinq nations à divers degrés de développement économique, politique et social en Russie se seraient unis pour constituer la majestueuse puissance qu'est devenue l'Union Soviétique dans un si court délai de temps? Je crois même que l'Union Soviétique a débuté son union par trois Etats seulement! Il est donc du devoir des Leaders Africains de continuer à travailler sans désespérer en vue de vivifier ce profond espoir d'union africaine pour laquelle nous sommes tous tant dédiés.

L'exemple de l'Europe, qui est devenue un continent fertile à la confusion après des siècles de guerres de destruction économique mutuelle, pour n'avoir pas su poser la fondation solide d'action politique et de compréhension doit être pour nous tous, une leçon et un avertissement. Je suis conscient du fait que quand nous parlons d'union politique, nos détracteurs n'hésitent pas un seul instant à en déduire que c'en est une initiative d'imposition

d'un leadership et d'abrogation de souveraineté.

A vrai dire, ce n'est pas là la question. Il serait en effet chimérique de penser qu'aussitôt que des millions d'âmes se sont libérées de l'oppression colonialiste et impérialiste, elles songent à abandonner leur souveraineté pour quelque idéal aussi louable et grand que ce soit.

Nous autres sommes assez réalistes pour comprendre que nul ne songerait modifier les tracés actuels des limites frontalières si ceci ne relevait d'une utilité pratique et incontestable. En effet il serait par trop naïf d'ignorer la teneur de ces reliques territoriales du colonialisme. N'empêche que sous le sceau d'une union politique africaine union qui respecterait la souveraineté territoriale dans les limites à présent définies, nous pouvons construire une Afrique Unie, grande et puissante, une Afrique qui s'efforcera à ramener sous son aile toute la planification économique et l'organisation d'une tendance politique commune. Pouvez-vous imaginer une plus forte puissance économique que celle dont l'Afrique se sera donc ainsi dotée? Surtout avec son potentiel énergétique, et toute la richesse fabuleuse en minéral et les ressources agricoles qui ne sont guère entamées.

Une fois ceci réalisé, il nous resterait simplement à élaborer une politique étrangère commune qui mettrait en relief et considérerait les besoins de l'Afrique toute entière dans l'optique de la situation mondiale, et si tout ceci se couronnait d'une force militaire unie, l'image de la renaissance africaine et partant de la reconquête de sa dignité et personnalité, serait sans doute complète. Ceci doit être notre vision et notre ultime but, ceci doit être pour nous un devoir impératif.

J'ai déjà eu l'occasion lors de mes discussions et discours politiques de souligner combien l'union politique de l'Afrique constituerait une forte garantie pour la paix mondiale et sera aussi un instrument pour la prospérité économique de l'univers.

Editorials

L' Indépendance au Ruanda-Urundi

LE Mouvement pour la libération et l'Indépendance du territoire sous tutelle belge du Ruanda Urundi avec ses 54.000 kilomètres carrés, pose la question cruciale de l'indépendance dans l'unité.

Seize années durant, le territoire a été sous tutelle belge, mais les Belges ont trahi ce tutelage pour les intérêts des compagnies et trust miniers belges et pour ceux des autres impérialistes, néo-colonialistes et neo-impérialistes. Dans l'administration du territoire, les Belges ont fait usage de la cruelle méthode technique du "DIVISER POUR REGNER" dans le but de maintenir le territoire en un réservoir de mains d'oeuvre à bon marché au

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service des moupoles étrangers et de l'Union Minière.

Afin de continuer une telle exploitation même après l'indépendance, il a fallu que les Belges créent dans l'intérêt de leurs capitaux investis, leurs propres Tchombés et Kalonjis comme c'en fut le cas au Cougo. Pareille attitude motive sinon explique pourquoi à la veille de l'indépendance, les Belges ont enflammé à nouveau le feu de la haine tribale au Ruanda Urundi et en ont profité pour être diaboliquement différentes législatures pour le Ruanda et pour l'Urundi alors que ces impérialistes avaient toujours gouverné le territoire comme une entité et un seul pays. De ce fait les Belges étaient fort conscients qu'ils établissaient un ignoble séparatisme dans le pays.

Ces leaders qui sont donc sortis victorieux des élections aux différentes législatures croyaient qu'ils avaient droit acquis et carte blanche pour perpétrer pareille désunion.

Le groupe Afro Asiatique des Nations Unies doit se féliciter pour la vigoureuse campagne qu'il a menée contre cette politique de désunion. Mais si les Belges ont remporté ce qu'ils appellent "victoire," c'est dû au fait qu'ils sont restés pendant seize ans durant dans ce territoire et en ont profité pour fomenter ce complot contre le peuple africain du Ruanda Urundi. Les véritables combattants nationalistes du Ruanda Urundi qui visent l'unité du pays doivent toutefois se réserver la victoire dans cette guerre, car leurs forces augmenteront à mesure que le peuple comprendra les méfaits d'une pareille division. L'aspiration légitime du peuple du Ruanda Urundi est celle de l'unité dans l'indépendance. Ceci d'un jour à l'autre reviendra à la surface et les intrigues impérialistes feront encore une fois gros fiasco.

Nous devons d'autre part féliciter l'ONU pour avoir avancé la date du 1er juillet 1962 comme celle de l'indépendance du Ruanda Urundi, et aussi pour avoir fait d'appréciables tentatives d'unir politiquement le pays et son peuple.

C'est irréfutablement dans l'intérêt des cinq millions d'âmes du Ruanda Urundi et des 260 millions d'Africains que l'indépendance du Ruanda Urundi devrait être une réalité vivante.

OAS

LES impérialistes français ont pendant un siècle et demi exploité, opprimé et soumis le peuple algérien aux plus ignobles dégradations. Il y a sept ans de cela, les braves Algériens ont décidé de dire aux impérialistes qu'il en fut assez et qu'on n'en pouvait plus. Sous le valeureux leadership du Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), les Algériens se sont révoltés contre les Czars et les Seigneurs impérialistes pour conquérir leur indépendance nationale.

Quand enfin de compte les impérialistes Français se sont rendus à l'évidence qu'aucune force sur terre ne pouvait arrêter la marche du peuple Algérien vers la liberté et l'indépendance, les plus anarchiques parmi eux se sont groupés au sein d'une honteuse et indignante organisation qui se donna le nom de l'Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (OAS).

Il est clair que l'objectif de l'OAS est une "Algérie Française": Etant donné que l'Algérie fait corps intégral avec l'Afrique et que l'Afrique elle-même n'est nullement un prolongement de l'Europe, il va sans dire que l'Algérie n'a jamais été et ne sera jamais française. L'Algérie est Africaine et ainsi sera-t-elle éternellement.

L'objectif politique réel des bandits et des gansters de l'OAS est de faciliter l'exploitation sans cesse de l'Algérie et de son peuple et ainsi perpétuer l'esclavage et la subjugation de l'Algérie et des Algériens.

A l'avènement du Cessez le Feu, l'OAS a intensifié sa féroce sauvagerie dans son effort désespéré de maintenir le "statut quo." Ces mercenaires sont aux abois et s'acharnent à tout détruire sur leur passage y compris eux-mêmes.

Il s'efforcent de miner et ainsi détruire les puits de pétrole, les installations industrielles, les ports, les égouts, les bâtiments publics au lieu de permettre aux Algériens de prendre les commandes du gouvernement de l'Algérie. L'OAS est encadrée d'officiers ayant déserté l'armée française. Elle mène donc son jeu à loisir car les centaines d'officiers de l'armée française ne prennent aucune mesure contre ces

hommes de l'OAS mais au contraire aident secrètement cette vile organisation.

Il a été concrètement avancé que des agents au service secret de l'Allemagne Occidentale et des capitalistes israélites accordent leur appui à l'OAS. N'est-il pas que la politique se revêt d'histoires odieusement surprenantes! Sur le territoire algérien même, l'OAS a contraint les colons blancs qui sont essentiellement français à lui apporter un appui.

Même après la condamnation à mort de l'ancien Général Edmond Jouhaud et l'arrestation de l'ex Général Salan, le Gouvernement Provisoire Algérien, n'a pas cessé d'accuser les officiers de l'armée française et les autorités françaises, de négligence dans la protection des Algériens et de leurs biens contre les activités néfastes et destructives de l'OAS. Que cette organisation extrémiste ne se fasse point l'illusion de pouvoir saboter la liberté et l'indépendance du peuple algérien. L'espoir de l'OAS (on le sait bien) est de semer la terreur et le désordre en Algérie à la veille du scrutin sur l'auto-détermination. Seul le Gouvernement Algérien du Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) peut du jour au lendemain, écraser ces méprisables éléments de l'OAS.

Déjà, certains de ces éléments se sont enfuis vers l'Afrique du Sud, l'Afrique centrale et la Mozambique mais les mouvements de libération nationale les chassera sans aucun doute, de leurs nouveaux terriers au moment opportun.

L'Algérie, tout comme les autres pays d'Afrique n'a de places pour des rebutés et des saletés comme ces piètres hommes qui commandent l'OAS et leurs partisans; même si certains d'entre eux ont été une fois des Premiers Ministres.

Le Cessez-le Feu en lui-même est une victoire remportée par les Algériens sur les forces du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme Français. Afin de consolider cette victoire, il importe que toute la colonie de peuplement français en Algérie soit soumise à la censure et que tous ceux qui seraient membres de l'OAS ou qui nourriraient de la sympathie pour une si méprisable organisation, soient d'emblée et sans cérémonie aucune, renvoyés du territoire algérien. L'Algérie est aux Algériens, l'Afrique aux Africains et non aux bandits de l'OAS ou de quelque autre organisation du genre Ku Klux Klan.



Les Coupables:

Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd

(Premier Inculpe de la Tuerie de Sharpeville)



• VERWOERD

SES parents le baptisèrent Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd. Les colons l'appellent Dr. Verwoerd, mais les autochtones dans l'Afrique du sud le nomment Dr. Vuilgoed' (-DR aorien).

Né il y a soixante ans en Hollande, Verwoerd fréquenta trois écoles maternelles fascistes:

celle des colons sud-africains, celle de la Rhodesie du sud et celle de l'Allemagne.

C'est un intellectuel qui a inévitablement à choisir entre ses patrons esclavagistes et les esclaves. Son Choix fait comme on peut s'y attendre, il jouit aujourd'hui d'une position enviable: Chef des employés de la Chambre de mine

en Afrique du Sud. Son devoir essentiel est d'assurer des profits incessants pour ses patrons.

Dès le début il faillit se ruiner à cause d'un malentendu qui se produisit entre ses patrons et lui. Il écrivit ardemment pour la cause du Nazi pendant la dernière guerre mondiale. Le journal Johannesburg "Star", organe officiel pour les intérêts des propriétaires de la mine le censura. Il attaqua en diffamation le journal mais perdit la cause. Le magistrat affirma qu'il faisait la propagande du Nazi et qu'il voulait mettre son journal à la disposition de tous les Nazi en Afrique du Sud, et que lui-même en était au courant.

En 1948 il fut candidat aux élections parlementaires mais il échoua. On le nomma sénateur et bientôt il devint Chef pour les travaux africains à bon marché, ça veut dire, "Ministre des Affaires des indigènes."

La seule grande chose qu'il ait su faire de ce poste, a été de convaincre les colons que Dieu lui-même les a choisis pour être petits patrons des colonialistes et des impérialistes.

Il était tout prêt à remplir cette fonction.

Il fit une loi qui cherchait à consolider et à coordonner les anciennes lois, et l'appela: Un arrêté "d'abolition des permis et de coordination d'autres documents législatifs."

Le but en était de trouver facilement les ouvriers à bon marché.

Il fit voter une autre loi, cette fois, pour s'assurer que les Chefs des petits patrons parmi les Boers aient assez d'ouvriers à bon marché Il l'appela l'arrêté pour la promotion de l'Indépendance de la tribu Bantou.

Ceci avait pour but d'établir les usines qui puissent rendre assez de profits pour justifier leur existence dans les réserves en concurrence avec les Anglais et les Juifs.

Aujourd'hui la consolidation de cette mesure affirme que le but en est d'encourager l'autonomie interne des "Bantous." Il était complice aux promulgateurs de la loi qui chercha à supprimer le mouvement de la libéra-

tion africaine et il nomma ceci, l'arrêté pour la "Suppression du Communisme." Quand il n'avait pas réussi, il fit voter une loi qui devrait bannir le Congrès Pan-Africaniste qu'il déclara illégal. Le nom en est "Illégalité d'organisation."

Cette même loi défendit aux Africains de continuer le Congrès national africain aussi.

En se décidant à se lancer dans une action positive et décisive contre la loi de permis, le peuple africain a exposé complètement la véritable identité de cet escroc infernal de monsieur Verwoerd et l'événement du massacre de 69 personnes sans aucun moyen de défense à Sharpeville en est un témoignage éloquent.

Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd est Criminel numéro UN des massacres à Sharpeville et à Windhoek. C'était lui qui choisit le régime républicain pour les colons. Cela permit aux forces progressistes dans le Commonwealth une opportunité déjà longtemps attendue de le chasser du Commonwealth. Le gouvernement britannique avait envie de le protéger aussi énergiquement que possible, mais son approche devait être "diplomatique." Monsieur Duncan Sandys fit la propagande contre l'"apartheid", mais il approuva que le gouvernement sud africain restât dans le Commonwealth. La ruse ne réussit guère et il fallut mettre Verwoerd à la porte, avec un coup de pied.

Une fois de plus qu'il a l'appui du gouvernement britannique, il comploté avec Salazar et Welensky pour étouffer subversivement le mouvement de libération. Il arme aux dents les colons dans un effort tenace d'asservir pour toujours le peuple africain et de le détruire complètement à jamais.

Le Docteur Vuilgoed, Vil fripon, menteur, ignoble vampire meurtrier, blasphémateur au camp colonialiste, a peu de jours à régner, et son régime fasciste ne durera que peu de temps. Les deux sont le rebut du monde.

L'état dépendant de l'Afrique du Sud doit être libéré et indépendant d'ici le 31 décembre 1963.

La Guinée Portugaise et les Iles du Cap Vert

Par AMILCAR CABRAL

Secrétaire Général du Partido Africano da Independência de la Guinée "Portugaise" et des Iles du Cap Vert.

Au cours de l'année 1961, notre lutte de libération nationale a enregistré de considérables progrès, tandis que les colonialistes portugais ont subi d'importants échecs, tant en Guinée et au Cap Vert que dans les autres colonies.

A l'intérieur de nos pays, notre Parti a réussi à réaliser les tâches concernant le développement de la lutte sous toutes les formes imposées par les colonialistes eux-mêmes. L'unité de nos peuples est plus solide que jamais et rien ne saurait l'ébranler. Les masses populaires—toutes les couches sociales—sont mobilisées et organisées, et se trouvent prêtes à suivre les mots d'ordre du Parti. Les forces de répression portugaises se sont heurtées maintes fois devant la résistance courageuse du peuple, qui a manifesté ouvertement dans les villes et dans les campagnes son désir d'en finir avec la domination coloniale. Sous la pression des masses populaires, les colonialistes furent obligés de libérer une partie considérable de patriotes emprisonnés et de procéder à des "réformes" d'urgence. Nos peuples ont manifesté leur mépris envers ces "réformes" qui ne trompent personne. Tant en Guinée qu'au Cap Vert, le Parti a enregistré une grande masse d'adhérents, surtout de la part de la jeunesse et des femmes.

En outre, l'action directe entreprise en Guinée, à partir du 3 Août 1961, selon les plans du Parti, a donné et donne chaque jour davantage, les meilleurs fruits. Notre peuple a constaté qu'il peut utiliser avec succès la violence libératrice contre la

violence criminelle des colonialistes portugais, il a appris que nous pouvons liquider les soldats portugais, malgré leur supériorité en matériel de guerre. Nous avons détruit et nous continuons à détruire les moyens de communications des colonialistes (routes, ponts, fils de téléphone, etc.), en obéissant aux mots d'ordre du Parti dans la phase actuelle de notre lutte: renforcer notre organisation sur tous les plans et créer des difficultés aux colonialistes.

Comme résultat de l'action concrète de notre Parti, nos peuples sont plus que jamais déterminés à en finir sans délai avec la domination étrangère. Le courage, l'esprit de sacrifice, la détermination et le sérieux dans l'action, la conscience politique et la préparation pour la lutte ont augmenté considérablement. Chez les colonialistes, l'esprit de déroute et d'isolement ainsi que les contradictions, même parmi les forces armées, se révèlent plus accrues. Ayant perdu la confiance aux troupes africaines, le commandement portugais se heurte maintenant devant des manifestations de peur et de révolte de la part des troupes portugaises elles-mêmes, chez lesquelles quelques cas de désertion sont à enregistrer.

Malgré le renforcement de la répression, nous devons constater que les conditions créées par notre propre action à l'intérieur, sont très favorables. Cependant notre Parti, conscient des difficultés de notre lutte, renforce chaque jour davantage la vigilance révolutionnaire, il est préparé et prépare chaque jour mieux ses militants et les masses

populaires pour le piré.

A l'extérieur, notre Parti a joué un rôle décisif dans le renforcement de l'unité des patriotes sincères et dans la défense des intérêts de nos peuples, contre tous les ennemis de leur liberté et de leur progrès. Nous avons renforcé la collaboration avec les organisations nationalistes des autres colonies portugaises, ainsi que la solidarité sur les plans africain afro-asiatique et international. Notre Parti a réalisé à l'extérieur un travail important sur tous les plans, au service de la lutte qui se développe à l'intérieur de nos pays.

Nous enregistrons chaque jour davantage des manifestations de solidarité de la part des peuples épris de paix et de liberté. Au contraire, les colonialistes portugais, qui ont subi des échecs remarquables surtout en Angola et à Goa, se trouvent chaque jour plus isolés et manifestent déjà clairement leur désespoir. Cependant nous n'oublions pas que les colonialistes portugais sont encore soutenus par de puissantes forces impérialistes et que le Portugal est membre de l'OTAN. Nous devons renforcer notre vigilance contre les tentatives d'installer chez nous une nouvelle forme de colonialisme, contre les opportunistes, les ambitieux et tous les ennemis de l'unité, de la liberté et du progrès de nos peuples. Nous sommes et nous devons rester toujours conscients du vrai et du faux, et nous devons savoir distinguer sans équivoque nos amis de nos ennemis.

Au seuil d'un nouvel an de lutte, nos peuples et notre Parti sont déterminés à en finir urgemment avec la domination portugaise. C'est notre devoir dans la lutte commune au service du progrès de l'humanité toute entière, en particulier au service de la libération totale de l'Afrique et de la consolidation de l'indépendance nationale des pays déjà libérés. Pour cela nous aurons recours à tous les moyens nécessaires, et nous

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La Revolution en Guinee dite Portugaise

Par un Nationaliste

AU cours de la deuxième moitié du XX siècle—celui de la lumière et de la liberté—les peuples de la Guinée Portugaise et des Iles du Cap Vert se trouvent soumis à l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme la plus violente, sont objet de la plus monstrueuse oppression politique sociale et culturelle, et victimes d'une barbare repression militaire et policière.

En réalité, la situation de nos peuples, ainsi que celle des autres peuples dominés par le Portugal, semble absurde. Les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, les libertés essentielles, le respect de la dignité humaine—tout cela sont choses inconnues dans nos pays. Alors que les puissances coloniales acceptent en général le principe de l'autodétermination des peuples et cherchent, chacune de sa façon, à trouver une solution au conflit qui les oppose au peuple dominé, le gouvernement Portugais s'entête à maintenir la domination et l'exploitation sur environ 15 millions d'êtres humains, dont 12 millions d'afRICAINS.

En ce moment où l'écrasante majorité des peuples africains, malgré les contradictions et les difficultés qu'elle affronte, commence la construction pacifique du son progrès, notre peuple est obligé, par les colonialistes portugais, à continuer de vivre dans la misère la plus extrême, l'ignorance et la peur. Tandis que l'homme victorieux dans la lutte contre la nature et pour le progrès, réalise les rêves de Jules Verne et initie la conquête de l'espace, les colonialistes portugais veulent par la force, maintenir notre peuple dans la subjugation dans l'indignité du travail forcé, dans la cynique condition de non-civilisés et de bêtes à charge.

Tandis que le vent du nationalisme balaie les continents et les peuples, y

compris ceux de l'Europe, cherchant à définir dans l'unité leur propre personnalité historique, économique et géographique, les colonialistes portugais essayent, quoique vainement, de convaincre le monde qu'ils n'ont pas de colonies et que nos pays africains sont des provinces du Portugal. Tandis que notre peuple, à travers de grands sacrifices s'engageant décisivement dans la lutte de libération nationale, les colonialistes portugais poursuivent, arrêtent, torture, massacrent, déclanchent une guerre coloniale d'extermination en Angola et se préparent fiévreusement pour une nouvelle guerre en Guinée Portugaise et aux Iles du Cap Vert.

L'histoire du colonialisme relatera, à l'étonnement des générations futures, les crimes et les maux auxquels les peuples africains ont été soumis pendant la domination coloniale. Cependant, il est sûr qu'une place importante sera réservée au colonialisme portugais à cause de sa durée d'acidité, de sa violence, du cynisme, de l'hypocrisie, des mensonges et même d'une certaine folie qui ont caractérisé la domination coloniale portugaise en Afrique.

Toutefois la situation imposée à nos peuples par les colonialistes portugais n'est pas si absurde comme on pouvait le croire. Evidemment, la violence et le mensonge furent et sont encore les principales armes de m'importe quel colonialiste. Néanmoins, quand le pays colonisateur a un gouvernement fasciste, le peuple de ce pays est dans sa majorité analphabète, ne connaît et ne jouit de droits fondamentaux de l'homme et a un niveau de vie très bas dans son propre pays—tandis que l'économie de la métropole est sous-développée comme dans le cas du Portugal—la violence et le mensonge n'ont pas de parallèle, le manque de respect envers la dignité

de l'homme africain dépasse toutes les limites.

Une analyse concrète des facteurs qui ont conditionné et conditionnent encore l'évolution de la situation de notre peuple démontre qu'elle est entièrement justifiable par des conditions géographiques, historiques et principalement économiques et politiques, aussi bien de notre pays que du Portugal.

Au cours des derniers 35 ans, cette situation s'est fortement aggravée, comme résultat du fait que la bourgeoisie et les autres forces réactionnaires portugaises, en conquérant le pouvoir, ont installé dans leur pays une dictature nazifasciste, dont la défense et la survivance comptent sur l'exploitation des ressources matérielles et humaines des colonies africaines du Portugal, comme soutien principal.

La vieille dictature coloniale portugaise—toute situation coloniale est une situation de domination par la violence—s'est transformée en une dictature coloniale-fasciste. L'injustice, le manque de respect envers l'homme africain, le racisme, l'absence des libertés politiques, la misère, l'ignorance, la faim et la peur—l'oppression et la repression ont dépassé toutes les limites.

Comme reflexe du contexte économique et politique portugais, de nouvelles formes d'oppression et de repression furent mises en pratique, et nos peuples commencèrent à vivre dans un véritable état de siège.

Pendant longtemps, le gouvernement colonial-fasciste du Portugal a réussi par le silence, le cynisme et l'hypocrisie, à empêcher l'opinion mondiale de connaître les crimes des colonialistes portugais. Pour dire toute la vérité, il faut ne pas oublier que le succès temporaire de cette politique du silence a été en grande partie dû à la complicité et l'aide de certaines forces économiques des autres pays, lesqueles avaient et ont encore le plus grand intérêt à conserver les colonies portugaises.

Il ne s'agit pas ici de démasquer les colonialistes portugais dont la face monstrueuse est aujourd'hui exposée à la lumière de la conscience mondiale, pour la nausée de ceux qui ont fait confiance à la paix des "provinces portugaises d'outremer" pour la honte des complices et pour

la répudiation et l'indignation des hommes de bonne volonté.

Nous voulons uniquement rappeler que la dénonciation du crime colonial portugais a été l'oeuvre des peuples memes des colonies portugaises, le résultat d'un travail révolutionnaire planifié et systématiquement réalisé par des patriotes africains dans le camp international.

Acceptant les plus grands sacrifices et affrontant la résistance—(voire l'hostilité) de quelques cercles occidentaux, ces patriotes africains, conscients de la nécessité stratégique d'isoler les colonialistes portugais même de leurs principaux alliés, n'ont pas ménagé leurs efforts dans cette mission historique.

Notre victoire totale contre le colonialisme portugais, sur le champ international, est aujourd'hui évidente. Elle fut consacrée par le vote de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U. le 14 Décembre 1960, confirmant, par une écrasante majorité la résolution du conseil de tutelle, exigeant du Portugal des renseignements sur la situation des peuples qu'il domine. Même en tenant compte du caractère formel ou moral de cette victoire, elle représente un grand pas en avant dans notre lutte de libération, car nous avons pu isoler notre ennemi.

Malgré le soutien des forces imperialistes, les colonialistes portugais se trouvent isolés devant les peuples qu'ils dominent.

Les peuples de la Guinée Portugaise et des Iles du Cap Vert, peuvent être fiers d'avoir contribué efficacement à cette victoire, à travers l'action révolutionnaire des patriotes guinéens et capvertiens.

Nous voilà à cette heure décisive de l'histoire de l'humanité, et en particulier des peuples africains, debout et fermement résolus à liquider complètement notre ennemi. Exploités, opprimés, vécés, emprisonnés, torturés, massacrés, nos peuples sont toujours debout. Aucune force ne saurait bouleverser notre détermination ni éviter la liquidation

urgente et totale de la domination portugaise dans nos pays. Car nos peuples sont conscients de leurs droits, car nous aussi, comme David Diop le chantait dans son langage non-conformiste et d'espoir et de certitude: "Nous n'aimons pas cette Afrique des colonialistes portugais."

Nous aimons, certes, l'Afrique africaine, libre de toute forme de domination étrangère, retrouvée dans son histoire, maître de son propre destin—l'Afrique que les poètes de la négritude ont si bien su rêver et annoncer.

Cependant se libérer de la domination étrangère n'est pas le seul souci de nos peuples. Ils ont appris par expérience et dans l'oppression coloniale, que l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme est le plus grand obstacle au développement et au progrès du peuple au delà de la libération nationale.

Notre peuple est déterminé à participer activement à la construction d'une Afrique nouvelle, réellement indépendante et progressiste, basée sur le travail et la justice sociale, dans laquelle la puissance créatrice de nos peuples, étouffée pendant des siècles, devra rencontrer la plus libre et constructive expression. Les peuples de Guinée et du Cap Vert ont déjà donné, comme esclaves et comme colonisés, une contribution anonyme, mais considérable, au progrès mondial. Maintenant nous sommes déterminés à sortir de l'anonymat, à reconquérir notre personnalité et dignité d'hommes et d'africains, pour continuer au service du progrès et du bien-être de l'humanité, en donnant le mieux de nous memes, mais à pied d'égalité avec les autres peuples du monde.

Pour atteindre cet objectif, nous sommes obligés de lutter, nous sommes en train de lutter et nous lutterons jusqu'au bout de nos forces, sûrs que la victoire finale appartiendra à nos peuples. Nous sommes et nous devons être conscients du fait que notre victoire ne sera pas facile. Nous avons une expérience multisé-

culaire de la nature de notre ennemi et des particularités qui le caractérisent par rapport aux autres forces colonialistes. Quoiqu'il soit isolé, nous ne devons pas oublier que notre ennemi dispose encore de forces de destruction bien supérieures aux nôtres et que d'une façon claire ou voilée, il est aidé et soutenu par d'autres forces ennemies de la liberté et du progrès des peuples africains.

En luttant contre le colonialisme portugais, nous luttons contre toutes les forces ennemies de l'Afrique, nous nous battons contre l'imperialisme mondial. Si nous voulons en réalité vaincre notre ennemi, arriver plus vite au jour de la victoire et diminuer les inevitables sacrifices que la lutte exige de nos peuples, nous devons ne pas perdre de vue la réalité objective de notre situation, toujours intégrée dans le contexte historique de nos jours.

La Guinee

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comptons sur nos propres forces—les forces inépuisables de nos peuples mobilisés et organisés pour la lutte de libération nationale.

Cependant nous avons le droit de compter aussi sur l'appui inconditionnel et l'aide concrète des peuples épris de paix et de liberté, en particulier des peuples africains et de leurs Gouvernements. D'ailleurs nous avons déjà constaté des preuves de cet appui, notamment sur les plans politique et moral. Notre Parti, interprétant fidèlement les sentiments de fraternité et de confiance des peuples de la Guinée "Portugaise" et des Iles du Cap Vert, est convaincu qu'une aide concrète de la part des peuples épris de paix et de liberté, en particulier de nos frères africains, nous sera accordée pour le développement urgent de notre lutte.

Face aux conditions concrètes de nos pays, à la situation internationale et au stade de progrès atteint par notre lutte, celle-ci se développe incessamment: étape par étape, nos peuples liquideront toutes les bases de la domination coloniale portugaise. Aucune force ne saurait éviter l'issue victorieuse de notre lutte de libération nationale.

BOOK REVIEW

King Leopold's Soliloquy

by Mark Twain

(Published by Seven Seas)

IT is of course to be expected that the history of colonialism and imperialism in the African continent has been written by colonialist historians whose main task has been to gloss over the hideous crimes wrought by the colonialists and to insist on the "benefits" of the colonial system—the building of schools, hospitals, roads—all of which Africans now know are very necessary to the greater efficiency of the colonialist system).

The ridiculousness of this is such that every school boy knows about Adolf Hitler but very few about King Leopold of the Belgians. Compared to Leopold, Hitler was like a little boy who had just grasped the mechanism of a new toy. Without doubt Leopold of the Belgians is the greatest criminal in the history of mankind. Sexually perverse, arrogant to the point of madness, cruel and savage, sly and cunning: this was Leopold, who two hundred and fifty years after Charles I and the deserved fate that befell that stupid monarch, claimed to rule by divine right—a man who would certainly be the first to be brought up before a tribunal set-up to try the great criminals of history.

Leopold between 1884 and 1908 ruled the great Congo State as his own PERSONAL province—a country many times as big as Belgium. Leopold's rule of the Congo was total and absolute and never has absolutism brought such evil and atrocity as did that of Leopold.

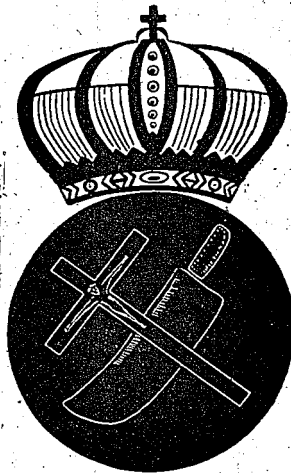
In his 24 years of personal governance of the Congo, the population of the country declined by half—from 30 million to 15 million—most of them butchered to death to satisfy the insatiable bloodlust of Leopold's bloodthirsty coterie of

armed hooligans and thugs. Mutilation of bodies, cutting of hands and legs, breasts, noses, death at the hands of paid cannibals like Muhimba N'cusa—this was the lot of Africans, whose very "crimes" were their inability to bring enough rubber to satisfy their "white masters" under the barbaric autocracy that was so ironically called "the Congo free state."

Needless to say the motive force behind this wanton criminality was Leopold's determination to tap as effectively as possible the magnificent riches of the Congo.

Greed and lust were the right and left arms of Leopold, and ironically, helping Leopold to project those arms were the predatory monopolistic capitalists of America,—that very

MARK TWAIN



**KING LEOPOLD'S
SOLILOQUY**

America which claims to be the champion of democratic liberty and of the "free world". America was the first of the great powers to recognise Leopold's government of the Congo, a country which with its vast mineral resources was up for exploitation by the monopoly capitalists of America. It is always slightly bewildering to hear the colonialist powers proclaim themselves champions of democracy and liberty although we know the extent and depth of their lust and greed—both of which qualities have no time either for the opinion of the majority or of liberty. The murky workings of the colonialist mind are at once very tortuous and very simple.

In "King Leopold's Soliloquy", Mark Twain, the great American humorist and satirist, turned his keen and penetrating gaze on the atrocities of Leopold's rule and on the extent of American complicity in them. Using the form of a soliloquy by Leopold, Twain brilliantly, but pitilessly, exposes the mind not only of a madman, but also of a system, the hideousness of which has no parallel in human history. Coming from so skilful and artistic a pen, Mark Twain's exposé comes on all the most effective for it being and remaining great literature.

Mark Twain, in the words of Stefan Heyn, took seriously of the writers' duty to be the conscience of his time, and no better is this depicted than in "King Leopold Soliloquy" which stands as an oasis of knowledge in the wilderness of silence in which western capitalism has engulfed one of its "great" champions. Mark Twain with his intense hatred of injustice and opposition, and his love of the oppressed and underprivileged would not and could not keep quiet about proceedings that went against his very beliefs.

Now that the oppressed and underprivileged are throwing off their bondage we thank Mark Twain for helping in the struggle by his brilliant exposé of this reactionary barbarian, Leopold of the Belgians, whose very name cannot but provoke disgust not only from Africans but also from progressive peoples all over the world.

Reviewed by Nana Addo

VOICE OF AFRICA

RADIO GHANA TRANSMISSION TIMES AND WAVELENGTHS

ENGLISH SERVICE

(i) SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA			
1400—1445 GMT	15.400 Mcs	19.48 Metres	
1830—1915 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	
(ii) EAST AFRICA			
1450—1535 GMT	15.400 Mcs	19.48 Metres	
(iii) SOUTH, SOUTH-WEST AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA			
1450—1535 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
2000—2045 GMT	15.287 Mcs	19.63 Metres	
(iv) WEST AFRICA			
1450—1535 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
1700—1745 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
2000—2045 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
2130—2215 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	

FRENCH SERVICE

(i) CONGO, AFRIQUE CENTRALE			
1745—1830 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	
1915—2000 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	
(ii) AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE			
1745—1830 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
1915—2000 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
2045—2130 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	

PORTUGUESE SERVICE

(i) ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE			
1400—1445 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
1645—1730 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
(ii) GUINEA, ANGOLA			
1645—1730 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	
HAUSA SERVICE			
WEST AFRICA			
1545—1630 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
1830—1915 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	
	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	

ARABIC SERVICE

(i) UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, SUDAN, LIBYA			
1540—1625 GMT	15.400 Mcs	19.48 Metres	
(ii) MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA			
2005—2050 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	

SWAHILI SERVICE

EAST AFRICA			
1400—1445 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	
1545—1630 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	
1715—1800 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	

SPECIAL ENGLISH SERVICE—U.K. AND EUROPE

2050—2135 GMT	11.800 Mcs	25.42 Metres	
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PORTUGUESE SERVICE

TIME—GMT	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			21.545 M/C. 13.92 Metres—Angola, Mozambique				
		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)					
1358/30							
1400	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News
1410	News Talk	News/Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk
1420	Moments with the Masters	Music from the Films	Music Album	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days	Moments with the Masters	Highlife Hits
1435	Our African Cultural Heritage	The African Scene	Ghana Calling	One Continent, One People!	Dancing Days	Moments with the Masters	Highlife Hits
1443/30							
				INTERVAL SIGNAL			
				(i) 21.545 M/C. 13.92 Metres	(ii) 11.800 M/C. 25.42 Metres	(i) Angola, Mozambique	(ii) Guinea, Angola.
				DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)			
1643/30							
1645	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News	The News
1655	News Talk	News/Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk	News Talk
1705	Dancing Days	Music of the People	Highlife Hits	Music of Africa	Music Album	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days
1720	Dancing Days	Ghana Calling	Our African Cultural Heritage	The African Scene	One Continent, One People	Highlife Hits	Dancing Days
1728/30							
				CLOSE DOWN			

SWAHILI SERVICE

WAKATI	JUMAPILI	JUMATATU	JUMANNE	JUMATANO	ALHAMISI	IJUMAA	JUMAMOSI
				17.740 M/C. 16.91 Metres—East Africa,			
		DRUMS AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)					
1358/30							
1400	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1410	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo
1420	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari
	Bandi Ya Wiki	Chaguo Letu	Ghana Inaimba	Muziki Wa Aina	Magitaa	Muziki Kutoka Kusini	Mipigo Ya Highlife
1435	Bandi Ya Wiki	Chaguo Letu	Mambo Mbali	Mbali Mbali	Ustaarabu Wa Asili	Kontineti Moja Lenye Watu Mamoja	Muziki Kutoka Kusini
1445							
				INTERVAL SIGNAL			
				INTERVAL SIGNAL AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)			
				17.740 M/C. 16.91 Metres—East Africa			
1545	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1555	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo
	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari
1605	Muziki Wa Watu	Muziki Wa Watu	Bandi Shoo	Muziki Wa Afrika	Ghana Inaimba	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Muziki Kutoka Kusini
1620	Mbali Mbali	Muziki Wa Watu	Mbali Mbali	Muziki Wa Afrika	Ghana Inaimba	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Muziki Kutoka Kusini
1630							
				INTERVAL SIGNAL			
				17.400 M/C. 16.91 Metres—East Africa			
				INTERVAL SIGNAL AND STATION IDENTIFICATION (RADIO GHANA CALLING AFRICA)			
1713/30							
1715	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo	Habari Za Leo
1725	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo	Mazungumzo
	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari	Ya Habari
1735	Chaguo Letu	Mipigo Ya Highlife	Mbali Mbali	Muziki Kutoka Kusini	Muziki Kutoka Afrika	Bandi Shoo	Siku Za Dansi
1758	Chaguo Letu	Kontineti Moja Lenye Watu Mamoja	Ghana Leo	Mambo Mbali	Mbali Mbali	Ustaarabu Wa Asili	Bandi Shoo
1758/30							
				CLOSE DOWN			