



Voice of AFRICA



AFRICA'S NEW MAN

AFRICA needs a new type of man, a dedicated, modest, honest and devoted man.

A man who submerges self in service to his nation and mankind.

A man who abhors greed and detests vanity.

A new type of man whose meekness is his strength, and whose integrity is his greatness.

Africa's new man must be a man indeed.

All this needs a great deal of zeal.

Let us remember, however, that our zeal should make us adroit and alert to all the implications of our actions.

For we have a tremendous—herculean task before us. It needs all our care, all our brains.

—KWAME NKRUMAH

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Editor-in-Chief

KOFI BATSA

EDITORIAL

The Angola Horizon

The smouldering trouble in Angola which has now burst into flames should arouse especially profound concern of all African people.

The conception of the Portuguese President, Mr. Antonio Oliveira de Salazar, that he has permanent right to pursue a bestial colonial policy in Africa faces the greatest test of the African era. The lessons he has to learn now should be learnt in dead earnest, lest the flames of African nationalism, which he is attempting to extinguish in Angola consume his being.

The fire of liberation which was lit in Ghana in 1958 by the First All-African Peoples' Conference is burning down enormous imperial structures.

News coming out from Angola makes sad reading. Salazar's brass-hats are mowing down thousands of Angola nationalists in cold blood. Portugal has clamped censorship on all news and correspondence from Angola in order that her deadly actions should be covered up from the world.

It is now clear that Salazar intends to kill tens of thousands more in an effort to quell the determination of the Africans.

The Portuguese colonial governor of Angola and his district commissioners have been vested with powers to kill or detain Africans "who are suspects or considered dangerous."

These are the concrete schemes of turbulent Portuguese colonialism faced by the tide of African nationalism and promoting frantic policy to drench the whole Angola in welters of blood. This situation cannot be otherwise. Portuguese colonialism, it must never be forgotten, is a Cimmerian monster, rooted in the darkness of by-gone ages, always ready to swoop with vampiric deadliness upon Africans and to prey with vulturine greed upon their corpses.

Unlike the 1954 and 1958 revolts in Angola and Mozambique which were quenched, the present situation shows not a triumph but a total collapse of Salazar's primitive colonial policy.

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Salazar will be made to tumble with the greatest ignominy of all by the tide of his own past misdeeds recoiling upon him, as irresistible as the waters of a great flood. The blood of the unjustly slain, which has flowed like an ever-widening river through the sombre valleys of Portuguese colonial history, has already run too deep for the Africans to bear any longer.

The calamitous present in Angola is gliding irresistibly away from the past towards a future of free Angola.

Salazar's arrogance will be humbled. The Portuguese gigantic imperviousness will be turned to dust by the great whirlwind which is shaking Africa. Angola is stirring.

The poem published below was written on January 25, this year by our late Comrade in the fight for African Freedom, Patrice Lumumba, when he was Mobutu's captive at Camp Leopold II in Leopoldville.

He sent a copy of the poem to a friend in India. A copy was later discovered in his papers at the Camp Leopold II after his death.

Dawn in the Heart of Africa

by Patrice Lumumba

*FOR a thousand years you, Negro, suffered like a beast,
Your ashes strewn to the wind that roams the desert.
Your tyrants built the lustrous, magic temples.
To preserve your soul, preserve your suffering.
Barbaric right of first and the white right to a whip,
You had the right to die, you also could weep.
In your totem they carved endless hunger, endless bonds,
And even in the cover of the woods a ghastly cruel death
Was watching, snaky, crawling to you like branches
From the holes and heads of trees
Embraced your body and your ailing soul.*

*THEN they put a treacherous big viper on your chest:
On your neck they laid the yoke of fire-water,
They took your sweet wife for glitter of cheap pearls,
Your incredible riches that nobody could measure.
From your hut, the tom-toms sounded into dark of night,
Carrying cruel laments up mighty black rivers about
Abused girls, streams of tears and blood,
About ships that sailed to country where the little man
Wallows in an ant-hill and where a dollar is king,
To that damned land which they called a motherland.
There your child, your wife were ground, day and night
By frightful, merciless mill, crushing them in dreamful pain
You are man like others. They preach you to believe
That good white god will reconcile all men at last.*

*By fire you grieved and sang the moaning songs of
Homeless beggar that sinks at stranger's doors.*

*AND when a craze possessed you and your blood
Boiled through the night,
You danced, you moaned, obsessed by father's passion.
Like fury of a storm to lyrics of a manly tune a strength
Burst out of you for a thousand years of mystery in
Metalic voice of jazz, in uncovered outcry that thunders
Through the continent in gigantic surf.
The whole world surprised, woke up in panic to the violent
Rhythm of blood, to violent rhythm of jazz, the white
Man turning pallid over this new song that carries
Torch of purple through the dark of night.*

*THE dawn is here, my brother, dawn, Look in our faces,
A new morning breaks in our old Africa.
Ours only will now be the land, the water, mighty rivers
Poor Negro was surrendering for a thousand years.
And hard torches of the sun will shine for us again
They'll dry tears in eyes and spittle on your face
The moment when you break the chains, the heavy fetters
The evil, cruel times will go never to come again.
A free and gallant Congo will arise from back soil,
A free and gallant Congo—the black bossom, the
back seed.*



PATRICE LUMUMBA

Revolt in Portuguese Africa

The Portuguese, 500 years ago, were the first European imperialists to grab colonies in Africa. Now the tyrannical dictatorship of Salazar is determined to make the Portuguese the last of the imperialists to leave our continent.

Of all the hellspots of colonialism, there are none as ghastly as the Portuguese territories in Africa. They make South Africa seem like a land of milk and honey for all its inhabitants by comparison.

But the peoples of the colonies have been inspired by the Pan-African Liberation Movement to stir in revolt against their overlords, and the day is not far off when the peoples of "Portuguese Africa" join their brothers who have achieved freedom elsewhere in Africa.

Portuguese Africa is a real iron curtain and comprises three main land colonies: Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea and two groups of islands: Cabo Verde Islands and San Tome and Principe.

Cabo Verde Islands:

CONCENTRATION CAMP

There are six uninhabited and nine inhabited islands in this group which were discovered in 1460 by the Portuguese. The area is 4,033 sq. km. with a population of 172,000.

The island of Sal of this archipelago is chosen by Salazar for the concentration camp of his opponents where they were taken and left to die a slow death.

In the same island is situated the international airport of Sao Vicente constructed by the Americans in 1949.

Portuguese Guinea:

WORLD'S MOST ILLITERATE

Not far away, on the African coast, there is Portuguese Guinea with a area of 36,125 sq. km. and population of 503,935 Africans and 2,263 Europeans. Although the Portuguese are there since 1446 the illiteracy rate is 99.7 per cent among the indigenous population, this being the highest illiteracy rate in the

world (UN: Statistical Year Book). The place is full of diseases like filariasis, elephantiasis, yaws and leprosy. Although Portuguese Guinea is the oldest European colony in Africa, it was one of the last to be subjugated: the tribes of the interior were "pacified" in 1915 and the Busagos were finally subdued only in 1936.

San Tome and Principe:

GOVERNOR USED MACHINE GUN

These two tiny islands (area: 964 sq. km. and population 60,159) are situated in the middle of the Gulf of Guinea, and are under the Portuguese since 1471 A.D.

These islands are notorious for the savage treatment meted out to the labourers forcibly brought from other colonies and put to work in the coffee and cocoa plantations. In February 1953, a revolt against the system of slave labour took place in the island, which was ruthlessly crushed by the colonialists. Another recent agitation, demanding bread, remunerative work and the end of the rule of terror, was suppressed with the use of machine-guns.

Even the Governor, Carlos Gorgulho, handled one of the machine-guns. Three hundred demonstrators fell to the bullets. Agitation continued. More troops and police reinforcements were brought in; arms were distributed among the white population and a reign of terror was imposed in the islands. Houses and even villages, like Folha Fedi, were looted and burnt. Besides unascertainable numbers of casualties, 1,000 persons were thrown in dungeons. On February 5, 1959, out of 47 persons incarcerated in a small cell, 30 died overnight, because of asphyxiation.

Mozambique and Angola:

REVOLT AGAINST FORCED LABOUR

These two immensely large chunks of African land are sprawling on the

two coasts of lower Africa. Mozambique is on the Indian Ocean and Angola on the Atlantic. These two African territories, both of which border the Union, are twenty times the size of metropolitan Portugal, and hold some of the key ports in the whole of Africa besides both the ends of the most strategic railway line linking the Atlantic with the Indian Ocean. MOZAMBIQUE has an area of 771,125 sq. km. and a population of 5,732,317. It was "discovered" in 1446, and ever since has been ruled by the Portuguese. The colony possesses the largest groves of coconut palms in the world. American oil interests are active in the area and there have been recent reports of strikes and demonstrations against the exploitation of workers there.

The average wage of a Mozambique worker is about ninepence a day. There is only one high school in the colony and the tuition fee is over £G10 per year. The illiteracy rate can be imagined—no figures are available. Mozambique lives on sugar, cotton, tea and most of all, on the export of black labour.

On the other side of Africa facing the Atlantic, there sprawls a huge territory—1,246,000 sq. km. fourteen times bigger than Portugal, and roughly the size of Spain, France and Italy put together called ANGOLA. Its population is only 4,280,000 besides 80,000 Europeans.

The main reason for this depopulation is the slave traffic of previous centuries and the still prevailing recruitment of forced labour which is exported to other parts of the country through government agency.

It is an agricultural country but thanks to the dictators of colonial economy, only one per cent of the cultivable land is under plough today and that, too, of the most primitive type plough.

The country has large deposits of diamonds, asphalt, bitumen, manganese, copper and gold, which

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Tshombe: Stooge or Lunatic?

EVENTS of the past week in Katanga clearly prove that the puppet Moise Tshombé has now virtually fallen under the control of his so-called Belgian advisers and in the grip of the all White South African and Rhodesian Foreign Legion who are terrorising the entire province.

Some reports from Katanga even suggest that he may be suffering from an incurable mental disease which has seized him since the murder of Lumumba.

Belgian Hooligans:

Cheered on by Belgian hooligans and heavily guarded by his hired White gunmen, Tshombe finds that he has to read inflammatory speeches against the United Nations forces

prepared for him by the Belgian imperialist in Brussels.

According to another report, Tshombe now is only maintained in power by this hard core White supremacist army, and the price he is paying for it is high.

According to the correspondent of the South African newspaper, the SUNDAY TRIBUNE, Tshombe now has an all-White South African army of more than eighty (80).

When they are engaged, these White butchers are given a month's pay in advance. After serving for six months each soldier is entitled to a free air passage to Europe. The monthly pay is £420 for unmarried soldiers and £480 for married soldiers. Each soldier is given a free bottle of beer a day and two weeks leave

every month.

On the whole, therefore, Tshombe is spending about £50,000 a month to maintain White supremacy in Katanga while thousands of African children are dying due to lack of food and clothing.

A Danger

Tshombe has been complaining during the past two months that UNIP is misleading the entire world by saying he is a European stooge. But anyone who spends £50,000 a month to pay 80 Whites must surely be either a stooge or a graduate of a mental asylum.

That is why he is a danger not only to his own people of Katanga but to the entire continent of Africa.

Trades Back UNIP

The Northern Rhodesia African Traders Association has pledged its support of the United National Independence Party in its demand for self-government.

A few days ago the Association invited President Kaunda to talk on his party's policy towards the "small businessman," and in particular the African trader. The meeting which took place in Buchi location, Kitwe, was attended by 50 leading businessmen from all over the Copperbelt.

The President of the Association, R. C. Puta, who introduced President Kaunda, said there was no party in Northern Rhodesia which had sided with the African trader as UNIP was doing. He pointed out that despite the fact that the party was only about a year old it had demonstrated its support for the African trader by launching last year the 'Buy African Campaign' which had greatly aided members of the Association. He said that this and various other schemes the party introduced proved

they doubt that UNIP was genuinely interested in the well-being of every citizen of Northern Rhodesia.

In his address, President Kaunda told the Association that the task before his party was not simply to achieve self-government, but also to create a powerful nation. In this task the African trader was to be called upon to play a big role.

"It is men with big brains like you," he said, "who can succeed in business despite the tough competition you are facing from Government and municipalities.

"You are all experienced men who were once in the trade union movement or in active politics. You know that the biggest market at the moment in this country is the African and it is, therefore, unfair for the African to be a third-class trader in the land of his own birth.

"Do not get discouraged because dishonest men were running your Association in the past. The same applies to political parties; we in

Northern Rhodesia have experienced this but we have not given up hope."

He advised the traders to get in touch with other traders in the Eastern Province and with farmers in the Southern Province and formulate plans to break up the monopoly which was being enjoyed by European and Asian traders in foodstuffs.

On the other hand, he assured them that manufacturers in Britain and America were ready to help the African trader as long as the traders association was well organised. He said he had talked to some manufacturers in various countries and they had promised to help.

"In Ghana today," said President Kaunda, "the Convention People's Party under Nkrumah was working hand in hand with the traders. The Governor of the Bank of Ghana is an African. We must also prepare for responsibilities of this nature."

After the meeting, the Association promised President Kaunda all "moral and financial support" and made token donation of £8:12:0.

"Let us Forget About Alien Attachments"

A Speech by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah



OSAGYEFO

A GREAT Irish patriot who worked in the Congo about fifty years ago and exposed the injustices of colonialism and imperialism, once wrote:

"The more we love our land and wish to help our people the more keenly we feel we cannot turn a deaf ear to suffering and injustice in any part of the world."

These words are true of our own position and, I believe, of the position in which peoples in the countries which have emerged from colonial rule find themselves: namely, that our struggle for liberation is merely a part of the struggle of all mankind for freedom and particularly of the African struggle for emancipation.

As I have said time and time again, political independence does not necessarily mean the end of colonialism or imperialism. Political freedom is always a step forward but it is only the first step. Though a State may be nominally independent, it may still be subject to almost all the evils of its previous colonial regime.

Objectives

Indeed the very fact that the country has obtained political independence, is admitted into the United Nations and enjoys all the outward trappings of an independent State, may make the fight against concealed colonialism in that particular country both more difficult and more urgent. The existence of client States, which are dependent on some outside Power for their economic existence and their military defence are a positive danger to peace.

Such States are pawns in the global chess game of international politics. In this periculous game, we must never forget that one of the objectives is the perpetuation of colonialism or imperialism either in its old guise or in a new form. Such States can be used for this purpose in a most effective way.

Instead of the colonial power having itself to put forward its own arguments in the United Nations and in other international gatherings, the client States can be brought forward to express a policy which the colonial power manipulating the State in question (with what I have called Teleguide diplomacy), realises would never gain acceptance if such a policy were put forward by the colonial power itself.

In order that Ghana may continue to maintain an independent foreign policy, it is essential that we should be economically and technologically strong and able to stand on our own feet without having to rely upon the financial assistance of any other nation. It is also essential that we do not compromise our freedom of action by entering into any military pact or arrangement with any particular Power or bloc of Powers.

Industrialisation

Many States are compelled to enter into such pacts because of their own internal instability. They cannot maintain law and order in their own country unless they have outside assistance. It is for this reason that a country's policy at home and its policy abroad are so closely interlocked.

In order that we can pursue a policy by which we can assist other countries to attain real independence, we must develop our economy and pursue a policy of industrialisation in our country so as to establish a strong economic foundation upon which our foreign policy can be based.

We must, however, develop our economy in such a way that equal opportunity is given to all our road to socialism must be a road designed and charted in

accordance with the conditions of Ghana and the historical and social conditions and circumstances of Africa as a whole.

African Freedom

We do not therefore seek to copy the methods by which other countries have achieved socialism within their own States. Indeed the path to socialism followed by many countries has not been one worked out in accordance with a pre-conceived plan. It should be our object to study history so as to profit by the experience of others and to avoid the mistakes and errors which were, perhaps, inevitable in the particular circumstances of the time but which need not be repeated.

We can perform a most important service in the cause of African freedom if we can show to the world that a comparatively small State that has recently escaped from a colonialist past can build itself up into a modern and progressive State in far less time than it took many of the other nations of the world to achieve this degree of progress.

The efficiency of a Government also depends, to a very large extent, on its internal structure. Very naturally, the Colonial Civil Service was built upon the theory that all change was dangerous and that therefore the administrative machine should be so constructed as to prevent any innovation.

We, on the other hand, have to do very quickly what it has taken other nations a long time to achieve, and it is for that reason that it is continually necessary for our Government structure to be reviewed and reorganised in accordance with current needs.

Foreign Affairs

At the moment there are negotiations proceeding at the United Nations with a view to a new initiative being taken in disarmament. It would therefore be premature for us at this stage to put forward any other plan.

If, however, for any reason progress is not achieved at the United Nations, I consider that the uncommitted countries—and by these I mean the countries which are not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the Warsaw Pact and other similar military alliances—might profitably come together to discuss putting forward a disarmament plan of their own.

During my visits abroad, I have been much heartened by the atmosphere of understanding which has pervaded my discussions with world leaders whom I met. I was particularly delighted at the sympathetic manner in which President Kennedy listened to the views which I put forward in regard to matters which are of particular concern to Ghana in the field of African Affairs.

My experience in the United States of America and in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London has led me to be convinced that there is today a real prospect of settling outstanding international differences by negotiation. It will be always the policy of the Government of Ghana to assist, as far as it can, in any such move to resolve international tensions.

I think we should explain to the world why we have chosen our structure of Government and why we believe that this structure of Government is more suited

to African conditions and to the conditions of newly independent States in general, than other constitutions based upon the historical patterns of some older nations.

I would like in this respect to explain our attitude towards federalism which is falsely believed by some people to be a cure for all the economic and political ills of the African Continent.

Outside nations almost invariably approach the problems of Africa from two quite contradictory standpoints.

In the first place, they all recognise the need for strong Government. Foreign investments, we are told, can only be made where there is internal stability. Equally, world public opinion recognises that progress is impossible unless there is the widest possible area of economic union and free trade.

Basic Idea

On the other hand, when actual political suggestions come to be made as to the form of Government suitable in Africa, outside thinking is dominated by the political and historical idea of the eighteenth century world.

The basic idea behind the United States Constitution, for example, was that all Government was bad and a necessary evil. This should only be tolerated, therefore, according to the political thinkers of the eighteenth century, if a series of checks and balances were imposed in which some powers of Government should be exercised by the basic unit of the State, and other powers should be given to the Federal Government so that neither could become all powerful.

Limited Powers

The authority of Congress was limited but so, too, was the authority of the President and the Supreme Court was established so as to see that neither the Federal Government nor the States over stepped the limits assigned to them in the Constitution, and that neither Congress nor President exercised powers not expressly granted to them.

In the historical conditions in which the United States was established, it is undoubtedly true that the only union which could have been set up with the consent of the people was one based upon these principles.

This does not, however, mean that because a constitution of checks and balances was suitable in the United States in the eighteenth century, it will automatically be suitable in Africa or in other parts of the world in the second half of the twentieth century. I refuse to comment on this mode of thinking.

The people of Ghana decisively rejected a federal form of constitution at the General Election of 1956, and the reasons why they did so are, I believe, equally applicable to other African States.

Legacy

One of the worst legacies of colonialism was the absence of a trained body of African technicians and administrators. A federal form of government automa-

Alien Attachments —Continued

tically means that it is impossible to concentrate in the central government machine the necessary limited manpower available. It has to be dispersed over the regional and the federal governments. Even more serious than this, however, is the power vacuum created by any federal form of government.

Once one starts laying down in the constitution what powers the federal government shall have, a vast area of doubt is created. It is not clear whether this or that particular matter is within the power of the federal government or of the regional government. Nothing can be done by either in regard to the matter until the courts have pronounced one way or another as to where power lies.

In consequence just at a time when a strong government is necessary, federalism introduces an element of paralysis into the machinery of State, and slows down the progress of governmental action. We cannot afford this luxury in Africa.

The Congo, indeed, provides a striking example of how federation can be used as a cloak to conceal new colonialism. In fact, this type of federalism is not federation at all it is separatism. It does not unite, it balkanizes.

In all African communities there is a natural and reasonable tendency for ethnic groups to come together and seek to organise themselves both politically and economically so as to restore their cultural and their traditional way of life which was suppressed under colonialism it is necessary that we understand and appreciate the force of this motive which is entirely praiseworthy and yet at the same time we should prevent it being exploited by those who wish to restore colonialism in a new guise.

Fundamentally, the reason why African ethnic groups failed to maintain their independence and succumbed to colonialism was that they were too small and not economically viable.

The whole history of the colonial penetration of Africa is the history of the colonial powers supporting one ethnic group against the other and exploiting African differences so that in the end all came equally under the colonial yoke.

The solution, therefore, is to find a form of political organisation which gives full expression to all ethnic groups and yet which maintains that essential unity which is a prerequisite of true independence. Such a political organisation should not be difficult to evolve.

The main problem would be the will of African States to start it: I mean an African Continental Government—a single continent—which would develop a feeling of one community among the peoples of Africa and work for the economic, technological, social, scientific and cultural development of Africa. Notwithstanding all nations to the contrary I firmly believe that such an African Continental Government is both essential and necessary.

The traditional form of colonialist penetration of Africa was by way of "indirect rule". An existing traditional ruler who was in some trouble with his own people could easily be persuaded to accept the para-

mounty of the colonial power in return for a promise to help to suppress his own fellow countrymen, where the traditional ruler was not prepared to call in the colonial power, then a pretext could be found for making war upon him and installing another ruler who promised to be more pliable.

Those colonialist powers who are interested in Balkanisation are playing exactly the same game today. Anyone can be a very big fish if the pool is small enough. There are, therefore, selfish politicians who have a vested interest in maintaining the individuality of their countries as against the political unity of Africa.

These are those leaders who are easy game for those who try to re-establish the system of indirect rule. The modern form of this indirect rule is what I have called "Teleguide diplomacy". Colonialism thrives on "Teleguide diplomacy". Such puppet regimes must realise, however, that their future is not even as secure as that of the former puppet rulers of colonial days.

Sooner or later they will be caught and crushed between two forces namely, the force of African mass nationalism on the one side, and colonialism itself on the other.

It would be the greatest mistake to imagine that all foreign powers are colonialists or that the interests of overseas investments are necessarily best served by a continuation of imperialism in an open or concealed form. On the contrary, the existence of colonialism and of Balkanisation is indirect contradiction to the interest of progressive nations and the essential elements of private capitalism.

The masses who struggle for independence did not do so in order to put a handful of puppet politicians into power. They fought for their independence because quite rightly, they considered that this was the only method by which they could achieve the other things which they desired—a higher standard of living and real political and intellectual freedom.

Puppet rulers cannot give to their people any of these things, so the puppets sooner or later become crushed between the external pressures opposed to colonialism and the internal pressures generated in the countries themselves. But we have, or should have, an effective answer to Balkanisation, and the answer is African unity.

The Union of African States, however, cannot be achieved by only passing resolutions. It can be achieved through positive action, and we must prepare the ground for such a union of African States.

In the first place, it is important to begin at once on the practical studies which are necessary to make African political union work.

New University

We hope to create our own University in September next. One of its many important tasks will be preparing the ground work for African unity. We need to study, for example, how best we can build trunk roads so as to link up the African Continent. Our great new harbour at

Tema should become a free port for African States who want to use it.

The cost of extending the present network of roads in Ghana so as to link Upper Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta and Mali with Ghana is not great when compared with some of the sums which are now being spent on weapons of mass destruction. I hope, such a joint scheme, that those Powers who have stated their willingness to contribute to African development would lend it their support.

Every independent African State has a moral duty of assisting its neighbours in establishing full political and economic independence.

The Independent African States must start as soon as possible to devise a plan whereby the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the surpluses of another. Let me now turn first to the problems of the Union of South Africa. It is necessary that we should make a sober analysis of the South African situation—looking at the position objectively and never allowing our views to be influenced by sentiment or by racial prejudice of any sort.

The questions which we must ask ourselves are these: First, how long can the present regime in South Africa survive? Secondly, what is to be done when the ultimate collapse of that regime takes place?

The Congo crisis would not have developed to such an extent had the African States been united and better prepared than they were to deal with it when it arose.

Fortunately, the South African question is one upon which African States have already proved that they have a unity of approach, and therefore it should not be difficult to devise an appropriate line of policy which could obtain universal African support.

The ruling class in South Africa consists of some three million persons of European descent. This ruling class monopolises the Armed Forces which are specifically armed and trained to deal with civil disturbance. The opponents, the remaining twelve million inhabitants of South Africa are unarmed and lack the elaborate political and economic organisation which the ruling class has built up.

It is because of this that the ruling class of South Africa consider that their position is safe and that they can continue indefinitely to pursue their present apartheid policy.

By itself, of course, this intellectual revolt is not significant. It is, however, one of the classic symptoms of an impending storm. It is the cloud the size of a man's hand seen by the prophet Elijah from which he was able to prophesy the inevitable approach of the storm.

The second classic sign of revolution is the division of the ruling class itself. The controversy which now divides the ruling class in South Africa is, in fact, of no importance in itself. The two main political parties in South Africa, the Nationalists and the United Party are both dedicated to the maintenance of racial inequality. What they differ about is how this inequality should be maintained.

This significance of the division is that it shows that one group of the ruling class does not trust the other, and the present Government, therefore, cannot claim undivided loyalty of the ruling class.

Also significant, and showing the breakdown of the existing structure of the ruling class, is the emergence of the Progressive Party, an organisation of persons of goodwill allied to the shrewdest financiers of the country.

The Progressive realise that there is something radically wrong with South Africa and that if the present social structure of the Union is to survive, radical changes must be made. Ultimately, however, they fight shy of the only radical change which can solve the South African situation, the establishment of the principle of 'one man one vote', irrespective of colour or racial origin.

Like all reforming parties which spring up on the eve of a revolution, they see an abyss opening up before them, but they are so conditioned by their membership of the ruling class to the existing situation that they are unable to formulate any acceptable alternative.

The large vote cast in favour of Progressive candidates at bye-election and provincial elections show that their fears are shared by a certain part of the ruling class but that this proportion of the ruling class is nothing like sufficient to reform the existing regime.

In short there is no indication whatsoever that the South African ruling class will, of its own volition, change its policy. On the contrary, there is every indication that it will pursue an even more extreme apartheid policy as pressure mounts against it.

Fundamentally, the weakness of the regime is not the split in the ruling class which is only important as a symptom of what is to come. The real determining factor is the fundamental weakness of the whole structure.

Industry and agriculture are dependent upon African labour and a point must come when this labour ceases to be subservient to the ruling class. History has shown that such a calculation is entirely false and if we look beneath the surface it can, I think, be shown that the position of the South African Government is fundamentally weak and there is little likelihood of its surviving for long.

In the first place, it must be noted that the South Africa regime exhibits exactly these same symptoms which have invariably preceded revolutions elsewhere but whose significance are often not appreciated until the revolution in question has actually taken place.

There has occurred already in South Africa what was the prelude both to the French and to the Russian revolutions and, indeed, to the revolutions in many other countries. There has been a significant repudiation of the regime by an influential section of the intelligentsia of the ruling class.

The Dutch Reformed Church is the ideological pillar upon which apartheid rests, yet apartheid has been denounced by Professor Kéel, until recently the Head of the Theological seminary of that Church at Stellenbosch University where Dr. Verwoerd himself was once a professor.

Domination

The leaders of the Anglican, the Roman Catholic and the other churches in South Africa have all of them

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The All-Africa Trade Union Federation will hold its Constituent Congress on May 23 in Casablanca. More than half of Africa's five million organised workers were represented at the Preparatory Conferences held in Accra and Conakry. In this article, Michael Harmel analyses the background and prospects of what he considers "one of the most significant and far-reaching events of Africa Year, 1961"

The All-Africa Trade Union Movement

UNITY and co-operation of All-African Trade Unions is not a new concept. It has long been the cherished dream of workers' leaders in many parts of our Continent.

That dream seemed close to realisation soon after the war, when the World Federation of Trade Union convened an All-African Conference at Dakar. But that was in the happy, honeymoon period before the Cold War, and before the American and British trade union leaders, obedient to pressures from their Governments, broke away to form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The ICFTU at Work

The international split was reflected in Africa. The promising beginning made at Dakar was abandoned, and the ICFTU leaders set themselves might and main to "capture" African Trade Union Federations and "win Africa for the West." A few centres defying imperialist pressures and ICFTU blandishments, clung loyally to the WFTU. But most of them either went their own way, losing, for the time being, contact with trade unionists beyond their borders, or else affiliated with ICFTU.

By July, 1958, the ICFTU could claim affiliated centres in no less than 21 African territories comprising about a quarter of the total membership of trade unions of the Continent.

This would seem to be a fair measure of success. But in accounting for it, it should not be forgotten that, whereas WFTU representatives were barred and excluded everywhere, those of the ICFTU

received willing co-operation and a free entry through the imperialist authorities, especially in the British colonies, as well as assistance from American diplomatic and consular representatives offered funds to subsidise African Trade Unions. Unfortunately, this foreign aid had strings attached to it. It was dependent on the trade union leaders accepting ICFTU advice regarding their policy, advice which usually conflicted with the interests of the African workers.

Mischievous Meddling

More recently, an even more blatant example of mischievous meddling has occurred in Nigeria. According to Nigerian trade unionists Goodluck, Oduleye and Ifedira attending the November Conference in Accra, the ICFTU persuaded the Nigerian TUC leaders to reverse a conference decision not to affiliate to it, and even to play host to an ICFTU "regional conference" clearly meant as a counter-blast to the formation of the All-Africa Trade Union Federation. The inducement was a handout of £200 a month to the Nigerian TUC.

ICFTU Stock Slumps

These questionable manoeuvres have not increased the popularity of ICFTU in Africa. Its "success" has proved very temporary and superficial. It came under heavy fire at the AATUF preparatory conference in Accra for its subversive and splitting activities against African workers' unity. Ironically, many of those who denounced it most vigorously were graduates, of its own "labour college" in Kampala. The ICFTU "regional conference" at

Lagos was a flop, despite the presence of its "star", African Mr. Tom Mboya—who chose to go there rather than to Accra, though the Kenya Federation was represented, and he himself was a party to the original decision to launch the AATUF.

ICFTU affiliation has fallen sharply in Africa: from 25 per cent of Africa's trade unionists in July, 1958, to seven per cent in July 1959. It retains affiliates only in Kenya, Nyasaland, N. Rhodesia, Somaliland and Tanganyika. It is notable that these are all British colonies. Not a single African labour movement in a state which has gained independence has retained its affiliation with the ICFTU.

Rumpus at Brussels

This debacle caused the bitter quarrel between British and American trade union leaders which broke out at, and dominated, the recent ICFTU Congress at Brussels. The leaders of the British TUC accused the boss of the American AFL-CIO, George Meany, of sabotaging the projected £2 million "international solidarity fund" set up to fight Communism in trade unions in the colonies. Only £500,000 was collected, the reason clearly being that the American Trade Union disagree with ICFTU policy, and preferred to spend their own money themselves.

For example, Tom Mboya demanded that all funds allocated by the ICFTU use in Africa should be channelled through him with full autonomy and authority to say how

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the money should be spent. This demand was backed by Meany, but not by the TUC, who fear that the money would be used for political, and especially anti-colonial, activities. The Americans thereupon accused the British of old-fashioned imperialism."

The Pot and the Kettle

The British retorted by exposing the way in which the American unions were acting as agencies of U.S. "new look" imperialism. In a letter to the New Statesmen (January 2, 1960), Mr. Ian Mikardo, a well-known Labour Party leader, revealed that:

"Mr. George Meany's briefing at Brussels came not from officials of the State Department. It may well be that the money which the American unions have been dishing out unilaterally in Africa come from the same source. In fact the American unions are acting as the spearhead of United States foreign policy in Africa, which the Americans are hoping to "mop up" by the methods they used in South-East Asia. The State Department's policy for Africa is based on two motivations: (1) Anti-Communism; and (2) anti-British imperialism which is merely a cover for improving the position of African business in Africa against British competition."

Obviously, the recriminations at Brussels merely reflected the rivalry between British and U.S. imperialism: a degrading exhibition of the zeal of these "workers' representatives" in serving the interests of their respective master-classes.

The African Revolution

In laying their plans to "buy" African trade unionism "for the West", the ICFTU leaders left the most vital and important factor out of their reckoning—the African Revolution. The mood of Africa's workers is one of uncompromising struggle for their national liberation and independence. They realise fully that their struggle for better conditions of life and work is bound up inseparably with the abolition of colonialism which inevitably means economic backwardness and dependence, brutal repression and stark poverty.

The Western leaders of ICFTU have little understanding of or sympathy with the Africans' aspirations for freedom and independence. They are compromised by their own record of collaboration in the maintenance of imperialism, and their concept of trade unionism, which has been based upon relatively peaceful negotiations, has little application of colonial exploitation and terror.

The modern British or American trade union bureaucrats who come out of Africa to tell Africans how to run their unions have forgotten—if they ever knew it—the stormy beginnings of their own organisations, when every strike meant a pitched battle and every union man was a revolutionary. They tell African trade unionists to keep their noses out of politics and stick to sound book-keeping and bread-and-butter issues. The fact is that the era of comparative class peace and conciliation in the metropolitan countries has been bought at the expense of grinding exploitation and bloody repression in the colonies—whence their ruling classes have drawn the colossal profits which enabled them to make concessions to "their own" workers.

Blunt Words

A clearer understanding of this truth might make the "western" Western trade unionists less arrogant, paternalistic and condescending in their approach to workers' leaders in Africa. The matter was put bluntly in the above-mentioned statement by the Nigerian workers' representatives at the November conference in Accra.

"For many years, the so-called saviours of African workers' (ICFTU CULT) have condoned the brutal economic exploitation of Africa and the African workers, while the tremendous profits accruing therefrom have enriched both their capitalist countries and have rapidly raised the living of the working class there. In their reckless drive to win the African workers for no other purpose than to domesticate them to become sheepishly docile, the ICFTU has used all means, fair or foul. It had depended on the colonial Powers for its main support.

It has lavishly spent money to commission individuals in our trade union movements to carry out disruptive actions. It has been shouting Wolf! Wolf! Wolf! of "Communism" to scare off militant trade union leaders who maintain that political freedom must be buttressed with economic freedom and fundamental human right."

Solidarity, not Patronage

The whole tone and content of the preparatory conference at Accra was uncompromisingly one of opposition to colonialism and racial discrimination in any shape or form. Unquestionably, the new African trade unionism rejects the "no-politics" idea (which amounts in practice to support for imperialism) and aligns itself wholeheartedly with the unconquerable movement for African freedom and unity which found expression in the All-African Peoples' Conference. It fiercely resents attempts by imperialist-minded trade union leaders abroad to make the African workers' movement the football in the game of power-politics and the cold war.

At the same time however, it would be a great mistake to imagine that Africa's trade unions are "isolated" or that they have any desire to cut themselves off from contact with the international labour movement. Act of solidarity by European workers, such as the inspiring move to boycott South African goods in protest against apartheid and racial discrimination, call forth a warm response from the hearts of workers all over Africa.

The official communique of the preparatory conference notes that it was decided "to establish relations for co-operation and solidarity with all trade unions of the world, and authorised its secretariat to take all necessary measures in this direction." It is clear that once relations are placed on a basis of fraternal solidarity, not patronage and hand-outs, the formation of the AATUF will do much to create a healthy and genuine friendship between Africa's workers and those of other continents. Indeed, it may not be too much to hope that AATUF may help to bridge the gulf which has for

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Moral Re-Armament and the African Struggle

—by Geff Thomas

THIS last half of our century has witnessed a great African uprising for freedom and equality among the Comity of Nations. The dream of the forerunners of the struggle for the liberation of Africa is today a reality. More than twenty African countries have wrested their Political Independence from former colonial rulers. But, the struggle for the development of Africa and the restoration of the personality and equality of the African only begins with the attainment of Political Independence. Africa today faces a bigger and more deadly danger. It is the danger of Neo-Colonialism which works in very subtle ways to undermine the sovereignty of Independent African countries, uses crafty means to continue the economic dependence of Africa on Imperialism and to arrest the growth of African development. Neo-Colonialism has many agents working in our midst in different guise. They come as "peace corps", "experimenters in International Co-operation", "technical advisers", "change of heart gospellers" known to you as Moral Re-Armament, etc.

In this article I propose to deal only with the "Moral Re-Armament and the African struggle for full Independence, economic self-reliance and unity."

What is the Moral Re-Armament? In the unetenn thirties Moral Re-Armament was known as the Oxford Group under the leadership of the American Dr. Frank Buchman. Later the Oxford Group was renamed "Moral Re-Armament" as a result of what Buchman called the triumph of a "God-given thought". At best, Moral Re-Armament with its gospel of the "four standards" of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love, is a movement with a vague and negative policy, which seeks to hold up the struggle for African liberation and equality with woolly talk about "changing human nature".

It is backed by millionaire tycoons in the U.S.A. and Europe—those whose main interest in Africa is the continued exploitation of Africa. It is an Agent of the United States for spreading the "American way of Life" and American Influence in Africa. Talking about the Moral Re-Armament, Mr. Nixon former President of U.S.A. declared in the U.S. Senate:

"The Moral Re-Armament movement is one of the greatest factors which is winning that struggle for our side". (Congressional Record, June 12, 1952).

Moral Re-Armament is not just a moralist idealist movement. It is a powerful organisation whose teachings have a lot in common with the Nazi teachings of race superiority. In the House of Commons in October, 1941, Sir Alan Herbert, then Tory M.P. for Oxford declared:

"I know what I am up against with this vast wealthy and ruthless organisation. The language and technique of the Oxford Group Co. Limited (now MRA) is strikingly and sadly similar to that of the Nazis. There is in (Buchman's) teaching and in his record a strange tendency towards flabbiness on the one hand and fascism on the other."

MRA in Africa is a particularly cunning, unscrupulous and highly planned attempt to corrupt leaders and fighters for the national liberation movement. They work in close co-operation with the security and Intelligence Services. They obtain names of fighters for African freedom, visit them in their homes, familiarise themselves with their families, exploit their sincere human sentiments and qualities and provide a heaven-sent moralist solution for those who are beginning to lose confidence in the liberation movement and for those whose personal ambitions are not being fulfilled in the struggle. Finally they invite

these men to spend free holidays in the MRA's fabulous Mountain Hotel in Caux in Switzerland. They boast they can solve the ills of Africa not by uprooting colonialism but by preaching to both the imperialist and the colonial subject for a change of heart as if the issue between colonialism and Africa is a moral one. They see nothing wrong with the economic basis of colonial exploitation and do not believe in the equality of races. For, their backers and financiers depend on the continued economic subjugation of Africa for enormous profits.

Ask the MRA what it thinks about the cold murder of Patrice Lumumba or the Apartheid of Dr. Verwoerd or the colour discrimination against Negroes in the United States or the enslavement of millions of Africans in Angola or the continued detention of Jomo Kenyatta and you will detect the hollowness of its "absolute honesty."

Africa faces many complex problems of reconstruction. We want to clothe, feed, house and educate our people. We want to improve their material and cultural well-being. The solutions to these problems do not lie in abstract moralist preachings but in realist concrete actions which will remove all the causes of our backwardness and put us on the right path of development. No where in the world has the Moral Re-Armament offered a solution to the problems of oppressed peoples or class. MRA's "change of heart" gospel did not prevent French and colonialists from attacking Egypt over the Suez Canal issue, it has not solved the conflict between Capital and Labour in Europe nor has it stopped the U.S.A. from invading Cuba. In fact, what moral justification has an organisation whose leader Buchman declared in 1936: "I thank Heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler who built a front line

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Ntsu Mokhehle

(Leader, Basutoland Congress Party)

Writes on—

African Personality

I suppose this subject could be treated purely as a psychological issue, or it could be discussed from a philosophical angle; but to whatever discipline it really belongs, I would like to treat it here in relation to the present situation in Africa.

My starting point will be a very simple enunciation in human affairs, in human relations. One of the most important things in man seems to be the possessive instinct. For example, a man has a home. This means he has a house, he has a family, he may have a horse, he may have a car, he may also possess money. This feeling of possessing something does give a certain amount of psychological conditioning to the possessor. He begins to feel confidence in himself, he begins to feel independent of his neighbour, he begins to feel that he should assert himself under certain conditions, he begins to do things in a certain way. He begins to have initiative and to be independent of the way his neighbour or some of his friends may be doing the same things. This also conditions his relations with the outside world, with his friends, with his enemies, with his boss, with whatever other people with whom he comes into contact. Now, you take the same person and you dispossess him. Then you have a different character altogether, you have a character that lacks initiative and confidence, that is always afraid

At the Independent African States Conference in Accra in 1958, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah projected the view that the African must assert his own personality and develop according to his own ways of life, his own customs, traditions and cultures.

This revolutionary idea of "African Personality" has become an essential political philosophy in the development of Africa.

of doing something for fear of wrong decisions. That is the "dispossessed self" as against the "possessing self".

When we move from the individual in his immediate group to the political issues of our continent and of our countries, we get to a man who, together with his fellow men, possesses a country. In that country the first possession they have is, of course, the land; the other possessions are their common traditions, customs, belief, etc. The totality of these possessions forms the basic of their activities with the outside world, the basis on which they are able to negotiate with people that come from outside their own country, whether they be of their own colour or of a different colour. And these people, as long as they possess these things, continue to have confidence in themselves and behave as men ought to. They constitute what I prefer to call this evening, the "possessing self". They have, therefore, a personality that can be described as different from a people from another country, whether they be black or white. The subject of my talk today is this African personality, the personality of the African based on the possessions he had had, he has lost, and wishes to regain.

We shall now consider our continental Africa which we are so keen to liberate from foreign domination. Practically everybody who speaks

nowadays speaks of liberation from domination, from imperialism, from colonialism, etc. Now, the situation before the imperialist came to Africa was this, the Africans in this continent had pride in themselves in so far as they possessed certain things. They possessed the land, it was their own land; they possessed their customs; they were their own customs; they possessed their cattle, they were their own cattle. And with all this, they were happy and they had confidence in themselves and were prepared to meet any foreigner on a basis of equality. In other words, they were able to satisfy their economic requirements and, therefore, had no real fear about what to eat tomorrow, what to wear, where to live, where to build a house. Their personality was intact.

Then, what happened when the imperialists first came? We must first of all realise that the basic issue that motivated most colonisers to cross the seas, even to land in other countries than Africa, was economic. And they, therefore, needed immediate action by which those economic requirements which pushed them out of their own countries would be satisfied.

Let us examine what these colonisers did when they landed in South Africa. I shall take South Africa as a frequent example not because of anything special, but

because I know it better than most other countries in the continent.

So, when the colonisers came, the first thing they attempted to do was to dispossess the Africans, and not only materially, but also spiritually. The first object was to crush the African personality, and the effective way in which it could be done was to remove his material belongings and to destroy his spirit.

We thus arrive at the methods used in most countries of Africa which show that after the arrival of the imperialist, the first person that was sent in was a spiritual man; the priest, the missionary. The missionary came to the African as a benefactor and he preached love. He did not care to observe to what extent there was love among the African people; he wanted to preach the type of love that he understood, a part of his own possession. And he began by asserting that the type of love and peace that existed in African societies was inferior to the type of love that he preached.

There were more things of interest associated with his approach; for instance, we began calling him a "father". This appellation normally disarms you—if a person is your father in African society you expect all the good things to emanate from him; you never expect that he is going

to attack in any way. You also look to him for spiritual guidance and, quite often, except guidance in political matters.

Attack on our Personality

In this way the first attack on our personality touched that which we possessed spiritually, that which we had learned to reverse, that which we had learned to rely upon, that which we had learned to use as a source of inspiration. All this was changed and discredited and immediately we began to have spiritual doubts. And when we had doubts we could easily be led in any direction by our spiritual father. We should also realise that this first attack on us was by a gentleman, a soft, kind-hearted man, who preached a new philosophy of love, a philosophy which today we have discovered is far from being a philosophy of love. The discovery that this philosophy is not anything more than that we had is the very reason why many of our political leaders today speak so much about the African personality. They have discovered how false and misleading this new philosophy was.

After the priest came and took away our soul, there came the trader.

Moral Re-Armament —Continued

of defence against the anti-Christ of Communism," to offer moral absolutes as a cure for human ills and problems?

Many independent African countries have declared for positive neutrality and principle of non-alignment in world affairs. But MRA is a definite weapon in the ideological conflicts. The U.S. Department of Justice on April 1, 1949, declared in a memorandum: "Moral Re-Armament is a world force having as its principal objective adequate ideological preparedness of free nations for the ideological conflicts in which the world is now engaged, and its objectives are recognised by the Department as worthy and helpful in the strengthening of democratic forces throughout the world" (The World Rebuilt Pg. 203.)

Workers of Europe and the oppressed peoples of Asia have put the MRA doctrines to test and found them incapable of any solution to their problems. The emotional sentiments and uninformed of the African makes him an easy prey to the dangerous indoctrination of the MRA. Soon the African, too, will discover the true nakedness of the MRA and expel it from the Continent.

MRA is a dangerous agent of Neo-Colonialism. It has nothing in common with the aspirations and struggles of the African for equality, freedom and enfranchisement. MRA is NOT a friend of Africa. It is a dangerous FOE. Reject MRA today and take your stand with those actively engaged in the struggle for African Personality and Unity.

He came along with objects required for our day-to-day life the plough, the knife, in fact many things that were superior to ours. Of course, we were immediately attracted. We left our ways, we threw away whatever things we had, because the foreigner, the imperialist, showed us things which appeared to be superior. In fact, we accepted them to be so. Thus to the first trader, who was also a kind man, a generous man, one who was quite often prepared to give without receiving much, we threw away our clay pots, our physical belongings, and we surrendered our material possessing self. And from then on we became materially dependent on him for these new articles of life. All these articles were good, they were all attractive, but psychologically they were disarming. Thus continued the attack on our personality and slowly we became more and more dependent. The ultimate result was that we lost our personality and slowly we became more and more dependent, and came to be dictated, at least controlled, by a foreign personality.

Commissioner Takes Over

Now after the priest and the trader followed the commissioner—the political commissioner. He came to dispossess Africans of their most important belonging—land. Once we got a commissioner, we begin to realise for the first time that we are in the process of being dispossessed and start our struggle against our colonisers. But the commissioner comes along with an army behind him and when the struggle begins, he is ready to crush us physically, to take away our land and to leave us landless. Once the commissioner has taken over, the first stage of the invader's object has been accomplished. He now wants to make use of our muscle, our strength, so that he could lead a better life, and he does not want to give us the feeling that we are also human beings like him. He does not want us to challenge his superiority over us, spiritually or otherwise. In Africa they have not completely destroyed us physically; in certain countries, for example, Australia, they very nearly did so.

Mangaliso Sobukwe Defier of the Undefiable

—by Peter N. Raboroko
Secretary for Education, Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa

MANGALISO took a holiday. The Information and Publicity Office did not say a word about it.

For the first time in three years Mangaliso took a three weeks' holiday. It was a holiday from home and politics. He made a sentimental journey to his home town to set his heart at ease and to renew old memories.

Mangaliso returned. It was on a Tuesday evening early in January 1960 that we met him again. We were having our usual Working Committee Meeting. Mangaliso, P.K. Leballo, and I, all lit our pipes and smoked them. We were seated in our Mylur House suite of offices.

We knew that Mangaliso needed that holiday. We were shocked but not surprised when he gave out that it had been a busman's holiday.

Mangaliso was the only African serving on the staff of our most senior settler University. Modesty is one of his virtues but once in a while he would remind me that he was the only member of the staff who was a politician, I would admit it. We admired him.

As student and scholar and politician, he made the grade and we placed him above mediocre. We respected him.

We soon found out that he was principled, dedicated and understanding. We loved him.

We should call him Mr. President but, we call him Professor. He presides over our meetings with the touch of a master hand, as only a university rector would.

We think the world of him.

"Well, Prof," I began before formal business, "how did the old folk at home like your new office as President of the Pan-Africanist Congress and National Leader of the African People?"

"You see Pete," he said addressing me but confiding in all of us, "they did not seem to like it very much. One of my brothers had just been ordained a Methodist Minister and so he stole the thunder. Besides the old folk felt that he had chosen the better lot. They felt the more so when I told them that I was going to give up my Varsity job."

We all laughed. And that was that.

The first (and the last) PAC Annual Conference held on the 19th and 20th December 1959 in Orlando had decided on the launching of the Positive Action Campaign. The aim of that campaign was to overthrow white domination and to attain freedom and independence.

The abolition of the pass laws, a very hardy annual was pin-pointed as the first step in that campaign. The notorious settler-imposed pass now called "the reference



MANGALISO SOBUKWE

book" by settler officials, is something much more than a scrap of paper. It is a powerful instrument of unbridled economic exploitation. Its use is the core around which the political oppression and social degradation of the African revolves.

National Conference had decided. The National Executive Committee had to sort out the details. The National Working Committee to finalise them. And the National Secretariat to set the whole party machinery in motion. The Secretariat entrusted the task of announcing the plan and the launching date to the President.

On December 20, 1959, Mangaliso took his daughter along with him to Graaff-Reinet, his home town. He left his staff-nurse wife and infant twin sons at home in Mofolo Village.

"When puppets are born no comets are seen. The heavens themselves the birth of leaders proclaim."

The thirty-four-year old Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was born at a time when the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union with its 250,000 worker and peasant members had reached the zenith of its power.

General J.B.M. Hertzog, a later settler Premier had donated ten pounds (£10) to its funds and Dr. D. F. Malan, the man who coined the word apartheid and another later settler Premier had publicly announced that the African and the settler Afrikaaner peoples were the only true African nationalists in South Africa. The Afrikaaner leadership was beginning to realise where the real interests of the white masses in South Africa lie.

This "I.C.U. Mr. Whiteman" movement, as it was popularly styled, had completely usurped the political functions of the South African Native National Congress which had been born in 1912. Mr. Clement Kadalie, a Nyasaland African, was the I.C.U. national leader. In those days he was the only star in the political heavens of South Africa.

Sobukwe's middle name is Mangaliso: Man of Wonders. The association of his name with the meteoric rise of Clement Kadalie and the meaning and significance of his own middle name both seem prophetic.

Fate placed Mangaliso Sobukwe at the supreme head of the Africanist movement. It became the role of that movement to fill the political vacuum of the day even as the I.C.U. movement had done during an earlier day. Around him the liberation movement was destined to mature both politically and ideologically. Mangaliso, the politician, was to become the only star in the South African political skies of his day.

Son of a Methodist preacher and himself a preacher until politics claimed his whole being, Mangaliso received his primary education in his home town. He matriculated in first class at the Healdtown Institution.

Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* were the twin companions of his youthful high school days. Small wonder that the speeches and writings of Mangaliso, the man, are not only invariably pregnant with celestial fire but are also never without the Miltonic touch of the grand style.

He read for his Bachelor of Arts degree at Fort Hare University College long before that venerable institution had degenerated into that cesspool of slave-education, a Bantu tribal college. By popular vote he was soon elected President of the Students' Representative Council.

When the Fort Hare students effectively boycotted the settler Governor-General on the occasion of his visit there, Mangaliso had been the master-mind behind that boycott. His Excellency was boycotted because he was the symbolic head of an oppressive settler minority.

When the nurses at the neighbouring Lovedale Hospital went on strike as a protest against the intolerable conditions imposed upon them by the settler missionary authorities Mangaliso and his S.R.C. gave them full material and spiritual support. One of them later became his wife.

He was also elected to the chairmanship of the Fort Hare Branch of the African National Congress Youth League, an extra-mural organisation. The League was an affiliate of the African Congress which had superseded the Native Congress a generation later.

The 1912 Native Congress under the presidency of Dr. John L. Dube had been a multi-tribal front with nationalist tendencies.

It styled itself "the mouthpiece of the native peoples." Upon payment of five pounds by a chief all his tribesmen automatically became Congressites for that year. The President alone was an elected official. He had to be of "pure" African descent. It was his right to nominate all the members of his "Cabinet".

The 1943 African Congress under the leadership of Dr. A. B. Xuma began as a national front with nationalist tendencies. It had individual membership and subscription fee of two shillings and six pence a year. Membership to the National Executive Committee was on the elective principle. The job reservation clause of the National Congress was scrapped.

The 1943 Youth League, whose first meeting the present writer convened and presided over, was a national youth front with a nationalist orientation. Its basic policy and programme rejected foreign domination and foreign leadership and opted for the right of self-determination for the African people.

It was to the Branch Chairmanship of such a league that Mangaliso was elected. It was as leader of the Fort Hare delegation to the annual conference of the African Congress that he played a leading role in the adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action.

The Programme substantially embodied the League's basic policy and programme. It also accepted non-cooperation with the oppressor as a political weapon and postulated mass civil disobedience as the basis of a dynamic approach.

In its last days, therefore, the African Congress became a militant national front with a powerful national orientation.

The 1952 Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign flowed from this Programme of Action. More than 8,000 defiers went to jail. The initiative in the struggle for Freedom and Independence had passed from the settler authorities to the African nationalists.

Mangaliso, a teacher on the staff of Standerton High School under the Transvaal Education Department, supported the Defiance Campaign from public platforms. The settler education authorities retaliated by instantly firing him. Mass indignation at his dismissal became such that the authorities had no choice but to reinstate him unconditionally.

Four years later Mangaliso was appointed lecturer in African studies in the country's leading settler educational institution, the University of the Witwatersrand. This appointment brought him into the ambit of the Africanist headquarters and enabled him to engage in politics more freely. He soon became editor of *The Africanist*—revolutionary organ of the Africanist movement.

It also enabled him to snatch some time from a busy life and to complete the requirements for his Honours Degree. The manuscript of his Master's thesis for the submission of which he never found the time is in the keeping of the present writer.

The reasons for the existence of the Pan-Africanist Congress over which Mangaliso presided are enshrined in the 1959 Constitution as follows:

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1. To unite and to rally the African people of South Africa into one national front on the basis of African nationalism and of Africanism.

2. To fight for the overthrow of white domination and the implementation of the right of self-determination for the African people.

3. To create an Africanist Socialist Democracy recognising the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of the individual.

4. To advance the idea of a federation of Southern Africa and of Pan-Africanism.

The Africanist Congress, the latest concrete expression of the liberation movement in South Africa is therefore a national front with a Pan-Africanist orientation, a socialist basis and an Africanist outlook.

By his election to the position of "first among equals" in such congress, Mangaliso became destiny's chief tool for filling the political and ideological vacuum in South Africa, and for filling yet another role demanded by the exigencies of his time: the role of defier of the anti-defiance measures of the settler community.

On the balance of probabilities the Defiance Campaign had shown that while constitutional authority in South Africa vests in the settler government political power itself whose real content is majority support is now the prerogative of the national liberation movement. Over the intervening years the crucial task became the establishing of that condition beyond shadow of doubt.

As the Defiance Campaign gained momentum with terrific snowball effect the settler authorities realised that they either had to adopt rigid anti-defiance measures or adapt themselves to changed conditions and capitulate unconditionally to the forces of liberation.

Because of their own criminal obstinacy they chose the adoption of anti-defiance measures. Having made their choice, their dilemma was that, that choice might add to their already heavy list of foul deeds since any measures directed towards defiance could themselves be defied.

Towards the end of 1952 a settler decree directed towards the ending of defiance was proclaimed and gazetted. It had been issued under the despotic powers wielded by the settler Governor-General in his capacity as "Supreme Chief" of the African people. Such powers derived from the Native Administration Act of 1927.

At the beginning of 1953 the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act were passed. They were measures to reinforce the 1952 decree. Defiance was made a serious criminal offence. A maximum of ten lashes and ten years imprisonment were authorized for its punishment. The property of defiers could also be confiscated and a general or partial state of emergency could also be declared under which the settler authorities would more blatantly be a law unto themselves.

Under the threat of such stern measures the Defiance Campaign petered out. The basic need of the South African political situation thus became that of defying these anti-defiance measures. And that is where Mangaliso came in.

Against heavy odds both within and without the liberation movement the Africanist movement, the

seasoned hard core of the 1943 Youth Leaguers forged ahead. Soon they became a force to reckon with.

In spite of the draconian measures they had already adopted and all the other advantages that they enjoyed the settlers and their allies took alarm at the growth of the African movement.

Matters came to a head with the emergence of the Pan-Africanist Congress at the inaugural conference held in Orlando on the 4th to 6th April 1959 at which Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was elected President of the PAC and National Leader of the African people.

Settler-oriented African politicians out-settled the settlers in their condemnation of the Africanists. They dubbed them chauvinists and racialisists.

As old war-horses the Africanists had anticipated such manoeuvre and had provided for it. The 1959 Pan-Africanist Manifesto was the only political document in South Africa that had gone out of its way to propound and expound a scientific philosophy of race. That philosophy fully analysed the political implications of the race issue.

For the Africanist the word race can never have a plural when applied to human beings for the simple reason that they recognise only one race, the human race.

That philosophy completely refuted the allegations that they were racialisists. The primary political implication of the recognition of only one human race lay in the fact that they recognised no unbridgeable biological differences among members of the human species. For them therefore, the classification of various human groups or sub-groups as either inherently inferior or superior became meaningless. The claim that the supposedly superior group had the right to rule over the supposedly inferior group therefore fell away.

The Africanist philosophy of politics itself refuted the allegation that they were chauvinists. They could not be chauvinists or extreme patriots because politics for them is something much more than mere love of their country. Politics for them is a struggle for the effective control of interests. Recognised social theory and the dictates of the course of history alone determine where such control should reside. Nationalism postulates that such control vests in the indigenous peoples while democracy postulates that it vests in a majority, and socialism that it vests in the workers.

If recognition of only one human race together with its political implications is a monstrous thing it stands to reason that multi-racialisism, recognition of many races, together with its political implications becomes a manifold monstrous thing.

Since the African people of South Africa are indigenous and are the majority their claim to rule rests on solid foundations. The Africanists reject the idea that their fundamental right to rule is compromised by the fact that a handful of settlers have acquired a living space in their part of the continent. They hold that no writ of prescription can ever run against the fundamental rights of a people.

The Africanists pointed out that the idea of multi-racialisism was really a convenient cover for a multitude of political sins. The chief of these sins was the imposition upon Africans of a subtle but sinister

settler orientation for the purpose of protecting white domination and perpetuating the slavery of the African people.

The Africanist philosophy on race and politics completely shattered the myth of their being chauvinists and racialisists.

The settler authorities themselves stumped the countryside breathing fire and brimstone upon the Africanists.

Dr. Albert Hertzog, a settler Minister and son of the £10 donor to the I.C.U. funds condemned them as "the most poisonous agitators in the country." Mr. C. R. Swart a colleague of his and now the South African settler Governor-General denounced them as "the most dangerous agitators." To reinforce his point Swart bought from the British eighty military saracens for his already well-equipped para-military police force.

Mr. F. Erasmus, a settler War Minister, boasted openly about his army's role of having to shoot the black masses. Eric Louw, the Foreign Minister, proclaimed from the house tops that the Africans would obtain their freedom only over the dead bodies of the settlers.

The entire settler and settler-oriented press demanded the heads of the Africanists on a platter of gold.

Mangaliso retorted: "We begin from the premise that the interests of the subject African people and those of the ruling settler minority are inherently in conflict. We are committed, and irrevocably committed, to upholding of the interests of the African people. We could be naive to expect any support from the settler or settler-oriented press, committed as they are to the upholding of settler interests."

With characteristic simplicity he would also add: "We have said before and we are saying so now: No press build us up and no press can destroy us."

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, a settler body whose very name bears the imprint of its racist orientation, decided to take a hand in the screening of the Africanists.

The Africanists recognised this step for the sinister move it was. They knew SABRA as an influential body of supporters of the settler authorities. Since, however, they were committed to meeting all comers they accepted the invitation for the interview.

Ten settler professors under the leadership of Professor Olivier of the University of Stellenbosch and Vice-Chairman of SABRA accordingly met six top Africanists under the leadership of Professor Sobukwe of the Witwatersrand University and leader of the Africanist movement. The Africanists crushed the case of the settler professors and demonstrated the superiority of their own case beyond reasonable doubt. The screening became a damp squib.

With his vicious and malicious attacks upon the Pan-Africanists, Dr. Ambrose Reeves' now ex-Bishop of Johannesburg, reveals the settler mentality at its worst. In his otherwise monumental work "Shootings at Sharpeville," Dr. Reeves christens the Pan-Africanist Congress the "Pan-African Congress." He dubs the Pan-Africanists themselves as "agitators and intimidators." He lays claim to knowing something at first hand of the rival policies of the ANC and PAC.

His Lordship claims to be "mystified" by the fact that the settler "authorities had allowed the Pan-Africanists, a powerful splinter group of the ANC to continue unchecked." He virtually invites the settler government to clamp down upon the Africanists.

He seems to be unmindful of the whole series of screenings that had failed simply because of the inherent strength of the Pan-Africanists' case for African rule.

He also seems to be unmindful of the position of inherent strength that the Africanists occupy. The Africanists are irrevocably committed to upholding the interests of the African people and the African people alone can exercise their prerogative to allow or to disallow them to function unchecked.

As deputy to the Publicity Secretary, it was never my pleasure or that of my colleague to supply his Lordship with PAC literature or with a guest-speaker for any occasion. His sources of information therefore remain a mystery.

On Friday March 18, 1960, Mangaliso announced the plans of the first step of the campaign as the launching date. The course of that campaign left no one in doubt that Mangaliso commands the fierce loyalty of African youth.

Accompanied by George Zwidi Siwisa, Chairman of the Rand Region and Vice-President of PAC, Zeph Lekwame Motlhopeng, Judicial Affairs Secretary, Selby Temba Ngendane, Foreign Affairs Secretary, Jacob Dumund Nyaose, Labour Secretary, who is also President of the Federation of Free African Trade Unions, Potlako Kitchener Leballo, National Secretary, Matthew Nkoana, leading African journalist and many others, Mangaliso surrendered himself at the Orlando Police Station.

Z. B. Molete, Information and Publicity Secretary surrendered himself at Evaton at the head of 15,000 people on the same day as Abednego B. Ngcobo of Durhan, National Treasurer. Nearby at Sharpeville Nyakalé Tsole surrendered at the head of 20,000 people. National Executive Member, Howard Ngcobo, Hughes Mdakane Hlatshwayo, Economic Development Secretary and many others surrendered themselves in various centres of Natal.

In the Cape Province Elliot Mfaha, National Organiser C. J. Fazzi, National Executive Member, Chris Mlokoti Chairman of the Cape Western Region and Vice-President of the PAC together with Phillip Kgosana, Cape Western Regional Secretary and many others surrendered in various centres of the Cape.

James Mokgotsaane, Pretoria-Pietersberg Regional Chairman and others surrendered in Pretoria.

Peter Molotsi, Pan-African Affairs Secretary, Nana Mohomo, Cultural Affairs Secretary, and the writer had all been despatched on secret missions on the eve of that campaign.

Each of Mangaliso's apostles and disciples and followers went about their appointed tasks. And the whole country became involved. The savage massacres at Sharpeville and Langa are already history.

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An African Tragedy —by A. K. Barden

(The Concept of "Partnership" of Unequals in the Central African Federation)

EXAMINATION of British, Portuguese, French and American colonial policy in Africa, clearly shows that resistance to the struggle of African peoples for the attainment of their birthright, independence, has been significantly stubborn, bloody and prolonged in those countries where capital investments for the exploitation of raw material resources and cheap labour exist.

Imperialist and colonialist interests in Africa have always been concentrated in the sphere of trade. That is why colonialists everywhere have now lately found it expedient in order to perpetrate their stranglehold on Africa to grant fake independence to some African leaders and to assist their own-puppets to be heads of such newly independent African countries.

The position is entirely different in colonies where vast amounts of British capital are invested in the exploitation of mineral and other natural resources and are producing super-profits. Where the interests of a powerful financial oligarchy are concerned, British imperialism employs the most ruthless methods to maintain its rule, as for example in the Central African Federation.

Northern Rhodesia

For a clear understanding of recent developments in the Central African Federation and the attitude of the British Government, it is necessary to trace the trail of African misery and oppression left behind by Cecil Rhodes, that infamous empire builder.

The discovery of diamonds around Kimberly about a hundred years ago and gold on the Rand somewhat later, attracted adventurers from all over the world, among whom was Rhodes who had extravagant dreams of extending the British Empire from the Cape to Cairo. Unscrupulous, ruthless, and a past master of perfidy, he employed all his talents, for the subjugation of Southern Africa, and inaugurated policies which ultimately led to the enslavement of the African peoples throughout the whole of South and Central Africa.

To secure an abundant supply of cheap African labour for the mines which Rhodes and his associates "owned" and controlled, entire African communities were dispossessed of their land and driven into ghettos called Native Reserves. In 1888, Rudd, one of Rhodes confederates, was able to swindle from Lobengula, King of the Matabele and Mashona, a concession to dig for gold in the areas belonging to these tribes. Five years later, under the hypocritical pretext of protecting Mashona against the "tyranny" of Lobengula, he started a ruthless war against this proud, patriotic African ruler and his

people. Their homes were burned down and thousands were massacred with Maxim guns and what is now known as Southern Rhodesia was occupied.

Private Affair

How ungrateful the African people are to their imperialist masters. Three years later when the Matabele rose in revolt the Mashona joined them.

The war against the Matabele was conducted as a "Private Affair", for British feared international complications at that time, since several other European countries were involved in that "scramble for Africa."

The British Colonial Office, however, soon gave its blessing to Rhodes's nefarious activities, promising a large farm to each of the free-booters recruited to do the fighting. His bloody conquests brought fabulous wealth to a handful of British bankers, but misery, oppression and abysmal poverty to millions of Africans. Rhodes founded the British South African Company, registered under Royal Charter, and this company took over Southern Rhodesia and ruled it as a private preserve until 1922.

Today, six mining companies all British "own" the entire mineral wealth on a vast territory of our continent. This includes gold, uranium, diamonds, coal, copper and iron. The Anglo-American Corporation, the leading mining company and financial house in South Africa, "owns" the richest gold mines in the Union of South Africa, rich collieries in Southern Rhodesia (which produce over three million tons of coal annually) and more than half of the rich copper fields in Northern Rhodesia. The same corporation also "owns", all the diamond fields in Africa and has a monopoly of the diamond market in the whole of the Western world. In the light of these revelations how would one expect the U.S.A. and British to vote against South Africa on her atrocious deeds to Africans when such an issue is raised at the U.N.O.? All the statements made against South Africa are merely to throw dust into our eyes.

The total invested in the gold mining industry of South Africa is about £500,000,000; over 90 per cent. of which is British and less than 10 per cent. American. The present market value of the gold shares probably exceeds £5,000 million. The shares of the Free State Geduld and Western Holdings, two new gold mines of the Anglo-American group, which have a par value of five shillings, are now quoted on the stock exchange at £9.

The £1 shares of the Anglo-American Investment Trust are quoted at £16 and over: shares of the Rhokana

Corporation (copper) have risen from £1 to £30. The copper fields of Northern Rhodesia in which a substantial amount of American capital is invested, produce £100 million annually. Dividends of some mining companies exceed 200 per cent.

Forced Labour

How have these superprofits been made possible? The Africans in all the mines of Southern Africa work under conditions of forced labour. Only about one-half of the African labour force is drawn from the Union of South Africa itself, the rest being recruited from different territories outside the Union. Every worker is required to sign a contract for a period of twelve months.

Recruiting is carried out by two organisations: the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.N.L.A.) established in 1901, and the Native Recruiting Corporation (N.R.C.) established in 1912. The first draws its labour from Portuguese East Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The second operates within the Union and the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Both maintain offices and recruiting agents everywhere.

For each African worker recruited on their territories the Government of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, for example, receives a fee of £1 14s. 6d. annually from the company and 10s. from the worker himself. A similar arrangement has been entered into with the colonial Government of Nyasaland.

Out of his meagre earnings, the Nyasaland worker has to pay the cost of transport and food for his return journey.

The wages earned at present by African mineworkers are about £4 monthly, or about one-twentieth of the wages paid to the white worker.

The clamour for cheap African labour has come not only from the mining captains, but also from the white farming barons in the Union and Southern Rhodesia. "Native Labour" as it is called by the Europeans, is also needed by the manufacturers, employers in transport, commerce and in many other economic fields. To satisfy these demands, the most shameful laws have been passed, first in the Union, and later in Southern Rhodesia. The Rhodesian "Native Laws" are a carbon copy of those of the Union.

"The Whiteman's Federation"

In 1935, the architects of the Central African Federation united the three territories, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland into one state. Their aim was to enable the mine owners, landlords and capitalists to rule over the 7,000,000 African labourers, reduced to conditions of semi-enslavement.

Each of the territories making up the Federation has a special political statute. Thus, Southern Rhodesia with 200,000 whites and over 2,000,000 Africans enjoys "responsible Government"—a term which is somewhat vague since 1923. Juridically the British Government has the right to interfere in matters concerning the "welfare of Africans". This right, however, has never been exercised although many laws depriving Africans of

fundamental rights have been passed by the exclusively white Parliament of that territory.

Northern Rhodesia is a British Protectorate and is under the jurisdiction of the British Parliament. In practice, however, the 70,000 white settlers, who have an overwhelming majority in Legislature, have governed the territory in their own selfish interests, whilst the over 3,000,000 Africans are, for all practical purposes, without a voice in the Government of the country.

Nyasaland, also a Protectorate, has been ruled from London as a colonial territory, with the 3,000,000 Africans deprived of all political rights and having no say in the Government of their country.

"Partnership"

Those who have no first-hand knowledge of conditions in South Africa, are surprised to hear Africans say that they find the white racialists in Southern Rhodesia more loathsome than Verwoerd, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and the inspirer of the policy of apartheid. The reasons they give are quite logical. The champions of the inhuman policy of apartheid in the Union of South Africa are frank and do not try to disguise their crimes; the white racialists in Southern Rhodesia are equally brutal, but seek to conceal their inhumanity under a mask of hypocrisy. They talk glibly of "partnership" between white and black but practise apartheid. Now and again they give themselves away like when Lord Malvern, a former Settler Federal Minister defined "partnership" as the partnership existing between a horse and its rider.

Without directly disfranchising Africans, they made the educational and property qualifications so high that in 1938 there were only 40 Africans registered as voters. Ten years later this number grew to 350 and in 1958, five years after the Federation was formed, it rose to 550.

There are no Africans at all in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament, although they outnumber the whites by over 10:1. The entire African people are ruled by Native Commissioners who are responsible to the Minister of Native Affairs.

As in the Union of South Africa, the Africans have been deprived of most of their land and relegated to "Native Reserves." The Land Apportionment Act was passed and several amending acts have been passed since. Under these laws, of the 97,123,500 acres of land in Southern Rhodesia, 51,987,000 have been allocated for the exclusive use of 211,000 Europeans and 13,900 members of "other races", and only 41,950,000 acres of the least fertile lands for the use of 2,500,000 Africans. No African may acquire, lease or occupy land in the European area. There is no shortage of land in Southern Rhodesia, but the whites have too much and the Africans too little. Thus in 1957, the white farmers cultivated only 1,100,000 of the 305,000,000 acres of arable land "belonging" to them.

Even in the Reserves, Africans have no security of tenure. Native Commissioners who rule over them may deprive them of their holdings at any time, and without rhyme or reason.

Continued on Next Page

The history of the Central African Federation is a record of trickery, hypocrisy, repression and terror widely practised by the white colonialists. After the 1954 general election the British Labour Party had a great opportunity to show in practice that it not only speaks of the need to do away with racial oppression but matches its action to its words. It could have granted Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia independence and exercised its "veto" (which the British Government had under the 1923 Constitution) to prevent the white Parliament of Southern Rhodesia from passing colour bar laws.

Hypocrisy and Terror

Conditions were ripe for such a step for the defeat of Hitler Germany had resulted in a great weakening of the pro-Nazi and racist ideas in Africa. In the Union, it seemed for a time as if the Nationalist Party would disintegrate. In the Rhodesias the racialists were as yet numerically and economically weak and many whites who fought against Hitler were imbued with a spirit of democracy.

The victory over fascism and the national revolutions which were sweeping across Asia caused a tremendous awakening among the African people. The leaders of the Labour Party, however, were more concerned with proving their ability to manage the Empire than with giving freedom to the enslaved African peoples.

In 1950, the Labour Colonial Secretary convened a conference at which Federation was discussed. No Africans were invited to the conference and the white racialists took full advantage to utilize it for their ends. The attitude of the Africans especially that of the Nyasaland people had been made abundantly clear to the Labour Government. Hundreds of thousands of Nyasas had worked in Southern Rhodesia and in the Union and knew from bitter experience the meaning of white domination. They unequivocally expressed their determination never to allow these evils to invade their homeland.

The entire Nyasa people including their leaders were united in their opposition to Federation. In January 1952, a letter was published in the *African Weekly* from Chief Mwase, the most respected senior chief in Nyasaland, in which he said "... the fact is that the people of Nyasaland do not want Federation ... Nyasaland knows that if she agrees to Federation then she has deprived herself of self-determination ... If we accept Federation our children will blame us ... but if we federate with Southern Rhodesia then our freedom would be gone.

"We shall have no power over our country and our people. We do not like to be forced into Federation."

In February 1952, the African Protectorate Council, the highest African representative body responsible to the Government of Nyasaland, was convened. The case in favour of Federation was put before it by governmental spokesmen. After a lengthy discussion, however, the

Council rejected Federation in a memorandum forwarded to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. It says: "The Protectorate status would be in danger by accepting Federation. Discriminatory laws have been passed in the Union of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia. These have not been vetoed by His Majesty's Government, and the African people concerned are yoked under these laws, a factor of which the British Government is fully aware. We believe that an assurance was given in 1891 by Queen Victoria that Nyasaland was declared a protectorate on the understanding that it would inevitably obtain self-government ... and this opportunity is eagerly awaited by Africans will be led to ultimate responsible Government by Africans."

A representative delegation from Nyasaland drawn from members of the Legislative Council, the Protectorate Council and the African National Congress in a letter to the *Times* dated 24th April, 1952, stated:

"We oppose Central African Federation in principle on the following grounds. We fear the extension to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland of the native policy of Southern Rhodesia if the three territories are federated. History has shown that this has happened in the Union of South Africa. Union native policy is already firmly established in Southern Rhodesia."

In 1953, the opposition to Federation came to a head and chiefs of Nyasaland petitioned both the British Government and the United Nations for relief. Despite all the African protests, however, a Constitution proclaiming the establishment of Federation was published during the same year. True, they provided that the Constitution should be reconsidered after a period of seven years, and the British Government should discuss this question towards the end of 1960. But this promise could offer no consolation—violence was committed.

For six years the white racialists have used every conceivable trick to "persuade" the Africans to accept Federation. They have also tried to secure Dominion status as quickly as possible. When their tricks failed, they resorted to direct provocation. Early in 1959, the racialists "discovered" a massacre "plot", which served as an excuse to employ terror against the African people. All the African leaders in the three territories were arrested and hundreds are still in gaol without any charges being brought against them.

Delvin and Monckton Commissions

It is abundantly clear from the report of the Delvin Commission, appointed by the British Government, that there was no massacre plot and that the arrest of the African leaders was carried out with the utmost brutality, although none offered any resistance.

The creation of Federation in defiance of the unanimous opposition of the Africans had caused widespread indignation in Britain. To placate British public opinion, the Monckton Commission was appointed and sent to Africa in February 1960 to determine whether

Federation is at all desirable and workable. The actual task of this Commission was solely to recommend how to reinforce the Federation.

The Commission, of course, was a fraud, for all the relevant "facts" are common knowledge. The Commission itself consisted of people whose views are also well known. Its overwhelming majority were opposed to granting the Africans their legitimate rights.

That is why the Africans overwhelmingly decided to boycott the Commission; as they are uncompromisingly opposed to Federation, to its transformation into a Dominion and are in favour of genuine independence for both Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The British Government, however, was anxious that more Africans should give evidence before the Commission. It was not that it expected their views to carry any weight, but simply in the vain hope that they would constitute the nucleus of various stooge organisations to be used in defending the interests of the British colonialists. The Monckton Commission has published its report and has virtually rejected Federation. But nothing has changed in the Federation. The London Conference on constitutional revision has also failed to arrive at any decision. The question of Federation still hangs in the air.

The prospect of granting "independence" within the framework of the British Commonwealth to the three territories forcibly united in a Federation of Central Africa opens up broad horizons for the British capitalists. All three territories are economically undeveloped and offer unlimited scope for capital investment. Moreover, exploitation of the Africans would ensure big interest on invested capital.

Fears of the Settlers

On the other hand, British financial magnates, whose interests are represented by the British Colonial Office, are apprehensive over the increased power of the white settlers in the territories making up the Federation. The British financial trusts which own the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia are not quite sure what the white settlers will do if they get Dominion status, since this will considerably broaden their political influence.

The white settlers throughout South Africa have always been a force hostile towards the African people. This was strikingly demonstrated by the bloody events in the Union of South Africa in March 1960. On that day the Verwoerd Government committed another crime against the African people inscribing another disgraceful page in the history of colonialism and genocide. About 78 Africans, including many women and children, were killed and not less than 400 were wounded, their sole guilt being that they took part in peaceful demonstrations against the inhuman racist laws instituted by the Government of the South African Union.

This massacre has aroused world-wide indignation. Even the U.S. Government, under public pressure, had to make a statement condemning the atrocities of the South African racialists.

With the rising tide of national consciousness throughout the African Continent, the colonialists naturally become worried. They knew fully well that independent African States would put an end to the plunder of their countries. An independent Nyasaland might result in a loss of 200,000 African cheap labourers. This would force them to increase wages in the Union and in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. Independence for Northern Rhodesia might entail the nationalisation of the copper mines.

The more sober-minded politicians and financiers in London also sense the tremendous forces of the national liberation movement which are sweeping across the African Continent. There was a time when they had hopes that the Belgian Congo would act as a buffer between the emergent states in Africa and their own domains. The Congolese, however, as a result of a courageous and determined struggle are about to ensure independence. These developments are bound to have a tremendous influence on events in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

The British monopolists now face great difficulties. They need the support of the white settlers to suppress the Africans and to put down revolts of the people. At the same time they cannot entrust the white settlers with independent political power, for the latter, possessed of a racist mentality, are likely to provoke the African people to revolt.

The mine owners and financial tycoons in London hope to solve their problems in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland by granting a little to both black and white.

The British Colonial Office is desperately anxious to find stooges among the African people with whom they can make a deal. But so far they have met with no success. The few Africans who have turned "good boys" have soon lost what little following they had among the African people.

ATHWART, the road of the African peoples fighting for freedom and independence stands a handful of colonialists whose major argument is justification of their racist policy as the necessity for "securing" themselves against "reprisals" from the African rising in struggle for their rights. However, the African people, who have suffered cruel oppression for centuries at the hands of white invaders and are filled with a true love for freedom, do not seek revenge. They would not tolerate the white masters any longer.

Portuguese and African Freedom Fighters

IF it has achieved nothing else, the daring seizure of the ocean liner Santa Maria by the 65-strong group of Portuguese freedom fighters led by Captain Galvao has at least torn to shreds the curtain silence with which the Portuguese dictator Salazar had shrouded his tyranny for so long.

More than 30 years ago, Dr. Salazar installed himself as one of the first fascist dictators in Europe. In the years that followed it was the struggle against fascism in neighbouring Spain and central Europe that dominated the headlines, and Salazar was able to get away with his ruthless dictatorship in relative obscurity.

For 30 years Salazar has ruled with an iron hand. The only political activity allowed in Portugal has been that of the fascists' opponents of fascism have been subjected to constant and merciless attack. There has been no freedom of speech, no freedom of the press, no freedom of organisation or assembly. Parliament is virtually appointed by Salazar himself and is completely subject to his dictates.

The most powerful force in Portugal is the secret police, which has been modelled on the Gestapo and SS of Hitlerite Germany. The slightest criticism of the regime results in torture, exile and death for its author. In the words of the London Times: "The Salazar regime has virtually outlawed politics even as a subject of conversation above a whisper."

Underground Movement

Yet, despite the terror, the underground resistance to Salazar has always continued. After the triumph

of fascism in Spain and central Europe the democratic elements in Portugal were isolated and stunned for a while, and their disappointment was great at the failure of the Western powers after the defeat of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in the last world war to assist them in their efforts to instal a democratic regime in Portugal.

At first it was the Communists who almost alone kept the flame of resistance burning. But gradually the ranks of the anti-Salazar forces began to grow, until now they include:

THE COMMUNISTS—Despite their isolation, they never wavered in their resistance to Portuguese fascism. Over the years they have been the main target of the secret police, and thousands of them have been tortured, imprisoned, exiled and beaten to death. Yet their numbers have grown and their influence increased. Their main strength lies amongst the workers and students of Oporto and Lisbon. The determined manner in which they have stood up to their accusers in various court trials in recent years has done much to encourage a spirit of open resistance to the authorities.

They stand for all-out struggle waged by the broadest possible alliance for the overthrow of Salazar and the establishment of a genuinely democratic regime in Portugal.

LIBERALS—The lack of a large class of industrialists, the influence of the Catholic Church and the almost complete isolation of Portugal from the stream of liberal and socialist thought for three decades have all contributed to the smallness of the group of liberals in Portugal.

The early liberals were not able to stand up to the hammer blows of

fascism; but there is now a new generation consisting mainly of intellectuals and professional people who are reacting to the stultification of life in their country and in ever growing measure throwing in their lot with the liberation movement.

They tend, however, to knockle under to the police and form an uncertain element in the democratic movement.

EX-FASCISTS: These include people like GENERAL DELGADO, head of the liberation forces in exile, and CAPTAIN GALVAO, who led the capture of the Santa Maria. Many of them held high rank in fascist Portugal and their disillusion with Salazar often started with personal disappointments at being pushed down in the dog-eat-dog struggle for high positions that is one of the features of fascist society.

From opposing Salazar on personal grounds they have developed into opponents of the whole regime, and in the course of their opposition activities they have found that their only trustworthy allies have been the democratic elements dedicated to the complete overthrow of fascism in Portugal.

World Stage by Spectator

In 1958 in the first elections held in Portugal in 32 years, Delgado stood as the only opponent to Salazar. The tremendous support he received despite the conditions of terror prevailing (the authorities declared that he had gained 25 per cent of the votes, he claimed 75 per cent) came as a tremendous jolt to Salazar who immediately arrested thousands of Delgado's supporters

and decided not to risk any more elections. Delgado escaped from the country and has since been the central figure in the opposition forces abroad. When questioned in London about the "dangers of Communists" in Portugal, he said merely that they were brave people whose numbers had been decimated by Salazar's terror. Delgado's men are tough and determined, and their political consciousness is growing.

Sections of the Church

As in Spain, the Catholic Church has been one of the main bulwarks of fascism. Its activities are by no means confined to things spiritual—a number of monopolies are owned by the Church, as well as large tracts of land. In recent years, however, as a result of growing pressures from below an increasing number of churchmen have started to mutter against the Salazar regime from which they are now trying to dissociate themselves.

National Independence Movements

Opposition to Salazar has by no means been confined to Portugal itself. In fact in the past few years the main threat to the Portuguese dictator has come from the people of Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia.

United Front

At first all these groups tended to act on their own, but events have thrust them all together and they now work together in an impressive united front. Especially impressive is the growing unity between the forces that seek to free Portugal itself and those that are fighting for national independence for Portuguese colonies.

AT A CONFERENCE PRESIDED OVER BY DELGADO IN BRAZIL LAST YEAR, ALL THE LIBERATION FORCES ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE COLONIES.

(At first the Communists were the only people in Portugal itself which accepted this principle, but as a result of the growth of the independ-

dence movements in the colonies and of the educational work done by the Communists, even the ex-fascists were won round to adopting it).

The delegates recognised that they were all struggling against a common enemy. Salazar is the oppressor of the Portuguese people as well as of the people of Angola, Mozambique, Goa and the other colonies.

Inside the colonies themselves there is also increasing unity between those Europeans who oppose Salazar and the Africans and Indians demanding liberation.

Thus the jails of Angola, while being filled mainly with Africans, also contain at least half a dozen whites who have thrown in their lot with the Africans of the colony. Similarly lawyers from Portugal who courageously offered to defend African nationalists on trial were themselves thrown into jail.

Nowhere is the inter-dependence of the struggle for freedom and democracy in the colonies and the metropolitan country more evident than in the case of the Portuguese empire.

If Salazar is toppled in Portugal, then the peoples of the colonies can soon expect their independence. Similarly, the rising tide of anti-colonialism in the colonies is imposing an ever-increasing strain on Salazar.

SALAZAR KNOWS THAT HIS REGIME WOULD NOT SURVIVE A PROLONGED WAR IN THE COLONIES, WHICH IS ONE OF THE REASONS THAT SUPPRESSION IN THE COLONIES IS SO SWIFT AND TERRIBLE.

Salazar's Friends

Although his position in Portugal and the colonies continues to deteriorate, and although the clamour of the Afro-Asian and socialist blocs in support of the freedom fighters continues to increase, Salazar is not completely without friends. Portugal is a member of NATO, and as such counts on and gets support from its fellow members. Both BRITAIN and AMERICA sent ships and planes to chase the Santa Maria after she had been taken over by

Galvao (although it is significant that the British craft diplomatically ran out of fuel and gave up these quite quickly).

The U.S. in fact treated the Santa Maria as it would an enemy warship, even sending a nuclear submarine to help track her down and thus enabled the Portuguese authorities to keep track of the ship's movements. It seems to be American policy to back dictatorial regimes-up to the hilt as long as they side with America during the cold war and wave the flag of anti-Communism. This is yet another example of the U.S. standing by the "free world!"

Apart from the NATO countries, Salazar's only ally is SOUTH AFRICA. Verwoerd is open in his admiration of the Portuguese... dictator, whom he seems to be taking as his personal model.

Portuguese and African Freedom Fighters

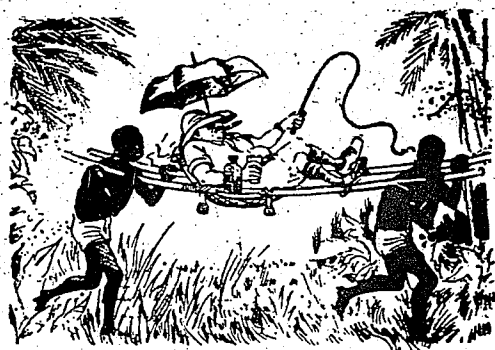
The battle to free Portugal and its colonies, so dramatically highlighted by the seizure of the Santa Maria, is of more than academic importance to us in South Africa.

Angola borders on South West Africa and Mozambique on Natal. The day is not far off when the peoples of these territories emerge into the sunlight of freedom, and when that happens the isolation of the apartheid-mad South African Government will be almost complete.

Furthermore, the mines in South Africa depend very heavily on labour trucked into the Union by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique—a free Mozambique would never permit the present iniquitous system to continue.

THE OPPRESSED IN SOUTH AFRICA CAN THEREFORE REJOICE IN THE GROWING SUCCESS OF THE ANTI-SALAZAR FREEDOM MOVEMENT NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT BRINGS NEARER THE DAY WHEN MILLIONS MORE OF HUMANITY BREAK THE BONDS OF SLAVERY, BUT ALSO BECAUSE THEIR EVENTUAL TRIUMPH WILL GIVE IMMEASURABLE ASSISTANCE TO US IN OUR OWN STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

"Positions in Africa" by Herluf Bistrup (Danish Artist)



Africa of Yesterday



Africa of Today

The African of Tomorrow A free man, a "dedicated, modest, honest and devoted man a man who abhors greed and detests vanity a new type of man whose integrity is his greatness."

Revolt in Portuguese Africa —Continued

are exploited, especially diamond and manganese deposits, by American companies and yet in the words of John Gunther, the chief problems of the country are labour shortage and lack of food. One district is known proverbially as the hungry country. In the whole of Angola there are exactly 68 high school students. (Inside Africa).

The worst aspect of the ignobly sordid and inhumanly avaricious Portuguese rule in Africa is the

system under which the administration sells the African labour to the Union of South Africa and to other white customers.

It is said that the African labour is the export of Portuguese "over-seas provinces" of Africa. Over 80,000 Africans are forced every year to leave their home and hearth and to go to work in South Africa's Rand Gold Mines.

Forced labour is an essential part of the economic system of these colonies. Under Portuguese law,

any adult, male or female may be compelled to work for a white master, under the threat of severe punishment.

More than 380,000 Africans are engaged in a forced labour in Angola in circumstances of the utmost wretchedness and poverty. The railway, the mines, the big plantation-owners, all get labour from the Government. A European merchant can even ask the Government for a gardener or a cook, who is then obliged to work for him at a wage unbelievably low, whether he wants the job or not.

How Long is Portuguese Tyranny to Continue in Africa?

For centuries now, Africa has had the saddest history. She has been the prey of imperialist powers draining her both in human and natural resources. The slave trade resulted in the loss of 27,000 black people now in America and the West Indies. The Berlin Conference of 1885, partitioned Africa into French Africa, British this and that, Portuguese this and that as if Africa had no owners. Now that Africa has risen in revolt against the rapists of her natural rights and liberties, we shall from time to time, run a serial often those parts of Africa where colonial powers still exist in primitive stages. ELEVEN million Africans suffer under Portuguese colonial domination. The Portuguese colonies cover an area larger than Spain, Portugal, Germany, France, Italy and England put together. The African population has been enslaved by a small country, the most backward in Europe. The illiteracy percentage is about 21 and Roman Catholicism is the State religion.

Sub-Human Standard

These Portuguese colonies in Africa are Angola and Mozambique. They are rich in natural resources. The land supports agriculture and livestock breeding. The sub-soil contains bauxite, diamonds, gold, coal, manganese and several other minerals. Side by side with these natural riches, some of which are exploited by the colonialists, Africans live on a sub-human standard—little or no better than serf in their own country.

Africans Looted

After the slave trade, armed conquest and colonial wars, there came the complete destruction of the economic and social structure of the African society. The next phase was European occupation and ever-increasing European immigration into these territories. The lands and possessions of the Africans were

looted, the Portuguese "sovereignty" tax" was imposed, and so were the compulsory crops for agricultural produce, forced labour the export of African workers, and total control of the collective and individual life of the Africans, whether by persuasion or violence.

As the size of the European population grows, so does its contempt for the Africans. Africans are excluded from certain types of jobs.

Driven Away

Racial discrimination is either openly or hypocritically practised.

Africans have been driven from the remaining fertile regions left to them in order that colonatos (groups of farms reserved for European settlers) can be had. Political, social or trade union organisation is forbidden to the Africans, who do not enjoy even the most elementary human rights. When the United Nations Charter was adopted, giving all countries the right of self-determination, the Portuguese Constitution was hastily changed. The name "colony" was changed to "overseas territory," thus enabling Portugal to claim that she had no colonies and could not therefore make reports on her "African territories."

All-African Trade Union Movement —Ctd.

so long unhappily existed between unions in the socialist and most of the capitalist world.

There is no conflict between the idea of an All-African Trade Union unity and that of international unity; as the precedent of the Latin-American Confederation of Labour, for so long as a pillar of the world labour movement, has demonstrated.

However, the most immediate and significant impact of the Constituent Congress in May must be right here, in our own continent. There seems little doubt that the Congress will be a resounding success, for it already enjoys the support of the majority of Africa's three million organised workers. Trade Union centres representing over 1,610,000 members sent delegates to the preparatory conference, and messages of support were received from bodies representing a further 288,000 members.

Dr. Nkrumah opened the conference which was addressed by M. Abdoulaye Diallo, secretary-general of the All-African Peoples' Conference. Among the nineteen member preparatory committee are representatives of the formidable UGTAN (General Union of Workers of Black Africa, representing eight

countries and headed by President Sekou Toure of Guinea) and trade union organisations of Ghana, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria and our own SACTU.

Under such auspices, it would seem that the AATUF is headed for a great and brilliant future. The rapid growth of a strong and united trade union movement in Africa is fraught with incalculable consequences for the future of our Continent. Its immediate effect must be powerful to stimulate and co-ordinate the general people's movement for freedom colonialism and racial discrimination, North, South, East and West, and to win higher standards of life, labour and culture for Africa's teeming exploited millions.

Of even more profound importance for the future, such an organisation could play a tremendously vital part in enabling the African working class to play its rightful role as leader of the Free Africa of tomorrow, rapidly overcoming the heritage of backwardness, poverty and ignorance bequeathed by the colonialists, and leaping over the marsh of capitalism to establish socialism and mass democracy.

Fighting Units Prepare to Smash Colonialists

BUT, as always, Africa is a land of surprises. In 1958 there was a surprise over the discovery of oil in Angola; this was followed by last year's surprise even panic over the discovery of African politics in the Silence Zone of Portuguese empire.

Despite Salazar's stranglehold on the life and thoughts of its subjects, more and more Africans are understanding that their lives need not be as they are now. They are finding new links with a different future and new friends who may help them to achieve it.

They are organising themselves on sound political lines and fighting Portuguese colonialism with their backs to the wall. They have established a net-work of underground fighting units and have forged links with other forces having similar aims in other parts of Africa as well as Asia.

The Movimento Popular de Angola (MPLA), the Partido Africano de Independencia de Guine (PAIG), the Unio des Populacoas de Angola (UPA), the Movimento de Libertacao dos Territorios Africanos. Sob Dominacao Colonial Portuguesa (MLTADCP) and the Movimento Anti-Colonialista (MAC).

Headquarters in Guinea

This last group, as a co-ordinating organisation made way for the Frente Revolucionaria Para a Independencia Nacional dos Colonias Portuguesas (FRIAN) at the Second All-African People's Conference held in Tunis in January 1960, which was attended clandestinely by the delegates belonging to the underground organisations in Portuguese Africa.

THE FIGHTING FORCES IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES HAVE RECENTLY ESTABLISHED THEIR OFFICE—AS GENERAL HEADQUARTERS—IN CONAKRY (GUINEA), AND CONGO—THE NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOURS WHO SUCCEEDED IN OVERTHROWING THEIR FOREIGN YOKE.

The tempo of the struggle can be gauged easily by the efforts of the Portuguese to curb it, reports of which sometimes trickle out to the world press.

According to some English and American papers, confirmed by African leaders, two hundred people have been arrested from Cabinda District alone, out of whom six members of the UPA are reported "Missing." More than a thousand Africans have been killed in S. Tome, and more than 50 in Guinea (August 1959).

Six Europeans have been arrested for helping Africans. A further wave of arrests has been sweeping across Angola. During June 1960, 1,052 people were arrested in Central Angola along with mostly civil and railway employees.

Hard on the heels of these proceedings comes news of guerilla companies gathering in some part of Angola and in the densely forested enclave of Cabinda a slip of land to the north of the Congo estuary. It is further reliably learnt that the various underground organisations represented by the Frente are growing fast in popular support and are poising for a final showdown.

Salazar, on the other hand, is also straining hard. He is reinforcing with his limited means, the garrisons of his "overseas provinces" with more and more airborne, naval and other troops, while the official press (the only one in existence) fills itself with eager editorials about the "tremendous fire power" that is now available through the courtesy of NATO and SEATO friendly Powers to obliterate the "agents of international communism."

AND THUS, THE DECKS ARE BEING CLEARED FOR A FINAL ROUND BETWEEN THE AGED-OLD EXPLOITER AND THE AGED-OLD EXPLOITED.

Coming out in the next issue:-

An article on "AFRICAN PERSONALITY"

by
The Editor-in-Chief

He asks: Who is the African? "He is the contemporary Man, terrorised, enslaved, deceived and exploited—but also the predestined annihilator of all tyrannies, ancient and new; the architect of the genuinely peaceful mankind of the world of the future."

European Domination in Northern Rhodesia

FOLLOWING a cable from National Headquarters authorising UNIP American representative, Arthur Wina, to present the case of the three million people of Northern Rhodesia to the United Nations in the name and spirit of our nationalist movement, under UNIP for immediate African self-government, the following memorandum on the political crisis in Northern Rhodesia was submitted by UNIP's representative in person to the African and other selected delegations during the 1961 session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Your Excellencies, on behalf of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia—which is the African national organisation for freedom in the country—I wish to bring to the urgent attention of Your Excellencies the treat to peace in Africa that is inherent in the current crisis in the British Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia; and to request that through the good offices of Your Excellencies, the matter be brought up in the General Assembly of the United Nations as urgently as it can be done.

Break Down of Talks

Your Excellencies will be aware that since the beginning of this year the people of Northern Rhodesia have been engaged in discussions with the British Government regarding the political changes in the political status of our country. The discussions have now broken down, the British Government has succumbed to the pressures and vested interests of the white settlers to continue to dominate the Government of the country is all that the talks have produced.

Not only has the scheme put forward by the British Government been grossly biased in favour of the

minority white settlers, but the same settlers threaten to resist by use of force this scheme which they oppose on the grounds that it allows the Africans a say in the affairs of their country, where they out-number the Europeans by 30 to 1.

Genocide

In their determination to oppose by force the demands of the African people to achieve a democratic constitution in their country, the white settlers under the leadership of Sir Roy Welensky have made statements and committed themselves to acts which leave no doubt in the minds of the Africans as to their intention.

During the week of February 21, 1961, a Draft Law was passed, empowering the white dominated Rhodesian Government to call to arms all adults—with the accent on all European adults—above the age of 18 in order to resist African demands for increased participation in their Government.

Four European battalions were called up in the country and have since then carried out manoeuvres in African living quarters in what they chose to call operation "United National Independence Party" (UNIP) and which was interpreted by the African people as a sabre rattling provocation.

All police leave has been cancelled throughout the country and according to press reports, all Europeans have been armed and move about their daily activities heavily armed. The Africans on the other hand are by law forbidden to purchase or carry arms, and during the whole of this period even those who possessed arms, have had their arms removed from them and locked up by the regime.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that a well planned genocide

operation is being prepared against the African people of Northern Rhodesia by the white settlers of the country with the approval of the British Government.

Political Persecutions

In the meanwhile, persecution of African political leaders continues to be perpetrated despite the fact that the African people continue to remain calm in the face of such provocations.

In the Northern Province alone there are more than 400 political prisoners, who have been arrested often without trial for such offences as shouting "Freedom", Africa, "Kwacha", "Kaunda", etc.

Political meetings are being banned all over the country and where they are allowed, instructions are given as to what should be discussed and what should not. In the Northern Province of the country people are being persecuted for holding even indoor meetings.

Conclusions

It is becoming increasingly obvious to us: That the British Government by their attitude throughout the constitutional talks, are on the verge of relegating the future political and general welfare of the 3,000,000 African people of Northern Rhodesia to the selfish and narrow interests of the 70,000 European settlers.

That the European settlers are preparing for war on the innocent African population of Northern Rhodesia because of the latter's determination to be free.

That the situation could deteriorate to point where it could be a serious threat to world peace and inter-racial harmony in Africa unless champions of human freedom and national self-determination intervene.

Undefiable —Continued

Banning the Pan-Africanist Congress in his settler parliament Justice Minister, Erasmus described it as "impossible." That was, in effect, the verdict upon its head Mangaliso Sobukwe.

On the date of launching of that campaign the massacres that shook the world took place at Sharpeville and Langa George Z. Siwiza died in harness at the "Blue Sky" Boksburg jail and Howard Ngcobo in a motor accident after his release from jail.

The campaign plunged Union of South Africa in the greatest crisis of its fifty years of existence. Its reverberations are yet echoing and re-echoing throughout the world.

A five month long official declaration of a "State of Emergency" followed, twenty-five thousand people were arrested, the country experienced its greatest economic dislocation, and South Africa was expelled from the Commonwealth as a result thereof.

Mangaliso had gained his point. He proved beyond shadow of doubt that political power vests in the liberation movement. This grim reality confronts the settler authorities today.

The settlers now maintain themselves in office only through the use of naked organised mass violence. The entire continent at the initiative of the Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has condemned them unreservedly. Their doom has already been proclaimed. And they know it. These brutal oppressors have now turned into savage mass murderers.

The conditions of a stable government are that authority and power should reside in the same source. With the emergence of a national government in South Africa that condition will have been fulfilled.

The African people of South Africa want freedom and independence now. Mangaliso has told them that by 1963 they will be free and independent. And they believe him.

In quoting extensively from the news item and the viewpoint both of which appeared in the "Evening News" of May, 5, 1960 the writer makes no apology.

Under the heading: "Abolition of Pass Laws: First step to Freedom" the news item in the Accra "Evening News" proceeds: "Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, former National President of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, was convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday of inciting Africans to support the campaign for the repeal of the Pass Laws.

"Worse Than Slavery" —Galvao on Angola

IN 1947 Senhor Henrique Galvao visited Angola on an official commission of inquiry and submitted in his report to Salazar:

"The worst aspect of the African forced labour is the attitude of the State to the recruitment of labour for

private employers. In some ways this situation is worse than simple slavery. Under slavery, after all the native is bought as an animal. His owner prefers him to remain as fit as a horse, an ox. Yet here the native is not bought—he is hired from the State. And his employer cares little

if he sickens or dies because when he sickens or dies, his employer asks the State for another I maintain that health services for natives are, with rare exception, non-existent."

The Salazar regime took immediate notice of the report by clapping Galvao into jail.

"Kitchener Leballo, former National Secretary and other former Congress leaders were convicted on similar charges.

"Sobukwe had stated unequivocally that "the Pan-Africanist Congress has as its ultimate objective the overthrow of White Domination" in South Africa and the establishment of a non-racial democracy. The abolition of the pass laws is the first step of that goal.

"Sobukwe asked the court to remember that the accused refused to plead because they felt no moral obligation to obey laws made by the white minority. An unjust law could not be justly applied."

Under the headline: "SOBUKWE MARCHES TO CALVARY" the "Evening News" states:

"Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the militant Pan-Africanist Congress is on his way to calvary as Kwame Nkrumah of Africa did ten years ago.

"The Bandas and Lumumbas have served their turn. Jomo Kenyatta still languishes in the chains of tortuous restriction to freedom of movement and action under the Union Jack. Now it is the turn of Sobukwe.

"And the militant heart is facing the odds heroically in the name of the ashes of his fathers, the scores of Africans slaughtered like sheep at Sharpeville and the vast struggle for the freedom and unity of Africa.

"Cry out, beloved country! It shall not be in vain that daily, tears of Africa drivel their course in agony counting our dead and the groans in captivity, carving the names of our increasing martyrs on the heart that never forgets."

"Walk boldly into captivity then, Sobukwe. Millions of Africans and others of African descent all over the globe stand firmly behind you in your sufferings.

"The world watches in great sympathy as your intimate friend and brother Nkrumah supported by others, lifts up a stern finger of protest and the voice of action."

"South Africa represents today the acme of the African tragedy, a caisson of long-suffering and the pent-up feelings of Africa, which once exploded will burn and drum in the hearts and ears of humanity till the last chain of oppression and apartheid is broken on the continent."

Whatever the verdict of history upon Sobukwe, the man may be, the verdict upon Mangaliso the politician is inescapable: he proved himself equal to the role of defier of the undefiable.

Alien Attachments —Continued

repudiated and, indeed, the whole system of racial segregation and racial domination.

Without organised Trade Unions prolonged strikes involving the organised withdrawal of labour are, of course, almost impossible to achieve. What is likely to happen is a spreading discontent, resulting in a sporadic withdrawal of labour.

The inevitable demonstrations which are bound to be sparked off by fresh sets of oppression may even be in themselves sufficient to dislocate the South African economy. Sooner or later a situation must arise where a resistance movement, similar to that which arose spontaneously in all countries under Nazi occupation, arises also in South Africa. The history of the resistance movement in Europe against the Nazis shows that those who were actively participating were comparatively few in number.

Their success was due to the fact that they have the active support of the great majority of the countries concerned. Similarly, a greater factor of weakness is the threat of isolation which must surround South Africa and cut her off from the association and sympathy of her African neighbours. This threat is very real.

FINALLY, the gathering storm is in itself likely to precipitate a financial crisis within South Africa. While South Africa is perhaps the most industrial developed country on the African Continent, this industrial supremacy has been gained by the systematic exploitation of Africans and Asian labour.

The clever financier realises that such a situation cannot last and he will therefore seek by all means possible to recover as much of his capital as he can before the inevitable crash occurs.

Hitherto, there have been two possible approaches to the South African problem. It has been argued that it might be possible to change the South African regime by persuasion and force example. It was on that basis that it was argued that it was best to keep South Africa within the Commonwealth so that Commonwealth pressure might bring about a change.

I have always had the gravest doubts about the success of any such policy. However, we did attempt to apply it in the years which followed independence. We offered, for example, to exchange diplomatic representatives with South Africa and we continued negotiating with South Africa on the issue for over three years.

It became quite clear, however, that the South African Government would never accept diplomatic representatives from any indigenous African State.

We invited to Ghana individual South Africans so that they might see for themselves how Africans could run their own affairs, and how racial harmony could prevail among white and black, but this policy was not reflected in the least change in South Africa's attitude to Africans or Asians in South Africa.

African States

Accordingly, last year we put into full effect the resolution on South Africa adopted by the Addis Ababa Conference. I feel that it is time that those other African

States which have not as yet put this resolution into effect should do so. African States can scarcely call upon other countries of the world to boycott South Africa if they do not do so themselves.

We should begin discussions now with other African States as to the form of assistance we could give to any Government which was formed in South Africa after the defeat of the existing apartheid regime.

We should make plans, through the United Nations if possible, for the training of Africans from South Africa to be ready to take over positions of responsibility in the event of a change of regime. At present no African is trained in the higher forms of civil service administration, the management of business or as military or police officers.

Any action which is taken with regard to South Africa should be agreed beforehand by the largest number of States possible and I would, therefore, like other countries, interested in securing a solution to the South African problem, to consider whether it would be helpful to hold a conference solely on the South African issue.

If such a conference were held, it should be confirmed to those countries which were prepared to take positive action to deal with the South African situation.

The situation in South Africa cannot be considered in isolation. Portuguese policy in Africa is merely the logical extension into Portuguese colonial territories of the policies pursued in South Africa on the one hand, and by the former Belgian colonial administration in the Congo on the other.

There is nothing unique about Portuguese policy. It is merely a blend of the system of King Leopold II of Belgium as applied in the Congo, and that of Dr. Verwoerd as applied in South Africa.

The most important point to examine in regard to the Portuguese colonies is how a system so oppressive as that at present employed has continued for so long. It is perfectly understandable that a great power with immense financial resource is able, if it so desired, to maintain for a considerable time at any rate, colonial domination over a subject people.

Portugal, however, has no great financial or military resources. How then has it been able to maintain its colonies? It is partly because these colonies are not only colonies of Portugal. They are in practice, if not in name, colonies of the Union of South Africa. They supply to the Union and to South West Africa a large proportion of the labour force which is employed in the mines.

It is also because there is a fear among Western colonising Powers that if the Portuguese regime collapsed, the floodgates would be opened and the whole of the European position in Africa South of the Equator fatally compromised.

I think this profoundly mistaken analysis. What compromises the Western position is their association with Portuguese colonialism through the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and in other ways. The external

Continued on Next Page

pressure required to liberate the Portuguese colonies in Africa is not very great.

The choice before the Western Powers is whether they will use their influence with Portugal and thus gain the gratitude of the people of Africa, or whether they will attempt, by maintaining their alliance with Portugal, to bolster up the decaying Portuguese colonial empire.

Which ever policy the Western colonising Powers pursue, they cannot prevent the liberation of Portugal's African colonies. All they can do is to delay temporarily their march to freedom and preserve for a time what is probably the worst form of tyranny existing anywhere in the world today.

At this point it is relevant to state what I believe should be the principle which must guide the world in dealing with the thorny issue of settler relations in Africa.

Because of race, creed and various other deep-rooted complexes, settlers in Africa segregated themselves from the indigenous people and took it upon themselves to dominate them. My view is that the predominant racial group must and will determine the majority rule and the Government of a country.

The race that is in the majority is the possessor of the land which it occupies, irrespective of any indigenous minority. This fact is amply illustrated in the cases of Australia and the United States of America where the settlers have so far outnumbered the indigenous Maoris and Red Indians, that they have become the undisputed rulers of the countries.

On the other hand, it can be seen what chaos and unhappiness prevails when a minority settler group tries to take possession of a land or to dictate to a majority as in the cases of South Africa, Algeria, Kenya or the Central African Federation.

The first step towards testing the right of rule in communities of mixed races and creeds, is, to give every adult man and woman—irrespective of their race and creed—the right to vote. When each citizen thereby enjoys equality of status, all barriers of race and colour will disappear and the people will mix freely together with one another working for the common good.

I will not repeat to you what I have already said about the Congo in my address to the United Nations. It is perfectly clear that there is an international conspiracy to partition and Balkanise the Congo and that this conspiracy has had considerable temporary success since Lumumba was murdered by Tshombe and his Belgian allies.

What is by no means so clear, is who are the actual participants in this conspiracy.

There are two factors which have caused the attempted dismemberment of the Congo. The first factor is the belief that a form of political organisation suitable in the United States, in the United Kingdom and in other parts of the world is necessarily suitable in Africa.

A number of pronouncements are made by distinguished statesmen to the effect that federalism is the only solution to the problems of the Congo.

This completely ignores the fact that the majority of the electorate of the Congo voted for parties which support a unitary type of State.

For the reasons I have given earlier, it is obvious that a

federal form of government in the Congo would lead to continued Belgian domination.

Since it is universally acknowledged that there are not sufficient skilled Congolese to run a unitary state, a federal Congolese state could only be run by expatriate civil servants and in the natural course of things, these could be drawn from Belgium.

Conspirators

We know that Belgian colonial civil servants have no knowledge or experience of serving a democratically administered African State. Their only experience is that of colonial absolutism in the Congo.

The second factor is that there are conspirators who take advantage of the natural desire for ethnic unity and the widely-held belief in the virtues of federation to impose a Balkan solution upon the Congo.

These conspirations certainly include the Government of Belgium. It is difficult to tell how far other Governments are positively involved. It is admitted that three military aircraft, at least, which were being manufactured for Belgium in France under the auspices of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation were supplied to the so-called Katanga Government.

It is very difficult to see how these aircraft could have left France without the knowledge of the French Government. Similarly, it is difficult to understand how so many South African military personnel are serving with the Katanga forces unless the South African Government was actively supporting Tshombe.

His mercenary army is paid at extremely high rates and the money for it must come from somewhere. It is quite clear that the Belgian Ranks and the Union Miniere in which the investments are by no means exclusively confined to Belgium, are co-operating to support Tshombe militarily.

The object of the conspiracy is plain. It is to detach Katanga from the rest of the Congo and to create a puppet state which will permit the whole of Katanga's mineral wealth to be exploited on behalf of outside interests, and so deprive the African people of the Congo of any share of their own national wealth.

In order that such a conspiracy can be successful, it is necessary, of course, to break up the rest of the Congo into small units which cannot challenge the expatriate domination of Katanga Province.

This plan has had considerable success because it has been possible to confuse the newly liberated States of former French Africa as to the true nature of the manoeuvre. One sees in consequence at the United Nations the extraordinary scene of some African States supporting a so-called independence movement led by Belgian and South African soldiers.

Such a conspiracy is, however, ultimately doomed to failure. The wind of change in Africa will soon blow down those rickety colonial structures based upon foreign mercenaries and designed solely to serve its own interests and wealthy expatriate mining companies.

A new element has been introduced into the situation by so-called Tananarive—those of colonial powers—and Conference in Madagascar which was attended by Kasavubu, Tshombe and a number of other persons

interested in splitting up the Congo into tribal units. By agreeing to the proposals of this Conference, Mr. Kasavubu has, in the view of the Government of Ghana, abdicated his position as President of the Republic in a very similar way to that in which the Belgian King abdicated his position as constitutional ruler when he surrendered to the Nazis and acknowledged, in effect, that Belgium had become annexed to Germany.

In this regard I would like to call the attention of the Assembly to the words of the Secretary-General in a Report which the Belgian King Advisory Committee on the 3rd March, 1961, speaking of the so-called Tananarive—Conference—the Secretary-General said, and I quote his actual words:—"It seems to follow from the communicate that Mr. Kasavubu has put his name to an action which, if implemented, would annul the 'Loi Fondamentale' to President of a so-called Conference. It seems that he has also put his name to an agreement to annul the Central Government . . . Decisions and positions taken by the United Nations in relation to an integrated Congo under a constitutional Chief of State obviously cannot, by some magic, be constituted as applying to a confederation of eight units, seemingly claiming some kind of sovereignty with the Chief of State functioning without a Central Government and appearing to be only some kind of a Chairman of an interstate Council."

The Ghana Government is in entire agreement with those views of the Secretary-General. We propose to follow smoothly the precedent set by the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the former Chinese Government when they had to decide whether to accredit their Ambassadors to the Government of Belgium, then in exile, or to the Belgian King.

In all cases Ambassadors were accredited to the legal Government of Belgium. We propose to follow this course and to dispatch a diplomatic representative to Congo and Stanleyville.

In my address to the United Nations I most strongly urged the control of all airfields in the Congo so as to prevent the supply of arms, ammunitions and men to the contesting parties. Ghana must take note of the fact that the United Nations has not yet been able to prevent the influx of mercenary troops nor the open supply by air of arms to Tshombe by Belgium. A time must come when African States cannot stand by idly while foreign powers are allowed to arm forces in revolts against the lawful Gizenga Government of the Congo.

If such a situation continues African States will have to consider what action they should take to restore the balance of armaments. I hope and trust that the United Nations will soon be in a position to prevent all external supplies of arms.

If they cannot achieve this, then a new situation will arise when it will be necessary for Ghana and other African States to reconsider their policy and find ways to restore the balance of armament in the Congo.

Events in South Africa, in Portuguese Angola, Mozambique, the Rhodesias and Zanzibar, have thrown the whole of Africa South of the Equator into a ferment.

But one new element of stability is already appearing. The new States of Tanganyika. I look forward to the establishment of the most friendly and cordial relations between Ghana and Tanganyika.

Algeria still remains an international problem—the relations of France with many countries of Africa are poisoned by the failure to find a solution to the Algerian problem and by the French Government's insistence on exploding nuclear bombs in the Sahara.

In relation to these problems a very great service could be rendered by those States which have recently obtained their independence from France but which still maintain close links with the French Government.

If these States were to use their combined influence on the French Government, I have no doubt that they could make a decisive contribution to solving the Algerian question and to prevent further nuclear explosions on Algerian soil.

Ghana's position in regard to Algeria has always been quite clear. We fully support Algerian independence and have given material help to our brother nationalist fighters in their grim struggle against French aggressors.

It is just self-deceit to talk of French Algeria, for there is only one Algeria and that Algeria is Algerian. Thus we lend our whole support to the reasonable conditions requested by the Algerian nationalists for the peace talks which were unfortunately called off but which we hope will eventually take place.

The Algerian nationalists say:

1. That there should be no cease-fire before the talks;
2. That negotiations should be with them alone and not long with any stooge organisations which also call themselves nationalists.
3. That all nationalist prisoners held by France be released.
4. That Algeria should be discussed as a whole including the Sahara and not otherwise. Discussion of rights to exploit the oil resources of the Sahara can be taken as a separate exercise after independence.

These requests made by the Algerian nationalists are reasonable and wise and I do hope that the French Government will let good sense prevail and allow the peace talks to be opened on these conditions.

The resources of the African Continent and the real independence of the African people can only be achieved by the maximum unity. It is therefore our duty to work towards that unity.

I wish to repeat what I have said on a number of previous occasions, that our political objective should be to achieve African unity, that is, political union—namely, Continental Government of Africa. I know that this is possible—indeed inevitable. To this end I believe everything else must be subordinated.

At present whilst we are doing everything to realise the goal of African unity the colonialists are also straining every nerve to disorganise the concerted efforts of African leaders by encouraging the formation of communities based on the language of their former colonisers.

I have always stressed that we should not allow our selves to be divided by the languages of our former

Allow Freely Elected People to Speak

by Premier Antoine Gizenga



ANTOINE GIZENGA

The conference of the so-called leaders of the Congo, which was held in Tananarive, capital of Madagasy, on the recommendation of the traitors and puppets—Tshombe, Ileo and Kasavubu—with the aim of solving the Congo crisis was intentionally called by the enemies of the freedom of the Congolese people. On this occasion I would like to explain the clear position of the government of the Congo Republic. The legitimate government is not hostile to a solution which could put an end to all that threatens our national independence, however, such a solution must be based on the protection of the true interests of the Congo Republic and on strengthening its international sovereignty.

It is a fact—and the government is aware of this—that according to the Constitution, Kasavubu is the head of state until he is officially deposed by Parliament. The same is true of the government, which was formed by Patrice Lumumba, basely murdered in Katanga, and its

presidium continues to be represented by myself, maintains its legality because it continues to have the confidence of Parliament, the highest organ of the people to whom the President and the government are responsible. In the opinion of the legal government there can be no guarantee of a normal life for the Congolese people unless the following conditions are fulfilled:

1. Until the legitimate government resumes its normal activity throughout the whole territory of the Republic.
2. Until the appropriate conditions for activity of the Congolese Parliament are created which will authoritatively decide the fate of the Congolese people.

The government is of the opinion that to seek another solution without regard to this standpoint would be in vain because to discuss the fate of the Congo without freely-elected representatives of the people means to negotiate against the people.

Alien Attachment —Continued

colonisers. The fact that I speak English does not make me an Englishman. Similarly, the fact that some of us speak French and Portuguese does not make us Frenchmen or Portuguese.

We are Africans first and last as Africans, our best interests can only be served by an African Community. To us Africans, neither the Commonwealth nor the French Community can be a substitute for an African Community. I have made this point very clear in my communications to my brother African leaders and it is surprising that some of them attempt to misinterpret my view on this cardinal question.

I wish to appeal to these brothers of mine again and to say to them: Sons of Africa, let us forget about alien attachments and come together to build a strong African Community of our own.

I am happy that the realisation of the Guinea-Mali-Ghana Union is making satisfactory progress. Our joint consultations have been maintained on all matters of common interests.

Recently, experts from the three countries constituting the Union met in Accra and considered in detail practical proposals for giving forms and substance to our Union.

Our brothers, Sekou Toure and Modibo-Keita, will arrive here on the 27th of this month and together we shall see what further steps we can take to strengthen our Union.

I must now end on an internal note. Since I last addressed Parliament about the Volta River Project, on February 20, 1961, I have had further discussions about the Project with President Kennedy, Mr. Black, who is the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and with Mr. Macmillan in London.

All that remains to be done now, in order to bring this great project to life, is to complete certain formalities with the authorities abroad who will lend money to us and to complete agreement with Volta Aluminium Company.

It is my earnest desire that these formalities should be completed by the end of next month and that all the authorities concerned with the project should then sign the necessary agreements:

Our Consulting Engineers, are well advanced in their examination of the tenders for the dam and a decision will be made at the same time as the various agreements are signed.

Thanks to the preliminary work which we have undertaken in the last two years, the successful bidder for the dam will be able to start work under very advantageous conditions and this vast scheme—which can mean so much to the future of Ghana—should therefore get off to an excellent start.

I have confidence that we shall emerge victorious in all the matters confronting Ghana and Africa.