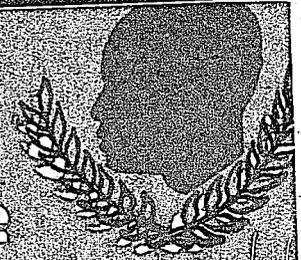


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Voice of AFRICA



UNION GOVERNMENT FOR AFRICA

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

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

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

—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Cairo, July 1964.

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EDITOR : BOAKYE KWAKWA

OUR OPINION

WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT

THE twelve months of 1964 saw Africa pass through one crisis after another; crises in different guises. But, in the final analysis, they were crises between the progressive forces of Africa—the guards of the continent—and the forces of neo-colonialism and their agents on the continent.

Throughout this period we saw our strength and weaknesses manifested. Our number increased to thirty-five, but the addition did not result in an increased strength of the Organisation of African Unity.

American, British and Belgian neo-colonialism defied us in the Congo because the O.A.U. was not strong enough to oppose neo-colonialism. And what was worse imperialist agents in Africa betrayed the O.A.U. effort.

Of course, all these were welcome lessons, for they exposed those African leaders who only pay lip-service to African Unity; leaders who are ready to sacrifice our unity and progress on the altar of neo-colonialism.

But, henceforth our obligations are well-defined: We are at war with the forces of neo-colonialism in all its guises and manifestations; we shall continue to expose and denounce their agents on the continent wherever they may be.

We must help the millions of the masses of the people who have been perpetually cast on the island of abject poverty and want, with no hope of a redeemer.

The people of Africa are looking up to the Organisation of African Unity because they are confident that through it a continental Union Government must evolve—and immediately too.

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

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

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

GAMBIA:**Opposition joins Ruling Coalition**

THE ruling political coalition in Gambia, the "People's Progressive Party" and the "Democratic Congress Alliance" are to form a coalition with the "United Party"—the main opposition party.

A joint statement, issued by both parties and signed by Premier Dr. David K. Jawara, said: "We have agreed on the principle of coalition in the Central Government and hereby pledge ourselves to examine further and negotiate the exact terms of such a coalition." Gambia becomes independent next February 18.

The statement concludes: "We have agreed on this, guided of course by the best interests of the Gambian people at large and in furtherance of our declared aims of political stability and unanimity of purpose."

SENEGAL:**WHO IS TO BLAME?**

"The blame for the stringent economic measures which Senegal may be forced to introduce to help to balance her budget must be laid at the door of the European Common Market and France, because since the renewed treaty of association with the Common Market, products from the African States have had to face world competition. Senegalese groundnuts have had to be sold at lower prices than formerly, and Senegalese firms have had to face competition due to lower customs duties on imported goods from countries of the Common Market."

—Mr. Jean Collin,
Minister of Finance

WHAT DID DR. KWAME NKRUMAH SAY?

CONGO:**HOLDEN ROBERTO'S DENIAL**

The leader of the "Angola Government in exile", Mr. Holden Roberto, says he is "astonished" by an article in the Soviet newspaper "Pravda" which claims he is providing troops for Congolese Premier Moïse Tshombe.

REFUGEE STATISTICS

A quarter of million African refugees are being sheltered in Uganda, Tanganyika and Burundi, the Organisation of African Unity Refugee Commission found during a recent study carried out in the three territories.

Uganda alone is harbouring 100,000, mostly from the Southern Sudan. Burundi has 60,000 from Rwanda and 20,000 from the Congo. Tanganyika has 70,000 mostly from Rwanda. The number of refugees from Rwanda totals 130,000.

At the end of its facts-finding tour earlier this month, the Refugee Commission adopted a number of resolutions. The Commission was unable to agree on the formation of an O.A.U. police force which would be put at the disposal of the refugees' countries of origin to help keep order during the first stage of their reintegration.

This proposal, along with the Commission's finding and resolutions, will be studied by the O.A.U. Council of Ministers when it meets in Nairobi next February.

MAURITANIA:**ONE-PARTY STATE**

A Bill to make Mauritania a one-party state has now been drawn up and the draft approved by President Moktar Ould Daddah. It will shortly go before the National Assembly for debate and vote.

The Bill will make the Mauritanian People's Party (PPM) the only party in the Islamic Republic.

RHODESIA:**IAN SMITH QUOTATION**

"We are in a difficult position today because the great danger is the force which is moving down the African Continent—and very efficiently too."

Bulawayo, November 30, 1964.

MALI:**Socialism versus Capitalism**

After a 52-day trip in Asia, President Modibo Keita told his people of the People's Democracies in China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Mongolia.

He exclaimed: "It is only in these countries that a man can fully realise his faculties."

In capitalist countries, he said, man is a robot! "We are also robots because we are not decolonised. We have inherited this from the capitalist regime."

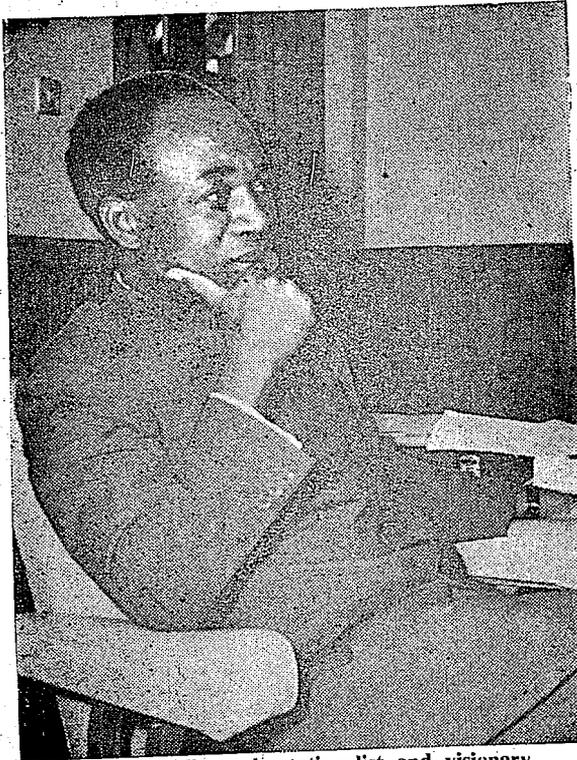
On the CONGO, a sum up:
"The nationalists have lost a battle, but will win the war."

ZAMBIA:**WHITES ARE BITTER**

Reports from Lusaka say the 77,000 whites in Zambia are not finding it easy to swallow the fact that Africans are at the helm of things. They are dead bitter that Africans are in control: that they have to take instructions from Africans. They are all bitter: doctors, civil servants, teachers, sisters in hospitals, etc., etc.

Writes a reader from a Lusaka hospital: "... I am in what was formerly known as the European Hospital and is now known as the "Open wing" or "the fee-paying" Hospital. You would not like the conditions there my friend.

"The whites in Zambia are really bitter, even hospital sisters take the opportunity to make a "native" feel out of place..."



President Nkrumah : nationalist and visionary

TASKS OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

THE term "Non-Aligned" as applied to us has not yet covered every form of policy which it connotes. The Non-Aligned nations came to existence as protest and a revolt against the state of affairs in international relations caused by the division of the world into opposing blocs of east and west.

We came into existence as a revolt against imperialism and neo-colonialism which are also the basic causes of world tension and insecurity.

We met in Cairo to concentrate our energies and our talents to the finding of ways and means, yes, to

the finding of satisfactory and enduring solutions to some of the most difficult problems facing mankind today, the problems of peace, of the cold war, especially in the context of world-imperialism, of the elimination of military bases on the people's national territories, the problems of territorial and boundary dispute, the problems of imperialist and neo-colonialist intrigues and intervention.

REVOLUTION

Neo-colonialism has created a situation in Africa in which the only way it seems to fight and eradicate

it is by armed revolution and armed struggle.

We represent the vast majority of mankind in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America, and from the borders and shores of the Caribbean islands.

Our peoples suffer most from the suffocating weight of the problems to which I have just referred. We must, therefore, accept boldly and fearlessly, the grave responsibility imposed upon us of making such positive recommendations and decisions as will bring peace and tranquility to our people and to all mankind realising that the destinies of millions of people are affected, not only of our generation, but of generations yet unborn.

At our first historic meeting in Belgrade, three years ago, we were drawn together by our common resolve that our view of the world situation, and our response to that situation, should not conform necessarily, and as a matter of course, to the interests of either of the major power blocs.

There were then 25 participating states and observer countries. At the Cairo conference there were as many as 46 participating and 10 observer countries. This proves quite clearly that the policy of non-alignment, active and positive peaceful co-existence, the struggle against colonialism and the search for world peace have gained significant momentum.

In Belgrade we recognised that the western bloc led by the United States of America, and the Eastern bloc led by the Soviet Union, because of their scientific and technological superiority, had acquired the means by which they could, by accident or by design, cause the destruction not only of themselves, but also of those of us who are non-aligned and who are in no way directly involved in their nuclear arms race.

The main purpose of our meeting in Belgrade, therefore, was to use all our exertions to influence the major powers, not only to abolish and destroy the nuclear stockpiles, but also to divert into positive, progressive and constructive channels,

the vast scientific and technological resources at their disposal for development purposes and for the peace, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

In some measure, we prevailed. We succeeded, and for the first time in human history, the great masses of the earth represented by the Heads of State and government present—forced the great powers to realise that to enter into nuclear war would be madness, and that no nation which pursued policies that might lead to such a war could count on the friendship of our peoples.

We may here recall the historic mission which my friend the late Prime Minister Nehru and I undertook to Moscow, and a similar one undertaken by President Modibo Keita of Mali and President Sukarno of Indonesia to Washington.

The dangers of nuclear war today are considerably less than they were when we met in Belgrade three years ago.

But we must face the fact that although the threat of war between the nuclear powers indeed seems somewhat to have diminished, owing to the balance of terror, most of the causes of tension in the world which we discussed are very much still with us today.

What are these major causes of tension in the world? It still remains true that the tensions which have produced the present uneasy world situation can be divided mainly into four classes.

WORLD TENSION

First, there are the tensions resulting from the problems left over from the Second World War. Foremost of these is the German issue, and the problem of Berlin which remains unsolved nearly nineteen years after the Second World War ended.

The German problem highlights the futility of modern war. We are entitled to ask how long is the German issue going to be allowed to hang over the civilised world like the sword of democles? The West Germans talk of, and desire earnestly, the unity of Germany; the East

Germans declare equally fervently their desire for German unity.

Surely the time has come for a peaceful and early settlement of this thorny problem. In my view, we should call upon the two Germanies to come together to find a solution to the problem of German unity. Since as non-aligned states, we have no interests, we should be prepared to put our good offices at their disposal.

Secondly, there are the tensions arising out of the striving of the peoples of the developing areas of the world to throw off their burdens of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, in their efforts to create a better world for themselves without the interference, obstructions, and interventions of foreign powers.

Thirdly, there are those divisions resulting from a conflict of ideologies between different societies.

However, while societies with different social systems can co-exist, their ideologies cannot. There is such a thing as peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems; but as long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such thing as peaceful co-existence between opposing ideologies.

We cannot co-exist with imperialism; we cannot co-exist with colonialism; we cannot co-exist with neo-colonialism. There can never be co-existence between poverty and plenty, between the developing countries and the forces that militate against their progress and development.

Fourthly, there are tensions caused by the possession by the great powers of weapons, the destructive capacity of which there is no parallel in history.

To my mind, the overriding cause in the second of the four classes of tension.

I have defined, namely the difficulties placed in the path of development of the emergent and developing nations by the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers.

Thus, we in Africa are threatened by two dangerous forces. The first

is the desire of foreign powers to penetrate Africa and establish new forms of colonialism through the vicious system of economic exploitation and economic imperialism.

The world is witnessing the intrigues of this system in their classic form in the Congo and in Southern Rhodesia.

The second threat to the new Africa is the danger of ultra-rightist trends in neo-colonialism, which I would designate as fascist imperialism. These trends are evident in certain quarters of the world today. They are not a flash in the pan. Nor do they represent the "Lunatic Fringe" of socialist imperialism. They are the political manifestation of a deadly evil which is capable of upsetting the peace of the world by turning the existing situation into a mad renewal of nuclear diplomacy.

The problem of the Congo continues to be torn by internal strife instigated and fomented by mercenaries and by foreign arms and intervention.

FASCIST IMPERIALISM

The malaise that has affected the very heart of Africa threatens to involve the future of the whole of our continent. It must be emphasized firmly here that African problems can be resolved best by Africans themselves. The Organisation of African Unity has shown by its efforts and record that it can, if left alone, solve African problems effectively.

It is imperative that a solution is found which will bring peace and harmony to the Congo. So long as the great powers continue to intervene in the affairs of the Congo, there will be no peace in the Congo or in Africa. The non-aligned nations should endorse the demand of the African people: Hands off the Congo, away with the mercenaries.

The problem of the Congo, like all African problems, can only be solved by African themselves. My conviction is that the problem of the Congo is a political one and needs a political solution. I have suggested before that urgent consideration should be given to the following measures: —

(Continued on page 9)

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL SITUATION IN RHODESIA

BY

J. R. D. CHIKEREMA

Deputy President - General

ON September 9, 1964, conversations concerning independence for Southern Rhodesia under exclusive Settler Minority rule were concluded between the British Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith.

These conversations were embodied in a communique released for publication to the Press on the 11th September, 1964. The text of this communique, which was the subject of some considerable haggling between the two Prime Ministers, is as follows:—

“There was a full discussion of all aspects of the problem of independence for Southern Rhodesia. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia expanded his case for the grant of independence on the basis of the Present Constitution. The British Prime Minister restated and explained the position of the British Government as already stated in Parliament.”

“The British Prime Minister conveyed to the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia the views expressed at the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in July as set out in their Final Communique; The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for his part made it clear that he did not feel bound by any of the statements made at the Prime Ministers Meeting to which he had not been invited.” “The British Prime Minister told the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia that the British Government looked forward to the day when Southern Rhodesia would take her place as an independent So-

*Memorandum submitted to the
British Prime Minister by the
Zimbabwe African People's
Union (ZAPU)*



Joshua Nkomo, detained nationalist leader of Zimbabwe.

vereign State within the Commonwealth."

"For their part they were anxious that this should come about as soon as practicable."

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government must be satisfied that any basis on which it was proposed that independence should be granted was acceptable to the people of the country as a whole."

"The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia accepted that independence must be based on general consent and stated that he was convinced that the majority of the population supported his request for independence on the basis of the present Constitution and franchise. The British Prime Minister took note of the Statement but said that the British Government had as yet no evidence that this was the case. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia recognised that the British Government were entitled to be satisfied about this and said that he would consider how best it could be demonstrated so that independence could be granted."

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government would take account of any views which might be freely expressed by the population on the issues involved; but he must take it plain that the British Government reserved their position."

Certain very obvious conditions emerge as fundamental pre-requisites of the Referendum in terms of this Communique.

(1) Independence can be granted only on the basis of acceptance by the country as a whole.

(2) The majority of the population has to be consulted.

(3) The consultation of the majority of the population should be conducted in conditions and circumstances which permit freedom of expression, freedom of communication and movement.

(4) The British Government had as yet no evidence in support of Mr. Ian Smith's claim that the majority of the population supported his request for independence on the basis of the present Constitution and franchise.

(5) Mr. Ian Smith recognised that the British Government were entitled to be satisfied about this claim. In other words evidence must be forthcoming that the majority, i.e. Africans support the Rhodesia Government's request for independence on the basis of the Present Constitution, that the referendum was conducted in such manner and in such circumstances that the Africans, the majority, were given a free and untrammelled opportunity to say, and to record their "Ayes" or "Noes".

(6) That when the referendum is over, and Mr. Smith presents his results to the British Government, the British Government reserves its position.

BRITAIN'S DUTY

It is perfectly reasonable to postulate that it is necessarily inherent in the nature of this reservation that should the British Government be not satisfied that the majority of the population were not properly consulted, i.e. that the referendum was a fake, elementary justice would require that the British Government turn down Mr. Smith's request for independence. Not only that, Mr. Smith's Government would have proved to employ cheating practices, in order to achieve its declared objectives; the perpetual maintenance of a system of serfdom over the majority of the indigenous population by a minority foreign settler regime.

Chapter II

Let us now examine how and the circumstances in which the referendum was conducted.

A resume of the background to the referendum will assist to put the matter in clearer perspective. We cannot take it for granted that the world knows about the Southern Rhodesia problem. But no doubt informed people will be aware that it is one of the most agitated Colonial political issues of the contemporary era, and, indeed up to now the highest world Council, the U.N. stands seized of this issue. It will be recalled that the matter of South-

ern Rhodesia is presently under the consideration of the U.N. Committee on Colonialism.

CONSTITUTION REJECTED

1. The 1961 Southern Rhodesia Constitution was overwhelmingly rejected by the African people of Southern Rhodesia almost to a man. It is not unusual that in the circumstances of a popular national movement, a few quislings can be found ready and willing to co-operate with the oppressor. Most countries do, and have experienced this. But in Southern Rhodesia it would be quite fair to say that that forlorn class of people however well intentioned they might be in co-operating with the oppressor to work the 1961 Constitution, constitute the exception that proves the rule, i.e. the 1961 Constitution was overwhelmingly rejected.

The reasons for its rejections are basically these:

(a) Out of a total of 65 seats in the Legislative Assembly the European minority has 50 seats.

(b) The Europeans are elected on one Roll the A Roll, the Africans on a separate Roll, the B Roll.

The franchise is based on income and property qualification, the qualifications for the 'A' Roll being very high, the maximum requirement being income £720 p.a., or, immovable property valued £1,500 plus literacy.

The qualifications for the 'B' Roll maximum being income of not less than £240 p.a., or, ownership of immovable property valued at £450.

There are other pettifogging details of the franchise qualifications, but the principle of the system is to exclude Africans in any effective numbers from the 'A' Roll and to retain the majority of the Europeans on that roll.

It was estimated that in 1962 only 564 Africans qualified for the 'A' Roll whereas the Europeans were 87,000. The natural order of things is thus reversed and an absurdly oppressive situation obtains in which

Continued on page 11

The Story of Mozambique

THE Y-shaped Colony of Mozambique, popularly styled Portuguese East Africa is the most populous and second largest of the five African Portuguese colonies. The largest of the rest is Angola and the remaining three are Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde Islands and the tropical islands of Sao Tome and Principe.

Mozambique is bounded on the East by the Indian Ocean, on the West by Southern Rhodesia and the Transvaal, on the South by Natal and on the North by Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Tanganyika.

Its area is 297,731 square miles. From Cape Delgado in the North to Belagoa Bay in the South is a distance of almost 1,300 miles.

The Mozambique frontier is irregular varying from 56 miles in the South to 480 towards the North.

The colony of Mozambique derives its name from the town of Mozambique a former capital of the territory and a way station on the voyage of India.

BACKGROUND TO THE STRUGGLE

The trading civilization of Sofala, Quelimane, Mozambique and other seaboard towns and cities of East Africa was a very old one. It penetrated much deeper into the interior than has been supposed.

"These merchant cities and trading kingdoms of the coast of Zanj (the blackman), says Basil Davidson, "were neither Arab nor Persian, nor Indian: they were African and predominantly negro African."

Between the eight and the eleventh centuries these towns and cities became politically and commercially oriented towards Arabia, Persia and India.

Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator, "discovered" the colony of Mozambique after rounding the Cape. He touched Quelimane in February and the port of Mozambique in March, 1918 before sailing North for Malindi, Mombasa and India.

"Devil take thee", said a Tunisian when he met these Europeans in the Indian Ocean of all places, "What brings you here"? And that greeting proved ominously prophetic.

When in 1505 the Portuguese dispatched 23 ships of their fleet under Francisco d'Almeida they instructed them to capture the commercial monopoly in the Indian Ocean. D'Almeida was to build a factory at Sofala to manage the flow of gold from the "mines of Ophir".

NEVER UNITED

Kilwa and Mombasa further North were to be captured and all Arab shipping, save that from Malindi, expelled from the seas. D'Almeida attacked Kilwa, built the fortress of Santiago and bombarded, burnt and pillaged Mombasa.

The Portuguese waged a war of aggression that created hostilities which were to plague them for the next 200 years.

Through most of the 16th century the merchant cities and kingdoms were never sufficiently strong or united to face the Portuguese.

Antonio Fernandes, a convict left on the coast by D'Almeida in 1505, explored much of the hinterlands of Sofala, seeking information on the gold fields of Monomotapa, an African potentate in the interior. On two trips he explored the modern districts of Manics and Sofala and Mashonaland (Southern Rhodesia).

Fernandes recommended that the Portuguese go up the Save and Lundi rivers. Here they were to put up a factory which would tap the gold fields directly.

The explorations of Fernandes were unrelated to any consistent programme of discovery or development. They only served centuries later to bolster Portuguese claims of priority in their attempts to link Angola and Mozambique.

CONSISTENT PROGRAMME

In 1544 the Portuguese founded a settlement near Quelimane to enable them to penetrate the interior. Lourenco Marques explored Delagoa Bay in the same year although the town that now bears his name took it much later.

The main route into the interior became affected through the Zambesi river as a result of the explorations of Fernandes. In an effort to speed up the export of gold the captain at Mozambique founded Sena, 160 miles from the Coast, and Teje 321 miles upstream, soon after.

Driven by messianic intensity Father Gonzalo da Silveira, a Roman Catholic missionary, imperialist vanguard, reached the royal residence of Monomotapa near Mount Darwin in 1560. He found a compatriot, Antonio Caiado, Captain of the Gates, living with the King.

ROLE OF MISSIONARIES

After twenty-five days of training Father Silveira baptized the Monomotapa his favourite wife and his sister and 300 relatives and tribal elders.

Swahili traders, sensible of the role of missionaries as the vanguard of imperialist interests, fully explained this to the newly converted African potentate. And that proved the undoing of the zealous missionary.

Warned by Caiado, among others, of the hostility that his activities had aroused among the people, Silveira convinced that the tree of colonialism thrives upon the blood of martyrs, calmly awaited his fate.

ULTIMATUM

In 1861 Silveira was strangled to death and his body fed to the crocodiles of the Zambesi river.

The assassination had the desired effect. It made a terrific impact upon the ruling circles in Lisbon and Rome. But for another seven years nothing came of it.

In 1868 the 14-year-old Sebastiao ascended the Portuguese throne. He had imperialist visions of Southern Africa, the creation of vast domain stretching inland hundreds of miles from Indian Ocean.

Sebastiao O. Africano, whose sobriquet derived from his ill-fated Moroccan campaign, organised an expeditionary force to serve his aggressive ends. It was presented as a punitive expedition designed to avenge the Silveira assassination.

The Monomotapa received an ultimatum. Recent robberies and "murders" of Portuguese subjects including Gonzalo da Silveira impelled the Government of Portugal to demand of the Monomotapa to give free access to all Portuguese traders and missionaries, to yield reparations for past injuries and to expel the Arabs from within his Kingdom.

A "punitive" expedition was organised and duly set out. The leader of the expedition, Francisco Barreto, after losses from diseases, and after ordering and executing a savage massacre of the Arabs at Sena, turned back and himself died.

NAIVE EXPECTATIONS

Vasco Fernandes Homem, military adviser to Barreto, travelled in 1574 from Sofala Manica and negotiated with the Monomotapa near Umtali concluding an agreement for the free passage of Portuguese and African traders.

Homem's investigations revealed that the gold-producing possibili-

ties of the area could not be effectively exploited without machinery and skilled labour. The silver mines at Chicoa also did not come up to the usual naive expectations of the Portuguese.

HEROIC ENCOUNTER

His 200 men garrison left at Chicoa was destroyed by the African tribesmen.

The fate of the two expeditions convinced the Portuguese crown of the futility of trying to occupy the interior of Africa. In view of the limited possibilities of mining and trade, the idea of conquering this area for the Portuguese crown was abandoned.

The valuable information gathered by Homem and his predecessors about the interior of Southern Africa was used by Joao do Santos in his *Ethiopia Oriental* (1609).

The *Oriental* has touches of the heroic deeds of the Zimba in their attempts to expel the Portuguese. In 1592 they routed the Portuguese forces from Sena and Tete in a heroic encounter and the next year a Portuguese "punitive" expedition from the island of Mozambique, was also routed.

In the last years of the sixteenth century Portuguese fortunes on the Zambesi were at their lowest ebb.

In the 17th century the monopoly which the Portuguese enjoyed in East Africa and the Indian Ocean was threatened and finally broken by Arab, Dutch and English power.

The Arabs reasserted much of their former influence north of Cape Delgado.

The Dutch wrested the control of the Eastern seas from the Portuguese, although they had thrice attempted to seize the port of Mozambique and had each time been beaten off.

By 1650 the Portuguese began to export "black ivory" as African slaves were called, from Mozambique.

They resorted to Mozambique as a source of the slave trade after the Dutch had seized for a time Angola, their main source of slaves.

COLLAPSE OF COLONIALISM

They developed the slave-trade with Brazil until slavery became the principal commerce of South-East Africa. The slave-trade continued until the middle of the 19th century. Slavery was to contribute the colony in 1878.

This slavery was to contribute not only to the scandalous conditions of the nineteenth century and the final anarchic collapse of the whole Zambezi basin but also to its new forms of forced labour of the Portuguese colonies and of the indentured labour of the Rand gold mines supplied by Mozambique authorities. Today it threatens the final collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

In 1752 Portuguese East Africa, after being subordinated to the Portuguese administration at Goa, was separated and given an independent governor. This change did not check the colony's drift into stagnation and chaos.

Pereira do Lago, Governor of the Colony from 1765 to 1779 reorganised the local militia with India troops and waged a war of aggression against the Africans who were determined to overthrow their oppressors.

HUMAN FLOTSAM AND JETSAM

In 1781 Martinho de Melo Castro, Minister for Naval and Colonial Affairs admitted that Mozambique had reached the last stage of moral and commercial decadence. The next year 1782 thirteen prostitutes were shipped to Mozambique.

Until the 20th century, a large portion of white settlers in Portuguese Africa were, in the words of Mabel Jackson, made up of "transported criminals and political exiles known as degradedos. Each year a shipload of human flotsam and jetsam arrived (in Mozambique) from Portugal. Beggars embittered by hardship, thieves, assassins, incorrigible soldiers and sailors, together with a sprinkling of men suffering for their political offences, were dumped into the colony. Sometimes

Continued on page 17

Non-aligned Nations

(Continued from Page 4)

a) That the ad hoc commission of the Organisation of African Unity should see to it that the various political leaders of the warring factions should come together for national reconciliation and to make arrangements for the elections of democratic national government.

b) In the meantime, there should be a cease-fire by both sides, and the Organisation of African Unity should provide a peace force to help maintain law and order until after election.

c) That all foreign troops and mercenary soldiers should leave the Congo at once.

In South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, a minority of European settlers, hoistered up by their powerful allies are able to keep in subjugation the aspirations of the millions of Africans who form the majority, and to whom the land and its wealth belong. In the same way, Portugal supported by her NATO allies, is able to wage war against the inhabitants of African territories several times larger than herself.

The minority regime of Southern Rhodesia clings blindly and stubbornly to a course which can only lead that unhappy nation down the road to violent revolution.

NO FORCE

As Non-Aligned States, we accept as a policy the general principle that territorial and boundary disputes should be settled without the use of force. We also accept that territorial and boundary disputes arising out of legacies of the colonial past of the newly independent and emerging countries of Asia and Africa and Latin America should by all means be settled by peaceful negotiations.

But, there are other territorial claims which arise out of the imperialist occupation. In this case the country occupied and victimised by

a foreign power should have the right to use all means and resources at its disposal to recover its territory and safeguard it. This is the basis of the liberation struggle in Africa.

And again, we who claim to be non-aligned must have the right to choose the political and economic philosophy which we consider most suitable for our rapid development and advancement.

For example, the fact that Ghana accepts socialism does not and should not place us in opposition to any other country or people.

Socialism does not belong to the Soviet Union or to China for that matter or to any other country; it is an international idea.

Similarly, Capitalism does not belong to Britain, Western Germany or the United States of America. It is an economic doctrine and political philosophy which some of us consider unsuitable to our present circumstances.

But this rejection of capitalist exploitation does not mean that we are politically opposed to the countries who have embraced capitalism. We are socialists. We are also non-aligned. *We are opposed to political and economic exploitation and domination of man by man.* We are against social injustice and inequality, against racism and racialism. We stand for progress, peace and justice.

The fourth class of tension is the danger arising from the possession by the major powers of weapons of mass destruction.

We have an opportunity to take unequivocal stand on this issue. The arms race in which the so-called great powers are engaged must be stopped. It is not only dangerous to mankind; it is a senseless waste of national resources which should be diverted for the further development of large areas of the world, and the raising of the standards of living of the people of these areas.

If a fraction of the millions being wasted on destructive nuclear weapons would be spent on atomic

energy research, atomic energy could become as common as ordinary electricity. Imagine the effect which this contribution can have on the welfare and happiness of mankind.

A policy based on the continuous threat of nuclear warfare, no less than nuclear warfare itself, is a policy of madness and despair; it is the clear duty of those of us who profess to follow a positive non-aligned and neutralist policy to assert our full weight against such senseless policies.

It is our duty also to express our surprise at the attitude of those nations who oppose the destruction of nuclear weapons. Let us declare to the world that we demand complete and total disarmament.

Referring to the question of the elimination of foreign military bases in Africa, France's announcement of withdrawing her military bases from Africa is most welcome and should be vigorously implemented. We urge most strongly that this withdrawal should be complete and total. I hope all powers with military bases in Africa and elsewhere will do the same, and do it completely and totally.

Africa can only remain a nuclear free zone if the powers which now possess nuclear weapons divert themselves of these destructive nuclear weapons.

We are not and should not be a party to the cold war. It is not our conflict even though we suffer the consequences, no less than those who are involved in the cold war. It is we who suffer the consequences of the cold war in Vietnam, Cyprus, Congo, Laos and elsewhere. Our survival depends upon the ending of the cold war.

Let us call upon the disarmament committee in Geneva to adopt a formula which will make possible the conclusion of an agreement for general disarmament. We who are non-aligned should steer clear of all military blocs such as NATO, the Warsaw Pact, CENTO and SEATO, etc., etc.

The 100 million dollars which is spent each hour of the 24 hours of the day on arms not only deprive the new emergent and developing

countries of the essentials of life but imposes upon them unnecessary difficulties and restrictions.

The resources and money being wasted on such a frightening scale make it difficult for us to develop as rapidly as we can, because the resources that are essential for such development are used by the industrial powers not for peaceful purposes but for destruction.

This inconceivable expenditure on arms affects the policies of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere. Why should we be forced to spend money on armament?

Why should we be forced to use oppressive methods and techniques to combat the great powers at intrigue and subversion?

It is quite clear that the question of development wherever it may be tackled, depends on total and complete world disarmament. We cannot develop until the arms race is ended. If the arms race is not ended our development will indeed be slow and our governments will be overthrown, and the crisis which is disturbing the world will multiply until we find ourselves in a final holocaust.

When the Afro-Asian states met in Bandung in 1955, we were able to produce the ten principles of co-existence and to establish Afro-Asian solidarity. It is imperative for the peace of the world that we should maintain and support the efforts of the Afro-Asian States at Bandung.

In other words, we should support and reinforce the Bandung spirit.

Two further causes of tension in the world to which we must turn our attention are the need for the re-organisation of the United Nations, and the representation of China in the United Nations.

In the view of Ghana, the most serious defect of the United Nations today is that organisational structure has not kept pace with the changing realities of our time.

I must here refer to the continued absence of the People's Republic of China from her rightful seat at the United Nations. The absence of China from the United Nations

has never made sense and will never make sense.

Peace in South-East Asia is vital to the peace of the world. The crisis that has arisen between Indonesia and Malaysia should therefore be resolved peacefully. In order to help Indonesia and Malaysia to settle their differences as brothers, we should lend our good offices through the medium of a mission or a conciliation Committee.

In Cyprus too, we face a problem which if not properly handled, could lead to a major struggle. The prerequisite to a solution of the Cyprus problem is that the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus should be respected and safeguard so that the people of Cyprus may be in a position to find a democratic solution to their problems. Similarly, in the interest of world peace let us have a security in the Middle East.

I will now state briefly the main points I wish to stress and to indicate what I think we should attempt to achieve as non-aligned nations.

First, we should take up the challenge against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations. Colonialism must end now. Let us give concrete expression to our hatred and abhorrence of those systems and expose their anachronism in the 20th century.

Let us declare to the world that we are opposed to the political or economic domination of one people by another. To this end, we should in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on decolonisation, call upon the remaining colonial powers to grant independence without further delay to all territories now under their domination.

Secondly, we shall ensure that the United Nations and its specialised agencies are rapidly overhauled to reflect the new balance of forces in the world today.

Thirdly, we must consolidate and reinforce the solidarity achieved by the "77 Group" of developing countries at the Geneva Conference on World Trade and Deve-

lopment. In particular, we should call on the developed nations to adopt a new approach to world trade so as to make it possible for developing countries to earn the means for financing their major development projects. Basically, what we want is trade, not aid.

Fourthly, as a major contribution to world peace, we must assist in ensuring that China is admitted to the United Nations this year. We should all pledge ourselves to the fulfilment of this objective.

Fifthly, the threat of nuclear warfare should be removed by our calling upon the nuclear powers to sign a treaty for the total and complete disarmament. We should also ensure that the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the world is achieved as rapidly as possible. To this end, we must identify ourselves with efforts being made to secure total and complete disarmament.

We live in a changing world. Out of the contradictions and conflicts of vested interests, a new international community must emerge. The process may be slow, but it is inevitable and unmistakable. This new international community can only serve mankind if it is firmly established on freedom, equality, and interdependence among the nations.

It is in this context that emergence of revolutionary upsurge in Africa must be viewed. The African revolution represents a revolt against the inhuman exploitation and spoilation of Africa and her people by foreign interests. The foundations of the new Africa are based, therefore, on complete emancipation from foreign domination: the political unification of all Africa and a determination to breathe the air of freedom which is theirs to breathe.

Throughout the world there is a deep seated but often inarticulate desire for peace, prosperity and progress. Let us help to make the progressive world opinion assert its full weight.

In the modern world every country is now a neighbouring country, owing to the great advances in

(Continue on next page)

RHODESIA

Continued from page 6

the minority becomes the majority. Moreover, the fact that these qualifications are enacted by reference to income and property and that there is an accompanying provisions whereby the income and property qualifications can be raised without reference to the people by decree makes the franchise arrangements a durable instrument of oppression, freely at the disposal of the Southern Rhodesia Government. As a matter of fact, the history of the denial of political rights to the majority of the people in Southern Rhodesia, is the history of the raising of the franchise property qualifications.

The average annual earnings of Africans in Southern Rhodesia are £114; whereas the average annual earning of Europeans is £1,217.

In fact these income and property qualifications were raised recently in September, this year, a subject which shall be dealt with later in its proper place.

(b) The Constitution contains a Bill of Rights which in terms of the actual operation of this Constitution, is now proved to be illusory. While it purports to declare and confer rights on the one hand, life, liberty, security of the person, the enjoyment of property and the protection of the law, freedom of expression, of assembly and association, freedom of conscience, respect for private and family life, on the other hand, these purported rights can be taken away at any time, should the government consider it necessary to do so in the interests of the so-called defence, public safety or public order.

Our own experience of the application of this purported Bill of Rights is that insofar as the powers of Government are exclusively in the hands of a minority and the majority is for effective and practical purposes virtually disenfranchised, the provisions relating to the interests of defence, public safety, public order, have been used as means to choke the popular

national movement, by banishments, proscriptions and detentions.

Concentration Camps, Whawha and Gona Kudzingwa have been erected to which nationalists have been rusticated.

It is perfectly true to say at no other time in the history of this country and directly as a result of this constitution (with its Bill of Rights!) has there been a greater number of political prisoners, opponents of the minority regime, in gaols and concentration camps.

There are innumerable examples, two of which we give as typical, graphic, yet melancholy refutations of any claim that this Constitution protects or guarantees any of the rights that is supposed to confer.

In terms of this Constitution, a Constitutional Council exists which is charged specifically with the task of watchdog of the Bill of Rights and to make adverse reports to the Government of the day on legislation which is inconsistent with the Bill of Rights.

Among the chief proprs for the deprivation of the African population of land and reduction to serfdom is a piece of legislation entitled the Land Apportionment. This nomenclature is a misnomer because in actual fact the purpose of the measure is to deprive African of land and to assign such land for European settlement. It was passed in 1930 and considerable tracts of land were taken over the years from Africans.

To mention only a few specific instances of ejection of Africans from their traditional homes and the settlement of Europeans therein: Rhodesdale Estate, Lancashire Estates and Matopos. In 1960 the Southern Rhodesia Government was bound to make a shameful admission of the results of this Act in these words:

"The division of land under the Act is completely unfair to Africans in that 42 million acres are reserved for 2½ million Africans, whereas 48 million acres are reserved for about 200,000 Europeans."

(Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly second report of the

Select Committee on Resettlement of Natives, 1960, page 49.)

The land both urban and farmland, is zoned completely into separate European and African areas.

In March, 1964, the Constitutional Council examined this Legislation and made its adverse report to the Government of the day to the effect that the measure is inconsistent with the Bill of Rights.

As the Act is a cornerstone of the Government's principles and policies, its reply to the Constitutional Council's Report, was to the effect that the Land Apportionment will remain as intact as ever before.

The provision regarding freedom of speech was made a complete mockery of when the only paper in the Colony which, up to a point, catered for the views of the African National Movement was banned "in the interests of public security or safety."

Thus in the name of this very Bill of Rights, the majority of the population in Southern Rhodesia today are without a political party, without a public vehicle of opinion, and all political leaders incarcerated in gaols and concentration camps.

Past British Governments vaunted

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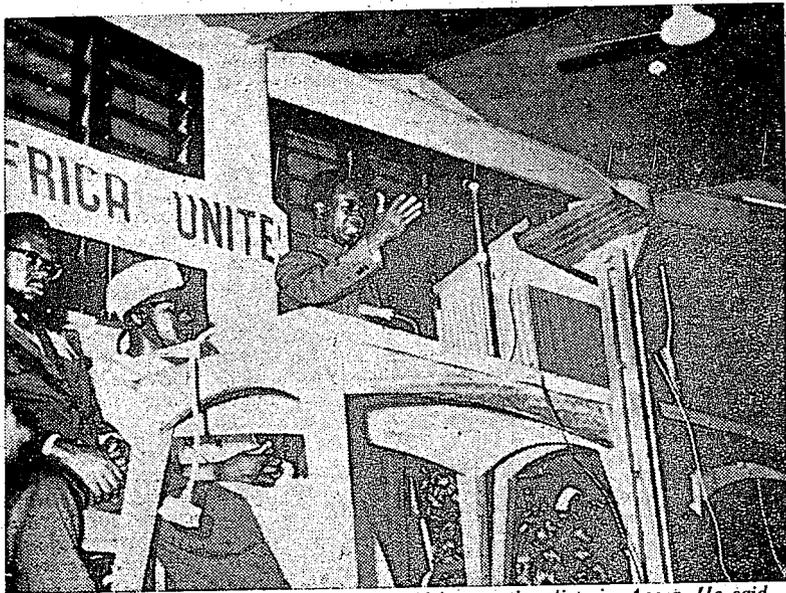
NON - ALIGNED NATIONS

(Continued from previous page)

scientific and technological achievement. It is thus the duty of all nations big or small, weak or powerful, rich or poor, developed or developing, to assist in ensuring to man peace with himself and the world.

All our efforts should contribute to the general cause of maintaining world peace against wars of aggression, against imperialism, against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The world is watching us, as we grapple with these problems. Let us accept the challenge honestly, incorruptibly, boldly and fearlessly.



President Nkrumah of Ghana addresses African nationalists in Accra. He said recently; "neo-colonialism has created a situation in Africa in which the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed revolution and guerilla struggle"

this Constitution as the solvent of a multi-racial society in Southern Rhodesia. The greater majority of the African population rejected it for what it truly is in substance—an instrument for the perpetuation of serfdom. We have no more rights and liberties under this constitution than serfs had in the baronial society of the middle ages.

It is clear from our perilous experience that the harshness of the Southern Rhodesia political system indicates the old established maxim that the true support for Constitutional guarantees and rights is universal adult suffrage, the only way of ensuring that Government rests on the consent of the governed. The future security of the minority settlers lies in an honourable transference of power now instead of prolonging a foundation on which they are bound to crash with irretrievable losses in correspondence to the prolongation.

It is no wonder that the Ian Smith Government of Southern Rhodesia desire independence on the basis of this Constitution.

As is public knowledge the rejection of this Constitution was followed by a sustained campaign at the United Nations. Only as recently as 25 April, 1964, Mr. G. Nyandoro, General Secretary, Z.A.P.U., urging the rejection of this Constitution recommended to the Committee of 24 at U.N. as follows:

1. Obtain immediately from the U.K. Government the release of Mr. Joshua Nkomo and all the Nationalist political prisoners.
2. Demand from Britain the repeal of the present constitution.
3. Demand from Britain the implementation of all the past U.N. resolutions calling for an immediate constitutional conference with the specific purpose of transferring power to the majority under one man, one vote.
4. Call for a convention of the Security Council to implement the resolutions of the U.N.

In response to a series of resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations, which established the responsibility of Great Britain in and over Southern Rhodesia and urging Great Britain as the sovereign power to take steps to effect constitutional arrangements acceptable to the majority of the population, previous British Governments not only offered tenacious resistances, but took the position that Britain cannot intervene in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia, thus indicating to the latter that they had complete licence to deal with the Africans as they liked.

The issue was seriously canvassed in the capitals of Commonwealth countries, and as a result, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in July 1964, the problem was discussed.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers were concerned to find ways and means to hasten constitutional progress within Southern Rhodesia toward majority rule. They recognised that responsibility for the Constitutional progress towards

independence of Southern Rhodesia must remain with Great Britain and the grant of independence would not be made before Southern Rhodesia had achieved majority rule.

They recommended that constitutional progress should be worked out by early agreement between representatives of the various political parties in Southern Rhodesia which would naturally include the African party. They were also concerned that the Southern Rhodesia Government might try to avoid a solution of its internal problems by making a unilateral declaration of independence.

Mr. Ian Smith, the Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister was not invited to the Conference. This was properly so, because the majority of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers objected to his presence.

The Conference is a Conference of heads of sovereign states. And as they recognised that Great Britain as the sovereign power has the ultimate responsibility for constitutional matters in and over the Colony and as the Southern Rhodesia Government by their treasonable utterances of a unilateral declaration of independence were not in a frame of mind to contribute anything constructive at this Conference, we think it was only right that Mr. Ian Smith should be put in his proper place inasmuch for example as the head of a local authority would be presumptuously arrogant by threatening not to cooperate with the sovereign authority in order to achieve illegal objectives. It is rather ironical that a man whose Government rests on the very negation of consent and consultation of the majority should be heard to complain that he was not invited to put his views at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference. Perhaps we might be excused for expressing what we consider in all the circumstances to be perfectly fair comment that it is in the habit of people who have long been exercised in the arts of tyranny to think that only their views matter, and to act that way.

Subsequent to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, Mr.

Ian Smith was invited to go to London in order that the British Government might communicate its views to Mr. Smith as leader of the local settlers.

Having sketched this background the Referendum falls to be seen in its clear though sordid perspective. Firstly, it will have been evident from the foregoing that insofar as Mr. Smith's claim that the majority of the population desire independence under the present Constitution, we cannot be accused of using unduly intemperate language if we dismiss this claim as we do now without any further repetition in the most appropriate words—a fantastic lie.

Secondly, the Southern Rhodesia Government repudiated any suggestion of consulting the majority of the population.

In the very constitution under which his government is seeking independence, there is a provision, Section 108, which specifically provides for the participation of Africans in a referendum in circumstances in which it is sought to bring about fundamental changes in the constitution.

On October 8, 1964, the Southern Rhodesia Government initiated a measure, the Referendum Bill, which specified that only those who were enrolled on the A and B Rolls would be entitled to vote in this referendum.

Prior to this, in the week ending September 12, 1964, the income qualifications for the franchise were raised. The minimum qualifications for the A Roll are now £330 per annum for an individual with 4 years secondary schooling. For the B Roll a minimum of £132 per annum plus two years secondary schooling. The average annual wage of the Africans is £114 and the Europeans £1,217. Even the *Rhodesia Herald*, itself the powerful votary of Settler Minority interests was moved to comment thus:

"Both increases are more than 10 per cent by which the means qualifications for the vote have been raised. There, is however,

one difference. The average European wage is still above, and the average African wage still below, the minimum needed to qualify for the vote on either roll." In rather euphemistic undertones the paper went on:

"Mr. Smith has pledged that he would not try to 'pull a fast one.' Naturally not: The Prime Minister could not lend himself to any constitutional fraud, and in any case he is content to have observers."

When it is realised that (1) only a handful of Africans are registered voters (2) the referendum Bill barred the rest of the African majority from participating in the referendum, by whatever words you describe it, the Southern Rhodesia Government's method of conducting the referendum revealed itself for what it substantially was—A Constitutional Fraud.

In the course of enacting the Referendum Bill which became an Act on 15th October, 1964, Dr. Arhn Pally one of the European independents in this Legislature had this to say during one of the debates on this measure:

"Under no circumstances did the Government wish the true and effective opinion of the African people to be known."

Even Mr. C. Hlabangana, one of the African M.P.'s of the White-Head-Welensky party (a well-known supporter of White Minority rule) decried the moves of the present Government in no uncertain terms:

"No African will support independence under the present Constitution."

Thirdly, Having excluded the majority from the normal referendum machinery, how did the Southern Rhodesia Government go about the task of testing their opinion?

(a) Mr. Smith declared that he would test African opinion through Chiefs and he would seek the opinions of anthropologists.

As regards the Chiefs:

The Chiefs, whichever way you look at their position, are in effect

an arm of the civil service. By the provisions of the Native Affairs Act, they come directly under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They are confirmed in office by the Governor in Council, and may be dismissed by the same. (There are several instances of Chiefs who were dismissed from office for refusing to be pliable instruments of the Government in the implementation of its oppressive measures of which the most gallant is Chief Mangwende. Because of their refusal to cooperate Chiefs Musana, Makope and Mangwende were deposed and placed under restriction at Gona-kudzingwa.

PUPPET CHIEFS

Their salaries are paid directly by Government.

From May, 1964, the Southern Rhodesia Government began to lay emphasis on the policy of currying favour with the Chiefs. A selected group was sent on a world tour, ostensibly to study agricultural methods. In Southern Rhodesia the Chiefs have little or nothing to do with the administration of Agriculture which in fact in African areas comes under the day to day supervision of Land Development Officers. It is therefore perfectly reasonable to draw the inference that this "agricultural study tour" was planned by the Government in the light of anticipation of the referendum scheme from their exchange of correspondence with the British Government.

Clearly enough, the Chiefs were being prepared in advance. The tour having been finished and upon Mr. Smith's return from London, their basic wage was increased from £16 to £60 per month with not inconsiderable perks in the bargain, a land rover, petrol allowance, and the use and enjoyment of proceeds from fines in the Chiefs Court.

Were this ordinary corruption one would condemn it by analogy perhaps to the "rotten borough system" in England in the 18th and 19th Centuries. But, this is only part of a vast sinister system to deprive permanently four million people of the prospects ever of attaining majority rule.

In any case, do the Chiefs represent the majority of the people? The anthropologists whom Mr. Smith had declared he would consult—a declaration which it now appears was made without prior consultation with them—promptly answered him. Headed by Professor J. C. Mitchell, a group of anthropologists and sociologists and lecturers of the University College at Salisbury issued the following statement as reported in the press: *Northern News* 22/9/64.

"In their professional opinion, the only way to test the African viewpoint on the question of Southern Rhodesia's independence was to give every man the oppor-

tunity to express his own views by vote. No other method could give valid results."

"The Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith had said he hoped to consult anthropologists and other experts as to how African opinion on the independence issue can be tested."

"In African Society—of the past as well as the present—decisions have been, and are made by processes which involve all adult members of the community.

"In Southern Rhodesia, Africans are no longer organised solely on a basis of a tribal system. Therefore African opinion on the national issue of independence cannot be tested within the framework of this system.

"Approximately half of the adult men in the population live and work outside tribal areas at any one time. Most of these do not qualify for the B Roll vote and it appears that the full expression of their opinion is to be ignored.

"Furthermore, on this issue, no one individual can pretend to speak for all members of his community as he may be mistaken, misguided or self-interested.

"It is therefore our professional opinion as sociologists and so-

cial anthropologists that the only way to test the African viewpoint on this issue is to give at least every man the opportunity to express his view by vote. No other method can give valid results.

"We are utterly opposed to the idea that there is something peculiar to Africans which makes it impossible to test their opinions by other than normal procedures."

The expression of this view led to quite a curious episode. Its publication on the Southern Rhodesia Broadcasting Station—a Government controlled organ—was banned on the direction of Mr. J. M. Helliwell, Chairman of the Broadcasting Station. In consequence top men of the Station news department resigned (*Sunday Mail*, September 27, 1964).

ANTHROPOLOGISTS

The Southern Rhodesia Government planned to use Chiefs and Chiefs only as the means of testing African opinion. They set up a Committee comprising the Government and opposition members (i.e. Edgar Whitehead's Party). This Committee was charged with the task of meeting Chiefs and persuading them to accept the Government's proposals of independence on the basis of the present Constitution.

Speaking in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament on the move to set up this Committee, Mr. Ian Smith said:

"We believe we should tell the Chiefs and headmen to consult their people in the traditional manner. We know there are different systems among tribes. There is no universal pattern."

Fourthly: What of the Communique's requirement that the opinions must be freely expressed?

It is vital to appreciate that the basic principle of Southern Rhodesia Security Legislation as it is em-

embodied in the Law and Order Maintenance Act and, the Preventive Detention Act, is to suppress the African Nationalist Movement. Z.A.P.U. is banned, its leader Joshua Nkomo languishes in Gwelo gaol. The result is that the entire African population is without their normal political party. The banning was followed by wholesale imprisonment of individual members of the banned political party.

Following the declaration of states of emergency in Highfield in August, 1964 and Harari in September, 1964, thousands of men, women and juveniles were ruthlessly herded into gaols.

The Concentration Camps at Whawha, Gonakudzingwa, and the Gwanda gaols at Gwelo, Bulawayo, Nkai, Marandellas and Sinoia hold between them six thousand political prisoners.

ARRESTS

We say little about the deleterious social effects of mass imprisonments which leave children and women bereft of their breadwinners. The hideous cruelty with which the arrests and imprisonments were carried out has become a by-word among the African population. We narrate briefly the experience of a member of Z.A.P.U. who escaped from police arrest in Mrewba District.

Having been arrested by the police for being a member of Z.A.P.U. he was buried in the ground being covered by earth up to the shoulders. While in that position, he was subjected to several hard smacks in the face, dug out and then asked to recant and to say where other wanted members were hiding.

At the time of organising the so-called referendum, the whole colony was crawling with armed police and heavily equipped troops to round up the African population.

In the process of interrogation, the African population was subjected to brutal and severe intimidation. People's cattle, goats, chickens were wantonly destroyed

Police and the army helped themselves of the loot. We have it on record that the Army said this was better food than the rations they got from the Government.

IMPRISONMENT

Nothing could be more evident than the fact that in the given legal system of Southern Rhodesia, the banning of the African political party, the wholesale imprisonment of members of this party, the resort by the Government to cheating in order to ram its own propaganda down the throats of the people, it is a cardinal travesty of the truth to talk of "African views freely expressed."

How remote the situation in Southern Rhodesia is from the elementary requirements of freedom of expression and freedom of consent is starkly revealed in the evidence of Miss Judith Carfield Todd. Miss Todd, a daughter of the famous former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia was charged and convicted before the Courts under one of the many encompassing provisions of the draconic Law and Order, Maintenance Act. On the 14th October, 1964, appearing before Salisbury Magistrate, E. J. Hamilton, she said:—

"I demonstrated not to embarrass or disobey the police, but as a protest against the system of Government which we are under. I demonstrated because the parties I support have all in turn been banned, because the people I recognise as my political leaders have been restricted or imprisoned, and because the only newspaper in this country that was courageous enough to effectively oppose the Government has been silenced.

"My wish was to protest peacefully and in silence. I was denied this right. For the Government finds any form of opposition increasingly intolerable. Even justice which a citizen might expect to find in these Courts has been governed by the legislature and my friends are restricted or imprisoned without trial."

Miss Todd is a member of the African Nationalist Movement.

The reverberations of the Nazi system are still echoing and have not yet died down. Surely, is not the system in Southern Rhodesia reminiscent of what the Nazi system was, and is it the same as the South African system?

In view of the overwhelming evidence that the Rhodesia Government departed diametrically from the terms of the Communique to which they were party, pronouncements of momentous significance were made by the British Government.

NEW APPROACH

In the last week of October the British Government rejected the method of consulting Africans through Chiefs. They refused to send observers to the Indaba which was staged at Domboshawa. In the refusal to send observers, the British Government was followed by the United States Government.

On October, 27, 1964, the British Government issued a public warning as to the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence.

In the face of these two developments the Southern Rhodesia Government proceeded with the so-called referendum. We do not think the referendum exercise having been rejected by the British Government scarcely deserves to be considered as worthwhile to put forward to the British Government as a standpoint by the Rhodesia Government in any future discussions on new Constitutional developments.

But no doubt the referendum exercise can be considered only as frightful evidence of the fraudulent designs of the Southern Rhodesia Government.

With due respect to the British Labour Government, we note the stand they have taken by these pronouncements. But this stand does not take the matter any further. Assuming that Mr. Smith will heed the warning on the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence, the stand now taken by

the British Government merely brings the position to rest at the very situation which is the source of unrest, the 1961 Constitution. The British Government might be prevailed upon that they have made their point, the Rhodesia Government has obeyed and matters should be left at that. We consider that nothing could be more dangerous than to leave the position where it started.

In view of all the circumstances, the case could not be stronger for calling a Constitutional Conference SOON. Mr. Ian Smith has indicated he would not be prepared to sit at a round table conference with the African nationalists.

Any such objections by the Rhodesia Government ought in right, and in view of the seriousness of the situation, to be rejected as subterfuges and pettifogging.

Z.A.P.U. demands the presence of Mr. Joshua Nkomo at any Constitutional Conference. We therefore demand from the British Government to convene immediately a Constitutional Conference in Britain of major parties concerned for the purpose of working out a Constitution to provide for majority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) based on one man one vote.

Throughout the World

**Everybody hears about
Liberation Movements**

**Everybody reads about
African Revolution**

**Everybody knows about Nkrumah,
Kenyatta, Ben Bella, Nasser, Keita,
Lumumba, Mandela, Sobukwe,
Nkomo, Sithole, Cabral etc. etc.**

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MOZAMBIQUE

(Continued from page 10)

these men were accompanied by their wives, girls from orphanages or reformatory schools whom they married at the moment of embarkation from Europe. These unfortunate people who had already been degraded in mind and body by imprisonment at home and the rigours of the voyage, merely added to the misery and inefficiency of the colony."

DIET CHEAP

By 1800 slaves formed the bulk of Mozambique's exports. Slavery as a domestic institution was more important here than in Angola.

Many a prazero (the plantations owner) had an army of captive Africans in addition to the usual large number of house and field workers.

There was the slave and the colono. The colono, allegedly a free man, was the tribesman living on the prazo. He paid a poll-tax, was obliged to work without pay, and was subject to the whims and caprices of his landlord. Both the slave and the colono were cheap labour, dirt cheap labour.

The Peninsular War and Brazil's declaration of her independence from the rule of Portugal (1822) upset the domestic economy of both Portugal and her colonies including Mozambique.

The threatened abolition of slavery was a happening that the settlers feared would wreck their means of livelihood.

Mozambique, being an integral part of Africa, was greatly affected by the decisions at the Berlin Conference of the three great Western powers, Britain, France and Germany held from November 1844 to February 1855.

APPLE CART

Although Portugal was at this time already a decadent colonial power she became, by the grace of the big three an ally and partner

in the execution of the great purpose of providence for the advancement of mankind, as Gladstone euphemistically called the exploitation of the African people.

The new doctrine of effective occupation was advanced as the basis of colonization in Africa. Portugal was allowed to keep Mozambique not because she was in effective occupation there but because she had "discovered" the territory.

Before 1855, Portugal had hoped to preserve a continuous belt of territory from coast to coast uniting modern Angola with Mozambique, but events upset her apple cart.

AUTONOMY

The British acquired the land south of lake Nyasa and the shire highlands. The Portuguese prepared a counter-expedition. Major A de Serpe Pinto came into conflict with 'peoples under British protection.'

Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister sent Portugal an ultimatum. (1890)

This was followed by a treaty defining the frontiers of British and Portuguese possessions and the creation of the Mozambique and Naissa companies for the development of the area.

Under the Portuguese Republic (1910) the colony was granted a measure of autonomy. This was extended in 1920.

After the taking over of power by the Salazar regime (1926) colonial autonomy was swept away. A much more centralised system was adopted.

The building of railways led to the rapid expansion of Mozambique's economy. Conventions were signed with the countries of the hinterland. These governed the questions of transit trade the recruitment of an African labour force and other matters.

The Mozambique convention (1909) concluded with the Transvaal government lapsed in 1923. It was replaced in 1934 by a new treaty which ran until 1939. It remained in force thereafter to 12 months' notice of termination by either party.

The Companhia de Mozambique was wounded up in 1942. In 1951 Mozambique was designated an overseas province of Portugal, a ruse designed to conceal the reality of its colonial status behind a mask of a juridical technicality.

MOZAMBIQUE TODAY

The population of Mozambique during 1959 was estimated by the United Nations at 6,310,000 compared with the 5,732,317 of the 1950 official Portuguese estimates.

The National Democratic Union of Mozambique estimates the population as 6,530,000 African, 75,000 Europeans and 18,000 Asians.

All the African people of Mozambique are Bantu-speaking. The main tribal groups are: the Yao in Niassa, the Makwa in Niassa and Zambezia, the Bassenga in Zambezia and Sofala, the Baangoni and Basenega in Manica, the Baronga, Batonga and Bachopi in Sul do Save.

HONEST TRUTH

The most important towns are: Lourenco Marques, the capital where about half of the colony's white settlers live; Beira, the headquarters of the former Companhia de Mozambique; established as a Portuguese port in 1505 and the capital of the territory until 1897; Quelimane, Inhambane and Chiunde.

The governor-general is the head of the colonial government. He is appointed by the council of Ministers in Lisbon for a four year term, subject to reappointment. He is directly responsible to the Minister for Overseas Provinces in Portugal.

Beneath all this facade of technicalities is concealed the honest truth that the governor-general is appointed by the Dictator-President of Portugal, Dr. Antonio Oliveira da Salazar, who boasted way back in 1939 that:

"We are anti-parliamentarians, anti-democrats and anti-liberals and are determined to establish a corporate state."

This self-same fascist dictator, who is Britain's oldest ally ordered the Portuguese flags to be flown at

half-mast in 1945 to mark Herr Hitler's death.

"ELECTED"

As a man on the spot the Mozambique governor-general exercises very wide powers subject to the Lisbon government. He is assisted by a legislative council which has 24 members; 22 of whom are either Portuguese officials or settlers and two *assimilados*.

Legislative authority over Mozambique is supposed to vest in the National Assembly of Portugal which is made up of 120 Deputies. The Assembly, however, is a rubber stamp for Toni Salazar who has been in office since 1928.

Mozambique is entitled to three seats on that bogus parliament. Mozambican "elected" deputies are usually agents of the Salazar régime.

FOUR REGIONS

The administration of the province is carried out through four regions as follows:

- (I) The region of Sul do Save;
- (II) The region of Zambezia;
- (III) The region of Niassa; and
- (IV) The region of Manica-Sofala.

The regional capitals are Lourenço Marques, Quelimane, Namupula and Beira respectively.

The districts are in turn divided into sub-districts each under an administrator, and each sub-district is redivided into one to four administrative posts in which are the post offices, police stations and so forth.

The regions are headed by regional governors who can be overruled by the governor-general.

A judicial system, comprising a court of appeals and courts of preliminary investigation in ten judicial divisions, maintains separate sections for African cases and applies the *Código Civil* (Portuguese).

A royal charter of 1891 authorised Companhia de Mozambique to exploit the resources of the

region of Manica and Sofala, an area of 59,315 square miles for a period of 50 years.

The company had a capital of £1.5 million, most of which was foreign. It exercised, sovereign rights over the regions under its jurisdiction. When the company's charter lapsed in 1941 it was not renewed. The regions were formally restored to direct Portuguese administration on July 19, 1942.

In Manica and Sofala the company had control of agriculture, commerce, industry, mining, communications and transport, taxation and customs. It issued its own currency and postage stamps.

The Companhia do Niassa with its capital at Porto Amelia, received a royal charter in 1894. It exercised jurisdiction in the region north of the Lurio river. The company's main interests were in agriculture and transport.

In 1929 the Portuguese government took over the administration of the area.

Portuguese colonial policy has like all other colonial policy, been directed towards robbing the African of his land, and of his human, natural and mineral resources. It is in this form that the undermining of national integrity and the overthrow of national sovereignty took concrete shape.

In Mozambique colonial land policy derives from the Law of May 9, 1901 laid down that all land, which did not at that date constitute private property in accordance with Portuguese law, was the property of the state.

A 1918 Decree for Mozambique provides for the reservation of certain area for the exclusive use of the African people and provides also that such lands may not be alienated. Africans are not forced to live these reserves. Land actually occupied by Africans may not be granted to Europeans.

Gunther states that 97 per cent of Mozambique belongs to the Africans while Hailey categorically states that "Statistics are not available regarding the Native area in Mozambique."

Large parts of the Zambezi have been turned into settler prazos (plantations) some of which are hundreds of square miles in exchange. These are now held as concessions for 25 years.

A number of these prazos are run by companies such as the Zambezia and these may alienate them subject to approval by the government. The Mozambique Company is reported to have alienated 6 per cent of the lands under his control.

The Limpo River Scheme provides for the eventual settlement of 6,000 Portuguese and 3,000 African families.

75,000 acres out of the total of 50,000 acres set aside for the project will be irrigated.

Hailey remarks that "the scheme will admittedly involve some disturbance of the African population, which is being resettled elsewhere." And this remark makes nonsense of the claim of the 1918 Decree that "such lands may not be alienated."

It is only those Africans who have become *assimilados* who can, in theory, acquire real rights in land or enjoy the benefit of the process of inheritance, legacy or purchase. In positive terms the position stated thus far is that real ownership of land in Mozambique is the prerogative of the Portuguese settler, the Portuguese company and the Portuguese State.

In and outside the so-called reserves the African enjoy the privilege of occupation but no right of ownership. And even that privilege he enjoys at the pleasure of his colonial masters.

The colonization of Mozambique has therefore robbed the 6.5 million Africans of real rights in their own land. Land in Mozambique is, therefore, used to benefit the Portuguese state, company and settler at the expense of the African.

Until recently no adequate mineral survey had been made of the Mozambique mineral resources. As far back as 1510 the Portuguese entertained great expectations concerning the gold and silver output of the land. Small quantities of gold are being mined near Villa de

Manica and Tete and alluvial deposits are known to exist near Villa de Manica and Alto Ligonha.

Coal is mined in the Zambezi Valley near Tete. Surveys have confirmed the existence of a large basin of coal estimated to contain about 1,000,000,000 tons.

A company with Belgian capital, the Companhia Carbonifera de Mozambique supplies the Portuguese railways and the port of Beira with coal. It also exports coal to Nyasaland. It does not however, supply Southern Mozambique with coal which receives its imports from Settler South African Republic.

Another company, the Alto Ligonha Company, has exclusive rights over parts of Zambezia. It mines beryl, colombite, bismuth and mica.

Graphite is mined near Nacala in Angonia. The Mozambique Gulf Oil Company entered into a ten year contract (1948-1958) with the Portuguese government to prospect for petroleum in the region of Sul do Save. There are Radio-active minerals in the Tete area. Prospecting for these is through a concession granted by the Portuguese government only.

MINERAL RESOURCES

For 450 years now the mineral resources of Mozambique have been exploited not for the benefit of the indigenous African people but for that of the Portuguese, their settlers and other outsiders.

The Mozambique economy is mainly agrarian, and this too is oriented towards colonialist interests.

The greater part of Mozambique is thinly populated bush country. A good part of it, however, consists of densely populated soil of high fertility. The most important areas of high fertility are the Southern lowlands between Catuane and Inhambane. These contain the lower reaches of the Limpopo and other rivers. The valleys of the Save and the Limpopo and of the Quelimane rivers are included in these areas, as also are the Macondes highlands on the Tanganyika frontier.

The agriculture of Mozambique is organised on three basic lines:

for subsistence, for cash crops and for the European-owned plantation. The European-owned plantations produce copra, sisal, sugar-cane, tea, rice, potatoes, maize, tobacco and wheat. These put together, contribute one-third of the colony's exports.

The company estates in the Zambezi, Sul do Save and Manica areas produce sugar. There are 6,000,000 trees of copra-producing coconut palms in the coastal area of Zambezia.

Raw cotton is the most valuable single export of the colony.

Between 1946 and 1950 it accounted for one-quarter of the total exports.

Africans are forced by their Portuguese masters to produce this raw cotton. They are given the seeds and have the dates for sowing harvesting and so forth set for them by their masters. They receive next to nothing for their efforts in the production.

Africans have been forced to produce this even at the expense of their own food crops. In 1949, for example they were so short of maize, which makes up their staple diet, that it had to be imported. Other crops that Africans are forced to produce while their Portuguese masters derive all the benefit are: Copra, peanuts, sesame, maize, tobacco and vegetables.

Having disrupted the African's own subsistence economy the Portuguese have proceeded to force him to produce cash crops not for his own benefit but for their own. Having robbed the African of huge tracts of his own land they are now forcing him to work on their plantations where he cannot even eke an existence.

Small wonder that over 1,000,000 Africans have escaped into Nyasaland and Tanganyika to avoid the abysmal new form of slavery in which they now find themselves entangled.

Mozambique has considerable resources of timber which include a large area of forest behind Beira. During the years of World War II the export of timber and wood-products increased from 10,960 tons in 1939 to 80,596 in 1946.

These forests and its products which once belonged to the Africans

are now being alienated in the form of concessions and the African's task is merely to drudge a slave in their preparation and production. The benefits go to the Portuguese.

Since the metropolitan country, Portugal, is herself an under-developed country it would be too much to expect high industrial development in Mozambique.

ECONOMY

Government policy in Mozambique is to encourage first metropolitan then colonial production by the use of protective tariffs and the grant of monopolies for certain products.

Villa Pery has a textile factory and Beira a cement factory producing 50,000 tons a year.

Among local industrial projects were 6 tobacco and 32 oil and soap producing factories in 1955.

For a long time now the colony of Mozambique has been paying her way, largely as a result of steady income derived from the supply services and African labour used in the neighbouring territories to the West. At the end of 1951 the exchange reserves were £3.3 million in foreign currencies and £4.5 million in gold. Since 1937 there has been a surplus of income over expenditure. About £7 million were devoted to extraordinary public works between 1946 and 1950.

In 1947 the Salazar regime made a loan of 1,000,000,000 escudos (£12.5 million sterling) to Mozambique. The Chief sources of revenue are customs duties and the sale of African contract labours and income tax. The monetary unit is the Mozambique escudo of 100 centavos equal in value to the Portuguese escudo. The exchange value is about 80 escudos to £1 sterling. The foreign trade of Mozambique colony shows an excess of imports over exports.

In 1950 imports were valued at 1,654 million escudos and exports at 944 million escudos.

Re-exports, largely consisting of mineral from South Africa were valued at 604 million escudos and transit traffic at 7,963 million escudos.

The finance and trade of Mozambique are organised to serve non-African at the expense of African interests. This colonialist orientation can only be eliminated by the transfer of power to the Africans.

FORCED LABOUR

Forced labour is the cog around which the fly-wheel of Mozambique economy revolves. And as is the case in Settler South Africa the operation of the pass-laws is indispensable to such forced labour.

Once a man is made to carry on his person a document to show where he is employed failing which the wrath of the law descends upon him, that constitutes the essence of forced labour. Such a man is bound to look for any kind of work no matter how he will be exploited in the process if only it will save him from jail.

Every African adult in Mozambique must carry a *cadernets* to show not only where he is working and where he had been working but also where he has paid his poll-tax and other dues.

The Portuguese boasted that their system of pass-laws was fool-proof and even the government of settler South Africa took a leaf out of their statute books by introducing the *reference book* along the lines of the Portuguese *cadernets*.

The various Geneva conventions have their book definitions of forced labour: the 1930 International Forced Labour Convention, for example, defined forced labour as: 'work or service exacted from any person under the threat of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.'

The first part of this definition constitutes the essence of forced labour. The Portuguese *cadernets* or the South African *reference book* exact work or service from the holders under the threat of penalty.

To force someone to accept any kind of job rather than to go to jail and to argue that he has therefore offered himself 'voluntarily' is to indulge in calculated colonialist cynicism.

As long as the pass system exists therefore there can be no such thing

as voluntary labour, for anyone is subject to its rigorous provisions.

The Portuguese, of course do not deny the existence of forced labour in their vast colonial concentration camps such as Mozambique. What they do deny is the actual extent of the practice for they still sell the big lie that some Africans under them are voluntary labourers.

Whatever observations are made about labour in Mozambique must be viewed against the background of this analysis of the nature of forced labour.

In 1906 the Portuguese government passed laws prohibiting, in general terms, the use of forced labour. Of recent years labour for the cocoa fields of Sao Tome and Principe have been obtained from Mozambique rather than Angola.

Contracts signed in Mozambique were at first for four years. This period had, now been reduced to one year, and repatriation is insisted upon.

In 1903 British cocoa firms boycotted all cocoa from the islands of Sao Tome and Principe because of the forced labour used there. It was following this that the 1906 law was passed.

Much criticism has of late been levelled against forced labour for public works and private employment in Mozambique.

Portugal signed the Anti-Slavery Convention (1926) which limited the use of forced labour to public purposes. She has, however, refused to sign the 1930 Forced Labour Convention, and the 1936 Recruitment of Indigenous Workers Convention.

By her own 1928 Labour Code Portugal restricts the use of forced labour to public purposes and by the Order of April 11, 1930 all such labour must be paid for.

The Portuguese argue that labour is an essential part of the "Civilizing process", a formula they evolved to justify the use of forced labour. Portuguese colonial subjects are compelled to work in public and to produce marketable crops. More often than not they work for nothing.

In spite of official orders to the contrary district officers get ten times what the labourer will earn in six months whenever they supply

labour to private employers.

The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.N.L.A.) has recruiting depots for the Rand and Free State gold fields. More than 100,000 indentured labourers are recruited annually from Mozambique to these gold fields.

In 1896 these labourers were earning 3/- per day. Today they earn 3/4 per day, 4d. rise in 68 years. The Portuguese government sells each of these labourers for £2 to the South Africa mines. It also abuses their deferred pay which is forwarded to it.

ASSIMILADOS

In Mozambique, as in other Portuguese colonies, Portugal has developed the racket of *assimilado*, according to which certain Africans by reason of having assimilated the Catholic faith, Portuguese language and culture and by reason of their high standard of living are accepted as full Portuguese citizens with all rights and privileges attached thereto.

Out of 6.5 million Africans there are, after 450 years of Portuguese rule, only a little over 4,000 Africans who have qualified as *assimilados*, a sure proof of the failure of the "civilising mission" of the Portuguese.

The product of any African woman and a Portuguese male automatically becomes an "assimilado."

The *assimilado* system was designed to rob the African masses of their leaders by incorporating them into the body politic of the ruling class in the vain hope that Portuguese colonial rule would continue for ever.

Another measure that was designed to ensure that Portuguese colonial rule would continue forever is the law that declared Portuguese colonial integral parts of metropolitan Portugal.

Since the United Nations charter prohibits interference in the domestic affairs of member-states, by this ruse, Portugal, in her incredibly naive expectation, attempted to arm herself against the attacks of anti-colonialists and anti-imperialists.

The changing of a territory from a colony into an overseas province

without changing its colonial structure is a fraudulent manoeuvre. It robs the indigenous peoples of their basic right of self-determination, prostitutes the function of the legislature and makes a hollow mockery of the laws themselves. The Portuguese manoeuvre is a classic example of the colonialist technique at its worst.

AFRICA FOR AFRICANS

Mozambique, is an integral part of Africa which is not an extension of Europe or of any part of it. This juridical device designed to turn Portugal into an "Eurafican" power cannot change the attitude of African nationalists that Mozambique is for the Africans and Portugal for the Portuguese.

Portugal is Britain's "oldest ally". Britain has vested strategic interests in Portuguese colonies especially in Beira in Mozambique. Portugal is a member of NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Her colonies are therefore at the disposal of NATO.

NATO is today building a military base in Beira and several others in centres such as Tete, Nacala and Nampula.

However anti-democratic, anti-liberal, anti-parliamentarian and anti-African freedom Salazar may be he knows he can always count upon the support of the NATO imperialist powers. And who therefore, can call her power to account?

What has been the people's reaction to all these onslaughts on the basic rights and fundamental freedoms?

"Nationalism on an organised basis does not exist as yet in Portuguese Africa" wrote John Gunther during his 1953 tour of Mozambique.

"The people are taught that they are Portuguese, so that a revolt would be a revolt against themselves."

In the hope of perpetuating Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique the Portuguese deliberately starve the African people of all education.

As far back as 1953 Mozambique Africans smuggled a petition out of

Mozambique. The petition which was signed by 594 Africans complained, inter alia, about the wanton brutal flogging of men imprisoned into the labour gangs.

Immediately after Sir Roy Welensky had in 1959 imposed a state of emergency over the Central African Federation of Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Dr. Salazar posted over 5,000 troops along the 1,800 mile long frontier to patrol it and shoot at sight any African political refugee found in Mozambique. The Salazar thugs shot many innocent Africans with impunity.

Early in 1960 Salazar increased his armed thugs to 9,000 excluding the local militia and his Gestapo known as the "PIDE-Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado." The PIDE spread the network of its activities and clamped down on the frontier villages and towns.

On the June 16, 1960 Kibiriti Diwani, Faustino Banomba and Madesta Yosuf (a 21 year old African woman) handed the Administrator of the Niassa region a letter protesting against the savage thuggery of the Salazar storm troopers. The three had been eye-witnesses to the unprovoked massacre of the villagers of Mueda-Makondes.

The protest was directed against the massacre of 36 Africans and the wounding of 150, all of whom had been engaged in peaceful demonstrations when the trigger—happy blood-thirsty Salazar thugs swooped upon them.

Salazar's mock courts of justice sentenced 250 demonstrators to terms of imprisonment raging from 2 to 7 years.

For their pains in presenting the letter of protest Diwani, Banomba, and Yosuf were jailed for life.

A typical Portuguese colonialist fashion the three were all sent to an undisclosed destination. And that was that.

Chief Zintambira Chicuse and his followers had been detained since 1955. The Portuguese shot them dead in cold blood at Lourenço Marques in May, 1961.

During the same month fifteen forced labourers were shot dead at Milange for the crime of demanding increased pay.

In April 1961, Commandant Pedro Corria de Barros, told a crowd of 100,000 Portuguese settlers who had marched on the American Embassy in Lourenço Marques that he condemned the American vote in the United Nations favouring an inquiry into conditions in Portuguese Angola. Mozambique had to ward off the anti-colonialist blow even before it was directly aimed at her.

In May 1961, as the Angolan nationalist struggle gained momentum Portuguese settlers poured into Umtali in Southern Rhodesia to buy firearms and ammunition. Within four days 140 permits had already been issued to these settlers and long queues waited for their permits. As a result of new "arrangements" Portuguese settlers can now buy their guns and ammunition in settler Central Africa without any permits.

ATROCITIES

The 2,037 ton Portuguese liner *Shil Save* went aground in July at the mouth of the river Tindé. The 550 passengers on board were 500 Africans troops with 50 Portuguese officers making for the Tanganyika frontier.

In July 1961, Jacobus Fouché, War Minister of settlers South African Republic visited the senile Salazar in Portugal to form a secret pact for the launching of a counter-revolutionary offensive against the African peoples of Mozambique and South Africa.

Terence Daly, South African settler parachutist arrived in Lourenço Marques in August 1961 to give lessons and training to Asians, Mulattos and Assimilated Africans.

The Portuguese have also entered into a secret military pact with the racist "government" of Rhodesia.

Portuguese militia in Mozambique is made up of settlers, Mulattos. These make up the shock troops deployed against the African masses employed in the mines, on the farms and on the cotton, sugar and sisal plantations.

According to Portuguese official records 428,000 Mozambicans have migrated from the territory. African

nationalist leaders estimate actual number of such Africans as well over 1,000,000.

In April 1961 the "Democratic Union of Mozambique" a settler-liberal organisation, issued a manifesto over the signature of 70 people calling upon Salazar to grant Mozambique colonial autonomy, end forced labour and set-up a multi-racial state in a Portuguese Commonwealth.

POLITICAL PARTIES

These liberals believe that autonomy can only come from a change in Portugal. They assert that such a change cannot come about without the help of the Portuguese army.

Dom Sabastiao Soares de Resende, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Beira, is a recognised leader of unorganised settler opposition to Salazar policies.

The bishop, who owns the Beira Diario, Mozambique's only liberal daily newspaper, is also the author of a book exposing the exploitation of Africans in the cotton and rice plantations.

"Of course, nationalism will come in time, people will hear about what is happening on their borders, in Tanganyika and Nyasaland. You cannot seal a country off for ever. People grow, even here and they will sooner or later demand change." A young Portuguese frankly told Gunther this in 1953.

And now African nationalism has come. The Angolan Freedom War is costing Salazar one-third of the national income of his underdeveloped country. He must now sorely be regretting the fact that his predecessors did not accept the British offer of £3,000,000 in the 1900s for the purchase of that colony.

Within Mozambique itself there are reported to be such African political organisations as the Socialist Catholic Party (Inhambane), the Progressive Union (Manica and Sofala region), the Democratic African Movement (Zambesia) and the Mukana Union of Mozambique (Porto Amelia).

The most important Mozambican African political organisation is the Union Democratica Nacional de Mozambique — Udenamo — which represents the interest of the 6,500,000 Africans in Mozambique and is actively supported by the over 1,000,000 Mozambicans in Tanganyika, Kenya, Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa.

In a 2,000-word statement submitted to the President of the Sixteenth Session (1961) of the United Nations General Assembly the Central Committee of UDENAMO states, inter alia, that it: **CATEGORICALLY REJECTS**: The view that the colony of Mozambique is an overseas province of Portugal, a decision to which the 6,500,000 were never at any stage, a party; **OPENLY DENOUNCES** as a diabolical fabrication and deliberate falsehood the widely circulated claim of the Government of Portugal that the African people enjoy the same basic rights as any Portuguese citizen;

THEIR DEMANDS

STRONGLY CONDEMNS the economic exploitation, political oppression and social degradation to which the African people have been ruthlessly subjected under Portuguese colonial rule;

VEHEMENTLY DEPLORES the dark record of Portuguese savage colonialism which has been marked by naked fascist repression, savage colonialist brutality and a stark organized terrorism.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION OF MOZAMBIQUE demands: — The immediate withdrawal of all Portuguese armed forces and civil militia and Portuguese Gestapo from the Mozambique territory.

The forthwith dismantling of all military and communication bases inimical to the interests of the African people from Mozambique territory;

The immediate overthrow of Portuguese colonialism and the granting of complete independence to Mozambique on the basis of one

man, one vote. In the event of Portugal to accede to the foregoing demands.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION MOZAMBIQUE urges: The member-states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to expel the Government of Portugal from membership of the said organisation; The United Nations to expel the Government of Portugal from membership of all its organs and sub-organs;

The United Nations to set up a committee to enquire with or without the co-operation of Government of Portugal into the situation in Mozambique, and to make recommendations which will, with the co-operation of the National Democratic Union of Mozambique, lead to the implementation of its demands.

In their articles of constitution referred to as "statutes" the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO) is defined as a political organisation constituted by Mozambicans, without any discrimination of sex, ethnical origin, religious belief or place of residence.

The fourth article declares the aims and objects of UDENAMO to be:

- * Total liquidation of Portuguese colonial domination in Mozambique and of all traces of any colonialist or imperialist relation.
- * Gain of immediate and total independence for Mozambique.
- * Defence and realisation of the claims set up by all the people of Mozambique coming from any racial layers enduring oppression or exploitation from any part of the Portuguese colonial regime, particularly claims set up by peasant and working masses.

UDENAMO, states the fifth article, mobilizes, organises and unites all patriots of Mozambique and proclaims the necessity of the union of all patriotic forces in Mozambique.

The structure of the UDENAMO is based upon the nation, province, district, locality and circle. The circle is the basic unit of organisation and may be at work or home.

The structure of UDENAMO is based on the principle of democratic centralism of which democratic and collective spirit, unity of action, sense of responsibility criticism and autocriticism and mutual help are the basic ingredients.

The entire "statutes" consist of twenty-six articles.

In the manifesto styled the "Programme" UDENAMO states its readiness to co-operate with African and Asian freedom fighters particularly with those of the Portuguese colonies.

UDENAMO also stands for the defence of the interests of the worker classes such as:

* Abolition of the regime of forced labour.

* Abolition of the agreements that rule the emigration of the workers of Mozambique to South Africa and other countries.

* Abolition of the sending of prisoners to SAO TOME and other countries.

* Forbidding of the use of Mozambican soldiers for colonial wars waged against peoples of other countries.

* Suppression of all discrimination based on race or sex concerning remuneration in work, and the basing of such upon the principle of 'equal pay for equal work'.

* Fixing of a minimum waged necessary to a decent life.

* Promotion of a progressive

raising of the economic standards of living.

On the international level UDENAMO is against the establishment of foreign military bases upon Mozambican national soil and against adherence to any military bloc, a presumable reference to the NATO or Warsaw blocs.

UDENAMO also declares its respect for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Salazar would do well to give in to the demands of UDENAMO as that would avoid deeper miseries, deeper crisis and a holocaust. All that Mozambicans want is their freedom.

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ALLIES OF APARTHEID

1. German Imperialism

Amongst the South African white middle class there exists sharp contrasts of interests especially in the Afrikaans on the one side and those who support British imperialism on the other side.

They are reflected in the varied political and ideological principles; especially in their attitude towards the Apartheid policy of the Verwoerd regime which eventually led to the withdrawal of South Africa from the British Commonwealth.

The racialistic organisations of the Afrikaans have been supported at all times by German Imperialism. This collaboration reached its peak during Hitler Fascism. Then the leaders of the Afrikaans organisations were trained in Germany, (Broederbond, Ossewabrandwag, "Neue Ordnung").

Openly, they agitated against the Union entering the war on the side of the Allies and prepared a Fascist uprising with the aid of the Nazi party and the "5th Column", that was guided by the German general staff.

The economic foundation of the Afrikaans middle class is the real estate that originates from the acquisition of the soil from the Afrikaans.

In 1934, the bank Volkskas was founded as a centre of the struggle against the economic predominance of British Imperialism.

Today it disposes of over £70 million investments, has over 180 branches in the Republic and in South West Africa and controls at least 27% of the entire South African economy.

Besides the property owners it is the economic backbone of the Fascist Nationalist party which came into power in 1948. It has on its board parliamentary ministers.

In mining, the Anglo-America Corporation of South Africa Ltd. is leading.

British Capitalism is still predo-

minant although the Volkskas group is advancing.

The pillars of the fascist Verwoerd regime are the extremist section of the Africans middle class, i.e., the farmers, Volkskas, Saniam and Santam. They stand for the programme of Apartheid (racial segregation) i.e. the bloody suppression of the growing national democratic movement; the total expropriation of the African majority of the population, their compulsory rehousing in compounds and the resettling of industries to the outskirts ('Bantustan Project').

BOYCOTT

In order to procure white settlements i.e. to obtain the fertile parts of the soil the Afrikaans Nationalists plan an eventual division of the country.

Persevering with Apartheid the Afrikaans Nationalists even put up with economic losses such as inadequate supply of cheap labour and a noticeable decline in exports in various industries caused by an international boycott.

Most representatives of international capital and a strong minority of the white middle classes are not inclined to put up with the damaging effect on the economy as a consequence of Apartheid on behalf of the interests of the Afrikaans middle class: They believe that a continuation of the present course is bound to cause a tidal wave of mass uprisings and lead to an aggravation of the world-wide economic boycott as well as a political one against the ruling elements of South Africa.

They reject the interruption in the supply of cheap labour by Apartheid. Instead of a split they aim at the expansion of the home market and instead of international isolation they hope for new economic connections with other national democratic countries and are interested in a link

between their country and the British Commonwealth.

In accordance with the British neo-colonialist policy this part of the white community is prepared to extend certain concessions to the 10 million Africans of South Africa, such as: partaking in limited elections, a housing scheme and better wages. These leading representatives of the international capital as, for example, Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the board of the AAC (Anglo American Corporation) and A.J.F. Ferguson, president of the Johannesburg stock exchange are against the Afrikaans Nationalist racial policy, only as far as its application is concerned.

THE ALLIES

The fact that the Apartheid followers succeeded, for the time being, led to a decline in foreign, especially British investment. The drop in foreign capital was estimated at £100 million for 1960 and continued to increase in 1961 to the lowest level at the stock exchange since the crisis of 1934 to the diminution of gold reserves from £153 million sterling to £86 million at the end of the same year.

The British Government, bearing in mind the interest of monopoly capital in South Africa, as well as the increased pressure of the opinion of the democratic world has officially denounced the Apartheid policy, but of course still support Verwoerd by feeding him with arms, etc.

Divergence of opinion between the ruling circles of South Africa and the "Ready-to-Compromise" (Oppenheimer?) group, prompted the Verwoerd regime to strengthen the contact with forces supporting Apartheid. The West German Imperialists will receive first place—by tradition the ally of South African White extremists.

The Afrikaans Nationalists approve of the plan of West German imperialism a foothold in South Africa (refer to: South Africa Financial Year Book, publisher R. Beerman, Cape Town): This idea is aided by the Apartheid policy and the Union's withdrawal from the Commonwealth as consequence

of Apartheid, which must lead to a weakening of British competition and open the way for West German expansion.

During the war, German capital was confiscated in the Union and South West Africa. Through this, competitors of West German capital gained numerous economic positions formerly in German possession. (Approx. 70% of South West African capital was owned by German before the war).

The Otavi Mining and Railway Co. lost their plants (mines and 239,000 hexacres of estate in South West Africa) which dated back to the former German colonial possessions. Eventually, they were auctioned in Pretoria by the "Administration of Enemy Capital".

The nucleus of the Otavi Co., the mines of Tsumeb went to the Tsumeb corporation founded in 1946; whose shares are owned by the American "Newmont Mining Corp." and the "American Metal Climax Inc." Morgan group.

ENTER GERMANS

Since 1948, when the Afrikaaner National Party came to power the capital of German nationals taking residence in South or South West Africa has been released. By this action the extreme wing of the White middle class that backs the National Party secured not only the support of Apartheid by the approximately 200,000 strong German population but also for the unlawful annexation of South West Africa by the Union.

This step contributed to the amalgamation of financiers of German origin with the circles of the white middle classes, especially with financiers of the Afrikaaner Nationalist Party.

But the beginning of 1954 still showed £5 million of confiscated German capital managed by the "Custodian" of the Union. The Otavi Co., estimated its still frozen assets at £1.5 million. Meanwhile the government of the Union obliged the West German monopoly of enterprises. It has put at the disposal of the Otavi Co. a loan of £699,000 interest free for investments in the Union which equals a

release of frozen capital of the same amount.

A final decision regarding the use of the still frozen assets has not yet been made. The government of the Union declares that it will not claim anything of the confiscated capital. The German capitalists take this to be an encouragement to press for the complete release of all prewar capital.

THEIR INVESTMENT

The existing favourable conditions in South Africa for investment profit and transfer of capital, promoted numerous German concerns, banking houses and large contractors to export once more, capital to South Africa.

Statistics published by the Bonn Board of Trade, show that investments in Africa on 31/12/1960 run up to 179.9 million Mark or 6.1% of the total "private" investments of West Germans abroad. Corresponding information in West German trade publications declare South Africa the leading place for investment over all other countries. In April 1960 Luebke, talked of 77 million Mark of West German investments not including the 50 million Mark loaned by the *Deutsche Bank* to the *Anglo American Corporation*. More precise is the following statement: The total amount of German capital though not exclusively originating from the Federal Republic—is believed to be approx. 300 million D.M. as some well-informed sources state.

The "Statistics of the Union" estimates the investments on 30/12/1956 at £5.6 million, which corresponds with official West German announcements. The South African statistics show at the same time that invested German capital with 0.4% of France—is still only at a low level. From the developments of the investments of the other "OECC" countries (without Gr. Britain, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Switzerland) at £426 million in 1956 to £53.2 million in 1959, it can be concluded that during this period the situation has changed a great deal in favour of West Germany.

The following examples of the investment of German capital and the methods applied will show clearly that only a part of them can accurately be included in the statistics.

Apart from the fact that some investors are included to disguise their actions a considerable part of export capital is channelled through other countries; they would appear to be of British, Swiss or French origin. Other West German capital especially German pre-war investments today managed by agents resident in South Africa and capital of South African citizens of German origin, are no longer looked upon as foreign capital.

It is to be noted that the expansion of West German capital to South Africa is carried out in two directions. Investments in mining are on the whole conforming with other groups of international financiers whereas the majority of other investments maintain close partnership with the capital of South Africans of German origin and the Afrikaaner bourgeoisie. This difference is of importance because of the diverse political ideologies of the two groups.

Since 1954 the group "Deutsche Bank" has succeeded in assisting the Otavi Co. incorporating fresh mining projects. Today subsidiary companies of Otavi process caoline, clay, chamotte, platinum and spar.

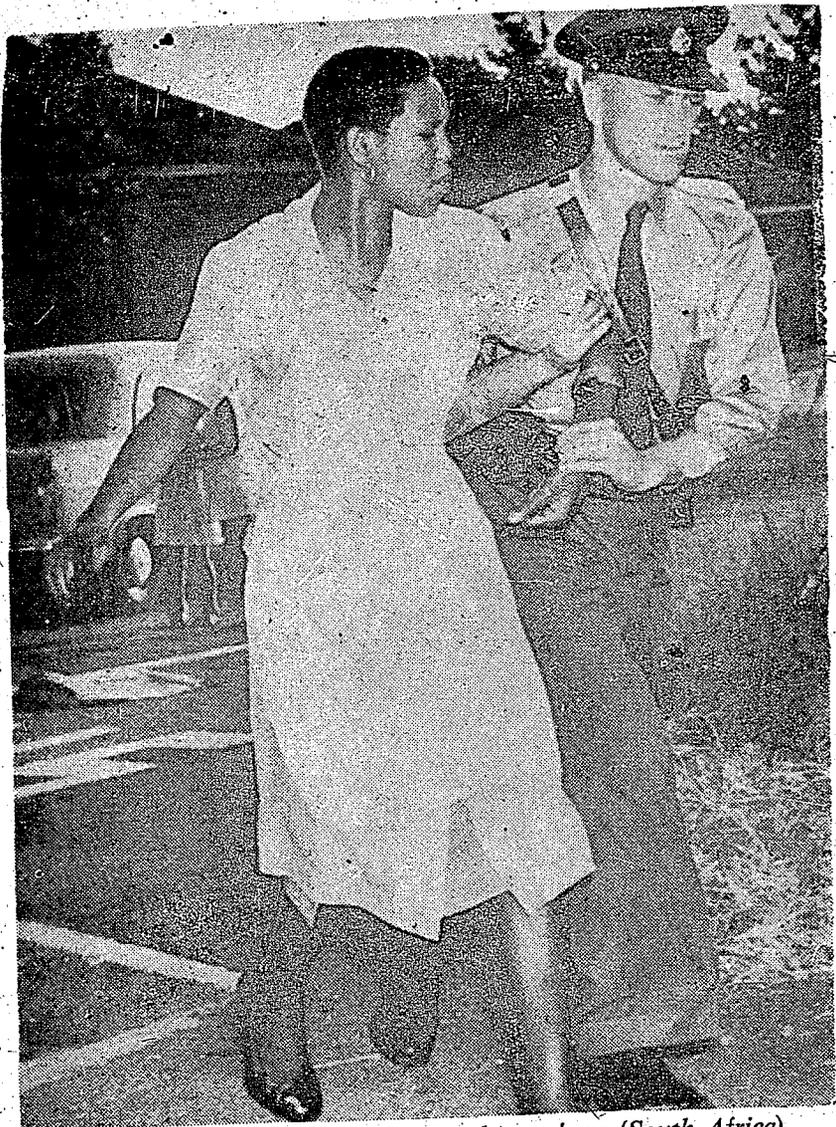
In 1958 the "Deutsche Bank" also succeeded in a long attempted entry in the leading South African mining concern, the "Anglo-American Corp." (AAC). In September, 1958 H. J. Abs and H. F. Oppenheimer signed a contract in Frankfurt for the grant of a loan of 50 million Mark.

This transaction caused the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" on 12/9/1958 to make the following statement:

"The investing public in Germany becomes the business partner of an enterprise of nearly 100 companies in South, Swaziland and East Africa."

The "Deutsche Bank" at the same time achieved the repeal of the boycott carried out for over

Continued on page 27



A common scene in Pretoria and Johannesburg (South Africa). Africans are arrested and imprisoned daily by the GESTAPO of nazist Verwoerd.

Allies of Apartheid

Continued from Page 25

25 years by the London Diamond Syndicate against West German diamond cutters which in the beginning for political reasons and later on for reasons of economic competition.

Other West German interests in South African mining are held by the German colonialist Friedrich Albert Zoellner who already represented German companies before 1945 in South and South West Africa. In December, 1953, he had the Africa-Mining.

Dr. F. A. Zoellner—before 1945, acting in Berlin registered in Cologne as "Limited Co." with a 1.5 million Mark capital (Trade register Duesseldorf Nr. 7, 18th Jan 1954, managing director Solicitor Dr. Hermann Reinbathe, formerly member of the pre-war Ministry of Economy).

He himself took residence in Johannesburg hereby regaining a considerable part of his capital formerly held in South Africa.

MONOPOLY

Amongst other commitments, Zoellner is chairman of the Alpha Free State Holdings Ltd., Johannesburg, a Holding Co. with an original capital of £500,000. Above all it had at its disposal shares of Dunsward Iron and Steel Works Ltd., of Hartebeesfontein Gold Mining Co Ltd., and the Montrose Exploration Co Ltd., also of farming land and rights of mine prospecting in South West Africa. Hartebeesfontein (capital 4.5 mill) took over a plant for processing uranium with a monthly output of 100,000 tons. Montrose owns various subsidiary companies primarily concerned with the recovery of ore.

Apart from its own considerable original capital Zoellner also represents the interests of Berliner Handelsgesellschaft, W. Berlin and Frankfurt, which also owns 25% of

the share—capital of the Compagnie d'Outremer pour l'Industrie et la Finance Brussels, which again holds 15,000 shares of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. (Diamond Monopoly).

The *Berliner handelsgesellschaft* is—amongst others—tied with AEG, and Schering. This explains Zoellner's directorship of AEG, S.A. (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg, and that Herman Olthaver—next to Zoellner is on the board of Goldfields Industrial Corp. Ltd. and has taken over the management of Schering (S.A.) Ltd.

MANUFACTURING

Zoellner also maintains close connections with the Flick—concern. In 1954 Flick acquired the majority of the Dunsward Iron and Steel Ltd. (Iron and steel production at Dunsward near Benoni, S.A.). The company whose board Zoellner had already joined decided at the time on an investment programme of £1.25 mill., the original capital of £300,000 was increased to £750,000 whose compensating shares were in the main taken over by Flick. The presidency of the Dunsward Works is today carried out by Ouo-Erns Flick and Zoellner, also on the board is Friedrich Flick.

In the manufacturing industry West German car firms have already obtained a prominent position. Henschel Ltd., Kassel, Daimler-Benz A.G., Stuttgart, and Auto Union Ltd., Ingolsadt (Flick), Necker Automilwerk A.G. Helbronn (formerly NSU Automobil K.G.—Fiat Concern) Borgward Ltd., Bremen and others have taken part—manufacturing and assembly, through S.A. subsidiary companies.

The Volkswagen Werk, A.G. Wolfsburg has made rapid progress. In 1951 South African Motor Assemblers and Distributors

SAMAD Ltd., at Ulenhage (Eastern Cape) took on the assembling and distributing of VW products. In 1956 the capital of the concern that up to that time assembled Studebaker and Austin cars was increased from £300,000 to £500,000, the majority taken over by Volkswagon of America Ltd. (100% owned by VW Wolfsburg). In the chair is Baron Detlev von Oertzen, formerly on the board of Wandere Werke and partner—founder of Auto Union (Flick Group). Today he is deputy for VW Works for the whole of S.A. and the Far East. Besides Heinrich Nordhoff and O.W. Jensen of the V.W. Works, representatives of the native capital are on the board, amongst others Martunus Smuts Louw, director of Volkskas Ltd.

The close collaboration of the VW Works with the Volkskas Group and the termination of the distribution of Austin products (Brit. capital) through SAMAD in 1955/56 explains the refusal of the Brit capital financed insurance companies to take over the insurance protection of the VW drivers. Therefore the VW AG formed their own insurance co., the "VW Insurance Services (Pty) Ltd." Assembled VW cars by SAMAD in:

1954 — 704
1957 — 4,402
1959 — 13,668.

Today Daimler-Benz controls the American Studebaker-Packard Corp. (Flick)

Further ties with Volkas and with the exponents of the S.A. racial Policy.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

In contrast to the AEG concern which prefers a collaboration with the circles of international finance *siemens* shows a distinct leaning towards the Volkas group.

Director of the S.A. distribution and engineering enterprises, Siemens, S.A. (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg, is William Bedford Goetzen who represents most of the Holding companies belonging to Volkskas as a director or board member.

In the case of Labour Construction Ltd., Johannesburg a direct

representation of interest of West German capital by leading personalities of the S.A. government can be proven.

Labour Construction Ltd., is the combined establishment of three W. German building contractors: Muller & Co., Surface and Underground Building Ltd., Esseen; Arthur Simon, Building Contractors Ltd., Cologne; J. Gollnow & Son, Karlsruhe.

The company (W. German capital £250,000) is primarily engaged in building railways. The management is in the hands of the South African Minister of Economics, Nicholas Diederichs.

GERMAN IMPERIALISM

The preference shown by W. German concerns for the S.A. White middle class of German origin strengthened the influence of W. German economy far above the proportions given in any tables.

A classic example of the penetration of W. German capital in South Africa and its merging with native capital of German origin can be found in the S.W. African Trust Metje & Ziegler Ltd. The firm was founded in 1906 in Windhoek in its present name and with German colonial status.

It has at its disposal an original capital of £600,000 and practically controls the trade in S.W. Africa.

A subsidiary company builds tractors and motors and takes on engineering projects, and represents the Siemens concern in S.W. Africa. In the chair of Metje & Ziegler is E. A. Behnsen, one of the most influential shareholders and directors of breweries, canning and fish-canneries, also director of Ohlthaver & List Trust Co., which is linked with Schering. Directors of M & Z are: M. S. Louw (affiliated with VW and Volkscas) branch of Neusser Screw Factories, Bauer & Schaurte and many enterprises of the Volkscas group; R. P. Froehlich, partner of many industrial enterprises of S.A. capitalists of

German origin and together with Ohlthaver, director of the S.A. African Karakul Sentrate, 1928 (Pty) Ltd., (German farming interests) D. D. Forsyth, former foreign secretary of the Union today director of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. (Diamond monopoly of AAC group, partner of Deutsche Bank).

CAPITALISTS

The close relationship of the W. German capital with S.A. capitalists German and Afrikaans origin forged a strong entry into the S.A. Market. W. Germany's share of import into the Union increased by 6% between the years 1952/56 during which period Gr. Britain's part dropped by the same amount. Today the Union ranks third in W. Germany's export to overseas countries after the USA and India.

The trade balance shows a considerable surplus in W. Germany. By 1960 the balance reached £38.6 million more than double that of the S.A. export to W. Germany, which reached £17 million.

The West German concerns were engaged in substantial deliveries to all important state building programmes. "wealth"

WEST GERMAN INFILTRATION

The driving forces for the activity of W. German monopoly in S. A. aim at colonial profits, new export markets and fresh raw material sources. The W. German monopoly speculates on easier conditions for infiltration after that Union's withdrawal from the Commonwealth. In 1960, Nicholas Diederichs, S.A. Minister of Economy and Trade declared already at a conference in Bonn with Adenauer and Ehrhardt: "For S. A. the collaboration with

the European Trade Community is of extreme importance since S. A.'s withdrawal from the Commonwealth".

He announced his intention to interest more W. German industrial concerns in setting up branches in S.A.

For reasons for their own success and profit the W. German capitalists welcome the good relationship with the enterprises of the extreme wing of the S.A. White middle class of German origin in S.A. Wolf Radman, managing director of the German-S.A. board of trade, Johannesburg declared: "Apart from political problems which no country of the world can escape and which are no more complicated in S.A. than in most other countries, S.A. offers very attractive possibilities for investments. The government system is a stable one, the administration is lawful, the financial system is familiar—where else on the African continent could similar favourable opportunities be found?"

This attitude of an authoritarian body of W. German economy in S.A. shows a distinct contrast to the already outlined trend of the majority of the White middle class.

The extraordinary strategic importance of S.A. plays a significant part in W. German projects and plans for the acquisition of industries and sources of raw materials in the Union.

A branch of the Henchel—Werk, Johannesburg, is already engaged in the productions for the all white S.A. army.

Leading W. German militarists would like to see the formation of SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organisation) which would be co-ordinated with NATO and SEATO and embrace the Portuguese colonies and British Protectorates in Southern Africa, which would serve to halt the national freedom movement of the peoples.

PORTUGUESE fascism is nearly 40 years old. In 1936, seven years before Hitler's rise to power the military coup d'Etat of May 28 opened the gates to Salazar's fascism and with it to the reign of the international monopolies, of the great landed proprietors, of the upper Portuguese bourgeoisie.

Today in Portugal there is one owner among 14 active inhabitants, in other words one Portuguese who lives from the work of 13 others. All but a small minority are dominated by foreign imperialism. The British, American, West-German, French, Belgian, Dutch, Japanese, Swedish, etc. capitalists hold the most important positions in the banks and insurance companies, in industrial and agricultural production, in transport and in trade, both internal and external.

In the Portuguese colonies the situation is even more shameful. The grand bourgeoisie still occupy a good place at the sharing out of booty from Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, San Tome and Prince Island, Timor and Macao. But the lion's share is a question of diamonds, coffee and oil, has for a long time reverted to the internal monopolies which exploit Portugal.

POVERTY IN COLONIES

The reverse side of the coin is under-development and poverty for the colonial peoples and the Portuguese people themselves: in Portugal, the national annual income per inhabitant is 200 dollars, of which 39 per cent is for the workers and 61 per cent for the capitalists; there are hundreds of thousands of unemployed, more than 40,000 emigrants per year, more than 90 per cent of the houses are without electricity or running water and 40 per cent are illiterate.

This reality is not solely the work of the economic power of the monopolies, the result of an unequal struggle in the process of concentration of wealth. It was a desired result, imposed by the actions of the Salazar regime: and above all by his policy of terror and violence against all classes and layers of the

HOW PORTUGUESE FASCISM WORKS

by **A Special Correspondent**

population, against all the parties and social forces which opposed fascist monopolist and foreign domination. "The Revolution is still going on," say the Salazarists. And indeed, for dozens of years the New State has been denying the most elementary democratic freedom to the people, has been organising and enforcing its dictatorship on the Portuguese nation.

OPPOSITION TO SALAZAR

It is the sum total of this growing offensive of this methodical and brutal assault on the most elementary rights of man and on national independence, which demonstrates the full amplitude of this campaign against freedom of expression in Portugal.

For nearly 40 years now the Salazar State has been trying to prevent the various classes and anti-monopolist strata from giving expression to its thoughts and from manifesting a free and national intention. Political trade union and social activities, the means of information, education and recreation, works of art and scientific achievements must harmonize with the narrow social basis of the Regime, its propaganda, its interests, its ideological schemes, become its instruments or be exposed to arbitrary persecution.

The Political Constitution in force since 1933, gives the power of law to these concepts and anti-democratic procedures. In Article 22 it establishes that "Public opinion is a fundamental element of the policy and administration of the country. The State is charged with

the defence of all factors susceptible to orientation against the truth, justice, good administration and the common good".

Article 23 affirms that:

"The press exercises a function of a public nature. It cannot refuse to publish (...) governmental reports".

Thus, to the Salazar regime the defence of national public opinion does not mean giving it all possible means of expressing itself, of dollars per person, to buy a daily following and achieving its aspirations and rights. On the very contrary it has to be subordinated to the designs of the Regime.

GREATEST CRISIS

Thus the attempt is made to prevent it, in any way, from speaking up against the monopoly State—which means forbidding it to denounce "the fascist truth and justice" and preventing it from gaining its freedom.

The Portuguese fascist regime is undergoing the greatest crisis in its history. Caught between the pro-social movements of the colonial peoples and the growth of the popular anti-fascist movement in Portugal, Salazarism is threatened to its very foundations.

In an endeavour to bring about the resolution of this crisis, the Government has unleashed a wave of demagogic propaganda; is redoubling its violence and terror and increasing the country's dependence on foreigners.

The information media and the dissemination of culture, the jour-

nalists, artists, teachers, scientists are amongst the first victims of this offensive which only illustrates the anguish of the regime.

Their position and their action is all the more difficult since their activities—for the most part radio, television, theatre and cinema—are also the direct victims of monopolist domination.

The theatre, literature, the radio, film, television and other means of expression have been stifled by a censorship controlled by the PIDE (political police) which only tolerates mediocre works of fascist praise. It is publicly notorious that the First Prize in the competition for the monument to the discoverers of the Portuguese maritime possessions to be built in Sagres was won by a group of progressive architects. Salazar, himself, insisted on their being disqualified. In the theatre even Shakespeare and Lope de Vega plays are forbidden.

VICTIMISATION

Writer Aquilino Ribeiro, a candidate for the Nobel Prize saw a book of his seized for having written in his first novel, "For whom the wolves howl", published in 1959, such phrases as the following: "But laboratories and cutting instruments are banished from countries which walk barefoot"; as for himself, he was brought up before the Political Tribunal.

"To write under such conditions", said one of the greatest contemporary Portuguese writers, Ferreira de Castro, "is real torture, because the evil lies not only in the existence of the censorship, but also in the fear of what it might forbid. When writing, each one of us imagines a fictitious censor standing by his writing desk—and this invisible incorporal presence robs us of all spontaneity, of our élan, and forces us to mask our thoughts, if not to abandon them, leaving us forever with this obsession: "Will they let this pass?"

The P.I.D.E. has been arresting the great personalities of national

culture one by one. Recently it was the turn of Manuel de Oliveira, the greatest Portuguese film producer; of Rogerio Paulo, the First Prize winner of the Paris Theatre des Nations in 1962; of Alves Redol, one of the five greatest Portuguese novel writers of our time; and the dozens of other intellectuals, people who were put in prison and even tortured.

ASSASSINATIONS

At the end of 1961 a gang of P.I.D.E. men shot the eminent anti-fascist sculptor Dias Coelho in a street in Lisbon.

Within the framework of the present Portuguese situation in spite of the tremendous economic and cultural backwardness, the repression and the almost complete control of the main organs by the monopolies, the press continues to play a big role in the life of the country.

True, in Portugal 40 per cent of the population are illiterate and 70 per cent of the inhabitants have never attended school. In certain regions the poverty is so great that a newspaper is considered a luxury, carefully preserved by the families of the peasants and agricultural workers to use as a table cloth on feast days.

The circulation of the dailies is very small. "O Seculo" the most important of them, only publishes about 100,000 copies a day.

In 1960, for 1,000 inhabitants the total Portuguese daily newspaper circulation was only 68 copies. In Czechoslovakia, in the same year

All the same, for a population which has an annual income of 200 dollar per person, to buy a daily paper (30 copies for one dollar) is still the cheapest means of information. For the majority of industrial and agricultural workers, who represent more than half the active Portuguese population and on an average earn only 20 and 10 dollars a month respectively, a daily paper from time to time is in any case the only source of legal information they

can allow themselves.

In fact, in 1960, among 1,000 inhabitants only 85 owned radios as compared with 253 in Czechoslovakia, for the same year. As for television viewers, there the situation is even more serious: 5 television sets for 1,000 inhabitants.

Taking into account that it is rare for a Portuguese author to have his works published in an edition of more than 10,000 copies, and that, on an average, each Portuguese inhabitant only visits the cinema three times a year, a theatre once in eleven years, a concert once in 383 years, and a ballet once in 497 years, one may conclude that the press is still the means of information and even of cultural dissemination that is nearest to the large masses of the population.

The Portuguese priest de Campos an emigra in Brazil, wrote the following in his book "The truth and the Myth about Salazarism", published in 1963:

The experience we had from 1948 to 1952, when we were working on the newspaper "A. Defesa in Evora", showed us very clearly that the censorship is very rigorous. It was only subject to purely political criteria. We have seen in another chapter that not even the archbishops are exempt from censorship. I can still hear in my ears the disagreeable echo of the words shouted by the employee charged with carrying the proofs to the censor the moment he turned: "There are some cuts". In fact one could see no reason why the censor should respect the archbishops if it didn't even spare the Pope. When it was a question of the encyclicals, Mater et Magistra or Pacem in Terris, the censor always found something to say about its adaptation from the point of view of the Church of Portugal.

The Salazar regime sees to it that the actions of the censor are accompanied by violent repressive measures.

THE PATH OF REPRESSION

Today, there remains only one liberal newspaper. All the others have either been forcibly closed down or obliged to abandon the

ALLIES OF APARTHEID

(Continued from page 28)

A well-known authority of German SATO propaganda is the former defence chief of Rommel's staff, Major-general F. W. von Mellenthin today occupies a leading position with W. German Luftwaffe, Cologne. Similar demands are made by the NATO publication "Revue Militaire, issued by gene-

rals Speidel and Heusinger.

Numerous organisations and unions of the incorrigible German Fascists, militarists and colonialists attempt in conjunction with the South African Whites to win over the W. German public for the Apartheid ideology and to misuse the German minority in South Africa for their neo-colonialistic aims

The Bonn Government has revealed its attitude clearly by friendly gestures to the Verwoerd Regime, by refusing to assist in the international commercial boycott of S.A. products; by tolerating the annexation of S. W. Africa by the Union; by encouraging the emigration of W. German citizens to S. A.: from political angles; and through supporting S. Africans of German origin to act as coalition partners to the Nationalist Party. Under the pressure of the anti-imperialist liberatory movement of the peoples, W. German imperialism faces an insoluble problem. According to its nature and inclinations it urges for an unconditional merger with the Fascist forces of S.A. and already today it must take into account the change of forces in S.A. in favour of the majority of the S.A. population.

It has to be noted that the W. German holdings despite favourable profits and transfer conditions for investment show some restraint in relationship to other countries, especially Latin America, following an American-French Group, 2 W. German banking houses have appeared as buyers for S.A. securities deposited of by British shareholders. The Bonn government is forced to disguise its sympathy with Apartheid and the attitude of W. German imperialism influenced by various considerations and cannot be termed as unanimous. On the whole, the W. German-S. African relationship—however different it appears in various ways, must lead to the conclusion that W. German imperialism is prepared to take on the role of a principal ally of the S. A. racial policy and accept the risks connected with it. And risks there surely are!

among many.

Foreign journalists do not escape this persecution either. De Angelis and A Repetto, Italian journalists sent by Il Popolo and Avanti, were arrested, interrogated for a whole night long and then expelled from Portugal for having wanted to attend the trial of those accused of the Deja uprising. A regime which closes its doors to such diverse newspapers as "Temoignage Chretien, l'Express, or L'Humanite. Le Combat cannot allow itself the luxury of serious information about the affairs of the country.

ATTENTION!

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For 1965

party as a result of economic and administrative difficulties imposed by the Regime.

The regional press is also subjected to the barrage fire of repression.

Cultural journals such as "O Diabo" (The Devil), "O Sol Nas-centre" (The Rising Sun), "O Mundo Literario" (The Literary World), were banned on account of the campaigns they ran for peace and democracy.

Students' magazines and journals have frequently been suspended or closed down. In 1963 the periodical of the Law Faculty of Lisbon University Quadrante, was also banned for having published an historical Portuguese caricature entitled Universidade Caduque.

PERSECUTIONS

Journals are constantly under surveillance and are persecuted by the managing boards of the monopolist papers and by the P.I.D.E.

The majority of them being anti-Salazarist, it is very hard for them under the present conditions to maintain their jobs for any length of time without being suspended, dismissed or impressed. On February 20, 1964, the Assistant Secretary of State at the Presidium Council put it quite clearly to the 2nd Congress of the Regional Press Proprietors: "Portuguese journalists have the honour to occupy positions of combat. Consequently it is their responsibility not to betray us".

There are journalists in the prisons of Peniche, Caxias and Aljube. There have been journalists who, in order to escape Salazarist persecutions, have chosen the difficult path of exile.

The names of David Carvalho, Manuel de Azevedo, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, Jose Tengarrinha, Manuel Alpedrinha, Miguel Urbano Rodrigues, Jaime Brasil, Jorge Reis, Ribero dos Santos and Paulo Braga are only some examples

Colonial Imperialism in Southern Africa

by
A Correspondent

DURING the last few years new successes have been recorded in the battle against colonialism; and this year Malawi gained her independence on July 5, while Zambia on October 24. This brought the number of independent African states up to 35.

In order to realise the importance of the new situation in Africa it should be recalled that seven years ago there were only eight independent states in Africa.

AFRICAN UNITY

The peoples in the still unliberated territories, whose struggle for independence has the undivided support and sympathy of all peace-loving forces in the world have also made considerable progress along their road to freedom. They have consolidated their ranks, established closer mutual contacts, and reached a higher degree of unity of action, while they have also strengthened their links with the progressive forces and movements in the world.

Thus fortified in the development, and relying on the Organisation of African Unity and the anti-colonial forces throughout the world, they view the future with confidence. They are however, well aware of the difficulties and obstacles being put in their way by the colonial powers and some other capitalist states. Prepared to settle peacefully the disputed issues arising from their relations with these countries, these nations are no longer determined to use all possible means to preserve their rights.

According to the plans of the colonialists and the racists in

South Africa, the northern borders of Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Angola form the line at which the process of African liberation is to be halted. Even those who advocate such a campaign, however, do not believe in its effectiveness.

South of this line there are immensely rich regions covering an area of 5,224,000 square kilometres and inhabited, according to official statistics, by over 33 million people.

Certain conditions are obstructing the struggle for liberation in this region. In the first place there are over 3.5 million white settlers living in this part of Africa, of whom 3.1 million are in the area ruled by the South African racists. The presence of such a large number of settlers should not from the African point of view present an insoluble problem given the good will of the interested parties. The leaders of the African national liberation movements have stressed on several occasions that their people are prepared to accord the white minority equal rights, and allow them to live and work in peace where they are now living.

What the Africans cannot admit is the white settlers claim to be accorded a privileged and superior position. This is the essence of the problems and difficulties with which the colonial peoples in the African countries and in the international community now have to contend.

Another circumstance which is greatly hampering the struggle of the peoples living in this area is the economic interests of a number of Western states, which determine latter's positions and policy in the United Nations Organisation and elsewhere.

At the last session of the UN General Assembly the representatives of the African states devoted special attention to the attitude and activities of some NATO member-countries which are extending ample aid of various kinds, including armaments to Portugal and the

South African racists.

In the opinion of the most of the African representatives, one may say of the majority in the UN, this behaviour on the part of some NATO member-countries and other states is a decisive factor in holding up and obstructing the process of decolonisation.

VOICE OF AFRICA

The statements made by the delegates of Ghana and Tanganyika during discussions on the situation in the Portuguese colonies were characteristic of the views on the policy of the countries referred to.

The Ghanaian delegate pointed out that Portugal would not be able to deal so mercilessly with the defenceless African population if she were not receiving assistance from outside, and went on to name one by one, the NATO members who were either supplying Portugal with armaments or tacitly approving her actions.

The representative of Tanganyika also spoke about the ineffectiveness so far of the United Nations process of decolonisation, and said: "Events in the colonies under Portuguese domination, and in the southern regions of Africa where the European settlers are in power, have taken a dangerous turn for the decisions of the UN intended to prevent this dangerous trend are being sabotaged by powerful forces both inside and outside the world organisation."

The guilt and responsibility for paralyzing UN activities in this area lie with Portugal and her allies, especially those in NATO. There is irrefutable evidence that the arms being used by Portugal were supplied by leading Western powers. We Africans view this with serious concern, especially when we realize that the racist regime in the South African Republic and the regimes of the settlers in Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere are arming themselves with similar weapons, procured from the same sources."

Certain common interests of the colonial powers and some other

countries along the line mentioned and also to the south of it, require more detailed explanation, all the more so as we are also witnessing certain classes of interests among the leading Western powers in this other regions, as well as conflicts of their monopolies.

There are conflicting interests in Southern Africa among the leading capitalist states; but although common interests are only temporary and occasional, contradictions are sometimes pushed into the background and a certain degree of solidarity presented.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS

Thus the liberation movements in that part of the world and the African states are today faced with the joint action of different countries which, irrespective of their separate and specific interests, are objectively obstructing and holding up the process of decolonisation.

We have already mentioned the fact that some Western states are arming Portugal, the South African Republic and the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. To this we should add some instances showing how the joint opposition of a number of countries to UN activities have paralyzed the latter, and held up the process of decolonisation in the southern part of Africa.

At the XVIIth and XVIIIth session of UN the leading Western countries either opposed or abstained from voting on resolutions demanding an urgent halt to the colonial war in the territories under Portuguese rule, granting the population of these territories the right to self-determination and putting a stop to arms deliveries.

Despite legal and other arguments to justify such a vote, this meant in point of fact support of Portuguese policy. A similar attitude adopted by these countries on the resolution on South Africa and apartheid likewise meant objective support for the policy pursued in the South African Republic.

The concrete effect of this attitude is indicated by an analysis of

the resolution demanding the application of economic and other sanctions against the South African Republic.

At the XVIIIth session 16 countries voted against this resolution. In 1962 these 16 countries took 77.3 per cent of South-African exports and accounted for 77.6 per cent of her imports. (The share of Great Britain, USA, the Federal German Republic, France and Japan in South Africa's exports and imports in 1962 was 53.7 per cent respectively). The importance of these countries to the success of any UN campaign for the application of sanctions can be seen from the official data, which indicate that practically the entire export of some articles produced in the Republic of South Africa goes to only a few countries.

Thus in 1960 91.2 per cent wool, 100 per cent maize, 92.5 per cent fresh vegetables, 85.5 per cent skins and hides, 98.9 per cent non-metal ores, 98.2 per cent copper ore, 93 per cent pig iron, 99.9 per cent precious stones, etc., were exported to ten of the countries which voted against sanctions.

EXPLOITATION

The vast wealth of the regions under discussions and their highly profitable exploitation; when important economic interests of the leading Western countries and the fairly high number of white settlers, explain to a large extent the existing however temporary unity of interest of a number of Western countries on the one hand, and of the colonial powers and the Verwoerd regime on the other.

Although the economic interests of the Western countries, primarily the United States, Great Britain and France, in other South African colonies (Angola, Mozambique, and Southern Rhodesia) are by no means small, the greater part of their investments lie in the Republic of South Africa.

According to South Africa statistics for 1961, published by the South African Reserve Bank, in December 1962, the total value of

foreign investments in the South African Republic and South West Africa was 4,253 million dollars, and 85 per cent of this sum was accounted for by private (direct or indirect) investments, the remaining sum going on public investments.

Great Britain tops the list with a total of 2,526 milliard dollars at the end of 1961, followed by the United States with 505 million, and international organisations (The International Monetary Fund, The International Bank, The International Financial Corporation and the International Development Association) with 269 million dollars. Then come Switzerland with 179 million, the former Central African Federation with 122 million, Belgium and Luxemburg with 53 million dollars.

It should be pointed out here that in spite of the South African Republic being generally condemned by public opinion, most of these countries' investments continue to grow, and the profits of foreign companies are increasing while the rights of the Africans in the South African Republic are being drastically restricted and their general situation is deteriorating. British investment profits have jumped from 59 million dollars in 1959 to 80 million in 1962, and those of the USA during the same period from 42 to 72 million dollars thus reaching the level attained by American investors in total direct investments throughout the rest of Africa.

The profits made by foreign investors can be seen from the fact that, although British investments in the Republic only amounts to seven per cent of total British investments abroad, their share in total foreign profits is 13 per cent.

The same applies to direct investments of the US in the South African Republic, which amount to one per cent of their total foreign investments abroad, and bring in 1.7 per cent of total profits. Any further explanation of the deep interest in preserving these positions and profits in the South African Repu-

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Tests for Democracy

SOUTH Africa provides an acid test for lovers of democracy and human dignity. The fight for human values has taken different forms in South Africa. People of South Africa continue a relentless war against colonialism.

Many African States have realised their aspirations and gained independence. South Africa, will however, be remembered always as a dark spot where humanity was required to pay the heaviest price for asserting itself. Neither human values nor prudence weigh with the Government of the Union of South Africa. The Nationalist Party of South Africa makes tall claims of being wedded to democratic institutions, but these claims cannot bear scrutiny for a moment.

Here is a Government, a Member of the United Nations Organisation, supposed to be wedded to democracy and pledged to the provisions of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, resorting to means and methods which are a negation of the basic principles of democracy and fundamental rights.

The advent of the Nationalist Party of South Africa to power witnessed a piece of legislation, known as Pass Laws, which brought in its wake, more repressive measures to assert racial supremacy of the white population.

The Pass Laws required the native population to carry passes on their person whenever they left their homes. Immediately the Pass Laws came into operation, Sharpeville became front-page news all over the world. Repressive measures for suppressing Anti-Pass Laws campaign left the people in horror and indignation against the Union of South Africa. In a few weeks thousands of Africans were arrested and kept in prison.

Undeterred by public opinion throughout the world, the Govt. of the Union of South Africa, stepped up their campaign for asserting superiority of the white race and

devised a method of dividing the entire population into white group areas and black group areas, reserving for the white population 7/8th of the entire land and insisting upon the non-white population which is 2/3rd of the entire population, to shift to 1/8th of the total area.

Group Areas Act accentuated the process of segregation. The decisions of the Group Area Development Board set up under the Group Areas Act, demarcated areas exclusively meant for different racial groups.

SATANIC LAWS

This uprooted tens of thousands of persons and rendered them homeless without recourse to any remedial measures—legal or otherwise. The recent decision in pursuance of this policy will remove 2000 Africans from their homes in Besterspruit where they have lived for over 50 years.

In February 1963, Africans were removed despite opposition from the Vryheid Town Council before alternative accommodation was ready. They were obliged to live in tents. The South African Government has also announced its decision to reserve the Western Cape Province for the Whites and Coloureds (people of mixed descent) and established two committees on 23rd November, 1962, to help implement the decision.

The Bantu Law Amendment Bill is designed to impose stricter controls on movement of Africans into urban areas and to send back by force to Bantu reserves such Africans as are not considered essential even though they have lived in the urban areas for as long as 50 years.

They have also expelled "foreign Bantus"—Africans who are not technically citizens of the Union of South Africa—many of whom have been permanent residents in South Africa. This is actuated by the evil design of changing the ratio of population against the indigenous population as they have simultaneously provided inducement for the immi-

gration of Europeans. Almost one million alien Africans are affected. The Bantustan theory or practice or policy has been referred to by Dr. Verwoerd as a possible way out.

The Transkei, a reserved area under Bantu Laws, is cited as a glorious example of African people marching happily to independence. All delegates of the UNO who visited South Africa have been seen through the trick and fraud of Bantustans. These locations where Africans are concentrated are so contrived as to be under surveillance and provide segregation of labour force.

The Government is pushing ahead with its policy of total segregation by abolishing even the limited rights of six million Africans in the so-called "White Areas", which cover 7/8th of the territory and which have the African majority.

On 2th May, 1963, "Pageview", a non-white location in Johannesburg, inhabited by almost 5,000 persons of Indian and Pakistani origin as well as some "Malays", "Coloureds", and Chinese, was proclaimed a White group area. The non-whites were obliged to vacate their residential premises within three months, business premises within twelve months and move to a location twenty miles away.

On 10th May, 1963, "Poqo", "Umkonto We Sizwe" (Spear of the Nation) and two other organisations were banned on the ground that they were the same as Pan-Africanist Congress or the African National Congress. Nearly 150 persons were detained without trial under this Act by 26th June, 1963.

The South African Government has lost all sense of proportion in rooting out opposition. Rev. Dr. Arthur Blaxall, an elderly priest, who has devoted his life to the service of the deaf and blind in South Africa, is an outspoken critic of the policy of Apartheid. No one accused him of being a Communist. He was dubbed as a Communist, because the South African Govern-

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A MESSAGE TO GHANA

By

E.L. MAKOTI
P.A.C. Representative

BRING to the Osagyefo, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana and the people of this country the warm brotherly greetings of the African people of South Africa.

The admiration of the people of Ghana by the African people of South Africa is known the world over. They regard Ghana as the Mecca of African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism, and the leadership of the Osagyefo, as the fount of their inspiration and dedication from which they must drink copiously from time to time.

The golden star of the P.A.C. flag radiating in all directions from that part of West Africa that is Ghana is abundant evidence of that admiration. We are proud of it.

A few days after my arrival in Accra, the National Headquarters of my Party in Lesotho reported the arrest in Maseru of two members of our National Executive Committee. Messrs T. T. Letlaka and E. M. Mfaha and three others whose names have not yet been disclosed, on allegations of having contravened the "PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE ABROAD" proclamation enacted by the British Administration in Basutoland to persecute and prosecute political refugees who engage in political activity that is likely to endanger the good relations existing between Basutoland and friendly neighbouring countries.

LESOTHO

It will be recalled that Lesotho is one of three British High Commission Territories in Southern Africa. Its territory is completely surrounded by the Boer Republic of South Africa, and therefore the "friendly neighbouring countries" can only refer to South Africa with whom Lesotho shares its only border.

This lovable mountainous country is on the eve of constitutional advancement which will lead to full leadership of Ntsu Mokhehle and his Basutoland Congress Party, a sister organisation with whom the P.A.C.

enjoys the friendliest relationships, factors which are the constant source and cause of nightmare and sleepless nights on the part of the white minority Boer settlers.

It is universally known that the Boer Republic of South Africa practices the obnoxious racist policies of apartheid and white supremacy. These policies have stunted down the status of man and the normal growth of the human personality on a scale unprecedented in human history.

OPPRESSION

For 312 years the African people of South Africa have been criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded, but nonetheless, they reject white supremacy in all its forms and manifestations. There are unflinchingly determined to wrest the control of their country from alien hands. The undisguised truth is that white supremacy was established by the sword, is maintained by the sword and can only be overthrown by the sword.

The racist minority government of the Boer Republic of South Africa has entered into a diabolical conspiracy against the African people of Southern Africa with the British Administration at present ruling Basutoland in the same manner as it has done with the racist Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia and the fascist Portuguese colonialists in Angola and Mozambique.

In its news columns, a South African newspaper recently observed: "South Africa's history of the violent Cape frontier days is repeating itself with increasing savagery along the Free State eastern border, as armed white farmers keep vigil on stock thieves from Basutoland."

Here indeed is a serious allegation against the people of Lesotho which, if true, would justify the steps taken to combat it.

We who have lived with the racist Boers for 312 years understand well enough their political intrigues and machinations to warn the world of the sinister motives and objectives

underlying these allegations. We are not impressed by the ingenious hatching of networks of cattle thefts. They may provide a good reason for panicky racists to order an armed embargo against an unarmed neighbour, but our submission is that the alleged thefts are not the REAL cause.

It will further be recalled that the P.A.C. being banned in South Africa has established its National Headquarters in Maseru, capital of Lesotho where is stationed its Presidential Council, acting on collective leadership of the Party in the unavoidable absence of the South African National leader, Mangaliso Sobukwe, who is detained indefinitely on Robben Island, off the Capetown mainland. And this after serving a three years' term of imprisonment for the 1960 campaign of positive action against the humiliating pass laws resulting in the Sharpeville and Langa massacres of defenceless activists by the South African fascist Boer Police.

DISPOSSESSION

It will again be recalled that the "frontier days" mentioned in the newspaper report quoted above refers to the wars of dispossession fought between the invading white and the resisting indigenous Africans, using alleged cattle-stealing by Africans as pretext for their invasion and dispossession, needless to say that when they first arrived the Boers possessed no cattle until they had fraudulently robbed Africans of their cattle and land.

It will in addition be noted that the white minority Boer settler Parliament of South Africa has a deadly fear of the positive power of the African people and their national

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Test of Democracy

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ment had no reply to his criticism. He was charged under so-called Suppression of Communism Act. Anybody who does not agree with the South African Government is dubbed as a Communist and is either detained without trial or is sentenced.

Pocket size tear-gas bombs operating like a fly spray are on sale in Johannesburg. The Cannisters cost about 12 dollars and contain about 80 shots each "enough to deal with a whole mob if necessary". They are sold only to the whites and the demand has been quite brisk. They are freely used against non-white population.

The repression is so widespread that even the Courts of Law reflect it. The following extracts testify to the atmosphere of fear prevailing in Courts:

"The atmosphere in court was chilling, almost terrifying. Iron Gates barred the way. Police—hundreds of them, uniformed and armed, Special Branch men, masses and masses of them—amongst the spectators in the courtroom, watching every word spoken on the spectators' benches."

"Some of the Africans accused maintained most definitely that they had been tortured in different ways—suffocated with wet bags given electrical and other treatment".

Large Scale arrests, wholesale detentions, demonstration of group areas etc. entail a heavy strain on the economy of South Africa.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

The Expenditure for defence has risen from 44 million Rand for financial year 1960-61 to 72 million for 1961-62 and 129 million Rand for 1962-63. The estimate for 1963-64 is 157 million Rand, nearly four times the amount spent before the Sharpeville incident and the Security Council resolution of 1960 April. Police expenditure during the same period has risen from 30 mil-

lion Rand to 47 million Rand.

The armed forces are entirely white except for some labourers. No city in the world had as many privately owned small arms as Johannesburg, some 100,000 licensed weapons for a white population of less than 500,000.

Had it not been for the huge funds supplied by Great Britain and by the USA the strain would have broken South African economy and would have forced them to retrace their steps.

The South African arms contracts provide strategic arms to South Africa and build up the foreign trade and economy of U.K. On 6th May, 1963, Neil Marten Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Aviation told the House of Commons that at least fifty companies were engaged in the manufacture of aircraft and aircraft equipment for South Africa.

In fact, UK is the principal supplier for South Africa. This is in addition to other purchases made through the Portuguese Government. The New York Herald Tribune Disclosed that the South can Government has made substantial purchases of arms in Europe through the Portuguese Government.

INVESTMENT

The total value of foreign investment in South Africa amounted to 4253 million dollars at the end of 1961, the most recent year for which data are available. The United Kingdom is leading by a wide margin. In fact, 63.6% of the investment is from the United Kingdom. The USA follows with 12% being the second largest investor in South Africa. The total investment of UK was 2526 million dollars at the end of 1961, and that of USA 505 million dollars. Although considerable decline in the values of total holdings occurred in 1960, a year of riot at Sharpeville, a substantial additional investment took place in 1961-62 and 1963.

It was said in a pamphlet called "The British Stake in South Africa" issued in London, in 1962, that "of all individual countries in which we hold private direct investment, South Africa last year was the one from

which we drew the biggest returns". Basil Davidson in his book "Black Mother" says that at the end of 18th century the value of British incomes derived from the West Indies, depending mainly on slave trade for its prosperity, was said to be four times greater than the value of British income derived from trade with the rest of the world. There is some similarity between that situation and what we find in South Africa. Great Britain is sustaining its prosperity by trading with South Africa, where millions of people are held in conditions of slavery.

SUPPRESSION

The racial policies of Government of South Africa and ruthless implementation thereof have been condemned generally by all Governments and non-official bodies and institutions of significance. The United Nations have been seized of this problem of Apartheid since its inception and have passed 29 Resolutions asking South Africa to scrap measures so inhuman and so brutal.

Repeated appeals by the General Assembly since its inception and the Security Council during the last nearly a decade, to the Union of South Africa to desist from the discriminatory racial policies and to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality have failed to evoke any response from the Government of South Africa.

On the contrary, the United Nations appeals have been met by sterner measures of repression and suppression of civil liberties. Dr. Verwoerd replying to a vote of no-confidence has categorically stated that he wants to keep South Africa white.

Keeping it white can only mean one thing, namely, domination, no leadership, not guidance, but control and supremacy.

The Special Committee set up by the UNO has also on numerous occasions drawn the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council to the drastic repressive measures undertaken by the Republic of South Africa such as impr-

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sonment of 1500 persons on the allegation that they were suspected to belong to an underground organisation called "Poqo". Even the International Commission of Jurists on 15th May 1963, has categorically stated that South Africa is now more a Police State. What else is necessary to arouse the conscience of the civilised world?

POLICE STATE

Compelled by continuing non-compliance, the Security Council had to pass a resolution on 4th December, 1963, which inter alia provided:

1. Appeals to all States to comply with the provisions of Security Council resolution S/5386 of 7th August, 1963;

2. Urgently requests the Government of the Republic of South Africa to cease forthwith its continued imposition of discriminatory and repressive measures which are contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter and which are in violation of its obligations as a Member of the United Nations and of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

3. Condemns the non-compliance by the Government of the Republic of South Africa with the appeals contained in the above-mentioned resolution of the General Assembly and the Security Council;

4. Again calls upon the Government of South Africa to liberate all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of Apartheid;

5. Solemnly calls upon all States to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa.

6. Requests The Secretary-General to establish under his direction and reporting to him a small group of recognised experts to examine methods of resolving the present situation in South Africa through full, peaceful and orderly application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all inhabitants of the territory as a whole, regardless of race, colour or creed, and to consider what part the United Na-

tions might play in the achievement of that end;

7. Invites the Government of the Republic of South Africa to avail itself of the assistance of this group in order to bring about such peaceful and orderly transformation;

8. Requests The Secretary-General to continue to keep the situation under observation and report to the Security Council such new developments as may occur and in any case not later than 1st June, 1964, on the implementation of this Resolution.

An overwhelming majority of the members of the UNO have realised that persuasion has failed to effect any change in the attitude of the South African Government and that other means have to be resorted to.

WHAT STEP

All diplomatic pressure and peaceful methods of persuasion have gone unheeded. Time has come when we should realise that general declarations or recommendations to the Member States of non-binding character are of little use: Pressure will have to be applied in an effective way. It can be effective only if the major trading partners of South Africa, in which England tops the list, fall in line with the rest of the world.

In 1958, at the meeting of the All African People's Conference the delegation from South Africa tabled a resolution for an international boycott of South African goods. It was acted upon by a number of countries outside the continent of Africa, but had little effect on the economy of South Africa. Fears have been entertained that unless the major trading partners of South Africa are willing to support sanctions, they will not be effective.

In spite of callous indifference shown by major trading partners of South Africa, the people's leaders have maintained their equanimity and have offered to safe-guard the interests of the white population.

Walter Sisulu, who is among those who are indefinitely detained, has stated that the fundamental principle in their struggle is equal rights for all in their country and that all people who have made South

Africa their home by birth or adoption, irrespective of colour or creed, are entitled to these rights.

Robert Sobukwe who after serving for a period of three years is still in detention has stated that freedom of the Africans means freedom of everyone including Europeans in South Africa. Even such unequivocal assurances find no response from the Government of the Union of South Africa.

The State of affairs existing in the Union of South Africa leaves little doubt, that solemn resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly and Security Council remain only on paper and the caravan of suppression of civil liberties and segregation of black people marches on. Millions in South Africa are subjected to brutal indignities; are undergoing untold miseries; are treated as serfs; the resolutions of the UNO are flouted and still the mighty UNO hesitates to act because it is not sure whether some of the major powers will respect its directives.

Africa has not risen in arms and has avoided a bloody war in the belief that the UNO would not fail them. It is this faith in the UNO which is the only guarantee for peace in the world. To allow this faith to be shaken is to invite disintegration of the UNO.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Even South West Africa which is a mandated territory is subject to the same ruthless laws. The UNO cannot neglect its duty as a trustee. The brutalities inflicted on the people of South West Africa make it imperative for the UNO to take over the administration of the South West Africa.

Can it not be legitimately asked as to whether there is any justification for South-West Africa to continue to be governed by South Africa?

Is there no way for the UNO and the Security Council to safeguard the legitimate aspirations of weaker nations? Is it proper to allow a feeling to grow that powerful nations can thwart effective functioning of the UNO, especially when their interests are likely to be affected?

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organisation, The Pan-Africanist Congress, Vanguard of the struggle for real democracy in South Africa, and has voted large sums of money to oil the wheels of aggressive political espionage.

In addition to its high military mobilization, it operates an efficient spy ring formed, among others, by highly-placed police and governmental officials, and business persons who are white South African citizens living in the British High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

It is singularly significant that the newspaper statement quoted above was made in South Africa because it is the fore-runner of volcanic rumblings which may very well lead to international involvement, hence our concern that this thieving propensity be given its proper perspective.

The fact of the matter is that the report reveals the framework of sinister manoeuvres of aggressive espionage and provocative militarism.

True enough cattle have strayed and might even have been found in circumstances befitting theft. Certainly individuals have been brought before the courts on stock theft charges, but the matter does not begin or end there.

Imperialists have shown exceptional ingenuity in the hatching of political blackmail, and in the final analysis, the alleged thieves may yet be found to be Verwoerd agents. On the other hand, African agents and provocateurs may well be handpicked from the Basutoland side to mislead the unknowing and unwary.

The despicable complicity of the British Administration in Basutoland in the persecution of the P.A.C. must be condemned in the strongest terms.

Mr. G. M. Hector, Government Secretary told the Legislative Assembly that "political refugees from the Republic of South Africa are permitted to enter Basutoland provided they satisfy District and Central Boards that they are genuine refugees, and are then granted resident certificates without con-

ditions"

Under the circumstances why should it have been necessary to enact the obnoxious "Prevention of Violence Abroad" proclamation? The answer is not far to seek. This is but an example of parallel action on the part of the South African government and the British Administration in Basutoland. I shall now proceed to give you a few examples to illustrate this point:

When the South African Police formed guard squads outside the border posts to stop political activists crossing into Basutoland, the Basutoland Police followed suit and started on the arrests of refugees on entry offences;

When in March, 1963, the South African Police rounded up and arrested more than 10,000 PAC activists in South Africa, the Basutoland Police on April 1, 1963, raided the office of the PAC in Maseru and confiscated membership lists containing more than 20,000 names of activists who were being lined up for the 1963 campaign of positive action, which they handed over to the South African Police, and also issued a warrant of arrest against the fiery revolutionary leader, Potlako Leballo, Acting President of the PAC.

During the same period the Basutoland Police started on a series of arrests of PAC leaders and other members of Lesotho on charges of not having permits to live in Basutoland or alternatively with having given false information when applying for such permits. All prosecutions failed.

Then the Basutoland framed up charges against PAC members. One Hlabisa was arrested on four separate occasions and brought before the courts where he was proved innocent and discharged every time.

Letsika Majake has been awaiting trial in Maseru central prisons for an alleged offence of which he has twice previously been acquitted.

The Basutoland Information Office told the Press, and the British delegate to the United Nations told the UN General Assembly that 50 rounds of ammunition had been found in the PAC office, during the raids or at the homes of PAC members, when in actual fact a

Basutoland citizen unconnected with the PAC had formally been charged for possession of the same 50 rounds of ammunition.

It will be recalled that earlier this year a bomb exploded completely destroying a PAC landrover outside the home of Mr. Leballo, our Acting President, and seriously injuring two PAC members. Instead of looking for the culprits, the police searched the homes of PAC members and arrested two of them on minor offences.

Recently three B.C.P. and one P.A.C. men were brutally murdered in Basutoland when BCP organisers were ambushed by followers of a reactionary chief who supports the ineffectual Marematlou - Freedom Party which has the support of the British Administration in Basutoland and the majority of traditional chiefs some of whom police subsequently arrested.

This brings the number of killings of Freedom Fighters to 48 in the past eighteen months, 42 PAC, 3 ANC, 3 BCP and one ARM. This of course does not include police informers, agents and stooges. Not all these have been executed yet.

As with thieving propensities, the latter incident is one of many designed to provoke the powerful BCP into retaliatory action so that the British Administration in Basutoland can, in terms of the provisions of the pre-independence constitution, extend their rule in Basutoland on the grounds that BCP rule is likely to endanger the maintenance of public law and order.

South African history abounds in recorded facts of how battles were thus engineered during the earlier period of invasion and dispossession.

We have in the past issued statements, questions have been asked in the Basutoland Legco, appeals have been made to the outgoing Conservative Government of the United Kingdom for redress in these matters to no avail.

We are keenly watching the reaction of the incoming Labour Government, and must in the meantime, solicit the active support of all the peace-loving peoples of the world to hearken to our appeal, if only to avoid a blood-bath of extensive dimensions in Southern Africa.

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM

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blic, and of the actions of certain countries in the United Nations, could not add much to what can be concluded from the above.

The attitude of the countries which have been supporting the colonial forces in the south of Africa, in one form or another, has been affected by two factors: first, the activities of the African countries, which measure friendship by support of the liberation of Africa or vice versa; and, secondly, the support of the socialist and other states in the struggle of the newly-liberated and colonial peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Some of these former sympathisers have stopped sending arms to the South African Republic and Portugal. Although it might be said that they only did so when there was no doubt about the ability of the South African Republic to manufacture her own light arms and equipment, these steps have nevertheless had some effect. They have at least reduced the number of countries continuing to supply arms

to the South African Republic and Portugal, and tend to isolate and put pressure on both the former and the latter.

Although the outcome of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa is a foregone conclusion, the specific conditions which we have discussed require intensified efforts on the part of the forces of peace and progress, and more determined action for the speedy liquidation of colonialism in order to avoid unnecessary casualties.

The meetings of the heads of the independent African states, the new conference of non-aligned countries, the XIXth session of the UN General Assembly and the Afro-Asian conference to take place next year, will undoubtedly contribute to efforts to make 1965 the year proclaimed by the General Assembly as the year of international co-operation and the year during which the UN will celebrate its twentieth anniversary year which will see the final and complete liquidation of colonialism.

—Review of International Affairs.

SOUTH AFRICA

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These are questions which demand an immediate answer. People in Asia and Africa in their frustration are likely to feel that their interests may be better served by a separate organisation for Asia and Africa for solving their problems, even though they would like the UNO to be strengthened and to function as an arbiter of all disputes.

It is, therefore, imperative to make the UNO an instrument of justice for all, weak as well as powerful. Even from a practical point of view, the West and especially the British know that their continued prosperity is dependent upon their overseas markets. Frustration in Asia and Africa will force them to think of other avenues, which will disrupt

the present pattern.

A large number of emergent nations both inside Africa and outside, are wedded to the policy of economic sanctions against South Africa. What they want is that the trading partners of South Africa should undertake to see that they succeed. There is a limit beyond which no sensible man expects people to wait in the pious hope that some day the major powers who are partners of South Africa will see reason.

We appeal to the conscience of mankind to shed their indifference and move swiftly to end the injustices that are inflicted on the people of South Africa. As a first effective measure, the Security Council must apply economic sanctions against South Africa, and all member-nations must actively carry out the behests of the UNO so that it continue to be the conscience of the world.

WE ARE

FOR A

CONTINENTAL

UNION

GOVERNMENT

IN

1965

TROUBLE IN SUDAN

The Southern Sudanese do not consider that the overthrow of the military regime and the inclusion of two Southerners as Ministers in the new Government solves their problems in the least, the "Sudanese African National Union" (SANU) says in a statement issued recently.

The statement calls for a "negotiated peace" and claims that the reluctance of the Northern political parties to back up the Government in its desire to discuss matters with South was "perpetuating an atmosphere of hostility between the North and the South".

The party's President, Mr. Aggrey Jaden, told a press conference in Nairobi that the answer to the problem of the three Southern Provinces of Sudan was not an amnesty as granted by the government but a negotiated political settlement for the independence of those provinces and talks to take place in a neutral African country.

He said that the attitude of the present transitional Government in the Sudan shows that it is "trying to evade a negotiated political solution."

Since 1956 the South had been treated as "colony of Northern Sudan" and now "must have the right to self-determination for its independence."

Mr. Jaden said the "Southern Front" would withdraw its support from the Government if the latter insists on the amnesty and elections in March, before a political settlement has been reached. He insisted that this political settlement could only be independence. He said he would like the Organisation of African Unity or the United Nations "to guarantee independence as a result of talks with the provisional Government".

He said there were about 200 Sudanese refugees in Kenya and about 100,000 in other countries neighbouring Sudan.

THE KENYA CABINET

President	...	Jomo Kenyatta
Vice-President	...	Oginga Odinga
Finance	...	James Gichuru
External Affairs	...	Joseph Murumbi
Economic Planning and Development	...	Tom Mboya
Internal Security and Defence	...	Njoroge Mungai
Agriculture	...	Bruce McKenzie
Education	...	Mbiyu Koinange
Health and Housing	...	Joseph Otiende
Local Government	...	Lawrence Sagini
Commerce and Industry	...	Julius Kiano
Works and Communication	...	Dawson Mwanumba
Labour and Social Services	...	Eliud Mwandwa
Information, Broadcasting and Tourism	...	Achieng Oneko
Land and Settlement	...	Jackson Angaine
Natural Resources and Wild Life	...	Samuel Ayodo
Home Affairs	...	Daniel Moi
Co-operative and Marketing	...	Paul Ngej
Attorney General	...	Charles Njonji

One leader of the former Kenya African Democratic Union is included in the Cabinet. He is Mr. Moi, the new Home Affairs Minister. Mr. Ronald Ngala, former party leader is out.

President Kenyatta is to visit Ghana early next year at the invitation of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The Vice-President, Mr. Oginga Odinga led a Kenyan delegation to Ghana last year at the invitation of the Ghana Government.

12,000 Spanish Soldiers For Congo?

THERE are 12,000 Spanish soldiers now on the alert in Equatorial Guinea.

A cable we have received from the Spanish Colony says, 4 Spanish battleship with 2,000 soldiers have arrived in the Colony.

The ships are VASCO de NUNEZ; DESCUBIERTA; MALASPINA; PIZARRO.

Also arrived are NINE JET BOMBERS loaded with Spanish soldiers.

There are also an estimated number of 6,000 armed Spanish policemen in the colony "ready to act".

There is a pact between Franco and Salazar, and Franco has been making overtures to Moise Tshombe recently.

Are these soldiers for Congo?, Angola or Mozambique?

INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES (AS AT DECEMBER 3, 1964)

States	Population	Non-Africans	Head of Govt.	Head of State	Date of Ind.
Algeria	10,000,000	300,000	Ben Bella	Ben Bella	3.7.62
Burundi	2,300,000	3,000	Albin Nyamoya	Mwambutsa IV	30.6.62
Cameroon	4,846,000	16,000	Ahmadou Ahidjo	Ahmadou Ahidjo	1.1.60
Chad	2,730,000	5,000	Francois Tombalbaye	Francois Tombalbaye	11.8.60
Congo (Brazzaville)	795,000	11,000	Pascal Lissouba	Masseмба-Debat	15.8.60
Congo (Leopoldville)	15,000,000	120,000	Moïse Tshombe	Joseph Kasavubu	30.6.60
Dahomey	1,505,000		J. T. Ahomadegbe	Sourou Migan Apithy	1.8.60
Ethiopia	21,800,000	40,000	Aklilou Apte-Wolde	Haile Selassie I	
Gabon	421,000	5,000	Leon M'Ba	Leon M'Ba	17.8.60
Ghana	6,726,815	7,000	Kwame Nkrumah	Kwame Nkrumah	6.3.57
Guinea	3,000,000	9,000	Sekou Toure	Sekou Toure	20.10.58
Upper Volta	4,000,000	6,000	Maurice Yameogo	Maurice Yameogo	5.8.60
Ivory Coast	3,200,000	25,000	F. Houphouet-Boigny	F. Houphouet-Boigny	7.8.60
Kenya	7,300,000	300,000	Jomo Kenyatta	Jomo Kenyatta	12.12.63
Liberia	2,500,000	1,000	V. S. Tubman	V. S. Tubman	26.7.1847
Libya	1,250,000	50,000	Mahmoud al. Mountassir	Idris El Senussi I	24.12.51
Madagascar	5,239,000	70,000	Philibert Tsiranana	Philibert Tsiranana	26.6.60
Malawi	3,000,000		Hastings Kamuzu Banda	Hastings Kamuzu Banda	6.7.64
Mali	4,900,000	7,000	Modibo Keita	Modibo Keita	22.9.60
Morocco	11,598,000	350,000	Hadj Ahmed Bahni	Hassan II	2.3.56
Mauritania	730,000	2,000	Moktar Ould Daddah	Moktar Ould Daddah	28.11.60
Niger	2,850,000	3,000	Hamani Diori	Hamani Diori	3.8.60
Nigeria	40,000,000	17,000	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	1.10.60
Centrafriean Republic	1,185,000	6,000	David Dacko	David Dacko	13.8.60
Rwanda	2,700,000	7,000	Gregoire Kayibanda	Gregoire Kayibanda	30.6.62
Senegal	3,109,840	61,700	L. S. Senghor	L. S. Senghor	20.8.60
Sierra Leone	2,450,000	2,000	Albert Margai	Elizabeth II	27.4.61
Somalia	2,374,000	44,000	Abdir. R. A. Shermarke	Aden Abdulla Osman	17.60
Sudan	11,615,000	7,000	Sir. el Khatim el Khalifa		1.1.56
Tanzania	9,549,000	123,000	Julius Nyerere	Julius Nyerere	
Tanganyika (independence, 9.12.61) and Zanzibar (independence 10.12.63)				took the name Tanzania	29.10.64
Togo	1,642,000	2,000	Nicholas Grunitzky	Nicholas Grunitzky	27.4.60
Tunisia	3,965,000	250,000	Bahi Ladghem	Habib Bourguiba	20.3.56
Uganda	6,517,000	10,000	Milton Obote	Sir E. F. Mutesa II	9.10.62
U.A.R.	27,000,000	250,000	Ali Sabri	Gamal. Abdel Nasser	28.2.22
Zambia	3,600,000	77,000	Kenneth Kaunda	Kenneth Kaunda	24.10.64