

Voice of AFRICA



WE have shaped a destiny for ourselves, and no one can alter the course of that destiny. It is the destiny of complete freedom for Africa—the total liberation of our continent and its political and economic unification.

We have achieved some measure of success in this struggle for human freedom and dignity, but we still have a great task ahead. We can only know the extent of our task and our own strength when we have examined and ascertained that of the enemy.

Who is the enemy?

The enemy is imperialism, which uses as its weapons colonialism and neo-colonialism. Let us be very clear about this. Let us also not lose sight of the real objective which is the liquidation of colonialism and imperialism in all its forms—political, economic and ideological—and the political unification of Africa.

— Dr. KWAME NKRUMAH

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

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

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

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

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

**FORWARD THEN TO INDEPENDENCE. TO INDEPENDENCE NOW.
TOMORROW THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA.**



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Editor-in-Chief

KOFI BATSA

OUR OPINION

THE STRONG AND THE WEAK.

IT is not surprising that the recent talks between the Six European Common Market Members and their sixteen African associates should have broken down. The fact that these were to have been the final talks, ratifying proposals that had been shrewdly worked out by the strong 'SIX' for conditions of association with the weak sixteen makes the outcome of the talks very interesting.

It is significant that the sixteen now see with us that they are heading towards a double blow to their economies—they cannot diversify their production and they cannot escape from their low-economic status. They have even come to realise that the aid they hope to get from the 'SIX' cannot compensate for the expected loss.

The African associates of the E. E. C. are currently moving further away instead of nearer to the goal of economic co-operation with one another. The economic rivalry between the Ivory Coast and Senegal is a striking example.

We are opposed to any association with the European Common Market because we do not find sense in weak nations formulating exclusive trading arrangements with strong nations. As Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah puts it: "The case of Daniel and the lions may occasionally come out right but it is not a safe basis for economic planning."

The experience of Latin America has taught us that an association of the weak and the strong ends up with the strong becoming stronger and the weak becoming weaker.

We hold strongly to the view that the only way by which African countries can alleviate their economic weakness is through unity of action. As raw material producers they must come together and obtain fair price for their exports. They must make the industrial countries of Europe understand that their industries depend on our raw materials.

The dismal fact that there are restrictions in inter-African trade is very unfortunate. The situation must be made different. We must work together because we have common problems.

PEACE ON EARTH

"A MAD world" Nicholas Breton observed in the sixteenth century, and today its contrasts make it seem madder still.

The whole atmosphere is poisoned with megaton bombs. Mankind is moving shakily on the razor's edge to an unimaginable devastation. It appears mankind is determined to destroy itself with eyes open.

But human nature is not depraved. The warm-hearted response evoked by the Accra appeal gives the lie to the doctrine that human nature is depraved.

It sounds absurd that man's conquest of space by flight and radio, his mastery of the nuclear power and all his spectacular technical advances have let loose, not the millennium, but the great deluge.

Men, after all, are but a feeble band of brothers inhabiting a small planet in the immensities of space. They have achieved at least a temporary domination of this planet. But they have not overcome the urge to destroy themselves.

Men must now seek their salvation. There must be peace. The dark clouds of Nuclear war must pass by.

The "Voice" is always on the side of those who are determined to maintain peace.



It is not possible to examine here all the aspects of the British decision to enter the Common Market. Britain held back from entry for fear that such a course would bring an end to the Imperial tariff preference system — one of the few visible links remaining in Britain's relations with a number of Commonwealth countries. Now that the Common Market is very much a going concern with full American backing, Britain dare not remain outside. However, in deciding to enter the E.E.C. the British Government is desperately attempting to avoid Common Market discrimination against British colonial and Commonwealth exports. To achieve this Britain has asked the E.E.C. among other things, to permit the "association" of certain British colonies and territories which are "under-developed" into the Common Market. This, according to the British statement of October 10, "may be a solution to the problems of many Commonwealth countries and territories.

The Common Market (Part 2)

(Concluding portion of analysis commenced in
the May Issue of "Voice of Africa")

by V. Pillay

WESTERN economists usually argue that customs unions and preferential trade arrangements among groups of countries possess what is termed a "trade-creating impact" — apparently such unions engender increased product specialisation, and so reduce costs and prices; commodity circulation increases between the countries concerned and an all-round gain in real incomes occurs. This alleged gain from freer trade is the rationale advanced by the advocates of the Common Market.

However valid this line of argument may be in its application to the Europeans' end of the Common Market, it certainly amounts to little more than hypocrisy and fraud when it is used, as it is, to justify the involvement of unequal economies such as those of Africa and Western Europe in customs and preferential tariff unions like the Common Market.

The vast regions that make up the so-called "associated territories" are almost wholly under-developed; their economies are marked by an already intense specialisation and virtual single-crop structures. Commodity circulation is narrow and is almost wholly confined to foreign trade which in itself is of a special kind.

The trade in the specialised products of these territories is largely in the hands of metropolitan-based

enterprises and monopolies. They dominate the market for "native product", determine prices and wages, encourage or force intensive cultivation of these products for export, own and manage vast plantations to meet these export priorities and hence, with enterprises in the metropolitan country, expropriate virtually the whole of the economic surplus that arises from this central economic activity in the colonial territories.

High Tariff

One important factor promoting this type of specialisation is the system of tariff preferences which usually govern colonial trade relations. Trade between France and her colonial and ex-colonial territories is not only largely free from tariffs but is heavily subsidised by the French Government. On the other hand trade between these territories and third countries is subject to high tariffs, import quotas and other restrictions. Hence, France stands as a ready market for the specialised products of the overseas territories and the special quotas and subsidies provided by France go towards intensifying the production of native export products or minerals. It goes without saying that these subsidies are also expropriated by the metropolitan enterprises monopolising colonial trade.

On the other hand the manufactured requirements of the colonies are almost wholly met by the metropolitan country concerned. The preferential tariff treatment enjoyed by the metropolitan country hence not only leads to heavy dependence on imports of manufactured goods in the colonies but virtually gives the metropolitan country a monopoly over the supply of such goods. In general, with capital accumulation confined to the monopolies, the tariff preference system becomes a major factor in the overall body of pressures for single-crop specialisation, for dependence on foreign trade, for the limited money incomes domestically generated and hence for the all-round poverty of the productive forces of these territories.

Will not this process of colonial specialisation become more intensive in the associated territories, linked as they are by a uniform tariff and colonial policy to a vaster and more powerful industrial complex in Europe?

There can be no doubt about the answer! The very character of the Common Market, with its enormous appetite for raw materials and protected markets will tend to freeze the economies of the associated territories within a strictly colonial framework and remove whatever opportunities exist for a "break-through"

to economic diversification and all-round development.

Ill-Gotten Gains

The increased dependence on foreign enterprises concentrating their energies on meeting raw material requirements of the Common Market have doubled the value of their exports to the E.E.C. between 1950 and 1959. Further, a greater proportion of their exports are going to the E.E.C. region than before. Correspondingly, their import intake of manufactured goods has become increasingly concentrated on E.E.C. sources. For many of these territories, the proportion of exports to the national money income is rising, rather than falling — a clear sign of their growing economic dependence.

The "rights of settlement" accorded to Common Market enterprises will, as is already happening, tend to increase the concentration of ownership of colonial resources in the Common Market monopolies. These monopolies are made stronger and more aggressive by their ability to mobilise vast sums of capital, by the guarantees against nationalisation and the freedom accorded to capital transfers. One far reaching development is the creating of interlocking consortia among the leading banks and enterprises in the E.E.C. to exploit the resources of the African associated territories. One example of this is the creating of the *Consortium European pour le Développement des Ressources Naturelles de l'Afrique* by the principal banking groups in West Germany, Italy and France.

This enterprise commanding immense capital resources has undertaken to develop the mineral resources of the Western Sahara and other territories of West and Equatorial Africa. The immensely rich high-grade iron-ore deposits along the 18-mile long massif in Eastern Mauritania — estimated at 215 million tons — is to be exploited by the French based *Societe Anonyme des Mines de Fer de Mauritanie*. French interests have combined with West German and Italian banks and investment trusts to provide the capital of £2 million for this enterprise.

A consequence of the Common Market is the further economic divi-

sion of Africa. Already the economic links of trade between the African states concerned are very loose. On February 1 1961 the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa considered that the Rome Treaty was not only "harmful to the associated territories by preventing their diversification and industrialisation," but had inhibited the "creation of large regional markets in Africa to support African industrialisation".

Appendage of E.E.C.

Some of the French African states have been working on a common market of their own. The countries of Chad, Congo Republic, Gabon and the Central African Republic together with Cameroon, Republic have held meetings to agree on common tariff and fiscal regulations. But the chance of such common arrangements assisting each of their economies are far from strong; they are already linked to the Common Market whose economic pull and influence is much greater and which will become the principal economic force directing the policies and the economic structure of these countries. The African-Malagasy Union of 12 states (formerly all French colonies) formed in March 1960 is also likely to be of little consequence. It was formed largely at the behest of France as an appendage of the E.E.C.

In the financial fields the attachment of the African states to the Common Market is likely to strengthen the colonial system of currency and financial relations. In July last year seven of the associated West African states agreed to tie their newly created monetary union to the French monetary zone. This means that all foreign exchange surpluses of the states concerned will continue to be available to France and so assist the French balance of payments. This maintains the system of "forced lending" by the colonies to the metropolitan country which is a feature of all colonial currency systems.

Africa Reacts

The complexity of the Common Market, its highly technical provisions and its apparent concentration of attention on purely European problems have all, no doubt, been responsible for making the Rome Treaty appear irrelevant and somewhat distant to the African people.

Yet Dr. Nkrumah has been particularly outspoken in his denunciation of the Common Market. In his budget address to the Ghana Parliament in July last year he declared his government's opposition "to any arrangement which uses the unification of Western Europe as a cloak for perpetuating colonial privileges in Africa."

"Any form of economic union negotiated singly between the fully industrialised states of Europe and the newly emergent countries of Africa is bound to retard the industrialisation, and therefore the prosperity and the general economic and cultural development of these countries. For it will mean that those African states will continue to serve a protected overseas markets for the manufactured goods of their industrialised partners, and the source of cheap raw materials."

Nkrumah Cited

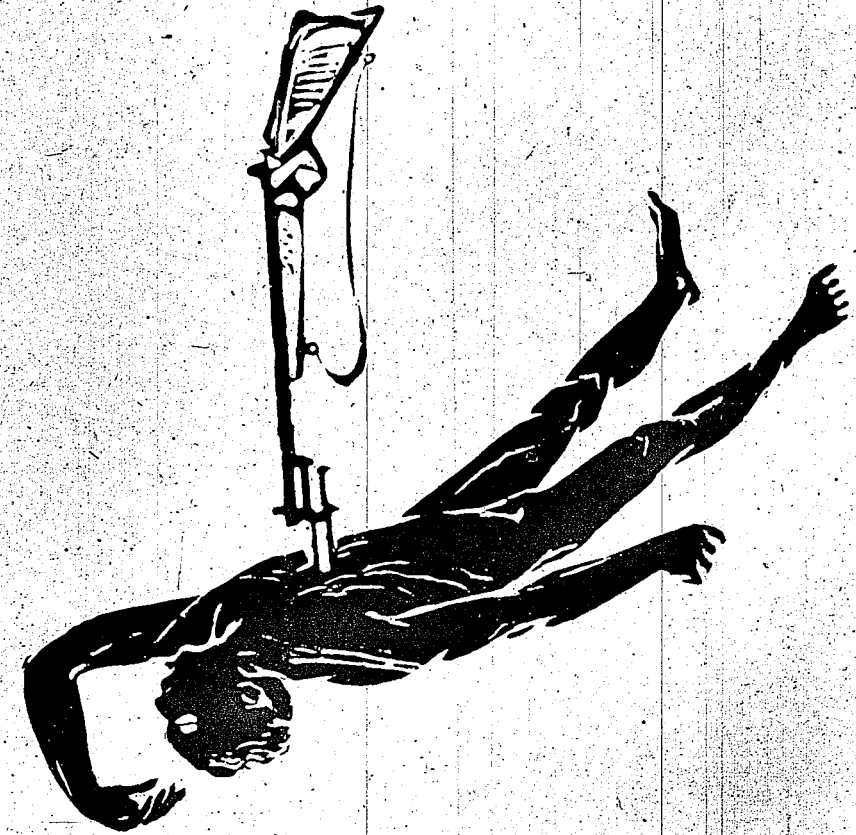
Dr. Nkrumah went on to declare that the Common Market "will perpetuate by economic means the artificial divisions imposed on Africa" and this will encourage disunity and rivalry among the African states. This has already become visible. The states associated with the Common Market have already opposed the opening up of the West European market to the export products of "non-associated" African territories, so claiming for themselves the special E.E.C. tariff treatment accorded to produce.

The division of independent Africa into the Monrovia and Casablanca groups is to an extent a reflection of the great, decisive role which the African "association" in the E.E.C. plays in African politics. This is being recognised in some of the French speaking African states as is already evidenced by the refusal of four of them to continue their "association" status in the Common Market.

The Third All-African People's Conference of March last also warned against the dangers of the Common Market. In its celebrated resolution on neo-colonialism, it denounced the "integration (of Africa) into colonial economic blocs which maintain the under-developed

Continued on page 7

PORTUGUESE TERROR IN ANGOLA



SLAVERY

EXPLOITATION

MASS MURDER

In South Africa the relation between economic and political power is clearer than in most countries. This is because the number of powerful capitalist groupings is small and because these groups have been remarkably frank about their political connections.

But, partly because this is so, there is a widespread feeling that it is strange that the biggest capitalists like Oppenheimer do not appear to have much influence with the Government and that the Nationalists do not appear to have much economic power.

In this series of articles several of the main centres of capital will be discussed and it will be shown that the big capitalists have strongly influenced certain aspects of policy and that the Nats have very great economic holdings. In any case it would be wrong to expect that the richest men are automatically the most politically powerful. Such a view would ignore emotional, ideological, organisational and personal influences.

The Empire of Oppenheimer

by G. Fasulo

IN examining a financial empire one great problem is to decide how much of the group is controlled and how much is merely influenced or allied. The answer would help to tell how great is the power of the bosses of the group. Does the group resemble a single-minded and disciplined army with a clear leadership and policy or is it more like a convoy in which each ship has its own captain and characteristics but the ships stick together for mutual benefits?

In general big groups lie somewhere between the two extremes. Big groups are also like pyramids with a certain amount of capital at the top which controls a few businesses. These in turn control further subsidiaries which control still others still further down. In addition there will generally be a system of interlocking directorates. That is, men who are directors of companies in the group will also be directors of co-operating firms which are not part of the group. Finally certain firms in the group, especially financial companies, may make loans to other firms in the group.

Unravelling the whole network would probably be impossible in most cases but many important things can be learned from an examination of the way the group was

built up, the areas where its strength now lies and the general policies which it follows.

The Anglo-American Group

It is well known that the Oppenheimer empire is very rich and powerful. In fact, the Nats used a cartoon character called Hoggeneimer to symbolise "un-national" capitalist influence in South Africa. It is more difficult to say just how rich and powerful Anglo-American is.

If we look only at the assets of the Anglo-American Corporation itself, as Mr. Dickson did in an article in *New Age* on April 14, 1955, we get a figure of about £50 million. A clearer picture was given by *Newsweek* on November 24, 1958 in an article which said that Harry Oppenheimer "presides over an empire headed by De Beers Consolidated Mines, Anglo-American Investment Trust, and Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. . . Through these corporations and a subsidiary web of interlocking partnerships the cartel has assets in the neighbourhood of \$2.5 billion (nearly R2,000 million), reserves of \$747 million (about R540 million) and a \$100 million-a-year (R72 million-a-year) payroll of 20,000 Europeans and 136,000 Africans. The cartel controls almost all of the

free world's diamonds, most of its gold, at least one-third of Africa's copper, and one-fifth of its coal. De Beers alone was able to turn a profit of \$65 million (R46 million) last year."

Oppenheimer Controls World's Diamond

According to an article in the *Star* on April 8, 1960 Sir Ernest Oppenheimer took over leadership and later control of the South African and world diamond industry during the first quarter of the twentieth century. By monopolising the world diamond market it has been possible to guarantee enormous profits to De Beers Consolidated for decade after decade. This is one of the chief sources of Oppenheimer and South African capital. One of the main De Beers investments is in African Explosives and Chemical Industries (the other half of its shares are owned by Imperial Chemical Industries of Britain) A.E. & C.I. is the world's largest producer of mining explosives, a big producer of fertilisers and plastics and it is setting up munition works for the government.

Morgan's Money

During the first World War Sir Ernest Oppenheimer became convinced of the possibility of a gold mining industry outside the then known limits of the Witwatersrand gold field. He went to America and obtained the support of the J.P. Morgan group, the biggest capitalist group in the world. The Anglo-American Corporation was then set up and has grown into the largest of the mining houses. There is now little American capital in the group

but strong links with Morgan have been retained. For example, Kennecott Copper, a Morgan firm, lent millions of dollars to help establish O.F.S. mines. Anglo-American pioneered the Free State field and invested R240 million there.

Later the group began investing heavily in the Northern Rhodesian copper mines, and in South African coal and base minerals especially uranium and titanium. Through Tanganyika Concessions it is believed to have large investments in Katanga.

Foreign Links

Reasons for the rapid growth of the group were enterprising and profitable management, large capital resources from De Beers and overseas sources and a policy of concentrating on mining and supporting industries and using science and technology fully. Strong foreign links are one of the most important features of Anglo-American. The group includes a merchant banking house called Union Acceptances (Zurich) A.G., set up in Switzerland. The strong Morgan links have been mentioned and between 1954 and 1957 the group raised R22 million in Switzerland, R8½ million in Germany and R5 million in Holland. The group has very good engineering, prospecting and research sections. For example, they have just become the second group in the world to launch the manufacture of synthetic diamonds on a commercial scale.

The Lion's Share

According to a pamphlet entitled *Mining Enterprise In Southern Africa* published by Anglo-American it produced in 1957 25% of South Africa's gold, 24% of her uranium, 43% of her coal, 51% of Northern Rhodesian copper and 41% of the value of total world diamond sales. In addition it had large share holdings in 20 other gold, two copper and two coal mines. The group also included 32 finance and investment companies of which it controlled 17. This estimate is more

modest than that of *Newsweek*. This may be partly due to American journalistic exaggeration but partly it is due to the difference between the Anglo-American group which is big and the total empire influenced by Oppenheimer which is even bigger.

He Controls Mining

It is believed that several other mining houses such as Anglo-Vaal are virtually controlled by Oppenheimer. Anglo-Vaal is only partly engaged in mining. It also controls great many manufacturing companies. As was shown in an article on Nat Capitalism and the South African Mining Industry in Liberation in December 1959, Anglo-American group is in partnership with the Union Corporation. British capital and the American, Engelhard, took over the second biggest gold mining group namely Central Mining to prevent Nat capital getting control of it. Today it is doubtful if any of the big mining houses is really independent of Oppenheimer and his foreign friends. Trade with the Common Market is already visible. The associated territories to sum up, Anglo-American dominates mining in South Africa, South African chemical production and has many other interests in Canada and elsewhere overseas. It is the fastest growing of the mining groups in South Africa except perhaps for the very much smaller Nationalist firm, Federale Mynbou.

Oppenheimer Aids United Party

Oppenheimer political and social influence has been exerted in a number of ways. Oppenheimer is an equal partner with the Tanganyika Government in the diamond mine there. In Swaziland he has large investment in timber and is promoting the big iron mine to export ore to Japan. The Oppenheimers used to finance the United Party and the Torch Commando but now Oppenheimer supports the Progressives. However, he is also a member of the white supremacy whitewashing South African Foundation along with the Nat businessmen.

This ambiguous behaviour is due partly to a wish to make concessions in time but no more rapidly than necessary and without endangering capitalism.

Another reason for this is that he is a "Pan-African" capitalist and he is influenced by the social developments and forces in the north. While Oppenheimer is more progressive than the South African Government he is rather less progressive than the Rhodesian Government. The group as a social force in South Africa probably pulls in a direction midway between the United Party and the Progressives.

Common Market

Continued from page 4

character of the African economy." It declared four of the six member-countries of the Common Market—France, West Germany, Belgium and Holland—to be "the main perpetrators of neo-colonialism."

Evils of Common Market

The Common Market today stands as one of the most dangerous expressions of neo-colonialism in Africa. It is dangerous because it brings together the European colonial powers in an institution which mobilises each of their resources to maintain the vast economy of Africa within the orbit of European colonialism. By working, or trying to work collectively the European colonialists plan to undermine the independence of the newly emergent African states, to make impossible their industrialisation and to hold them as reserves for continued European exploitation. It is designed to strangle the African revolution; to kill it before it is able to win the economic liberation of the continent.

Practically all African leaders of standing today talk of Africa or about African Unity. Some do so because the fashion of the day demands it and some because they sincerely believe in it.

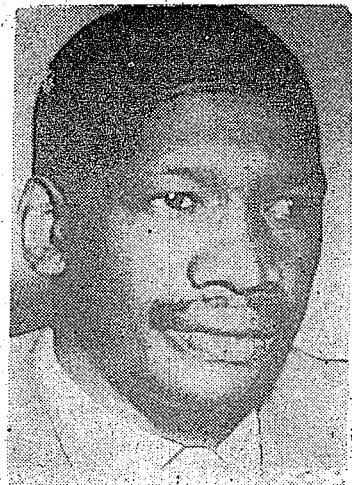
Be that as it may, in this intriguing article written before his imprisonment MANGALISO SOBUKWE, jailed President of the now banned Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), takes a peep into the Africa of 1973 and throws down the gauntlet of effective African Unity:

The 37-year-old MANGALISO SOBUKWE, former University lecturer, has been jailed by South Africa's fascist colonialist settler regime since March 21, 1960, for the role he played in the launching of the Positive Action Campaign of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa.

Sobukwe's top lieutenants, who were jailed with him and who included Pottlako Leballo, National Secretary, Selby Ngedane, Foreign Secretary, Dum Dum Nyaose, Labour Secretary and Zeph Mothopeng Judicial Secretary, finished serving their two-year jail sentences on May 3, 1962. Sobukwe himself has yet another year of hard labour to serve.

One Central Government in Africa

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



Mangaliso Sobukwe

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

Advent Of New Era

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

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

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

But the question is: After Freedom then what?

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

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

Bitter Fighting

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

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

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

In some parts the change-over will have been comparatively peacefully achieved. In others, there will have been bitter fighting, which will leave in its wake a legacy of destruction and hate.

Supremacy Of African Interests

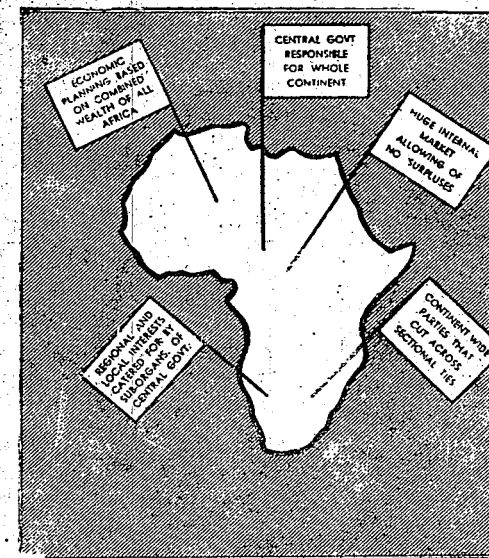
In such countries the first 10 or 15 years will be years of re-adjustment and feverish reconstructions.

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

Dr. Nkrumah's Four Stages

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

- * The attainment of freedom and independence;
- * The consolidation of that freedom and independence;



* The creation of unity and community between the free African states;

* The economic and social reconstruction of Africa.

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

Of course, we will have recalculants.

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

The African Personality

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

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

On the structure of the United States of Africa, there appears to be no clear agreement yet among African nationalists.

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

The conference adopted the late George Padmore's outline of an initial federation of states on a regional basis, finally merging into a federal United States of Africa.

One Central Government

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

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

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

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

Socialist Government

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

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

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

Disappearance Of Minorities

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

All nationalist movements on the continent aim at wiping out racialism, imperialism, and colonialism in all their manifestations. In a United States of Africa there will be no "racial groups" and I am certain that with the freedom of movement from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Madagascar, the concentration of so-called "minority groups" will disappear.

POEMS ON AFRICA

by M. Dei-Anang

Dear Africa

AWAKE, thou sleeping heart
Awake, and kiss
The love-lorn brow
Of this ebon lass,
Dear Africa,
Whose Virgin charms
Ensnare the love-lit hearts
Of venturing youth
From other lands.

Awake, sweet Africa
Demands thy love,
Thou sleeping heart!

When the all-summer sun
Paints the leafy boughs
With golden rays,
Know then, thou sleeping heart,
Dear Africa stands
Knocking at thy door.

I know a World

I KNOW a world
A trampled world,
Partitioned and pawned
In centuries of greed
And still undone,
'Tis Africa.

I know a world,
A wond'rous world,
A growing Queen
Among the States,
'Tis Africa.

I know a world,
A whisp'ring world,
Crammed with the dying lore
Of ancient days,
'Tis Africa.



M. Dei-Anang

A waking world,
Rising now
From age-long slumber,
Fresh with the strength
That follows rest,
'Tis Africa.

There is a world,
A curious world,
Land of whining hyenas
And hippopotami,
'Tis Africa.

I love a world,
A priceless world,
Sweet home of haunting melodies
And drolling tom-toms,
'Tis Africa.

I love in a world,
A sea-girt world,
Blessed with a store
Of wealth untold,
'Tis Africa.

I'll die for a world,
A wonderful world,
No other land,
Nor East nor West,
Attracts me so!
'Tis Africa.

Among the Ruins of Long ago

I LOVE to dwell in the past
Among the ruins of long ago,
Admiring and praising,
Correcting and building,
Among the ruins of long ago.

I love to think of the past
Of which both you and I
Have but hazy recollections
And traditions unrecorded
Of days long, long ago.

On the woody vales of the Niger,
And the meand'ring plains of the
Volta,
On the shoulders of Kilimanjaro
Carpeted with the icy sheen of snow,
There breathes the vast elusive
Africa:
That Africa of long ago.

The mystic ruins of Zimbabwe,
The patient mines of Kimberley
Crammed with their secret store
Of russet gold and diamonds
Tell tales beyond man's minds.

I love the days of long ago
Great days of virtuous chastity
When wild men and wilder beasts
Kept close company.

I love Africa as herself—
Unsophisticated queenly Africa,
That precious pearl of the past.
Not all her beauties were the best,
Nor all her charms the highest,
In the days of long ago.

But give me back that Africa,
With all her best—and all her worst,
And leave me free to plan anew
Great God's own Africa.
Charged with the charms of long ago.
Yet give me, too,
From far away,
The fertile laws of Faraday.

Give me these,
And out of that long-lost Africa,
Will rise, phoenix-like,
A New-World Africa.

Africa Speaks

IN the pages of the past,
In the faithless days of long ago,
When vision was short, and know-
ledge scant,
Men called me "Dark Africa."

Dark Africa?
I, who raised the regal pyramids
And held the fortunes
Of conqu'ring Caesars
In my tempting grasp?

Dark Africa?
Who nursed the doubtful child
Of civilization
On the wand'ring banks
Of life-giving Nile
And gave to the teeming nations
Of the West
A Grecian gift!

The dazzling glare of iron and steel
Sometimes obscures non-metal worth;
So when I disdained my pristine
Bows and arrows,
And cared not much for iron and
steel,
They called me "Dark" in all the
world.

But dearer far than cold steel and
iron
Is the tranquil art
Of thinking together
And living together.

Dark Africa?
Underneath the clotted roots
Of my kingly whistling palms,
I keep a treasure that none can
measure.

Dark Africa!
My dawn is here:
Behold, I see
A rich-warm glow in the East,
And my day will soon be here.

Wither Bound, O Africa?

I SAT beneath
The star-flecked dome of heav'n,
And watched the moon
Sail silently
And patiently
Along her course.

She did not fret
Nor seem to care
What Nature had
In store for her;
Just silently
She smiled
Amidst the clouds on high.

And then,
O Africa,
Land of the great Pharaohs
And the vast pyramids
With strange architectural laws,
My fatherland,
I thought me then
That, like the moon,
Thou, too, hast spread thy sail!
But whither bound,
O Africa,
Oh, whither bound?
Backward?

To days of drums
And festal dances in the shade
Of sun-kist palms;
Backward?
To untutored days
When maid was ever chaste
And lad abhorred unhallowed ways
For dread of ancient gods;
Backward?
To dark thatched huts
Where kindness reigned
And solace dwelt,
Backward, to SUPERSTITION?

Or forward?
Forward! To what?
The slums, where man is dumped
upon man;
Where penury
And misery

Have made their hapless homes,
And all in dark and drear?
Forward! To what?
The factory
To grind hard hours
In an inhuman mill,
In one long ceaseless spell?

Forward! To what?
To the reeking round
Of medieval crimes,
Where the greedy hawks
Of Aryan stock
Prey with bombs and guns
On men of lesser breed?
Forward, to CIVILISATION?

Forward, to dusty tools
And sordid gains,
Proved harbingers
Of mortal strife?

Or forward,
To the crafty laws
Of Adam Smith
That turn the markets upside down
And steel men's hearts
To hoard or burn
The food supplies of half the world
E'en when the other half must
starve?

Or backward?
Backward to the primal source
Of ethic qualities:
Man's love of fellow man
And fear of God
Emanating from a chainless soul
Full and frank and free?

The moon sails patiently
And silently
Across a star-flecked sky,
A down predicted path:

Sail cautiously, O Fatherland,
Along thy course well-tried;
But whither bound, O Africa?
Oh, whither bound?

Continued on page 40

Sadistic Settler South Africa

by Our Special Correspondent

SETTLER South Africa takes great pride in its shooting prowess. The brutal Sharpeville massacre illustrates that "prowess". Besides that as a result of this pride a large number of Africans mostly in the rural areas is shot dead on the pretext of being mistaken for wild animals or birds. In such cases the culprits are left scotfree by law courts and the press keeps mum or devotes very little space to the cases.

It is not, however, only unknown individuals who are the victims of such manhunters. In the urban areas as well as on the Boer farms jungle law operates. Two systems of law as it were, operated—one for the so-called whites and other for the so-called non-whites. The following excerpts of evidence given by accused Africans before law courts and the sentences passed will give an idea of the type of "justice" that obtains in South Africa. The evidence reproduced here was taken at random from the Records of Courts in some cities of S. Africa.

Blackened Faces

In 1949 J. J. Carelse, a coloured teacher in an English Mission School at Calvinia in Cape Province had brought a civil suit for damages against a Boer Christian who had flogged him. He was awarded damages to the tune of £110. A few nights after he had won the case two Boers with blackened faces entered his room one night after he had retired to bed. They manhandled him, forced him out of the room and bundled him into their car outside and

then took him into the bush far from town. Carelse described what happened latest in a Court by saying:

Blindfolded

"After driving some distance the car was stopped and someone said, 'Tel hom uit' (Take him out.) A man was holding my feet and another still gripping my arms behind my back. I was still in my pyjamas. While I was held down I was flogged with a thickish instrument, and while I was being held and beaten by the three, the others sang some song or other which I had not heard before and the words and language of which I did not recognise. Then someone from the car said, 'Give him another twenty.' After that I was blindfolded. The beating was then continued with a thinner instrument until someone had counted twenty strokes in English.

"Then someone said: 'Jy moet nou bid voor ons jou gtafttoe vat. Die geweer is in die kar! (You must pray now before we take you to the grave. The gun is in the car).

They heaved me back into the car and drove off. The car was again stopped and I was again lifted out, and someone said 'Give him 110 for the £110. I was given a few more strokes. I was then lifted out pushed forward, and commanded to run."

Deserving Punishment

The South Africa way, however, assaults are part and parcel of the South African system of justice. This is borne out by the fact that assaults similar to that described by Carelse are a daily occurrence. They are inflicted on Africans in the course of police raids on African townships. In many cases the victims die of injury but the policemen concerned are either merely reproached by magistrates or the deceased is blamed as deserving that punishment. The law protects policemen more than adequately and the weight of "public opinion" is with them always. The following evidence by a young and educated African is a representative case of the South African manner of administering justice to the African population. The incident took place in the City of Johannesburg:

"I was coming from a railway station on my way to my hostel together with four other young men. As we walked we were engaged in talk, when suddenly a police car came towards us and stopped.

Trouble

"Out sprang two white policemen. One came to me and the other to a friend of mine. They got hold of both of our sleeves and demanded our passes. In order to get my pass I had to use my hand, and so I loosened my hand out of his tight grip. This loosening was the real cause of the trouble, for instantly he turned to me and asked: 'Hoekom gryp jy my so, Kaffir? Will jy paklei?' (Why do you grip me like this, Kaffir? Do you want to fight?) He was very angry. I told him that I was not fighting but that I was merely taking out my pass. 'Nauja, laat ek di sien!' (Now then let me see it.) I gave the pass to him and he pushed me to the front of the car by the neck, where he read the pass from the headlights. By this time he had left my friend. He finished reading and threw my Exemption Certificate down. (This Certificate is a pass permitting the holder not to carry other passes.)

"The Certificate was picked up by the other policeman. He told me that he was taking me to the Police Station, which was about four yards away.

He shook me violently

"He stopped on the way and gave me seven blows—five on my body and the rest on my head. He swore at me in such cutting words as, 'You rogue, You swine'. He took me to the Police Station and pushed me through the gate so hard that I nearly fell over and he gave me a kick on my pants.

"We got into their office. He again pushed me with such force against the desk that it upset the red ink which spilled onto one of the opened books. I was blamed for that and told that I was going to pay heavily for it.

"The policeman behind the desk uttered many curses that I do not remember. He asked if I had my pass and the policeman that brought me there answered that I had but that I had gripped him. He then pushed me to a corner and hit me so hard on my forehead with his fist that I saw blue and staggered. Another blow over my eyes and I fell down. He kicked me on my pants so hard that I felt something cold there. He asked me to stand up. I stood up. I could not see clearly for a few seconds. His teeth were tightly shut, his eyes were fixed and staring and he fixed them on me without a wink. He was silent. He looked fierce. I sensed something nasty, brought my hands on my face to protect it.

"He looked more surprised at the action. He asked if I felt like fighting. I said no. He asked me why I had put my hands on my face and while saying so he gave me a double kick with his boot on my left leg just above the ankle. I lifted my leg quickly and he hit me hard on my face with the back of his hand. I bit myself. I groaned. He ordered me to keep quiet, adding another fist on my forehead so hard that I hit wall with the back of my head.

"I was dizzy for some seconds. He shook me, violently. I came round.

"He searched my pockets and found nothing of interest to him. The policeman behind the desk told him to take me to a dark spot. I then turned round and realised that there were four or more Africans in the room. He led me out of the office to a dark and shady spot where he further assaulted me.

"After that he told me that he was going to lay a charge against me for assaulting a policeman while discharging his duty. That was going to cost me £5 or three months' hard labour. He again told me that the magistrate was going to assault me in such a way that I should like better if I died.

"My head was ringing with all sorts of music by then. My heart was sore. He then gave two fists on my body and one on my head and led me to the car. His friend came in, too.

"My friends were witnessing all that was happening to me but were asked what they were looking at and then chased away.

"I was put into the car and then locked up. He told me that he was driving me to gaol. Everything turned dark in my mind. I was brought round by a sudden stop and the smashing brakes. I almost hit the back of the front seat with my forehead. I looked outside and realised that they had taken me to a dark spot outside the town where there was no one around. I began to tremble at the thought of what was to come.

"Now tell me, Kaffir!"

"The policeman who had assaulted me and was the driver of car then came to the back seat and sat next to me. He began his story by 'Now tell me Kaffir, why did you hold me so? Did you mean to fight eh, you rogue?' I again told him that I was not intending to fight, but I was trying to get my pass out of my pocket. He held me by both hands and said that I was a confounded liar and said 'And today I'll kill you so you'll never again hold a policeman, you Kaffir. What are you?' I said 'I am a Kaffir.' A rain of knocks and

blows followed but the more he struck me the fewer pains I now felt. Eventually I was dizzy. I lost consciousness. . . . I woke up to find that the inside lights were on and these police things were looking at me, right in the face. The looks on their faces were terrifying—with teeth clenched, eyes hard fixed on and utter silence.

"The lights were put off and another session of blows followed. I groaned harder with pain. I was ordered to keep quiet otherwise the worst would befall me. The policeman hit me again and told me that I would never grip another policeman in my life. My nostrils bled.

"He ordered me to open the door and get out and accompanied his command with more blows which met me. When I opened the door I fell headlong, leaving my feet inside the car. My feet were pushed out with such force that I landed in half-folding manner.

"He told me to stand up quickly. I could not. My body was paining me. The next thing I felt was a kick on my hip, which put me on my feet. I did not know which way led to the hostel, but I went towards the lights.

"They turned the car and brought it behind me. I decided to run. When I came to the first street, I turned east in the direction of the hostel and walked on the pavement. He told me to run, otherwise he would put me in the car and then hit me for disobeying him. I ran. I came up a blind street leading to the hostel, turned into it and they came up the same street.

Teaching the Teacher a Lesson

"Whilst in the car he had taken my name and address and had told me that the following day he would give me a summons."

The following evidence was given before a Court of Law in the City of Johannesburg by an African whose name I would not like to publish. I shall therefore refer to him as Mr. X, this man was a teacher. On a certain day he had his teeth extracted.

At about nine that evening he went and bought some straw from a shop for drinking milk. He found two policemen at the shop chewing roast beef. Their pick-up van was parked close by. The policemen stopped Mr. X and demanded his pass. Mr. X produced his Exemption Certificate. They then asked what his work was. On being told that by Mr. X that he was a teacher the policemen said that they were going to teach the teacher a lesson.

They ordered him into the van and then drove the vehicle towards the Police Station. Mr. X's evidence was:-

A Pool of Blood

"All the way the one that was not driving kept on insulting me. When we got to the Police station he pulled me out and pushed me into one of the rooms. There were some policemen inside it, but they left and an African policeman was ordered to stand at the door. The policeman assaulted me severely. Another came in. The first one told the other to pull off my spectacles. While one threatened me the other beat me up. All the time I was trying to protect my swollen gums. I bled profusely.

"When I fell he used his feet, and all the time I used my hands to keep them away from my mouth.

"When he had finished I sat on a bench and bled terribly, so much so that there was a pool of blood where I was sitting. I have kept my suit and shirt as exhibits. I am sure anyone looking at them today would form a rough idea of how brutal the assault was."

Yet another African whom I shall call Mr. Z was once reading in his room when Settler detectives walked in. They asked for his name. He told them but they refused to accept it. They said that his name was David. Incidentally, these detectives were looking for an offender called David. Mr. Z showed them his passes and books where his name was clearly written. They answered that all these things did not matter so long as his features answered the description of the wanted David.

Ten Shillings Fine

He was therefore taken to the Police Station and there charged with the offence committed by the one called David. Mr. Z still refused and said that he would not answer in Court if he would be referred to as David because he was not. He also referred the police to his employer who said that he was not David. Nevertheless Mr. Z was kept in a cell for the night.

Next morning Mr. Z's employer went to the police station and identified Mr. Z who was there after released.

Another African in the South African administrative capital, Pretoria, was ill. One afternoon he was walking to the Clinic from his room. On the way one policeman approached him and told him that he was arresting him for being drunk. The African explained that he was not drunk but was sick. However, he was taken to the police station and locked up.

While he was in the cell three white policemen came into it and assaulted him. He was hit on the mouth resulting in three of his teeth being knocked out. He was sent to hospital as a result.

Later he took the case up before a Court. One policeman was fined only ten shillings but the other two were not even taken to the Court. The final comment of the Magistrate was "It is a pity that you are appearing alone. There should be other policemen with you." In 1948 there was a case in which the South African Press took great interest. Two Settler clerks in the African Affairs Department were there when an African of Shangaan nationality applied for a pass at this Department. The two clerks disbelieved his identity as a Shangaan and consequently tied a rope round the neck of the African, threw one end of the rope across a beam of the office roof and hoisted the African in the air. The African lost consciousness and was found on the floor by other clerks who had heard the African scream. The culprits said before the Court that "there was nothing wrong with the Kaffir. It was all done in a joke."

The Magistrate, while accepting the plea that it was done in a joke fined each a couple of pounds and commented as follows:

"It would be unfortunate if the Africans got the idea that there was one law for them and another for white South Africans. There is only one law."

Yet in the same year settler farmer shot an African called Kuda and was fined only £40 while another farmer who shot a coloured man dead was fined £20. Is this one law?

Mutilated

In 1948, three Settlers of the Orange Free State asked an African to assist them push their car at a small consideration, namely half-a-shilling. The African accepted but the Settlers later refused to pay him although the car had started. The African insisted on his reward as the car went.

At a short distance the car was stopped and the African was asked to go and fetch his half shilling. They then chased him, caught him and bundled him in the car, and took him out into the countryside assaulting him all the way. The car was stopped at a certain spot.

Two settlers held the African while the third mutilated him with a knife and also castrated him. The African later died in hospital of these injuries. The culprits got off with a negligible fine.

In another case, two settler policemen in 1949 arrested an African lady for not having in her possession all the prescribed passes. After arresting her both settlers raped her and let her go.

Mass Prosecution

These types of cases are common-place in South African Law Courts. Instances could be multiplied and volume upon volume compiled. The system of justice there is so unjust as far as Africans are concerned that they live in perpetual state of fear and hate. The Africans are almost all jail birds. They are committed to prisons mostly for trivial errors of omission and commission. Thus in 1948 according to the "Minister of Justice," there were 1,091,696 prosecutions mostly Africans, out of a total population of 11,300,000.

Why I Hate the Federation of Rhodesias

(Last Instalment)

by M. Sipalo

A COMMISSIONER of the New York State Commission against Discrimination has recently written:

"Critics of the fair-employment laws used to claim that long-established habits of discrimination could be changed by legislation. This argument has been unmistakably answered today. Nearly four years' experience in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Washington, Oregon, New Mexico, and Rhode Island, all of which have passed anti-discrimination legislation modelled after the New York Law — indicates conclusively that wise legislation creates a climate of opinion in which discrimination tends to disappear."

What do we find in Northern Rhodesia? Recently the Government passed a law against discrimination in cafés, hotels and in similar institutions. This law is obviously senseless since the worst type of colour-bar in this country is to be found within Government itself. The English proverbial saying: "Charity begins at Home" still holds good.

Policy of Repression

The events in the Rhodesias throughout 1960 and 1961 have not altogether been pleasant. In 1960 while constitutional negotiations were going on, Roy Welensky with the paternal sanction of the British Government, continued his policy of repression. Thousands of our people were jailed and our Party was twice banned on the Copperbelt.

and Order" is the abrogation of law in order to establish an order without opposition.

We Look for Asylum

For the past nine years, since Federation was imposed, imperialist Britain has abdicated her responsibilities over us; we have uttered our complaints but they have been unattended to, or met only by alleging the peculiar institution in the country. All hope of a favourable change in the Government of our country is thus extinguished in our bosom and we are beginning to look with anxiety to ourselves for some asylum from these deep degradations.

Even their Monckton Commission (1960), which we boycotted, reported "African distrust of Federation as we have seen has a long history . . . The Federation is too much disliked to survive in its present shape. Not even the wisdom of Solomon can keep it together." This is the volume of evidence, the colonialist-imperialist British are stubbornly resisting.

Sabre Rattlers

We are prepared to insult the British in Central Africa—we will fight to the last man to break up this unignominous scheme of the ungodly capitalists of the West supported by their sabre rattlers, the settlers.

The time has now come to place the question of the Central African Federation before the United Nations. The Afro-Asian group must take the initiative.

The British are sanctimonious liars and hypocrites, they must not be trusted even in broad daylight. As great George Padmore put it:

"The sun never sets in the British empire. Oh yes, because nobody would trust an Englishman in the dark."

The events of 1961 are still fresh in the memory: sixty murdered in cold-blood, four youths hanged (on very dubious Crown evidence) and over 4,000 people and leaders jailed. Welensky has entered into military pacts with dictator Salazar and the racist-demagogic Verwoerd. He has in broad daylight given military support to that murderous traitor Tshombe of Katanga.

We, the African people of Central Africa, are debarred by law from all rights and privileges of men. European settler sentiment, more powerful than law, frowns us down. We are everywhere shut out from all senior civil office. We are compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gives us no protection and we are denied freedom of speech, the right to assemble and petition, except with police consent and supervision.

British Justice

We are made a separate and distinct class and against us every avenue to improvement is effectually closed.

Strangers of a colour different from ours are preferred before us, despite the fact that hardly two decades ago, we trusting in British justice, went to war on the side of Britain against these very strangers.

Unjust laws are passed. Shootings in which Africans lose lives are condoned in the name of "Law and Order" when in fact that "Law

Angolan Resistance to Portuguese Atrocities

by *Elisio Figueiredo*



A line-up of Portuguese terrorists with rugged faces depicting their brutish inhumanity.

THE Africans in Angola have always opposed with an armed resistance Portuguese colonialism, but a ruthless repression has prevented an international awareness until very recently. Since March 29, 1959, arrests in mass began; hundreds of Africans were accused of attempting against the security of the Portuguese state and against that nation's unity. A little before the independence of Congo, the Portuguese reinforced their troops in Angola settling aerial forces near the border with Congo and Rhodesia.

The arrests were followed by terrible tortures in the prisons, including electric shocks and burnings with hot irons as well as numberless practices of a medieval barbarism. February 4, 1961 the Angolans, taking advantage of the unique presence in Luanda of foreign newsmen who were awaiting the eventual arrival of the ship "Santa Maria," attacked three prisons, a radio station and a military storehouse in Luanda. Treason from some Africans serving the Portuguese secret police reduced the success of the nationalists.

On February 5, 1961 Portuguese police, army and civilians killed more than 3,000 Africans. However, this was the first warning that reflected the Angolan situation on a national and international level. On March 14, 1961 in "Primavera" farm, its Portuguese owner killed some forced workers who had requested their wages, in northern Angola. In their turn, the workers killed the farmers. This incident began the armed fight in the Congo district and the popular revolt openly spread all over Angola. After being attacked by the Nationalist group, the frustrated Portuguese took revenge on defenceless unarmed civilians; they succeeded in gathering the natives, promising that no harm would come to them, and afterwards they machine-gunned the Africans.

In march, they painted the initials UNO on their planes to deceive and wipe out the Africans more easily as they did in Vista Alegre, Mufuque, Kananga and many other places. In another locality, Quibaxe, an African Methodist preacher, Sir Ingles, was still alive when his belly was opened, his body was chopped and salted and, finally, it was put at the edge of the road "to be an example for the black." In prison, most of his colleagues had the most horrible death: their eyes were pulled out, their limbs chopped off and then finally a touch of



Blood-thirsty hounds have been trained to accompany the Portuguese thugs in their brutish act against unarmed Angolans in a bid to maintain their perpetual supremacy over the indigenous people of Angola as shown in the above picture.

mercy was given: they were stabbed in the back. Spanking to death is the commonest way of punishment. The Portuguese also pierce both lips of the prisoners binding them with lockers. Then the victims are left alone until they die. Some are tied both hands and feet and beaten up, others are hanged and drowned. Arrested husbands and fathers were forced to watch the rape of their wives and daughters. Three hundred girls and married women arrested after their husbands and relatives were killed in the Dembos area, were subject to one of the hardest proof: to be raped by 1,500 soldiers.

Among the arrested nationalist leaders is 39-years-old Dr. Agostinho Neto, now kept in prison in Lisbon. His life is in great danger. We are going to intensify our campaign for the liberation of our political leaders, especially Dr. Neto, Mr. Ilidio Machado detained in Luanda, the Rev. Father Pinto de Andrade, Father Das Neves arbitrarily assigned to live in Portugal. Dr. Neto's campaign of liberation is going to have the same orientation as that which our brothers in Kenya gave to Ben Bella's liberation. Dr. Neto is the only leader able to save us from the eventual divisions among the Angolan nationalist parties.

Recently, the Portuguese announced reforms abolishing assimilacao system and granting Portuguese citizenship to all natives of Angola. We denounce and refuse

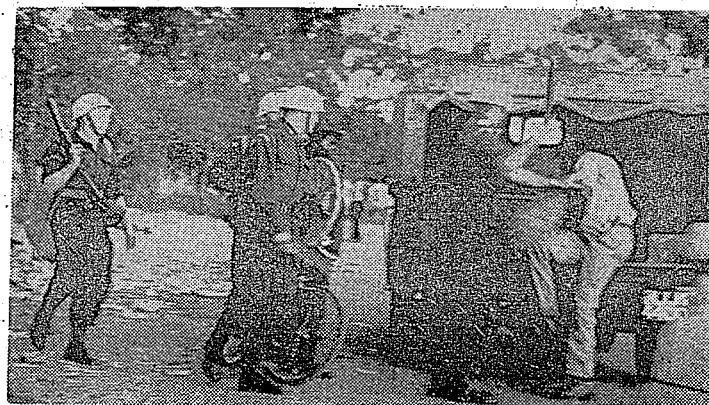


Portuguese thugs rounding up Africans. The victims' fault being that they dare ask for freedom and independence for their country.

such reforms because they were made without our participation. Secondly, they are meaningless to us because we are not looking for any Portuguese citizenship; we are only citizens of Angola. Moreover, the so-called reformers boast of privileges while limiting the possibilities of the Angolans to qualify for them. And finally, we must remember the fact that, in Portugal, the laws are printed to make believe and deceive world opinion, while being completely different from practice. We believe that outside direct action, there is no way of safety for people struggling against Portuguese colonialism. The heroic struggle of the

Angolan people for their national liberation has shortages: we are still lacking a unity of the political parties. A Front of Angolan Liberation must come from a broad confrontation among the nationalist organisations. On the other hand, the Angola issue requires in this sense of unity the greatest caution from the governments of the independent countries of Africa. At this time when Mr. Roy Welensky, in agreement with Mr Salazar, is going to supply weapons and ammunition to the Portuguese army in Angola, it is necessary that the African governments consider new and more efficient ways to assist and help our struggle for national liberation. We must emphasize the fact that if the Angolan nationalists had the military facilities the Portuguese have and get from their allies, no doubt, the Angolan soil would already have been free. Unfortunately, we are receiving a very small and weak support but we welcome any help especially from our brother countries in our beloved Africa.

Tearful eyes of the four million Africans in Angola are turned to the independent countries in Africa and, in some extent, to the United Nations Organisation. Without their intervention, the Angolans are in risk of being wiped out completely in their own country.



Angolans are being brutally mishandled, tortured and huddled into army van.

Spanish Guinea

by a Correspondent

THE Spanish Territories of the Gulf of Guinea comprise Continental Guinea (Rio Muni) area 26,000 sq. kilos, population 180,691 (1986 estimate); Isla de Fernand Poo area 2,071 sq. kilos, population 94,204; Isla de Corisco, Great and Little Elobey and Annohon 34.20 sq. kilometres, population 2,107. Total area 28,105 sq. kilometres (11,000 sq. miles) latest population estimated 200,000.

For administrative purposes, Continental Guinea is divided into nine demarcations (sub-divisions) with district headquarters at Bata, Rio Benito ad Kogo on the coast.

Communications

Communications are generally poor. Spanish Guinea is a "closed door" territory and there are only few air and ship connections with the Nigerian and Cameroons mainland. There are two small metre gauge railways to privately owned timber plantations in Rio Muni. There are a few metalled all-weather roads in the coastal regions; earth roads link the main plantation centres in the interior. Inter-territorial communication is by Spanish airlines and steamers.

Brief History

The people are of the Bantu Group, akin to both Cameroons and Congo. In the dim past, they were supposed to have migrated in small groups from the Congo northwards. The Official Mission of 1941 admits in its reports: "That the native life before the appearance of the European, maintained an order, is undeniable."

For a small area like Rio Muni, there are 100 listed groups and sub-groups, which were autonomous one from the other.

Fernando Poo Island was "discovered" by the Portuguese explorer Fernando Poo in the 1470's.

It was made Portuguese by the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. Ceded to Spain in 1778. Occupied by the British 1894. Effective Spanish occupation of Guinea from 1845 onwards. In all these transactions, there seems to have been no regular treaty of protection signed with the African people; it was a clear and simple question of military conquest.

Administration

Arizcuny Martiniz de Pons in his Memorandum of 1935 states: "Interest of the colonising nation and the colonising is to maintain the existing native political organism, to use them as intermediaries between the natives and the colonial authority with modifications wherever fiscally possible so that they may render maximum utility."

Thus in Rio Muni, where the indigenous community is still largely intact, the rule is "indirect" and the natural chiefs have to dance to the tune of the Spanish Administrators who have got armed Guardia Colonia at their disposal. Elsewhere, specially on Fernando Po, where the indigenous population the Bubes are fast dying out and now number only about 20,000. The rule is pretty direct. Africans have no voice in the town administration.

The Gobernador-General (Governor-General) with his seat at the gay beautifully modern town of Santa Isabel, Fernando Po Island, is a complete boss, subject only to Madrid. He is assisted by a Sub-Governor residing in Bata, the sleepy back-woods capital of Rio Muni. The Governor-General is "advised" by a Cuerpo (Consultative Body) consisting of Spanish Officials, representative of Spanish big Business and a few hand-picked African emancipados.

Colonial Policy

The policy of Metropolis and the Colonial Administration is to "absorb or control... the activities or direction of individual activity".

For this reason, the 1941 Mission recommended the rapid assimilation and orientation towards the metropolis, the recognition of the human dignity of the "native," limitation of private concessions and exploitation; and for the Mission was assigned the task of moral, intellectual, "citizenship" and "patriotic" (i.e. assimilationist) instruction of the people.

Racialism

By a series of Decrees dating from those of Lopez de Ayala of 12 November, 1868 to the Ordenanza Colonial of December, 1938 the Spanish have set up racialist barriers in the territories of the Gulf of Guinea contrary to the popular impression about Latin racial liberalism. Africans have been divided into the "emancipados" and the "non-emancipados."

The Europeans too (about 4,000), are in a special class, a privileged class. By the Statute of Native Justice of November 10, 1938 and the Statute of European Justice of December 22, 1938 (still in force), no European can be tried in an African court. Europeans have got certain exclusive high class schools, bars, hospitals, etc. The African "emancipados" are those who possess professional title conferred by a University Institute or other Official Spanish centre; have been employed for some years in an establishment of agriculture or industry, and earning more than 5,000 Ptas annually.

Only people who have these qualifications (and they are few indeed,) and have reached some "grade of culture, education or morality" can qualify for the Carta de emancipation" (Charter of Rights of Emancipation.) Even the Economic Mission sent to the territories in the second semestre of 1941 by the Director-General of Morocco and Colonies admitted that the "policy of the naturalization of the natives is timid, though the reality of the Colony does not permit big progress."

The workers have to carry a "carnet" (identity card or pass,) the employers, a "Registro" (Registration Card). Unemployed people are liable to be arrested and sent to work building roads.

A new "Patranto de Indigenas" (Permanent Commission for the Protection of Natives) was set up by the Franco "Decreto" (decree) of September 29, 1938, with the ostensible purpose of protecting African population and the workers in particular.

The President and other members (representing Spanish officialdom and big business and plantation magnates) are nominated by the Governor. Unfortunately, this body has so far not implemented fully the "social law" outlined in the Decree of 30th July 1940, for the various "Bulletin Official of the Colony. Rapacious exploitation continues unabated.

There are a few African Reverend Priests and Sisters; but so far we have no information that any of them have been lifted to a place of authority like Bishop. But catechists are freely trained!

Spanish Inquisition

"Next to bodily physique for Health" states a Spanish official document, "the religious Mission and the school are elementary essentials of colonization... for a Catholic, the Mission is the essential fundamental value of colonization, for Spaniard especially. Without the Catholic Mission, one cannot conceive of Spanish Colonization." Today, with the exception of a few Protestants and Baptists who survived the inquisition leading to the expulsion of the English Missionary, Alfred Saekar, in 1858, most of the island's inhabitants are Catholics. Catholic Missionary work started in Rio Muni in 1897 and 1939 an estimate of 50 per cent of the population were converted Catholics. Today, there are few "pagans" in the inaccessible interior.

Forced Labour

In a speech before the General Assembly of Spain in June, 1959, the Governor-General admits that the indigenous people have to give one day every week for "prestacion personal" (forced labour.) This forced labour is mostly utilised in constructing and repairing as also setting up plantations. According to an official Spanish publication, each "Native" Chief must furnish such free African labour as may be demanded by the official of the Colonial Administration on tour.

According to an official estimate in November 1941 workers in the plantations forestry industry come from Spanish Guinea (78.2 per cent), Nigeria (19.5 per cent) and Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa (2.3 per cent). At the outbreak of War II in 1939, the French put an embargo on their subjects going to work in Spanish Guinea.

Child-Kidnapping

Nigerian labour is recruited chiefly via Calabar, Eastern Nigeria. There are at present about 20,000 Nigerian workers in Spanish plantations of which 12,000 are "Treaty labourers." Their conditions of service, housing, health remittance, etc., are governed by the Agreement of 1948 as amended in 1957. Horrible stories of forced labour in Spanish Guinea, still percolate to the outside world and the Nigerian public has long been campaigning for the cessation of the recruitment of labour in the country for "Punya."

A special branch of the Nigerian Labour Department in Santa Isabel ensures that the Agreements are observed to letters. The Federal and Eastern Nigeria Government received a capitation fee of £5 per labourer, formerly it was 15/-. From time to time, and especially during the war years, there has been disturbing information about children kidnapped for work in "Punya".... so scarce is the labour available in Spanish Guinea.

Education and Health Services

Most schools are run by the Catholic Mission. There are few "Escuelas Oficial" (Government Schools) in the main towns. The total number of school children is very small. In the Escuela Oficial de Mikomeseng in 1941 there were only 270 scholars on the roll... and this in spite of the five time "notable incremento" claimed by the French regime. Girls now attend school in large numbers, in some places forming 20 per cent of the total enrolment. Most of the school teachers and Headmasters are Spanish (in contradistinction to what obtains elsewhere in Africa). The few African schoolmasters belong to the Bube, Kombe and Pamue communities (which seem to be the leading sections of the African population).

The schools are concentrated around Bata and Santa Isabel. The level of educational advancement is very low. But in 1941 only two sons of the soil were studying in Santa Isabel to become magistrates.

Out of a total Budget of 19,200,000 Ptas in 1941 only 245,000 was spent on African Education (official and missionary Islands of Corisco, Elobey Grande and Elobey Chico) Exchange: 25:22 Pesetas—£1 sterling.

Heavy Toll of Lives

After the scanty schooling they get, the Africans are only fit to work as carpenters, teachers, nurses, blacksmiths, clerks. The only "technical" training work available is in the Post and Telegraphs Service or Guardia Colonial (Police) or the Agricultural Research Station in Evinayong (Rio Muni) where new grains of cocoa, coffee etc., are developed. No African, no matter how "advanced," can be enrolled in the Civil Service. Hospitals and dispensaries, are few and inadequate. Filaria, malaria and trypanosomiasis take a heavy toll of lives.

ONE PARTY SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

SOME people are astonished to discover that, in Guinea, there is only one party, a national party: the Democratic Party of Guinea, the P.D.G. It must be emphatically asserted that political unity is not a final objective; it is only a means of creating and sustaining a progressive movement, a means taken to serve the general interest.

This unity can be maintained, can be developed, can effectively serve the national cause only so far as it means unity of action by all the people, mobilised in a dynamic manner, in support of positive, objectives and dedicated to the constant reinforcement of the democratic character of the evolution of the country. We can say immediately that the life of a society, a community, a nation, is not fundamentally regulated by laws, decrees and decisions. The life of a society is regulated by habits, customs, historical traditions and the necessities of its maintenance and its development.

The most progressive, most revolutionary law will remain impotent if it has not been understood by the people, if the mentality and the customs of the people are opposed to the spirit and the letter of the law.

Likewise, if the principles of the Party have not been grasped by all the members and, above all, by the leaders, the party can only recite a list of its principles without being able to translate them into the realities of the day to day life of the nation.

When we say that the party struggles for democracy, that the party struggles against colonisation, that the party struggles for unity of the country, all this constitutes only a frame, a spirit which must be taken into account in the daily activities and in the definition of future actions.

The People's Interests

There are two ways of looking at everything. You can assess a thing in relation to yourself, or in relation to groups of things or to the public interest.

Our movement, which is a democratic movement, must assess supporters, leaders and things only in relation to its political line and the interests of the masses. You know

that Africa has always been a country with democratic practices, but democracy is not an end in itself, it is also a means to an end. Each day, it transforms itself, it evolves, advances and retrogresses, all the while conserving its democratic form.

Let us say that all men and women in Guinea who are fifty years old will be electors, and that they—and only they—shall elect the deputies of the National Assembly. That would be democratic because no discrimination would have been made. If we said, likewise, that the members of parliament should be elected separately by the various parts of the population, civil servants, private employees, women, peasants and so forth, that would also be democratic because no form of discrimination would have been used. Taking for granted a few inherent principles, all men are equal. Therefore, democracy is not an object of a unique quality, which you create. On the contrary, democracy is a weapon, a tool which you use in different ways to serve ends no less different than the ways.

From Our Own Traditions

Africans are used to certain democratic forms because, in Ancient Africa, it was the older people who spoke for the country. One observes

In the September 1961 issue of "Voice" the great Southern Rhodesian, Mr. Ndabaningi Sithole, stated that "the recently emancipated African countries do not place great importance on the two-party system because it does not in itself guarantee democratic processes, and partly because at this stage of their development and when it is really the former master countries are only too eager to return by hook or by crook, the opposition may only be African in appearance but not in fact."

Mr. Madeira Keita, Mali Minister of Interior also thinks that there have been forms of democracy without political parties. If a political party is the expression of a class which itself represents certain diversification of interests and still less an opposition of interests?"

But we do say that the differentiation of classes in Africa does not diversify interests and still less an opposition of interests?"

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

Dr. Hastings Banda, the Malawi leader holds firmly to the view that a party system and one leader does not constitute a dictatorship. To my mind the criterion does not lie in a two-party system or two-man rule. It lies in the right of the people to choose whom they want to follow and the system they want. It may not be British, American or French democracy."

In this issue we publish the views of Mr. Sekou Toure, President of Guinea.

Sekoure

FIGS IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA

NATIONALIST fighters of Guinea increased attacks on Portuguese colonial troops last month, announced the General Secretariat of the African Independence of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGE) in a recent statement.

Long stretches of roads were derailed and about twenty bridges were destroyed. A Portuguese official and soldiers were injured in a fight, and a leading official of the colonial police was found dead in his car.

that when, in the village, you explain the programme of the party, it is generally the eldest man in the village that answers first. He then yields the floor to the older Keita, then to the older Camara, then to the older Bangoura and so forth. But democracy, in our party, is not a democracy of clan or of family. It is a fundamental democracy in which the whole population directly and freely contributes to the activities, to the enrichment of the values in the country. Though we are all in agreement about the democratic principles fixed by the party, the former expressions of the social democracy which are rooted in the life of the village, very often influence supporters who believe themselves to be authorised thus to violate the new individual forms prescribed by the P.D.G.

Indeed, democracy really has various natures and can be interpreted in different ways according to whether it is inspired by such and such a trend of thought, such and such an objective or such and such a social force. It is not necessary to go very far to discern the various social conceptions which lay claim to being democratic. Christianity operates politically in the name of Christian democracy, the middle class in the name of middle-class democracy, certain social groups preach social

democracy. In other words, if democracy represents a conception of the organisation of societies and of peoples, its real content can be distorted or interpreted in different ways.

As far as we are concerned, we have declared ourselves for as real, as complete a democracy as possible, based on the exclusive interests of the people. This is the only democratic form we recognise, the only interpretation that we give to the word "democracy".

Form and Content

Where does the difference between the several governments of the various countries in the world lie?

States differ by their significance, their real spirit, their specific nature and the role they play in economic, social, cultural and political fields. There are democratic states and non-democratic states, which can be distinguished from each other by the importance of the part played by the masses, by the extent of the participation of the people in the affairs of state.

But whether we have to deal with a democratic or a non-democratic nation, both are led by a man or a group of men who exert power over the population as a whole. This is dictatorship.

Dictatorship is a concentration of powers in the hands of one man or a group of men, exerted over the people as a whole. If we subscribe to this definition, we can say the driver of a vehicle imposes his dictates on the passengers of the vehicle. In a trade union, in a youth league, in a women's association or on an athletic team, such a dictator rules.

Therefore, we should bear in mind that nations are democratic or non-democratic but that, no matter what their nature be, their trying to achieve purposes which have been fixed in advance necessarily implies dictatorship.

Democracy

To define the nature of this dictatorship which exerts itself differently in democratic and non-democratic nations, we must consider the objective conditions of the practice of dictatorship in order to determine the democratic character of the nation.

If the authority of the state, the powers it holds, in a word, if the dictatorship exerted by the government emanates directly from the whole of the people, dictatorship is of a popular nature and the state is a democratic state—democracy being the exercise of national sovereignty by the people.

Democracy is the power of the people exerted by the people and for the people. A democratic state is based on the will of the people. Its programme is therefore necessarily consistent with the interests of the people. Likewise, its force, the powers it holds, the authority it wields, the discipline it imposes, in one word the dictatorship it exerts are based exclusively on the interests, the needs and principles of popular sovereignty.

For each human society, democracy always corresponds in its form, to given conditions, even exigencies, which depend on the economic and social level this society has reached. That granted, democracy can be more or less advanced. Democratic dictatorship, that is to say the concentration of the powers of popular sovereignty on the powers of people, can be more or less complete, more or less perfect.

The Many—Not the Few

Thus, a state in which the programme of work, the power exercised, is determined not by the interests of a class, or of a fraction of the population, but exclusively by the interests of the people in its entirety, is a democratic state.

This creates, at the level of the administrators who exert the power, an obligation to ensure a direct and free representation of the population without any sort of discrimination.

In a democratic state, the powers of sovereignty are held directly by the representatives whom the electorate has freely chosen.

Now, if the dictatorship is exerted by a king, by a fraction of the population, by a coalition of interests, by an economic feudalism, and if any other interest intervenes instead of the general interest in the exercise of the powers of sovereignty, the dictatorship ceases to operate in the interests of the people.

The state ceases to be democratic when the dictatorship it exerts is based exclusively on the interests of a king, a social class, or any other group that does not emanate directly and freely from the whole of the people. The difference in the aim and in the structure of a state, the different ways of exerting the powers of national sovereignty, determine in the end the democratic or non-democratic form of a state.

Why has the P.D.G. chosen democracy? Why has it endowed the state with democratic institutions? Why does it exert on the national level, a dictatorship of the people?

More Happiness

In the history of nations and peoples, we find states which have neither democratic forms nor structures, and yet the interests of the people are safeguarded as effectively as if they possessed democratic forms and structures. The man or men exerting the powers of sovereignty can easily exert them for the real and exclusive benefit of the people.

In history, we find leaders that placed their own fortune at the disposal or at the services of the populations they administered, in order to bring them more happiness, to improve their living conditions. Without being of a democratic nature, the sovereignty had, in that case, effects similar to those of the sovereignty which is exercised in a democratic state.

But, and this is the important point, the popular quality of the sovereignty exerted by a man or a group of men is necessarily precarious because it can be radically modified by the sole will of the man or group of men who exert it. What is important is that, in such a case, the people do not possess the right to exert their sovereignty: they are subjected to it without exercising it or controlling it.

We therefore see that democracy cannot be defined in terms of the effects of the exercise of sovereignty. It can be defined, as we have stated it already, in terms of conditions in which the power is exerted.

The People Rule

In a democratic state, sovereignty belongs to the national community. The sum of intelligence, the sum of values, and all the energies are mobilised for the benefit of the nation, in order to obtain as many means as possible to further the evolution, create the best conditions for the development of the nation, ensure maximum guarantees with a view to the progress of the society and the security of each of its members.

Consequently, each person feels himself responsible because each one, in every field of activity, has a share in the destiny of the nation.

On the contrary, in non-democratic states, and whatever may be the personal qualities of the leaders, whatever their wish and determination to bring everything into play to promote the happiness of their people; the experience is circumscribed by themselves: once these men have passed off the national scene, their experiences have passed off the national scene, their experiences come to an end because it did not spring from the nation itself, it did not proceed from the will of the people.

On the other hand, you have democratically organised states which are led by ministers, members of parliament, government people or officials who have been elected according to various and sometimes very complicated methods. But the dictatorship which is practised by these states is not democratic for the reasons that it is exerted by a feudalism or a coalition of particular interests, or else by a clan or social class. It is a kind of dictatorship that you might call clannish or factional.

Democracy and Freedom

The first condition required by democracy is freedom. In order that men should be considered as equal, in order that they should be able to participate with equal concern and equal feeling in the life of the nation, they must first be free. Without effective liberty, there is, for men and societies, no possibility of freely determining anything themselves.

Continued on page 32

Portuguese Colonisation of Monomotapa (Mozambique)

by David Mabunda

PORTUGAL'S presence in Africa is said to be a "civilizing mission" designed to convert Africans into Portuguese citizens.

The Portuguese boast that there is no racial problem in Mozambique or any other Portuguese possessions or "over-seas provinces" as they prefer to call them. This is completely unfounded. Portugal's version of apartheid is based on the doctrine that Africans are literally children and as such are incapable of looking after their own vital interests. Hence the Government of Portugal assumes the responsibility of protecting and guiding Africans toward maturity of mind and soul.

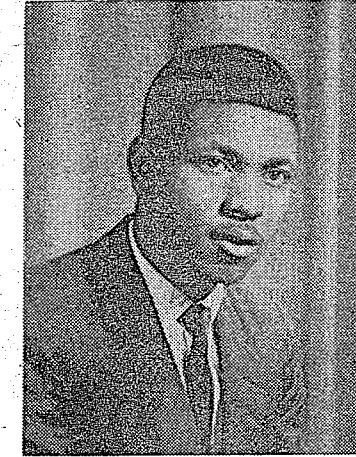
Portuguese law envisages two classes of inhabitants: Portuguese citizens, enjoying full citizenship rights and governed in accordance with Portuguese common law, and the "natives" governed by a complex of controls known as the "INDIGENATO"

"Assimilados"

The process of conversion of assimilation, as it is officially known was implemented in 1917, aimed at dividing Africans into two groups, the so-called ASSIMILADOS (CIVILIZED AFRICANS) and the INDIGENAS (UNCIVILIZED AFRICANS) in order to prevent political influence by those Africans who accidentally obtained some education. The process of conversion, requires the African to show that he can read, write and speak Portuguese fluently, has severed all tribal connections, adopted the habits and customs proposed for the application of the Portuguese common law and

has a suitable occupation, professional, industrial or commercial to provide him with stable means of living.

It is, however, only an individual of African extraction who can be an *indigena* not a Portuguese European, no matter how illiterate he may be.



David Mabunda

Racial discrimination as practised by Portugal is no doubt subtle.

The announcement made by Portugal's so-called Minister of "Overseas Provinces," Dr. Adriano Morreira on the August 28, 1961 about "Political Equality for Portuguese Africans" was only a bluff intended to deceive African Independent States, the United Nations and all peace-loving countries in the world. In practice even *assimilados* do not enjoy the facilities of Portuguese citizenship, for they do not have the means to acquire them.

Having established two classes of Africans, the Portuguese have taken systematic steps to keep down and exploit one class, the *indigenas*.

Africans are still denied the right of assembly whether for political, cultural or trade union purposes and the exploitation of both soil and man is even more extreme.

Today the basic legal vehicle of the *indigenato* is the statute of the Portuguese Africans of the colony (May 1954). According to this law, individuals of the African origin or their descendants who were born or habitually reside in the said province (Mozambique) and who do not yet possess the learning and the social and individual habits presupposed for the integral application of the public and private law of Portuguese citizens, are considered to be *indigenas*.

Native Workers Regimented

For the administration of the *indigenas* Mozambique is divided into URBANISED DISTRICTS. Each of these administrative units is governed by an administrator assisted by a few CHIEFS OF POST. Within the administrative corps the highest rank held by African is that of interpreter. Within his district the administrator executes virtually all police and judicial functions. He has the power to accuse, apprehend, try and sentence Africans as he pleases.

The REGULATION OF "NATIVE" WORKER of 1944 is still the chief legal instrument for maintaining the urban African in a condition of docility and servitude. With its striking resemblance to similar laws in the settler Republic of South Africa, the *regulamento* has its roots deep in medieval philosophies. According to the preamble of the *regulamento* the increasing influx of *indigenas* to the urban centres in search of work has created a problem of social indiscipline whose resolution requires vigorous supervision over the activities of the African population in these centres, not only to prevent vagabondage and criminality but also to correct the bad conduct of domestic servants and other workers.

The law goes further to provide for an African registry and pass book system, the classification of occupations and the mandatory signing of registered contracts between the *indigena* and master. The *indigena* is warned to abide by the contract, obey orders, zealously watch over his master's property, never to leave the house without permission and to have the maximum respect for his master and the people he lives with.

Hewer-of-Wood

All African males over 18 years of age, boys between the ages of 12 and 18 who are employed and all African women who are employed must carry a 32-paged pass-book with them at all times.

When permission is granted to travel from one district to another, the destination and purpose of the journey are noted in the pass-book. If the destination is the city, the *indigena* is given three days to report to the administrative authorities who stamp the book with the limit of time he has to stay. When seeking employment the *indigena* is forced to seek permission from the administration. The administrator or *chef do Posto* will then make a note in the pass-book that the person concerned is permitted to seek employment only within that district for a period of seven days, Saturday and Sundays inclusive. Those who fail to find employment within the period of seven days are arrested and taken as forced labourers. The pass-book also contains a record of previous employment, the wages received, the reason for the termination of service, criminal records, emigration records, together with other biographical details, his tax records, photograph and thumb-print.

Consequently all male *indigenas* are considered idle and are forced to work as FORCED LABOURERS unless they can prove that they are usefully employed by means of a pass-book that is in order. To implement this policy, regular raids are organised to recruit what they call "volunteers" from the rural areas. The raids do not differ from those of the slave trade days. These raids are done with the help of

African chiefs who are forced to co-operate with the Government and those who do not, are severely punished. In 1958 a prominent African chief in *Vila Countinho* Northern part of Mozambique was arrested for having refused to give his people to the Government for forced labour. The chief was taken to Lourenco Marques central prison.

A large number of these labourers are sentenced or sold to the farmers in plantations and the rest on public services owned and run by the settler government. The next result of the forced labour system is not merely to force some workers, but the overwhelming majority of Africans to participate in Portuguese economy on terms which are deeply injurious to the African's welfare but highly lucrative to the dirty-minded European settlers.

Not satisfied with forced labour in the colony alone Portugal has contracted to supply labour to the neighbouring territories, the god-forsaken Republic of South Africa, and the white settler minority imposed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Forced Labour

Men women and children over the age of 12 years sold as internal forced labourers are forced to live under very bad and difficult conditions, in some respects the situation is more grave than that created by chattel slavery. In chattel slavery the master after buying the slave had always to make sure that the slave was well fed and kept healthy for fear of losing his money if he would have to buy another one.

In forced labour he is simply rented by the government. His master cares less if he falls ill as long as he goes on working when he lives. If he dies or becomes unable to work, the master can always ask to be supplied with other labourers without losing one farthing. In spite of the fact that the *shibalos* are forced to work all days in a week (Saturdays and Sundays inclusive,) they are not allowed the shortest possible time to visit their homes before they complete their contracts which last from 6 to 12 months.

On completing their contracts, the *shibalos* hardly get half of the fixed wages (though less than twelve pounds (£12) per 12 months contract). These wages are paid to them by the administrators who before paying, deduct the amount of money he may claim the *shibalo* to be owing for tax. Owing to the fact that administrators and *chefes do Posto* are notoriously underpaid by the Salazar regime, they always take the advantage of deducting any amount they desire. For fear of being cruelly punished, the *shibalos* hardly complain. In May, 1961 fifteen *shibalos* were shot dead at Mlange because they asked for better wages and improved working conditions.

Special Punishment

Corporal punishment is common and freely used in the colony. Punishment is carried out by means of a special instrument called "PALMATÓRIO". This is a thick wooden disc perforated with five holes and attached to a short handle. The person who is to be punished is held with his palm of his hand upwards and is struck as many times as the administrator wishes. The holes in the palmatorio suck up the flesh and raise painful welts. Usually after such punishment the culprit is forced though with swollen palms to chop a considerable amount of fire-wood. If one is to be struck more than 50 palmatorios, this is done to both palms and the soles.

External forced labourers are sold to mines in South Africa and the Rhodesias, and this has been turned into profit by the Portuguese colonialists. This South African Settler Government entered into an agreement with Portugal to supply manpower amounting to 100,000 per year and this is known as the Mozambique convention which is divided into three parts:—

- (a) The fixing of the minimum and maximum number of Africans who are to be recruited and provision of payment to the Portuguese Government for registration, engagement and monthly fees in regard to each such recruit.

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When Will Britain Repent?

by our Special Correspondent

FROM the advent of Colonial rule the volume of words that has been used against the British is enormous; the amount of stubbornness they have always shown is staggering and the number of innocent people they have killed in their mad hunt for money and power is humanly unrecordable. Africa has had a himalayan share of these terrible crimes of the British. Put all together, the evils that the British have committed since that ungodly merchandise in human beings—the slaves trade—cannot find room even in Satan's kingdom. Say what you may, the African people are very human and civilized that up-to-date they remain friendly to these brutish British beasts!

The Central African Federation

Britain was warned when this iniquitous scheme was mooted-out in 1953. Britain stuck to her usual bullish stubbornness—the results are all there for everybody to see, hear and ponder; whether blind, deaf or insane.

The nine million Africans in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland are irrevocably determined to break the Federation; all Africa supports them on this and the majority of the peace loving nations at the U.N. One can say more than two-thirds of humanity is entirely against the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. But the British still say "Who about it in another form?" "Who is going to repay the £387 million Federal Loan? You see, most of this money was spent on territorial and not on Federal projects!"

Firstly, the African people have demanded the COMPLETE BREAK-UP of the FEDERATION! Secondly, the African people never consulted and in fact hardly know anything about this loan. He who called the tune must pay the piper! Even on purely economic reasons it can be proved that this money was never used for the benefit of the African people. Welensky spent it on building Federal Army Forces, building more "Security Prisons", increasing the "Special Branch Constabulary (secret police) amortization for the panic white traders in Southern Rhodesia, and for an expanded Federal propaganda service—the notorious Voice and Vision! To us this money is bloody money—the thirty pieces of silver.

The African Nationalist Governments will be justified in repudiating these loans without fear of losing faith with foreign investors. Britain must bear the consequences of her unreasonable and selfish policies! FEDERATION MUST GO THIS VERY YEAR if there is to be peace and stability in Central Africa!

As further proof to the evil intentions of the settlers a resume of their expenditure on HEALTH AND EDUCATION is revealed as follows:

Unhealthy Security In Central Africa

Northern Rhodesia Copper is financing health in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia.

The correlation between the density of European settlement and the quality of medical facilities provided is clearly shown in the following table:

TABLE I

MEDICAL STAFF IN EACH TERRITORY

	S.R.	N.R.	Nyasaland
Doctors	755	336	97
Dentists	123	35	28
Nurses	628	250	55
Stud. Nurs.	426	—	—

Compare

In 1959 the European hospital in Salisbury received a subsidy approximately £342,000. In the same year the whole of Nyasaland's government expenditure on health was £918,000. Thus on an estimate a European in Salisbury was subsidised to the tune of £3 per head whilst in Nyasaland the *per capita* expenditure on health was less than £1.

That the redistribution of revenue for expenditure purposes affected Africans much less than Europeans in any territory of the Federation, may be seen from the following tables:—

BEDS PER 1,000 OF POPULATION 1958/59

	S.R.	N.R.	Nyasaland
Europeans	6.8	10.3	7.6
Africans	4.3	3.5	1.2

BED OCCUPANCY RATE PERCENTAGE—1960

	S.R.	N.R.	Nyasaland
Europeans	64.3%	42.2%	39.4%
Africans	137.7%	116.4%	111.8%

African patients lie on the floor whereas European wards stand empty.

Expenditure on health in relation to total government expenditure on defence, justice and police.

ON DEFENCE, JUSTICE AND POLICE

EXP. £ THOUSAND

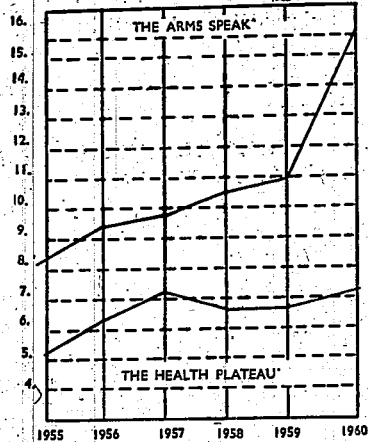
1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
7,650	9,555	10,904	11,596	13,073	15,593

ON HEALTH

5,361	5,981	7,400	7,212	7,138	7,448
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No Aggregate figures available for 1954.

JULY, 1962 25



During the period 1955-1960 the expenditure on police, justice and defence rose by 102 per cent in money terms and health expenditure by 43%.

These figures precisely reveal how the whiteman is systematically reducing the African population. How else can one explain these totally true figures? Genocide!

The table indicates that in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia in 1960 approximately twelve times was spent per pupil on the education of other races as on that of the African. In Nyasaland it was twenty-eight times as much.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fed.	72	5,553	1,822	7,375	78	25	103
S.R.	505	—	—	3,900	—	—	8
N.R.	293	2,130	460	2,590	7	2	9
Nyasa	287	853	136	989	3	5	3.5

KEY

1: School Enrolment	2: Current Expenditure	3: Capital Expenditure	4: Total Expenditure	5: Current Per Head	6: Capital Per Head	7: Total Per Head
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European, Asian and coloured children have compulsory education from the age of 7-15. Africans—nil. Virtually all European children stay at school to Form II and approximately 73% stay on until Form IV—the school certificate level. For Africans the number of layoffs is fantastic

The extent of "fall-out" is indicated in the table. It shows enrolment for the two Rhodesias in 1947,

NUMBER OF AFRICAN SCHOOL CHILDREN

	S.R.	N.R.
Sub A 1947	81,821	27,845
Std. II 1950	23,366	11,920
Std. VI 1954	4,429	1,889
Form. II 1956	1,889	339
Form IV 1958	379	117
Form VI 1960	15	28

As a final touch of irony the higher income groups—the Europeans—receive free education for their children and the lower income groups—the Africans—pay for their education.

Fees in mission schools are roughly at Teacher Training and Secondary level £16—£18 Post Std. VI, Agricultural and Building Courses £12—£14 Central Primary School boarders £12 10s.—£18.

The scandal continues:— Education costs and additional future Earnings of Urban Africans, first starting school in 1961.

	1	2	3	4	5
Total Education	—	—	—	—	—
To Std. II	4	100	—	—	—
„ „ VI	8	193	1,130	—	6
„ Form II	10	287	3,164	—	11
„ „ IV	12	370	6,305	—	17
Increase in Education	—	—	—	—	—
Std. III—VI	4	93	1,130	—	9
Forms I and II	2	94	2,034	—	22
„ III and IV	2	83	3,141	—	28

KEY

1: Standard or Form	2: Years Schooling	3: Education Costs	4: Additional Earnings	5: Extra earnings per annum as a result of £1 spent on Education.
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These figures clearly show that the European is not only exploiting us humanly but is cunningly utilising the much needed welfare for stealing money. Never compromise with the imperialists, their evil acts are too inhuman to be forgotten.

Portuguese Colonisation

- Continued from page 24*
- (b) Advantages to the Portuguese Government in regard to railway traffic and rates.
 - (c) Advantages for customs on return of the forced labourers. (Shibalos on return from South Africa are forced to pay custom duties for small items like handkerchiefs).

Also in exchange, 47.6 per cent of sea-borne import traffic to the mining areas of South Africa and the export of 340,000 cases of citrus fruit each year shall go through the Mozambican port of Lourenco Marques.

Out of the 400 miners who perished in last year's (1961) coal brook mine disaster in South Africa, 200 were Mozambicans. Wives and relatives of the victims were never informed by the Portuguese authorities and the sum of money paid out by the South African chamber of mines as compensation was not paid to the relatives of the deceased but put into the Portuguese Government's greedy bag. According to official records since 1902 more than 80,000 Mozambicans were killed in South African mine disasters.

The so-called "Political Equality for Portuguese Africans" as practised in Mozambique is the equality of horse and rider.

More than four centuries of Portuguese colonial rule over Mozambique has meant for the 7 million Africans of this vast area, this land of plenty, ruthless economic exploitation, criminal, political oppression and vicious social degradation. In a desperate bid to entrench Portuguese or white supremacy over the indigenous African people, the fascist colonial government of the shameless dictator Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, has unleashed an unprecedented reign of terror marked by intimidation, savage, brutality and barbarous atrocities.

We Claim Jazz

— Listen to Africa

JAZZ is undeniably the gift to the world, a gift that has filtered with incredible rapidity into the farthest corners—and its universal quality is proved by its universality.

The voice of Africa comes to us over the airwaves from thousands of miles away. Sometimes it is called 'The Voice of America'. But under the splutter and meretricious ornament, the authentic voice is Africa's.

The jazz voices of the world are many — a veritable Pentacostal babel. But they all began in that Mississippi delta: in the slums and brothels of Storyville and in the streets that are imperishable strands in the fabric of jazz—Rampart and Basin and 12th and all the others. The sad men who congregated on Congo Square once a week to beat a drum (during the week they were sometimes forced to beat it under a bathtub because it was illegal) are the same sad Africans who have sent their reverberations around the world: the accents of the Ivory Coast, Ghana have gone round the world from Congo Square.

Many of the voices today are garbled and unintelligible, some speak in private dialects or the initiated or the insane. Others are so overloaded with the schmaltz of a popcorn culture that they make us queasy. But there are still voices in the mainstream of jazz. They speak with the old fierceness, tenderness, raucousness and sincerity. They are the unending springs of the old excitement and pleasure.

But the voice of Africa is also in Africa. And perhaps nowhere more authentic than in our own Southern Africa. Yet our ignorance is often colossal and always appalling.

There exists in South Africa today—you can hear it any night in any location—a music as vibrant and authentic and satisfying as anything to be heard in the world. But lots of us do not see or hear it.

It may be that we have been spoilt by the Voice of America—we can't hear our authentic local music because we have heard too much Ellington and Sinatra. Even our own King Kong has helped the process, because it is certainly not great jazz (despite the fact that Tod Matshikiza's music has worn so well and satisfyingly in the years since we saw the production).

Great music we have. And great jazzmen: Kippie Moeketsi, Sol Kaaste, Dollar Brand. Great technicians, but also, sometimes, great artists. And every day there is good jazz being made, either as written or heard music. And there is a multitude of unknowns.

It has a peculiarly South African-township flavour. No, this is not a defence of ethnic grouping but a recognition of its special qualities: its rhythms—especially in repetitious, riff-like phrases—in the subtleties of its rhythms and harmonies and in peculiarities of scoring caused largely by instruments available or traditional here. The penny-whistled field has a very large corder all to itself.

Hits have come out of Southern Africa—dressed up versions of Wimoweh and Skokiaan come readily to mind—and have gone around the world. Evidence, if evidence was needed.

But most important for the jazz-lover: simply to be able to hear living jazz: and if he chooses, to watch it being made before his eyes.

We can do it most anywhere in South Africa.

GUYANA POEM

A Dream

by C. Watson

AND can we dream that one day soon
This fair land of ours, can hope
To lift its head, in pride and see
Its children, free, prosperous, happy
To know and smile, that after pain
And toil, at last her sons
Are free their own destiny to care.

And will our dream of comfort
Unity and peace, with God's help
One day to see, to rejoice, to
bequeath

To our sons be a reality
When our six people will strive
As one to plan and mould,
To build a strong and prosperous
nation

And may this dream of splendour,
In this fair land of ours,
Be blessed with the smile of love
And our plains and mountains, rivers
And streams will smile in approval
Of a task well done.

A Chapter from "Guilty Land"

From the beginning of time itself slave-owners have always been interested in two main items: increased profits for themselves and continued slavery for their victims. And these items go by the name of "national pride" and "national self-respect."

The slave-owners and slave-drivers of South Africa are no exception to this rule and that is why they are normally incapable of bold thinking on lines other than increased profits and continued slavery.

Mr. Van Rensburg, an ex-diplomat and a former Organising Secretary of the Liberal Party of South Africa in this article which is an excerpt from his work "Guilty Land" proves himself a bolder thinker than most South African whites are capable of being on the thorny subject of liberation.

His brilliant thesis is only marred by his unwitting tendency to do the propaganda work of Settler South Africa; such as his reference to the number of non-white graduates in South Africa as being more than that in any other African country—a statement which is disproved by the number of non-white graduates produced by the University of Cairo alone.

The Role of Liberals in the Struggle for Liberation

by Patrick van Rensburg

THE first aim of liberals in Africa must be the liberation of the African people. By liberation I mean complete political and economic emancipation. They must not try to create a tactical political image which would cloak some other aim. It must be an end in itself, striven for directly, passionately—and regardless of the consequences. They must not falter even if it becomes obvious that liberation will release a flood of embittered African nationalism, for the Africanist will not, of course, be content with the White liberal concept of liberation, and will use their new economic and political freedom to move towards their own goal. That prospect must not deter White liberals in any way.

The priority which they give to their objectives will be reflected in their actions; if they put a brake on any action that they know would hasten African liberation, they will, by virtue of that, be judged to have subordinated liberation to some other aim. They must never hamper or obstruct any measure that would more quickly achieve the prime goal. Let us examine the implications of this mood.

Little Real Room

In South Africa liberals, whether in or outside the Party of that name, are non-racialists, by definition, who aim at non-racialism. If there are signs of anti-Whiteism—of racialism—among those for whose liberation they

work, the time to fight it will come. Then, but only then, they can be as drastic in their choice of weapons as they are now in their fight against White racialism and that time will come if Black racialists echo the White racialists of today. The liberals and non-racialists will have little real room for complaint, however, if the position of the White under Black rule is no worse than that of Blacks in the American South or in other White countries. The most that South African Whites can hope for in such circumstances is that Black anti-racialists in Central and Northern Africa will go as far in protecting white rights in the African South, as White anti-racialists in the American North go—and have gone—in protecting Black rights in the American South.

Advocates of own Cause

It would be really tragic if Indians and Coloureds were to be the victims of an exclusive Black racialism in the future, because so

many of them have suffered under White domination. But they will be much better advocates of their own cause—and indeed of non-racialism—than any white man could be, precisely because they did suffer. As people of colour they would be in a key position to invoke the assistance of the Asian world against any possible infringement of their fundamental human rights.

African Leadership

What the liberals must seek is the *quickest* road to liberation. Is it the path of extreme Black nationalism in the Union? That is certainly one road, and there is no doubt that it would once have been the fastest: it is questionable whether it is now. A combination of external and internal action might seem to be a speedier route, and I hope to show in the next chapter that this would best be helped by non-racial co-operation under African leadership rather than by exclusive Africanism.

Lesson for West

The lesson for the Western world is just as clear. Africans must be given their political and economic freedom because it is right, proper, and just for them to have it. It must be given regardless of the consequences.

Aid must be given to Africa, and given till it hurts. It must be given because it is needed, given on African terms, and given so that Africans may learn to develop their own economies. The Western world which has taken so much out of Africa, owes her a debt of honour. The debt must be paid. Aid must be given, not because it might buy allies, not because it is enlightened, self-interest to give, not in competition with Russia, but because it is Africa's due.

Britain Must Repay

Britain, for example, must repay the African not only in her own colonies, but in South Africa, which an earlier generation handed to the Boer on a silver platter. I think that this debt can only be repaid by a strong British initiative on the South African question in the United Nations.

The West must treat the people of African origin in their midst as they treat themselves for no other reason than that it is right and just to do so.

Powerful Spirit

The West, quite as much as liberals in Africa, must recognize that the spirit of continental Pan-Africanism is very powerful indeed. So is the urge for African unity. This force is bound to grow in Kenya and Tanganyika, in the Congo, the Rhodesias, and throughout West Africa. It will grow despite—perhaps because of—men like the rulers of Katanga. Only a wider unity can give to Africans a sense of security and the feeling of being their own master in the face of their tremendous economic and technical dependence on others.

Moderates and Extremists

The spirit of men such as Nkrumah will survive that of men apparently more amenable to the West, and indeed, if the West seeks to play the moderates off against the so-called extremists, it will find real extremism supplanting even the mood of Kwame Nkrumah. If he and men who think like him seem uncompromising, it is only because they stand more strongly for the primacy of African interests than the men who are now called moderates. Sooner or later the Western world must come to terms with these so-called extremists. Sooner is better than later. Later may be too late.

Safeguarding Whites

If the White liberals in Africa make non-racialism their prime objective, if they set this above the aim of African liberation, the priority will be reflected in their actions. Africans will say that the liberal object is not to give us our liberation; they can see that with liberation spreading in the Continent, with the changing attitude of the world, our own liberation is closer; they come now with their doctrine of non-racialism, not so much to change the white man, but to save him from us. Non-racialism is a policy to safeguard the position of Whites.

Africanists not yet in Power

The difficulties that face liberals as components of a wider opposition front are many. If there were signs that the PAC, for example, had racialist tendencies, liberals would still be bound to act with extreme circumspection before they so arraigned them. The Africanists are not *now* in power; they are not *now* curtailing human rights; indeed, they are upholding these, rights by word and deed. Of course they *might* unleash emotions that would a some future date make the maintenance of civil liberty difficult; but they do not set out with this in mind. They set out primarily to liberate their people by the quickest possible means, and the suspension of civil liberties may be a consequence of their methods. They are not the makers of the anti-White sentiment that would provide the disciplinary force for their resistance movement.

Africanist Control

The Liberal Party, for example, sees itself as the custodian of the fundamental freedom; the Africans and the Africanists are the aggrieved people. Both Africanists and Liberals seek the removal of the grievances: the Liberals because they object to the curtailment of human rights, the Africanists because they object to the curtailment of the rights of Africans. They seek not only the positive assertion of the African personality; they go beyond the demand for African control; they insist on Africanist control.

If Liberals (and liberals) are to win African support for their cause, it will be by showing how hard they will fight for it; what sacrifices they will make on its behalf against those who are now assailing it—the White supremacists. This is not the time for sermonizing about human rights in the future to people who do not have then today, and least of all about the human rights of the very people who now deny them theirs.

What About Afro-Americans?

The time may now be ripe to attack any signs of racialism found in independent African states, but

that it is racialism by Liberal standards. Now is not the time to do so in subject African states. And even in the free African states, only where it is absolutely certain Liberals must ask themselves before they criticize: what about Afro-Americans in the southern states of America and coloured people in Britain?

Reinstitution of Slavery

Although the Liberal Party of South Africa has gone a long way to show that its prime aim is the liberation of the African people, it still had a long road to travel. If it had kept to 'parliamentary and constitutional' action and the attempt to persuade White voters to change their views, it would have been tailoring its policies—rather like the Progressives do now—to the White voter's view of the situation. Their hope of parliamentary and electoral change would have been kept alive, holding in check any shift towards the African viewpoint.

But the hope is an illusory one, because even if the Party made some gains among English-speaking people, it could never win nationalist votes without advocating the reinstitution of slavery. Consequently, the Party is now closer to the African viewpoint. Indeed, it encourages action calculated to bring about a speedier liberation and has participated in it, but this—as we have seen—may have its own pitfalls if Liberals cross African nationalists in any way.

Franchise

Liberals believe that there must be universal suffrage in South Africa because it is just. White South Africa does not generally oppose the principle of universal suffrage; indeed, the Afrikaners have the vote to all Whites over the age of eighteen. But all Blacks are excluded.

Those who call for a qualified franchise do so in the name of good government, but no one can pretend that the call is anything more than a pretext for racial discrimination. The real fear in the minds of these people is that African chauvinism might one day do

to the Whites what the Whites now do to Africans. A qualified franchise is a device for postponing this feared situation. But democracy, like justice, must not only be done; it must be seen to be done. How is the African, barred from voting because he lacks certain qualifications, to be convinced that he has not been excluded on the grounds of his colour alone? Even if the qualifications apply to Whites as well, he is still unconvinced because most barriers include educational qualifications, and there is compulsory education for Whites but not for Africans.

Black Domination

We are speaking, after all, of a country where the white man has constantly held down the civil rights of the black man; the White exponents of non-racialism have a barrier of suspicion to break through. They will discredit their philosophy if there is a suspicion of bias in its application. The longer Whites postpone the franchise, the more will Black bitterness grow. There will not be less bitterness in South Africa in ten years' time, but more. The 'danger of Black domination' will be greater.

An act of Justice

The advocates of a qualified franchise are afraid that South Africa has passed the point of no return. Afrikaner nationalism and White domination have sown their seeds of hatred which, they say, have already taken root. I cannot believe that it would be an act of justice to protect the Whites from the consequences of their own actions by further restricting the African's right to vote. A people denied the vote must express their common will in some other way—through strikes, passive resistance, boycott, riot, or revolution. Is it not better to train people from the start to express themselves by means of the ballot?

What a people aspires to will be shaped by their background, their level of education, the way the world treats them. Their aspirations will exist whether or not they have the vote. Admittedly, less-developed people may be more

gullible in believing the promises of vote-seeking politicians, but the same politicians can use the same slogans to incite the same gullible people to violence. They need only exploit the widespread grievances which exist regardless of whether or not the Black people are denied the franchise. Black chauvinism will be the result of the postponed extension of franchise, rather than of the extension itself.

In South Africa, there are more non-White graduates than in any other territory in Africa; education is more widespread, thanks to the missionaries, and there is a more widespread political consciousness. Economic and political sights are set higher because the African in the Union has a better view of higher standards than he has anywhere else. As the result of a harder struggle, he has a more realistic attitude towards hard work.

Many Africans in South Africa have appreciated that the Whites possess technological knowledge, business knowledge, and a high degree of initiative which has resulted in an expansion of the economy unparalleled elsewhere on the continent. I believe that if the Whites came to their senses, even at this late stage, the Africans would not want to expel them, but to share their knowledge and allow all to profit fairly from their mutual contributions to the country. But it would be foolish to say that this would always be the case.

Fraudulent Cover

Liberals both in and outside the Liberal Party have learned that it is not persuasion of White voters or fancy franchise proposals that will alter the situation in South Africa, but pressure from the Black masses. That will not be satisfied with a few concessions. It demands justice for all sections of the population. Political liberation can be the key to economic emancipation, but only if the political power is in the hands of a party committed to a drastic overhaul of the economic system; otherwise political independence becomes a somewhat fraudulent cover for economic domination.

In economic policy, it is important to realize that there will be many post-liberation restrictions

facing Black men, as a legacy of a discriminatory society. It would not, for example, be enough simply to remove the restrictions on African land ownership. Africans are too poor to buy where they like. If all racial barriers on land ownership were removed, Whites, being wealthier, would be able to buy up even African reserved land.

Policies of Socialism

Africans must be guaranteed a minimum of land, not because they are black but because they are poor, and poor because of the years of discrimination. The Trekkers took, mostly without payment, the land into which they moved. They defended their ownerships by superior force; that land now represents wealth. It is necessary to accept, like Ghana and other African governments, that the Africa of today needs to apply many of the policies of socialism.

The tiny British territory of Swaziland which borders on the Eastern Transvaal, gives some idea of the way in which land ownership affects a group's stake in the economy. In Swaziland most of the farms are African; their ownership has been protected. Whenever a White-owned farm is put up for sale, the Swazi nation, through its Paramount Chief and National Council, is able to bid very highly for the property. The Swazis' superior land ownership has laid the foundations of this collective tribal wealth in an economy which, in their case, is still largely agrarian.

Possession of land protected by discriminatory legislation is unfair possession. A job held under protective 'job reservation' laws is a job unfairly held. The Liberal Party has proposed a number of urgent land reforms, aimed at a fairer distribution of land. The Government, they demand, must have the power to expropriate, to put a tax on land, and to buy on the open market. These measures must be accompanied by an urgent overhauling of agricultural and pastoral policies. The complete abolition of the pass system; axiomatic to Liberals, would force White farmers to pay salaries competitive with those paid in the cities.

Minimum Wages

The Liberal Party would support legislation for a minimum living wage for Africans, both in the cities and on the land. The Party would not only recognize complete trade union freedom, but help to build up the unions. Liberals are aware of the dangers of raising wages without adding to productivity. But they are also conscious that so long as the state tolerates a cheap labour policy, it will never be enough to ask employers to turn from the use of cheap labour to a more selective use of labour.

The state must oblige employers to pay more; and they, in consequence, would be obliged to improve their management policies to survive. Legislation requiring the payment of minimum wages can provide for a phased increase to allow employers to adapt to new conditions. My own view is, however, that much more drastic solutions will be necessary, to redress African grievances.

Direct Action

The Liberal Party's acceptance of the need for extra-parliamentary pressure in South Africa evolved gradually. There were two stages. At first there was no more than a detached recognition of a necessity; it was thought that the creation of the pressures was the duty of the oppressed people alone. The Party might possibly provide the vehicle by means of which the change of government would be carried out. Meanwhile, it would remain critically aloof from the squeezing of the Whites, in order to reap the greatest benefit from it. Later, the Party accepted that it must participate directly in 'direct action'.

Immense Amount of Soul-Searching

The role for which it first cast itself falls now to the Progressives. Clearly their expansion will be a temporary setback to the Liberals. The Liberal Party has never been a mass party; its white membership is predominantly middle-class. It has gone through an immense amount of soul-searching to move as far as it has, and this resounds immensely to the credit of its white membership. Few Liberals have deserted to the Progressives.

and the membership has accepted the role that the Party has chosen for itself. The Party is multi-racial, and the essence of its belief is that it should provide a working microcosm of the changed South Africa it would like to see.

Creation of Pressures

It was over the question of the use of boycott as a political weapon that the Liberals, as a party, first decided to participate fully in the creation of pressures. The problem first arose when, in 1959, the Party had to consider its attitude towards the ANC proposals to launch a boycott of products of Nationalist firms sold in the Union. Discussions were held with various other groups, mainly from the Congress movement, and the Party eventually agreed that 'in view of the denial of all means of political expression to Africans, Indians, and Coloureds, boycott was a legitimate political weapon.' Two months after I arrived in Britain, I was authorized to participate on behalf of the Party in the organization of the ANC-sponsored boycott of South African goods.

The gap

If after White Liberals have made all the necessary changes in their attitude, the gap between them and Africanists remains, it will be because the Africanists are still suffering from 'the racial slander that labels them as inferior'. It will be the duty of the Liberals to expose these lies, which should be no difficult task. Their job is to expose them not only to Whites in South Africa and in the rest of the world, but also to the Africans in Africa.

It will be necessary to remind people—and not least the Africans—of the achievements of American Negroes, of countless modern Africans, and of the African achievements of the past. It is likely that Afro-Americans, who have been given (by their environment) the greatest opportunities to disprove the slander and have largely done so, will, as they play a greater part in the development of Africa, play an important part in smashing the African inferiority

Continued on page 33

Spanish Guinea

Continued from page 19.

Economical Potential and Spanish Exploitation

Animal wealth (1939 data.) Horses few; cattle 31,000; sheep 300; pig 100. Food has to be imported to feed the workers. That is why a flourishing trade in contraband goods exists with the Nigerian coast. There are at least 1,300 Nigerian "licensed" traders in Fernando Poo for the purpose.

Chief exports in order of importance are: timber (mahogany and ebony chiefly.) Cocoa (13,400 tons in 1939 and 23,400 tons in 1956-57.) Coffee (2,500 tons in 1939 increased tonnage since then.) Other important export crops are palm oils, palm kernels (nuts,) copra and coconuts.

There are few factories mostly soap and timber milling. Rio Muni is very rich in "which coal" (from waterfalls), minerals and timber! but these are still largely untapped. African wages are very low. According to official Spanish sources, the average basic monthly salary of a labourer is 30 Ptas (25.22 Ptas—£1.) of which 50 per cent is "retained" for him! Africans own only a few retail shop and plantations (farm).

All major business, banking, shipping, export-timber trade are monopolised by the Spanish. The plantations are owned by the Spanish "absentee" gradees and economic tycoons. They are managed and supervised by Spanish Agents who live on the estates.

So vigilant and efficient is the Spanish secret police that they promptly threw out non-Spanish Africans who wanted to stage strikes for better wages in the post 1945 years. Some Spanish subjects who had migrated to the mainland were hunted and forced to return home for fear that they might get infected with the nationalist tide then sweeping West Africa like a fever.

Journalists (the lucky few who are given visas) who visit S. Guinea are feted and taken on conducted tours; but returned workers narrated their tales of woe on the mainland.

Prospects For Freedom

The people of this corner of Africa had their first big break during the Republican regime in the 1928-36 era. By a series of decrees, the concessions were suspended in 1930 and in 1932 by the Agrarian Reform limited to 20 hectares each (1 hectare—2,471 acres) Further alienation of African land was stopped. In 1938 African markets were re-organised and economic exploitation was eliminated by arranging for the marketing of cashcrops through quasi co-operative African village establishments.

A "Codigo de Trabajo" (Labour Code) was drawn up benefiting from the strictures passed on the treatment of Liberian labourers by the League of Nations Enquiry. The Labour Inspectors and Patronato became more active in the protection of African interests. Unfortunately, this interesting experiment in the liberalism of a European colonialism was ended when the Franco fascist clique overthrew the Republican Government in the 1936-38 Civil War.

When the Franco regime came to power, it resorted the status quo ante. Spanish capital benefiting from this carried out vast expansion programmes under the impetus of war and the embargo. If Metropolitan Spain itself is not rid of totalitarian rule, we cannot expect much help by way of internal "evolution" of "liberalism."

That these territories can achieve their freedom by way of passing under another European Power is not likely. Since Spanish Guinea is today a great economic asset to Spain the prospect of sale is remote (although, in that case, Spain has promised France first preference).

The only prospect for freedom, difficult though it is, lies in internal awakening at a historically ripe moment, supported and continually sustained in all ways by external African co-operation.

A simple glance at the map will show that Fernando Poo is a loaded pistol at the heart of the Cameroons. The strategic importance of Spanish Guinea was amply shown during World War II when German submarines using the islands as secret hide-outs sank many allied ships off the West African coast.

A Warning Note:

General Franco, Africa has not forgotten that you are among her worst enemies. You are asked to pull out of these territories before the bricks start falling. You are such a stinking evil to your own Spanish people—know that AFRICA is changing. AFRICA needs FREEDOM NOW!

One Party

Continued from page 22

But having won our freedom, we have freely chosen a particular form of state. It is the nature and the spirit of this state that must be perfectly understood and safeguarded by the leaders.

First, we state that our nation is democratic. This means that an office or position that exerts a portion of the popular dictatorship, does not belong to anyone in his own right. Nobody can claim possession of it because of his name, his family, his birth, his wealth or the degree of his education. Those who are to exercise a part of the popular dictatorship will be designated by the people. It is the people who by democratic methods, will invest them with authority, will grant them the power to administer the whole or a part of its property.

It may happen that a man who has not been elected is more efficient than one who has; but it is the elected man with political title to office who interests us, because it is he who has the most power, because it is he who comes from the will of the people.

Thus, then, the only actual holder of power is not a king, it is not a government: it is the people itself.

The Role of Liberals

Continued from page 31.

complex; and once it has been smashed by one group of black men, there is a chance that it might be smashed for them all.

Junior Partners

I no longer believe—as I once did—that the Liberal Party (or any White liberals) have a really major role to play in the liberation of Africans. They have some role, and certainly a time will come when they will indeed have an important part to play in the country's political life. It will be Africans, however, who will have to take the initiative at this stage and White liberals can only be junior partners. In principle, they must accept African nationalist leadership, remaining neutral for the time being, in the battle between its two sets of exponent. At the present time, the Liberal Party is trying carefully to avoid being banned, and yet it is recruiting African members. This is the old, old story of what will make more enemies than friends.

African Conference

I have discussed, at some length, the policies that liberals might adopt now and the form of mind which should motivate them, because only if their attitudes are correct will they win African conference. Their duty is to preach this frame of mind to as many Whites as will listen, inside South Africa, leaving it to Africans to organize the other Africans. Outside, they can persuade the Whites of the Western world to act against South Africa, provided they do so under African leadership and in co-operation with the representatives abroad of both ANC and PAC opinion.

If liberal Whites are to play a conciliatory role in the racial clash of the future—possibly after liberation—they will only be able to do so if their motives were correct before it.

AFRICANS DENIED BASIC RIGHTS

by a Correspondent

THE appalling plight of the Africans—created for them by the devilish Verwoerd regime—who make up more than two-thirds of the population in the Republic of South Africa is known far beyond the borders of this country. Three and a half million unfortunate people are deprived of every right and forced to live in reservations, over-populated areas, isolated from the outer world. These are the most backward places, without either industry or means of communication. There is too little land there to keep the population alive. Permanent starvation, poverty and disease are the lot of the people who live in reservations. The Verwoerd Government cynically calls them the native land of the Africans.

One of the biggest reservations is Transkei. Two million Africans live in dire poverty on this territory. Let alone the lack of soil, one-third of the peasant in Transkei are landless, food, clothes and homes. Their life is in permanent danger. During the last two years hundreds of people were killed and maimed there by the settler Government of South Africa. Thousands of Africans who expressed displeasure with the Verwoerd regime in any form were imprisoned and exiled. Among them were many African chiefs who were not afraid to openly advocate their compatriots.

Dealing cruelly with the staunchest and enlisting the support of a handful of bribed African leaders of Transkei, the Verwoerd Government raised a big propaganda hullabaloo over the plans for the granting of so-called independence to this African reservation. What are the South African racists preparing for the people of Transkei?

Maybe the Africans will be given more land to keep their families alive. Maybe funds have already been allocated for improvements in medical aid, education, industry, and means of communication in Transkei. Maybe an independent authority will now be elected in Transkei on the basis of the one-man vote principle. Nothing of the kind.

The granting of so-called independence is reduced to the setting up of a legislative assembly which will be completely subjected to the central Government. Out of 131 seats in the assembly, 95 will belong to the African chiefs and the people nominated by these chiefs. All in all, only 36 deputies will be elected. Thousands upon thousands of Transkei peasants are deprived of the right to elect even these few African representatives.

The so-called legislative acts of this Assembly cannot be enforced without the approval of the racist authorities of the South African Republic. The legislative assembly can neither ban nor even limit the enforcement of the Verwoerd draconic laws in Transkei.

INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

No.	State	Area in 1,000s of sq. miles	Capital	Former Status	POPULATION IN 1,000s		Head of Government	Head of State	Date of Independence
					Total	Non-African			
1	Algeria	855	Algiers	Former Overseas Province of Republic of France	10,950	1,250	Ben Youssef Ben Khedda	Ben Youssef Ben Khedda	July 1, 1962
2	Burundi	72	Usumbura	Former Belgium ruled U.N. Trust Territory	2,300	3	Andre Muhirwa	Mwambutsa IV	July 1, 1962
3	Cameroun	183	Yaounde	Former French and British Trust Territories of Cameroun and Southern Cameroons	4,846	16	Charles Assa	Ahmadou Ahidjo	January 1, 1962
4	Central African Republic	238	Bangui	Former French Colony	1,185	6	David Dacko	David Dacko	August 13, 1960
5	Chad	544	Fort Lamy	Former French Colony	2,730	5	Francois Tombalbaye	Francois Tombalbaye	August 11, 1960
6	Congo (Bra.)	132	Brazzaville	Former French Colony	795	11	Fulbert Youlou	Fulbert Youlou	August 15, 1960
7	Congo (Leo.)	905	Leopoldville	Former Belgian Colony	15,000	120	Cyrille Adoula	Joseph Kasavubu	June 30, 1960
8	Dahomey	44	Port Novo	Former French Colony	2,000	5	Hubert Maga	Hubert Maga	August 1, 1960
9	Egypt (U.A.R.)	363	Cairo	Ancient African Kingdom since 3000 B.C. and former British Protectorate	27,000	250	Gamel Abdel Nasser	Gamel Abdel Nasser	February 28, 1922
10	Ethiopia	400	Addis Ababa	Ancient African Kingdom	21,800	40	Akilou Hapte-Wolde	Haile Selassie I	1000 B.C.
11	Gabon	102	Libreville	Former French Colony	421	5	Leon M'ba	Leon M'ba	August 17, 1960

No.	State	Area in 1,000s of sq. miles	Capital	Former Status	POPULATION IN 1,000s		Head of Government	Head of State	Date of Independence
					Total	Non-African			
12	Ghana	92	Accra	Former British Colony	6,691	7	Kwame Nkrumah	Kwame Nkrumah	March 6, 1957
13	Guinea	95	Conakry	Former French Colony	3,000	9	Sekou Toure	Sekou Toure	October 2, 1958
14	Ivory Coast	128	Abidjan	Former French Colony	3,200	25	Felix Houphouet Boigny	Felix Houphouet Boigny	August 7, 1960
15	Liberia	43	Monrovia	Independent Republic since 1847	2,500	1	W. V. S. Tubman	W. V. S. Tubman	July 26, 1847
16	Libya	679	Tripoli	Former Italian Colony and British French Trust Territory	1,250	50	Mohamed Ben Othman	Idris El-Senussi I	December 24, 1951
17	Malagasy	228	Tananarive	Former French Colony	5,239	70	Philibert Tsiranana	Philibert Tsiranana	June 26, 1960
18	Mali	465	Bamako	Former French Colony	4,900	7	Modibo Keita	Modibo Keita	June 20, 1960
19	Mauritania	419	Nouakchott	Former French Colony	730	2	Moktar Ould Daddah	Moktar Ould Daddah	November 28, 1960
20	Morocco	170	Rabat	Former French Protectorate	11,598	350	Hassan II	Hassan II	March 2, 1956
21	Niger	490	Niamey	Former French Colony	2,850	3	Hamani Diori	Hamani Diori	August 3, 1960
22	Nigeria	373	Lagos	Former British Colony of Nigeria and British Trust Territory of N. Cameroons	40,000	17	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Elizabeth II (Dr. Azikiwe)	October 1, 1960

No.	State	Area in 1,000s of sq. miles	Capital	Former Status	POPULATION IN 1,000S		Head of Government	Head of State	Date of Independence
					Total	Non-African			
23	Rwanda	13.7	Kigali	Former Belgian ruled U.N. trust territory	2,700	7	Gregoire Kayibanda	Kigiri V	July 1, 1962
24	Senegal	76	Dakar	Former French Territory	2,550	50	Mamadou Dia	Leopold Sedar Senghor	June 20, 1960
25	Sierra Leone	28	Freetown	Former British Colony	2,500	2	Milton Margat	Elizabeth II	April 27, 1961
26	Somali	266	Mogadishu	Former Italian Colony and British Protectorate	2,374	44	Abdi Raschid Ali Shermarke	Aden Abdullah Osman	July 1, 1960
27	Sudan	968	Khartoum	Former Anglo-Egyptian Condominium	11,615	7	Ibrahim Abboud	Ibrahim Abboud	January 1, 1956
28	Tanganyika	362	Dar-es-Salaam	Former British ruled Trust Territory	9,238	123	Rashidi Kawawa	Elizabeth II	December 9, 1961
29	Republic of Togo	22	Lome	Former French ruled Trust Territory	1,642	2	Sylvanus Olympio	Sylvanus Olympio	April 27, 1960
30	Tunisia	48	Tunis	Former French Protectorate	3,965	250	Habib Bourguiba	Habib Bourguiba	March 20, 1960
31	Upper Volta	106	Ouagadougou	Former French Colony	4,000	6	Maurice Yameogo	Maurice Yameogo	August 5, 1960

Africa's Population

Total Population in 31 Independent African States : 211,549,000
 Number of non-Africans : 2,743,000
 Number of Africans : 208,806,000

Total Population in 28 Dependent African States : 54,889,000
 Number of non-Africans : 4,601,000
 Number of Africans : 50,288,000

Total Population of Africa : 266,538,000
 Number of non-Africans : 7,344,000
 Number of Africans : 259,194,000
The details of Dependent African States also start from next page.

DEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

N.B.—AFRICAN NATIONALIST NAMES HAVE IN THE MAIN BEEN PREFERRED TO IMPERIALIST-COLONIALIST NAMES
 Compiled by the Bureau of African Affairs

No.	Name of State	Area in 1,000s of square miles	Capital	Political Status	POPULATION IN 1,000S		National Leader
					Total	Non-African	
1	Angola	481	Luanda	Overseas "Province" of Portugal	4,550	80	Agostinho Neto
2	Azania (S. Africa)	472	Pretoria and Cape Town	Pseudo-Independent Settler Republic	16,000	3,500	Mangaliso Sobukwe Albert Lutulu
3	Botswana (Bechuanaland)	275	Gaborone	British Protectorate	350	3-5	Kgalama Mosisete
4	Cabinda	2-5	Cabinda	"Portuguese" enclave in Congo Republics ruled as part of Angola	51	—	Agostinho Neto
5	Cape Verde Islands	1-6	Praia	Overseas "Province" of Portugal	200	4	Amilcar Cabral
6	Comoro Islands	1	Dzaoudzi	French Overseas Colony	182	—	—
7	Fernando Po	.79	Santa Isabel	Spanish Colony	40	3	—
8	Gambia	4	Bathurst	British Colony (self-governing)	420	5	Kairaba Jawara
9	Guinea (Portuguese)	14	Bissau	Overseas "Province" of Portugal	608	2-5	Amilcar Cabral
10	Guinea (Spanish)	10	Bata (Chief Town)	Spanish Colony	240	4-5	—
11	Ifni	74	Sidi Ifni	Spanish Colonial enclave in Morocco	65	—	—
12	Kenya	255	Nairobi	British Colony and Protectorate	6,551	271	Jomo Kenyatta
13	Lesotho (Basutoland)	11-72	Maseru	British Protectorate	800	3	Niso Mokhele

No.	Name of State	Area in 1,000s of square miles	Capital	Political Status	POPULATION IN 1,000s		National Leader
					Total	Non-African	
14	Malawi (Nyasaaland)	40	Zomba	British Protectorate	2,863	23	Kamuzu Banda
15	Mauritius	72	Port Louis	British Colony	650	—	—
16	Monomotapa (Mozambique)	302	Lourenco Marques	Overseas "Province" of Portugal	7,300	—	Eduardo C. Mondlane
17	Reunion Island	97	St. Denis	French Overseas "department"	321	30	—
18	Sahara (Spanish)	105	El Aaiun	Spanish Colony	80	—	—
19	St. Helena	05	Jamestown	British Colony	5	—	—
20	Sao Tome and Principe	44	Sao Tome	Portuguese Overseas "Province"	68	15	Miguel Trovoada
21	Seychelles Islands	16	Victoria	British Colony	42	—	—
22	Somali (French)	85	Djibouti	French Overseas "Province"	69	4	Ahmed Goumare Hassan Gorabel
23	Swatini (Swaziland)	67	Mbabane	British Commission Territory	254	6	John Nquku
24	Uganda	94	Kampala	British Protectorate (self-governing)	6,682	92	Apollo Milton Obote
25	Unguja (Zanzibar)	1	Zanzibar	Sultanate under British Protection	307	20	Othman Shariff Ali Mubain
26	West Azania (South West Africa)	318	Windhoek	League of Nations mandate under Settler Azania	575	73	Tarretundu Konzonguizi Sam Nujoma
27	Zambia (N. Rhodesia)	288	Lusaka	British Protectorate	2,460	85	Kenneth Kaunda
28	Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia)	150	Salisbury	British Colony under settler rule	3,156	286	Josiah Nkomo

Appel Aux Travailleurs Africains

par Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

LE Mouvement Syndical en Afrique est indissolublement lié à la lutte générale pour la liberté politique, l'indépendance et l'unité de notre continent.

C'est ainsi donc que le mouvement syndical d'un pays encore assujéti ne peut se tenir à l'écart de la lutte nationale pour l'indépendance politique. En effet, dans un pays colonisé, la lutte pour la liberté, et l'indépendance est inextricablement entrelacée avec, et dépend largement d'un harmonieux développement du mouvement syndical.

Les expériences du Ghana, de la Guinée, du Maroc et enfin, mais non moins, de l'Algérie sont des preuves concrètes de cette assertion. Nous pouvons ajouter sans hésiter que la liberté politique et le droit des travailleurs sont deux facteurs indivisibles. C'est seulement dans des conditions saines de liberté politique que les travailleurs peuvent disposer de possibilités de jouir des droits véritables de l'homme et de se prononcer librement ne serait-ce que pour réclamer de meilleures conditions de travail et un mode nouveau de vie.

La première tâche de chaque organisation syndicale dans les territoires encore sous domination coloniale est donc de rallier toutes les forces vives du pays et de s'unir pour lutter en vue de la libération totale de la nation.

Il est un fait inéluctablement admis que les mouvements nationalistes qui se sont plus d'une fois heurtés aux pénibles obstacles dans la lutte amère pour l'indépendance n'ont jamais sous-estimé et à plus forte raison ignoré la force que représentent les mouvements syndicalistes.

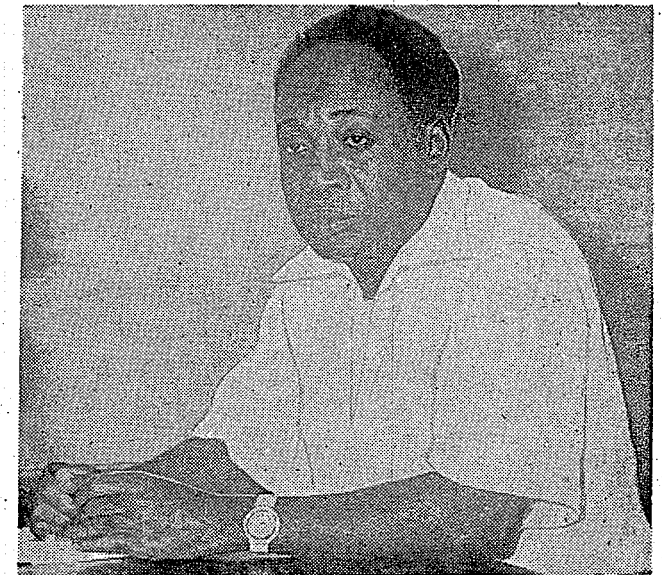
Il importe donc que tout ce qui est humainement possible soit mis en oeuvre pour entraîner les classes ouvrières et les masses populaires dans la lutte car elles seules constituent le gage du salut et de la victoire sur les forces de l'oppression.

On se rappelle que dans le passé, en raison de la gérance des affaires africaines par ces oppresseurs et de la domination coloniale, certains mouvements syndicaux africains ont été greffés sur des mouvements ouvriers des pays métropolitains de diverses puissances coloniales.

Un autre facteur important qui mérite toute notre attention est qu'au cours des deux dernières décades, le syndicalisme africain a souffert énormément d'éclatements et de divisions résultant des méfaits de la guerre froide dont nous n'avons que faire.

La Conférence des Etats Indépendants d'Afrique et celle de tous les Peuples Africains ont élaboré une idéologie nouvelle qui doit permettre aux peuples africains de redécouvrir non seulement eux-mêmes mais leur continent également.

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OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKUMAH