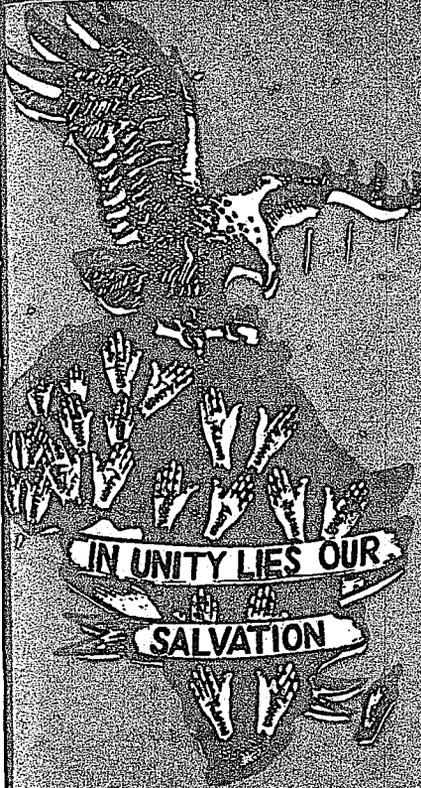


# VOICE of AFRICA



\* \*  
**UNION GOVERNMENT FOR AFRICA**

NOW is the time for Africa's political and economic unification. Much as I see the motives for regional grouping by contiguous states with common services and economic affinities, I cannot support any move which militates against the political unification of Africa.

We must not confuse limited economic problems of a regional or local nature with the major objective of solving wider economic issues which require political action on a continental scale.

The relief from regional political association can only be illusory and shortlived, and cannot bring that prosperity which will come almost immediately from the economic impetus of a united continent.

—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Cairo, July, 1964.

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# Africa and the World

## Copy Instructions

Printed letterpress. Blocks 100 screen.

## Copy Dates

First issue : October. 48 pages, plus cover. 2/-  
 Copy date : August 3rd for October issue. Thereafter three months in advance of publication date, 1st of month.

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	Type Area
FULL PAGE	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in x 7in
$\frac{1}{2}$ PAGE	7in x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in
$\frac{1}{3}$ PAGE, single col.	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in
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Single Col. Inch.	£ 2 : 15
Out side Back Cover 2 Colour	£100
Inside Covers—2 Colour	£90
Outside Cover—Black and White	£85
Inside Covers Black and White	£80



# Voice of Africa

Vol. 4, No. 9 & 10

Sept./Oct. 1964

A MAGAZINE OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

*Published and Printed*

by

**Bureau of African Affairs, Accra**

*in the*

**REPUBLIC of GHANA**

*Yearly Subscriptions  
(Including Postage)*

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P. O. Box M24, Accra, Ghana*

EDITOR: BOAKYE KWAKWA

## **OUR OPINION**

### **ZAMBIA**

## **Another Aspect of Exploitation**

**F**ROM Lusaka Airport you come to one of Zambia's best hotels—the Ridgeway. The owners: British South Africa Company. At the entrance is inscribed in copper: "RIGHT OF ADMISSION IS RESERVED".

This may not mean anything to you, but in Southern Africa—and in Zambia—it shows a relic of degradation, deprivation and enslavement which a people have undergone.

You pass the reception (a polite "Good Evening, Sir", and a smile from the African attendant) for the terrace. Here you meet a cream of the 77,000 European population most of whom are in Zambia for the MONEY, the SUNSHINE—and the SERVANTS.

You may like to go to the Post Office. The population is European—including the STAMPS counter. You may also like to visit a few Government establishments: The personnel is European, with two or three African dispersed here and there amongst them.

At the end you come face to face with a revolting system of naked subjugation, rabid humiliation and unparadonable robbery which Zambia was submitted through decades of British colonialism.

Zambia is Africa's newest state. With her 3½ million she is the 35th member of the Organisation of African Unity and 115th of the United Nations Roll.

But even before independence Zambia had been in the news for the rape which British and American monopoly capital had exposed her to. Her copper have been shipped and continue to be shipped away to feed the pockets of loafers in London and New York.

So much, and I think rightly too, have been said about the mineral exploitation of Zambia. In Zambia they have the Copperbelt and the economy has been mainly dependent on their copper exports.

But it is also time to point out that apart from fascist South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, Zambia is undergoing a systematic agricultural exploitation by European settlers.

In the past there had been a subtle move to shade down agricultural production in a bid to cover-up the activities of the wealthy European farmers.

Presently, however, they can hide it no longer, and the Zambian Information Service people refer to the "two nation" character of the Zambia economy being strikingly illustrated in the agricultural field.

*(Continued on next page)*

# EDITORIAL

(Continued from previous page)

Looking closely at the Zambia situation it is easy to note that Dr. Kaunda and his Government have been hitched at a position where the progress or otherwise (industrially and agriculturally) of their country is being determined by the 77,000 Europeans allied with international monopoly capital. It will continue if they want it to.

With loans finance from European banks, the settler-farmers are able to determine the yearly value of Zambia's marketed farm produce.

Last year, for instance, of the total market farm produce value of £9.5 million, the 700 European farmers employing more than 30,000 Africans as labourers, accounted for £6.9 million. Europeans produced well over half of the total in the case of maize and livestock.

When one considers that the staple food for Zambians is maize, it is easy to imagine the effect of settler agriculture on the daily life of the ordinary Zambian.

The settlers benefit from loans from the Land and Agricultural Bank, Indeco Limited (Industrial Development Organisation) and the so-called African Farming Improvement Fund. The Barclays Overseas Development Co-operation Limited (a subsidiary of the Barclays Bank Ltd) is another source. Is it any wonder that the average European farmer in Zambia makes an annual income of not less than £5,000?

As in all former colonial territories, Zambia will have to change the old colonial pattern of economic planning. There will be an immediate need for comprehensive development planning as a method by which the whole economy can be guided towards social and economic goals.

Such a planning, as the one Ghana has followed under the guidance of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, must not only seek to concentrate on Government and public sector projects alone but should also influence, set priorities and define targets for the economy as a whole—especially the private (European) sector.

This, of course, is not going to be an easy task considering the sort of personnel who will be called upon to implement such proposals when the time comes!

Past planning makes it easy to see in Lusaka that

there was no intention of Britain to hand-over the colony. Zambians were never prepared by Britain for eventual independence. Of course, the legacy of imperialism is well known—poverty, disease, illiteracy and ruin.

It is in this vein that Zambians should view the "good-wills" with contempt and suspicion. The British, as usual, never encouraged the Africans to manage things for themselves. As it is, however, Dr. Kaunda and his colleagues should accept the challenge to manage or mismanage things for themselves!

All Britain could do for the country for decades of economic exploitation is what one finds today in Zambia. On independence Zambia finds herself shorter of skilled manpower than almost any other country in Africa.

At almost all levels above primary education—School Certificate, technical qualification, university degrees—Zambia's stocks of skilled manpower and her 1964 output rates are among the lowest in Africa. And yet Zambia is one of the richest states on the continent.

For implementing Government programmes of development and for manning the Civil Service as well as commerce and industry the Government of Dr. Kaunda will have to depend on Zambia's 100 African University graduates, about 1,500 with School Certificate and about 6,000 with Form II; a total of about 7,500 people.

Next year, however, it is estimated in Lusaka that Zambia will need 4,000 in administrative and professional categories and 15,000 in the middle ranks in government, industry and commerce etc. For the total requirement of 19,000, the available personnel is about 7,000—a shortfall of 12,000!

And so Dr. Kaunda, Mr. Kamanga, Mr. Kapwepwe and Mr. Chona face a situation where Independence celebration arrangements are in the hands of Europeans; where the Post Office is run by Europeans; where commercial life is controlled from Salisbury and Pretoria; where newspapers are a white monopoly.

Can these Europeans—colonial officials and Civil Servants—who surround Dr. Kaunda be relied upon to implement anti-colonial measures which alone have yet to make Zambia politically independent?

I have my gravest doubts. From all I saw, they will do everything they possibly can to delay and utterly thwart such proposals.

Zambians have yet to strike their chests and say: "This is Zambia—it is ours!" And it must be very soon.

—Boakye Kwakwa

# Ghana's African Policy and the Concept of African Unity

**G**HANA'S African policy has been misunderstood and very much criticized in certain quarters by our enemies and even sometimes by our friends. On the question of colonialism and African Unity, it has been said that Ghana's stand is dictated by the desire to occupy a place of pre-eminence and leadership on the African continent by appearing to be the leading protagonist of freedom and foremost advocate of unity.

These criticisms are, however, unjustified, as a brief examination of Ghana's record since the attainment of independence will clearly show.

## GHANA'S FREEDOM

We must go back to the eve of Ghana's independence when Osagyefo the President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then Prime Minister of the British self-governing colony of the Gold Coast, declared in his address to the nation that the independence of Ghana would be meaningless unless it led to the liberation of the rest of the African Continent.

These were rather bold words, and at the time they were uttered there were many people who questioned the possibility of their fulfilment. They could not see in what way a small powerless country like ours, just emerging into freedom and independence after more than a century of colonial subjection, could contribute to the emancipation of the rest of the African Continent still held by powerful imperialist groups greatly supported by vast military and economic forces. To them this declaration sounded like the wild dreams of a man blissfully optimistic and

unconscious of his country's political, economic and international limitations.

But in 1958, just a year after Ghana's attainment of independence, considerable light was thrown on these unnecessary doubts. In April of that year Osagyefo, the President summoned the First Conference of Independent African States. At that time there were only eight African States, including Ghana. For the first time in the history of this continent these states came together to exchange ideas on the problems facing Africa and to agree on the need to adopt concerted measures for their early solution.

For the first time, also, a feeling that the independence of any part of Africa was incomplete while other parts still suffered under colonial rule was engendered among the participants at this Conference and resolutions were passed denouncing colonialism as an anachronistic and immoral system deserving to be brought to an end within the shortest time possible:

*In this way Kwame Nkrumah gave life and substance to the shadow of Pan-Africanism, which from the days of Marcus Garvey had remained only a dream and a political mirage, if the mixture of metaphors may be pardoned. Pan-Africanism was born.*

Ghana's efforts to mobilize opposition against colonialism and the continued domination of Africa by alien powers did not end here. The conference of Independent African States was followed in December of the same year, by the All-African People's Conference in Accra. This was a Conference of political leaders from both dependent and independent territories in Africa.

Leaders from all corners of our continent, from North and South,

East and West, gathered in Accra. And when they met, the picture of Africa as one indivisible continent was further emphasized. Africa possessed, so to speak, a common soul originating from identity not so much of race as of experience in a world in which the African view of things had been dominated and trampled upon by Western culture and values.

The Conference was a great eye-opener to many of its participants, who returned to their countries to initiate or intensify the fight for emancipation with renewed hope and confidence. Among these leaders may be mentioned the late Patrice Lumumba of the Congo.

## FIRE OF LIBERATION

The fire of national liberation which was thus kindled in Accra by these two Conferences has never been extinguished. It has blazed persistently, destroying from one corner of our continent to another the chains of imperialism that have held Africa captive for so long. The result is that today, in less than seven years after Ghana's attainment of independence, there are 34 Independent African States.

It is necessary to refer to these historical facts to get a proper understanding of Ghana's African Policy.

Certainly, when Ghana attained her independence there were a number of courses open to her with regard to the policy which she could have pursued. Recognising her limitations as a newly independent country, she could have chosen to concentrate on the planning and execution of her domestic economic development without concerning herself about what was happening in other parts of the continent.

This would have meant turning away from the fate and condition of the rest of Africa still labouring under colonial rule and doing nothing to incur the displeasure of the colonialist powers whose word had been law in Africa for centuries.

Can anyone, however, who rightly conceives of colonialism as an immoral system sincerely contend that such a policy would have

been preferable to the one which Ghana elected to pursue?

It has sometimes been argued that Ghana's attainment of independence would have been automatically followed by the independence of other parts of Africa without any special effort on her part.

This is, however, a highly debatable proposition.

Never in the history of imperialism, ancient or modern, has a colonial power given independence to the rest of its empire merely as a logical consequence of having enfranchised one part of it. The truth of the matter is, of course, that freedom will not come unless it is struggled for, and that one is likely to obtain it quicker if the fight for it is consciously and deliberately organised, for colonialism indeed degrades the coloniser as well as the colonised.

It induces a sense of criminal apathy in the colonial subject and leads him to believe, contrary to all moral and political laws, that good government is to be preferred to self-government. It also creates in the coloniser a false sense of mission and superiority which is used to justify colonial rule as a great moral duty. This is the origin of the out-moded concept of the "white-man's burden" in Africa.

With the attainment of independence by so many African States, it would be easy for Ghana to sit back with satisfaction at what has been accomplished and leave the few countries still under colonial domination to struggle on as best they may.

This is, indeed, the desire of the imperialist powers who seem to think that the era of colonialism is now ended and that Ghana is but flogging a willing horse by her constant denunciation of imperialism. It is only a matter of time now, they say, and the whole of Africa will be free!

It is not difficult to see, however, the obvious fallacy in such an argument. The policy of decolonisation has not been accepted by all the colonial powers.

Spain and Portugal still contend that their so-called African possessions are but extensions of their fatherland and that it would, in

this, sense, be superfluous to concede to them principle of self-determination. Even those powers who seem to have accepted the policy of decolonisation still cling to certain parts of their domains and are not likely to let go if they can help it. France still rules a portion of Somalia, strangely termed "French Somaliland", as a colonial territory.

Pressure must therefore continue to be brought to bear upon the colonial powers, if the rest of the continent is to be set free. Ghana realises this danger, and cannot stand aloof while the tiniest spot on this continent still remains under alien domination. From purely moral considerations Ghana cannot disclaim responsibility for what happens in other parts of this continent, for we must remember that, in so far as communal responsibility in Africa goes, we are our brothers' keeper.

### AFRICAN PERSONALITY

Furthermore, from objective and practical considerations Ghana's independence cannot be complete while any part of this continent remains enslaved. For independence implies something more than the capacity to manage one's affairs in one's own way. It implies, more especially, ability to develop one's personality to the level that commands international respect.

Now the *African personality* in which we participate cannot attain to its fullest stature while any part of it is degraded by the chains of colonialism of foreign domination in any shape or form. It is therefore in our interest that the whole of Africa should be rescued and protected from the indignities of colonial subjection. This is the only way of obtaining full respect for our own personality.

The liberation of Africa from colonialism is however, not enough. The liberated countries of Africa must guard against *neo-colonialism* which everywhere seeks to implant itself in the place of ejected colonialism. It is for this reason that Ghana is as much concerned with the prevention of neo-colonialism

as with the eradication of colonialism from the African Continent.

By neo-colonialism we refer to the attempt by ex-colonial powers and other more industrially developed nations of the world to obtain through indirect means, and at the expense of the newly independent states, some or all of the controls that were exercised over the former colonial territories. These advantages are primarily either economic or strategic.

Sometimes they are also of a political nature such as the exercise of pressure on the pattern of voting at the United Nations or on the decisions that the African States may wish to make on international issues.

There is no doubt that economic considerations were among the most important factors motivating the search for colonies in the beginning of the colonial era. The nations of Europe which were in the grip of the industrial revolution needed colonies both as the markets for the disposal of their commodities and also as sources of supply of the raw materials which they needed and still need to feed their factories. These considerations are still the primary motivations for the retention of colonies even in this age when colonialism has fallen into universal oblique and disrepute.

With the granting of independence to a colony the former metropolitan power ceases to enjoy those economic advantages since it then loses its monopoly over the country's economy.

It is in its interest therefore to ensure that the former colony shall not open its doors too wide to other nations. It therefore tries to enter into such arrangements as will ensure that the economic advantages which it enjoyed before the granting of independence are not altogether lost.

Ghana is opposed to any form of arrangement calculated to achieve this result, because it cramps national development and produces a distorted view of world trade currents. It is for this reason that she is inexorably opposed to joining the growing economic bloc



*President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana . . . his country set the pace for Africa's freedom and unity. He calls on African states to unite politically and economically—now.*

known as the European Common Market.

This organisation has not been set up with the best interests of any African State in mind, because it is essentially an organisation for promoting the concept of European unity.

Under the Rome Treaty of 1959 adherence to it was provided in a sort of second-class status for the less developed States of Africa and the West Indies only. The undeclared purpose of this arrangement is to tie us up to the Western bloc both politically and economically with the consequence of limiting our freedom of action in a free world.

The conditions of association are such that, among other things, linkage with the Common Market will retard the industrial development of Africa and preserve the

ancient role of African countries as exporters of raw materials and importers of industrial goods for a long time to come.

Ghana is also opposed to the strategic advantage which neo-colonialism aims to achieve by entering into military pacts with the newly independent African States.

Ghana condemns the infringement of national sovereignty which such military entanglements involve and also the dangers inherent in such a situation.

In the event of an atomic war no distinction can be drawn between belligerent and non-belligerent nations, because no one can escape the consequences of a major atomic war. But an African State which permits any of the existing power blocs to use its national soil as a nuclear base for attack or defence exposes itself to instant and

direct destruction in the event of an atomic war. This is the fundamental cause of our support for the efforts to make Africa a nuclear-free zone.

It is Ghana's policy, therefore, to avoid entanglements; both by means of the acceptance of military pacts or through involvement with politically-inspired economic and financial organisations.

It is also part of her policy to try and persuade other African States to the view that it is not in our interest to enter into military alliances with either the Eastern or Western Powers.

This is not interference in the affairs of other States. It is sheer self-interest and self-defence. A wise man will always raise the alarm when he sees his neighbour's house exposed to fire; for the conflagration that may destroy one's neighbour's property may spread to one's own. In other words, if any African country enters into a military alliance with any member of the existing ideological blocs, that State almost automatically endangers its own national existence as well as the safety of all other states in Africa.

It is therefore the responsibility of any African country which sees the danger to point it out and to help eradicate it.

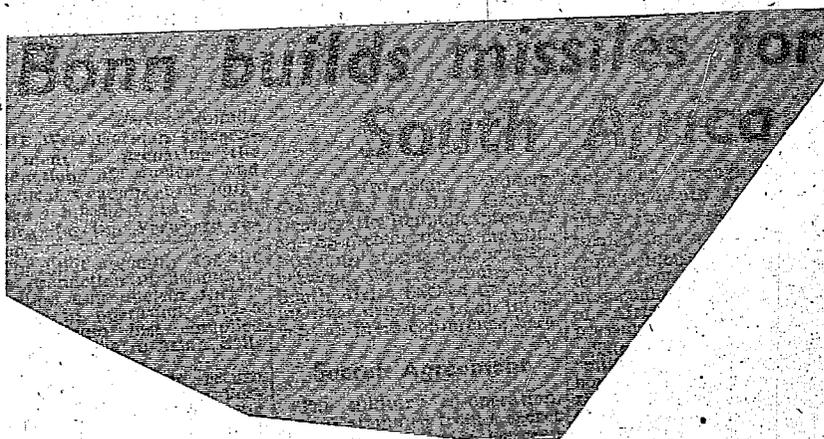
In the wider context of our relations with Powers outside Africa, Ghana's attitude involves the maintenance of a position of strict independence as regards East and West and of legitimate concern over what happens in any part of the African Continent.

This should be the policy of any African State interested in the destiny of Africa. It demands a position of strict neutrality in the cold war which now afflicted East and West. Nor is such an attitude purely negative with regard to the rest of the world, in as much as it will result in the attainment of a moral stature capable of tilting the scales in favour of universal peace.

We do not consider the eradication of colonialism and the prevention of neo-colonialism to be ends in themselves; we think that they should be but means to something greater—the development of

*(Continued on page 17)*

# BONN AND PRETORIA?



DEMENTI . . .

From Bonn . . .

## BONN BUILDS MISSILES FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The West German Government is preparing the production of nuclear and chemical weapons, and long range missiles in South Africa for the Verwoerd regime. . . The pilot assembly for the test production of fissionable uranium and nuclear fuel is already in operation, said a memorandum just compiled by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

West Germany, in return "is supporting the racist Verwoerd regime which is facing a different situation at home and abroad due to international condemnation of its apartheid policy", the memorandum said.

... The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in the German Democratic Republic presented the memorandum on military and atomic co-operation between West Germany and South Africa backed by documentary evidence to an intervention press conference.

### SECRET AGREEMENT

The military co-operation, it said, stemmed from a secret agreement concluded between the two states in Bonn in July, 1961.

... The memorandum pointed out that through the West German-South African plans, the Verwoerd regime could be turned into a military centre from which modern fighting units, kept in constant readiness could place decisive areas of Africa under military pressure.

The memorandum pointed out that through the West bombs, poison gas and carrier missiles in the hands of these men are a grave threat to world peace, the independence of peoples and the liberation struggle of the still suppressed peoples."

*Ghanaian Times*, 22/9/64.

*"The Federal German Defence Ministry has categorically denied East German charges of military collaboration between Federal Germany and South Africa under a secret military agreement; AFP reports.*

*"Colonel Hasso Viebig, the Ministry spokesman, described as 'completely ridiculous the accusation made yesterday in East Berlin by the Nation Front, a group representing all political parties in the East German Parliament.*

*"The spokesman said that South African Defence Minister, Mr. J. J. Fouche, had raised the question of Federal German military aid, in the form of arms deliveries, during his visit here in July 1961 but the result of his visit had been negative.*

*Since then there had been no (rpt no) further talks on this subject between Federal Germany and South Africa, the spokesman said."*

G.N.A. 16/9/64.

# THE ISSUE AT STAKE — AND OUR STAND

On September 22, 'The Ghanaian Times' published a story headed: "BONN BUILDS MISSILES FOR SOUTH AFRICA".

Within six hours there followed a hail of denials from the West German Embassy in Accra. Radio Ghana carried the denial. According to the Embassy, "the information contained in that article are based on lies."

In fact, the original story which was an AFP despatch was based on a "Memorandum on Co-operation between the West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa in the military and atomic fields", submitted by the AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE IN THE G.D.R.

'VOICE OF AFRICA' publishes this controversial memorandum in two parts, beginning this month with "MILITARY CO-OPERATION".

In view of facts at our disposal—and to repeated warnings by the Special Apartheid Commission of the United Nations that "the steadily growing military power of South Africa must one day have serious international consequences"—'VOICE OF AFRICA' does not consider this memorandum as "completely ridiculous"; nor do we regard the allegations as "lies".

On the contrary, we regard the memorandum as an important document deserving a comprehensive study by the Organisation of African Unity and by individual states and governments of Africa.

Two facts stand out clearly in the memorandum:

1. The Committee has refrained to a large degree from comments, relying on the facts to speak for themselves.
2. The reports and information are from Western sources.

As a duty we owe to AFRICA, therefore, we publish these documents—and denials.

## ... From West German Embassy in Accra

"Since the events of Sharpeville and already some time before, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is maintaining a strict arms embargo towards South Africa. Being not a member of the United Nations, the Federal Government has identified itself with the resolutions of the Security Council of 4th December, 1963, concerning the delivery of arms and military equipment to South Africa in a special statement, dated 19th December, 1963. This policy has been strictly pursued and will be strictly pursued in the future.

"The Federal Republic of Germany disapproves strongly of any racial discrimination, which is according to the Constitution subject to punishment and has therefore no sympathy with

the South African policy of apartheid. She maintains friendly relations with all African States and has taken all necessary steps to prevent the use of German arms and military equipment against African nationalists. By a special legislation all exports of arms and military equipment, including machinery for the production of arms, are subject to Government approval. Besides, the Federal Republic of Germany has solemnly renounced on the production of atomic, biological and chemical weapons.

"All accusations and allegations concerning the alleged military support of South Africa by the Federal Republic of Germany are lies and come from those sources outside Ghana and Africa and serve the only purpose to undermine the friendly relations between the people of Ghana and the people of the Federal Republic of Germany."

# (1) MILITARY CO-OPERATION

THE treaty basis for military co-operation between the West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa was provided by a secret agreement concluded in Bonn in July 1961.

At this time the Verwoerd regime in South Africa was in a difficult internal and foreign situation owing to international horror at the Sharpeville Massacre, the UN decisions on Apartheid, and South Africa's departure from the British Commonwealth.

It sought help and support, and found it in the West German Federal Republic; members of the Verwoerd regime had had close political, ideological, economic and also military relations with leading persons in West Germany for years, sometimes for decade.

From July 11th of July 14th 1961, J. J. Fouché, Defence Minister of the Republic of South Africa; Mr. de Villiers, his Secretary of State; and Commandant-General P. H. Grobbelhaar, Commander-in-Chief of the South African army, negotiated in Bonn with Volkmar, Hopf, State Secretary in the West German Ministry of Defence, and the closest associate of Franz-Josef Strauss, at that time Minister of Defence.

There were parallel talks at NATO HQ in Paris. Hopf is particularly known because of his part in arms contract scandals in West Germany and his close relations with Franco Spain, and Salazar's Portugal.

## SECRET AGREEMENT

In the final talks with Heinrich von Brentano, West German Foreign Minister, it was decided to keep the agreement secret in order to prevent dangerous reactions both in the independent African states and also in Britain, France and the USA.

For the same reason the planned visit of Prime Minister Verwoerd, demonstratively scheduled to follow South Africa's leaving the Commonwealth, was cancelled.

When the "SPD Pressedienst" reported that there were "persistent rumours" about the Fouché negotiations in Bonn, the West German Defence Ministry issued a dementi stating it had heard nothing of such rumours.

(Associated Press, July 7th; "Die Welt" July 12th and 15th; "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" July 21st; "Afrika-Post" No. 5 August 1961).

The task of implementing the secret agreement in South Africa was entrusted by the West German Defence Ministry to Major General Friedrich Wilhelm von Mellenthin a military expert on Africa and former member of the General Staff of Hitler's Wehrmacht. He was already living in Johannesburg in South Africa, and had done important preliminary work.

Mellenthin, who was born on August 30th 1904 in Breslau, comes from an old Prussian officer's family. He served as a Captain on the General Staff, and member of the War Academy, His colleague, Major Friedrich Foertsch, later a general, was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment in the Soviet Union for war crimes. After his return to West Germany Foertsch was appointed Inspector General, that is to say Commander in Chief, of the Bundeswehr, the West German Army. Foertsch's successor, General Trettnier, was also a colleague of Mellenthin on the General Staff, and stands accused of committing war crimes in Italy.

Mellenthin is an internationally known military theoretician. His book "Panzer Battles" has been published in a number of languages and is used as a training manual for experts. Mellenthin's atti-

tude today toward his activities on Hitler's General Staff is shown by the fact that the English edition of the book publishes a picture showing him in confidential talks with Hitler.

During the Second World War Mellenthin won experience as a staff officer in various fields of war. During the entire North African campaign he served as general staff of the Afrika Corps responsible for intelligence and counter espionage.

### HIS OLD CONNECTIONS

His close contacts with the present rulers of South Africa, who were then working for Nazi intelligence, dates from this period. The files of the Nazi Foreign Office (Auswartiges Amt. Buro des Staatssekretars, Akten betr. "Afrika", Vol I London P.R.O., Washington D.C., Bonn Ser. Nr. 540, S. 240-539 ff.) contain a top secret report dated August 6th 1940 stating that the "Ossewa Brandweg" organisation had reported via Lourenco Marques (Mozambique) that it was ready to rise against the Smuts Government, which was at war with Nazi Germany, with its 160,000 members and 15,000 soldiers.

Ossewa Brandweg was a paramilitary organisation similar to the Nazi Storm Troops, and Verwoerd and practically all of his present ministers were members. The Ossewa Brandweg requested active German support, particularly supplies of weapons, and gave details of its plans for a rising. The leadership of the Ossewa Brandweg reported that it awaited "the further dispositions of the German military leadership", and gave detailed espionage information about the strength, stationing and armament of the South African army.

Many of the officers who worked with Mellenthin on the General Staff were executed later in the war for their part in the officers' putsch against Hitler on July 20th 1944. Mellenthin, however, was promoted to Major General in autumn 1944 for his services to the Nazi regime.

### AND HIS NEW "AIR COMPANY"

After the war the old Nazi agents of the National Party came to power in South Africa and in 1950 Mellenthin was sent there on a special mission. Using a traditional method of the German General Staff to conceal his intelligence activities, he founded an air transport company, "Trek Airways", which became the biggest private air company in the country.

("Industriekurier", Dusseldorf, May 25th, 1961, special "South Africa supplement).

For helpers, Mellenthin could draw on the reservoir of over 2,000 Wehrmacht officers and SS officers who, fearing punishment for their war crimes had sought refuge in South Africa after 1945, and made new careers there mostly under false names. In the years 1949-52 many of these men became officers and instructors in the South African army, and others were placed in key positions in the state and the economy.

With Mellenthin's help, such officers founded the South-African-German Flying Club, and Mellenthin himself was elected Honorary President. In a public speech Mellenthin addressed to the "airmen of German descent" who were ready to defend South Africa, their new homeland. ("Africa Post", No. 2, May 1958).

In 1959/60 leading military figures in NATO, acting in collaboration with South African military circles, demanded that South Africa should be more closely linked with NATO, and that NATO should be supplemented by a closely-connected SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organisation). (See the theoretical NATO organ "Revue Militaire Generale," Paris, No. 9, 1959 p. 457). Mellenthin, nominal-

ly a private citizen, entered the public discussion with well-informed technical arguments and detailed suggestions. In September 1960 Mellenthin published an article entitled:

"The military-political position of the countries and territories in the South African area."  
in "Afrika-Post", organ of German settlers in South Africa; editor of this paper is H. G. Thormeyer, Nazi journalist who formerly worked Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry.

In this article Mellenthin stressed that SATO was necessary mainly because of the "unreliability" of the newly formed independent African states and their leaders. He stated:

"It is not hard to imagine a situation in which the dictator of such a native state should get into such a difficult position in internal policy that he would, as a safety valve, attack a neighbouring state in the South Africa area. A moral reason is not hard to find; the liberation of the black brother allegedly groaning under the domination of the whites..."

"The first conclusion which the South African countries should draw from the unreliability of the young African states in the military field, is the formation of a SATO, consisting of the Portuguese territories of Mozambique and Angola, Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa..."

"This SATO area is geographically a favourable defence unit, with the two flank points Mozambique and Angola..."

"There must be a united leadership provided by a commander-in-chief with a mixed staff, similar to NATO. In addition it must dispose over already existing mobilised mechanised units consisting of a few brigades; a professional army consisting only of cadres, which only mobilises its forces in an emergency, comes too late. These units must be fully trained and very flexible in close co-operation with available air transport.

#### "MILITARY VACUUM" IN CENTRAL AFRICA

"The political leadership of SATO must ensure that the budgets can meet the unavoidable extra costs connected with raising a 'permanent striking power in existence', and that a generous immigration policy increase the reservoir of soldiers for the SATO forces..."

"The formation of new independent states in Africa has changed the military situation not only for the South African area, but for the whole world. The West must realise that the military vacuum which has now been created, particularly in Central Africa, and the factor of uncertainty presented by the new native states, means that the South African states and territories are the only reliable allies upon whom the West can reckon in a crisis."

Mellenthin concluded his military and political survey with the demand that South Africa should be given "full moral and material support... as long as there is still peace."

The successes of the national liberation movement and the formation of an increasing number of independent states in Africa have produced a situation in which the plans for SATO are no longer discussed publicly. But Mellenthin's military-theoretical conception of a "permanent striking power in existence" adapted to Africa formed the basis for the secret military agreement concluded in July 1961 between the West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa.

A few weeks before the conclusion of the secret agreement Mellenthin was summoned back to West Germany. In spring 1961, he

sold his "Trek Airways", and took for the time being a post as director of "Lufthansa", the West German airline, in Cologne. This is conveniently near to Bonn.

Lufthansa is jointly controlled by the Federal Government and by the "Deutsche Bank", the biggest bank of West German monopoly capital.

As an expert Mellenthin helped in the preparation of the secret agreement and in the negotiations. After the conclusion of the secret agreement Mellenthin returned to Johannesburg on November 1st 1961 as "General Director of Lufthansa for the African Continent". ("Afrika-Post", No. 1 April 1962).

He could now pursue on a far greater scale his "hobby" of military-political research in the whole of Africa. At the same time he worked as confidential but influential military adviser to the South African Government, and his work in this field has been very fruitful since the 1961 secret negotiations. The White Book of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, published in June 1964, and the reports of the Special UN Commission of Apartheid (S.5621, March 25th 1964, p. 83 et seq.) show that the officially announced military budget of the Republic of South Africa has quadrupled between 1961 and 1964, and that in some important branches, such as ammunition, armoured vehicles and particularly long-range planes and supersonic fighters, it has increased more than ten times.

In September 1963 Defence Minister J.J. Fouché announced that South Africa had become practically self-sufficient in the arms and ammunition fields and could answer an arms embargo by increasing home arms production. He claimed that South Africa no longer had the problem of requesting arms-makers in other countries to make arms in South Africa; now the problem was which offers to build arms factories should be accepted. ("South African Digest", Pretoria, September 19th 1963).

South Africa obtained the necessary licences for this enormous increase in arms production in all large western industrial countries, including West Germany. West German arms firms such as Henschel, Siemens and others have built branch factories in South Africa.

More important is the fact that the South African arms industry is almost entirely controlled by the increasingly powerful Boer and state monopoly trusts, which are closely linked with West German banks and monopolies.

This entire development has aroused great interest and the Special Apartheid Commission of the United Nations has repeatedly pointed out in its reports that the steadily growing military power of South Africa must one day have serious international consequences.

#### THE "PERMANENT STRIKING FORCE IN EXISTENCE"

Another fact has not hitherto been so closely observed: the fact that in accordance with one of Mellenthin's theories a very modern military organisation has been developed inside the South African army.

Decisive key positions in this organisation are occupied by the friends of Mellenthin and his bosses, people whose co-operation with the West German imperialists dates back to the days of Ossewa Bandwag and the Second World War.

Mellenthin demanded that the "military vacuum" in Africa should be filled by the creation of a "permanent striking power in existence", led by a commander-in-chief with a mixed staff, and consisting of a few mechanised brigades composed of fully-trained professional soldiers with the necessary air transport. This "permanent striking power in existence" should be based in South Africa, and be ready for action at any time anywhere in Africa.

("Afrika-Post, No. 6 September 1960).

Just such an aggressive and flexible striking force, directed against the security of the independent states of Africa and the national liberation movements, has already been in existence for some time in the framework of the South Africa army, in accordance with Mellenthin's proposals.

For this purpose units of the "Cominandos" were adapted to a new purpose. These are military units of Boers, which were formed at the time of the Great Trek and the Boer War, and which had the purpose of exterminating, driving out and oppressing the original population; they have been maintained for these purposes until the present.

## THE NETWORK THROUGH AFRICA

The real importance of such troops, advised by a Nazi general and led by fanatical racialist and pupils of Hitler, only becomes clear when one studies the full military conception of West-German-South-African co-operation. West German military advisers, instructors etc. are not only active under camouflage in South Africa, but also in the neighbouring Portuguese colonies, particularly in Angola. ("Ghanaian Times", July 30th 1964).

In addition the West German Federal Republic has already concluded agreements with seven different African states, at all strategic points on the African continent, for the supply of military advisers, instructors and other military aid.

("Daily Mail, London, June 5th 1964 and other sources)

More than a year ago the West German M.P. Hans Merten, member of the Bundestag Committee for Advice on Military Aid, revealed in an interview with the "Neue Rheinzeitung" how the young African national states were being fooled. He said:

"These countries wish to have nothing more to do with the former colonial powers, and nothing to do with the world powers, because they fear they will thereby become dependent. For this reason some of them come to us. We always act in agreement with the relevant former colonial power and with the USA."

("Neue Rheinzeitung" June 15th 1963)

This openly conceded and cynical swindle rounds off the picture of the dangerous neo-colonial plan which is the basis for the secret West-German-South-African military agreement: The creation of a network of military liaison points, centred on the reorganised South African Commandos, with the help of which pressure can be exerted at any time on the young national states.

This plan is intended not only to make permanent the domination of the Verwoerd regime in South Africa and the Salazar regime in Angola and Mozambique; at the same time the neo-colonialist forces in Africa shall be supported with the help of the West German imperialists and colonialists, who do not have such an obviously colonialist reputation.

But this is not all. Under some circumstances it may be possible to fill the "military vacuum" in Central Africa, of which Mellenthin speaks in typical Nazi style, with the aid of commando troops using conventional weapons and air transport.

Moreover the growing strength and consolidation of the African states, and their unity, make the success of such an action difficult. Mellenthin's anti-African army of mercenaries will not suffice in every case against the national independence of the African states and the national armies of liberation.

This makes for an even more intensive unity of interests between the South African Verwoerd clique and the West German militarists

and revenge-seekers, who use similar arguments of a "military vacuum" to oppose an atom-free zone in Central Europe, and who are pressing for unlimited West German control of nuclear weapons. At present they are attempting to obtain such weapons through the NATO multilateral nuclear fleet, and through General de Gaulle's "force de frappe". At the same time they have been working systematically for years on preparations for the production in South Africa of ABC weapons (atomic, bacteriological, chemical) and for carrier missiles for such weapons.

The 1963 Year book of the Republic of South Africa, in the course of a long statement on the modernisation of the South African army, has this short passage about these troops:

"The Commandos too have been re-organised for more effective action".

(State of South Africa, Year Book 1963, Chapter 8 p. 52/53).

The same source reports that in this connection the number of immediately available professional soldiers has been considerably increased, an effective command structure has been created, that four independent fighting groups and a joint supreme command with the necessary liaison and chain of command installations have been established: in short that all the recommendations made by Mellenthin in 1960 have been put into effect.

The Memorandum of the African National Congress of South Africa addressed to the Second Summit Conference for African Unity on July 17th 1964 give details of this military co-operation between the Verwoerd regime and the oppressive forces in South Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

The first attempt to use such "Commandos" in Central Africa was the legion of mercenaries organised in Johannesburg to support Tshombe in the Congo.

However, the reaction of the African states made the organisers cautious and the unit was camouflaged, like the Nazi "Condor Legion" in Spain. Self-organising international foreign legionaries appeared in the foreground, and a smoke-screen of misleading declarations was laid by South African generals.

(To be continued in next issue)

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# Africa's One-Party Systems

by Jack Woddis

At the moment, in many African states one-party systems are coming into being. It is important to emphasise, at the outset of this article, that there is a considerable variety between these one-party states.

In some cases, the single party represents feudal and comprador bourgeois domination pursuing a policy of compromise with imperialism; in other cases, it represents the domination of the right-wing national bourgeoisie which still has points of conflict with imperialism but which has established its one-party systems by suppressing the parties of the working class and the left.

## WHY ONE-PARTY

In yet other cases, however, it represents a progressive coalition of forces under the leadership of the left-wing national bourgeoisie or the patriotic intelligentsia, and in which the working class is able to exercise a considerable influence.

These developments have naturally given rise to widespread discussion and have become the subject of some of the most important and most controversial arguments now taking place in Africa.

Why have these one-party systems arisen in Africa? Are they a help or a hindrance to African's progressive development? What are the theories put forward to explain their appearance on the political scene? How do their supporters justify these systems? Can such systems be politically stable?

The remarks which follow in the ensuing sections of this article are concerned mainly with the mass

single parties which have emerged as an expression of the national liberation struggle rather than with the single party systems which have been established by terror and which represent a narrow ruling section of the population, propped up by imperialist finance and foreign arms. Parties Embracing the Whole National Movement.

All political parties are related to social classes, sometimes representing a section of a class, sometimes a class as a whole, sometimes a coalition of class forces.

Thus, in some countries, it is not uncommon to have Workers' parties, or Peasants' parties or Smallholders' parties. Normally, however, while the working class is not afraid of showing its class face in the name of its party, the big employers and landowners prefer to conceal the class basis of their party.

We know of no political party named the Big Employers' Party or the Party of Monopolies, or the Feudal Landlords' party. Instead we have the British Conservative Party, the Italian Liberal Party and Christian Democrat Party, the American Republican and Democratic parties and so on.

Whatever may be the names of political parties, they are all founded on the class realities of the society in which they arise.

In a whole number of independent African states today (and this applies, too, to a number of African territories which have not yet won their independence), the political scene is dominated by one mass party which embraces not just the most politically conscious sections of the people but the whole national movement. This is true, for example, of the Convention People's Party

in Ghana, the People's Democratic Party in Guinea, the Union Soudanaise in Mali, and the Tanganyika Africa National Union in Tanganyika.

In some countries, for example, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia and Kenya, one party is overwhelmingly dominant, but imperialist manoeuvres and tribalism have given rise to minor parties which, for a time will continue to exist, though they seem fated to decline as the fight for independence is carried forward and their role becomes fully exposed.

Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika, argues in his interesting thesis on The One (or for its consolidation) Party System, that the major political parties in most African states have a different origin to the class parties in Europe or America. These African parties, says Nyerere "were formed to challenge the foreigners who ruled over us. They were not, therefore, political parties—i.e. factions—but nationalist movements. And from the outset they represented the interests and aspirations of the whole nation".

## COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Of course, the fact that these parties embrace millions of people, sometimes right down to the children in the villages, should not hide from us the fact that they represent class interests, too. They include workers and peasants, intellectuals, artisans and petty bourgeois sections, the national bourgeoisie and even some semi-feudal chiefs.

Colonial oppression bears heavily on all these classes. They all suffer from the economic exploitation which is the essence of the colonial system. And, through the daily indignities they have suffered at the hands of their colonial oppressors, they have all become equally aware of the racial oppression which is part and parcel of colonialism.

It has to be borne in mind that present-day Africa presents a class and social structure markedly different from that existing in the

advanced capitalist countries. Elements of all pre-socialist forms of society are present in Africa.

Strong survivals of primitive communism are to be seen in the strong solidarity of members of the same social unit on the level of the patriarchal family, the clan, or the village, and in the absence of private ownership in the traditional systems of land tenure.

Patriarchal slavery, in which the slave is the collective property of the patriarchal family not of the individual, still exists in many parts of Africa. (The fundamental cell of pre-colonial society in Africa: that of the patriarchal or extended family, a grouping of people related through either the male or the female line, which formed an economic unit and worked a particular piece of land under the direction of the patriarch; that is the oldest man. This form of society developed directly out of primitive communism).

### PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

From the patriarchal society emerged elementary forms of feudalism in which privileges or duties applied to the clan as a whole or to the extended family. Relations of subordination varied from place to place, ranging from patronage to real serfdom. These forms did not arise everywhere, nor always to the same degree.

There were numerous varieties and stages of transition. The impact of the European slave trade, and then of the modern colonial system, led to a certain modification of these forms of elementary feudalism, to the beginnings of the decomposition of the patriarchal community and sometimes to its complete dissolution. Over most of Africa, however, elementary forms of feudalism still exist.

Side by side with the continuation of the patriarchal community as an economic reality within the traditional subsistence economy, there has arisen a class of individual farmers, some of them rich enough to employ and exploit African wage labour. Indigenous African capitalism is also found in trade and commerce, in transport, hotels, and

small-scale production.

The effect of sixty years of imperialist rule has been to draw African society into commodity production and the money economy of imperialism. This has led to the birth of modern classes—capitalists, cash-crop farmers, urban petty-bourgeoisie, and workers, the latter being employed by foreign monopoly firms or by governments (originally colonialist ones).

Of course, no single African state reveals a simplified structure as indicated above. There are gradations and variations; in some territories feudalism is more powerful and has passed beyond the stage of "elementary feudalism." In some cases, an African capitalist class scarcely exists. In others, it is beginning to grow fast, though still relatively weak.

But everywhere, without exception and notwithstanding the differences, class formation is taking place.

The need to defeat tribalism has been an additional factor influencing national leaders to strive to unite the whole people under the umbrella of the single mass party.

Tribalism has frequently been denounced by African leaders and by the people's organisations, such as the All-African People's Conference, as a major danger to the cause of African independence and progress.

Tribalism has played havoc in the Congo.

It has brought deep divisions into the national liberation struggle in the Cameroons.

It threatens to disrupt the liberation movement in Angola.

It weakens unity in Nigeria.

It is a fester in Northern Rhodesia.

And it had been turned by British imperialism into a major menace in Kenya.

For these reasons national leaders such as Nkrumah, Modibo Keita and Sekou Toure have found it necessary to emphasise repeatedly the importance of upholding national unity and avoiding the dangers of tribalism; and they have backed their words with actions designed to weaken the power of chiefs from whom the danger of tribalism can stem.

Thus there are clearly historical reasons which explain the emergence of mass national parties in Africa, parties which command the support of the overwhelming majority of the people which are backed by all the progressive forces in society, and which are an expression of the people's united fight against colonialism, and for independence.

### PATRIOTIC FORCES

But this is really only the beginning of the argument, for what has provoked the widespread discussion in Africa is not simply that all the patriotic forces in society have combined in order to win independence, but that after the winning of independence and the establishment of new African states and governments the overwhelming dominance of one party remains, and it very rapidly, becomes the only political party in the given country, often as a result of specific legislation formally outlawing other parties or laying down the one-party system as an essential part of the governmental and state structure.

The emergence of these systems and the discussion on them has led to the writing of articles and thesis by African leaders in which the theoretical conceptions behind these African one-party systems are expounded.

These conceptions developed particularly in the writings of Julius Nyerere (Tanganyika), Kofi Baako (Ghana), Modibo Keita (Mali), and Ndabaningi Sithole (Southern Rhodesia), deserve to be better known outside Africa than they appear to be.

These African leaders submit the traditional bourgeois parliamentary systems to close scrutiny, and with cogent and frequently ironical argument, deliver devastating blows at liberal and Westminster conceptions of party politics.

Julius Nyerere for example rightly draws attention to the hypocrisy of the two-party system of "ins" and "outs" practised in the West, referring to it as "football politics," since the differences between the main parties are not, he stresses, really fundamental ones.

If the differences were fundamental he points out, then it would be time for a fundamental change, and 'change', in that context is a euphemism, because any change in fundamentals is properly termed 'revolution'. But once the revolution has been accomplished, whether by armed insurrection or the ballot box then what is the point, he argues, in returning to the two-party system. If it is only to return to arguments on non-essential matters, this "must inevitably involve the hypocrisy of 'football politics'—with the government of a nation as the 'Football Cup'.

### EXPERIENCE

The experience of the African people in their fight for independence, and their perceptive understanding of the sham character of the rivalries between the bourgeois parties in the Western parliamentary systems, has taught them that there is nothing sacred about the two-party system.

Moreover, they feel very strongly that the tasks facing the new States after their achievement of independence are so immense that nothing short of the total mobilisation of the united people is needed. And this involvement of the whole people in actively working to revolutionise their lives, they argue, is the real basis and content of democracy.

In order to secure the united effort of the whole people—and to combat both tribalism and the divisive activities of neo-colonialism—the retention or introduction of the one-party system is thought to be the most suitable. Anything which seems to cut across the people's united striving for a better life is seen as a luxury, at worst as deliberate treachery.

Some African leaders are careful to point out that there is no special virtue in a one-party system either. Sithole warns: "Neither it nor the two-party system can guarantee democracy to the peoples of Africa and to the peoples of the world. The two-party system may be European imperialism's gateway to African countries, and, equally so, the one-party system may be dictator-

ship's first eggs in Africa". It is, he stresses, "not the form but the content that counts". And the essential content, he stresses, which determines the character of the system is "the will of the majority".

Modibo Keita, warning that "the system of single party is not without its dangers", emphasises in similar fashion to Sithole that "Democracy is the management of public interests in accordance with the will of the masses, the will of the greatest number".

The dangers of the one-party system in Africa are real, indeed, as the past three years have shown only too well. Before, however, we examine these dangers, it is necessary to look at one other element in the discussion on one-party systems now taking place in Africa, and that is the relation of the modern one-party systems to traditional African pre-colonial society.

In his work, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta writes:

"The starting point was the family unit. From the governmental point of view members of one family group were considered as forming a family council (ndundu ya moci) with the father as the President. The father represented the family group in the government. The next group was the village council (kiama kia itura) composed of the heads of several families in the village. The senior elder acted as the president of the council and this group represented the villagers in the governments..."

And so the structure of primitive democracy was built up to the district council (kiama kia rugongo) in which all elders participated. Over this council there was a presiding committee (kiama kia ndundu) composed of the senior elders of the villages.

The senior elder who was most advanced in age and wisdom was elected as judge and president of this presiding district committee. From the district council a national council was formed, which represented the whole population.

From Kenyatta's description of the pre-colonial life of the Kikuyu people it is clear that from the

family unit or patriarchal family upwards, the people were represented in their governing bodies as a united people.

There was a relatively simple structure; class society was in its early development; there were no political parties; a separate state apparatus had not yet emerged. Although within this form of society public matters were resolved by widespread discussion, it was, in essence, a patriarchal society in which the elders held a privileged position.

Kofi Baako, Ghana's Minister of Defence writes:

"In the society which existed before the impact of Western Civilization the members of this society regarded themselves as a family led by one man and assisted by a council, the members of which represented not class, economic or social, but lineages; matters affecting the welfare of the community as a whole were openly discussed by the chief and his elders and decisions taken were always made known to the entire community. If any person or persons disagreed with the decisions they made known their views to their representative elders who in turn discussed those matters at their daily meetings".

Here, too, from Ghana, in Western Africa, where the form of pre-colonial society was very different to that of the Kikuyu in eastern Africa, we see the patriarchal family as the unit.

The important difference between ancient Ghana and the Kikuyu people lies in the existence of the system of chiefs. The Kikuyu people had no chiefs. The ancient kingdom of Ghana, however, which represented more highly developed feudal society, had evolved a chiefly system.

"No section of the community", writes Kofi Baako, "regarded itself as an opposition to the established rule of the chief and his elders. Thus any such group would be regarded as rebellious and therefore not worthy to exist in the community."

"As for the chief, he ruled "with popular consent" but was expected to accept the advice of the representatives of the clans or lineages. The chief, stresses Baako, was not autocratic; he could even be destool-

ed in accordance with the traditional practice of the community.

Although British rule led to the Ghana chiefs being deprived of their real political and military power and leaving them mainly ceremonial and social functions, yet says Baako, the people's traditional concept of government "did not undergo any profound change". That concept, he argues, "was one of the rule of the people's representatives with the people's consent".

## Ghana's Policy

(Continued from page 5)

our Continent so that it can take its rightful place in the world.

The development, however, will be retarded if Africa remains fragmented as it is today into a multiplicity of States each trying to develop its resources on a limited scale.

The basic aim of Ghana's foreign policy is therefore the concept of African Unity implying the elimination of the balkanization of our Continent. We do not believe that it is sufficient that African countries should be free and independent, because we cannot reap the full benefits of independence if Africa remains a divided continent struggling for existence in separate units largely under the influence of bigger power blocs outside our continent.

We consider that a divided Africa will remain economically weak. Our continent as a whole is potentially one of the wealthiest in the world. Yet this wealth cannot be easily exploited while the continent remains divided into a multiplicity of small non-viable states; for each State will, in such circumstances, be unable to provide the capital and technical resources required for the exploitation of its wealth.

This is too obvious to need any illustration or further elaboration.

A divided Africa will also run the risk of becoming an Africa divided against itself, due to several factors, not the least of which is the existence of artificial boundaries.

It is a known fact that when the Western Powers decided at the Treaty of Berlin to partition Africa they took no thought for the preservation of existing traditional or customary boundaries and ethnic groupings.

They drew up their lines of demarcation only with reference to convenient natural sign posts. The result was that many tribes and homogeneous groups found themselves divided between two and sometimes three so-called colonial masters.

Many of our natural rulers found their traditional areas dismembered, with different sections taken over by different European Powers. This conditions has, in nearly every case, persisted up to the time of independence, and the new states which are now springing up in Africa find themselves contained in, and confined by, these artificial and highly arbitrary boundaries.

The consequence is that many states are dissatisfied with the existing situation and are naturally anxious to regain their lost territories and to re-unite their dismembered tribes. This dangerous situation, capable of exploding at any moment, is one of the most terrible consequences of European colonisation in Africa.

The third disadvantage of a divided Africa is that travel and free movement of men and goods are unnecessarily restricted due to the existence of several national boundaries, necessitating the possession of travel documents and import and export licenses. This again is not only a great inconvenience for everyone concerned but it also restricts inter-African trade and tends to create pockets of superfluity and scarcity in different parts of the Continent.

Were Africa united all these sources of weakness mentioned above would disappear: a United Africa would be better able to plan and execute its economic development on a continental basis; it would be able to iron out alterations of abundance and want; it would no longer be a continent divided against itself and there would be greater freedom of movement for both men and goods to the increased prosperity of all.

Ghana and Guinea were the first states in colonised Africa, with the exception of the settler Government of South Africa, to give practical effect to the concept of African Unity by the formation of the Ghana-Guinea Union in 1958.

Ghana and Guinea attempted to expand this concept of unity, by seeking closer relations with Liberia at their meeting in Sanniquelle in 1959.

A further step towards the consolidation of unity among the African states was taken when Mali joined the Ghana-Guinea Union in 1960 after the dissolution of the Mali Federation formed by Mali and Senegal.

As a result of this accession, the Ghana-Guinea Union was reconstituted into the Union of African states. When the second Conference of Independent African states came to be held in Addis Ababa in June 1960, the African states had a great opportunity to carry the idea of unity another step forward, but this issue was evaded because a large proportion of those represented were not prepared to advance to the concept of a political union of Africa from the idea of mere co-operation among the Independent African States in cultural and economic matters.

It was clear that a number of African states supported a "gradualist" approach to the concept of unity.

This attitude is in sharp contrast to the stand of Osagyefo the President. From the very onset of his association with the Independent African states he declared that African Unity, in the most practical sense of the term, is both desirable and within the possibility of immediate attainment.

"Day after day, week after week, month after month, I have called loud and persistently for African Political and Economic Unity", he reminded Parliament, and indeed the world, in his speech on the Volta River Project on 20th of January, 1962.

Certain African states have expressed dismay about the formation of political Union because they are sincerely and genuinely apprehen-

(Continued on page 58)

# Problems of the Angolan Revolution

THE impact of the colonial system on the traditional African societies in Angola on the eve of the beginning of the armed struggle presented the following social aspects:

On the African side (4.5 million inhabitants):

Two million five hundred thousand producers were more or less integrated within the market economy.

One hundred fifty thousand were employed in trade (34,000), transformation industries (57,000), the mines, civil construction and the administration.

Approximately eight hundred thousand were employed in farming, transportation, public work and domestic services.

On the European side (200,000 inhabitants):

Group I — About 5% who made up the colony's richest group.

Group II — 17% were administrative civil servants, technicians in industry and commerce, well-to-do tradesmen and farmers, members of the liberal professions.

Group III — 28% were medium and small tradesmen, permanent salaried employes in industry (6000), commerce (9,000) agriculture, and civil servants.

Group IV — 10% were unemployed.

All these groups were and are political privileged however the first two were the most privileged economically.

That was the very precarious table of the active African and European populations within the framework of a single capitalist economy. The result of the blow to the traditional African structures was not sufficiently analysed if one takes into consideration the 350,000 Africans who emigrated to the

urban areas and the annual wave of some 100,000 Africans who clandestinely left for the countries neighbouring Angola.

Altogether more than 2 million Africans, thrown out of their social and geographic environment by the disintegration of traditional societies, by the theft of land, violence, hung on to life outside their customary frame of life, in areas of insecurity and despair, deprived of ancient solidarities.

## PORTUGUESE FASCISM

It is obvious that the million Angolans who went abroad (almost all of them under Belgian, British and South African super-exploitation), the 800,000 wage workers in the rural areas and the 350,000 Africans living in condition of underemployment; in the urban areas, constituted the focal point of the tensions and conflicts in Angola. The geo-social radius of these conflicts must inevitably include, as well as Angolan territory, the Congo, the Rhodesia and South West Africa. Defending the Status Quo.

Portuguese methods of integrating Africans in a vaster social and economic system explain, to a certain extent, the nature of the awakening of the anticolonial consciousness of the Angolan masses, as well as the forms taken by the insurrection its insufficiencies and its problems.

But these methods are in turn explained by the determining factors of the old establishment of Portuguese fascism, which found itself faced with the necessity of working out a compromise between,

*The armed struggle in Angola, we admit, will be protracted, but eventual victory of African nationalism over monopoly capital is certain.*

*The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) recognises Holden Roberto as the head of the Angolan Government-in-exile. This move, however, has not solved the disquiet which surrounds the Angolan Liberation Front itself.*

*There is another Angolan Movement, the MPLA.*

*It was to give the background to this uneasiness and distrust that the Algerian monthly, REVOLUTION, published in January an article by 35-year-old VIRIATO DA CRUZ, former Secretary-General of the "Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola" (MPLA) under the heading: "What kind of Independence for Angola."*

*In it Viriato traces problems underlying the Angolan Revolution and gives his version of developments which led to the division within the MPLA.*

*The article is reproduced below for its revealing analysis of the Angolan Problem.*

on one hand, the wealthy Catholic monarchists (who were especially interested in the colonial exploitation) and, on the other hand, the Portuguese bourgeoisie and the rising fascism in Europe. The principal aim of this was to exploit the colonies, to "effectively occupy" them and through this to attempt to ward off the threat of their loss to other imperialism.

### PORTUGUESE MENTALITY

Hence the Portuguese bourgeoisie not escape hoping to accelerate the rhythm of accumulation of capital and trying to overcome as rapidly as possible the great relative delay in making this accumulation. Considering that foreign capital already largely dominated Portugal, the aims of the country's bourgeoisie required the increasing concentration of capital, the suppression of political freedom for the middle classes and their condemnation to exploitation, the refusal of all rights to the working class doomed to merciless exploitation, the unchecked centralization of power, finally the intervention of the State in all fields of national life.

Within this framework, violence and arbitrary measures are the logical means by which the dominant classes ward off any threat to the status quo.

Thus, it can be understood that the taking on these necessary measures by the State should end in legalizing and putting into general practice in the colonies the annihilation of Africans—at the same time continuing the hypocrisy of assimilation — brutality, ferocious exploitation, obstination in the nonrecognition of the movement of history.

Because of the scope of the radical oppression of the Angolan masses caused by this kind of colonialism, could only emerge, affirming its necessity by dialectical reaction, radical violence, a sharp class instinct, the impatient assault of the exploited against the external aspects of the alienation.

One thus has an idea of the subjective conditions of the masses at the moment of the beginning of the armed movement.

*The socio-political and cultural consequences of Portuguese "assimilation" played and still play an important role in the development of Angolan nationalism, because its principal leaders are classed in the category of the "assimilados"*

In order to understand the relations between Angolan parties and leaders, it is important here and now to note that the assimilated sector does not, in general, have a homogenous socio-economic and ethnic content.

Through mere observation, one can divide the sector into two groups: the purely functionally group, and the assimilated group destined, in the colonial context, for social and economic success.

In the first group are the civil servants, employees in trade and industry. In the second group the "assimilated" who, thanks to State scholarships, missions or the privileged situation of their families, specialize in different professional branches in Portugal.

### THE ASSIMILADOS

Because of their psychology and by the social functions for which they prepare, the majority of the members of this group behave in the same fashion as the petty-bourgeoisie.

Whereas the majority of the "assimilated" of the first group because they are exploited in the colony, refuse colonialism in their active behaviour the majority of the "assimilated" of the second group, sent to Portugal while youths, sheltered from direct exploitative relationships, and more integrated into Portugal society than any other African group, oppose colonialism for patriotic reasons or for self-interest or because of solidarity.

Each of these two groups of "assimilated" leans therefore towards different solutions to the colonial problems, in keeping with their respective interests and social situations.

More for the first group than the role of a privileged system of reference.

The violent incidents which took

place just before the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola, and in which Angolan masses took part were the riots of January 4, 5, 6, 1959 in Leopoldville. During those days, shops of Portuguese tradesmen were sacked, mainly by Angolan nationalists.

Moreover, the Bakongo of Angola had been affiliated with the Abako of the Congo since 1950 and were in agreement with the aims of the association.

### THE PARTIES

However, well before the founding of the Abako, Angolan emigres in the Congo had created mutual aid association on an ethnic basis. It may well be that the opinion of some Angolans that perhaps because of their situation as proletarians and emigres—the Angolans were the forerunners of this type of association in Leopoldville.

From the development of several Angolan Bakongo associations bound up with the appearance of nationalism in the Congo, was born the "Union of Populations of the North of Angola," which became, after 1958 Pan-African conference in Accra, the party of the "Union of Populations of Angola" (U.P.A.)

During the Congolese struggle for national independence, the Bakongo of Angola, as well as Angolans of other ethnic groups realized that independence for the Congo would sound the deathknell of colonial domination in Angola. They sent funds—by the millions—to the treasuries of the principal Congolese parties.

Thousands of Angolans also took an active political role at the side of the Congolese.

For the Angolans—those living within the country as well as those abroad—the independence of the Congo meant above all an irreparable breakdown of the repressive State apparatus in Angola. And, in fact, a considerable number of Angolans, after the independence of the Congo, shuttled back and forth between Luanda and Leopoldville on political missions.

The violent incidents in Luanda in February 1961 inaugurated a new

migratory current: the growing stream of Angolan political emigres to the Congo.

The Angolan parties then existing in Leopoldville some of these political emigres in posts of leadership.

All during that month of February, a series of violent incidents erupted in Angola's Cuaza-Norte district.

The Congo districts in Angola and Cuaza-Norte were indeed a powderkeg. These are the two main coffee-producing regions of Angola (80% of the total production of coffee representing 39% of the total value of Angola's exports in 1959).

Fifty-two per cent of the total number (2,012 in 1961) of European coffee producers are concentrated here, holding land representing 75% of Angola's coffee-producing land. Thirty per cent of the active African population of Cuaza-Norte and 8% that of the Congo district were wage-earners on these coffee plantations.

A large mass of expropriated Africans, victims of social injustice and poverty were concentrated in these two regions of northern Angola.

Not only can the motive of the strength of the armed resistance of the masses of these regions be understood, but also how were formed the ties uniting in the common struggle for independence the Angolan masses living within Angola and those living in the Congo.

### NATIONALISTS

The Angolan nationalist organizations were born in the cities of Luanda and Leopoldville.

After 30 years of activities in the two legal associations the majority of "assimilated" Africans in Luanda observed with anxiety that their economic and social situation was continually growing worse.

Almost all the African population of Luanda at that time made up one poorer mass, composed of the dispossessed and the ruined.

In 1955, the European population had increased 12 times in relation

to 1900, and more than twice in relation to 1940.

The competition of the settlers progressively brought the economic and social conditions of the majority of Africans urbanized for several generations down to the level of the conditions of the peasants recently emigrated to the cities, where they found only underemployment and insecurity.

The rivalries between African and European workers, abetted by the capitalist firms in Angola, also aided in developing all sorts of discrimination and radical conflicts because the fact that the great majority of Portuguese settlers belonged to the lower social strata encouraged them all the more to try to benefit from their "racial quality".

### M.P.L.A.

Portuguese authorities foiled the attempts (beginning in 1948) of young Africans in Luanda aimed either at developing literary trends of an indigenous and nationalist character, or at integrating the non-assimilated masses in the legal African associations.

However, contacts between young Angolans and young Brazilian writers resulted in the clandestine introduction into Angola of books and magazines which committed a part of the youth to debate on the great postwar problems: the social question, fascism and democracy, colonialism and the self-determination of peoples, etc.

Seeing that channels of effective legal activities were barred, learning moreover from its failures a part of the youth began clandestine political action in 1955, with national independence as their aim. Thus was born the M.P.L.A.

The independence of Ghana, the acquaintance of the nationalist youth of Luanda with the manifesto "Conscience Africaine", published in July 1956 by a group of Congolese in Leopoldville, strengthened the conviction of the youth that Africa had entered irreversibly the era of national independence.

The almost complete liquidation of social gap between a large

number of the purely functionally "assimilated" and the masses who were constantly leaving the countryside for the shanty-towns, aided in establishing the M.P.L.A. on a large scale in Luanda.

However, waves of arrests in Luanda, beginning in March 1959, made it impossible for the M.P.L.A. (in other words, the proletariat of Luanda and other Angolan cities) to effectively lead the armed peasant movement.

By the very nature of colonial domination over Angola—an economic exploitation by interests with revolutionary movement was destined to clash with a "front" of powerful imperialist interests.

In this particular case, it was indispensable for Angolan nationalism to have the concrete support and not merely in words of the world revolutionary forces and, especially, that of the Portuguese proletariat and people.

However, this concrete support has been practically nil.

The only illegally organised party in Portugal is the Communist Party, and it is relatively small in numbers and has notorious deficiencies. "The majority of (Portuguese) political trends have not been transformed into structured parties. There exists a large number of anti-fascist groups and individuals enjoying more or less large influence."

### AFRICAN INSURRECTION

The Communist Party of Portugal has, however, had no appreciable influence, neither in the preparation nor in the launching of the Angolan revolutionary movement.

The Portuguese Patriotic Front formed at the end of 1962, bringing together socialist, communists, republicans, Catholics, progressive and liberal monarchists, shows major weakness in organisation and it seems as long as that there are also problems of leadership, there will be no reasons to believe that this Front would benefit less from the struggle of colonial people if it were to give them concrete support.

The settler community (except for several exceptions) replied with extreme violence, in deeds and

psychologically, to the beginning of the Africa insurrection.

## SETTLER BRUTALITY

After the riot of February 4, organised groups of civilian settlers competed with the State repressive forces in terror against the indigenous population.

The murderous fury of the settlers took on a clearly racist aspect.

From March to May 1961, in northern Angola, settlers, organised and armed, outdistanced the forces of the colonial army in the number of killings and repressive violence. It was not rare to see civilian settlers shoot down African landowners and tradesmen with the sole aim of eliminating business competitors.

Beyond its racist aspect and that of defending the privileged, this war of colonial reconquest marked a return to the motives and the procedures of the primitive accumulation of capital.

Faced with this reaction, and because of the fact that Portuguese colonialism and the settler community virtually monopolized class domination and exploitation, it is understandable that, in the consciousness of the peasant masses, the conflict (seen from exterior, different races) won over the naked class struggle as the manifestation of colonial domination.

However, despite the objective impossibility of the peasants to become aware of the economic basis of their struggles, the truth is that in Angola the capitalist process of exploitation only spared a microscopic African bourgeoisie, which moreover was without political influence.

Dominant classes, privileged conditions and race were, therefore, one and the same.

For more than a year now, important changes have taken place within Angolan nationalism. The most notable external sign of these changes was the recognition by numerous African countries beginning on June 23, 1963, of the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (G.R.A.E.), formed in March 1962 by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (F.N.L.A.).

As is known the most important of these changes was the progressive degradation of the M.P.L.A. over the past year. Among the causes of this decomposition are:

1. Struggle between the interests of different social strata. Indeed, the M.P.L.A. was the Angolan organisation which united quite visibly, people from all African social strata, black as well as mulatto Angolans.

The M.P.L.A. in particular, brought together an even more visible number of intellectuals and "assimilados" destined to social and economic success.

The development of the Angolan Revolution could not prevent that, on the basis of their interests, origins, social situations and respective political situations and social aspirations members of the M.P.L.A. gathered themselves into blocs, each with different solutions to problems of organisation and ideology, problems of tactics of the united front, of external alliances, of the socio-economic structures of Angola after independence, etc.

## THE DISSIDENTS

Moreover, after the beginning of the armed struggle when faced with Portuguese colonial propaganda concerning the alleged "basically racist" character of the armed movement of the masses, the various Angolan strata and social groups reacted differently.

Not seeking to look directly at the inhuman colonial conditions which had shaped the Angolan peasants; struck by a stronger affirmation on the part of the peasants of the values and symbols of their traditional cultures; incapable of understanding that—as Marx had observed—"the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to

present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language."

Incapable of understanding all that, a number of intellectuals and students, members of the M.P.L.A. panicked before the movement of the masses and voiced excessive criticism—the "racist excesses" of the fighting peasants.

2. Struggle for the leadership of the M.P.L.A. Certain intellectuals and "assimilados" became convinced that, in order to lead the revolution along a "decent" road, to avoid the excesses of the peasants and in order to guarantee the "progressive" result of the revolution, their presence in the leadership of the M.P.L.A. and the revolutionary movement in general was indispensable.

## DEMAGOGIC POSITIONS

This conviction was not based on the fact that these nationalists had rid themselves of the deficiencies and prejudices of their colonial education or that they had shown the capability for directing the revolution and were really linked with the masses.

For them a diploma in the professions and the idea that they held of themselves were valid criteria. For these nationalists, the salvation of the revolution would be guaranteed basically by the union of the "spirit" (a group of educated and "assimilated" individuals) with the "mass without spirit" (the ignorant peasantry and proletariat). This was the old arrogant and reactionary duality.

Some nationalists, fearing that the popular revolution would end in the upheaval of the conditions in which they had acquired privileges and advantages, avoided overtly defending their privileges, either arguing the indispensable nature of the Portuguese "cadres" (basically, a part of the social basis of Portuguese colonialism in Angola) or by contesting the value of the nationalist parties and leaders which were more linked with the masses, under the pretext that the revolution underway would not result immediately in socialism.

These demagogic positions served in reality, as a motivation for fractional activities aimed at seizing the leadership of the M. P. L. A.

3. Struggle to impose new tactics. As is well known, there has been no success in uniting a single front, the Angolan parties in particular, the M.P.L.A. and the F.N.L.A.

As for the F.N.L.A. it hid its real motives—its interest in utilizing for the benefit of strengthening itself hegemony it held in a part of northern Angola, refusal to help make easier the crossing of the northern frontier into Angola by the M.P.L.A. attachment to certain aims, values and alliances incompatible with those of other Angolan parties, etc—and its avoidance of a front with the M.P.L.A. while always maintaining that the M.P.L.A. had no military forces within Angola.

The M.P.L.A. was, hence, confronted with a difficult problem: the augmentation of its military forces required means of penetration into Angola, but that depended upon an understanding with the F.N.L.A., which, however, refused such an agreement. Therefore, it was only left to the M.P.L.A. to work harder to overcome its difficulties.

### THE SPLIT

Nevertheless, before these perspectives, certain cadres and leaders of the M.P.L.A. themselves holding the positions cited above, defended the view that the M.P.L.A. should use new tactics whose objectives would be the seizure of power in Angola by the M.P.L.A. The supporters of this view put forward two arguments: 1.—The F.N.L.A. would constantly increase its military forces and 2.—The Western supporters of the F.N.L.A. would aid it openly, at the proper moment, to take power in Angola.

The new tactics consisted, in general, of blowing up by propaganda the military exploits of the M.P.L.A. to seek strong support in the West for the M.P.L.A. and to obtain the end of the aid to the F.N.L.A.

4. The use of myths. Because of the exaggerated propaganda that the M.P.L.A. had made for two years about the liberation of Dr. Neto, his personality had assumed the propor-

tions of a myth for a great number of leaders and members of the M.P.L.A. After his flight from Portugal (May 1962), Dr. Neto, while maintaining his own myth, accepted the new arguments and the new tactics, giving them an authority that only the accumulation of failures could, a year later, reduce to its true limits.

The representatives of the new arguments and tactics finally took over the effective domination of the organisation, seizing the funds of the M.P.L.A. and legalizing their new situations by the national conference held in Leopoldville in December, 1962.

However, by pushing through its electoral list, by 39 votes out of 70 delegates, the bloc in question made official the division within the M.P.L.A. and provided additional reasons for an opposition to its new policy.

The renewal of old relationship between several of the new leaders and several of certain Portuguese "Left" linked with the revisionist trend, once again mobile aided the acceleration of the division within the M.P.L.A.

Members were constantly being suspended and expelled—due to the arbitrary methods of the new disciplinary principles called "synthesis of the political and the military"—and were presented by the diplomats of the M.P.L.A. as adversaries of the political trends, parties and interests from which the new leadership demanded support. Thus intrigue played increasing role in this policy.

The National Political Council (the organisation's highest body) and the Control Commission, created by the conference of December 1962, were never set up.

The group responsible for the external relations of the movement seized the material means of the organisation, with the intention of appearing, at the moment when it would be at the head of the M.P.L.A. as a genuine driving force. It was in this sense that were taken, between the month of August and the end of the conference of December 1, important military measures. However, the

profound division of the M.P.L.A. was already well known in Leopoldville and the chances of resolving those problems disappeared during the month of January 1963.

The situation thus created obliged scores of well-trained soldiers of the M.P.L.A. to enlist within the ranks of the F.N.L.A., where they taught the use of arms to thousands of Angolan peasants.

The F.N.L.A., therefore, benefited indirectly from the decomposition of the M.P.L.A.

The recognition of the G.R.A.E. by the Congolese Government—a foreseeable event after the joint communique of June 8 of Abbe Youlou and Mr. Adoula—further pushed the leadership of the M.P.L.A. into a policy that was both naive and adventurous.

### WITHDRAWAL

Observing the state of division of the M.P.L.A. and its isolation from the masses, the leaders of that organisation, on the eve of the meeting in Leopoldville of the Committee of Conciliation appointed by the Committee of Co-ordination in Dar-es-Salaam, then tried to create the appearance of mass support by forming, on July 8, a Front (F.D.L.A.) with four Angolan groups, including two long known for their contacts with the Portuguese colonial administration.

It can then be understood why, by the use of false accusations, the ruling group of the M.P.L.A. led elements of the Congolese police to arrest, on July 8, 43 Angolans belonging to the group of the M.P.L.A. that, three days earlier, had withdrawn its support for the policy of the ruling group and had proposed a plan of rapid recovery and reunification of the organisation.

These activities of the leaders of the M.P.L.A. had, in fact, for result the mortal lowering of the moral and political authority of that organisation in the eyes of Congolese authorities.

In considering the F.N.L.A. as the only Angolan fighting front, and by recommending the recognition of the G.R.A.E. to African States, the Committee of Conciliation certainly based itself on the

fact that the state of decomposition of the M.P.L.A. prevented it from satisfying the pressing demands of the armed struggle.

It would obviously be false to conclude only that Angolan intellectuals cannot or must not play a role in the revolution. They have their place; and the importance of their positive contribution to struggle depends only upon their re-education in a revolutionary sense.

In our opinion, the historical significance of the upheavals that have taken place within the M.P.L.A. is that of a primary and elementary clarification of the problem of the driving forces and the directing force of the revolution, and in the confirmation that the ideology and the policy of the petty-bourgeoisie are without power to advance the revolution.

### PERSPECTIVES

The motivations force of the national liberation movement of Angola lies in the violent contradictions provoked by the establishment and development of capitalism in that country.

Although the armed struggle of the masses plays a leading role and is progressive and revolutionary, it is not, in itself, sufficient to guarantee "full success."

The particular position of Portuguese colonialism, in the context of the struggle between the powers that have risen to the highest rank after the last imperialist war (U.S.A., West Germany...) and the powers which have descended in rank to second place (Britain, France...) not only explains, in a certain measure, the delay in the setting into action of the process of decolonization of the Portuguese colonial empire, but explains also in part the nature of the results obtained in the first phase of the struggle of the Portuguese colonies against colonialism and imperialism.

Among the colonial powers of the 19th century, Portugal, as a semi-colony of Britain, held already a place in the second rank and, truthfully, it was not a competitor of the monopoly capitalism of the first-ranking powers of that time.

It is correct to state that "the role of foreign capital in Portuguese colonialism is unique," and that "no other colonial system ever permitted such dispossession from within."

Although Angola is the direct State and juridical dependency of Portugal, it is also the financial and economic dependency of a large number of non-Portuguese interests—Britain, American, West German, Belgian, French, Dutch, Swiss, the Vatican, Brazilian, South African, etc.

The Portuguese "open door" policy does not excite the violent envy of absent financial groups—or those insufficiently present—either on the market or the exploitation of raw materials and means of production of Angola.

Portugal's credit has not been damaged. Quite to the contrary, the colonial war can only continue because of credit from diverse sources. Besides the more than 100 million dollars lent in 1962 by American, West German and French

banks, Portugal obtained 25 million dollars credit from the World Bank.

If this latter loan has the significance, according to the opinion of the Portuguese Minister of Finance, of a value judgment, on the international scale, of the "economic and financial stability" and the "available resources" of Portugal, one is led to believe that Portugal does its best to reconcile with its own domination over its colonies, their economic annexation by the international monopolies.

Moreover, the external market of Angola only stimulates the production of the colony's principal products: Coffee production (principal markets: the U.S.A. and Holland), in 1962, was the highest of all time.

The foreign trade of Angola between January and May 1963 rose 39 per cent by comparison with the same period in 1962.

The present position of several powers on the Angolan market is as follows:

#### ANGOLA - IMPORTS (In Percentages)

Countries of Origin	1958	1961
Portugal	46	43
United Kingdom	11	12
U.S.A.	11	10
Federal Germany	9	8
Belgium-Luxemburg	5.3	2.9
France	2.8	2.6
Sweden	1.1	1.6
Holland	1.3	1.5
Italy	1.1	1.5

#### ANGOLAN EXPORTS (In Percentages)

Countries of Consumption	1958	1961
U.S.A.	25	21
Portugal	18	19.2
United Kingdom	16	19.2
Holland	12	10
Federal Germany	6.5	7
Italy	0.7	2.4
France	3.3	1.8
Belgium-Luxemburg	3.5	1.8
Sweden	0.2	0.1

The fragility of Portugal's economic structure, its genuine impossibility to safeguard its commercial, industrial and financial positions,

its powerlessness to find positions to withdraw to, should it be evicted from its African domains, and to enchain by subsidies its colonies

that had become independent, all that explains sufficiently the Portuguese conceptions of self-determination :

"The consentment or adhesion of the population (of the colonies), expressed by long-term administrative and political measures, to a determined form of State and government". In brief: to do everything to prevent this self-determination from ever becoming independence.

### STRATEGIC POSITION

Considering, however, that the Angolan sub-soil may reveal important minerals for modern industry, that Angola offers a strategic situation of the first order for the exploitation and economic future of the Congo as well as for the imperialist battle for the "copper-belt" that the antagonism between various monopolies arises over the control of the most profitable sectors of the economy of Angola and over the conquest of dominant position in this colony, etc., it is certain that the deals that Portugal is trying to make at present will never produce a stable result.

Moreover, a certain opposition, already open, between the policy of the Salazar government and that desired by Portuguese economic circles attached to the colonies, has encouraged them to exploit the ideological corruption of the Portuguese "left" within the framework of a front aimed eventually at overthrowing Salazar. The "social peace" under neo-fascism in Portugal would correspond with a neo-colonialism in Angola and Mozambique.

Until now, nothing leads us to believe in a decisive contribution of the majority of African States (and with reason !) to the Angolan Revolution.

Following the latest talks at the United Nations between Portugal and the African countries, the Foreign Minister recognised that the real obstacle to the colonial aims of Portugal did not lie in the "modernation" or in the "construc-

tive spirit" of the "left" or the "right" of Africa, but in the "extremism" of a small African "extreme left."

Experience has already shown that the revisionist trend will only poison the Angolan Revolution.

Considering that, on one hand, the "front" of imperialist interests who are opposed to Angolan nationalism and the absence of concrete support, either from the Portuguese proletariat, or from the majority of African States, the immediate future of the Angolan Revolution will depend, as in the past, almost exclusively on the internal development of Angolan nationalism.

The monopolies selling arms to Portugal, obviously interested in continuing the colonial war in Angola, will certainly not be prevented from manifesting their poisonous "support" for the Angolan nationalists.

### BURNING QUESTIONS

Considered as the sole Angolan fighting front, the F.N.L.A. is the sole responsible, since August 1963, for the future of the Angolan Revolution: Will it succeed in uniting all the Angolan revolutionary?

Will it transform itself into a vast organisation, solid from a political, ideological and organisational point of view, functioning well and serving as an effective base for the armed struggle?

Will it succeed in transforming the peasants, raising their level of revolutionary consciousness?

Will it succeed, during the very course of the armed struggle, in resolving the vital problems of the peasantry, the principal source of fighters?

Can it spread the armed struggle throughout the entire territory of Angola? Will it have the courage to bring to the benefit of the people of Angola the support of a sincere revolutionary internationalism?

These are the questions now raised by all the fighters of Angola.

WE

SUPPORT

UNION

GOVERNMENT

FOR

AFRICA

IN

1965

## APPEAL TO AFRICA

### MPLA'S (Peoples Liberation Movement of Angola)

**MOST** Angolan freedom fighters, refugees in the Congo-Leopoldville, have become victims of a two-fold and wild repression.

It is a two-fold repression because the Angolan freedom fighters there are not only victims of ragging and ill-treatment from a so-called "Angolan government in exile", the validity of which is being challenged by its own leaders, but also because these extortions are covered by the Congo-Leopoldville authorities' benevolent complicity.

In fact, though the **PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA** has for several times called the attention of the Leopoldville Government to the seriousness of our country-fellows situation there, our appeals have not found a favourable echo. It is needless to say that MPLA has never had any illusion on this matter for the "Angolan government in exile" indeed is only a Mr. Adoula's and the imperialist creation.

However, at this serious moment, our duty is to appeal to you once more so that the blind repression which is being carried out against the Angolan freedom fighters may end up once and for all.

This appeal is only the continuation of the telegrams that MPLA has been addressing to the Congo-Leopoldville government on the arbitrary measures carried out against the Angolan freedom fighters there. We had then mentioned on those telegrams the fact that there were hundreds of Angolan freedom fighters in Congolese prisons.

Since our countryfellow's situation has become worse in the Congo Leopoldville and in face of the "grave" upheaval, we hope very sincerely that your Governments will grant a fair sympathy and understanding to this appeal, of ours.

Some very sound news from Leopoldville tells us the deterioration of the situation at the KINKOUZOU military camp, granted, as everyone knows, by Mr. Adoula's government to the FNLA.

Indeed, after the resignation in Cairo of its foreign Affairs Minister, the still more recent resignations of some other responsible people and in face of the continuous deterioration of "grae", the FNLA leaders have not hesitated to take recourse to extreme measures in order to prevent its political and military cadres' exodus.

It is in this context that one should understand the reasons of the deterioration and seriousness of today's situation among the Angolan freedom fighters in the Congo-Leopoldville.

Indignant at the fascist methods and the tribal policy used and followed by the FNLA leaders, their military cadres have decided to quit the Kindouzou camp in order to join the MPLA revolutionary forces.

FNLA answer came at once. Supported by the complicity of the Congolese Security forces, hundreds of military men have been arrested. Their military leader, Mr. Kalundungo and other military responsible people have been confined to a secret place. It is constantly rumoured that these military leaders were purely and simply murdered. Other military men, more than 400 people, have also been arrested and sent to the Leopoldville prisons under complete secrecy.

These repressive measures are not carried out towards FNLA members, but they are also falling upon all Angolans who refuse FNLA dictatorship. Hundreds of freedom fighters have been arrested in Thysville streets and at the nearby villages.

Thus, a very strict control is carried out at the beach (ferryboat station linking Brazzaville and Leopoldville) for all Angolan passengers leaving from or arriving in Leopoldville: beside the Congolese security forces, the "grae" agents search every Angolan passenger in order to prevent their members from reaching Brazzaville where MPLA has its temporary headquarters and also in order to look

for other freedom fighters belonging to MPLA and arrest them.

The "grae", a true stooge of imperialism, is then revealing itself through its own as an apparatus that stirs up division, sows hatred in the ranks of Angolan nationalism and breaks the development of the Angolan people's just fight for liberation.

Thus, we can hardly believe that today the government of an African state allows that such acts be carried out on its own ground and thus, it becomes an accomplice in the repression that a body named "grae" carries out against the Angolan and the African people's interests.

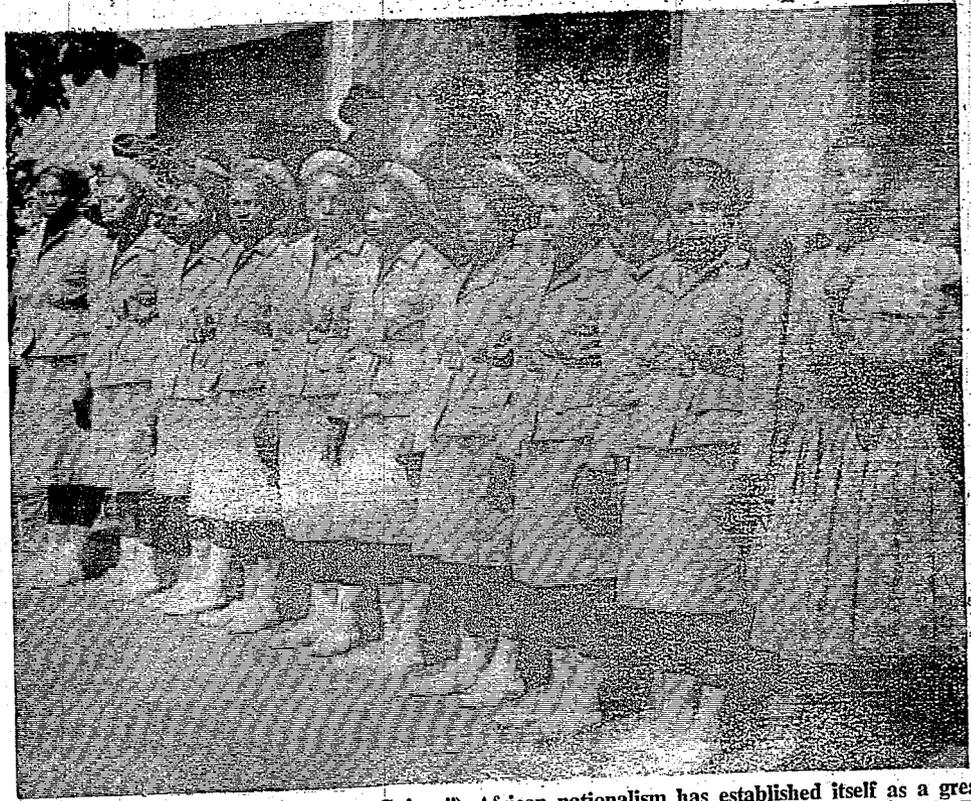
It is also difficult for us to understand that the OAU bodies and some African states can still support the "grae", this organisation that above all is fighting against the Angolan freedom fighters. And the fact that such a support is granted to the prejudice of MPLA's just activities which by its concrete acts is doing a great patriotic effort to set its country free.

The **PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA)** appeals vigorously to the Congo-Leopoldville Government, the African Governments, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and particularly to the Liberation Committee so that they may intervene as urgently as possible to stop this brutal repression against the true Angolan freedom fighters who are only willing to participate in their country's fight for independence.

Moreover, MPLA, an organisation supported by the Angolan masses and fighting honestly for Angolan's Liberation and thus, for Africa's effective decolonisation, MPLA appeals then to the Congo-Leopoldville Government, the African Governments and the OAU to be granted its **FREEDOM OF ACTION**.

MPLA calls the OAU's attention to the danger for Africa if Angola continues under the yoke of imperialism.

# The War in Guinea - Bissau



In Guinea-Bissau (so-called "Portuguese Guinea") African nationalism has established itself as a great unyielding force. The following articles are reproduced by special arrangement with the "Ghanaian Times" and "Daily Graphic".

**I**N the so-called "Portuguese Guinea" today, African nationalism has established itself as a great unyielding force to reckon with.

In spite of the military atrocities and repression of a decaying Portuguese rule, the nationalists and freedom fighters have been gaining a firm ground and are virtually in position to topple the Salazar regime.

Looking at a map of West Africa one finds a little strip of river-riven country labelled Portuguese Guinea, tucked away in the Republics of Senegal and (independent) Guinea. The statistics show that it has fewer than a million inhabitants.

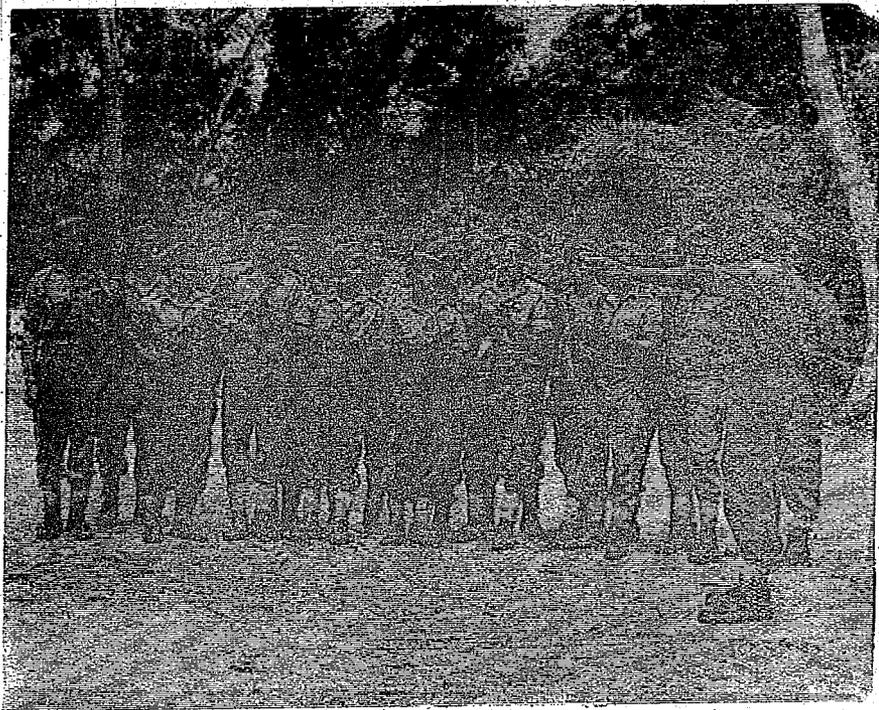
But it is not always the size that counts. For it is here, in Portuguese Guinea, that the vast and ancient Empire of Portugal may at last receive the shattering blow from

which it will never recover. It is here that Salazar regime may finally begin to crack.

As in Angola, African nationalism has fought the Portuguese in Guinea since 1961.

But in contrast with Angola, African nationalism here has gone from strength to strength.

After more than two years of open warfare, the nationalists are stronger now than ever before.



In Guinea; African nationalism has fought the Portuguese since 1961.

The nationalists are stronger than ever before.

Here, freedom fighters receive instructions for their next confrontation.

Resistance to Portuguese colonial rule opened in the late 1950s.

To begin with, it took the form of labour strikes, refusal to pay taxes and minor acts of sabotage.

These were met by the usual Portuguese repression.

This repression, though savage, failed. Towards the end of 1962 the nationalists passed to armed resistance by partisan detachments. They secured possession of a large part of the country south of the Rio Grande.

Salazar was obliged to send more and more troops. In 1959 he had maintained fewer than 1,000 troops in Portuguese Guinea.

Early this year, the number was reported in newspapers from Lisbon to be more than 20,000. But these troops have done no better than Salazar's police. They, too, have failed to master the revolt. This be-

came strikingly clear in April this year.

Two months earlier, the Portuguese command had launched a force of some 3,000 men against nationalist positions on the southern coastal island of Como.

In April these troops were obliged to accept defeat and withdraw, leaving the nationalists in continued control of the island.

#### MASSACRE

If the Portuguese army cannot evict the nationalists from an island they certainly cannot hope to master them on the mainland itself.

Other reports bear this out. Attacking from the south, nationalists have now cleared themselves a broad strip of territory which reach-

es from the southern frontier with (independent) Guinea to the northern frontier with Senegal.

Large-scale Portuguese bombing of "disaffected villages" has had no more effect than to massacre the civilian inhabitants.

Continued growth of the nationalist movement is another sign of its success.

At a recent congress held within the country, the independence movement (Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) took steps to reorganise itself on a new political and military basis.

Politically, it decided to reorganise its widespread popular support into a new democratic structure.

This involves a central committee of 60 members elected primarily at the village level. The central committee bureau of twenty members,

and these elect an executive committee of seven members.

Led by the party's secretary-general, a shrewd Cape Verdean hydraulics engineer called Amilcar Cabral, these seven men form the embryonic government of nationalist Guinea.

Each has charge of one or other department of affairs.

And it is significant of Cabral's highly practical approach to current problems that he himself should have taken charge of political education and orientation, especially with reference to the newly-created nationalist army.

For the second set of decisions taken at the recent congress make it clear that the movement was no longer satisfied with irregular partisan detachments.

What was now required, given the favourable military position, was nothing less than a regular army.

The congress accordingly announced the formation of FARP, the Army Revolutionary Forces of Independent Guinea.

This new Army is to be flanked and aided by local irregular militias at the village level.

### UNITY AND SACRIFICE

But the country is now divided into military zones, and steps are being taken to suppress the personal ambitions of local partisan leaders who were beginning, here and there, to vaunt their own importance and independence at the cost of the movement as a whole.

The governing idea behind these decisions is that the independence of Guinea cannot mean much to its hungry farmers and fishermen unless

it is followed by a tremendous effort at social and economic change and growth.

But no such effort will be possible without great inner unity and personal self-sacrifice. Cabral's idea is that Guinea's revolutionary army should lead the way in achieving unity and demonstrating self-sacrifice after independence as well as before it.

All in all, these moves bear witness to a maturity and long-sightedness which augur well for the next phase of the struggle, which will be the driving of the Portuguese out of all their strong points with the exception of Bissau, the capital and one or two other towns.

Reduced to these, Salazar's rule in Guinea cannot hope to last for long.

But if Salazar loses Guinea, what must be the effect in Angola and Mozambique?

## Amilcar Cabral

**P**ORTUGUESE Guinea has an area of about 22,500 square miles with a population of about 800,000. Portuguese colonisation of this beautiful and fertile land began in 1471-1475.

For centuries, the Portuguese colonialists have subjected the country to ruthless plunder; first its people in slave trade, then its natural resources and farm produce, especially peanuts. What they brought were slaughter, suppression, slave labour, poverty and ignorance.

### COLONIAL DOMINATION

Ninety per cent of the population of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde, the so-called natives, are deprived of the right to vote and are forbidden to take part in political activities.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population is illiterate. There is only one doctor for every 80,000

people. Infantile mortality runs as high as 50 per cent.

The people of Portuguese Guinea have never ceased their resistance during these long years of colonial domination. From 1878 to 1936, not a single year passed without witnessing some uprising against the Portuguese colonialist domination.

The African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands was formed underground in 1956. It has mobilised, organised and led the people in the struggle for national liberation ever since.

Cabral has just arrived in Conakry from the liberated areas in Portuguese Guinea when I interviewed him the first time.

His unshaven, travel-worn face under a pair of broad rim spectacles, his easy manner, and serious quiet demeanour at once gave one the impression of a veteran revolutionary fighter and a scholar.

In a deep voice, he related, "Our

struggle is an arduous one. The first victory won by our party after its birth was mobilising and organising the masses to rise in struggle to wipe out colonial rule and win national independence.

"At the outset, we restored to legal or peaceful struggle; strikes,



AMILCAR CABRAL

demonstrations, speeches and so on. But the Portuguese colonialists answered us with bombs, mass arrests and repression."

## ATROCITIES

He recalled that on August 3, 1959, the longshoremen of Bissau, the capital, went on strike under the leadership of the African Independence Party to demand payment of back wages.

The Portuguese colonial authorities used large numbers of troops to fire on the workers. More than 50 were killed on the spot, scores of others were wounded and still more were thrown into concentration camp.

At that time, hundreds of patriots were put behind bars. Then the Portuguese colonialists started their colonial war in Angola.

The Bissau wharf bloodshed and the colonialist war in Angola drove home to the people the truth that only force could drive the Portuguese colonialists out of Africa.

The fire of armed struggle was first touched off in the Southern part of Portuguese Guinea.

Cabral said: "When the armed struggle began, we met with much difficulty. We had only bows and arrows, knives, shotguns and a few pistols to confront the Portuguese colonial troops, who were armed with modern weapons. successful at first, but we stuck it out. Drawing on the experience of other countries and applying it to the conditions of our country, we set up bases in the rural areas.

"There are no mountains in our country, but there are dense tropical jungles. So we set up bases in the jungles to carry on armed struggle."

Later, the people's forces grew in strength by seizing arms from the enemy and the struggle rapidly developed.

He continued: "Actual armed struggle began in early 1963 when we fought more battles. By now our people's revolutionary armed forces control nearly 45 per cent of the country. We can say that we have found the right form of struggle suitable to the conditions of our country."

## LIBERATED AREAS

"The establishment of big liberated areas is a tremendous victory for our party", Cabral said. He unfolded a map to show me the revolutionary base that covered the whole area south of the Geba and Corubal Rivers, the liberated area in the central region, and the northern liberated area extending right to the border.

They have formed a large continuous area stretching from the northern to the southern border. They are also the most densely populated and most important farming districts in the country.

In these extensive liberated areas the Portuguese colonial troops are in control of only a few isolated cities, besieged by the vast countryside.

I visited a hospital of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces in Guebo, a Guinean city across the southern border of Portuguese Guinea.

Here, I met Mamabon Alfa Djaló, vice-commander of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces in the Quebo area. This 28-year-old former worker from Bissau told me that when his guerilla unit was formed in December 1962, there were only some 30 guerillas, armed with three pistols and some knives.

Now, young people of all 15 villages in the area were armed with machine-guns, carbines or rifles captured from the enemy.

Djaló gave an account of how they besieged the city of Guebo. He said that together with the people they had set up observation posts around the city, mined all roads leading to it and detailed men to ambush the enemy.

As a result the 200 Portuguese colonial troops were confined to the town surrounded by barbed-wire fences, trenches and fortifications.

They did not dare venture out. Under the leadership of the African Independence Party, the people in the liberated areas have been mobilised and organised. The young people have taken up arms in the

ranks of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces. The peasants are organised to develop production. The women are active in supporting the front by sending food and water to the fighters.

The Portuguese colonialists all along tried to compel the peasants to grow peanuts for export. But the people in the liberated areas boycotted this crop last year and grew grain instead.

Now, food is plentiful in the liberated areas while the cities occupied by the Portuguese colonial troops suffer a shortage of food and vegetables. The enemy has to bring in food and vegetables by plane or ship.

But this air or sea transportation is often under attack by the guerillas. As a result many city dwellers have fled to the liberated areas.

The fire of resistance and struggle has never ceased for a moment even in cities where the enemy is entrenched. The stories of little Paul and a ship's captain are but two examples.

The heroic exploits of little Paul are widely known in Bissau. I met Paul in a school run by the African Independence Party in Conakry.

This 14-year-old schoolboy, already a mature father, is the son of a worker. He joined the underground movement of the African Independence Party at the age of ten.

Once leaflets condemning the Portuguese colonial rule and demanding national independence appeared every where in Bissau overnight.

Some even found their way into the residence of the Portuguese Governor. The colonialists thought they had been dropped by planes.

That night, little Paul and some of his mates had distributed and posted the leaflets.

One day, a member of the African Independence Party was arrested by two policemen. Paul happened to be nearby. One of the policemen dropped his pistol and stopped to pick it up. Little Paul shouted to the arrested man: "Run, quick!" The PAIGC man escaped by knocking down the policeman.

(Continued on page 35)



# ZAM

## LANDMARKS IN HER HISTORY 1891 - 1964

1891: Paramount Chief Lewanika of Barotseland informed that Her Majesty's "protection" had been extended to his country.

1894: Chartered company formally took over administration north of the Zambesi.

1897: Robert Coryndon assumes duties of British Resident.

1899: Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia Order in Council signed.

1900: (17 October): Barotse concession signed by Lewanika and Chartered company giving the company certain trading and mineral rights over the whole of Lewanika's dominion in return for a subsidy of a meagre £850 a year.

1911: The two territories amalgamated as Northern Rhodesia.

1924: Administration of territory assumed by Crown. First Governor appointed April 1, 1924. (Sir Herbert Stanley). Capital: Livingstone. Official majority made up of nine official members and five unofficial elected members.

Though the Council's unofficial elected membership was increased by two in 1929; equal strength between official and unofficial members was not achieved until 1938. And in 1945 unofficial members—eight elected and five nominated—gained a majority over the official

DR. KENNETH David Kaunda, 40, President of the Republic of Zambia—Africa's newest nation.

Educated at a Mission School and at a Secondary School in Lusaka, Kenneth turned to the teaching field. He gave up teaching to enter politics and in 1949 was elected Secretary of the African National Congress, then the only African political party in the country.

In 1953 he was elected Secretary-General of the Party. There was a split in the ANC and in October, 1958, he formed his own Zambia African National Congress.

In 1959 the ZANC was declared illegal and was ordered to be restricted to Kabompo in the North-Western Province. Released the following year he took over the leadership of the newly-formed United National Independence Party from Mr. Matza Chona, Zambia's first African barrister and now Minister of Home Affairs.

In 1962 he was elected to Legco and became Minister of Local Government in a Coalition Government formed by UNIP and Mr. Nkumbula's ANC.

In this year's January elections UNIP was returned with overwhelming majority and Dr. Kaunda was sworn in as the first Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia. On August 24, he was elected unopposed as President-Designate.

Kenneth and his colleagues fought courageously to achieve freedom and dignity for Zambia. The people of Zambia, nay, all progressive Africa will now judge the merits of the leaders by how much they can protect their people from the remnants of colonial exploitation and the threatening fangs of neo-colonialism.

# A, KWACHA!

members of the Council.

1930: Crash of first effort at large-scale copper mining (Bwana Mkubwa) followed by development of mines at Luanshya, Nkana, Mufurira, and Nchanaga as a prelude to present steady progress and development.

In the same year the political aspirations of the settlers received a setback when the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Passfield, issued a White Paper setting out the principle of Paramountcy.

1935: Capital moved to Lusaka. City status was conferred on it by Royal Charter in 1960.

1936: Talks at Victoria Falls on amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia. The elected members of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council and representatives of the three political parties in Southern Rhodesia conferred at the Falls and confirmed their belief that the two territories should be amalgamated and granted self-government.

1939: The British Government appointed a royal commission, the Bledisloe Commission to explore the feasibility of closer association between the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

## DESIRABLE, BUT...

The Report published on March 21 of the same year accepted in principle that closer association was desirable but did not recommend that immediate steps be taken to bring it about.

The Report thought that the three

territories would tend to become increasingly inter-dependent but because of differences between the policies followed by the Northern Governments and Southern Governments and Southern Rhodesia towards Africans, and because Africans in the North feared their status as British protected persons would be adversely affected, it recommended that for the time being the Government should attempt only to co-operate more closely.

1944: Central African Council set up (October 18).

1947: Teacher Kenneth Kaunda gives up his teaching job at Lubwa mission and with Simon Kapwepwe and John Sokoni went to Tanganyika and then later to Southern Rhodesia in the quest for a job that would satisfy him.

1948: Northern Rhodesia African National Congress formed. Unofficial membership of Legislative increased to 14 including two Africans elected by the African Representative Council and two Europeans representing African interests.

With nine official (nominated) members this was the first Council with an elected majority.

In the same year the idea of federation, as an alternative to amalgamation was introduced by Roy Welensky.

With the formation of the Northern Rhodesia ANC from the Federation of Welfare Societies on the Copperbelt Africans demanded equal representation with European, unofficials in both the Legislative and Executive Councils.

They also expressed their loss of

confidence in the system under which Europeans represented African interests in the Territory's Councils. And the Africans as a whole spoke out strongly against any attempt to establish a link between Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

1949: Kaunda was again back at Lubwa. This time as a farmer. He asks Congress headquarters in Lusaka for permission to form a branch in the Chinsali district.

## FEDERATION

Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, convenes an unofficial conference at Victoria Falls, ostensibly to examine the possibilities of federation in Central Africa. This conference, held in camera, voted unanimously for the principle of federation. No Africans were invited to attend.

1950: Kaunda is elected secretary of the Chinsali branch of Congress. This is the beginning of his active political career.

Agreement between Northern Rhodesia Government and the British South Africa Company for the transfer of mineral rights to the Government in 1968 and for payment of 20 per cent of the company's revenue from mineral rights to the Government in the intervening period.

1951: Official conference in London on Federation. Political report published on June 14. British Government convenes conference in September of same year at the Falls

(Continued on next page)

between the three Territorial Governments which, with the exception of the African representatives, reached agreement on the principle of federation.

In November the British Government accepted the conclusions of both conferences the basis for drafting a detailed federation scheme.

Harry Nkumbula calls for the nationalisation of the copper mines and a massive campaign against imposition of federation is developed.

1952: Further conferences on federation in London and publication of draft scheme.

1953: Proposals for federation are approved by the House of Commons in March. Motions are passed in favour of the scheme in the Legislatures of Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. In Southern Rhodesia the proposals were approved by referendum and in October 1953 the Federation Constitution came into operation.

1957: The Federal Government introduced two highly Bills—the Constitution Amendment Bill and the Federal Franchise Bill. Nkumbula is re-elected president of the ANC.

But relations between himself and the majority of the top party members grows steadily worse.

1958: Meetings are held with the Governor Sir Arthur Benson and a memorandum sent to him calling for an African majority. Congress rejects outright the British Government proposals when they are made public.

Congress sent a committee of six to explain its rejection of the proposals. Nkumbula was not a member of this committee but he did sign the report. Subsequently he changed his mind and agreed to take part in the elections under Lennox-Boyd constitution.

This was the time when congress split wide open.

## MACMILLAN

1958: The breakaway group was led by Kaunda, Sikalumbi, Kapwepwe, Kamanga and others.

In October of the same year these men and their followers met in Broken Hill and the Zambia African National Congress was formed with Kenneth Kaunda as its first president.

It was at this historic meeting that the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Simon Kapwepwe suggested and had accepted that the new country after independence be called Zambia.

1959: Zambia African National Congress (Mr. Kaunda's breakaway group from the ANC) banned, leaders restricted March 12. Territorial elections March 20 under qualitative two-roll franchise returning members (with six officials and two nominated members). First African nationalist members elected (ANC). UFP majority.

Various political groups merged towards the end of 1959 and the name of the banned organisation—the Zambia African National Congress was changed to United National Independence Party. And Mainza Chona, now Minister of Home Affairs was appointed its first president.

## BREAKAWAY

1960: January: Visit of Mr. Harold Macmillan at that time Prime Minister of Britain. February: Mockon Commission. Federal Reviews talks open in London. Northern Rhodesia constitutional review talks open also (December).

Kaunda was released from jail in Lusaka in January. The second time he has served a term in jail as an African nationalist. He immediately takes over UNIP presidency.

1961: N. R. Constitutional talks resumed. White Paper on proposed changes published.

February 22, UFP members resign, over "unacceptable constitutional proposals. Liberal Party Ministers replace them in Government (March).

June 26: Details of constitution announced, including controversial 12½ per cent or 400 voting clause.

July to September: Disturbances in northern part of Territory; UNIP banned in Northern Province.

December: Visit of Colonial Secretary (Mr. Reginald Maudling).

1962: February: Constitutional change announced 10 per cent, instead of 12½ per cent).

## CONSTITUTION

October 30: General Election: first African elected majority. This spelt the end of the Central African Federation.

1963: Mr. Butler's visit (January). Delegation to London (March) followed by talks locally with the Governor on new constitution. July: Victoria Falls Conference on Federal dissolution. December: Final dissolution date (date 31st).

1964: January 20 and 21. Northern Rhodesia go to the polls under a self-governing constitution for the first time. And for the first time in the country's history, the franchise is based upon universal adult suffrage.

More than 1,400,000 people of all races register on two rolls: the main roll for African voters and a special reserved roll for white voters.

Asians and Coloureds had the choice to vote on either roll. The results were a decisive victory for UNIP. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda is installed as the first Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia.

Midnight October 24, Northern Rhodesia became the sovereign independent Republic of Zambia with Kenneth Kaunda as its first President.

# Economic Progress in Zambia

By **ARTHUR WINA**  
(Minister of Finance)

**B**EFORE discussing the economic progress which is taking place in Zambia, it is clearly necessary for me to say a few words about what I mean by economic progress.

Progress is one of those elusive words which means different things to different people. But economic progress is more specific. I understand by economic progress an increase in the quantity of goods and services available for consumption on the average for each inhabitant of Zambia.

## STANDARD OF LIVING

A country is therefore progressing over a given period of time if its real national income per capita grows. Economic progress means that individuals, on the average, have a higher material standard of living.

Naturally, some individuals or groups benefit more than others. A few may even be worse off. But the majority improve their living standards. The more rapidly the population increases, the larger must be the increase in output if progress is to be achieved.

Since few things in the real world are simple, my definition needs a certain amount of extension. A country must aim to progress in such a way that it is laying the foundations for future progress rather than for decline.

This means that it must use part of the present income for investment in capital assets which will increase the future flow of goods and services. Saving and restraint on immediate consumption are the price of continuing as opposed to temporary economic progress.

Can a country be said to be progressing economically if there is

a substantial volume of unemployment which is not falling? Clearly, in terms of my definition this would be possible, since the increase in real national income could be produced mainly by increased use of machinery, and the extra number of jobs becoming available could be no more than the additional number of workseekers coming on to the labour market.

One would then have the paradoxical situation of the employed becoming better off, while the total number of unemployed remained unchanged or even grew.

In my opinion one of the greatest difficulties of planning economic progress in Zambia will be to ensure that it takes such a form that unemployment is largely eliminated. It may be necessary to accept a slower rate of growth of the national income to achieve this objective.

## RESOURCES

Economic progress cannot take place unless a country has the necessary economic resources and it will not take place unless the inhabitants of the country are prepared to work for it. Zambia is fortunate in that it is richly endowed with minerals and with fertile land, but it is still short of skilled labour and it will take many years to fill the gap from our own resources.

Progress will make heavy demands on capital and it is Government policy to attempt to provide much of the capital requirements of the public sector from our own resources. This will lessen the strain on our balance of payments, and enhance our attractiveness to foreign investors.

I have already emphasised in my budget speech the importance which the Government attaches to development planning as an aid to economic progress and it is unnecessary to expand further on it here.

In 1963, in spite of all uncertainties, the Zambian economy remained steady, and the gross domestic product per head at 1954 prices fell only slightly from £58.8 to £58.5.

Since figures of gross domestic product are not available for 1964, I shall comment on the progress of the different sectors, and attempt to draw a general picture from the isolated pieces.

## MINERALS

Pride of place must be given to minerals since our money economy is still vitally dependent on them. 1964 has so far been a very good year for copper, lead and zinc.

Growing world demand, together with an increased demand to build up stocks caused our copper producers to remove their voluntary restrictions on marketed output, and to raise the producer price to £244 per long ton. This was still well below the quotations on the London Metal Exchange. The producer price was further increased a few days ago to £260. Copper exports in the early months of 1964 increased in value both because of higher prices and increased production and because some producers were reducing their accumulated stocks.

Lead and zinc have also been experiencing a growing demand and prices have been rising rapidly.

Due mainly to poor rainfall in many areas, it appears that 1964 will be only a moderate year for agriculture. The groundnut crop will be a poor one. It is estimated that

the 1964 sales of maize to the Grain Marketing Board will be 2.1 million bags. This is not a record crop, but it is a surprisingly good one in view of the poor rainfall. The cotton crop however, is likely to show a considerable improvement over 1963.

But I think that one should attach only limited importance to the results of a single agricultural year. What is important for our future economic progress is that agriculture is now being planned as a unified industry, on a non-racial basis, as it clearly should be. Private industry has set up an oil expressing plant which will provide a ready market for suitable groundnuts. A cotton ginnery has been established, and an Agricultural Rural Marketing Board is to be set up shortly to provide improved marketing facilities in rural areas.

The Land Bank Ordinance has recently been amended to extend the definition of farmer to include subsistence cultivators, and to allow the Bank to make loans without security to farmers or groups of farmers specified by the Minister of Agriculture. Steps have also been taken to centralise all credit facilities which had previously been widely spread. We are rapidly laying the groundwork for a substantial and growing increase in agriculture output.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

The provisional index of manufacturing production has averaged 114.1 for the first six months of this year, an increase of 13 per cent over the corresponding average for last year. This is a substantial increase with particularly noticeable growth occurring in the output of drink and tobacco, and textiles and clothing.

New industrial concerns continue to be set up in Zambia and there is wide scope for the expansion of domestic manufacture. The Minister of Commerce and Industry is developing a programme to bring about accelerated progress in this sector. The employment position is still unsatisfactory. All returns for the first quarter of 1964 are not yet available, but the number of persons of all races in employment

in commerce and transport and communications was lower at the end of the first quarter of 1964 than at the end of March 1963. In addition, there were fewer Africans in domestic service. On the other hand, there were more persons in employment in mining and in manufacturing.

The electrical energy sent out to all consumers in Zambia was 9 per cent larger in the first half of this year than for the corresponding period in 1963.

### CONSUMER PRICES

So long as our money and banking system continues to cover the previous federal area, it is difficult to trace what is happening in Zambia alone. Total debit entries to current accounts increased by 26 per cent in the first half of the year, and the average deposit turnover rate rose by 7 per cent. It is clear that considerably more transaction were taking place than in the corresponding period last year.

The European consumer prices index for July, 1964, was 4.3 per cent higher than a year earlier, while the African consumer prices index for June, 1964, was up 2.1 per cent. Government intends to keep a close watch on the movements of these indices, particularly when our development plans get into full swing.

The total value of mortgage bonds registered in the first seven months of this year was £2.4 million—49 per cent larger than for the corresponding period in 1963.

Our trade results to date have been outstandingly good. For the first half of the year we had a favourable balance of merchandise trade of £50.6 million. This was mainly due to larger exports of our main minerals at higher prices.

We have considerable payments to make abroad for such items as interest on debt, payments to foreign shareholders, travel and shipping charges, but it seems likely that the favourable balance on current account will substantially exceed last year when it was estimated at £12.6 million.

These figures seem to me to suggest a steady current rate of econo-

mic progress when viewed in conjunction with a population which is increasing at about 3 per cent per annum. But economic progress is a continuing process and I attach less importance to current trends than to the steps which we are taking to lay foundations for further growth.

When we took control over our own economic future at the beginning of this year, the Government inherited an economy weakened both the years of continuous subsidisation of the other members of the federation, and by several years of economic stagnation. It was our task to ensure that the full resources of Zambia were again employed for its own benefit, and to replace aimlessness and uncertainty with hope and renewed confidence. It was recognised that to ensure a more rapid rate of development Government would have to take the lead.

An emergency extension of the existing 1961-65 Development Plan was made to enable us to deal with the immediate problems following the takeover of ex-federal functions, to make an immediate onslaught on the social ills of decades—education, health facilities and transport and communications, and to open up new avenues of employment by industrial and agricultural development.

### TRANSITIONAL PLAN

We are now in the process of drawing up a transitional plan, covering the period up to 30th June, 1966, and we are recruiting the staff and preparing the ground for more comprehensive planning beyond 1966.

Our planning organisation will include a National Development Committee of the Cabinet which will consider development matters and report to Cabinet. This Committee will be advised by a Committee of Senior Officials.

There will also be a Central Planning Office which will be attached to the Prime Minister's Office, and sectoral committees which are working parties dealing with either parti-

*Continued on next page*

(Continued from page 29)

## LITTLE PAUL

Little Paul fled, with a price on his head. That is why he is studying in a foreign country.

On March 29, 1963 a 100-ton ship, the largest of the vessels belonging to the Portuguese monopoly C.U.F. Company in Portuguese Guinea sailed over to the side of the people's armed forces.

I visited the ship and its captain in a port on the border of Guinea and Portuguese Guinea.

Flying the flag of the African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands, a tri-colour (yellow, red and green) with a black five-point star, the ship is now sailing between ports in the liberated areas, bringing to the people's armed forces the most needed materials and personnel.

The captain was an old docker of Bissau. He was one of those who had taken part in the strike of August 3, 1959. He said he saw how Portuguese planes took off from Bissau everyday to bomb the people in the southern liberated areas.

"Then I made up my mind not to serve the colonialists any longer," he said. So, one night in March he and his mates set out for the liberated area with a full cargo of rice and other military material.

The fighters I visited told me of the life in the liberated areas. The people's revolutionary fighters live and train in the dense forests and strike out at the enemy from there.

The Portuguese colonialists have carried out wanton bombing of the liberated areas everyday this year. They even use napalm bombs.

Many villages have been

destroyed. During the day the people hide in the jungle, and return home at night. Some have simply moved to the jungles and built new homes there. But the people of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands are confident of final victory. Cabral sized up the picture for me thus:

"The balance of forces has undergone new changes, tipping the scales more and more in favour of the people of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands.

"The struggle has entered a new stage. Politically and militarily, the balance of forces between us and the enemy has already reached a stage of equilibrium."

The Portuguese now have 20,000 troops in the country as compared

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## ZAMBIA

*Continued from previous page*

cular sectors of the economy such as manpower, or particular programmes within the plan which concern more than one Ministry.

Individual Ministers will play an important part in the planning organisation, as they will initiate programmes and projects within their sphere of responsibility, and, if and when these are incorporated in an agreed plan they will be responsible for their execution and suggested revision if this proves necessary.

We are at present studying ways in which the general public can be associated with our development-planning machinery. It is important that development should be associated with the whole nation and its communities—labour unions must participate in the planning, industrial groups must have their views fully considered, farmers and other productive classes should be equally associated with National development. It is important that this be done so that development becomes a national affair and not merely an imposition of the Government.

Economic progress is likely to take place mainly through the growth of our main productive sectors. In particular, it is essential that our mineral exports should be steadily increased. We support the producers policy of stabilising their selling price at a level which, in the longer view, is compatible with a sustained growth in world demand.

The recent rise in the producers copper price to £260 per long ton seems reasonable in view of the demand and supply position in world markets, and the present prices of substitutes. It is still well below the price on the London Metal Exchange. In the short run, it will increase revenues of the copper mines by something in the region of £10 millions in a year, and Government revenue will rise substantially, while it will improve our balance of payments position and help to finance Government's development plans.

When we have regained control of our mineral rights, it will be possible to devise an integrated pattern of taxation of mineral producers to our mutual advantage. I might mention in passing that the mineral royalties paid by the copper producers to the British South Africa

Company are based on the London Metal Exchange price, and therefore will not be affected directly by the recent increase in the producers price.

The encouragement of agriculture, particularly in the rural areas has a very high priority in our development planning. Large sums have been allocated for this purpose. We recognise that there is a greater need for Government assistance to private enterprise in this sector than in most other fields, and also that progress will inevitably be slow. But the scope is almost unlimited, and we intend to improve encouragement wherever possible.

The Government has already established a Tariff Advisory Board which will investigate applications by industrialists for protection, rebates and other tariff concessions. Government is still considering the details of its industrial development so long as it is to the benefit of Zambia as a whole.

In view of the short time since Zambia took full control of its economic progress, the current situation is very satisfactory, and the future full of promise. Economic progress needs not only economic

*(Continued on page 60)*

# Dynamics of the African Revolutionary Struggle

By A Special Correspondent

THE peoples of Africa everywhere are on the march. They are locked in grim struggle with colonialism and imperialism. The enemy, though generally in retreat, is not running away. He is fighting a desperate rear-guard action, at times cunning and flanking, at times frontal and savage. Though meeting with bitter resistance on some fronts and even temporarily in retreat on some other fronts, our forces—the forces of the African freedom and liberation—are moving forward in a broad and general offensive.

The present phase of the African struggle—the struggle for total liberation of mother Africa from foreign domination and colonialist exploitation—is barely seventeen years old, being cramped into the short period since the end of the Second World War. But major victories of far-reaching significance have been won.

## LIBERATION

At the end of World War II, and with the restoration of Emperor Haile Selassie to his rightful kingdom, there were but three independent states in the whole continent of Africa. These were Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt. These were relatively weak states when compared to other nation states of the world. Their voices were not heard in the council of nations.

But today the contrast is striking and heart-warming. There are now some thirty-four independent sovereign states in Africa. Twenty-six of these have come into existence in the short period of four years since the First Conference of Independent African States

held here in Accra in 1958. And to a not inconsiderable extent the emergence of these new sovereign African States has been the direct and indirect result of that Conference.

It is only seventeen years since October 1945 when the Fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, England. That Congress laid down the broad principles of the struggles of all colonial peoples for their freedom from alien domination.

Today, the African revolution has chalked up significant victories. The people of East and Central Africa have made major dents in the armour of colonialism. Racial bigotry and white minority rule in South Africa has its back to the wall.

Practically all West Africa is free; and we here in Ghana have shown how successful the colonial masses can be engaged in positive struggle against imperialism.

Neo-colonialism and imperialist military interventions were roundly defeated in Egypt in 1952 and 1958 thus paving the way for the rise of our sister states of the United Arab Republic. And now the struggle of the heroic Algerian people has been crowned with victory.

Truly can it be said that the seventeen years since the end of the Second World War have witnessed an intensity of revolutionary—and victorious—struggle in Africa unequalled throughout the two or more centuries of European influence on this continent.

Today, the African revolution is at an advanced stage. It is also in its most complex phase. A thorough

understanding of its dynamics and a clear idea of its path are called for.

What is the nature of the African revolution in its present stage of development?

There are four component parts to the African revolution, in its present stage of development.

Firstly, there is the national liberation movement. This is the struggle for freedom from colonialist rule. It is the struggle of an entire people against their foreign masters. Usually, there is but a class of privileged people who fight on the side of colonialism against the masses and in defence of their privileged positions.

## NEO-COLONIALISM

This is the classic form of colonialism whose tactics are armed suppression of the people and the use of a small privileged class to divide and disrupt the struggle of the people. This form of colonialism still exists in some English speaking territories in East Africa but more especially in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea as well as in the Spanish colonies of Fernando Po, Rio Muni and the Cape Verde Islands.

Here the forces of the African revolution and the entire people organised in positive struggle against the colonialists and their local lackeys.

Secondly, there is the struggle against neo-colonialism. In some of the independent African States the old colonial masters have skilfully handed over political power to an upper class in such a way as to safeguard their economic and military interest. While these countries are nominally independent in the political scene, they are not in the position to use this political independence to achieve economic, social and cultural emancipation.

Here the forces of the African revolution are the masses organised against the upper (usually feudal and capitalist) classes in the drive for total freedom from any form of foreign control.

In such cases, the struggle is between those reactionary forces who resist—any change in the present

neo-colonialist regimes and the progressive forces of the peoples (workers and farmers, principally) who demand the strengthening and consolidation of the independence of their country by eliminating all colonialist relations and influences.

Whereas the reactionary forces depend on support from, and collaboration with, imperialism and colonialism, the progressive forces draw their strength and inspiration from all those sovereign African states that have travelled the road of complete independence from foreign control and from the mass movements all over Africa.

## RECONSTRUCTION

Thirdly, there is the struggle for the consolidation of the independence of free African states. This is achieved through radical reconstruction along the path of independent development and through the unity of independent states.

If radical reconstruction is to maintain and safeguard national sovereignty and independence, then it must follow the path of socialism. This is how socialism has come to be an integral element of the African revolution.

Again, if radical reconstruction is to maintain and safeguard national sovereignty and independence, then it must be pursued in the context of the closest possible unity between independent African states.

Furthermore unity provides the basis for the peaceful solution of many explosive problems left by colonialism, especially the problem of artificial division of the African peoples. And the peaceful elimination of such problems has a direct and buoyant effect on our economic resources and speeds the pace of reconstruction.

Hence, unity—politically unity—of African states has become a compelling objective as well as a necessary means of the African revolution. It is both the end and the hand maiden of African freedom and rebirth.

Fourthly, there is the struggle against racial discrimination and, in its extremist and most inhuman form,—Apartheid.

White minority rule in South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia are merely a special manifestation of colonialism.

Here the fight is being conducted by an entire people against the rule of settler elements. While the elements draw strength from the colonial powers, the oppressed and brutalised masses look primarily to the independent African states for support and guidance.

It is these elements, in their inter relation, that constitute the forces of the African revolution. They are the masses of the people throughout organised around a programme of liberation and freedom and under the leadership of those sovereign African states which have chosen path of complete freedom from foreign control and influence.

Their struggle is directed against racial discrimination, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Their objective are socialism and continental political unity.

Their weapons are organisation of the masses, positive action at home and united action throughout Africa.

Faced with such a powerful array of forces bent on their total destruction, colonialism and imperialism have developed their own tactics and strategy.

What are the tactics and strategy of colonialism?

In the first place, colonialism and imperialism strive might and main to create divisions among the independent African states. Using frictions warring blocs.

It also continues to cripple the independence of some African states (e.g. Congo).

Military arrangements, economic assistance and diplomatic pressures are freely used in pursuit of this objective.

In the second place, colonialism is making frantic efforts to grant independence to countries still under colonial rule in such a form as to safeguard its economic and other interests.

Retaining control over the key sectors of the economy of these so-called independent states, colonialism continues to drag these countries into the European Common

Market. In this way, these independent states continue within the economic orbit of imperialism.

In the third place, colonialism resorts to brutal suppression of colonial peoples by force of arms. Portugal and Spain are the worst offenders in this case as is being witnessed in Angola, Mozambique, Fernando Po, etc. But the British practices the same thing in Central Africa while in South Africa they are in partnership with the Dutch.

In the fourth place, colonialism employs the tactics of organising counter-revolutionary activities, including assassination attempts, against those independent African states and their leaders who have chosen the path of complete freedom from foreign control.

## OPPORTUNISTS

Instances of this are the murder of Patrice Lumumba of the Congo and assassination attempts against President Nasser of the U.A.R.

Kulungugu bomb throwings are Ghana's part in this desperate tactics of colonialism.

In the pursuit of this tactics, colonialism uses right wing capitalist and opportunist elements within our countries.

However, this is to be expected. Counter-revolutionary plots have been the stock-in-trade of vested interests, more especially foreign finance capital, throughout history. And in the African context today, the sovereign African states that choose the path of independence from foreign control are regarded as the power houses supplying motive power to the national liberation movement throughout our continent.

Africa can contain all the moves and manoeuvres of colonialism. It must. For the pace of our general offensive against colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination must be quickened. And the retreating enemy forces must be completely routed and decimated.

Thus, African can achieve only through independence and unity—complete independence and close political unity. Political unity among independent African states will help

each state to secure and expand its independence. For we can the more effectively cope with the major problems of economic development, if through political unity, independent African states achieve a common foreign policy directed by an integrated diplomatic machinery, a common policy directed by Joint High Command, and co-ordinated planning which could open the way to an African Common Market and to rising living standard for our peoples. Political unity of African States will increase the amount of support we can give to sister countries struggling for freedom. Again, political unity will eliminate all our tribal and boundary problems, and enable all Africa to speak with one voice in the councils of the world. This one factor alone—a united and strong African voice in the councils of the world—will be a great force for world peace and

thus open the door to a faster rate of all-round development on the African continent.

African political unity is being obstructed by considerations of national sovereignty. And colonialism, under the cover of championing national sovereignty, is doing everything to thwart the realisation of continental union of African states.

This urge to safeguard national sovereignty must be respected and accommodated. But independent African States must realise that in the world of today absolute sovereignty is an anachronism. They must realise further that a condition of their continued independence is political union. For absolute sovereignty for any African state, in the light of the many problems confronting developing nations, can only lead to a new form of colonial dependence.

National sovereignty can be respected and accommodated within the context of political unity. For if foreign and defence policies as well as economic planning could be pooled, then each state within the union could handle its other affairs with its own distinct government, flag, national anthem etc. This could be the starting point.

The development would remain a consolidated confederation of states or could evolve into a single federal state or even into a single unitary state. History alone will tell which path will be followed. But our duty now is to lay the foundation. Generations to come will decide on the superstructure.

The situation calls for organisation and vigilance at home, statesmanship and vision abroad. And among the peoples of Africa we must build a close unity founded upon true comradeship.

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# NATIONAL UNITY AND THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

by  
**SIKHE CAMARA**

(Guinea)

IN recent years, and especially during the past few months we have been witnesses of an extensive, public discussion on the question of the one-party system, so that we are able to judge whether or not political formula provides in itself a rational solution for the basic problems of the newly-liberated African countries, or at least a possibility to cope with them successfully.

There have been some objective analyses of this question, useful and sensible; but there have also been others which categorically denounce a monolithic party system, and condemn what they term as unrecognised dictatorship—with "isms" appended to it.

By taking a thorough look at the matter, however, we shall see that these subjective analysis are the victims of unfortunate personal experience.

In effect, all these bold and often highly-skilled analysis, as many of them are themselves specialists in political sciences, confine themselves to doctrinary or scientific speculations devoid of assertions of any sociological basis, lacking in reliable national experience which would make it possible for them to formulate their arguments and ultimately liquidate the one-party system.

They view as lasting verities the principles of the classical and radical democracy which appeared as recently as the second half of the 18th century, a

movement embodied in a definite type of ideology and political institutions which developed in the 19th century in the United States, Great Britain, France and Western Europe in general, where the type of state composed of the sum total of three well-balanced authorities: legislative, executive and judicial, is highly appreciated.

Some of them think that this type of democracy is characterised by the following elements: economic and political liberalism of opinion, appointment of administrators by election, proclamation of the right of personality to oppose the state and organisation of political mechanism, the purpose of which is to temper the authority and prevent its exaggerated pressure upon the individual.

## QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY

Others hold that the basic quality of democracy is its radicalism—the contradiction between the individual and the collective, between man and society—its absolutism without provision for any measures to mitigate or restrict the authority of the people and protection of the individual—equality since freedom itself automatically derives from equity.

There are others yet for whom real democracy is different again—they give it different names: concrete democracy, real democracy, new democracy, people's democracy, Marxist democracy.

They oppose one of another of these regimes to what they call Western pseudo-democracy, a type of democracy they regard as abstract and formalistic. All the arguments in favour of the democratic character of these regimes are based in effect on the Marxist conception of the state, freedom and democracy.

It thus appears that the African leaders face a dilemma that they must choose from the existing types of democracy: classical democracy, radical democracy, and the democracy based on Marxist philosophy.

This is both too simple and too complex; it is too simple to try to make all the members of one and the same family—men, women, children and members of the international community—wear the same clothes; one must consider climatic conditions, customs, needs and possibilities; on the other hand it is too complex because the building-up of any state structure is confronted with the controlling conscience of the sociological environment concerned; this is not a task that can be completed in a matter of days, months or years.

It takes decades to form the mentality of man, of a social group, of a nation—to fit people to assume their great responsibilities. Not even the best treaties can interpret these historical phenomena and analyze them objectively and comprehensively, unless they are closely linked with the context of time and actual experience.

Both the opponents and propagators for the one-party system base their arguments on various factors: the imperative need for the initial phase of economic development; the settlement of difficulties; the need for order; stability and state security to make it possible to mobilise the working people; personal authority and benefit; the phase of the struggle against colonialism; the existence of an indisputable national leader; and the process of struggle for independence and political and social emancipation....

It is not hard to perceive that these are consequences rather than cause, and that each of the alleged factors is wrongly unilateral.

How are we to advance economic and social development, mobilise the masses, organise human investment, maintain political stability, safeguard security, in brief how are we to organise discipline and civil life in our new, young independent states without previously achieving political meaning, national meaning, political unity, political consciousness, in short national unity?

This is the basis, the imperative pre-requisite of any kind of development, especially economic development, and of any possible unity even within a unified party.

Such national unity, such a one-party system, born out of the political unity of the entire nation, cannot be impaired by money, war, technical means or time.

## POLITICAL UNITY

Unless this basic fact is taken into consideration, the problem appears in a false light from the very outset, and no analysis, however brilliant it may be, can be illustrative of the sociological reality or appear seriously convincing.

We have pointed out that formulation and evidence can be correct only if they are presented in a live historical and geographical context, in the context of something that has actually been experienced. The people of Guinea, the Democratic Party of Guinea, and the Guinean political and economic structure will certainly provide the best examples for our analysis.

What holds good for Guinea may evidently be applied more or less adequately to all the other African countries and developing regions. Although some specific qualities must be considered in each individual case, there is no doubt that the basic conditions are the same in all these regions.

The Democratic Party of Guinea was founded on May 17, 1947, after numerous difficulties caused by the post-war colonial regime, which stimulated ethnical grouping, regional organisations and numerous alleged political parties, and hampered any co-ordinated and effective action. There was no elaborate ideology at that time; men

were fighting for political posts; the "electoral system" was imposed... the Party immediately based its action on protection of the interests of the most active masses who, in return, provided it with the main weapon in its struggle—the peasant, i.e. 95 per cent of the population: the women, who suffered ill-treatment both from men and from the colonial regime; the youth, who had been neglected until then, and, finally, the workers, who acquired their trade union organisation. These were gradually followed by war veterans, economic organisations, the old people and religious committees.

There is no need to speak of the reaction of the colonial authorities: of the torturing, arbitrary dismissals, transfers, persecutions, arrests, bribing and killing. This is a chapter in the history of the Guinean people which is filled with misery, tears, and blood. It contains innumerable victims and many heroes: M'Balia Camara, Caman Camara, Drame Umar and the unknown soldier, that is all those unknown, men, women and children who, without pomp, sacrificed their freedom or their life—every one of whom is a milestone in that epic time.

## VIGILANCE IMPERATIVE

By 1951, as the fighters and party cadres had already become accustomed to the democratic principles of the Party, to criticism, self-criticism and discipline, for the enemy was everywhere; he was both black and white, he was both outside and within the Party. Vigilance was imperative.

Since that time, the electoral candidates have been nominated by the conference of leaders, which decides on their mandate in the political organisation on the basis of their merits, their political involvement, their honesty, and the confidence they have won through hard experience.

The same criteria in nominating candidates were formulated and applied from 1953 to 1956 for the municipal elections, for the election of candidates for the General Coun-

cil, for the Council of Government under the Basic Law and for the nomination of personnel at the cabinet.

After the territorial elections in 1956, the majority changed its character: 58 of the 60 newly-elected councillors were members and leaders of the Democratic Party of Guinea. This powerful upsurge came as a surprise both to the colonial authorities and to their friends.

These successes cannot be explained otherwise but as a powerful upsurge of national feeling, a growing political sense, a methodical and energy on the basis of what nobody is willing to admit and name: political conscience, national unity.

## NATIONAL FREEDOM

The common denominator of an entire nation is formed in the conflagration of war and in the daily sufferings of the struggle for national freedom. The ideal which is born from such historical conflicts is neither theoretical, nor superficial. It guides the people, especially people who were formerly enslaved, towards national unity, towards a monolithic, one-party system.

Our struggle has witnessed tragic events and great victories; 1955 was marked by the assassination of M. Balia Camara, the woman-hero whose death in February of that year was a historical factor of the large-scale mobilisation of the people; in July 1957 the Autonomous Constitutional Government of Guinea adopted a decision of abolishing the traditional title of chieftain—an event of paramount importance, which confirmed once and for all that national unity had been attained, since the destruction of this gravitation centre of all colonial systems was indeed a test; in 1958, at the Third Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea, the National Political Bureau was elected, and shortly afterwards the Trade Union of Guinean Workers, the present CNTG, was founded.

The Fourth Congress of the Party adopted a decision on the unification of the Youth Movement of Guinea and on the foundation of a national movement "Human Investment". Finally, there was the his-

torical day of September 28, 1958, the day of a nation-wide referendum, when the Guinean people rejected the new Constitution and the French Community proposed by General de Gaulle.

We have said that, generally speaking, the African nations have no reason to find themselves in the dilemma of having to choose between two or three conceptions of democracy, for the formulation of a theory must be in essence the product of experience and realistic analysis.

### OLIGARCHY MINORITY

Nevertheless, it is an unquestionable fact that here and there on our continent there are regimes which have been set up by a procedure not giving priority to the aspirations of the masses to economic, social and spiritual emancipation.

This, however, cannot justify attacks against a one-party system. It can only justify criticism of an individual of an oligarchic minority in power. It does not permit the absolute condemnation of the one-party principle, for a unified party is born or must be born from the unity of an entire nation; and it is undignified to criticise and denounce an entire nation, whichever one it may be.

The one-party system is an instrument in the struggle and development of a nation. If it is a nation which has suffered and been enslaved for decades, and which has ultimately achieved solidarity as regards the ideological forces and ideals of freedom and progress, there can no longer be a question of individual, group or class interests, or any other than those of the entire national community; the political consciousness of such a nation will obviously aspire above all to secure freedom and the rights of man.

This clearly shows that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and not in those of the Party, no matter what its character may be, since the Party is merely delegated to execute the decisions of the people. Any other assertions are wrong.

False arguments which refer to alleged exceptions, and levelled against the priority of the party over the organs of the nation, and the absence of internal democracy within the party, stem from ignorance of the facts, or from the fact that there are "unified parties" which have not passed through the historical conditions of creation such as those we have described, or merely from a decree order or law...

**A nation which has suffered forms its party to suit its own needs and interests, to satisfy its political and economic aspirations by guiding and supervising the legislative, executive and judicial organs, which could not exist or function without its sacrifices and victories.**

At the beginning of 1959, known as "the year of unity and equality", three months after the historic event of September and October 1958, President Sekou Toure, who had the honour of leading the Democratic Party of Guinea to its ultimate triumph, made his first address to the nation, as head of the executive authority of independent Guinea. For a better understanding of Guinea's present circumstances some extracts from this address may be recalled.

"Instead of merely conveying good wishes, the Democratic Party of Guinea will recall the basic principles of its action, and call on the Guinea people to do everything in their power to ensure respect for these principles, and the fulfilment of the political, social and economic programme which has been drawn up by their representatives."

### PARTY UNIFY

"The first of these principles is the strengthening of national unity. In regard to this, the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea expresses its respect for the resolutions passed by responsible men of the Guinean Section of PRA (Partie de Regroupement Africain 'The Party of African Regrouping' formerly in the Opposition) to unite with the organisations of the Democratic Party of Guinea, for this converts the alliance

established in the course of the referendum into real political unity of the people of Guinea."

"The Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea appeals to all the conscious elements of the Republic of Guinea to help to develop this unity, and to fight resolutely and systematically against all those who support irrational conceptions, or conceptions of a technical, regional, religious or racial character."

Accordingly, all the interpretations of the various conceptions of democracy ultimately concern political regimes, i.e. the organisation of a government and the attitude of that government towards individuals, groups and the people.

However, we do not want a democracy which would basically be exclusively political, or which would call first and foremost for nominal or alleged national sovereignty. Our chief aspirations are broader: they comprise social justice and equality, as well as freedom.

### UNDERSTANDING

It is therefore necessary to know the facts before making any definite judgement; the unbiased reader or observer is interested, or should be interested, in the positive study of reality. He does not want others to think and answer questions for him; all he wants is to be presented with the essential factors so that he can reflect on them and formulate his own answers.

In his address to the nation on January 1, President Sekou Toure again formulated views regarding a unified party, regarding the historic and sociological reasons, the contents, philosophy and finally of such a party, in his usual brilliant manner.

We call on all those who are interested in political science and in this question—opponents as well as propagators of a monolithic, one-party system—to try to understand this thesis, endorsed by such an authority. In the course of such an effort they will acquire definitive information...

# WHY ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA

I FEEL a great sense of relief and joy to think that at long last a first significant step has been taken towards the positive realisation and consumation of a long cherished dream.

Years ago, I felt that Africa needs to buttress her unimpeachable claim to political independence with parallel efforts to expose to the world the bases of her rich culture and civilisation through the medium of a scholarly Encyclopaedia.

I therefore invited W. E. B. Du Bois of blessed memory to come to Ghana to help us establish the framework of this great national heritage.

## THE AIMS

Dr. Du Bois was happy to come to Ghana in the very evening of his life to embark upon this task; he took Ghanaian citizenship, and immediately plunged headlong into the stupendous work of setting out the general aims of this project and securing the interests and support of eminent scholars throughout Africa for its realisation.

To him this was an exciting assignment, for he had many years before planned unsuccessful in the United States to produce such an Encyclopaedia.

It is perhaps not without significance that Du Bois should have had to wait until the very sunset of his life to find and receive encouragement and support for this project, not in the abundance of the United States, but rather in an Africa liberated from the cramping of colonial rule.

In taking upon ourselves this great responsibility for Africa, we are reminded of an old Roman saying: "Semper aliquid novi ex Africa".

Africa had a noble past which astounded even the ancient Roman world with its great surprises.

Yet, it was only much later after a millennium and a half of African history, that we are now busily engaged in reconstructing for all the world to know that racial exploitation and imperialist domination deliberately fostered a new and monstrous mythology of race which nourished the popular but unfounded image of Africa as the "Dark Continent".

In other words, a Continent whose inhabitants were without any past history, any contribution to world civilisation, or any hope of future development—except by the grace of foreign tutelage!

It is unfortunate that men of learning and men of affairs in Europe and America from a century ago down to yesterday have spent much valuable time to establish this unscientific and ridiculous notion of African inferiority.

A European author declared that "the history of civilisation on the continent begins, as concerns its inhabitants, with Mohammedan invasion" and that Africa is poorer in recorded history than can be imagined.

## RIDICULOUS NOTION

Even the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* also declared: "Africa, with the exception of the lower Nile Valley and what is known as Roman Africa is, so far as its native inhabitants are concerned, a continent practically without history and possessing no records from which such history may be conducted... the Negro (referring to the blackman) is essentially the child of the moment and his memory, both tribal and individual is very short".

And, "if Ancient Egypt and Ethiopia be excluded, the story of Africa is largely a record of the doings of its Asiatic and European conquerors and colonisers".

And here I want to sound a note of caution about the term "Negro". I hope that in the record of the *Encyclopaedia Africana* the term "Negro", whatever meaning or connotation has been given to it, will not find a place, except perhaps in a specific article proving its approbrious origin and redundancy.

I would like that people of African descent and Africans in general should be described as black men, or Africans.

## I AM A BLACK MAN

I personally would like to be referred to as a *black man*, African or Ghanaian and not referred to as a *Negro*.

It would be long to attempt to survey this field of malicious distortion against Africa. But this would be a useless and unprofitable venture, and I am sure that your Editorial Board would not suffer this pointless waste of valuable time.

But listen awhile to Leo-Frobenius in his *Voice of Africa*: "The ruins of the mighty past lie stumbering within the bosom of the earth but are glorified in the memory of men who live beneath the sun."

He dwells on the "god-like strength of memory in those who lived before the advent of the written word" and he continues: "Every archaeologist can quote examples from the nations of the North."

"But who would imagine that the Negro Race (here again referring to the black race) of Africa possessed an equally retentive mind for its store of ancient monuments?"

It may be argued, however, that

this sort of view about Africa is dying out, and we may be accused of whipping a dying horse.

It is also true, that particularly in the years since World War II, there has been a marked improvement in much of the writing by non-Africans on Africa and there are today a number of writers and scholars who have made signal contributions to African historiography.

Nevertheless, it is to be doubted if the popular image of the so-called Dark Continent has been much affected by the widening horizon of knowledge of Africa.

The fact is that the powerful forces which seek to block the advance of the 280 millions of Africans to a place of full equality in the world community and which strive to maintain neo-colonialist or even overt colonial domination and white supremacy rule in Africa, find it in their interest to perpetuate the mythology of racial inferiority.

### IGNORANCE

Thus it is not simple ignorance of Africa, but deliberate disparagement of the continent and its people—that Africanists and the Encyclopaedia Africana must contend with.

The foulest intellectual rubbish ever invented by man is that of racial superiority and inferiority.

We know now, of course, that this distortion and fabrication of the image of man was invented by the apostles of imperialism, to save their conscience and justify their political, cultural and economic domination of Africa.

I understand that through the medium of the INFORMATION REPORT published periodically by the Encyclopaedia Africana Secretariat have appeared expressions of support and pledges of co-operation in the work of this great project from numerous eminent scholars.

And I am particularly happy that among those who have expressed their endorsement of our work are distinguished scholars in the United States, the Soviet Union, China, India, Britain and other countries outside Africa.

I am sure the members of the Editorial Board share my appreciation of this world-wide support of the idea of an Encyclopaedia Africana.

However, it is of course only logical that an encyclopaedia work on Africa should be produced in Africa under the direction and editorship of Africans and with the maximum participation of African scholars in all countries.

While I believe that no contribution to the projected encyclopaedia should be rejected solely and simply because the author happens to be non-African, there are surely valid reasons why the maximum participation of African scholars themselves should be aimed at.

Let me illustrate this point with an example from a book published just fifty years ago by George W. Ellis, an Afro-American who served from 1901 to 1910 as Secretary of the United States Diplomatic mission in Liberia.

During that time he made a close study of West African life, particularly of the language and culture of the Vai people of Liberia. From this study came his book: *Negro Culture in West Africa*, published in 1914.

In Preface to this work, Ellis tells how he had sought to widen his knowledge of Africa, before coming to Liberia, by the diligent study of encyclopaedias, geographies, and works of ethnology and anthropology only to find that much of this information was "unsupported by the facts" and gave a picture "substantially different" from the character of African life which he himself found in West Africa.

### AFRICAN LIFE

Acknowledging the services of European authors such as Harry Johnson, Lady Lugard and others, Ellis stated that to him "it seems more necessary and imperative that the African should explain his own culture and interpret his own thought and soul, life, if the complete truth is to be given to the other races of the earth."

But there were already men in West Africa who had blazed a significant trail in this direction:

James Wilmot Blyden, Joseph Casely Hayford and John Mensah Sarbah.

Many other Africans in preceding generations helped to lay the basis of our present efforts to project a new African image of Africa.

One thinks of such figures as James Africanus B. Horton and his *A Vindication of the African Race*, (1868) and Carl Reindorf, Attoh Ahumah, Anthony William Amu, Samuel Johnson of Oyo, Blaize Diagne, Herbert Macauley and others in West Africa, of Duse Mohammed Effendi of the Sudan, Lewanika of Barotseland, Apolo Kagwa of Buganda and leaders such as John Tenko Jabavu, Solomon T. Plaatje, and Clements Kadalio in South Africa.

### CONTRIBUTIONS

And let us not forget the important contributions of others in the New World, for example, the sons of Africa in Haiti such as Antenor Firmin and Dr. Jean Price-Mars, Alexander Crummel, Carater G. Woodson and our own Dr. Du Bois.

All of whose names I have mentioned believed in and urged the necessity of writing about Africa from the point of view of African interests and African assumptions and concepts—and not from the point of view of Europeans or others who have quite different interests, assumptions and concepts, whether conscious or unconscious.

This is precisely what we mean when we say that the Encyclopaedia Africana must be frankly Afrocentric in its interpretation of African history and of the social and cultural institutions of the African and people of African descent everywhere.

It is to be hoped therefore, that the work on the *Encyclopaedia Africana* may provide both the forum and the motivation for the development of a verile and salutary new trend in the writing of African history. A writing which will rank in scholarship with any other historiography, but which will be based upon a frame of reference that is independently African, and lead the way in independent

thinking about Africa and its problems.

I am anxious that I should not be misunderstood in my emphasis on an Afro-centric point of view for the Encyclopaedia Africana.

There are some who will say that this implies simply reversing the faults and distortions of the colonialist-minded writers on Africa, painting everything white that they pictured as black and everything black that they pictured as white.

I should like to assure our guests, the members of the Editorial Board, that that is in no sense my conception of what the Encyclopaedia Africana should be. Most certainly it must and will set the record straight on many points of African history and culture.

## NO ROMANTICISM

But it will do this not simply on the basis of assertion backed by nothing more than emotion of first-class scholarship linked with the passion for scientific truth.

It will not romanticise or idealize the African past; it will not gloss over African failings, weakness and foibles, or endeavour to demonstrate that Africans are endowed with either greater virtues or lesser vices than the rest of mankind.

There is undoubtedly considerable evidence of much that is noble and glorious in our African past; there is no need to gild the lily nor to try to hide that which is ignoble.

*But here again it is a question of whose standards and values you are applying in assessing something as noble or ignoble, and I maintain that the Encyclopaedia Africana must reject non-African value-judgments of things African.*

It is true that despite the great advances made during the last twenty years in the various disciplines of African studies, so much of Africa's history has yet to be unearthed, scientifically analysed, and fully comprehended.

This sometimes gives rise to the question whether enough is yet known to undertake at this time the compilation of an encyclopaedia of the sort envisaged.

Those who entertain such hesitation and doubt only pose the extent of their ignorance about Africa's past.

Before the colonial era in Africa, Europeans had had many encounters with Africans on the cross-roads of history. They had married into African royal families, received Africans into their courts as ambassadors and social equals, and their writers had depicted African characters as great heroes in their literature.

In common with the rest of mankind Africans made extensive use of cereals, they learnt the art of raising cattle, adapted metal tools and weapons to their own use.

To quote Basil Davidson, they "undertook mining and smelting and forging on a continental scale, borrowed crops from other lands, introduced soil conservation, discovered the medicinal value of a host of herbs and plants, and worked out their own explanations of mankind and the universe.

"All this had happened before the first ships set forth from Europe"

Let me give another quotation even at the risk of boring you this time from Leo Frobenius again, a well-known historian who made 17 expeditions into Africa: North, East, West and South, in order to learn at first hand of the culture of the African peoples. Frobenius makes a basic statement in his book: "Africa Civilisation" which unfortunately has not yet been translated into English.

Doubtless, there is reason why no complete translation has yet been made. From a limited translation made by Anna Malise Graves, I quote:

## TRANSLATION

"When they, European navigators, arrived in the Gulf of Guinea and landed at Ouidah in Dahomey, the captains were greatly astonished to find streets well laid out, bordered on either side for several leagues with low rows of streets and men clad in richly coloured garments, of their own weaving.

"Further, south in the Kingdom

of the Congo, a swarming crowd dressed in silk and velvet, great states well ordered and down to the most minute details powerful rulers, flourishing industries, civilized to the manner of their bones and the condition of the countries on the eastern coast."

Mozambique, for example, was quite the same. The revelations of the navigators from 15th to the 17th century gave incontrovertible proofs that Africa stretching south from the edge of the Sahara desert was still in full flower—the flower of harmonious and well-ordered civilisations.

And this fine flowering the European conquistadors or conquerors annihilated as far as they penetrated into the country.

Indeed, the history of Africa goes back into the dim recesses of time and antiquity. There are even scientists in our time who are beginning to claim that Africa was the very cradle of mankind.

The fossil remains of man discovered by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in Tanganyika has been dated by scientific processes as one and three quarter million (1,750,000) years old.

## EVIDENCE

From the head waters of the Nile in Tanganyika let us move swiftly to its mouth on the Mediterranean Sea at the Isthmus of Suez where the great civilisation of Egypt was fostered for thousands of years down to the Christian era.

There, as we all know man rose to the phenomenal heights of statecraft, science and religion and the excellence of the arts.

Evidence from language, religion, astronomy, folklore and divine kinship as well as geographical and physical proximity confirms the basic African origin of this Egyptian cultural eminence.

This great flowering of the mind in Africa was unfortunately scoured by the ravages of the slave trade which encouraged extensive destruction through tribal warfare.

Close upon this set in the evil of colonisation and the deliberate effort, to which I have already re-

tered, of painting the African black and a valid justification for the colonial rule.

I have endeavoured to touch on some of these questions only, as a means of making a clear case for justifying our attempts to provide Africa with an Encyclopaedia portraying vividly the glory of Africa's great past.

I should now like to say just a few words on the vital question of how this great undertaking is to be carried through to completion.

I must say at the outset that a broad policy having been laid down, the precise plans for achieving it must be left to the Editorial Board and its staff of competent experts.

My purpose is only to call attention to the underlying principle—the principle of Pan-African co-operation—which I believe to be

## CABRAL

### Continued from page 35

with only 1,000 in 1959. In the first three months of this year, they launched large-scale attacks on the liberated areas.

But the liberated areas, instead of being in size, have been consolidated and expanded.

In the Como Island battle the Portuguese massed a large force of 3,000 troops trying to drive a wedge into the southern liberated area.

They were routed after a campaign lasting two-and-a-half months.

Cabral said that the Portuguese colonialists had imposed an economic blockade on the liberated areas. But they themselves had become its victims. There was a shortage of food in Bissau and other cities.

The panic-stricken Portuguese colonialists knew only too well what the future had in store for them. Cabral then showed me a copy of a Portuguese newspaper.

It read: "If the strength of Cabral's troops exceeds ours they will drive us away as the autumn wind sweeps away the fallen leaves."

indispensable in any concrete plans of work on the Encyclopaedia.

As you are aware, the preparatory work on this project has been carried forward for a little more than two years by a Secretariat here in Accra functioning under the aegis of the Ghana Academy of Sciences.

This Secretariat has not been content to work in isolation: it has been continually active in establishing contacts with scholars and institutions throughout Africa and abroad.

## COMMITTEES

A motion declaring "that all African countries should contribute to the work of the Secretariat" was unanimously adopted at a Conference on the Encyclopaedia *Africana*, attended by some 150 persons from Africa and elsewhere in December, 1962.

Soon thereafter, the Secretariat undertook the establishment of Co-operating committees of scholars in various African countries. The Secretary of the Secretariat, Dr. W. A. Hunton, met with several of these Committees during a tour which he made in East and North Africa some months ago.

Following this came the nominations by the Co-operating Committees of their respective representatives to serve on the Editorial Board of the Encyclopaedia. In this way the basis, at least of Pan-African co-operation in this work has been established.

The members of the Editorial Board now have before them the Secretariat's detailed prospectus of what the Encyclopaedia *Africana* should contain and how the material should be presented. This is merely a blueprint of what is to be constructed.

The Editorial Board members are asked to examine this blueprint with great care; proposing whatever alterations they consider would result in a more perfect plan for the Encyclopaedia.

## SUPPORT

Once this has been agreed upon, the stage will have been set for the play to begin—that is to say, for the work of preparing and assembling

the Encyclopaedia articles to commence.

I sincerely trust that the deliberations of the Editorial Board at this first meeting will successfully hit that mark.

The progress of the work from that point on will depend in the first instance, as I see it, on the degree of whole-hearted and effectively-organised support that can be procured from African scholars in all countries, from the many institutes of African studies and research agencies of various kinds which are to be found today throughout our continent and from the various independent African governments which are ready to provide the fullest measure of financial support for this work.

So far, the financial burden has been borne by the Government of Ghana alone.

As I have already stated, I have no specific proposals to present with regard to these matters. But I am convinced that the task is not insuperable. The fact that we have advanced this far in accomplishing, almost single-handed the formation of a Pan-African Editorial Board of the Encyclopaedia *Africana* augurs success in the further stages of the work.

I trust this project will be welcomed by all African Heads of State and will have the full support of the Organisation of African Unity.

We must now think in terms of continental political unity in everything we do. Without such cohesion and unity none of us can survive the intrigues and divisive forces of the imperialists and neo-colonialists. The work of this Encyclopaedia *Africana* will take us one further step towards the great objective to which we are all dedicated—a Continental Union Government of Africa.

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Ghana and as Chancellor of our Universities, I can assure the members of the Editorial Board that work on the Encyclopaedia will have the fullest co-operation of our Universities, learned societies and research institutions in Ghana as well as the financial support of the Government of Ghana.

*This article by Mr. Pierre Bungener, Director of the Geneva Africa Institute in the first number of "Geneva-Africa" (1964) organ of the Institute was translated from the French by "The Swiss Press Review and News Report". It is here reproduced with their kind permission.*

*We do not necessarily agree with the views expressed by Mr. Bungener. The views are his own on the concept of "African Personality".*

## THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY

**NATIONALISM** in most of the countries of Africa, together with the movement towards unity which underlies it is now the driving force of many of the changes taking place throughout the continent, should be seen as one particular aspect of a fundamental need for Africa to have an independent existence as an entity and to re-establish the African personality in all its various facets.

The whole history of Pan-Africanism, which was far more a cultural than a political phenomenon, is proof of this—for it was a question of bringing back into human experience a special type of man who had his own individual way of living a civilised life. Du Bois, Garvey, Padmore—were not politicians in the normal sense of the term.

### ANTI-COLONIALISM

In addition, the work of the organisation, Presence Africaine which is today less active than it used to be but has in the past played so essential a role in respect of the French-speaking African countries, pointed in the same direction.

We can remember particularly the extraordinary climate of the first Congress of Black Writers and Artists held at the University of Paris in 1956: there it was through culture that politics made their appearance, and if among others Cheikh Anta Diop was acclaimed

by hundreds of participants as one of the champions of anti-colonialism, it was because of the ideas set out in "The Negro Nation and Culture".

In that conquest of the right to an autonomous culture there was a mystical aspect which was to be at the very root of subsequent political action, and this explains the affirmation made later by President Senghor of Senegal that insufficient faith in 'negritude' would slow down the building of a united Africa—'negritude' being a phenomenon with strong Romantic associations which arose in Paris mainly among African poets with Gontran Thomas (Guiana) Ayme Cesaire (Antilles) as well as Leopold Sedar Senghor himself as leaders.

Today, with the passing of the years political action and economic development have overtaken cultural progress. Complete decolonisation presupposes a certain efficiency in practical matters which is completely indispensable. It is more often than not outside Africa that the right methods have had to be sought, and African leaders either have not noticed, or have not been able to prevent, the impact of these on traditional social structures.

Sixteen months after the Conference of Addis Ababa, which has been set up as one of the most important milestones in the history of the African continent, it is therefore not without interest to take a close look at this problem of African cultural development and the

conditions in which Africans can enter into a meaningful relationship with personalities in the economically developed countries.

If Africans are to a certain extent conscious of their unity and if their desire to work together has already been expressed in a way which has surprised many observers, it is precisely because they have a common heritage, a common attitude to their fellow human beings, a civilisation which cannot be compared with anything else and which constitutes the principle element in any relationship with outsiders.

This is something the very conception of which is African, and is extremely elusive of definition.

But if this heritage did not exist and if it did not have roots deep enough to prevent it disappearing under the influence of an economic and technical transformation which is as beneficial as it is inevitable, not only Africa and the whole world would lose something of immense vitality, but unity itself would then only have an ethnic and geographical foundation.

### COLONIAL ATTITUDES

It would lack a specific character and would become a mere association of interests without any of the dynamism needed for the part it is called upon to play.

We have left for ever the time when Albert Sarraut, Minister of Colonies in the French Third Republic in 1923, could tell students of the Colonial School in Paris "patiently to mould the face of a new humanity out of the unformed clay of primitive multitudes".

Today in principle the aid brought to Africa on the cultural plane by the better equipped countries is entirely free of colonial attitudes.

But what in reality does it amount to?

The fact that taking together the 11,000 students from the French-speaking regions of Africa three out of four are attending universities or higher teaching establishments outside their own countries means that Western culture and traditions still have a privileged place.

A few months ago, M. de Broglie, speaking in the name of the French

Government to a meeting called to create an African Committee in the Federation of Latin Peoples, stressed the "natural and historic vocation" of his country "to carry its ideas, its technical knowledge and its culture beyond the seas".

There is one argument above all others which supports this point of view: Europe—has succeeded. Obviously we only cheat ourselves if we talk about 'the universal nature of true culture' as was done in the nineteenth century.

It should rather be said today that there is a high point at which all cultures (in the plural) touch each other. The paths that they follow to reach that point are different and correspond to essential elements in the sub-conscious of each people.

### BLUNDERS

But unhappily for many Europeans—proud of a past and a present which, even if they have provided several of humanity's major blunders, are for all that extremely rich—evolution means 'Westernisation'.

Nations which are industrially powerful want to make themselves heard and even when it comes to disinterested help they do not give up the rights which their experience gives them.

The German writer, Jahnheinz Jahn, has expressed this in a way which, though certainly exaggerated if applied in its entirety today and valid above all for colonial times, cannot be rejected without thought.

"I am the Lord... and you will do this,..." That is the language of the officer, but it is also that of the industrialist, the tradesman, the farmer, the tourist, the big game hunter, and still more unfortunately the explorer of the interior of the continent and the man of culture when they come up against conceptions of the world different from their own...

"They come and go from one end of the continent to the other, baptising in the name of the Father, in the name of civilisation, of Economics, of Democracy, of Communism... They make plans, they work out programmes, they write

books—they decide what ought to be the destiny of Africa... But most of the time they forget the Africans themselves".

The phenomenon known as modern culture has kept its centre of gravity outside Africa, and only recently has Africa woken up to, or rallied to, Western means of expression.

In 1957 I had occasion to read classroom essays from the Felix Eboué College at Fort Lamy on the subject: My village.

The countryside of Chad does not lack picturesque scenery, and it would have been possible to make from it many a highly coloured composition—whether of a small township with winding streets and secret alleys between walls of banco, or of a fishermen's hamlet on the banks of the Chari River with its glazed-clay huts. But none of these thirty essays had any African colour at all. They all spoke of fertile valleys, red-tiled roofs, church steeples.

One pupil even found an opportunity of mentioning Roland and his horn—a faithful memory of a lesson in French literature. African students to whom I have told this story have often seen in it proof of deliberate intentions hostile to African culture put in hand by the colonial power.

### AFRICAN STUDENTS

This is no more than an example and things are changing rapidly now, particularly thanks to new textbooks. But we must not underestimate the effect of written culture in a continent with oral traditions—particularly classical text which teachers hesitated to abandon as long as it was a question of preparing pupils for European-type higher education. In other school subjects the same sort of problems arise.

Integration of African students into European universities does not always come without difficulty, except in the cases of a brilliant minority with enough adaptation faculties to be at ease anywhere.

According to statistics for Western Germany published by Mr. Prodosh Aich, 80 per cent of Afri-

can and Asian students fail and a mere 40 per cent of the remainder carry their studies through to the end—which makes a success therefore be accused of racial prejudice.

In educational circles this problem is generally considered a minor one: in Paris last April at the General Assembly of the Association of French-language Universities the very significance of these figures was contested and it is in fact reasonable enough to limit the causes of the low proportion of success to two: the circumstances in which the students are chosen in their own countries and those in which they live once they arrive in Germany.

### CULTURAL UPROOTEDNESS

They rarely have any preparation for German educational methods. They suffer from homesickness, and from the strange food and climate they encounter. In most cases they hardly know the language—and, above all, that part of education and culture that the average European owes to his family and his social background is entirely lacking in their cases.

But those arguments—which are also those of the Africans themselves—should not hide the fact that the situation is due to a general feeling of cultural 'uprootedness' which are found also in other parts of Europe in different forms and for which there is independent evidence.

In Switzerland for example the teachers that have been questioned seem unable to explain certain things that they have observed. They naturally refused to conclude that any intellectual inequality exists, but on the other hand they insist on the problems they have come up against with a considerable number of African students who in spite of their perfect knowledge of French and a prior education enabling them to start their courses on ostensibly equal terms with other students, do not seem at ease in the teaching that is given them.

Moreover, Mr. Aich brings out another element: only 29 per cent of the students covered in his enquiry wish to return home imme-

mediately after the end of their studies and their intentions on this point vary in inverse proportions to the length of their courses.

Probably there is nothing really new in this, but on the other hand the explanation that is generally given—the material advantages of life in Europe—is far from sufficient.

There is general agreement on the necessity for Africans to enrich their lives with European methods while at the same time remaining as faithful as possible to their own cultural patrimony. But the kind of civilisation with which the economically developing peoples are being brought into contact gives far fewer opportunities for synthesis than is often imagined.

Every civilisation, whether it is based on traditional values or technical advancement, constitutes one integrated whole. The old African civilisation aimed at keeping certain values alive and passing them down from one generation to the next. But the system that Europe is more or less consciously trying to institute today does not hide its intention of transforming the old by the introduction of different principles, and in particular explosive ideas of productivity and progress. "The school to which I am impelling our children", Cheikh Hamidou Kane puts into the mouth of a character in his novel, 'L'Aventure Ambigüe' ('The Ambiguous Adventure'), "will kill in them all that today we justly love and conserve".

### FALSE NOTIONS

Even basic scientific knowledge, which appears to constitute a minimum requirement for effective action in the modern world and Europeans most strongly advise Africans to obtain, is not in point of neutral knowledge. No technical achievements can be objective in a real sense, because they all emerge from a given situation and from the impulse of a given goal to be attained.

European culture has been slowly fashioned by nearly two thousand years of history. It is linked to the society in which it has been conditioned; and European diplo-

mas and degrees, or more precisely the programmes of education to which they correspond, do not change their character when the environment and the circumstances change.

The problem here is not one of catching up, as if Africans were children who had never had the chance to go to school. Europeans have a little too easily accepted the idea that all that was needed to bring a slow and comatose Africa to the rhythm of Europe was contact between the two civilisations on a wide scale. But it is not a question of that.

### AFRICA'S RICH CULTURE

Quoting the memoirs of the medieval French writer, Joinville, in his opening address to the colloquium on 'Planning and Civilisation' held at Vichy in June, 1963, Professor Mouchez of Clermont Ferrand University recalled that a ship on which Joinville was travelling once visited an island inhabited by a solitary hermit. When the ship was about to weigh anchor it was discovered that one sailor did not appear at the muster.

Professor Mouchez commented: "No one waited for him, no one searched, the idea of an accident did not occur to anyone, because in the mentality of that age it was absolutely clear that the man had simply decided to join the hermit and share his contemplative life. So it is possible for reasonable and civilised people of different areas or regions of the earth to have a view of things and a conception of life completely different from ours".

This is something worth while recalling for Europeans when they speak of Africa, because it is far too easy to suppose that with a modicum of common sense there is no alternative to accepting the experience of the economically developed nations. It is clear that certain African peoples have in their history furnished proof of a high level of organisation in human relations and of a wisdom and truly impressive depth of vision in spheres of experience which Europeans have become accustomed to

considering as secondary.

Many of these people appear to have become extremely backward; but there was a time they were in the forefront of their neighbours and were leading them down avenues of civilisation entirely different from those of contemporary Europe.

Europeans cannot understand and judge their value without first returning to an order of ideas that they have partially lost. It is, for example, impossible to understand African society without recognising the overriding place of the family unit, and within this the part played by ancestors, of whom the living family members are in a sense the representatives on earth and who links the community of the living with those made divine. It is impossible to understand African culture without reference to a philosophy, a system of metaphysics which is deeply rooted in popular thinking.

The great French Africanist, Marcel Griaule, has said that "religion, law, environment and science lie in a conception of the world the metaphysical principles of which are to be found in the depths of consciousness of every being".

### BRUTAL CONFRONTATION

The introduction into this kind of closed society of new elements which do not match what already exists may lead to cultural deterioration, and this tendency becomes more and more serious in proportion to the speed of change; for there may be no interval long enough for recovering balance.

The shocks provided by colonial domination, economic underdevelopment and the reduction of many Africans to a state of beggary are not simply a consequence of dispossession in the political sphere or as some Africans say, of obvious bad will on the part of the occupying power.

Nor do they come, as others have suggested, merely from the introduction of a new economic and social system into the heart of a rigid society.

They are in fact the product of a brutal confrontation which has

been rendered inevitable more by history itself than by the perversity of men—a confrontation of two elements.

The cultural aspect of this is one of the most important if we include in the term 'cultural' not only arts and letter but also what is in fact at the basis of all civilisation, a way of looking at life of which politics, economics and technical advancement are only the expression.

Of course this confrontation is an old one. It has developed along several centuries of history in which trade with the West, traffic in slaves, the industrial revolution, the European call to glory and the primary school have all played their roles.

But it has above all bred a disrepute, one might almost say a degradation, of all that used to be African the ruin of the artisan to whose work shoddy Western goods have often been preferred, discredit thrown on the traditional political structures which have been deprived of all real power, a page turned on the past in such a way that the modern African is often led to believe that there was really nothing worth his consideration.

### SPIRITUAL EQUILIBRIUM

Up till a few years ago in Brazzaville African heads of boy scout troops taught civil enlightenment to their pupils by evoking the figure of Savorgnan of Brazza rather than their own ancestors.

At Ouagadougou in Upper Volta, the Moro-Naba, Emperor of the Mossis, replaced a throne which was a product of local art worthy of the best museums by a club armchair which came straight from the Faubourg St. Antoine in Paris.

Thousands more examples of this could be given, and the worst of them are those that are no longer mentioned, those which have affected spiritual equilibrium.

Things were being done throughout Africa as if traditional values no longer existed, as if Africa had suddenly appeared out of the night and had everything to learn.

"Before the arrival of the Gospel", declared Pastor Kotto, Secre-

tary-General of the Evangelical Church of Cameroon, "Africa had its own customs and way of life which I would call a civilisation. . . . If some of these customs were contrary to the spirit of the Gospel the same cannot be said of all of them. Experience shows that practically all old customs have been condemned apparently in the name of the Gospel but in reality in order to implant a new mode of life and this often in detriment to the Gospel. Most sincere Christians do not hide their bitterness and their disappointment and cannot emphasise enough their disapproval of this rejection of all their past."

### THE AFRICAN MIND

We have already spoken of the cultural revival on the African continent which followed the struggle of the original pioneers of Pan Africanism. But although it succeeded in conferring a new dignity on African man and, through its political efforts, on his right to adult stature, it was still not able to give new force to a reality which was already too weak for this kind of stimulus.

It is certainly true that the African mind knows theoretically in which directions to seek its new equilibrium and the concrete forms of existence which it needs in the mid-twentieth century, but in practice it disposes of a very small amount of latitude.

The technical knowledge of the whiteman has retained an importance so primordial that advisers from technically developed countries are still needed to continue transmitting it. Even where resentment has more or less closed these openings on the outside world bringing with it the policy of devoting overall importance to the ancestral heritage, we find that it has become more or less impossible to escape from formulae emanating from a vision of the world which is foreign to Africa.

The contacts that I had last year in several countries of West and Equatorial Africa with sixth form pupils in secondary schools only served to confirm this: even for young

people who are deeply patriotic the words 'European' and 'American', wherever they can be detached from their political significance, are synonyms for everything modern and desirable.

From the study point of view a voyage to Europe is the consecration of membership of the educated class. Young people strive for this not only out of ambition but because they see in it the chance of a good higher education—which in many cases is the only hope they have of getting anywhere in life.

From all these factors we can ask ourselves whether the idea expressed by the phrase, 'Our ancestors the Gauls'—famous in French-speaking Africa as the sign of European domination long after it had disappeared from the textbooks—was not a mere piece of clumsiness without any importance.

At any rate, if only because of the ease of making a caricature out of it, it has been infinitely less serious than the process of uprooting by many of the technical co-operation programmes which are at present being carried through.

### TRANSFORMATION

All development plans have been thought out with a view to allowing the African personality to grow to its full extent, but in fact many of their aspects have only contributed to a process which is tearing apart a thousand year old social issue. The question that has to be posed to day is whether it is not being pushed so far that the issue may never again be reconstituted.

Although there exist ways of going about development which permit a movement as supple and adapted to existing social structures as possible, the very system of schooling itself almost always represents the most sudden, and in the end the least African transformation process.

Some people are able to overcome the shock that this gives to their traditional ways of thought but not all. It is in fact only on adaptation to the Western "deep and austere individualism" which the schools are implicitly seeking to instil but

by this means it risks bringing about a complete mutation which goes far beyond the spheres of learning and reasoning and touches the whole set of data which conditions African ways of thought.

The African has not been prepared for this confrontation by his traditional social and cultural framework—a framework which is bound to retain an influence upon him even after it is already partially destroyed.

As long as he remains in Africa and as long as he has not been fully taken up in the educational process which could make him the proud possessor of a university degree, the ordinary African will not be able even to dream of escaping from his own milieu. "He would be monstrous, says Pastor N'jamdi-Nwandi, "not to follow the example of the others".

### AN IMPRINT

But on the other hand from his earliest childhood on he has been introduced by his education into a way of life on which Europe has already left its heavy imprint.

As Cheikh Hamidou Kane says in "The Ambiguous Adventure", "he must learn to calculate, to reason, to reflect, to give his opinion on this and that event and to be able to discover from it the truth by scientific training is itself going to bring about within him the first shock. He will have the impression that his studies and the physical character of the pure sciences are incompatible with the tribal way of reasoning in which he has been brought up until that moment".

As a general rule he will not be capable alone of extracting from Western thinking into his own culture without debating the latter. He will be obliged to accept Western culture in its entirety, invested in his eyes with the authority of school—a new way of interpreting the world which he will assimilate in an incomplete fashion, which will not be rooted in his being and which will cover his life like a bad varnish.

## FIGHTING BALKANISATION IN AFRICA

by Babort Benson

A POLITICAL Union of African States is necessary if the present Balkanisation of Africa is to be overcome, and if the peoples of Africa are to be in a real sense independent, free to resolve their own fundamental problems, in their own way.

What is meant by "Balkanisation"? It means that the various African States—like the Balkan States in Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries are:—

1. Politically weak, lacking clear common objectives and policies and therefore exposed to the prisons of the imperialist Powers which can take advantage of the tensions and conflicts between them.

2. Militarily weak, so that their governments are liable to be threatened, bullied, and subverted by the imperialist powers and drawn (like the Balkan States in 1914 and 1930) into their war plans and preparations.

3. Economically weak, so that their economies are distorted to fit the requirements of the industrially advanced imperialist powers, and the preconditions for the economic and social progress of the mass of the people are absent.

4. Weak from the standpoint of the development of their cultural and intellectual life, which is still exposed to the corrupting influence of imperialist ideas and propaganda.

### SUPPORT

A political Union of African States is not only necessary as the alternative to Balkanisation; it is

also possible for many other reasons.

During the past 20 years—and especially during the past seven years—the basic concept of African Unity has gained tremendous support among the African masses—both in independent African states and in states still subject to imperialist domination.

This aspiration for unity has come to be expressed through a variety of popular all-African organisations.

In spite of recurring difficulties, hesitations, and set-backs substantial progress has been made towards the setting up of institutions—at the level of the governments of the independent African states—to provide for the practical realisation of this concept of African Unity.

### SOLIDARITY

The absence, in almost all African states, of a powerful national bourgeoisie, interested in using the machinery of the national state to promote its own economic interests and to exploit its own workers and peasantry, is an important factor tending to prevent the crystallisation of existing political units and providing favourable conditions for the development of a sense of African solidarity, across territorial boundaries.

Except among the apologists of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the principle that effective economic planning, in the interests of the masses, demands a continental basis has been widely accepted.

The principle that a Union of African States is desirable, neces-

sary, and possible, can be further demonstrated if we peoples at the present stage of their history.

## LIBERATION

The most urgent task, as was recognised when the independent African states agreed to set up the Organisation of African Unity is the liberation of the African peoples still living under the most reactionary and brutal forms of imperialist rule in south Africa, South-West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese Territories, and the surviving Spanish enclaves.

*The liberation of Algeria has shown how a revolutionary national movement can ultimately defeat an imperialist government equipped with overwhelmingly superior military force.*

But in this case the cost of the process of liberation—in terms of human life, suffering and devastation—was terribly high, and extended over a long period.

If the liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa is to be achieved without even more intense and prolonged suffering and destruction, there must clearly be the closest and most efficient co-ordination of strategy between the governments of the independent African States on the one hand and the revolutionary movements and organisations operating within the territories under imperialist rule on the other.

This co-ordination of strategy must be achieved in all fields—the planning of military and partisan operations, the training of revolutionary cadres, the use of economic weapons and sanctions, the use of diplomatic techniques and the mobilisation of international opinion through the United Nations and other channels, the close study and analysis of the revolutionary situation as it develops in the various territories and the dissemination of information and propaganda.

This kind of co-ordinated strategy is still far from having been achieved, and its realisation implies

the movement forward to a more effective form of African Union.

The second major task is the struggle against the forces of neo-colonialism, which have tended to gain in strength as the major imperialist Powers have attempted to adjust their policies to the new situation brought about by the African Revolution.

## STRATEGY

*By neo-colonialism we mean in fact the whole battery of techniques which the imperialist powers attempt to maintain their ascendancy in formally independent African States, and to divert the course of the African revolution to their own profit and advantage.*

Here again, since neo-colonialist forces operate in all African States in all fields of social, economic and political life, they can only be overcome by a unified strategy on the part of the entire community of African states.

Such a strategy would involve the elimination of all foreign bases, military pacts and agreements with non-African powers special political and diplomatic relationships limiting the freedom of action of African States, forms of economic association making for the continuing economic dependence of African States, external interference in the activities of Trade Unions and other popular organisations, cultural agreements involving the continued imposition of colonial ideologies and patterns of education, and so forth.

Since it is essentially the military, political, economic and cultural weakness of formally independent African states—in their present Balkanised situation—that enables the imperialist powers to exert these various neo-colonialist pressure, the struggle to eliminate neo-colonialist influences and to substitute real for formal independence, must necessarily also involve the advance towards a more effective form of African Union.

Hence the question that is sometimes raised—should the struggle for

these immediate objectives, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism not take precedence over the struggle for a political Union of African States?—is a question that cannot properly be raised in that form.

## NATIONAL

The struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism cannot be effectively carried on without constantly passing for advances towards close African Union, just as the struggle for African Union is meaningless—and could only lead to some form of fictitious, reactionary 'Holy-Alliance' type of Union if it is not understood as inseparably associated with the next stage in the struggle to liberate Africa from all forms of colonial and neo-colonial domination.

Similarly the question—should priority be given to the effort to achieve more effective machinery of collective decision making and planning at the level of African States and Governments, or to the effort to develop increasing unity of action among progressive and revolutionary movements representing the interests of the masses, throughout the African continent—does not present a real alternative.

## STRUGGLE

It is clearly necessary that the struggle for unity should develop both at the level of popular organisations at the same time.

Insofar as African governments are subject to, or supported by, pressure from popular movements, they will move the more rapidly in the direction of political Union.

But the popular movements will only be able to achieve their objectives—involving immediately the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and ultimately the establishment of a Union of African Socialist Republics—if they are able to secure the concerted action of African governments.

# IAN SMITH'S SECRET DOCUMENT IS OUT

*A sixteen page propaganda document reliably known to be the work of Southern Rhodesia's racist minority leader Ian Smith is being secretly distributed to the meagre 200,000 whites in the colony in a bid to gain support for unilateral declaration of independence.*

*It is a cheap propaganda piece and we dub it: THE FEARS OF SMITH. For he is a desperate man. He has his back to the wall and hits and fires at anything and anybody to get a hold anywhere!*

*He fears an African with a vote. To him "... an African armed with a vote is far greater menace and more dangerous to us than one armed with a rifle ..."*

*Throughout this piece of muddled thinking one is at once struck by Ian Smith's fantastic obsession of communism, confusedly and ignorantly attributing African Nationalism to it.*

*Below is this appalling work of a frustrated racist maniac.*

## "The Dilemma of the White Rhodesian: a new look at the Vote Can we afford to be Constitutional"

**THIS** article introduces a new argument not previously used when discussing the vote and it draws a line of distinction between:

- (a) An African who uses his vote as we do in a civilised way to express an opinion.
- (b) As an offensive weapon—one which is far more deadly and dangerous than a rifle to overthrow the white regime and conquer the country for exploitation by the Communist Bloc.

Take 3 hypothetical cases:

- A. White Government. African no vote and no rifle:  
Result:
  - i. Prosperity
  - ii. Peace and a degree of sabotage.
- B. White Government. African no vote but armed with 100,000 rifles.  
Result:
  - i. Trouble for 6 months during which period they are disarmed.
  - ii. Peace and prosperity return and the

Government remains white.

- C. White Government. African armed with 100,000 votes and no rifles.

Results:

- i. Immediate overthrow of the white regime.
- ii. No peace or prosperity.

### POINTS THAT CAN BE USED

All our politics revolve around the African vote.

1. Should he be given more
2. Should he keep those he has.
3. Should those he has be taken away.

Any argument is inconclusive because an argument for can be countered by an argument against.

But to prove a fact that:

1. An African armed with a vote is more dangerous than an African armed with a rifle;

2. That you cannot shoot a vote with a rifle.
3. That a white man armed with a rifle cannot protect against an African armed with a vote.

Any pro-African vote exponent is in effect then saying 'I advocate that the African be armed with a dangerous weapon so that I will be powerless to protect myself—which is what he means but not what he wants.'

## THE VOTE IS MIGHTIER THAN THE RIFLE

The old adage that 'The Pen is mightier than the Sword' should be read today as 'The Vote is mightier than the Rifle'.

I don't think everyone realises that our country is really at war today—and that just at the moment with today's peculiar values an African armed with a vote is a far greater menace and more dangerous to us than one armed with a rifle.

To illustrate—the Afro-Asian Committee bloc demanded that the African be given the vote and Britain, France and Belgium, three powerfully armed nations agreed.

Within a few years a wave of Black Nationalism, armed only with a vote and without firing a shot has conquered the whole of African north of the Zambezi—in the sense that the control of the country has passed from white to black.

And make no mistake—the white man today in Kenya has been completely and effectively defeated. He is losing his civil rights; is entirely at the mercy of his conquerors; cannot appeal against injustice and can be deported at 24 hours notice.

History will refer to this as 'The African War of Black Nationalism'.

It is a modern type of war, a cold war fought with a new weapon—the vote. It has also been one of the cheapest and most successful wars ever fought whereby the Communists have conquered nearly the whole African Continent. The white man has been knocked out and defeated and he still does not know what really hit him.

And now, with interest free no strings attached loans, they are forging a new kind of control that will effectively enslave the African.

Every white person today fears the future—what no one can understand is how, a hundred years ago, a handful of Boers armed with old fashioned guns could decisively defeat the powerful Zulu army, yet now we, a nation armed with modern rifles appear powerless to withstand against the unarmed African of today.

In a civilised community a vote is a privilege given to an adult person to enable him to express his wish.

But if the opposition abuse this privilege, exploit it, and the African actually uses his vote as a weapon with which to fight and overcome us, then surely we must acknowledge that a state of war exists and use our vote as a weapon too—to fight with, to defend ourselves and keep control.

If we agree that an African armed with a vote is more dangerous than one armed with a rifle and we know—

That it is Britain's intention to arm 100,000 Africans with the vote for the express purpose of overthrowing our white regime, destroying our way of life and having an All Black Government—do we say:

1. It's quite correct, constitutional legal and right.
2. It's an unavoidable disaster.
3. We are defeated because Britain has committed an act of war against us.
4. As self-preservation is the first law of nature, in self-defence, we must disarm the African of a dangerous weapon.
5. And we don't feel that it is implied that in return for this oath we can depend on the Queen for protection and the safety of our future.

Take Kenya as an example.

Can we agree that Britain has committed an act of war against the whites.

If not—To what extent must the whites be deported, killed imprisoned and ruined before what Britain has done crosses the boundary of what is a legal constitutional act to an act of war.

Can it be denied the white of today is—

1. Daily being deprived of more civil rights and possessions.
2. In danger if he in any way opposes the Government.
3. Is today, in practical terms, a captive of the blacks.
4. Can it be denied that China is not taking over Kenya and that the white man may soon find himself a prisoner of the Chinese.

It would be interesting to ask the whites today what they think of their oath of allegiance to the Queen and their loyalty to Britain.

If they were given a second chance would they again let their loyalties encompass their ruin or would they fight.

## BRAIN WASHING AND THE COLD WAR

Can we define brain washing as a process whereby you convince a person that a certain thing is true—when it in fact is not—and then encourage the person to act accordingly.

Can we define a Cold War as a very real, very modern type of war where the wireless

are propaganda and the end result is the same as in a hot war i.e. the existing regime is overthrown and the new Government by slow stages dictates the peace terms.

We have all read about the effects of brain washing, and all heard about a new warfare called a cold war.

We are also inclined to dismiss the whole thing as being too nebulous and a widely held view is expressed by the words "If it comes to trouble give me a rifle and I will take on a hundred Africans any day".

The fallacy of this argument is that while you can shoot an African with a rifle, you can't shoot a vote with a rifle.

One of the big problems in a cold war is to recognise it before it is too late.

One of the big problems in any kind of war, hot or cold, is to find a quick counter to neutralize a new weapon (say a new deadly poison gas) before being overwhelmed.

How much of the following argument is true and how much fantasy. The Communists wished to conquer Africa which was controlled by four powerful nations: Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal.

To conquer they must wage war and they had two alternatives:

1. A hot war with modern weapons.
2. A cold war in which the African was armed with a vote:

Remember too, that a victory in war is not measured by the number of the enemy killed, but by the nature of the peace terms the victor is able to dictate.

Deciding on a cold war with the use of wireless, propaganda and brain washing at UNO, the whole world and Africa in particular, they sold the idea that:

1. The African is enslaved and must be freed.
2. The only hope for the whites to avoid a blood bath is to come to terms with the African before it is too late.

This has generated the wave of Black Nationalism which has swept through Africa replacing white control by black.

The question arises—is what we see in Africa today really a cold war or a genuine wave of nationalism.

Everything points to its being a cold war. And we have—

1. The Chinese P.M. public statement that 'Africa was ripe for the picking'.
2. The Chinese £15m. interest free no strings attached loan to Kenya which will effectively hang any remaining resistance.
3. The Communist seizure of Zanzibar.
4. The African having served his purpose is being disarmed of his vote—Dictatorship—one party states etc.

Ten years ago, could anyone have said that China would conquer Kenya where Britain had installed large military, naval and air forces.

Can anyone deny that China is not now starting to dictate her peace terms.

## THE VOTE AS A WEAPON

When one witnesses a new phenomenon or a new weapon, it is always difficult to assess it and counter it.

But the fact remains that 130 years ago the old Boers were able to defend themselves successfully against well-armed Africans, while today the white man, armed with modern weapons, is no match for an African armed with a vote.

We must realise that we are trying to fight with old fashioned weapons and as long as we think we can shoot a vote with a rifle, we are doomed.

Our new campaign should be:

1. The admission that the vote is being used not as privilege but as a deadly weapon.
2. Be made to realise we are under attack in a cold war.
3. Agree to use our vote as a weapon—vote for a white government and disarm the African of his vote.
4. Realize that self-preservation is the first law of nature—the niceties of an African vote come a long way second.

## A WHITE DEMOCRACY OR A WHITE GOVERNMENT

There is a subtle difference here which I can't define.

I would say there is as much difference between a white democracy and a white government as there is between a Mercedes and a Ford. The Mercedes is a car of prestige and distinction.

There is all the difference between asking a person to vote for white democracy or a white government.

With a white government, one is voting for personalities and party politics, for a white democracy one is voting for a principle.

I would hazard a guess that if ten people were asked to vote for a white or black government, the voting would be 7—3.

But if asked to vote for a white democracy or a black dictatorship, the voting would be 10—0.

## NEW ARGUMENTS, WORDS AND PHRASES USED

1. You can't shoot a vote with rifle.
2. A white man armed with a gun is de-

- fenceless against an African armed with a vote.
3. An African armed with a vote is more dangerous than an African armed with a gun.
  4. You can legally disarm an African with a dangerous vote because it would be illegal.
  5. The use of the vote as a modern weapon is a Cold war.
  6. The difference between a civil vote used as a privilege (European fashion) and an offensive vote used as a weapon (African style).
  7. If Britain armed 100,000 Africans with rifles for the express purpose of overthrowing our white regime, we would call that an act of war. But if Britain arms 100,000 Africans with votes for the express purpose of overthrowing our white regime, we say that is legal constitutional and quite in order.
  8. The next election, a choice between a white democracy and a black dictatorship.
  9. The use of the phrase 'a white democracy'.
  10. The admission that we are under attack in a full scale cold war.
  11. Naming the cold war 'The African War of Black Nationalism'.
  12. That a cold war is just as real as a hot war.
  13. Pointing out what the cold war has achieved i.e. that the Communist bloc have, without firing a shot and at small expense, wrested the control of the African continent from three powerfully armed nations: Britain, France and Belgium.
  14. The technique of arming the African with a vote to overthrow a white government, then promptly disarming him of his vote by changing over to a one party state under a dictator.
  15. A line of distinction between African Nationalism and Black Nationalism.
  16. This wave that has swept down Africa is a fake Black Nationalism one, politically inspired and generated by the Communists to gain control. It is not a genuine one of African Nationalism to gain freedom or redress inequalities.
  17. That the Communists brain washed UNO, the world and Africa into believing that the only way an uprising and bloodbath could be avoided was to come to terms with the Africa, liberate him and give a vote.
  18. In giving our vote of allegiance to the Queen, wasn't it implied that in return she would cast her mantle of protection over us and safeguard our future.

19. Can it not be argued that there is a gentleman's agreement continued in this oath. Our loyalty in return for the Queen's protection. As the Queen is no longer interested in our future and in fact has imposed a constitution on us guaranteed to destroy our future, are we not automatically released from it.
20. In what way has keeping his oath of allegiance to the Queen helped the white man in Kenya today.
21. If more votes are given to the African will he use them constructively to bring peace and prosperity to his fellow Africans or as a weapon to overthrow our white regime and bring war and poverty to all, including his fellow Africans.

### PART IX

To try to put this information in a more usable form I have written a series of 12 letters.

If this new concept of the vote as a weapon and the fact that we are under attack in a cold war could be put across, we would gain many more supporters for a white government.

The letters are titled as follows:

1. Oath of Allegiance.
2. Widening of the Franchise.
3. A Thought on the Great Trek.
4. The Vote.
5. The Cold War.
6. Do we Fight or Surrender.
7. The Next Election.
8. Elephants.
9. What Have I done.
10. Right or Wrong.
11. The Africans' Future Task Master.
12. The Vote Has Been Patented.

### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

The question of our oath of allegiance to the Queen and loyalty to Britain must have posed the same problems to the whites in Kenya as it does to us.

Yet many a white in Kenya today must be asking himself where was the sense of his keeping his loyalty to the Queen if all it has resulted in is to find himself today with his future in ruins and virtually a prisoner of the blacks. And, frightening thought—a prisoner of the Communists when China takes over as she will soon.

### WIDENING THE FRANCHISE

Most of us fear the future—We feel powerless against the flood of black nationalism when we think of Britain's declared aim to have all black government.

This she can do in two ways. Send over a shipment of 100,000 rifles and arm the black who can then wipe out our white regime.

Easier still and cheaper—arm him with 100,000 votes when he can simply overthrow us and gain full control.

### A THOUGHT ON THE GREAT TREK

A new factor seems to have arisen and one it is difficult to lay a finger on.

It has always puzzled me how it was that 130 years ago the old Boers armed only with muzzled loading guns could and did successfully defend themselves against a powerful and well-armed Zulu army. Whereas, today, we—armed with a modern air force and army and having a first class police force; seem powerless to defend our future against an African armed only with a vote.

### THE VOTE

I think we will all agree that we find ourselves today in a dangerous position and I think this is in some measure due to our taking the purpose of the vote for granted.

As I understand it—the vote is a privilege given to a civilized adult to enable him to express his wish.

But what appears to have happened is that in a liberal minded trusting way we have given the uncivilized African the vote and lots too.

This he is using not as a privilege but as a deadly and dangerous weapon to overthrow our white regime.

It would appear that today an African armed with a vote is far more dangerous than one armed with a rifle.

Further, we can physically, disarm an African armed with a rifle who threatens our safety and we are powerless to disarm him because it would be illegal.

### THE COLD WAR

We have all heard about the abstracted wind of change and waves of black nationalism. Yet today, looking back, is it really abstract?

I think we are witnessing and are involved in a very concrete cold war with our very future as the stake.

The Communist block brain washed UNO and most of the world into believing that the African was enslaved and the only hope of avoiding a blood bath was to come to terms with him and give him the vote.

This generated a wave of Nationalism which swept down Africa over-throwing white gov-

ernments and replacing them with black.

History will refer to this as "The African War of Black Nationalism."

It is a modern type of war, a cold war fought with a new weapon, the vote. It has also been one of the cheapest and most successful wars ever fought, wherein the Communists have conquered nearly the whole of the African continent.

The white man has been knocked out and defeated and he still does not know what really hit him.

And now, with interest free no strings attached loans, the Communist is forging a new kind of control that will effectively enslave the African.

At any rate the fact remains that whereas Africa was previously controlled by four powerful Nations: Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal, today it is held by the African with the Communist daily taking over the control.

Can anyone deny that the vote is not a deadly and dangerous weapon when skilfully exploited, and the sad fact remains that all the guns of Britain are powerless against an African armed with a vote, because you can't shoot a vote with a gun.

### DO WE FIGHT OR SURRENDER

After reading the previous articles on the existence of a cold war and the use of the vote as a weapon, we have two simple decisions to make.

Do we agree that the African is using his vote as a privilege to improve his lot, or is he abusing this privilege, and using his vote as a weapon to overthrow us.

If he is using it as a dangerous weapon with which to attack us, then self-preservation is the first law of nature.

In self-defence, we must disarm him of this weapon and then use our vote as a weapon too, to keep and maintain a white government in power until such time as the danger passes.

### THE NEXT ELECTION

With Kenya's announcement to change over to a one party state under a dictator, which incidentally brings her nearer to a Chinese take over it makes our choice in the next election simple—

What else can we vote for other than a white democracy or a black dictatorship.

### ELEPHANTS

The U.F.P. bequeathed us two elephants:

The Kariba white elephant is bleeding us white with the greatly increased E.S.C. charges.

and a black elephant fed on African votes. This will soon be enough to stamp us all flat.

## WHAT HAVE I DONE

The position today is that in Parliament the R/F has 35 Europeans and there are 16 Europeans in the opposition. Slightly better than a 2—1 white majority. In addition there are also 14 African originally supporters of the U.F.P. but there is little doubt today that they would vote black against white to overthrow our white regime.

What a dangerous position we find ourselves in, and when I protest I am reminded that it is partly my fault because I was one of those who voted at the Referendum for the African to have a vote.

I may have been a fool but I am not mad, and to hand over our country to a black dictator is not foolishness but madness.

So I ask myself, what has really happened?

The farce started originally by Britain deciding to get rid of her African colonies, and her reason, which even in those days sounded quite phony, was that the only way the white man could avoid a blood bath in Africa was to come to terms with the African before it was too late, liberate him and give him a vote.

I would say that the clue to this confused tangle of African politics where nothing makes sense lies in the make-up of the wave of Black Nationalism that has swept down and changed the face of Africa.

Examined carefully, a curious fact emerges:

The reason Britain gave—oppression and a blood bath—looked at today are obviously faked, yet the wave was real enough.

Some years ago the Communist said they would take over Africa and they are busy doing so.

A few years ago Africa was a happy peaceful country under the white control of three powerfully armed nations: Britain, France and Belgium. Can anyone deny today that those three great nations have not been kicked out of Africa, which is now an unhappy land torn with strife under black dictatorship control, and with the Communist bloc giving large interest free strings attached loans as a preliminary to taking over.

As I see it, we have been without realizing it, subjected to a full-scale cold war and the African, armed with a new modern weapon, the vote, has swept away the white governments.

If you agree with the above, two more points emerged:

Firstly, a white man with a rifle cannot protect himself against an African armed with a vote.

Secondly, this wave was not a genuine one of African Nationalism, caused by the oppres-

sion of the white over the black, but a politically inspired one of Black Nationalism which formed the main attacking wave of this cold war.

Looked at in this light, the confused tangle of African politics makes sense.

No-one can believe that when Britain was brain washed into misjudging the Kenya political situation, that it was her intention to hand over her military, air and navel bases, together with her own kith and kin, to, probably Communist China.

Again, one agrees with the above, our own dangerous situation clarifies.

Firstly, let us acknowledge and get used to the idea that we are under a full scale attack in a cold war, designed, not to bring peace and prosperity to the African, but to overthrow our white regime.

Secondly, ask ourselves what weapons are we being attacked with. The answer that comes up is that we are being attacked by a Black Nationalist movement armed with a vote.

Thirdly, can we defend ourselves and the answer here is—it all depends.

If we imagine we can use our rifles over air force and army, we are surely doomed because you won't shoot a vote with a rifle, and you can't fight a cold war with a hot one.

We must mobilise ourselves for a cold war, realise we are actually fighting a cold war and that you can shoot a vote with a vote. How do we mobilize for a cold war? Quite simple—be prepared to use our vote as a weapon to protect ourselves and regard it as a war vote, not a political vote.

But before doing this we have to make one decision. What do we really want in S.R.—a White Democracy or a Black Dictatorship.

If we want a white democracy then vote for it, and remember this is not a political vote to put any particular party in power, but a war vote to safeguard our future.

Also since the African intends using his vote as a weapon to destroy us, and as this is a cold war, then he must be disarmed of it.

I am quite convinced that if S.R. and South Africa remain under an all white government, this wave of black nationalism has no power to harm us.

And when the western world wakes up to the fact that it has had its tail twisted by the Communists, our White South will have the pressure taken off and be protected. That signs of this happening are already evident is reflected in the nomination of Senator Goldwater for the Presidency in the U.S.A.

## RIGHT OR WRONG

What a pity we cannot solve our political future of the simple basis of what is right

and what is wrong.

We cannot do what is right, to safeguard our future and bring peace and prosperity to the African because that would be illegal.

So we have to do what is wrong, because that is legal and constitutional, and go ahead to turn our country into a second Kenya under a black dictator.

### THE AFRICAN'S FUTURE TASK MASTER

Of course, on the face of it, taking Kenya as an easy example, when Britain gave Kenya majority rule, the whole idea was that the African would be his own task master.

But will this be the case? I think in a few years time the African will have found that, what in fact he has actually done is to change a benevolent white task master for a cruel harsh Communist one, either a Russian or a Chinese. Would one say he will be better off?

### THE VOTE HAS BEEN PATENTED

Most of us would like to think of a new idea, patent it, and make a fortune.

A few years ago, Africa was a happy country under the control of three big powerful nations: Britain, France and Belgium.

The Communist Bloc wanted to take over the control of Africa, but they could not afford an old fashioned Hot War so they decid-

ed on a modern Cold War.

They then thought of a new idea and patented it at UNO. The idea was to arm the African with a vote instead of a rifle. They knew too that all the guns of Britain were powerless against an African armed with a vote, because you cannot shoot an idea or a vote with a gun.

Having kicked these three great powers out of Africa, the Communists have now thought of a second idea, and patented that at UNO too.

The second idea is now to disarm the African of his vote—this is done quite simply by changing over to a one party state under a black dictatorship.

The Communists now, like a python, are slowly throwing their coils over places like Kenya, by giving them interest free no strings attached loans, and will then slowly strangle them at their leisure.

If we think we can depend on our army, air force and police to protect us, we are doomed.

We too, cannot fight an idea or a vote with a gun.

We too must fight an idea with an idea, a vote with a vote.

Before we lose control, let us patent the idea of a white democracy and use our vote as a weapon to establish it and to safeguard our failure and that of the African as well.

Can we patent this new idea—yes, with South Africa and Senator Goldwater of the U.S.A.

### GHANA'S AFRICAN POLICY

(Continued from page 17)

sive that this may involve the loss of their sovereignty.

Ghana's position on this issue is, however, quite clear.

It is the declared view of our Government that each African state can retain its sovereignty and political identity while co-operating with its neighbours in a number of specific fields in the framework of a clearly-defined political and constitutional arrangement.

In the economic field they would enter into a kind of customs union which would eliminate customs barriers as between one African state and another and facilitate the exchange of commodities.

In other agreed fields, they would exchange information and technical assistance on the basis of a common approach in areas where such an approach will bring maximum results for us all.

As long as each independent African country deals with the narrow

field of its own affairs alone, there is no doubt that it will quickly degenerate into a state of competition against others.

President Nkrumah, of course, understands that a full-blown continental unity cannot be achieved overnight. For 13 years after the formation of the United States of America, the Union was a weak-struggling organisation exposed to the ridicule of the older nations of the West. But it had a beginning and had to learn to think and act in unison in certain basic national fields of activity.

The argument that unity can be achieved through economic and cultural co-operation is an obvious fallacy. No degree of co-operation between two or more states has ever been known to lead to eventual merging of interests. The will to meet external threats directed against states is not a gradual process fashioned by economic necessity. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has therefore prepared a proposal for joint action in Africa in certain

basic fields for the consideration of all the Independent Governments of Africa.

As indicated above, we do not believe that economic and cultural co-operation can be adequately substituted for political unity. Any kind of co-operation is, of course, preferable to no-co-operation at all. But we must agree that no degree of co-operation can adequately secure the advantages of political union.

And we believe that now is the time to work for a union of African states while national identity is soft and malleable everywhere. Our faith in the destiny of Africa is based on historical realities. We have seen a significant process of understanding and unity growing in Africa.

There is reason to believe that with deliberate effort on the part of us all, we can and will erect a new African Society, with the creative genius of our people, which will be a source of great pride not only to ourselves, but to a world eager for new dimensions of peace and prosperity.

# EQUATORIAL GUINEA

by **JESUS OVONO.**

( *I.P.G.E Representative  
in Accra.* )

SPAIN last year announced to the world its intention of granting autonomous status for the so-called Spanish Provinces of Fernando Po and Rio Muni.

Towards this end the Spanish Government prepared in collaboration with some traitors amongst our people, a Fundamental Law known by the name of "Ley de Bases", which was going to be presented to a referendum by the people of the territory on the basis of universal vote.

Three months before the referendum, the Madrid Government sent a so-called Commission formed by members of our people to propagate in the colony the "Bases" and try to convince our people to accept them all over the territories, and vote for them in the referendum.

This collaborators were paid 1,500 pesetas per diem per head during the time of their reasonable action. Their propaganda was carried out to all parts of Equatorial Guinea, but fortunately the people realised their intentions and criticised them bitterly.

## COLLABORATORS

Shortly before the referendum, many of our people who were refugees in Cameroons, returned to the country to participate in the referendum, as the Spanish Government had promised full freedom of press, speech, meetings, etc. etc., and this promise had been signed in Madrid by General Franco himself.

The guarantees given to our brothers in exile, were violated immediately by the Spanish Authorities as soon as they saw that those guarantees were taken at face

value, and the work carried out by our brothers was received with enthusiasm by our people asking for full and complete independence.

Soon many among our brothers were beaten, sent to prison, exiled, tortured and in a few cases some of them assassinated. The Colonial Government could not accept the truth to be known.

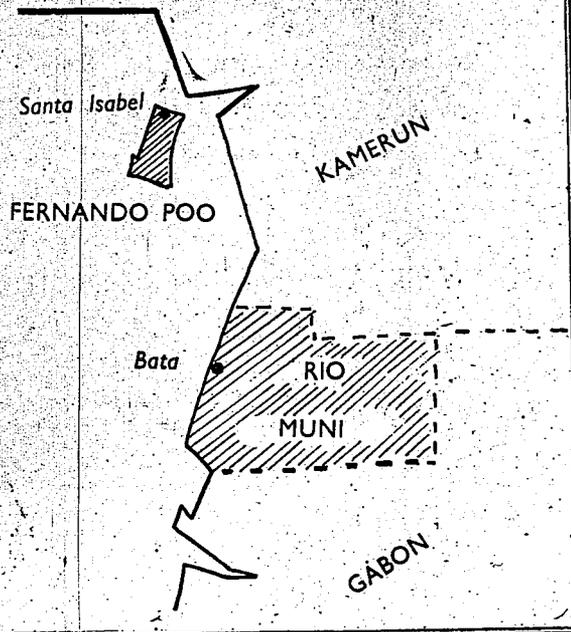
Soon the right of free speech was cancelled. Our people refused to listen to the collaborators, and this the imperialist Government of General Franco could not accept; orders were given to the Regional Authorities to stop the refugees from Cameroon from spreading the truth, and massive means were used to prepare meetings where the collaborators would be heard.

On the date of the referendum; 15th December, 1963, both territories Rio Muni and Fernando Po,

showed their courage to the Franco Government and voted massively "NO" against the "Bases".

Despite violence and threats against the patriots, against the physical violence of the Spanish Authorities, the people did not lose their courage and voted "NO". Four people were shot and several wounded, many others were sent to prison.

Since that day, the people of Equatorial Guinea have not yet been told about the result of the referendum; it had not been published in the press and the radio. According to Franco, the people voted massively "YES". But the people of Equatorial Guinea know the truth, and will go on fighting the Franco dictatorship, and will go on, inside and outside the territory, insisting on the annulation of the referendum and complete inden-



dence. We request the United Nations and the Organisation of the African Unity to help us in our hour of danger.

Without paying any attention to the results of the referendum, the Spanish colonial Government has gone on with their plans to instal a spurious so-called Autonomous Government, which will be ruled by those very puppet Government set up on the power by its fascist masters.

The members of this puppet regime are members of the fascist Falange, the Franco fascist political party. Those puppets do not represent anybody except themselves and we the people of Equatorial Guinea, openly declare war on them and their colonial masters.

My people have sent me here to represent them. My main objective is, according to the wishes of my people; to ask the people of Ghana to help us with your magnificent solidarity until such a moment when we achieve our freedom and our total and sovereign independence, politically and economically.

My people also would like you to help us to dispel the lie propagated by the Spanish Government. They have misled world opinion, and made to think that we were going to be granted autonomy. The only thing is a change of name. We are no longer to be "provinces" of Spain but "autonomous territories".

We protest strongly against this travesty, and request from international opinion to protest to the

Spanish Government against the so-called Autonomous Government.

We claim total and complete independence. This autonomous Government does not represent us, since it was installed into power by its Spanish masters and is "legally" based on a Fundamental Law which was rejected overwhelmingly by the whole population of Equatorial Guinea.

We do not want a community or federation status with any imposed Government. We want to be free to decide our destiny. Declarations by so-called independent States of Africa with regard to the future status of my country are worthless.

We reject any status which is not **COMPLETE AND ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCE AS A SOVEREIGN NATION.**

The people of Equatorial Guinea have faith in Ghana, and because of that I have been sent here to represent them. I beg you in the name of justice and in the name of independent Africa to help us, as you have done in the past with other peoples of Africa.

We are a small country, but a genuine part of Africa. We want to share Africa's destiny and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is the brightest beacon to guide our steps.

Please, Your Excellency, receive in my name and in the name of my people who have sent me here, the most warm salutations and the wish that you may live long for the good, progress and glory of our African continent.

leave praise and admiration to the leadership of the future of this country. Let us not forget that however small a civil strife may be, however small a strike may be, like waves and ripples of the ocean they reach remoter shores and coasts. In similar manner the Lumpa disturbances and the railway strike have had several unfavourable effects on the image of this country—the railway strike in particular has meant the holding up of the vital stores at the ports and vital exports commodities at the source of their production. Clearly the Government could not sit by and watch a situation of this nature develop.

We are a land locked country, this also means that we can resort to alternative routes in times of need. Alternatives are, of course, not the most desirable things in the world but under the circumstances, the knowledge of an alternative is a gratifying factor.

Now I have decided to make reference to these two events because I am convinced that through them this country has learnt some of the difficulties that are always possible to any Nation. Equally important, through them this Nation has learnt that in matters of survival it will always find leadership, and through that leadership sensible solution.

We are fully committed to continuing the good progress that we have shown in the few months of the new Government. We intend to continue this good progress through the periods of Independence, we are committed to maintain social and economic circumstances within which economic progress can take place, we are determined to demonstrate to our people that this Government does not intend to be caught unawares by the upsurge of demands, demands for better living, demands for better education and other social services.

We are committed to combine this determination on the part of the Government with the resources, both human and natural, which we have in abundance, to serve our Nation and its citizens. Someone said "Give us the tools and we will finish the job"—Your Government is saying to you "Give us the time, give us the co-operation, work hard and we will deliver the goods."

## Zambia Economy

(Continued from page 35)

resources but also an optimistic state of mind and confidence in the future.

I do not mean that we should ignore difficulties, and assume that progress is automatic. It will have to be worked for. But I do feel that we have already made great strides in removing the uncertainty which is the biggest enemy of growth. A combination of hardheaded optimism, rich resources and careful economic planning should ensure that the present rate of economic progress in Zambia will be far

exceeded in the future.

Recently this Nation has recognised, through bitter and hard experience that unforeseen and tragic events which are harmful to the image of the country and to the progress of economic development can happen. We have seen a fanatic sect perpetrating savage brutalities against law abiding citizens of the country, we have seen a small section of the community hold up to ransom the whole economy and lives of the Nation through an ill conceived, and ill timed railway strike.

These lessons have been well times to us, but the manner and vigour in which the Government has responded to these events can only