

Voice of AFRICA



TODAY most of our people live in serfdom and helotry. For many generations they have been pushed into the limbo of forgotten men. How can slaves, denied the right of free expression and free thought, become savants or exponents of the arts ?

Culture and civilization throughout the ages have flowed from a leisured class, an aristocratic class, with the background and material endowments which have made possible the devotion to this side of human endeavour.

I say that once Africa is free and independent we shall see a flowering of the human spirit on our continent second to none. The African Personality in liberty and freedom will have the chance to find its free expression and make its particular contribution to the totality of culture and civilization.

— KWAME NKRUMAH

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Read . . .

“THE FREEDOM FIGHTER”

The Paper dedicated to the true Revolutionary and Nationalist Organisations in Africa engaged in the real struggle to Liberate those remaining parts of Africa still under Colonial domination.

“The Freedom Fighter” must be your companion. In it you will learn useful lessons about the organisation and strategy of the struggle.

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OUR OPINION

INDOMITABLE FREEDOM FIGHTER

SOBUKWE has survived the first three months of his life-detention on Robben Island with remarkable courage. As usual Verwoerd's henchman, Vorster, has miscalculated. His attempt to break Sobukwe down has boomeranged. A law was passed specifically to enable him to detain Sobukwe in perpetuity. The law came into force on the very day that Sobukwe was due to be released from a three years' term of imprisonment. Told of this act of unmitigated barbarism directed at him, Sobukwe's brief comment was, "If you believe in freedom, you must suffer for it". No hysterical recriminations or futile indulgence in self-pity. At the time of the Sharpeville shootings, Sobukwe set the pace of the revolution in South Africa. From his prison cell he is now setting the tone for the coming struggle. He is driving the point home that it is going to be a hard and bitter struggle and that personal sacrifices on an unprecedented scale will be demanded.

When the word was passed around among the political prisoners on the Island that Sobukwe was coming, there was a noticeable and an immediate uplift in their morale. Although he is kept strictly isolated from the other political prisoners, he remains a source of inspiration to them.

The arrest of over 5,000 people in a period of less than a month, the mass-hangings, the 90-day detentions, the nightly police raids and reprisals against the families of the detained, have not succeeded in breaking the backbone of the resistance-movement. On the contrary, these acts have only helped to underscore Sobukwe's message to alert the people on what the struggle for freedom means. We are at a crucial moment in our struggle, the situation demands clarity, firmness and certainty as well as an

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- African Periscope -

PAFMECSA

THE Pan-African Movement for East Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) is to be dissolved.

Mr. Kaunda, chairman has said that the role of PAFMECSA could be better fulfilled by the "Committee of Nine" within the framework of the Organisation for African Unity. The "Committee of Nine" was appointed at the All African Addis Ababa Conference of Foreign Ministers to formulate a policy for the liberation of non-independent African countries.

The *Voice of Africa* welcomes this move. We however advise the members of this committee in Dar-es-Salaam to get down to brass work and stop talking shop, gallivanting from place garnering riches which are not to be used for the noble cause of their oppressed masses.

The Freedom Fighters of Africa are waiting and watching!

ITALIAN PISTOLS

THE Italian Government granted export licences between June and August for 1,400 PISTOLS to SOUTH AFRICA "for personal defence".

But defence against whom? We in Africa know our friends! Mere lip-service will never win us over!

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NATIONALISTS MUST UNITE!

THE news that a dedicated African patriot and martyr of resurgent African revolution, Nelson Mandela, former leader of the banned African National Congress, now languishing in jail and against whom fresh charges have been preferred and is to appear before the notorious judicial court of South Africa makes sad reading.

The African does not in the least abhor justice.

But there is certainly great cause for alarm and concern when mockery is made of justice and the innocent is powerless, tied hand and foot, deprived of every means of defence and delivered to the enemy for judgment which is obviously a forgone conclusion. The apartheid regime of South Africa cornered up against the wall by the decisions of the recent Addis Ababa Conference and by the United voice of the Afro-Asian group at the United Nations is using every means of artifice, cajolery and deceit to incarcerate the feeling of resentment against subjugation of nationalists in the Union.

Fascist Regime

Verwoerd is so pig-headed that no amount of reason or persuasion can be drummed into his bullet-proof skull. Even bullets recoil at the very mention of this inhuman monster. But history has it on record that no force on earth has ever been able to stem the tide of the aspirations of a people.

MINORITY CAN SUPPRESS THE MAJORITY FOR A TIME

BUT NOT AT ALL TIMES.

The fascist regime of South Africa will soon collapse like a pack of playing cards. To achieve this, freedom fighters in South Africa have to be serious and abstain from personal and vain witch-hunting and get on to brass tacks. The masses must be organised. They must be given education on what is at stake. They must be taught ways and means to combat the enemy. His weak points and vitals must be exposed. And above all, they must be given absolute, loyal, fearless and dedicated leadership.

Revolution

Mass exodus by South African nationalists from theatre of operation to friendly African countries will never ameliorate the situation. Unless such missions are pursued with the express understanding that they are for temporary sojourn and for education in the art of national revolution they must abandon this cowardly manoeuvres.

Mother Africa looks to you all for salvation and all those of you who have deserted the course, used the name of the sacred course for your personal gains must be prepared to stand for the retribution and the wrath of the suffering masses of your country very soon.

MUCH of world misunderstanding of Africa is due to the acceptance of subconscious premises.

—Kwame Nkrumah

ANGOLA—THE BATTLE FOR FREEDOM

by
Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

THIS is an address which Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, gave to the Ghana National Assembly on May 30, 1961.

We publish it because of its significance as a pep to African nationalism after Addis Ababa. This is a detailed examination of the question of the Portuguese colonies in Africa looked at within the framework of the African situation as a whole.

In his usual succinct style, Dr. Nkrumah exposes the brutalities of the Portuguese settlers against peace loving Africans; slave labour and the conspiracy between Portugal, South Africa, Britain and NATO against Africans. He exposes the looting of Africa by international financial interests, "who are determined to use their political influence to ensure that their countries support Portugal in maintaining its forced labour system and all the tragedies that flow from it."

We recommend this brilliant exposition by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to all our readers—Editor.

Dark Clouds Over Angola

THE situation which now exists in the Portuguese colonies and, in particular in Angola, has taken a serious turn in threatening the peace of Africa. Because of this, what is now taking place in the Portuguese colonies is the concern of all African peoples and, indeed, the concern of all peace-loving peoples of the world. It is essential we do our utmost to rouse world opinion. Indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children is at this very moment taking place in Angola. Forests are being set on fire by incendiary bombs dropped from Portuguese aircraft, thus burning alive thousands upon thousands of men, women and children for no crime other than being African. Armed Portuguese settlers roam the towns and countryside killing and looting at will. Such is the picture of events in Angola painted in the world

press today. No newspaper has estimated the African dead at less than 20,000, some put it as high as 100,000.

Human Decency

In such circumstances there must be revolution and the revolt in Angola has already broken out and is making headway. The facts told in column after column in the newspapers of the world make one think clear; *the issue of Angola is a question of African nationalism and of human liberty and decency. It is in no sense an ideological question. Here no issue of Communism versus Capitalism arises. The question is reduced to the most simple formula—which countries have sufficient interest in humanity to step in and stop the slaughter in Angola?*

The irony of the whole situation is that while the Great Powers like Britain and France are adjusting their thinking and actions to the requirements of modern times and have recognised the principle of



Dr. Nkrumah

self-determination for their colonies, yet Portugal sticks stubbornly to the idea of a "Portuguese soul", "Portuguese territory" and a "civilising mission" in a medieval fashion and seeks to perpetuate these under a most degrading, humiliating and oppressive rule. The attempt to cover this up by talk about "Euro-Africa" is nonsense, geographically and geopolitically. The avalanche of nationalist fervour which is rolling over Africa and toppling imperialist and colonialist governments, has touched Angola and touched it in a substantial manner.

In Angola, in spite of the enervating force of slave labour, in spite of the absence of any form of proper education, in spite of all the grinding disabilities and misery suffered by the people there, that country has now entered the African nationalist revolution and it will never be the same again. However, if the Angolan people are left to fight their battle entirely on their own their sufferings and casualties will be enormous.

Portuguese Colonialism

The evils of Portuguese colonialism are realised by all African States without exception. We should therefore be able to go united to the assistance of the people of Angola and it is most important that the differences of approach which we have on other problems should not prevent our mobilising the full strength of African opinion against what is taking place today

in those parts of Africa controlled by Portugal.

A genuine desire for unity is not enough; we must understand the forces which bring about such tragedy as is happening in Angola today and which in its final solution must spur us on to African unity—the only force that can prevent the recurrence of similar tragedy. I stated before the United Nations, and have stated many times elsewhere, that what is happening in the Congo can be repeated in other African territories under colonial rule unless the Africans themselves unite to save Africa from the misery of these tragedies.

It is impossible to examine the question of the Portuguese colonies in Africa unless they are looked at within the framework of the African situation as a whole.

Superficially, the Portuguese colonies represent the old colonialism in its most classic form. In fact, however, they are also an example of neo-colonialism in its latest and most dangerous guise.

We shall not therefore be able to deal with the problem of the Portuguese colonies—and, indeed, the colonial question itself—unless we understand and are able to detect and meet the dangers and calamities of neo-colonialism. For it is the neo-colonialism hidden in the background rather than the front of classic colonialism which makes the issue in Angola or in the Congo so difficult to resolve.

Portugal, A Colony

First, to be frank. The colonial power, Portugal, is herself a sort of colony. Indeed, Portugal is an interesting example of nearly neo-colonialism of the early nineteenth century.

Once the owner of a powerful empire, Portugal had by the beginning of the nineteenth century become entirely dependent upon other powers. In the economic and financial sphere Portugal had become a client state of the United Kingdom. Militarily she depended upon Spain. The dominant role of the United Kingdom can be illustrated by the numerous occasions when the United Kingdom expressed itself willing to give away the Portuguese

colonies in Africa, generally to appease Germany.

Congenial Blindness

This colonial attitude of the United Kingdom towards Portugal leads subconsciously among certain sections in the United Kingdom to a defence of the Portuguese position under any circumstances. Thus, the United Kingdom feels obliged not to support any resolution at the United Nations which criticises Portugal in any way. The British Foreign Secretary's speech in Lisbon last week, in which he said that Portuguese policy in Africa, like that of Britain, was based on respect for human personality, is another example of the same trend. Such a remark, made in the face of the known facts of the Portuguese atrocities in Angola, can only be attributed to a kind of CONGENIAL BLINDNESS suffered by the United Kingdom so far as Portugal is concerned.

However that may be, the Ghana Government is bound to have the impression that the statements made in Lisbon by the British Foreign Secretary, and the promise of the despatch of British troops to Portugal at this time, whatever the purpose of such speech or visit, give assistance to Portuguese colonialism.

The fact that Portugal can muster such a degree of support cannot however be attributed solely, or indeed mainly to her ties with the United Kingdom.

In the neo-colonial world of southern Africa, the Portuguese colonies and all that they stand for are essentials for the purpose of depressing African wages, preventing trade-union organisation and maintaining high profits for expatriate-owned industries and farms.

Let me give you just one example of how Portuguese forced labour is essential for the neo-colonial economy of neighbouring States and territories.

In 1959, the last year when there are available statistics, only one-third of the labour force of nearly half a million workers employed in the South African mines come from South Africa. That figure has only been obtained painfully and laboriously by the pass laws and other

methods of pressure which can now be applied within South Africa.

At the beginning of the century, in the early days of South Africa mining and before pass laws and the policy of repression of Africans generally had really got under way, it was impossible to recruit in South Africa free labour to work in the mines. The Portuguese colony of Mozambique was used, therefore, as a source of forced labour and in 1903, for example, provided no less than 89 per cent of the total labour force of the South Africa mines.

This supply of conscript labour is still an economic necessity to South Africa if wages are to be kept down and trade-unions prohibited. Accordingly, the South African Government has entered into an actual treaty with the Portuguese Government to supply labour for the mines.

This barter deal in human beings, known as the "Mozambique Convention", is divided into three parts. The first part fixes the maximum and minimum numbers of Africans who are to be recruited and provides for the payment to the Portuguese Government of registration, engagement and monthly fees in regard to each recruit obtained. Part 2 of the Convention gives to Portugal certain advantages in regard to railway traffic and rates, and Part 3 provides for customs advantages in return for the supply of cheap labour.

Basis of Agreement

The basis of the agreement is that in return for an undertaking by the Portuguese Government that the South African Chamber of Mines shall be the sole recruiting agency in Mozambique for mine labour, the South African Government formally undertakes that 47.5 per cent of the sea-borne import traffic to the mining areas of South Africa shall go through the Portuguese harbour of Laurence Marques.

Originally, the maximum figure for labour recruits under the Convention was 90,000 a year. In 1940, however, the Portuguese Government agreed to raise the total to 100,000 a year in return for an agreement by the South Africa Gov-

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WHY NKOMO WAS OUSTED

"Deserted the people through fear"

THE Rev. Ndabiniyi Sithole, interim president of the new Zimbabwe African National Union of Southern Rhodesia, has issued a statement explaining the deposition of Mr. Nkomo, former president of the proscribed ZAPU.

Mr. Sithole had been national chairman of the banned party, and in that capacity had visited London and the U.S.A. on Mr. Nkomo's behalf. He was appointed by Mr. Nkomo as leader of a 'government-in-exile' in Tanganyika when the last Southern Rhodesian Government banned ZAPU for subversive activities. We reproduce below the text of the statement:

"MR. Nkomo is very much afraid of going to jail. This causes him to evade taking the necessary political decisions which any leader in his position is expected to take. The white settlers have exploited this fact to full advantage. Because of this fear Mr. Nkomo has deserted the people at the time when they most needed bold leadership that does not count the cost.

"When ZAPU was banned on September 20, 1962, Mr. Nkomo was in Lusaka. Much against the advice of UNIP and his supporters, Mr. Nkomo fled to Dar-es-Salaam, leaving his sheep to be scattered by the wolf. Mr. Nkomo publicly stated that he did not want 'to rot in jail'. Meanwhile hundreds of his supporters went to jail.

Infamous Exodus

"When he was finally forced to go back to Southern Rhodesia and face detention, after 10 days of chopping and changing, the psychological moment had been missed him was greatly shaken and under and his supporters confidence in mined. Since then the people have been saying: 'How can we get our independence with such a cowardly leader?' While in detention, Mr. Nkomo's fears were also clearly demonstrated. He arranged for a private plane to take all the members of the central executive secretariat

out of restriction, but they refused to jump the restriction.

"When Mr. Winston Field threatened to go it alone if Britain did not grant Southern Rhodesia independence under the present Constitution, Mr. Nkomo's fears were once again aroused. As he put it himself, 'if Mr. Field declares Southern Rhodesia independent, we (the members of the executive) shall be bundled up'. This explains in part the infamous exodus of the executive from Southern Rhodesia to Dar-es-Salaam last April.

Law unto Himself

"In many cases members have found themselves deceived and have become embittered against Mr. Nkomo. On several occasions he had assured the central executive that he had received assurances from some independent African countries that if he wanted to form a government-in-exile he would be welcome. Last April, to get the members of the central executive out of the country, although much against their better judgment, he told them that this was on the advice of Tanganyika, and that Tanganyika had agreed to the formation of a government-in-exile in Tanganyika. But when the members of the executive arrived in Dar-es-Salaam they found that this was not the case. Instead they found that Tanganyika's only concern was: 'If you leave the people

you are leading, who is going to lead them? Who is going to organize them?'

"Mr. Nkomo had become a law unto himself, and as such dealt severely with anyone who disagreed with him, who criticized his leadership, and who suggested any radical change in the present leadership.

"On July 6, at a rally held in Harare, Salisbury, he publicly named 10 hard-core nationalists as his chief enemies. Among these were Enos Nkala, Henry Hamadziripi, and Morris Nyagumbo, all of whom have served terms of imprisonment varying between two and four years for political reasons; and this act has infuriated many people.

"Mr. Nkomo has held many secret meetings with district branch and district leaders and demanded on threat of suspension their apology for their criticism of his leadership, but these leaders have remained adamant.

The Suspension

"On June 28 the executive arranged in Lusaka with Mr. Nkomo for a full meeting to be held on July 10 in Northern Rhodesia. While we were preparing to leave Dar-es-Salaam we received the following cable from Mr. Nkomo: 'In view of Marondera's activities when here recently and activities of one or two members of national

executive in Dar-es-Salaam meeting of executive on 10th stopped until mess cleared”

“We sent the following cable to Mr. Kaunda: ‘Please inform President Nkomo if in Northern Rhodesia that executive determined to hold meeting as planned chance of clearing up mess if any greater as executive together’.

“In reply to this we heard over the radio that four members of the executive in Dar-es-Salaam—Messrs. Sithole, Takawira and Malianga—had been suspended by Mr. Nkomo. The following day we received from Mr. Nkomo the following cable: ‘Messrs. Sithole, Takawira, Malianga and Mugabe, you are hereby suspended until decision of conference of people’s representatives. You will be informed of the date and place of conference.’

Arbitrary Action

“We took the greatest exception to this arbitrary, unconstitutional and undemocratic action. At a meeting of the seven members of the executive in Dar-es-Salaam we pointed out that Mr. Nkomo had messed up all of us, and had become aware and afraid of our censure of him, and hence his frantic effort to neutralize us. We pointed out that no conference could be held in Southern Rhodesia since ZAPU was banned. This was merely one of Mr. Nkomo’s stunts. We rejected his suspension, denounced his leadership, and deposed him from leadership. We felt Mr. Nkomo was already beginning to whittle down other people’s freedom of speech before we have even got that freedom. Mr. Nkomo’s actions have been most inconsiderate in relation to his colleagues, and have proved that he is only responsible to himself and to no one else.

Impulsive Indecision

“When ZAPU was banned last year, without consulting him, he just announced to the world that he had appointed Mr. Sithole to lead the party-in-exile. Six days later Mr. Sithole accepted reluctantly the appointment, which meant being away from his wife and six

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TERROR IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE propaganda machine of the South Africa Government is spreading the horrifying image of “the blood-thirsty savages, wanting to tear the whites to pieces, and driving the rest into the sea.”

In their state of fear and dread the conditioned white public is ready to accept anything without questioning. After the escape of the 4 detainees in Johannesburg, on August 11th, the police locked up two of their wives instead, smacking and maltreating them—one of the women was pregnant, yet to the heartless, full of terror, Herrenvolk, it made no difference.

Spies, Agents, Police

Of course, Vorster and his lackeys have again denied these charges. Thousands and thousands of Africans are suffering daily at the hands of Government spies, agents and police, on the farms of white people, in the mines, and as humiliated servants in the white homes. The following are just a few examples of this raging white terror in South Africa:

* *The mowing-down of 72 Africans by machine-gun fire in March, 1960, by Herrenvolk Police.*

* *The events of April 4th, 1960, when the S.A. Police beat up every African man, woman or child whom they saw in the street that day. This is a parallel to the “Mata Todos”—Terror in Angola at the beginning of 1961 Revolution.*

* *The raping of African wo-*

men and girls by the police and armed Forces stationed in 1960 in Pondoland. Then, the sex maniacs forgot their apartheid and segregation “jata morganus”—then, all women were equal.

* *The beating up of women in Matanzima’s Bush Court. Matanzima—the most hateful of all chiefs, yet future Head of the Transkei.*

* *The burning-down of homes of opponents of the S. A. Government by Matanzima in 1960. In June, 1961, he ordered fire to be set to another 16 homes of African peasants in the Lady Irene Location.*

* *The torturing and ill-treating of Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe—young P.A.C. leader—in jail (see Black Star, Vol. 11, May 1963; Page 2).*

Fascism

Hence in conclusion, one can clearly see WHO the initiators of terrorism in South Africa are! If the Africans are paying the Whites back, exactly in their own coin, and many a time much less, then only Verwoerdian Fascism and Nazism can be blamed for this state of affairs.

A severe social upheaval is imminent in South Africa. All South African oppressed peoples can only hope that their friends, brothers, sisters and comrades in Free Africa will assist them in their dark hour, in order to fight for the creation of a more hopeful tomorrow, a better life and future for all MANKIND.

OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKURUMAH, President of the Republic of Ghana.

—oOo—

* “... a leader of outstanding political acumen, energy...”
— Dr. Conor O’Brien, Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana.

—oOo—

* “... such a calm and steady ability to evaluate a situation”
— Giergio Signorinia, Italian writer on International Affairs.

—oOo—

* “... the utterances and policies of Dr. Nkrumah seem one of the few sane and hopeful factors in world politics”
— Douglas Rogers, British journalist now resident in Australia.

—oOo—



I SAW DEMOCRACY IN WEST AFRICA

Says Luke Obok

* * *

(Luke Obok, Kenya M.P., recently visited several West and North African States, including Ghana and Algeria, and gives his personal impression of these nations and their leaders.)



I VISITED Ghana as a member of a Government goodwill mission headed by the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Oginga Odinga. The third member of the delegation was Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, Minister of State for Pan-African Affairs in the Office of the Prime Minister. This was the only tour of its type to be organised between the West African Republic and Kenya since we achieved our internal self-government.

Fraternal Relations

Fraternal relations have long existed between the peoples of Ghana and Kenya. President Nkrumah and our Prime Minister, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, were co-founders of Pan-Africanism. It is important, too, to remember that since Ghana achieved her independence in 1957 its Government and population have worked for the total liquidation of colonialism in Africa in pursuit of the sentiments expressed by the Osagyefo when he said: "Ghana's independence is meaningless unless linked up with the total liberation of Africa."

It will also be recalled that Dr. Nkrumah has always taken a direct interest and offered assistance to the nationalist freedom movement in this country. He has, however, on a number of occasions been misrepresented in political and labour matters in Africa.

EXPANDING CITY

As a budding student of politics, I went to Ghana with an open mind. I had heard people referring to Dr. Nkrumah as a "dictator" but having seen none before hoped to recognise one when I met the Ghanaian President. I also wished to learn to breathe the true air of UHURU.

ACCRA IS A BEAUTIFUL, RAPIDLY EXPANDING CITY. IT HAS ITS SKY-SCRAPERS AND WELL-DRESSED ROADS. IT IS BIG AND SMOOTH IN LOOKS AND IN FACT.

It is a testimony to Ghana's pride of national dignity and to the ability of any African people to take over and run the affairs of

their country after forcing their former masters, the colonisers, to withdraw.

We were warmly welcomed at Accra Airport by Ghanaian leaders and Government officials and later were led to the big joint African Command Hall in which we were treated to an enchanting entertainment. This hall is a dignified edifice which testifies to Africa's commitment to the idea of joint defence in the event of outside aggression against any African nation.

Frank Discussions

The President of Ghana entertained us at a luncheon in honour of our delegation. We were able to hold very frank discussions with Ghanaian leaders and this gave us an opportunity to understand better to what extent they, under the unswerving patronage of Dr. Nkrumah, are committed to the idea of working to achieve the complete unity of the whole of Africa.

TRUE AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

We were able to understand that



President Nkrumah (centre) shares a joke with Mr. Odinga (left) and Mr. Koinange.

it was only the enemies of Ghana, or at least those people who did not understand the Nkrumah mentality and his dedication to the cause of his people and African unity, who could think of Ghana as a "dictatorship".

We were convinced that GHANA WAS A TRUE AFRICAN DEMOCRACY under which individual liberty was assured; in which also the rights of the individual to freedom of expression, freedom of association and all other freedoms were well acknowledged and safeguarded.

Neither is Ghana a police State. It would be madness to expect Ghana as never would be expected of any other State, African or otherwise, to condone and tolerate secret activity and conspiracy calculated to

undermine the established authority of the State. Ghana has to safeguard her independence and democracy, and so has always been on the look-out to detect activities aimed at overthrowing the Government.

We were in Accra during the treason trial of two former Ministers: Mr. Ako Adjei and Mr. Tawia Adamafio; but although a State of Emergency had been brought into being we were unconscious of it until we were told about it. In fact, we never saw members of the security forces in arms, moving here and there harassing the population.

RULE OF LAW

We were satisfied that since the situation existing at the time might prove dangerous owing to the treason trial, and so long as the courts

were here to give protection to the rights of the individual, it was inevitable that steps should be taken to safeguard the rule of law.

The extent to which democracy is succeeding in West Africa is demonstrated by the willingness of the Ghana Government to offer legal services to any accused person who is unable to afford a lawyer. This system is also respected in many other African States in West and East Africa.

THERE IS NO RACIAL SUPERIORITY IN GHANA: children of all races attend schools together; and the criterion of one's station in society is the extent to which one is willing and able to contribute to the welfare of society. Save for the position which one occupies in society, it is impossible to notice any feelings of superiority, for instance, among European women married to Ghanaian Africans.

They are expected to fit in a woman's position in society: IN SHORT, THERE ARE NO PRIVILEGES FOR ANYONE IN GHANA ON GROUNDS OF RACE OR COLOUR; EVERYONE IS EXPECTED TO WORK FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

I was very impressed by Ghana's achievements in the field of education since she became independent some seven years ago. Today the majority of people, men and women, young and old, are able to read and write, either in their local dialects or in English. This has been one of the reasons why Ghana is able to communicate with her people, over the radio or in the Press, more easily than can be done in a number of other African countries.

WOMEN'S ROLE

Women's chief role in national life is to be found in commerce and industry. They are organised in both small and large business associations. Unlike our women traders, who have to commit to memory most of their transactions, the Ghanaian women are capable of keeping proper books of account and to manage other business affairs.

Ghana has been accused of unwarranted interference with Press freedom, whatever that may mean. But when I was there I was given the impression that news was freely gathered and disseminated. I met a number of Ghanaian newspaper men who all assured me that there was no discrimination against newspapers or reporters.

The Press

I had lengthy discussions on the role of the Press with Mr. G. T. Anim, general manager of the Ghana News Agency. He said that in Ghana the Press was a "nation speaking to itself"; it was working in complete harmony with the Government.

Only a few misguided foreign correspondents who tried to interfere in the smooth running of the Government had been declared unwanted or prohibited immigrants.

Ghana News Agency has been in existence since 1957. It is said to owe its continued existence to the constant personal interest which Dr. Nkrumah has shown in its activities. So far the agency employs more than 250 people both at home and abroad.

While still in Ghana after my colleagues had left for Kenya, arrangements were made which enabled me to visit a number of African countries both in West and North Africa. I have had many questions about my stay in Algeria and my opinion about President Ben Bella.

I have always suspected that in East Africa every European considers Dr. Nkrumah, President Sekou Toure and President Ben Bella to be wicked dictators. All I noticed with these leaders was that they were deeply loved by their people and that they, in turn, had dedicated their lives to the service of their countries.

While in Guinea I learned that a lot of development had been going on since President Sekou Toure rejected association with the French; in fact it has been the case that, in association with Ghana and Mali, Guinea has been able to accomplish a lot for her people.

This state is neither a dictatorship

nor Communist; but they believe in positive neutrality based on non-interference in other people's internal affairs. Guinea is also working in close association with Ghana, Mali and Algeria to cause the immediate coming into being of a United States of Africa.

National Belonging

I travelled casually through Mali and Guinea and was very much impressed by the sense of national belonging which is witnessed in those countries. There are definite differences between those States. Which were once ruled by the French, from former British territories, manifested both in language as also in behaviour and state or development. But people everywhere seem to value a great deal the freedom which they have fought for and won.

ONE NATION

Algeria is a great country, which owes its freedom and its future to the dedicated work and patriotic services of her sons and daughters. Her struggle against the French colonisers was bitter and protracted. Many lives were lost; property was destroyed and many people were arrested, imprisoned and tortured. But they never surrendered until Algeria ultimately achieved her independence about two years ago.

President Ben Bella granted me a short interview in his palace. Quiet of manner, he was anxious to know how Kenya was advancing towards her *Uhuru*. He is an admirer of our Prime Minister, who, he said, was a deep source of inspiration in the Algerian struggle for independence.

It was his earnest hope that Africa would soon unite into one great nation to which we would all belong.

**Africa
Must
Unite!**



But How?

It's all in that Book:

"AFRICA MUST UNITE"

By Kwame Nkrumah.

THE YOUTH IN AFRICAN POLITICAL SOCIETY



by A. Correspondent

WE in Africa today live in exciting times with all the complexities that go with change. The African Political Society today can best be described in the words of Charles Dickens in his great novel, "A Tale of two Cities" relating events at the time of the French Revolution: "It was the best of times; it was the worst of times; it was the spring of hope; it was the winter of despair." Certainly, he could have been describing Africa of today—a time when more than two-thirds of countries of the African continent, are free and independent and

their peoples left with the happy choice of managing their own affairs. It is also a time when other peoples of Africa (our brothers) are laboriously struggling under the grinding heels of colonialism and are almost in despair of their lives.

Feeling of Pathos

One is moved with a feeling of pathos with tears almost in its wake when one meets youths from Mozambique, Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands wandering in other Independent African states in search of food and shelter. Youths who should be in the countries of their

birth and with requisite care and training, be able to make useful contribution to the African Society. These courageous Youths, with the flame of freedom in their eyes, have been banished from their homes as a result of colonialist suppression and brutality. Their future is precariously in the balance.

New Era

Whatever the political situation may be in Africa today, we must take heart in the fact that a new era is dawning upon us with breathless rapidity and we have to move at similar speed or else we shall fall out of the

march of civilization. That history is on our side, there is no doubt about it, but time is a fickle thing and is always on the side of those who make the most of it. If we in emergent Africa do not bestir ourselves and move now, we may see yet another 70, 100 or possibly 200 years of oppression by an alien regime much more callous and brutal than colonialism.

Reconstruction

This is what Sir Francis Bacon had to say on this head: "...The standing is slippery and the regress is either a down-fall or an eclipse which is a melancholy thing." The magnitude and the profundity of the political changes taking place on the continent of Africa are a correct index of the scale on which, and the pace at which, the economic and social reconstruction must proceed in our society.

Through years of bitter political struggle for freedom and independence, Africa is now recovering itself from the enervating grips of colonialism; it is gaining its personality. But the African personality which was stunted and distorted by colonial domination cannot blossom to its fullest height and stature unless we are able to restore Africa to its pristine glory. This can only be done by wiping out totally and completely the remaining dirt and decay of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations from the continent of Africa. It must be emphasised that it is only in conditions of total freedom and independence from alien rule that a purely African political society can emerge and within the frame-work of which the strivings and aspirations of its peoples can find fulfilment.

But the emergent African political society is not static. It is in a fluid state. Its texture is constantly changing. It therefore devolves upon us as members of that society whether young or old to make some efforts to understand the forces that

are moulding the society so that we can play a positive part and not be merely creatures of the forces that we are unable to comprehend.

Political Society

The aim of politics is directed towards the good life. But the good life can only be lived in a society, the conditions of which engender good life. Society is not necessarily confined to the human race alone. It is found wherever there is life; and as Aristotle remarked long ago, man is a peculiarly "social animal". However, as we are here only concerned with human society, we may define it in the words of McIver as a "web of social relationships". The bond that ties society together is seen to lie in communication among individuals, in a meeting of their minds and in their mutually shared aspirations towards social and economic developments. The impulse to political association says Aristotle, is natural to men.

He who by nature and not by mere accident does not belong to a political society is either above humanity or below it. Man in his condition of complete development is the noblest of animals; apart from Law and Justice he is the vilest of all. A political society is formed to make life possible; it exists to make life good. A political society, therefore, provides the legal frame-work in which individuals and associations may live together in promoting the common good and in enriching their lives.

Emergent African Political Society

Before proceeding any further, let us consider the following points: (a) What is an African Political Society? (b) What are its strivings; its goals and aspirations? It is only when we have been able to clarify these points that the Position of the Youths will clearly fall into focus.

I have, in my introduction, already characterized Africa as a continent changing with breathless rapidity. Now as Pan-Africanism—the feeling of solidarity among oppressed birth to African Nationalism—the feeling of kinship among

Africans, and of their right of self-determination, that is, the right to determine their own affairs in the wake of which has brought freedom and independence to 32 African countries and is still sweeping the continent of all the odious vestiges of imperialism and its handmaiden—colonialism and neo-colonialism—so is African Nationalism giving birth and growth to African Continental Unity.

Continental Unity

It is within the frame-work of African Continental Unity, the foundation of which was laid by 32 African Heads of State and Government at the historic Addis Ababa Conference of May, 1963 that a truly African Political Society can function. The organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) provides the legal frame-work in which individuals, associations and states in Africa can harmoniously live together in social and economic co-operation in pursuit of the common good and in the enrichment of the African personality.

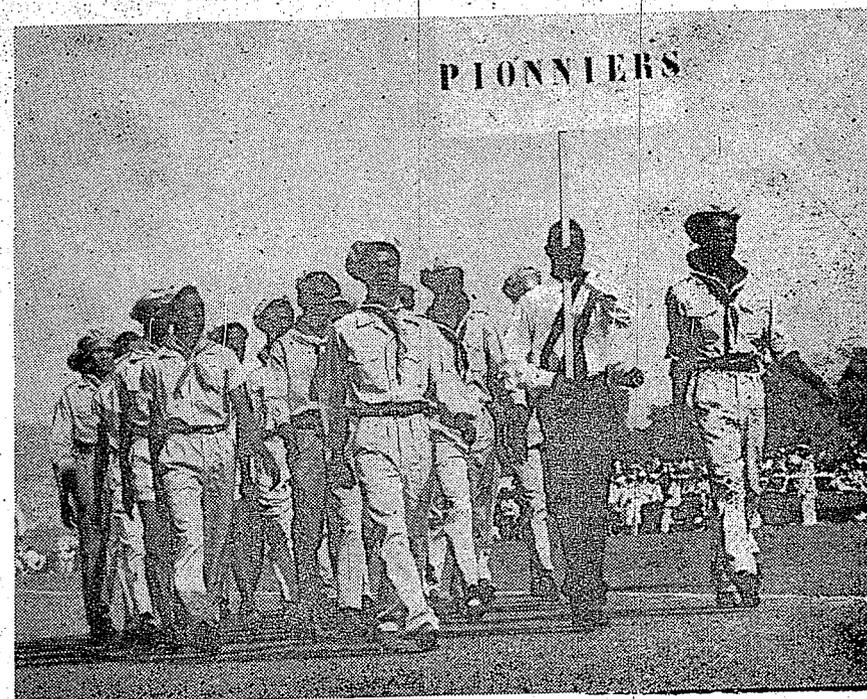
The Emergent African Political Society (O.A.U.) recognises as an imperative fact that no single African State is large or powerful enough to stand on its own against the unbridled imperialist exploitation of her men and resources, and the growing complexities of the modern world. I will give you excerpts of some of the essential features of the objectives of the Organisation of African Unity as laid down by the Charter.

The preamble to the Charter reads:

"CONSCIOUS of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African Peoples;

"CONSCIOUS of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in spheres of human endeavour;

"INSPIRED by a common determination to promote understanding



"We have been able through our united effort to set the pace for the liberation and unity of our continent. We must therefore strive to uphold and maintain the force and influence of the African revolution to which we are so deeply committed. We cannot do this unless we can produce young men and women with the highest ideals of work and service to the nation and to our continent"

— Kwame Nkrumah.

among our peoples and co-operation among our states in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences;

"CONVINCED that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained;

"DETERMINED to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty of our States, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms;

"DESIROUS that all African States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured;

"RESOLVED to reinforce the links between our states by establishing and strengthening common institutions; Have agreed to the present Charter."

Aims and Objectives:

Among the aims and objectives of the Emergent African Political Society, (OAU) are:

- (a) To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;
- (b) Eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa;
- (c) Political and diplomatic co-operation;
- (d) Economic co-operation, including transport and communications;
- (e) Education and Cultural co-operation;
- (f) Health, Sanitation and Nutritional co-operation;
- (g) Scientific and technical co-operation and
- (h) Co-operation for defence and security.

Guiding Principles:

The Emergent African Political Society has its guiding principles of which the following are the most important:

- (a) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence;

- (b) Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration;
- (c) Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent;
- (d) unreserved condemnation in all its forms, of political assistance as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring states or any other state;
- (e) Affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

Membership of the Emergent African Political Society is open to all independent sovereign states of Africa. Such states will enjoy equal status. The main institutions of the Political Society are: (a) The Assembly of Heads of State and Government; (b) The Council of Ministers; (c) The General Secretariat and (d) The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and arbitration.

In What Way Can the Good Life be Promoted in a Political Society?

This can be answered by considering the place and function of a human individual in an organised political society. It is generally agreed that both happy and successful social life and a satisfactory degree of individual freedom can be obtained only in a well organised political society. As a member of such society each individual should fulfil three main functions; namely that of a worker, parent and citizen. As a worker, he contributes his quota to the general economic welfare of the society and gains his own livelihood, thereby supporting himself and his dependents. In modern societies he must be highly specialised. We need craftsmen, scientific workers and artists. We need distributors—merchants and transport workers. Some of this work may be mainly mental, some manual (though it is thoroughly false to make absolute distinction between the two). As a parent, the individual must take care of the home and children. As a citizen, he must act in an adequate degree as

voter, rate-payer and tax payer.

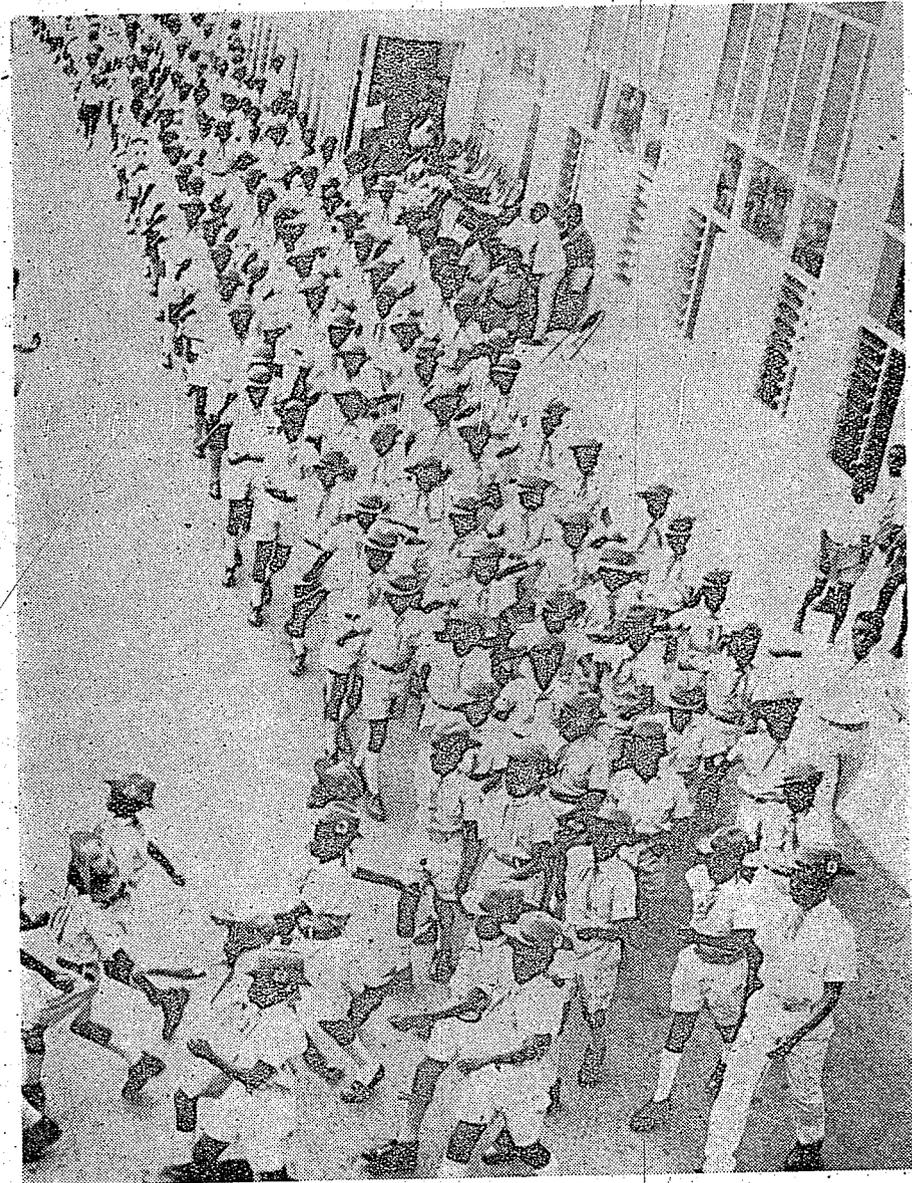
Discipline is Necessary

In each of these social functions, the individual needs certain capabilities in order to promote the good life within the society. He needs knowledge covering general information and specialised subject matter like economics, science, history, law etc. He must acquire manual dexterity as in writing and using craft tools; complex mental skill, as in reasoning and judging about matters of social policy, or applying principles of science and organisation to practical professional situations. The individual must have correct attitudes towards life. This can be shown in his willingness to work, to co-operate with other members of the society; to preserve in a common policy calculated to promote the general welfare of the society; courage to determine his mind on issues affecting the society and absolute loyalty to the society. Over and above all, the individual must be properly disciplined. For if each member of the society insisted upon doing exactly as he pleased at any moment, without the reference to the welfare of other members, then organised social life would be difficult to maintain, and the efforts and energies of the society would be frittered away in internal conflict instead of being efficiently used to serve the common end. Lack of loyalty, clear-sighted self-control and understanding among individual members is one of the most serious defects of political societies.

Knowledge is Essential

Conflict rather than co-operation is characteristic. Training in habits of social co-operation and moral self-control is an essential aspect of good political society. Thus, the individual as a member of the political society must acquire at least a minimum of knowledge to enable him to understand the functions of the society, its aims and aspirations, and also to make constructive contribution towards its progress. He must acquire mental and manual skills and possess desirable attitudes and discipline.

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The Youth Movements of Africa, moulded on the form of Ghana's Young Pioneers can be properly harnessed to promote continental understanding and to enhance the aims and objectives of the Emergent African Political society.

The Position of the Youth in the Emergent African Political Society

All these qualities apply with equal force to the Youths of Africa. Now it is a fact that the Emergent African Political Society cannot realise its aspirations without the full contribution of the Youths. There is today, a widespread recognition of the fact that the future of the African Political Society (OAU) depends to a high degree, upon our capacity to understand the forces and factors moulding this Society. Such understanding is necessary not only in academic education, but also in social reactions resulting from group contacts which in their manifold forms, are an outstanding method of creative education. It is particularly in the Youth Movements of Africa that these forces can be properly harnessed to promote continental understanding and to enhance the aims and objectives of the Emergent African Political Society (O.A.U.).

The time has now come for the African Youth Movements to cease to be nebulous entities and to crystallize into one dynamic continental youth league. This continental youth league should be complemen-

tary to the Organisation for African Unity and its activities should be directed at youth level towards strengthening the Emergent African Political Society (O.A.U.).

Critical Mind

The African Youth has acquired a large measure of political awareness. Foreign domination has so permeated every aspect of our existence that the African Youth must develop a critical and analytical mind in recognising every strand of colonial and neo-colonial influence. The outlook of the African Youth must encompass every facet of our social development; he must not oversimplify historical processes, be they political, economic or cultural. As quickly as we are trying to free ourselves from alien rule so also are our past masters devising more subtle ways to maintain their stranglehold on us.

In order to rid our Emergent African Political Society of this menace, it is the responsibility of the Youth Movements in the various African Countries to identify themselves with the programmes and activities of the progressive political parties. And since it is generally accepted that all progressive political parties aim at removing social evils such

as illiteracy and disease and in making the good life possible, it stands to reason that the Youth Movements will be playing an important role by such association.

African Culture

Of equal importance is the projection of the African culture by the Youth. And by culture, I mean the activity of thought and receptiveness to beauty and humane feeling. By understanding political trends and identifying themselves with progressive political parties in various countries of Africa, the Youths will be able to stimulate local interests and mobilize both continental and international opinion on matters affecting the destiny of Africa.

I am confident that if the Youths of Africa can organize themselves continentally in furtherance of the aspirations of the Emergent African Political Society as enunciated by the Charter of the Organisation for African Unity, they will knit the whole peoples of the continent together, give them the tonic of renaissance, fuse the experience of age with the zest of youth and bind us together in the pursuit of progress, peace and happiness.

POEMS FROM A GREEK PRISON

by
Elli Ioannidou

ONE of the more tormented of the lands of the "Free World" is Greece, Mediterranean anchor of what is incongruously called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This original locale of the Truman Doctrine remains a nation whose noblest sons and daughters are imprisoned. Among the many charming "Free World" Bastilles, is the Averof women's prison in Athens, wherein today are incarcerated twenty-nine "political detainees." Among them is the writer and journalist, Elli Ioannidou from her cell she has sent four poems to Mankind, and we are proud to bring them to our readers —The Editor.

* * *

I

INHUMAN building of great stone, what more do you want of us?
If you want youth, youth of only seventeen years has become aged within your walls
Do you want lives? Lives have been spent here
And they became bloodstained corpses
Is it years you desire? You took our years and you made them yours
You took our days and our nights
And you made them one and the same."

* * *

II

WE are mothers whose hearts are Bound
Close—the one to the other—
Beneath the cold walls, decorated
With iron and barbed wire

We talk to ourselves Perhaps my child is ill?
Living with other people: who will care for my child?
Will they dress my child: is it snowing in the village?
You must restrain your worry firmly
prisoner woman
Tighten your heart, do not fear, it will not break."

* * *

III

THERE in the corner Vangelio is sleeping.
All day she cried, now she is sleeping.
It will be hard for her to stop her crying because her aged father who waited for her in the village
Waits for her no longer.
The aged father had three sons—
One was lost in the fields
When the grain was being harvested,
Outside the village were the Germans
And outside they had to be kept
So that the wheat could be harvested
By those who had sown it
There it was that the son of the old man fell
To save the wheat of Greece.
The second son stood high on the hillside

Below were the Germans
And there below they must remain
Because never have they been enslaved
The Greek mountains.
There it was that the son of the old man fell—the second.
The third stood up against the wall

And smiled at the volleys
Because they always smile at the volleys
The fine sons of Greece
There it was that the son of the old man fell, the third son.
The old man lived and he said:
"I shall not live to see freedom...
So much blood shed yet it was not enough to bring freedom
But I will wait on for Vangelio to come from prison."
For ten years he waited—a sorrowful story
We will leave it here.

* * *

IV

THE shade of a basil plant covered you
You moved mountains
Crossed rivers to come
And bring me a caress, a carnation flower
On the leaf of a rose tree
I will carve out your sufferings
Mother of the children, mother of the birds
Mother of the flowers
My Mother
Mother of the school;
Mother of the prison of war and of toil
My Mother
The prison gates opened
The visiting time began and ended and you stood—
Perhaps I could fly out of the window—
All the bars knew you and the flagstones
You were first in the morning and last at night
The first to love and care
And the last to take rest.

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GUILTY OF MURDER: THE DOLLAR!

HAS Verwoerd, the arch-criminal, the murderer, the master-brain behind the mad and rotten apartheid policy of the Pretoria Regime and the imperialist stooge any conscience at all? This is the question all progressive peoples are asking.

Imprisonment

The latest exposure of Verwoerd's madness is his imprisonment of the thirty-seven African nationalists for 260 years on Thursday, August 29, 1963. The 37 African nationalists were sentenced by the Pretoria Courts for openly criticising the Verwoerd gangsters and also of their anti-apartheid activities. The latest victims of the apartheid monsters in Pretoria include a progressive African chief of the Temdu tribe, Nkosana Ntinana. He was jailed for eight years while the 36 others got seven years each. According to reports the chief and his subjects were arrested by the racist Verwoerd police after they had openly denounced the evil practices of apartheid in the country.

We know of many other crimes Verwoerd and his assassins are committing in that part of our Great African continent which all sane persons all over the world have denounced and expressed deep concern over the conscienceless Pretoria Regime.

Shock

But it is great shock to all Africa that at a time when all progressive peoples and Countries through their actions or expressed indignation to apartheid and racial discrimination and the murderous activities of Verwoerdism has brought to South Africa, the United States of America, Britain, West Germany and France are known to supply arms and ammunitions to Verwoerd to exterminate and suppress the indigenous Africans there struggling for their freedom.

No doubt VERWOERD HAS LOST HIS CONSCIENCE for no sane person in this twentieth century would indulge in such awful crimes against the black race.

The chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, Mr. Adlai Stevenson admitted recently at the U.N. that the U.S. had been supplying arms and ammunitions to Verwoerd but expressed the hope that they would end such arms by December his year.

THE U.S. DIPLOMACY HERE HAS GONE TO THE DRAINS. *He has entered into secret agreement with Verwoerd and they are determined to make all deliveries before December, as the delegate said: Why the U.S. would not simply end her supply now of these strategic arms to their brass-puppet Verwoerd but till December is now clear to all.*

Foreign Monopolies

United States, French and British monopolies are equally determined to protect the interests of their capital in South Africa, and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (the ROCKFELLER Group of monopolies) also would protect their profits in Algeria and in the Sahara and the many other big oil companies in Africa, hence their arms and ammunitions support to Verwoerd with all the deadly weapon to kill the Africans. Therefore it is now clear to us Africans that it is the DOLLAR that is killing us, our brothers and sisters of South Africa.

Britain, France, the United States of America and West Germany in order to keep their huge profits from Africa have a large joint military base at Wheelus in Libya, reports confirm.

Belgium automatic rifles, FN

type, are currently in production in their large quantities in South Africa, while French armoured cars, "Panhard A. M. L." of 4.5 tons containing different kinds of armaments including guns of 90mm calibre, lest we forget also the tear gas, which are also reported being manufactured there. What about rockets? They have been stocking like dense forests and stones ready to clamp down the Africans in their struggle. But they will fail!!

West Germany's loan of £650,000,000, to Verwoerd payable in ten years is still fresh in our minds. GOODS MANUFACTURED IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE ALSO REPORTED LABELLED "MADE IN U.S.A." "MADE IN "GT. BRITAIN", "MADE IN "FRANCE" AND "MADE IN WEST GERMANY" AS A RESULT OF THE WORLD BOYCOTT OF GOODS FROM THAT COUNTRY IN PROTEST OF THEIR APARTHEID POLICY! The goods are labelled in this way to escape air and sea ports which are closed to goods manufactured in South Africa.

The hands of the monopolies from these Western countries helped to design and introduce dangerous bills in South Africa. Bills such as "the Pass Laws" the "Sabotage Bill" and a host of them. The hands which helped to bring these stupid laws in South Africa should not escape blame. They will pay for the prize of their crimes against Mother Africa.

Hitler's Ghost

The Hitler's remnants in Bonn headed by Adenauer are also known of supplying the Hitler's last arms stocked even after the destructive Second World War to Verwoerd and Salazar to kill our people. But Verwoerd and his associates must be told in plain words that they cannot keep their hopeless regime there for ever. Africa is for us and no amount of suppression and oppression of her sons and daughters would stop us from regaining our motherland. The monopolies would no longer fill their big pockets with the richness of our motherland at

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ernment to export 340,000 cases of citrus fruit each year through Lawrence Marques.

The mines where this Portuguese contract labour works may be situated in South Africa or in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but the SHAREHOLDERS OF THE MINES are as likely as not to be resident in the UNITED STATES, in the UNITED KINGDOM in FRANCE or in BELGIUM.

There are therefore powerful influence to ensure that in these and in other countries who are determined to use their political influence to ensure that their countries support Portugal in maintaining its forced labour system and all the tragedies that flow from it.

What happens in regard to labour for the mines, so far as South Africa is concerned, is merely an example. The existence of the Portuguese colonies makes cheap labour possible not only in South Africa but in all the neighbouring colonial territories and it is an important element in the profits not only of mining but of many other industries, including plantation farming. All those with financial interest in such enterprises cannot therefore allow Portugal to loose her colonial possessions.

Perhaps less important, but of considerable influence in securing further support for Portugal among certain circles abroad, is the fact that much of the investment in the Portuguese colonies is not Portuguese at all, but international.

International Interests

The Benguela Railway, running from Benguela, with a 20-mile addition along the Atlantic coast to Libito, to Beira in Mozambique on the Indian Ocean, stretches for 1,700 miles. It was built largely by British interests to bring out ores from the mines of Katanga. Traversing the great Angola Plateau, it passes to a point above Elizabethville in the Congo and then links up with the Rhodesia Railway system, after which it passes on to Beira. Ninety per cent of the stock of the Benguela Railway is held by the British holding company of Tan-

ganyika Concessions, domiciled since 1952 in South Rhodesia.

State within a State

Tanganyika Concessions is linked up with the copper interests of Northern Rhodesia and with Union Miniere and other industrial concerns in the Congo. Through interlocking directorates this company is linked with Forminiere and certain diamond interests which, together with De Beers, the great South African mining company, control the Angola Diamond Company with mines in the Luanda Province. This company is a State within a State.

It possesses a prospecting monopoly over five-sixths of Angola and a labour conscription monopoly over most of the Luanda Province, one-third the size of Ghana.

One half of its profits goes to the State, the other half to the private shareholders. No wonder it can influence policy whichever way it likes and holds in its hands the lives of the African of the Luanda Province. No wonder it maintains the fiction that a permit to visit its mines must come from Lisbon.

For these economic reasons Portugal can count on heavy backing from vested financial interests throughout the world. Her position in maintaining her colonial dictatorship is, in addition, immensely strengthened by her membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Our Policy

Let me at this stage state the policy of the Government of Ghana in regard to such organisation as NATO.

We do not object to—indeed, we have no right whatsoever to object to—other states forming defensive alliances. In so far as such alliances contribute towards peace they are indeed to be encouraged, and in any event the steps which other nations take to preserve their own security are entirely a matter for the judgment of the independent States concerned.

Ghana is in favour of an African High Command which would provide for the defence of the African continent, and it would be illegal for a country which supports such

a proposal to criticise other countries who have formed defence plans on a continental basis.

Nevertheless, I consider that Ghana is completely justified in opposing any military alliance in so far as that alliance is directed towards the maintenance of colonialism and imperialism in Africa.

The criticism which Ghana has at the moment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has nothing whatever to do with its defensive aspects; our complaint is that certain members of the organisation appear to use their position in it to obtain arms and financial support for the worst type of COLONIAL OPPRESSION and SUPPRESSION.

Impoverished Country

One must ask the question: Why is Portugal in NATO at all?

Portugal is an impoverished country without military forces of any value and the only possible strategic argument why it is necessary to include her in the NATO alliance is that she possesses some bases of doubtful value in the Azores.

Do the NATO powers consider that the possession of these bases is worth the goodwill of the African continent?

Portugal is only able to wage a colonial war because fundamentally she has the backing of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION.

If this backing were withdrawn tomorrow and Portugal was excluded from NATO, Portugal's colonial rule would collapse the day after.

Is it not worth the while of the NATO powers to secure the end of an intolerable regime in Africa through the sacrifice of the most doubtful military advantages which they obtain through their association with Portugal?

We must, however, accept the realities of the present situation. Portugal is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and there are the strongest financial and economic pressure being exercised to maintain Portuguese colonialism.

The African States can only assist the people of Angola, there-

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fore, if the African States themselves escape from the influence of NATO, or any other defence alliance, and of neo-colonialism.

I believe that if African freedom and unity is to be achieved, it will be by a policy of positive neutralism and non-alignment and the rejection of all neo-colonialism. At the moment, neo-colonialism is establishing itself among a number of African States.

Take, for instance, the EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET, which is but the economic and financial arm of neo-colonialism and the bastion of European economic imperialism in Africa. The Treaty of Rome, which brought into being the European Common Market, can be compared to the treaty that emanated from the Congress of Berlin in the nineteenth century.

The former Treaty established the undisputed sway of colonialism in Africa, the latter marks the advent of neo-colonialism in Africa.

In another sense, it may be said that the Treaty of Rome particularly in its effects on Africa, bears unquestionably the marks of FRENCH NEO-COLONIALISM. Indeed, the former French investment fund for economic and social development which has become the fund for financial assistance and co-operation and the European fund claiming to help newly independent African States economically and financially, are one and the same thing.

The fund for economic and social development in its implementation in the colonial territory simply reduces that territory to the position of an exclusive market for the economy of the metropolitan country.

If we want to achieve unity in Africa, then at this moment of African nationalist revolution we cannot rely on international organisations that have their concepts and their loyalties beyond Africa. We must create our own organisations, and when we do so we must adhere loyally and rigidly to them. Creating our own African international trade-union organisation, we cannot individually opt to associate with other international unions, for, this will do exactly what we

must be on our guard against. It will divide our loyalties, it will weaken our own organisation.

The African national trade-union organisations can affiliate only with the All-African Trade-Union Federation, then we can associate as a single apex body with the other international apex bodies, for then we shall be equal and not weaker parties to be used by the stronger.

I have discussed this question of neo-colonialism at some length because it is highly relevant to unity of action among African States which is essential to ensure effective action in regard to Angola.

What I have said explains, I hope, the main difference which Ghana has with the so-called Monrovia Powers. Nevertheless this difference should not lead us into a slanging match between individual African States. I much deplore the Press attacks which have been made from all sides as a result of what is, in effect, a genuine difference of opinion springing from the grave difficulties of having to solve, within a very short space of time, the many problems which we have inherited from a colonial regime.

I would like to see a truce in Press warfare between African States, and I suggest that we might inaugurate this truce by declaring a unilateral cease-fire in Ghana. What the present situation requires is not abuse but argument. If we are to convert others to our point of view we shall not achieve this by calling them names. We may achieve it, and I believe that we shall, if we can secure a forum where the issues we put forward can be impartially examined.

The Slave States

Let me now come in detail to the situation in the Portuguese territories and particularly in Angola. The first essential which we must make the world realise is that the Portuguese territories in Africa are SLAVE STATES and have always been slave states.

Outright slavery, called by that name, continued in Angola until some one hundred years ago.

Though theoretically abolished in 1875 slavery was still continued by various methods which were put into definite legal shape by a Portuguese law of 1899. This law, still in force today provides that "all natives", that is to say, all Africans, are subject to "a moral and legal obligation" to acquire by labour the means of subsisting or "bettering their social condition".

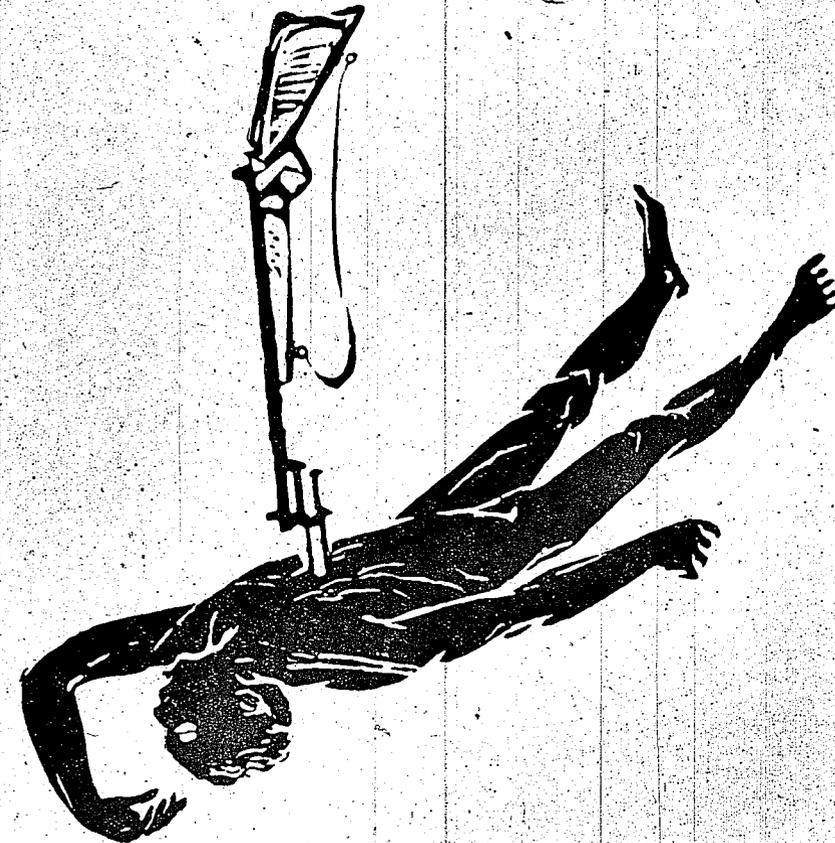
Under this law every African male in Angola, which is in practice interpreted as those above the apparent age of ten years, is obliged to show that he has worked for six months in the year previous to investigation. Since the investigators are those who are charged with recruiting the labour it is unlikely that they come to any very objective decision on this matter.

What in fact happens is that employers who want forced labour indent for it to the Governor-General. The Governor-General then allocates forced labour in accordance with a theoretical calculation of the numbers which may be available. Requests are then sent to the local administrators up and down the country until they reach what would be the equivalent of a District Commissioner in old colonial times in Ghana. The District Commissioner then proceeds to enter into a contract for the services of the forced labour.

The contract is, however, not signed by the workers concerned, it is a contract entered into collectively on their behalf by the Chief and Headmen who are entrusted with the duty of producing, within the times given, the specified number of labourers who are required.

It is true that less than half of the labour employed in Angola is officially classified by the Portuguese authorities as contract labour, that is to say, forced labour. Over half of it is theoretically voluntary labour, but in practice the position of the voluntary labourer is not better than that of the forced labourer. The voluntary labourer cannot leave his job because if he does he will become liable to be classed as "idle" and therefore subject to forced labour. His only chance of escape is by emigrating

PORTUGUESE TERROR IN ANGOLA



SLAVERY
EXPLOITATION
MASS MURDER

from the Portuguese territories and attempting to obtain work in other neighbouring States.

Portuguese sources have estimated in the ten years previous to 1947 that over one million people had left the Portuguese colonies by way of clandestine emigration. Indeed, the only way to evade the torture of life in the Portuguese colonies is to escape across the border. But not all the people can go, and those who are left behind often bear the brunt for those who have gone. And they have no avenue of articulation, no medium through which they can make their plight. When others have been in the same position there have been those who have raised their voices for them. All over the world we have heard of people who are reputed to exist in condition which would be paradise to the Africans of the Portuguese colonial territories.

In an attempt to cover this system of slavery the forced workers are, in theory, paid wages. In fact, however, three-quarters of these wages are deferred until the end of their contract period and are not handed until the State has deducted taxation. This is so high that at the end of their period of employment they are left with scarcely any balance at all. For example, in one authenticated case, a man employed in the fishing industry had, after he had worked for FOUR YEARS, a final balance of £3 2s. 6d.

The indescribable misery of Angolan conditions has continuously brought to the notice of the Portuguese Government but nothing except paper reforms have been carried out.

In 1947 Captain Henrique Galvao deputy for Angola in the Portuguese National Assembly and Senior Inspector of Overseas Territories, investigated these conditions on the request of the Portuguese Government and submitted a comprehensive report.

Galvao's Report

Galvao had been appointed because the Portuguese Government expected from him, as a fervent Government supporter, a white-

wash report they could use in the United Nations and elsewhere. In fact, Captain Galvao was so shocked by what he saw in Angola that he changed his political views and submitted an honest and balanced account of what was taking place in the Portuguese overseas possessions.

As might be imagined, the Portuguese Government did everything possible to suppress the report and Captain Galvao was thrown into prison for his presumption in telling the truth. Ultimately he escaped from Portugal to appear dramatically on the scene when he led a band of seventy brave men to seize the Portuguese liner Santa Maria.

One of Captain Galvao's chief criticisms of the Portuguese regime was its DECEIT. In theory and on paper it had abolished forced labour on behalf of private firms and individuals. In fact, forced labour was being stepped up.

He described how in Angola, openly and deliberately, the State acts as a recruiting and distributing agent for labour on behalf of a band of settlers who, as though it were quite natural, write to the Department of Native Affairs for "a supply of workers". This word "supply" is used indifferently of goods or men.

He had no doubt in his mind as to the existence of slavery but he explained—and I quote his actual words—"In some ways the situation is worse than slavery. Under slavery, after all, the native is bought as an animal, his owner prefers him to remain as fit as a horse or an ox. Here the native is not bought, he is hired from the State, although he is called a free man, and his employer cares little if he sickens or dies once he is working, because when he sickens or dies his employer will simply ask for another."

These opinions he backs up with horrifying statistics showing in some cases a death rate of 40 per cent among the forced labourers.

Forced labour of this sort of course can only be maintained by the exercise of the utmost brutality on the part of the colonial authorities and the employers themselves.

The situation has recently been

made much worse by the introduction of a large settler class.

The precarious state of the Portuguese economy at home makes it necessary for Portugal to export its own poverty and to compensate citizens for the work which the State cannot provide them at home by dispossessing the African population of the colonies and by providing land and cheap African labour for incoming Portuguese.

Just as the farmers of SOUTH AFRICA are much harsher and crueller employers than are the mines and the big industrial concerns, so are the Portuguese settlers, in the main, more ruthless and cruel than the international big business which have been established in Angola.

One final consideration explains the ferocious Portuguese attempts to put down the present liberation movement and their determination at all costs to maintain their hold upon their African colonies.

Exports to the Colonies

Twenty-three per cent of the total export of Portugal goes to her African possessions where she can maintain a system of excluding other competitors. Textiles, which are the largest single import into the Portuguese territories, are 89 per cent Portuguese. The second largest import is wine. It all comes from Portugal.

In the same ways as the early European traders in West Africa dealt largely in gin, so Portugal finds in its colonies one of its finest outlets for its alcohol.

The real question is whether if these exoports from Portugal were to be cut off, the Portuguese economy could survive.

Portugal is, at home, an old-fashioned despotic oligarchy established and maintained in the interests of a minute group of extremely wealthy families and at the same time is the POOREST of all European countries.

There is therefore a potentially revolutionary situation in Portugal itself. All those who are afraid of social changes in Europe thus be-

come the allies of Portuguese colonialism since its maintenance appears to be the only method by which Portugal itself can be saved from revolution. All the injustices, social degradation and slavery of the Portuguese regime has now reached a climax in revolt in Angola.

What to Do?

In such a situation, what practical and immediate steps can we take?

The independent African States should band themselves together to end once and for all Portuguese and other colonialism on the African continent.

Thanks to the initiative of the Afro-Asian Group at the United Nations, the Security Council will debate the Angola question. All pressure should be put on the United Nations to see that a positive and effective resolution is adopted. Action through the United Nations is of the greatest importance and Ghana will support to the full any positive proposals which may be made by the Security Council. Our experience, however, of

United Nations action in the Congo should warn us against trusting exclusively to action by the Security Council for resolving the crisis in Angola.

Resolutions of the Security Council require to be backed by ACTION by all African States working in concert and within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

I have already sent a message to the Heads of Government of each of the independent African States calling their attention to the serious situation in Angola.

What more can we do? Our immediate task is the enlightenment of the conscience of mankind. We must build a machine in co-operation with all other independent African States to expose in detail exactly what is taking place in Angola today. We must appeal by every peaceful means at our command to the people of Portugal itself to put an end to this unjust and inhuman colonial war.

We must make concerted arrangements for the assistance of the wounded and the refugees from Portuguese territory. We must ap-

peal to dockers not to load arms destined for Portugal. We must appeal to seamen not to carry goods of any description to or from Angola.

We must use African external broadcasting system to publicise throughout Africa and beyond the facts about what is happening in Angola today. But as I have said before, and as I emphasise in closing my address to you, above all we must seek unity action among the States of Africa on the issue irrespective of our difference in other matters.

Divided we can do nothing for the people of Angola; united we are certain of securing their triumph.

Let the Union of the Populations of Angola and the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of Angola unite and go forward together in their grim fight to achieve self-determination and freedom for the people of Angola.

The African's duty is clear—all Africans must stand behind them. If all this should fail then we will have to find some other means.

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THE TROUBLE IN SWAZILAND

THE announcement of a new constitution for Swaziland was followed almost at once by the most serious state of emergency in its history, and one that involves the first occasion on which British troops have been in South Africa in peacetime since the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1901.

Swaziland's new constitution was imposed on it by the Colonial Office, and differed from that proposed by all the parties to the Constitutional Conference which was held in London in February; the white settlers, the Paramount Chief (Sobhuza II) and the alliance of political parties.

The whites and the Paramount Chief has pressed for a constitution which reserved half the seats in any legislature to be filled by voters on separate rolls, and for the greater say in regard to the African seats to be had by the traditional authorities. The political parties had argued for a non-racial suffrage and for only a small proportion of seats to be reserved for both the traditional element and the whites.

The constitution imposed by the Colonial Office provides for a legislature of 28 members, four of whom are *ex-officio* Government officials and a speaker. The remaining 24 are divided into three groups. Eight of them are to be chosen by "traditional methods" and will thus represent the Paramount Chief of Ngwenyama as he is called. A further eight are to be elected on a national roll by both whites and Africans. They will probably represent the views of the political parties. The remaining eight must be

whites, half of them elected by the national roll and half by whites only.

The effect of this is to make for a deadlock between the conservative alliance of African traditionalists and white conservatives on the one hand, and both white and African adherents of the political parties on the other.

The Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (formerly Swaziland Progressive Party) rejected it as racialist and discriminatory and announced its intention to call a national conference to prepare a boycott of the constitution and of the elections to be held under it. The N.N.L.C. stands for "independence now". The leadership of the other main political party, the Swaziland Democratic Party, announced that it would consider whether it would cooperate and fight the elections under the new constitution or whether it would "take some other steps."

The Strikes

The Secretary General of the N.N.L.C., Mr. Dumisa Dlamini—who is a nephew of the Paramount Chief—said that a general strike would be called "in the fight against this constitution".

Strikes did in fact follow on a large scale. The first of these took place at the Havelock Asbestos Mine, near Pig's Peak, where between 1,500 and 2,000 miners struck for higher wages and after being addressed by Dlamini and others. They were dispersed by police using tear gas and some of the leaders were arrested. A day or two later, 3,500 Africans led by

Dlamini and MacDonald Maseko—another official of the N.N.L.C.—marched on Mbabane, and considerable confusion was created, during the course of which a number of prisoners escaped from the Mbabane gaol. The demands of the marching strikers were for the release of the men arrested earlier for an increase in wages to R2 (£1) a day, and for the rejection of the new constitution.

These demands were turned down by the Resident Commissioner, Mr. B. Marwick and stringent measures were taken to curb the strike: several Africans were arrested on allegation of "intimidation" and assault, and the entire police force of the territory was called out. Later civilians armed with tear gas, grenades and batons were mobilised to mount a 24-hour guard on white homes, business premises and essential services in Mbabane.

The strike nevertheless continued, and notwithstanding the use of loudspeaker vans which toured African townships, became more widespread, and local police and civilians were found inadequate to cope with it.

Re-inforcements were first flown in from Bechuanaland, and later a battalion of the 24th Infantry Brigade (the 1st Gordon Highlanders) was "airlifted" from Nairobi at the request of the Swaziland authorities. The battalion consists of some 600 men. Strikers were arrested, and both Dlamini and Maseko were gaoled pending trial. They were not allowed bail. The formal charge against them was that of having "procured" the strike at the Havelock Mine.

While the strike spread to sugar plantation workers and became total in Mbabane and in Big Bend, an order was issued under the Swaziland Public Order and Sedition Proclamation making it illegal to hold meetings and processions without permission; prohibiting the carrying of weapons, the wearing of party uniform and the taking of flags or banners to meetings. The proclamations were published in Cape Town: no printing could be done in Mbabane as a result of the strike.

Several hundred strikers were arrested at Pig's Peak, Big Bend and Mbabane, before the strike came to an end as the result of action by the troops and an appeal made to the strikers by the Paramount Chief.

In a letter to the *Times* (19th June) signed by Miss Mary Benson, Sir Jack Campbell and Mr. Peter Calvocoressi (of the Africa Bureau) the British Government was accused of not living up to its responsibilities.

The letter said: "*The Swazi people must themselves be able to enjoy the benefits of their country's remarkable prosperity. Yet industrialists, many of them South African, seem intent on following the South African pattern of exploiting cheap labour, and the South African leader of the European Advisory Council is openly antagonistic to Africans forming trade unions. In the particular incident of the strike at Pig's Peak, the British administration has failed to ensure reasonable working conditions and to encourage responsible trade union organisation.*"

The whole operation carried out by armed British troops in putting down the strike of labour is a vivid reminder of the South African Government handling of an African mine strike in 1946, and will inevitably lead the Swazi people to regard Britain as an oppressor rather than a protector."

We publish below the main provisions of the controversial "constitution".

HER Majesty's Commissioner

WHILE the High Commissioner will retain power to give directions to the Resident Commissioner except in matters relating to the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy) the latter will be made directly responsible to the Secretary of State for the government of the Territory. To mark this change, he will be described as Her Majesty's Commissioner for Swaziland and will be appointed, like Colonial Governors by the Sovereign.

Agreement with Ngwenyama

H.M. Commissioner, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen, will enter into an agreement with the Ngwenyama of Swaziland. This agreement will set out the Ngwenyama of Swaziland's relationship with the Executive Council and the Legislature; his immunities; his Civil list; and arrangements for the mineral rights in Swaziland. On his side, the Ngwenyama will enter into a solemn undertaking to be loyal to H.M. Queen Elizabeth II, whose protection Swaziland enjoys and her heirs and successors, to abide by the terms of the Constitution and to uphold the peace, order and good government of Swaziland.

The Executive

The executive powers will be vested in H.M. Commissioner, assisted by an Executive Council consisting of 3 *ex-officio* members and five nominated members appointed by H.M. Commissioner in his discretion. The *ex-officio* members will be the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General and the Secretary of Finance and Development. One of the nominated members will also be an official. The other 4 will be appointed from among the members of the Legislative Council who are not officials after H.M. Commissioner's consultation with the unofficial members of the Legislative Council to ensure that the 4 unofficial members are as representative as possible of the different classes of voters.

Except in certain specified cases, H.M. Commissioner will be required to consult the Executive Council in the formation of policy and in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution.

The Legislature

The Legislature will consist of H.M. Commissioner and a Legislative Council, composed of a Speaker, 24 elected members, 4 official members and nominated members. The Speaker will be appointed by H.M. Commissioner in his discretion, from outside the Legislative

Council.

The 24 elected members will be made up as follows:—

8 Swazis, certified by the Ngwenyama in Council as elected by traditional methods.

8 Europeans, 4 of whom will be elected by voters on a European roll and 4 by a National roll.

8 Persons of any race elected by a National roll.

The official members will be the 4 officials who are members of the Executive Council.

H.M. Commissioner will in addition—but only where circumstances require—have the power to nominate additional members. It is intended that this power should be used only:—

- to secure representation in the Legislative Council of interests or communities which in his opinion are not otherwise adequately represented: or
- to ensure that the government may be carried on should abnormal circumstances arise.

All members of the Legislative Council will be entitled to vote except the Speaker.

Subject to the provision of the Constitution, the Legislature will have power to legislate in respect of all matters except certain specified ones which will continue to be regulated by Swazi law and custom.

The Swazi representatives will be elected by traditional methods from among British subjects or British Protected persons over 21 who have lived in Swaziland for not less than 3 years.

A European will be qualified for election by the voters on the European roll if he himself is qualified to be registered as a voter on the roll.

A person will be qualified for election by the voters on the national roll, if he is himself qualified to be registered as a voter on that roll. Nominations of candidates for the 4 national roll seats reserved for Europeans registered as voters on that roll.

Constituencies

Swaziland will be treated as a single constituency for the election

of Europeans by voters on the European roll. For elections by voters on the national roll, Swaziland will be divided into 4 constituencies, each returning 3 members to the Legislative Council; the seat of one of these members will be reserved for a European in each constituency.

Franchise

A European over 21 will be qualified to vote on the European roll provided that he:—

- (a) is a British subject or British protected person (or until 31st December, 1965, not being a British subject or British protected person, is a South African citizen) and
- (b) has resided in Swaziland for at least 3 years.

Any person of 21 years of age or above will be qualified to be registered as a voter on the national roll provided that he:—

- (a) is a British subject or British protected person and
- (b) has resided in Swaziland for at least 3 years, and
- (c) pays direct tax (or is the wife of a person who pays direct tax.)

Powers of H.M. Commissioner

H.M. Commissioner will have the normal reserved executive and legislative powers. Provision for assent to, and reservation of Bills, and disallowance of laws are included in the Constitution in the usual form, i.e. for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. The power to prorogue or dissolve the Legislative Council—the life of which would normally be 4 years unless sooner dissolved—will be vested in H.M. Commissioner.

Powers and Privileges of the Ngwenyama

The powers, privileges and immunities of the Ngwenyama are set out in the Constitution.

Swazi Nation, Land and Mineral Rights

Swazi National and ownership of minerals (subject to existing rights) are vested in the Nkwenyama on behalf of the Swazi nation.

Swazi Institutions

The Legislature of Swaziland will

not be competent to legislate in respect of certain specified Swazi institutions, which will continue to be regulated by Swazi law and custom.

Human Rights

Fundamental human rights will be protected under the Constitution. These will include protection against deprivation of property without adequate compensation.

Existing Laws

Existing laws, including Swazi law and custom, will continue in force until changed by a competent legislative authority.

Public Service

The arrangements contained in the Swaziland (Public Service Commission) Order in Council 1962 will be included in the new Constitution.

Judiciary

Provision will be made for a High Court in Swaziland and for the appointment of a Chief Justice and Judges on the lines of Part V of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Constitution) Order in Council 1960.

Nkomo is Gone

Continued from Page 6

children. Only a few days ago Mr. Nkomo, knowing that Mr. Sithole was in a foreign country, cabled President Nyerere that he had suspended Sithole. It was on Nkomo's orders that Sithole had remained outside his country; now it is Nkomo again who has chosen to interfere with Sithole's normal activities in Tanganyika.

"Last April Mr. Nkomo, under false presentation, induced Mr. Robert Mugabe, who was out of custody on heavy bail, to jump the bail and come to Dar-es-Salaam. In complying with Mr. Nkomo's wishes Mr. Mugabe had involved himself in an offence against the law. As if this were not enough, Mr. Nkomo has cabled President Nyerere that he has suspended Mr. Mugabe. This apparently was intended to cause difficulty for Mr. Mugabe so that he is in trouble both in Southern Rhodesia and in Tanganyika.

Witch-hunts

"In the same month Mr. Nkomo induced Mr. Takawira to jump his bail and come out to Dar-es-Salaam. This has naturally placed Mr. Takawira in a difficult position in relation to Southern Rhodesia. Having placed Mr. Takawira in this mess, Mr. Nkomo cabled President Nyerere that he had suspended Mr. Takawira, thus endeavouring to incapacitate him in Southern Rhodesia and the country in which Mr. Nkomo himself has dumped him.

"Immediately ZAPU was banned, Mr. Nkomo, without consulting the Tanganyika Government, let alone his colleagues, announced his intention to form a government-in-exile. He was however, later forced to retract that statement.

"We all desire the unity of the

African people of Southern Rhodesia, but Mr. Nkomo's flight from Southern Rhodesia to Tanganyika with the whole central executive, his unfounded assurances regarding the formation of a government-in-exile, his constant refusal to meet his whole executive, his arbitrary suspension of the four members of the central executive, his public denunciation of hard-core nationalists in Southern Rhodesia, let alone his indecision, vacillation, impulsive and irrational pronouncements, and his fear to face the music are among the factors that threaten the unity we all seek to maintain as we face the white settlers, who are determined to deny us the independence of our country which is rightly ours by birth.

"Mr. Nkomo had to be halted in his innumerable witch-hunts, which have resulted in his being denounced by many people at home. We want to feel assured that whoever lead the people shall be a man who is bound by the Constitution, who consults his executive, and who respects the wishes of his followers.

"While people elect their leaders, they reserve the right to criticise them, and if need be, to change them. If popular criticism results in denunciation, suspension and witch-hunt by the leaders, then such leaders are not worth their salt, and such leaders should give way to a better calibre of leaders who will not handle the affairs of the party on a personal and arbitrary basis.

"This is the judgment we pronounce on Mr. Nkomo; and we shall pronounce the same judgment on any leader who aspires in future to set himself above properly constituted authority, we believe the true unity of the people of Zimbabwe is founded on fundamental principles rather than on personalities."

WE publish below a ZANU policy statement, issued on August 21, 1963, at Highfield, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia under the Authority and direction of the Central Committee of the Zimbabwe African National Union.



Rev. N. Sithole

ZIMBABWE is an African country in the context of an African continent in various stages of the relentless process of overthrowing the yoke of colonialism, imperialism and settlerism. As such Zimbabwe must be considered as participating in this tremendous process of inevitable change.

Therefore its institutions—political, social and economic—must reflect the will of the African people who form over 90 per cent of the population while at the same time recognising and respecting the rights and aspirations of the various minorities within its borders.

The Zimbabwe African National Union is a non-racial Union of all the peoples of Zimbabwe who share a common destiny and a common fate believing in the African Character of Zimbabwe and democratic rule by the majority regardless of race, colour, creed or tribe.

ZANU, which, in the words of its President—the Rev. N. Ndabaningi

AND OUR OPINION

THE constitution is in every important detail similar to that of Southern Rhodesia where the minority white elements are ruling the majority black population because the ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY OF ONE MAN ONE VOTE has not been put into practice.

Ghana has been, and still is, the vanguard of independent countries of Africa especially those in the Commonwealth, who oppose the bogus Southern Rhodesian constitution; and on the same principle, Ghana vehemently opposes the proposed Swaziland constitution.

We view with grave concern the apathy of some of the leaders of nationalist organisations of this obnoxious and bogus constitution which entrenches the superiority of the so-called "rights of a foreign minority group" at the expense of the majority of the indigenous citizens of Swaziland.

At this crucial moment in the life and history of the people of Swazi the VOICE OF AFRICA urges all freedom fighters to forget their differences, come together with one dominant united voice and uphold the dignity of their future generations yet unborn.

Resurgent African nationalism demands of all of us to demonstrate our abhorrence of self to national victory. Present individual gains from the imperialists are illusory and transitional. Promises of the 'wealthiest world' in their midst are all hallow and subtle manoeuvres aimed to suppress you and your future generations.

The whole of Africa looks to you for positive action. There should be no compromise on principles whatsoever.

Simole—"ushers in the new politics of confrontation" seriously intends to confront the voting white minority, the minority-elected Government and the British Government with a positive programme that can only result in bringing about equal opportunity and full citizenship to everyone regardless of the colour of one's skin, race, religion or sex.

2. THE ZANU STATE

- (a) ZANU will establish a *nationalist, democratic, socialist and Pan-Africanist Republic* within the fraternity of African States and the British Commonwealth of Nations.
- (b) The only form of franchise that the ZANU Republic will recognise is one based on "One Man, One Vote."
- (c) In the Organisation of ZANU State the principles of the **RULE OF LAW** and **SEPARATION** of powers shall be strictly adhered to.
- (d) The ZANU Republic shall be a unitary and indivisible State.
- (e) The ZANU Republic shall be based on the principle of non-racialism.

3. ZANU AND CITIZENSHIP

All the people born in Zimbabwe or who have been citizens of Zimbabwe shall be citizens of the Republic.

Foreigners may qualify for citizenship under conditions prescribed in accordance with the Law of the Republic.

4. BILL OF RIGHTS

- (a) There shall be entrenched in the Constitution of the Republic a **BILL OF RIGHTS** guaranteeing the rights and freedom of every citizen.
- (b) *The Bill of Rights* shall have *retrospective* effect from 12th September, 1890.
- (c) In a ZANU Republic, the Judiciary—apart from its normal functions of admini-

stering Justice, shall test the constitutionality of all legislation.

5. THE ZANU LAND POLICY

- (a) All land shall belong to the *Zimbabwe nation*, and the Government shall merely be the trustee on behalf of the people.
- (b) *The Land Apportionment Act* and its corollary—the *Land Husbandry Act* shall be repealed and replaced by a new Land Registration Law.
- (c) A *National Land Board* shall be created to effect an equitable redistribution of land.
- (d) Absentee ownership of land by foreigners shall be forbidden.
- (e) Owned but unused land shall be declared communal.

6. ZANU AND AGRICULTURE

- (a) A land bank for the purpose of financing agricultural projects, shall be established.
- (b) For the purpose of improving livestock, and rendering available educational materials to all farmers, a **VETERINARY RESEARCH AGENCY** shall be established.
- (c) Destocking shall be *abolished*.
- (d) Incentive to farmers engaged in intensive agriculture shall be offered.
- (e) In order to increase production, *Co-operative Societies* shall be established throughout the country.
- (f) Serious efforts shall be made by the ZANU Government to increase the volume of our exports of tobacco, maize, sugar, citrus fruits and other products.

7. ZANU AND EDUCATION

- (a) ZANU believes in complete integration of *all* educational institutions.

(b) ZANU believes in free and compulsory education for all children up to FORM II.

(c) ZANU shall launch an adult and mass education programme to wipe out illiteracy.

(d) A ZANU Government shall encourage and assist higher education. A programme of scholarships and loans shall be instituted.

(e) A *Zimbabwe Institute of Technology* shall be established.

(f) More Teacher Training Institutions shall be established in order to provide the kindergarten, primary and secondary schools with better qualified teachers.

(g) The present Unified African Teaching Service shall be abolished and all teachers shall be part of the civil service establishment.

8. ZANU AND LABOUR

(a) The Industrial Conciliation Act, the *Masters and Servants Act* and all such industrial and labour laws that discriminate on the basis of colour, shall be repealed.

(b) A new labour law that will treat all labour matters without racial discrimination shall be enacted.

(c) ZANU will accord legal recognition to all organised and registered labour unions.

(d) ZANU Government shall uphold the right of trade Unions to assemble and organise all workers.

(e) A ZANU Government will establish a high *national minimum wage*.

9. ZANU AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

(a) A National Employment Bureau shall be set up for the registration of the unemployed and the implementation of a *relief fund for the unemployed*.

(b) Unemployment shall be tack-

led by creation of more economic projects which may include:—

(1) communal farms (2) opening of Postal Agencies in rural areas; (3) Establishment of Communal Co-operatives Societies; (4) Housing Schemes in rural and urban areas; (5) Irrigation projects; (6) National Army.

10. ZANU AND JUSTICE

(a) A ZANU Government shall declare unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners at once.

(b) Every citizen of Zimbabwe shall have the option to be tried by or without jury.

(c) African courts enforcing African customary law shall be instituted throughout the country.

(d) The Zimbabwe courts shall consist of lower courts, the High Court and the Supreme Court.

(e) The ZANU Republican Government shall establish the Zimbabwe Republic Police (Z.R.P.) to replace the B.S.A.P.

(f) ZANU shall repeal the Unlawful Organisations Act, the Law and Order Maintenance Act, the Preservation of Constitutional Government Act, Preventive Detention Act, Curatorship Act and all other repressive laws enacted by the white minority Settler-Governments.

11. PAN-AFRICAN AND FOREIGN POLICY.

(a) A ZANU Republic shall adopt Pan-Africanism as the foundation of its foreign policy.

(b) A ZANU Republic shall seek membership in the Organisation of African States and shall participate fully in all Pan-African Conferences.

(c) The liquidation of colonialism, settlerism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in Africa

shall be the major goal of ZANU'S Pan-African Policy.

(d) *In Foreign Affairs*, the policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment shall be pursued with vigilance.

(e) ZANU shall participate fully in any mankind's search for a lasting peace through disarmament and freedom from hunger, but it will not seek co-existence between oppressor and oppressed in any country. Co-existence can only be between free people.

12. ZANU AND DEFENCE.

(a) A ZANU Republic regime will maintain a strong national Army for defence and liberation of Africa from colonialism, settlerism and imperialism.

(b) Special inducement will be introduced so as to encourage capable soldiers to pursue military service as a career.

13. ZANU AND WELFARE HOUSING

(a) ZANU shall spearhead social schemes for juvenile delinquents.

(b) ZANU will institute a training programme in the arts and skills for all prisoners in order to facilitate their social rehabilitation.

(c) Creches and child welfare centres shall be established in all places.

(d) A training and re-training programme for the unemployed shall be established in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour.

(e) A ZANU Government shall establish a "**FREEDOM FIGHTERS' COUNCIL**" which shall administer special education and life insurance funds for the dependants of those who did, or were partially or wholly incapacitated in the national struggle for liberation.

(f) A ZANU Government will ensure that every person has a

suitable house in urban or rural areas.

(g) ZANU shall repeal "The Native Status Determination Act" and disband the present racial Social Welfare Department.

14. ZANU AND IMMIGRATION.

(a) Immigration from overseas shall in principle be prohibited except for technicians and investors.

(b) The ZANU Government shall pursue an *open-door* policy with regard to immigrants from other parts of Africa excepting South African and Portuguese whites who shall be prohibited.

15. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(a) The municipal franchise, under a ZANU Government, shall be based on "One Man, One Vote."

(b) The present Local Government Act shall be repealed, and a new one enacted.

(c) Chieftanship as an Institution shall be protected by the Constitution.

(d) A College for the training of Chiefs and their heirs—apparent shall be established.

16. ECONOMIC PLANNING

(a) Under ZANU Government, a Ministry of Economics shall be created and charged with the responsibility of preparing long-range development schemes for every Government department taking into account the economic implications of departmental policies and intended projects.

(b) The Ministry of Economics shall propose ways and means of raising capital on home and foreign markets for national economic developments.

(c) Private enterprise shall be en-

Continued on page 37.

PERSONAL

Why I Support ZANU

by Shakespeare Makoni

THE formation on August 8, 1963, of the Zimbabwe African National Union under dedicated dynamic leadership symbolised an end as well as a beginning, a pro-pounded struggle as well as victory. African politics today needs a leader who injects hope and confidence into his followers, a leader prepared to face and overcome with his people the hazards that the struggle to independence demands.

At his first public meeting in Highfield, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole declared: 'People must have the power to make or depose their leaders. The good leader is prepared to suffer with his people, to fight with his people and to heed the voice of his followers'. Asked how he would liberate this country he replied: 'The situation will dictate the methods. Those who want the deadlock to be resolved by peaceful means must create an atmosphere in which the issues will be solved amicably'.

The Problems

The Highfield meeting, attended by about 300—mostly young men between 17 and 30—was the most lively I have ever witnessed. The boys publicly defied Nkomo's intimidators, clapped and shouted anti-Nkomo slogans, and gave thundering support to Mr. Sithole.

The heartening thing about these 'rebels' was the fact that they were fully aware of the problems we face before independence. They knew that Mr. Sithole faces two formid-

able opponents, the Government and the Nkomoites: one just hopes that Nkomoites will not fight ZANU instead of opposing the Government. Many of Mr. Sithole's followers want him to move faster than Nkomo. ZANU is more likely to pursue a policy of co-existing with Nkomo; they are less concerned with him than with their determination to win freedom for Zimbabwe.

'Cowardly Leader'

Nkomo was a compromised leader locally and national disaster abroad. He has associated with the formation of the Federation: he deserted his followers when they most needed him: he waged his battle against the settler regime at the UN instead of within the country. He accepted the 15 African seats in the 1961 Constitution although he had promised nothing less than one man one vote. He has travelled widely and lived luxuriously but achieved nothing for his followers.

He has never been to prison. The three parties he has led have all been banned, strangely enough, in his absence. He earns the unenviable title of being the most cowardly 'nationalist leader' on the African continent.

Nkomo has been kept in leadership for the sake of unity. When ZAPU was banned it was thought it would continue underground, but Nkomo had never worked out the machinery to ensure this. We now sacrifice his leadership because weing

do not believe in uniting to do nothing. He has publicly declared that he has reached his wits' end.

The old fellow has lost the confidence of nearly all African independent states, all university students here and abroad, all banned ZAPU external officers, the majority of the African intelligentsia, and the more effective former executive members. The ZANU leaders have declared their determination to make GAOLS THEIR HOTELS, NOT LUXURY HOTELS THEIR GAOLS.

Time to Change

Nkomo's ironical fate compares with that of Sir Edgar Whitehead, banned ZAPU but was in turn banned from political power by the white electorate. Now Nkomo has been banned by his more effective followers. Just as the RF election slogan was 'It's time for a change—a change for the better' so have we adopted the same slogan against the decadence of Nkomoism.

The Europeans will mourn Nkomo's fall. They like him because his leadership has been ineffective. We would not be surprised if he should receive funds from local capitalists. It must have been cold comfort to him to be declared life president at his 'hand-picked' conference at Cold Comfort Farm when he has no machinery properly organised to carry out his plans. If he were an effective underground worker no split would ever have occurred.

What about European membership of ZANU? Mr. Sithole might perhaps accept some but the odds are that most of his followers suspect whites in nationalist parties. Thus European members are unlikely to have any influential say and will be completely kept out of the inside activities of the party.

I make no apologies for being an ardent supporter of ZANU and its leadership and for being an uncompromising opponent of indolent Nkomoism. I trust Mr. Sithole will become the Nkrumah of the dawn Zimbabwe Republic.

TO DR. DU BOIS

IN the stillness of the night, before dawn of August 28, 1963 the brave heart of Dr. William Edward Burghart Du Bois, Father of Pan-Africanism, Scholar, Sociologist, Historian and poet had failed to beat. Death had laid its icy hands on a courageous son of Mother Africa.

Dr. Du Bois, a great, great grandson of an American slave, Tom Burghardt, who was taken from the West Coast of Africa and sold as a slave in the state of New York, was a great fighter against all forms of racial inequality, discrimination and injustice.

He was buried in Africa, in Ghana, where he had rightly chosen as his home. He received full State Honours. OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, President of Ghana, who had always regarded Dr. Du Bois as a Father and Friend and who invited this great son of Africa to Ghana, has paid the following tribute to the memory of Dr. Du Bois!

"We mourn the death of Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, great son of Africa.

"Dr Du Bois, in a long life-span of 96 years achieved distinction as a poet, historian and sociologist. He was an undaunted fighter for the emancipation of colonial and oppressed people and pursued this objective throughout his life.

"Dr. Du Bois was a distinguished figure in the pioneering days of the Pan-African Movement in the Western World. He was the Secretary of the first Pan African Congress held in London in 1900. In 1919 he organised another Pan-African Conference in Paris which coincided with the Paris Peace Conference.

"When George Padmore and I organised the Fifth Pan-African Conference in 1945 at Manchester, we invited Dr. Du Bois, then at

ready 78 years of age, to chair that Congress. I knew him in the United States and even spoke on the same platform with him. It was however at this Conference in Manchester that I was drawn closely to him. Since then he has been personally a real friend and father to me.

"Dr. Du Bois was a life-long fighter against all forms of racial inequality, discrimination and injustice. He helped to establish the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and was the first editor of its fighting organ, THE CRISIS. Concerning the struggle for the improvement of the status of the Negro in America he once said: 'We will not be satisfied to take one jot or little less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn

American: political, civil and social; and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but all true Americans.

It was the late George Padmore who described Dr. Du Bois as 'the greatest scholar the Negro race has produced, and one who always uphold the right of Africans to govern themselves.

I asked Dr. Du Bois to come to Ghana to pass the evening of his life with us and also to spend his remaining years in compiling an ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA, a project which is part of his whole intellectual life. We mourn his death. May he live in our memory not only a distinguished scholar, but a great African Patriot. Dr. Du Bois is a phenomenon. May he rest in peace."

A MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

ON June 26, 1957, Dr. Du Bois sent the following last message to the world:

"It is much difficult in theory than actually to say the last goodbye to one's loved ones and friends and to all familiar things of this life. I am going to take a long, deep and endless sleep.

"This is not a punishment but a privilege to which I have looked forward for years. I have loved my work, I have loved people and my play but always I have been uplifted by the thought that what I have done well will live long and justify my life: that what I have done ill or never finished can now be handed on to others for endless days to be finished, perhaps better than I could have done. And that peace will be my applause.

"ONE THING ALONE I CHARGE YOU AS YOU LIVE AND BELIEVE IN LIFE. ALWAYS HUMAN BEINGS WILL LIVE AND PROGRESS TO GREATER, BROADER AND FULLER LIFE. THE ONLY POSSIBLE DEATH IS TO LOSE BELIEF IN THIS TRUTH SIMPLY BECAUSE THE GREAT END COMES SLOWLY: BECAUSE TIME IS LONG. GOODBYE."

Reminiscences of Dr. Du Bois

by
Herbert Aptheker

THE 23rd day of February, 1963 was a memorable one, for it marked the ninety-fifth year that William Edward Burghardt Du Bois had graced this earth. Deep in the Berkshires, in New England's heart, just three years after Lincoln was murdered, was born this brown child, son of poor working people, and great-grandson of a veteran of the Revolutionary war.

Among his papers, is a postcard a neighbour wrote him in 1878—"Dear Willy: If you cut wood for me again this Saturday, I'll give you a quarter." And there is a letter to his mother, when he was all of thirteen years of age, from far-off Hartford: he'd visited the Capitol and put his name in the guest book: "Mother, the book has the names

of many famous people, but I did not care and was not afraid and wrote my own name there too."

Search for Truth

When he is all of twenty-five on his birthday—really far from home, in Berlin, studying at a great University—in the diary that he kept for his own eyes and in which he made his deepest promises, he dedicated himself to the search for Truth. He swore to himself that he would carve out a name in literature and in science, and that—come what may—he would fight for his people. He would, he wrote in this secret and sacred place, be "a man worthy of my race and my fathers."

Du Bois never grew old. When he was past sixty and had been invited

back to head the Sociology Department of Atlanta University, he always ran up the stone steps that brought one to the campus grounds; he ran up because, reaching the top, one was rewarded with a view of lovely flowers and he could not wait to bathe his eyes in the vision.

Singing Lustily

When he was eighty and away on a lecture tour, he wrote his wife that to his keen regret an engagement made it impossible for him to visit the circus that had come to town. When he was near ninety I myself saw him sitting on a piano bench with a seven-year-old girl—whose feet did not reach the floor—singing lustily, and well, about Old Mac Donald and his farm.

I remember when we were at the airport, a couple of years ago, seeing the Doctor and his wife off to Ghana, where he was to take charge of a projected Encyclopaedia Africana, that sweet John McManus, of the National Guardian—John, the reporter always and to the end—asked the Doctor how many volumes he projected and how the task would be. "Ten volumes, I think", said the Doctor and then he added, with the barest suggestion of a smile, "and about ten years per volume."

A Socialist

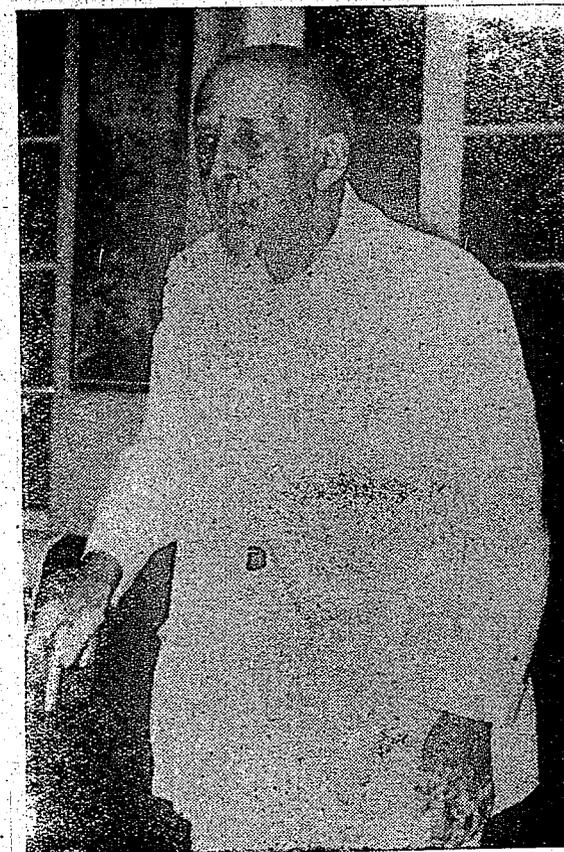
In Georgia, seventy years ago, Du Bois gave voice to the Negro's resistance against the conquest of the South by monopoly capitalism. He led the struggle against Big Business' "philanthropic" effort to mis-educate the Negro people and corrupt their leaders. He recognised the irresistible logic of Socialism sixty years ago. He organised the Niagara Movement, in 1905, and, speaking out for his people, said:

"We will not be satisfied to take one jot or little less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America."

It was this Niagara Movement, and Du Bois personally, that were so vital to the launching, in 1909, of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

Du Bois is the man who saw, fifty years ago, with the clarity of genius, an essential element in the unfolding of the twentieth century in the United States: "The cause of labour is cause of black men, and the black man's cause is labour's own". It was he, too, who more than a generation ago, saw the anti-imperialist liberating potential in a world-unity of Negro peoples, and therefore founded the Pan-African Movement.

The essence of his life, as a writer, thinker, educator, and organizer, has been the call for Peace—peace within nations and among nations—for dignified, secure, fra-



Late Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

"... a phenomenon"

ternal, living—together by a creative humanity. "I believe that War is Murder", he wrote in his "Credo" of 1904—one of the most influential essays in the history of American letters. "I believe that the wicked conquest of weaker and darker nations by nations white and stronger but foreshadows the death of that strength"

Increasingly, Du Bois has seen that the good things of life—based, as they must be, on Peace so that the good things may be created, shared and enjoyed—can be obtained only by struggle, by organized struggle. Increasingly, he has seen that the leadership and the main role in this struggle falls and must fall—if it is to be a principled one, an effective one—to the working class and its allies. As he put it: "Naturally, out of the mass of the working classes, who know life and its bitter struggles, will continually rise the real, unselfish, and clear-sighted leadership."

Imperialism is Evil

Du Bois insists that imperialism is evil, that racism is vile, that poverty is conquerable, that world war is not inevitable.

Leading the Peace Information Centre that did monumental work in the late 1940's and early 1950's, Dr. Du Bois and four associates, were indicted and tried a dozen years ago, as "unregistered foreign agents" under the provisions of the McCormick Act. That Act—unlike the McCarran Act—requires substantive proof of the actual "guilt" of the defendant personally; the Government offered Dr. Du Bois a "deal", telling him that if he pleaded no-defence, it would let him off without a jail sentence.

Steeped in white chauvinism and reflecting the ethics of imperialism, the government officials did not know with whom they were dealing. Du Bois told his attorney—the late Vito Marcantonio—"that before I would enter such a plea I would rot in jail."

Of course the defendants were not guilty—to think of Dr. Du Bois

as a "foreign agent" is like thinking of Thomas Jefferson and Frederick Douglass as "foreign agents" (of which, by the way, both were accused in their days!). And since, as I have stated, under the McCormick Act one does not have a legislative Bill of Attainder, such as the McCarran Act, a defendant had a chance, given due process of law; Dr. Du Bois and his fellow-defendants were acquitted.

Battle for Peace

During the period of the indictment and the trial, Dr. Du Bois stuck to his guns, of course, and as had been true all his life said exactly what he believed and what he wanted to say, and said it with perfect clarity. "With jail in sight", he writes in his *IN BATTLE FOR PEACE* (Mainstream Publishers, NY., 1952), "I hammered at the proposition that the Soviet Union did not want war, while our masters did; and that we in demanding peace were opposing Big Business which wanted War, and that we did this as free Americans and not as tools of any foreign or domestic power."

It was in the midst of this struggle that Langston Hughes, one of the hundreds of distinguished Negroes who, as youths, had turned to Dr. Du Bois for inspiration and help—to his everlasting credit wrote a magnificent column in *The Chicago Defender* (October, 6, 1951).

Du Bois is more than a man. He is all that he has stood for. The things that he has stood for are what millions of people of goodwill the world around desire, too—a world of decency, of no nation over another nation, of no colour line, no more colonies, no more poverty, of education for all, of freedom and love and friendship and peace among men. For as I can remember Dr. Du Bois has been writing and speaking and working for these things. He began way before I was born to, put reason above passion, tolerance above prejudice, well-being above poverty, wisdom above ignorance, co-operation above strife, equality above Jim Crow, and peace above the bomb.

What made Du Bois? Monumental persistence was there; and a fantastic capacity for work. As one studies his life, he is reminded of the letter Thomas Jefferson—whose range similarly was almost incredible—wrote his daughter:

"No person will have occasion to complain of the want of time; who never loses any." And: "It is wonderful how much may be done if we were always doing." Du Bois lived as though he had made Jefferson's advice his own motto. Repeatedly he said to others—and told himself—that there was but one reason for living—to live creatively and productively; and that there was but one answer to attack and criticism and that was effective work.

His Honesty

There also was present what John Hope, President of Atlanta University, wrote him in 1915—after the University had been compelled to let Dr. Du Bois go, since "philanthropists" insisted that either he moderate his militancy or they would cancel their "benefactions"—"You are able because you are honest. . . . Intellectual honesty and moral courage are your adornments."

About Du Bois' honesty there has hovered other qualities that have been parts of the whole: there has never been vindictiveness in the man, and he has waged some monumental struggles; he has never retained any kind of "grudge" and has been quick to admit error. If he failed at times in dealing with others—and he was not the easiest-going person in the world—it is because he set fearfully high standards for himself and tended to apply the same standards for others.

Of course, when seeking the secret of Du Bois, one is the presence of genius, and here biology itself so far as has failed us. Certainly, an aspect of his genius was the persistence, the capacity for work, the integrity, the fundamental love for people; but then there was that mysterious something called "talent" and brilliance. He got to the heart; he anticipated; he felt what was

coming and what was true; he thought big; he came to no hasty judgments; he took himself seriously—some, who did not fully understand his own stern standards, thought too seriously.

Du Bois' writing is characteristically clear and lyrical; it exudes honesty and passion, but it concentrates above all on precision. Zona Gale once described Du Bois as "a great teacher of Democracy in America—of a democracy which we have not yet practiced nor even envisioned." Some 35 years ago, Eugene O'Neill wrote: "Ranking as he does among the foremost writers of true importance in this country, one selfishly wishes sometimes (as a writer oneself) that he could devote all his time to the accomplishment of that fine and moving prose which distinguishes his books. But at the same time one realizes, self-reproachfully, that with Dr. Du Bois it is a cause—an ideal—that overcomes the personal egoism of the artist."

"The cause"—this is the heart of Du Bois. And it was his devotion to it, his identity with it, that is the ultimate source of his greatness.

For over a half century this one man epitomized the cause; and it was the most dramatic cause in his era. He experienced the crucifixion himself; and he never sought to use his great gifts to remove the thorns from his own head. Many times was wealth offered him; many times were positions of great distinction dangled before his eyes—sometimes, his pre-eminence being so indubitable, they actually came to him—but neither the offers nor the monetary reality ever come near corrupting him.

The iron has entered his soul; he had seen the lynch-victim's fingers displayed in a Georgia butcher-shop; he had seen the wreckage of his own home after the "race riot" of 1906; he had sent his first-born, who died in infancy, twelve hundred miles from home to be buried where Jim Crow did not live.

And among his scores of thousands of letters—everyone carefully preserved—are thousands from the worker and the peon, the aspiring adolescent, whose heart was bleeding, the sharecropper whose indignities overflowed in painfully written notes, the woman who scrubbed and dreamed. The most scorned and the most despised—the prisoner, the beggar, the prostitute—poured their hearts out to him. "You are our voice," they wrote, "speak for us." Every letter was read and every letter was answered—the copies are also preserved; and the answers full and serious and helpful and dignified. Du Bois' letters to these to the "unknown", to what the monstrous elite call the "mudsil of society"—show more pains than his letters to Presidents and savants.

The Negro intelligentsia, professionals and artists loved Du Bois as he loved and understood them; and he fought for them: There is no

Continued on next page

VOICE OF AFRICA,

DECEMBER, 1963

- African Customs Versus Nationalism
- To Hell With Professor Hanna!
- New Instrument of Colonial Extermination
- 12 Years of Slavery in South Africa
(An Eye-witness Account)
- Bantu Education - An Instrument of Modern Slavery

His LIFE was one Poem

Continued from previous page

outstanding Negro creative figure of the twentieth century—from Ralph Bunche to Franklin Frazier, from Walter White to Jessie Fauset, from Richmond Barthe to Paul Robeson—who did not, at some point, draw inspiration and gather aid directly from their Dean.

From all of these, at the same time, Du Bois gained his strength; the inspiration was mutual; they held him up and he led the way.

Du Bois writes with ease, but his manuscripts show that he does so with great care. Each sentence was scrutinized and many are the pencilled alterations on manuscript and on galley sheet. He knows exactly what he wants to say, is an artist at saying it, and so takes infinite pains with the instruments of his craft—with his words.

There is one word that sums up Du Bois—multifarious as have been his interests and enormous as has been his output; that word is Poet. *His range and passion, his vision and endurance, his kindness and iron, his knowledge and charity, his faith in reason, his devotion to truth, his urge to communicate, his optimism, these make his book poems, and have made his life one Poem.*

Du Bois' passion has been Justice. Through science, reason, struggle, organization, would come Justice and in that will be Peace. It is this passion that brought Du Bois to Socialism sixty years ago. Never has he lost this light. His learning is as extensive as any man's; his friendships extended from Einstein to

Gandhi; no part of this globe has he not studied with his own eyes; no significant political, or social or intellectual current has moved in the United States in the past sixty years without his participation—and all this unparalleled experience has held him firm to the need for Socialism and has led him, in his latest period, to the momentous decision of becoming a member of the Communist Party.

* * *

Du Bois, in life, exemplifies the organic relationship between the struggles for equality, for democracy, for Peace, and for Socialism, and he knows that the last encompasses and embraces the first three.

What Du Bois has sought is an end of man's conflict with man. In this sense, he has sought Peace and he has seen and taught that Peace and Justice are One; and their name is Socialism.

We noted that Du Bois' "Credo" of 1904 denounced War as Murder. In the final chapter of the last volume of his great trilogy, *The Black Flame* (1961)—a chapter entitled "Death" and telling of the passing of Manuel Mansart (through whom, of course, Dr. Du Bois speaks)—it is Mansart who says:

One thing I know. Today, more than ever, war is utterly evil and completely indefensible in terms of human morals or decency or civilization. Nothing on earth is so completely useless so inexcusably vile. War no longer brings victory to either side. It is planned and deliberate murder of human beings, the complete destruction of the earth's treasures.... Down with war. Never again war! War is the bottomless depth to

which human beings have fallen in this 20th century of the mis-called Prince of Peace!

It is a hallmark of the decay of the American social order and the depravity of its ruling class that Dr. Du Bois is labelled, under the McCarran Act, a fearful criminal, an assassin, a traitor, a bought foe of democracy! The President of the United States and his brother—the Attorney General—dare to sit in judgment of his life and declare it not only unworthy but criminal. One man's criminal is another's saint.

* * *

Langston Hughes, in the essay already mentioned, having in mind the Government's effort a dozen years ago to send Du Bois to jail, wrote: *"Somebody in Greece long ago gave Socrates the hemlock to drink. Somebody at Golgatha erected a cross and somebody drove nails into the hands of Christ. Somebody spat upon His garments. No one remembers their names"*

In E. P. Thompson's monumental life of another revolutionary, William Morris, the author writes of Morris as "beckoning us forward to the measureless bounty of life." And he concludes with this fine line: "He is one of those men whom history will never overtake."

There are very few such; one most certainly, is William Edward Burghardt Du Bois.

ZANU POLICY STATEMENT

Continued from page 29

- couraged as an economic mainstay in the private economic sector.
- (d) Foreign Investment shall be vigorously encouraged.
- (e) ALL major industries that form the basis of our main economy shall be nationalised.
17. ZANU AND TRADE AND COMMERCE.
- (a) A ZANU Government shall create a Board of Trade and Commerce to step up the Republic's trade with the outside world.
- (b) A favoured national policy in respect of tariffs and customs and trade with the African sister-states shall be pursued.
18. POWER AND WATER DEVELOPMENT
- (a) A ZANU Government shall encourage the use of all available electric power for industry, lighting and cooking in urban and rural areas.
- (b) Irrigation schemes along the major river valleys shall be initiated to improve farming.
- (c) A ZANU Government shall supply water to all villages and communities.
19. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION
- (a) All railways and passenger aircraft shall be public property.
- (b) Urban passenger-transport shall fall under Government management.
- (c) An improved Communication system will be maintained.
- (d) RADIO ZIMBABWE shall be the National Broadcasting system.
- (e) Tourism shall be encouraged.
20. YOUTH AND CULTURE
- (a) A ZAPU Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture shall be established.
- (b) Public Youth centres and recreational facilities shall be established in conjunction with the Department of Social Welfare.
- (c) A NATIONAL YOUTH BRIGADE shall be formed to spearhead voluntary work.
21. NATIONAL SHRINES AND MONUMENTS
- (a) A ZANU Regime shall ensure that all ruins, caves and other shrines and monuments are honoured and respected.
- (b) All statues and other images that symbolise colonialism and settlerism shall be demolished.
22. NATIONAL HOLIDAYS
- (a) A ZANU regime shall abolish colonial and imperialist holidays.
- (b) A National Day of Heroes shall be named and observed in honour of national martyrs such as Dr. Parirenyatwa and others who died for national liberation.
23. ZANU AND NATIONAL HEALTH
- (a) A ZANU Government shall attach great importance to the Medical School at the University of ZIMBABWE.
- (b) An inducement consisting in scholarships and allowances as well as better conditions of service upon the completion of training shall be offered to all doctors.
- (c) More training centres for State Registered Nurses will be established throughout the country.
- (d) All hospitals, clinics, dispensaries and places of confinement throughout the country shall be open to open of all races.
- (e) A ZANU Government shall establish a new system of Mobile Clinic that will bring medical treatment and care to all villages and other remote places everyday.
- (f) The National Health Service will be free for people of all races.

THE DOLLAR

Continued from page 8

the expense of the cheap labour of the Africans. We are determined to fight to the end.

Has Verwoerd a conscience? If he has not, no doubt about it, then the United States of America, Great Britain, France and West Germany who are supplying him arms and amunitions have no conscience as well. The African revolutionary struggle is advancing inexorably and the task now is to work and implement the Addis Ababa decision of Heads of African States held in May this year and the recent Dakar conference. Throughout the whole of our history, our glorious people have waged an implicable struggle against colonialism, imperialism, foreign-exploitation and fascism and we are resolved to kill these apartheid beasts of South Africa. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has ushered in a new period in the African history and no force on earth could withhold our peoples history from recording itself for future generations to read

NOVEMBER, 1963 37

Boycott Goods from South Africa

Since Addis Ababa...

by

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

THE tempo of development in Africa, since Addis Ababa, has been such that this Charter is already being overtaken by events. It has become clear that we must move forward quickly, with a united voice, to a Union Government of Africa.

In accordance with the spirit of the Charter, the African States have been able to present a unified front in the United Nations and at other international conferences. This unanimity, this community of vision, has not been easy.

It has been achieved as a result of tedious consultations involving long delays and even the risk of failure to agree. Our actions would have been swifter, bolder and more effective if there had been in existence a strong, central political machinery for dealing with the wider problems affecting Africa as a whole.

All-African Force

Let us take the case of the Congo. For more than two years now I have advocated the policy that in the interest of the independence and sovereignty of the Congo, the situation in that country can best be solved by the African States themselves. It is significant in this connection that the African States were the first to land troops in the Congo in answer to the urgent appeal of the Congolese Government.

Our troops have worked within the United Nations Organisation since the days of Lumumba. Now that the United Nations troops are about to be withdrawn from the Congo, the African States have an opportunity and an obligation to set an example of African self-help by going to the aid of a sister State. By so doing, we would have eliminated the rivalries of neo-colonialist and imperialist powers from the

Congo.

I have accordingly proposed to the Government of the Congo, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Heads of the Independent African States and Governments, that an all-African force should take over from the United Nations well in advance of its withdrawal from the Congo.

Although this proposal was acceptable in principle, it could not be carried out because the African States, in spite of our resolutions at Addis Ababa, had not provided an effective machinery for such united action. The longer we delay action for a continental Government of Africa, the greater will be our troubles and confusion.

A Necessity

A continental political union for Africa is not only essential for our freedom and existence; it is necessary for the orderly progress and rapid development of our continent. African unity is the only solution to the vast problems facing our oppressed brothers and the Freedom Fighters in the Rhodesias, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. It is the only solution to the difficulties which are bound to confront our newly independent States and those that are shortly to be independent.

As I speak to you now, there is a grim struggle—a battle for freedom—going on in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea where the best of our youth are locked in mortal combat against the evil forces of colonialism in a determined effort to wipe out the pedegrees, the privileges, the injustices, the principalities and the powers of a new imperialism.

Leave Africa Alone

It should be clear to the colonialists by now that we shall not give up the struggle until they leave Africa alone. If they do not leave Africa alone, we shall in our unity compel them to do so. The struggle is not against race; it is against a system. The racialists and imperialists must quit Africa now.

As for the settlers, who continue to oppress our people under minority governments, it is time they came to terms with the African nationalists. We demand the acceptance of the democratic principle of one man, one vote. The will of the majority must for ever prevail.

To achieve this end, we must hasten to our goal of a united Africa. Only with our united strength can we free our oppressed compatriots from political bondage and from the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

OUR OPINION

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unmatched capacity for planning and foresight. Sobukwe possesses these qualities of leadership in no mean measure. Although Dr. Verwoerd has tried to silence him, although there is what amounts to a conspiracy of silence internationally regarding Dr. Verwoerd's actions against him, to the people of South Africa, Sobukwe has become almost a legendary figure—a man destined to shape the future course of events in South Africa. He has acquired a unique position now in that whatever concerns him has significance, whether it is his silence or his utterances,

his absence or his presence.

White South Africa has given whole-hearted support to Verwoerd's tyranny in keeping a man in prison in perpetuity without having found him guilty of any crime except his passionate belief in human freedom. It has connived at the debasement of justice and the rule of law. In preparing to fight for what is so indefensible, so basically repugnant to human standards, it has made sure that we are set irrevocably on a collision course.

Have we already gone beyond the point of no return!

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