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# Voice of AFRICA



the new Africa we must be prepared to scrap outright frontiers which were drawn to suit the convenience of Colonial Powers without any regard whatsoever to ethnic and social groupings and the economic needs of the people.

In a world divided into hostile camps and warring factions, harassed by the upsurge of conflicting ideas and selfish ambitions, Africa cannot stand divided without going to the wall.

Those who fear the fusion of divisions and annihilation of separatism are allowing themselves, in fact, to be used as a tool by those who profit from the balkanisation of Africa.

Imperialism has lost the fight for colonialism cannot hope to win the new battle for neo-imperialism in Africa.

Let the leaders of Africa take note that among the masses of Africa there is a great moral and spiritual force which will overwhelm the traitors of Africa and their colonial masters alike in an avalanche.

— KWAME NKRUMAH

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KOFI BATSA

## EDITORIAL

### *The Lesson of Bizerta*

THE Bizerta crisis is an epitome of Tunisia's struggle to consolidate her independence and ensure the reality of her sovereignty.

The Bizerta crisis proves beyond shadow of doubt the correctness of the policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment with either the East or the West.

Tunisia has been pro-West and proud of it. This fact has not saved her from the aggression of her former colonial master. This fact has also not rallied from the West unqualified support and solidarity for her in her hour of trial.

If Tunisia were an integral part of the Union of African States her former colonial master would not have dared to launch an unprovoked and unwarranted attack upon her. If Tunisia had accepted the proposal of an African High Command in which all African States were participants France's impudence would have been easily contained by now.

We are happy that Mr. Mohamed Masmoudi, the Tunisian Minister of Information, has admitted that "Bizerta opened our eyes. We lost confidence both in France and the West. The United States of America has refused to sell us war planes and the attitude of the Western Powers in the United Nations has shown that they still favour colonialism."

This outrage depicts the second scramble for Africa. It underlines the need for accelerating the pace of the movement towards the establishment of a Commonwealth of Africa, an Africa of one people with one aim and one destiny.

The episode clearly shows the urgent need for active participation in a joint African High Command for the purpose of halting all assaults upon the interests of Africa and the honour of her people.

From Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Malagasy we must all unite NOW, to promote and protect the freedom and independence of Africa.

The salvation of Africa lies in her unity. Only a united Africa can be the real champion of the cause of the African people and the effective protector of their interests.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and President Leonid Brezhnev of USSR signing the communique

## Wipe out Colonialism—Says Soviet-Ghana Message

THE Soviet Union has supported Ghana's proposal to transform Africa into a zone of peace, free from military bases and nuclear weapons, a communique issued here said.

And the above picture shows Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and President Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union signing the communique in Moscow.

On the European Common Market, the two nations said that it was a "scheme to attach African countries to European imperialism."

They added that the Common Market was designed to prevent African countries from pursuing an independent neutral policy and from the setting up of beneficial economic links between African countries to keep them "in a position of suppliers of raw materials for imperialist powers."

Touching the Bizerta crisis, the communique said that both Ghana and the Soviet Government condemned "the aggression of French colonialists against TUNISIA" and called for the removal of all foreign troops from the Tunisian soil.

It said that Dr. Nkrumah expressed his "positive attitude" to Premier Khrushchev's recent meeting in Vienna with President Kennedy of America and said that Ghana considers the Soviet disarmament proposals a "reasonable basis for negotiations."

### Other Points

*The communique made these other points:*

**Congo**—Both countries expressed their "unanimous support" for the Government of Mr. Antoine Gizenga as the legitimate Congo Government.

**Angola**—Both countries "resolutely condemned" the actions of "Portuguese colonialists" and said they considered it their duty to aid the people of Angola.

**South Africa**—They expressed their "profound indignation" at the "policy of apartheid, racial discrimination, and genocide" in South Africa.

**Algeria**—The two nations condemned French moves "aimed at frustrating the peaceful solution of the Algerian problem"

**United Nations**—They called for changes to bring three pronged representation—Socialist, Western and Neutralist—on U.N. bodies, and for the seating of the People's Republic of China.

**Germany**—Ghana said that it appreciated the Soviet proposals for a German peace treaty "and" the settlement of the West Berlin issue on this basis.

The communique said that the Government of Ghana informed the Government of the Soviet Union of its intention to take part in the forthcoming conference of the heads of neutralist states to be convened in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

"The Soviet Government expressed the hope that this conference would make its contribution to the cause of strengthening peace, to the solution of the disarmament problem and to the elimination of colonialism," it added.

It said that Dr. Nkrumah repeated his invitation to Mr. Nikita Khrushchev to visit Ghana, and Mr. Khrushchev said he would make the visit "as soon as the opportunity presents itself."

The communique described relations between the two countries as "of a genuinely friendly nature."

Before leaving Moscow for Poland the Osagyefo sent a telegram to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev saying: "I anticipate meeting you again before long."

The telegram expressed the President's thanks for the invitation and the cordial hospitality extended to him during his visit.

It said: "The warmth and friendship we met made an exceptional impression on us. Our visit was most useful for strengthening the friend-

ship existing between the Soviet Union and Ghana."

President Nkrumah and other members of the Ghanaian delegation were given a "cordial and rousing reception" when they arrived in Cracow, near Warsaw.

Dr. Nkrumah was accompanied by the President of the Polish Council of State, Major-General Alexander Sawadzki, Vice-President Professor Oscar Lange, and other personalities.

He was received at the station by the President of the Presidium of the

Cracow Municipal Council Mr. S. Skolicki.

Mr. Skolicki said that the citizens of Cracow, like all Poles, were following very closely the struggle against imperialism and colonialism led by the peoples of Africa.

Replying, Osagyefo the President said that unless imperialism and neo-colonialism were completely liquidated in Africa there would be no freedom in the world.

Political talks were held between the Ghanaian delegation and Polish authorities at the Belweder Palace in Warsaw.

## Baako Replies "Daily Mail"

I think your Geoffrey Wakeford must be made to wake up to realise that our President Nkrumah and the people of Ghana regard any country that has a colony in Africa or anywhere in the world as a Colonial oppressor—and Britain cannot be an exception in view of what we know is happening in the British colonies in East and Central Africa. Your Correspondent Geoffrey Wakeford would have us believe that the British Cabinet would want any apology because President Nkrumah has referred to Britain as a colonial oppressor.

To think that President Nkrumah's anti-Colonialist Government would descend to prefer such an apology only shows the extent to which Mr. Wakeford and people of his ilk have been asleep all these years.

I think it is about time Mr. Wakeford was made to wake up to read President Nkrumah's "Towards Colonial Freedom", his Autobiography entitled "Ghana" and his latest book "I speak of Freedom"; as well as numerous other statements and speeches Dr. Nkrumah has made on Africa and the colonial question. It should by now be realised by all peace-loving peoples of the world that

Ghana and the other African States regard African Freedom as a *sine qua non* for real and lasting peace and any country which tries to retard the tide of the Revolution towards Freedom and Unity of Africa is regarded by all true African Nationalists as colonial oppressors. Immediately Britain relinquishes her hold on her colonies she will cease to be a colonial oppressor. Until then we shall—in spite of our respect for her people—regard her as a colonial oppressor.

In columns seven and eight of the Monday 31st July issue of the "Daily Express" someone by name Rene MacColl tries to suggest that Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II should not be "Nkrumah's guest."

Well—because of my personal respect for the Queen my knowledge of President Nkrumah's personal admiration for the Queen and her public-spirited husband, Prince Phillip, I would prefer not to use the same foul language which Mr. MacColl used in writing about President Nkrumah. But I should point out that the wiser majority of the world know that a few more Nkrumahs would mean sure and lasting peace for the world.

Whether or not Queen Elizabeth II should be allowed by her people to visit the Sovereign and Independent State of Ghana is another matter—but it may be of interest for MacColl to know that already Ghana's Head of State—President Nkrumah has played host to many heads of state of countries which are as sovereign and independent as both Ghana and Britain and we have an impressive list of others whom we are preparing to welcome including the Queen and her unassuming husband—Prince Phillip. We shall quarrel with no one if for some reasons any one of them is unable to come.

Writers such as Wakeford and MacColl are doing real damage to the prestige and reputation of the British people. They are even doing harm to the good name and grace to their Queen by such articles. If some of us do not write as foully as they do about the British Monarchical system it is not because we do not see anything wrong with it.

May I conclude by stressing that Ghana's President Nkrumah and all his people will continue to fight on—in spite of the antics of men like MacColl and Wakeford—until colonial oppression is no longer heard of or known in Africa.



# Jomo Kenyatta— The Burning Spear

by Peter Raboroko



THE release of Jomo Kenyatta, illustrious son of the soil and glorious freedom fighter is the gladdest tidings of the year. Mounting political pressure from African nationalists forced the hand of the Kenya Government and the British Colonial Office to release him.

Die-hard imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists regard that release as the most unkindest cut of all. They have described it as a 'cynical betrayal of the elementary principles of decency,' whatever that means.

## Severe Shock

Sir Roy Welensky, ex-engine driver and settler Federal Prime Minister has said the decision to free Kenyatta comes as a "severe shock" to most people. By "most people," Welensky, of course, means the dwindling intransigent settler minority of dyed-in-the-wool colonialists.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, the Kenya Leader of Government Business and President of the Kenya African Democratic Union described the decision as "joyful news" and as marking the beginning of a 'new era' in East Africa. Mr. James Gichuru, president of the Kenya African National Union, felt the decision

did not go far enough. He demanded the "immediate and unconditional release" of Kenyatta and added "KANU will not rest until this is achieved."

## Leader of East Africa

While his entourage in East Berlin jumped in the air laughing and clapping their hands when they heard the news of Kenyatta's projected release, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah himself remarked simply: "I am glad all is well." Kwame and Jomo have always been comrades-in-arms against colonialism and imperialism.

Mr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, immediately invited Kenyatta to Tanganyika. "When he arrives here", Mr. Nyerere said, "he will be received as the leader, not only of Kenya but of the whole of East Africa."

The personality of Jomo Kenyatta, the Burning Spear of Kenya, arouses an acute conflict of emotions and of human values.

To colonialists, Kenyatta is 'the leader to darkness and death.' To African nationalists, he is the leader to light and life abundant; more than that, he is the light and life of Kenya.

The 64,000 dollar question about Kenyatta is: what makes him tick?

In the summer of 1952-1953 Jomo Kenyatta was tried and convicted for "managing the Mau Mau Society." That trial was, in the words of the prosecuting counsel, "a criminal case." That august settler official told the settler tribunal that presided over the case that its description as a state trial would "invest it with a halo it does not really possess."

## Kenyatta Speaks

To the defence and to the world that trial was a political trial of decisive importance to the immediate future of Africa.

"May it please your honour," Kenyatta said addressing the settler magistrate at the end of his trial, "on behalf of my colleagues I wish to say that we are not guilty and we do not accept your findings, and during the hearing of this trial which has been so arranged as to place us in difficulties and inconvenience in preparing our cases, we do not feel that we have received the justice or hearing which we would have liked.

"I would like also to tell Your Honour that we feel that this case has been so arranged as to make

scapegoats of us in order to strangle the Kenya African Union, the only African political organisation which fights for the rights of the African people.

"What we have done in our activities has been to find ways and means by which the community in this country can live in harmony.

"But what we have objected to—and to which we shall continue to object—are the discriminations in the government of the country.

"We shall not accept that, whether we are in gaol or out of it, Sir, because we find that this world has been made for human beings to live in happily, to enjoy the good things and the produce of the country equally, and to enjoy the opportunities that this country has to offer" . . . . .

## Hollowest mockery

Throughout that trial it was left to Jomo to prove his own innocence and to prove that he had been a mighty denouncer of the Mau Mau. In default of that he was to be presumed, as he actually was, guilty of managing Mau Mau.

The defence retorted: "If you can persuade a political party to spend the whole of its time repudiating charges against it you can gradually reduce it to impotence.

The appeal of Jomo and his five colleagues was on the grounds that:

● The magistrate accepted practically every application, motion, or submission, made by the prosecution.

● The magistrate rejected practically every application, motion or submission by your petitioners.

● The magistrate . . . . . accepted as truthful every witness called by the prosecution, no matter what their character or history, how improbable their stories were, how gravely they contradicted themselves, or how badly their stories were shaken in cross-examination or refuted by documents and found excuses for any prosecuting witness who appeared to be evasive or unreliable.

● The magistrate rejected as untruthful every witness called by the defence, no matter what their character or history, however fully they were corroborated, or however intrinsically probable their stories were.

After an intelligent perusal of the records of that trial the average high school boy cannot help concluding that the trial was a travesty of justice. There is no doubt that it will go down to history as the hollowest mockery of justice in the annals of colonialist tribunals.

## An Instrument

The settlers boast that "there can be no question of the justice and strick legality" of the sentence and conviction since these were upheld on appeal by the Supreme Court of Kenya, by the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The first two were settler tribunals presided over by settler officials and the last was a colonialist tribunal presided over by colonialist officials.

## J.K.

The trial of Jomo Kenyatta is a classic illustration of the aphorism that in a colonialist environment law is an instrument of the colonialist ruling class designed for the upholding of colonialist interests.

Who is this Jomo Kenyatta who shook the very foundations of Kenya settler society and whose very personality ripped the mask off the faces of colonialist tribunals so that their true role could be seen in its proper perspective?

Jomo Kenyatta is a Kenya African, born about 60 years ago in a colonialist environment. At his trial nine years ago he told the court he was over fifty years of age.

Kamau, son of Ngengi, for such is his real name, fled from cattle herding to school at the age of ten. He went to a Church of Scotland Mission School at the village of Kikuyu. Here he soon assumed the Christian name of Johnstone and became known as Johnstone Kamau.

It is a truth universally acknowledged that whenever most people change their names they invariably retain their initials. Johnstone Kamau was no exception to this rule. He later became Jomo Kenyatta. And it is by that name that the world knows him today.

## A Class by Himself

At school Jomo's teachers did not find him to be a brilliant pupil with

exceptional scholastic achievements to write home about. That may have been their fault for at his trial years later even the prosecution described him as an exceptionally widely travelled and educated African who had had the advantage of contact with a great many people of standing in Kenya and in Europe . . . and had added that "perhaps the shortest and best description of Jomo Kenyatta is that he is a class by himself."

Immediately after the First World War, Jomo ran away from school and went to Nairobi, the Mecca of the young educated Kenya Africans.

## The Mysteries of Politics

While at school Jomo had worked as a kitchen hand and at Nairobi he became a clerk under the Public Works Department.

It was in Nairobi that Jomo became initiated into the mysteries of politics first as a sympathiser of the East Africa Association whose main platform of agitation were the pass laws, the colonialist instrument of forced labour, and later as a member of the Kikuyu Central Association founded in 1923, whose main platform of agitation had shifted to the land issue. In 1928 Jomo became Secretary of that body.

The Crown Lands Ordinance (1915) had turned the Kikuyu into "tenants-at will of the Crown" and agitation revolved around that point.

## The Intricacies of Jungle Law

Ever since the war the land agitation had been on. From 1922 onwards one Royal Commission after another looked into the matter.

Jomo's opinion of Royal Commissions and other colonialist judicial institutions is to be found in his story of "The Man And The Elephant."

His attack on the usual personnel of such institutions is classic.

"On seeing the personnel" Jomo says, after the Rt. Hon. Mr. Fox (chairman), Mr. Leopard (Secretary), Mr. Rhinoceros, Mr. Buffalo and Mr. Alligator had all been duly appointed to serve on the Royal Commission investigating the dispute between the man and the elephant

Continued on Next Page

centring upon the rights of penetration, "the man protested and asked if it was not necessary to include in this commission a member from his side.

"But he was told that it was impossible, since no one from his side was well enough educated to understand the intricacies of jungle law.

#### Impartiality in Justice.

"Further he was told that there was nothing to fear for the members of the commission were all men of repute for their impartiality in justice, and as they were gentlemen chosen by God to look after the interests of races less adequately endowed with teeth and claws, he might rest assured that they would investigate the matter with the greatest care and report impartially."

In passing, it may be pointed out that Jomo's biting satire upon the personnel of these tribunals applies with equal force to the four tribunals that heard his case, from the magistrate's court to the Privy Council.

#### The Independent Schools

Be that as it may, it was immediately after the 1929 sessions of the Hilton Young Commission in Kenya that Kenyatta was mandated to represent his people in England.

He went there to discuss three issues: land, female circumcision and independent schools. In Kenya land was a perennial question. The refusal of missionaries of the Church of Scotland to admit circumcized girls in their schools rendered the need for schools independent of missionaries control a burning issue. Jomo gained an important concession: If the Kikuyu build the schools and trained the staffs the Colonial Office was prepared to allow them schools independent of missionary control. This concession resolved the dispute and paved the way for the elimination of settler orientation in Kenya schools and provided the basis for a nationalist orientation.

Later these schools were to be dubbed the hot-beds of Mau Mauism.

In 1931 Jomo went back to England and this time gave evidence before the Carter Commission on

Kenya Lands (1932) he did not return to England until 1946.

#### The Ideological Stock Exchange

Jomo spent the fifteen years of his self-imposed exile preparing for the role of leadership not only in the educational but also in the political field.

In 1933 he went to Moscow and spent four months there.

In Britain Jomo found himself forced to learn all about the different ideologies that were to be found on the ideological stock exchange market. He combined this with agitational work on conditions in Kenya.

His most fruitful years were perhaps those spent at the London School of Economics where he studied under Professor B. Malinowski. He wrote and published *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938).

#### The Inner Circles

Professor B. Malinowski considered that book to be a first hand account of a representative African culture, an invaluable document in the principles underlying culture-contact, and a personal statement of the new outlook of a progressive African.

With the publication of *Facing Mount Kenya*, Jomo Kenyatta entered the inner circles of the intellectuals in his own right.

In 1939 the Second World War broke out. During this war the Kenya Government banned the Kikuyu Central Association. As 'Politician Ordinary and Agitator Extraordinary' of the K.C.A., Jomo used to receive some financial allowance from home. With the imposition of the ban that source dried up and Jomo had difficulty in making ends meet.

#### Unwilling to Starve

In 1943 Jomo married an English woman Miss Edna Grace Clarke, by whom he has a son named Peter. Jomo made it clear to his wife that if ever he had to choose between Kenya and herself, he would choose Kenya.

Immediately after the war Jomo became once more politically active. He drudged and slaved together with Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and T. R. Makonnen in preparation for the Fifth Conference of the Pan-African Congress which was held

from the 13th to the 21st October 1945 at Manchester. Jomo attended the conference as General Secretary of the banned Kikuyu Central Association.

The conference defiantly announced to the world that "We are unwilling to starve any longer while doing, the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance, a false aristocracy and a discredited imperialism. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economical."

#### Apparently Inflexible

The Labour Party was at this time in power in England and African nationalists expected significant change in colonial policy. When it became clear that such was not forthcoming Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah launched a vicious attack upon Arthur Creech Jones, the Labour spokesman on Colonial Affairs in February 1946.

They had become convinced that only mass pressure emanating from massive popular organisations could change the apparently inflexible colonial policy. And thereby hangs a tale.

In September 1946, Jomo sailed for Mombasa. The bleak prospect which lay before the young Kenya African in 1946, George Delf tells us, was "to be introduced to the mysteries of modern education and then to be told that if he tried hard he might earn the dignity due to a full adult in fifty or a hundred years." The myth of White domination had set like concrete in Kenya.

#### Policy and Programme

On June 1, 1947, Jomo Kenyatta was elected President of the Kenya African Union and from that time onward KAU became the predominant force and Kenyatta the dominant personality in Kenya politics.

The principles, policy and programme of the KAU were:

- To unite the African people of Kenya.
- To prepare the way for the introduction of democracy in Kenya.
- To defend and promote the interests of the African people by organising, educating and leading them in the struggle for better working conditions, housing and so forth.

● To fight for equal rights for all Africans and to break down racial barriers.

● To strive for the extension to all African adults of the right to vote and be elected to the East African Central Assembly, Kenya Legislative Council, Local Government and other representative bodies.

● To publish a political newspaper periodically.

● To raise and administer the funds necessary to effect these objects.

● To fight for freedom of assembly, press and movement.

Apart from politics Kenyatta soon gained control of the independent schools. In 1946 there were over 300 of these educating over 60,000 children. Kenyatta became principal of the independent Teachers' Training College.

#### 100,000 Members

As KAU grew in stature and in favour with the Kenya masses and intellectuals, the settlers took alarm. In 1948 the settlers' organisation demanded the deportation of Kenyatta and in 1950 a general strike paralysed Nairobi.

Jomo Kenyatta was soon addressing audiences 30,000 to 50,000 strong. The KAU was soon gaining recruits at the rate of 4,000 at one meeting. The subscription fee was five shillings a year. And since Government-employed clerks were earning £2 to £5 a month the payment of that subscription fee meant much sacrifice from the masses themselves. Despite that fact, by 1952 KAU had 100,000 paid-up members.

In August 1950 the Government had banned the Mau Mau society following the brutal murder of a few settlers.

In September 1952 the Chief Native Commissioner said: "There has been a certain amount of trouble

but it is confined to a small area and is not as serious as newspaper reports make out."

#### No Proof and no Evidence

On August 17, 1952 the Acting Governor of Kenya had in the course of a confidential letter described Mau Mau as the "covert organisation" behind KAU. He had, however, added that "there is proof that he (Kenyatta) controls this revolutionary organisation."

On October 4, the Chief Native Commissioner had in a report to the new Governor written: "although there is no direct evidence to prove Kenyatta's connection with Mau Mau, a number of factors point to his close association with this society."

#### A Veritable Reign of Terror

At 5 p.m. on October 20, 1952 the Governor signed the proclamation declaring a state of emergency. Immediately 183 African leaders were detained. Jomo Kenyatta was one of them.

In the second and third waves of arrests 50,000 Africans were arrested for screening and sent to concentration camps.

The colonialist authorities began a veritable reign of terror. African grain stores, cattle, sheep, goats and money savings were confiscated. All the independent schools were closed down.

It was only after the arrest of Jomo and the other leaders that there was increase in the number of settler murders. Even then over the four years of bitter fighting only 32 settler civilians and 63 settler soldiers were killed.

By contrast British and settler soldiers and police killed 11,503 Africans on the score that they were Mau Mau! Throughout that campaign the atrocities perpetrated by the colonialists were far worse than those committed by the Mau Mau.

#### Miserable Conditions

A familiar stunt of colonialist governments is to grant themselves exceptional powers over persons and properties whenever they have ordered "a state of emergency."

As Jack Woddis so ably points out, "such declarations are made not in circumstances which would be regarded in any country as a national emergency but on each and every occasion when the African people show any degree of challenge to their miserable conditions of life."

#### Official Sources

The 'state of emergency' declared by the Governor of Kenya was a machievillian device designed to allow the settlers to terrorise and intimidate the African people into submission so as to deflect them from their objective of freedom. It was particularly intended to crush the massive popular organisation that the Kenya Africans had built.

The detention, arrest, conviction imprisonment and restriction of Jomo Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Richard Ochieng Oneke, Bildad Kaggia, Kungu Karumba and Paul Ngei were designed to 'strangulate' the Kenya African Union and crush the African national liberation movement.

On the eve of Jomo's conviction colonialist official sources themselves confessed that there was 'no proof' and 'no direct evidence' that Jomo had his fingers in the Mau Mau pie. At his trial no proof and no direct evidence were produced.

#### "Uhuru na Kenyatta"

Ever since the arrest and detention of Jomo Kenyatta, African nationalists and other anti-colonialists have sung a calculated hymn of 'Uhuru na Kenyatta.' 'Freedom for Kenyatta.' If Jomo Kenyatta has been a criminal his only "crime" has been that of

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# I Speak of Freedom

## Review of Dr. Nkrumah's Latest Book

by Pan-Africanus

THAT since his return to this country twelve years ago, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has established himself as the undisputed leader of a country, Ghana, and champion of a cause, the independence and unity of the African Continent, cannot be denied.

### Pooh-poohed

That under his able leadership Ghana has undergone startling changes, politically, socially and economically, is now common knowledge. His ambition to liberate Ghana from foreign domination has been realised and his vision of a free and united Africa has come to be accepted as a possible and realisable ideal even by many of those who had formerly pooh-poohed it as mere wishfully thinking.

### The Glorious Role

In a new book, *I SPEAK OF FREEDOM* just published for him by Heineman, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has tried, without sounding egotistic, to give an account of the great impact that his personality and ideas has had on Ghana, Africa and the world as a whole. In the first half of the book, he briefly surveys the times and conditions in the former British colony of the Gold Coast and in the new sovereign state of Ghana. One cannot but be struck by the glorious role our narrator himself played in the transition from Gold Coast to Ghana.

The second half of the book is an answer to the question, "After independence, what next?"

### Cursory Look

Here he succinctly outlines the achievements so far and the Himalayan tasks ahead. He provides some of the answers to most of the problems facing Africa and the African in this century and takes a cursory but accurate look around the world.

The comments made and conclusions reached in *I SPEAK OF FREEDOM* are very pertinent and at times prophetic.

Dr. Nkrumah does not mince his words when talking of African unity nor does he pretend to dress up his utter disavowal of imperialism and its twin sister apartheid.

### A Unique Forum

No assessment can be more terse nor more to the point than his exposition of the Commonwealth.

Of this association Dr. Nkrumah says:

"We believe that the evolving form of the Commonwealth is an institution which can work profoundly for peace and international co-operation.

"It is the only organic world-wide association of peoples in which race, religion, nationality and culture are all transcended by a common sense of fellowship.

"No policies are imposed on it from above. It does not even seek unity of policy.

"But it provides a unique forum in which men of different cultures and different approaches can sit down together and see what can be done to lessen tensions and increase the economic and social well-being of themselves and their neighbours.

"This is not a bloc. It is not a power grouping.

"It is a club, or family of friends who see their continuing friends as a strand of peace in a troubled world."

### Happenings in the Congo

While Dr. Nkrumah regards the United Nations "as the only organisation that holds out any hope for the future of mankind" he cautiously remarks elsewhere in the book that "in actual fact, however, the United Nations is just as reliable an instrument for world order and peace as the Great Powers are prepared to allow it to be."

The truth of this statement is borne out by what has been happening in the Congo Republic and by what is now happening in the mandated territory of South West Africa.

### Abreast of the Times

It is a measure of the greatness of this deeply serious and frankly honest book that one is tempted to ask for even more instead of merely admiring what has been put into this collection of Dr. Nkrumah's Speeches and writings.

Here is a book that we can usefully turn to whenever baffled by some new piece of Africana, and find it in proper perspective and related to the whole pattern of African life and society. It is a book the publication of which is of the highest degree of timeliness and utility.

Honest and sincere in its content and free of academic jargon, it is a book to be read and, in fact, possessed by all true sons and daughters of Africa for whom the clarion call for continental freedom and unity has a meaning.

In his brazen lack of modesty the illustrious G.B.S. claimed to be ahead of his times. If you read *I SPEAK OF FREEDOM* you cannot be out of date in Ghanaian and African Affairs. You may then, with modesty and decorum, claim to be abreast of your times.

## Dark Clouds Over Mozambique

### (Part One)

# One-Third of Income on Aggression

by Dr. Edwin Munger

In their heroic bid for the freedom of Angola, African nationalists, are today headline news.

Salazar's savage regime continues to wage inhuman genocidal warfare against them for their daring to demand their freedom. And all in the name of Western civilization!

In this and subsequent instalments, the author of this article suggests that guerrilla warfare activity may soon be launched in Mozambique—another so-called overseas province of Portugal. He claims that although Mozambique is outwardly calm and orderly, it is yet the more vulnerable of the two Portuguese colonies.

MOZAMBIQUE is more difficult to defend than Angola. It is farther from Portugal—Porto Amelia in the north is almost twice the sea distance from the Tagus to Angola's chief port of Luanda—and closer to potential Portuguese enemies in the Indian Ocean. The 1,650-mile Mozambique seaboard is longer than Angola's and easier for an invader to land on. Mozambique has fewer white Portuguese than Angola (60,000 against 120,000) and a larger African population (6,000,000 against 4,300,000). The Mozambique armed forces are weak and were but slightly strengthened this month by 400 "paratroopers" shipped from Lisbon. Security police are very active and hundreds of arrests are rumoured, although positive confirmation or refutation is difficult.

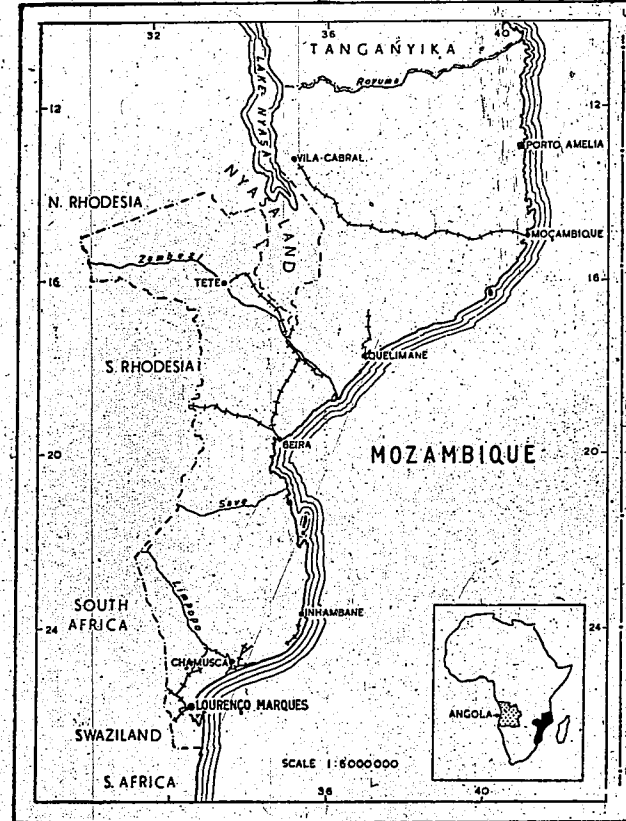
Considering these facts Mozambique may:—

- (1) continue as a Portuguese province despite pressures;
- (2) break up territorially with the north going to Tanganyika, the centre with the vital port of Beira to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the south to the Union of South Africa—or otherwise disintegrate; or
- (3) become an African nation within its present boundaries

with or without the participation of local non-Africans.

The last two alternatives may seem extreme. They are not to me. On my four previous trips to Mozambique since 1949, economic and military weaknesses were evident as they are now; however, at present its neighbours are far more hostile and there is a lack of psychological preparedness to meet the ever-changing internal situation. As Premier Salazar said on May 23, 1959, "The surest defense is the reciprocal confidence and unity of the population of the Portuguese world." The "surest defense" of Mozambique against internal uprisings, Pan-Africanism, and Communist subversion lies in giving the six million Africans a real stake in their country and thus imbue them with the desire to

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defend it, not to destroy it. The Portuguese are not even attempting to do this and there are almost no signs that they ever will.

I am repeatedly told that the Portuguese will die to maintain this part of their country. They cite most frequently the "patriotic manifestation" and anti-American demonstration which filled the *praca* in front of the Camara Municipal here in Lourenço Marques with 8,000 people (officially 20,000). The night of the great demonstration some of the Portuguese were especially voluble and one chap pressed his determination by laying open my scalp and leaving me unconscious on a street corner. I admired his patriotism and understood his anger over Governor Stevenson's speech on Angola, without appreciating his means of expression.

It will be surprising if Portugal does not continue to deal swiftly, severely, and effectively with anti-government movements. Africans are rounded up, beaten, shot, and deported to Sao Tome and elsewhere for displeasing the authorities. More on this later. But as I have tried to point out, the defence of such a huge territory does not ultimately rest on clubbing inquiring visitors, shooting Africans, or even on the willingness of the Portuguese to lay down their lives.

#### 460 Years of Stagnation

Mozambique first came to Portugal's attention in 1492 when Pedro de Covilhao sent a report about the area to his king. Vasco da Gama actually landed at the town of Mozambique in 1498, before the discovery of the American mainland, and trade soon developed with the local Arabic-speaking inhabitants. For almost 200 years Portuguese caravels and *naus* carried fortunes of gold, silver, copper, and ivory away from Mozambique. But at the end of the 17th century the great Portuguese empire on the East Coast as far up as Mombasa had been reduced to Mozambique Island.

Today, the flat and narrow (3,200 yards long, 350 yards wide) coral island looks much the same as it did in 1558 when its fort of S. Sebastiao was begun. It is seemingly intimidated by the raw mainland and resembles a wart on Africa's ancient

hide which may slough off at any moment. The namesake island typifies Mozambique's Rip van Winkle atmosphere. To be sure, as the Portuguese hegemony expanded again other ports came into prominence over the centuries. Here in the spacious and attractive capital of Lourenço Marques one admires the modernistic skyscrapers and churches, and even a new clubhouse for golfers. But the country—almost as large as California, Oregon, and Washington combined and with more people than Ghana—is little changed after 46 decades of Portuguese rule. Even in Africa's last booming decade the southern rural areas have remained so backward that their chief export is labour for the South African mines.

#### Colonial Economics at its Worst

Mozambique is a classical example of the colonial exploitation more often charged than confirmed in Africa today. The two leading imports (by value) from Portugal are cotton textiles and wine both primarily for the African population. Cotton is grown by Africans in Mozambique (1960 was a record crop) under conditions only slightly improved from the exploitation described by the Bishop of Beira, in 1946. It is shipped to Portugal for processing at high cost, and then shipped back to Mozambique to be sold at a high profit.

It is forbidden to take the obvious step of establishing a textile mill in Mozambique to increase the return to African growers, create jobs for African workers, and cut costs for African consumers. Another monopoly protects the Portuguese wine growers, although Africans could do with less wine and/or produce alcoholic beverages locally.

All imports from Portugal have at least a 50 per cent tariff advantage. Under an added differential foreign goods cannot be imported unless they cost still 15 per cent less than if purchased from Portugal. These restrictions make it impossible to import actually cheaper and better consumer goods from Rhodesia and South Africa. Portugal's interests precede those of the desperately poor Africans of Mozambique.

Because of Portugal's own poverty and her leaders' great fear of

foreign interests, little has been done to develop Mozambique's economy. I do not wish to mislead. There are no precious metals just waiting to be extracted. The country is poor in natural resources. Like much of Africa it requires training and large amounts of capital to begin the attack on poverty and ignorance.

The funds and energy expended have done nothing to assist the African farmers. They are not aided in developing technical skills, no capital is made available to them, and they are taught little or no hygiene to protect themselves against rampant diseases. Instead, the Government has brought in illiterate Portuguese peasants who lack the skills needed in Africa, people who are also without capital, and who live miserably with as many as nine people in a small four-room house—as I have seen them in the Limpopo Valley settlement scheme.

This scheme, the greatest economic effort Portugal has ever made in Mozambique, was first mooted by an Englishman in 1921 and is now past the initial stage. I drove along and below huge dikes—50 miles have been built—containing water from a dam on the Limpopo River, and saw some of the 1,000 miles of feeder furrows. Six thousand people have been settled but the project is proving too expensive (\$30 million has been spent so far) for the results achieved.

The present 1,500 dwellings at Chamusca (formerly Guija) are to house the forerunners, of up to 1,000,000 Portuguese settlers. But discouraged by malaria, climate, boredom, floods, and marketing problems, the flow from Portugal is now a trickle and a flowback to Lourenço Marques adds to the unemployment problem there. Despite the Government Information Chief's attempt to discourage me, I made a trip to the Chamusca area. Each of the 11 villages has a pillar inscribed with this message: "To each man a hoe, to each family a home, for each mouth bread.—Salazar." A simple concept—too simple for Africa? The scheme is agriculturally sound and the technical officers have demonstrated what can be done, while shaking their heads over the immigrants.

Although subsistence agriculture supports most Africans and cash crops provide 80 per cent of all exports, only 1 per cent of the country is under cultivation. About 33 per cent of the land is agriculturally usable. None of the sweeping improvements in African agriculture in Ghana, Kenya, or South Africa are on the Mozambique horizon.

Industrially, the next two years offer only two new breweries, three small paint and varnish factories, and the limited manufacture of pesticides. A small refinery (100,000 tons annually) began production in January. Although the Gulf Oil Company is in its eleventh year of exploration and has announced drilling for August, no discoveries have been reported.

Further evidence of economic sleeping sickness can be found in the balance of payments. These have worsened steadily from a deficit of \$17 million in 1950 to \$42 million in 1958 and about \$60 million last year in spite of stringent

control efforts. Foreign exchange holdings plummeted \$10 million last year for the greatest drop on record and gold reserves—traditionally added to each year at whatever cost—dropped for the second successive year. Last year and so far this year the usual pattern of private funds flowing from Portugal to Mozambique has been reversed and the territory is experiencing an outflow of capital.

Foreign businessmen are cautious and seeking liquidity. A new building in Lourenço Marques for the British-South African firm of Spence and Company is seized on by one and all as a hopeful sign.

In the public sector the Government is to increase Beira's capacity to handle shipping by 40 per cent by 1962, complete a road between Beira and Lourenço Marques, and improve the rail network. Mozambique is kept economically afloat by the harbour and rail traffic for the Rhodesias and the Union, plus tourists from these countries. Over

70,000 Rhodesians visited Beira last year. But political disturbances on either side of the border would evaporate the tourist trade. If the Rhodesian or South African economies catch a severe cold, Mozambique could die of pneumonia.

The Second National Development Plan 1959-1964 is now in its third year but no total budget has been announced. About \$26 million is to be spent this year on development projects among which communications and transportation, European settlement, and tapping natural sources precede education and health. The plan is a puny lever to raise the lowest material living standard in Africa, but under present capital shortages in Portugal and crippling restrictions on foreign investment, nothing more can be anticipated.

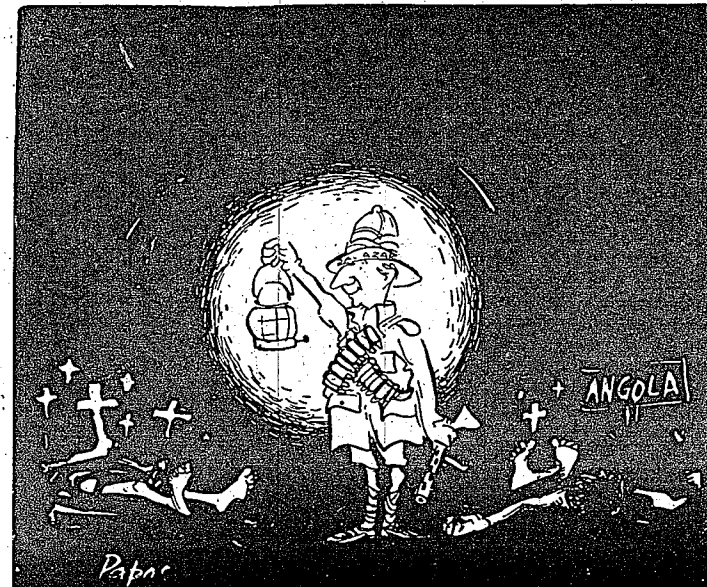
The National Development Bank has been unable to provide the hoped-for capital for private development and has concentrated on helping municipalities improve their utilities. In turn, Portuguese investors have preferred to speculate in municipal real estate. Now even the 1959-60 building boom in Beira and Lourenço Marques has slid to a halt. There is one Portuguese success. If they have been unable to develop Mozambique, they have achieved their goal of keeping out nearly all foreign investors.

#### Education and the Church

Accompanying fear of economic entanglement is a fear of education. Of course, visitors to Lourenço Marques are taken to some handsome school buildings where the two or three dark faces in the classes are always pointed out. The best Mozambique school, the *Liceu*, has only a handful of African students and less than ten have ever completed its academically rigorous and financially prohibitive (for Africans) programme. The bulk of African education is in the hands of the Catholic Church.

The number of school children nominally in attendance throughout Mozambique has ballooned in the last decade, but what they learn is less encouraging. Many priests appear afraid that if education

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'Ah, just enough light for darkest Africa'



# Africa's Role in World Affairs

A speech delivered by John K. Tettegah, leader of Ghana delegation and member of the Central Committee of the Convention People's Party, to the 5th National Congress of Guinea Democratic Party—August 14-19, 1961.

MEMBERS of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea, delegates to this conference, dear comrades and friends.

On behalf of the Ghana delegation attending this conference I bring you fraternal greetings from the General Secretary of our Party, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Central Committee of the CPP and the people of Ghana. Our delegation to this Congress of the P.D.G. has emphasised the attachment of our people to the ideals of the political union of our States.

We have come with the genuine goodwill of the Ghanaian people and the feeling of oneness of the peoples of the Union of African States.

We wish to restate that we absolutely believe that the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union and, therefore, the Union of African States, is bound to thrive, because we share one aspiration and one destiny and are committed to one Africa—an Africa which shall give full expression to all ethnic groups and yet maintain that essential unity as a prerequisite of true independence.

In a world torn to shreds and pieces by preparations for war and potential threats for war, we cannot but ask ourselves what role Africa

should play. This question is vital because this Congress is taking place at a time when peace is essential if mankind must survive. Though we live in an age of great scientific achievements, we also find ourselves paradoxically in the shadow of man's destruction.

We who live in Africa are very keen on developing our continent. In many parts of Africa, it is clear that the machinery of a new society is being rapidly assembled before our eyes. But with the threat of war this development is faced with the danger of being destroyed. Let us not delude ourselves by imagining that the present tension in the world is not the African's headache. Though the present world tension is centred around another continent, it is also our problem. The whole African Continent has begun to rise to its feet and if things go well in a peaceful world, in less than a generation, Africa will have industrialised itself and have become a new force in the world.

That is why the Ghanaian, like the Guinean the Malian or in fact the African should be proud that in these days of world tension, President Sekou Toure has won the World Peace Prize. We should all share this joy. We are proud that the African has proved himself a con-

temporary man in the struggle for world peace. Dear comrades, compatriots in the battle for African freedom and independence, the march of events in Africa has fully borne out the correctness of our struggle to rid our continent of all vestiges of colonialism.

BIZERTA should open our eyes. In their present predicament the imperialists have accelerated the tempo of their intrigues and increased the rate of their machinations. They have unleashed a total war on us. This war has many fronts—A war of nerves is being waged in the settler region of Africa south of the river Zambesi, an economic pressure is being exerted through the European Common Market an absurd exercise of total extermination of a whole race is being perpetrated in the Portuguese colonial spheres of Africa without the slightest twinge of moral compunction. What is more dangerous, an unholy war is being indiscriminately waged to recolonise independent African States. The shabby way the United Nations is throwing back Tunisia to France should make all of us conscious that our salvation rests in a United Africa in a peaceful world.

Some of us thought the League of Nations failed in Ethiopia, on the sands of Lybia, on the mountain sides of Sicily and in the streets of Milan, because it had no teeth, no police, no army, to enforce its decisions. But the United Nations is failing because it has teeth and goes to tear the victims it goes to rescue. Let us remember the unhappy South Africans, Angolans, the Congolese and today the Tunisians.

Comrades, we have problems. There are human values to be preserved. There are great qualities to be honoured by man. What is lacking is a correct appreciation of the significance of all these for the

education of people who have to create a full, fruitful life in our society and who have to utilize its machinery for achieving human ends that would be deemed worthy, good and valuable.

How, for example, is all the wealth of man's knowledge to be translated, so that it may become an integral part of man's mental capital? We must know the answer to this question to be able to canalize man's greatest values into his standards. The African has the answer. Though he is the terrorised, slaved and exploited man of the contemporary world, his history has shown that even before his fall in the old kingdoms of Mali, Songhai and Ghana he has always been the architect of a genuinely peaceful mankind. This is not to glorify a lost golden age of Africa and its people, it is to attempt a sober and rational appraisal of the experiences of man in a social and

physical environment such as can only be described as peculiar to Africa.

We have never waged a continental war, we have never been interested in getting used to implementations of mass destruction. In our colonial days we were dragged headlong into quarrels we knew very little or nothing about. We have always been peaceful. Even at the height of African glory when Europe was comparatively backward, we never attempted to colonise Europe or even ventured to impose our knowledge on Europe. Our peaceful nature even made us to concede to slavery with the result that got us humiliated for a whole century.

The world situation today compels us to urge the P.D.G. Congress to continue to lead the people in dynamism towards the achievement of African political unity, the common understanding between the

Convention People's Party of Ghana, the Democratic Party of Guinea and the Sudanese Union of Mali, must push Africa towards her destiny.

The P.D.G. of Guinea by its democratic structure has given full expression to the role her working class can play in the National Reconstruction. The living democracy you have established here which enables the people to associate themselves with every aspect of human life must be the envy of the Western World.

May you continue to triumph despite all obstacles. May the people of Guinea under the P.D.G., achieve their true and just inheritance.

LONG LIVE AFRICAN  
UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE.  
LONG LIVE THE P.D.G.  
LONG LIVE GHANA-  
GUINEA-MALI UNION.  
LONG LIVE PRESIDENT  
SEKOU TOURE.

## Income on Aggression : Continued

opens the door to economic progress in Mozambique, it will also open other doors to inquiring African minds, and that another century of ignorance is preferable to the possibility of communism.

The hard-hitting and courageous editor of the largest circulation newspaper in Mozambique, *Noticias*, has been denouncing the Church's educational monopoly as vehemently as he attacks American foreign policy. Captain Vaz is one of the few Portuguese who perceive the urgent need to give Africans a stake in a Portuguese Mozambique. Ever since the Salazar concordat with the Vatican in the 1930's, the Mozam-

bique Government has turned over African educational funds to the Church without requiring any accounting. After a bitter fight, the Cardinal has recently been forced to accept government inspection of schools. Captain Vaz said some critics charged that the financially hard-pressed Church had diverted educational funds on a substantial scale to support the clergy, and that African school children have spent most of their time in "agricultural learning"—planting and harvesting crops for sale by the impecunious fathers.

Although not admitting that any specific criticism was well taken, two

different priests I talked with—one Portuguese and one Dutch—confessed their own deep discouragement with the educational rôle of the Church. Captain Vaz may be biased, since he says educational funds are also used to make up the deficits of the Cardinal's daily newspaper, *Diario*, which is less popular with the public than *Noticias*.

This is subsidiary to the power fight between the Cardinal and the Governor-General. The *persona* change but the struggle has long been the single most vital determinant of what happens in Mozambique. The previous Governor-General Gabriel Teixeira, was one of the abler administrators in Africa. He was quite candid about the Cardinal when I talked with him here in 1953, and his ouster was at least partially the result of Church pressure in Lisbon.

TO BE CONTINUED

# African Personality

by Ndabaningi Sithole

IN this article I wish to deal with the various phases of African personality so that its real dimension may be better appreciated. There are those who have advanced the highly prejudiced argument that the African has no personality. It therefore becomes incumbent on us to define our concept, African personality.

What really is African personality? The question obviously assumes the existence of a personality. It does not deny it. It accepts the fact that there is such a thing as African personality, in spite of what some European experts may say to the contrary.

Every human being of whatever race, colour or creed or however young or old, has a personality. That is to say, he has a totality, a wholeness about him which makes him to be that individual in contradistinction to the rest of other individuals. A personality may be highly developed or retarded. It may be striking or dull, but in each case it is there in varying degrees in all persons.

But here we are not going to discuss individual personality, but group personality, or the personality of the Africans as a distinct people found on the continent of Africa. There is such a thing as European or American or Chinese or Russian personality, and this is another way of saying, personality, in one form or another, is a common heritage of all mankind. European personality refers to human personality in a European setting. The same thing is true of other personalities.

To return to our question: What really is African personality? It is the sum total of the basic ways the African people feel, think, perceive, talk and behave. The manner in which they react to their environ-

ment is part of their personality. African personality may mean African ways of interpreting their own environment in their own ways. It may mean African outlook on life in general. It may mean their dress, their song, music and dance, their food their symbols, their oral traditions, their languages and other communal heritage. To say therefore Africans have no personality is another way of saying they do not have these things. The mistake arises from an erroneous assumption that anything that is African, and not European, is necessary inferior and worthless.

The personality of a people—be they black, white, brown or yellow, is deeply imbedded, rooted, grafted in their institutions. It is on these that the human personality feeds, flourishes and thrives. Institutions have tended to give more meaning to human life and therefore to human personality. To destroy the institutions of any people is indeed to take away meaning and colour out of their life. It is to thwart, frustrate, cripple, dwarf, and stunt their personality.

It is clear from the above remarks that the concept—African personality is synonymous with the concept African self. This self is the ordinary, common human self that lives and moves and has its being in this world. African self, on the other hand, is that human self which has its specific geographical, historical, cultural, political, and economic setting in Africa, and this is what distinguishes it from other human selves which have different settings in other parts of the world.

If the thesis that every man is a child or by-product of his own environment is accepted it becomes clear that man cannot be truly at

home in an imported environment that does not reflect his language, his customs, his dress, his food, his music, song and dance, his aspirations and the like. The fact of being an African implies that of belonging to an African environment in as much as the fact of being a Russian implies that of belonging to a Russian environment.

To come back to our main concept. What does African personality mean as used today? It is simply the natural expression of the African in his own surroundings—i.e. Africa. This personality finds, satisfaction in African politics, economics, education, art, culture and a host of other things. This means that African politics can never be the same thing as European or American politics. European or American systems can never be those of Africa. The very fact that one system is called European or American brings up the question of environment and an environment cannot be exported to other places. This is why the Portuguese *civilizado* and *assimilado* system, the French assimilation system and the British "civilization test" have met with dismal, failure in all Africa. These are imported environments which were destined to be swallowed up by the natural environment of Africa.

The idea of African personality can be gleaned in the movement of Pan-Africanism—the excessive desire on the part of the African people to be and to remain themselves in opposition to being converted into black Englishmen, Frenchmen and Portuguese—and in that of African nationalism—the Africans' excessive desire to control their own destiny rather than to have it controlled by outsiders. The essence of African personality has existed in many undifferentiated forms since the Berlin Conference of 1884-5. But the first man to give it articulation on a Pan-Africanist stage was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who, at the Independent African States Conference held in Accra, Ghana, in 1958 "projected the view that the African must assert his own personality and develop according to his own ways of life, his own customs, traditions and culture."

Since that time when it was verbalised by Dr. Nkrumah, this most revolutionary concept has swept

the whole continent of Africa like a wild fire. It has gripped the fertile imagination of thousands of African nationalist leaders, and is making a tremendous and incredible appeal to the African masses. Indeed it has bewitched, so to speak, the entire continent of Africa. The African people, after many decades of being depersonalised, are now feverishly searching and ceaselessly working for this new African personality.

For decades the springs of African personality were pressed down in order to give an appearance of truth to the lie that an African has no personality, but today the same springs have sprung back to demonstrate once more the discrediting of that lie. The world of a hundred years ago seemed devoid of African personality. The world of today finds itself, on all levels, face to face with that personality. And it must adjust itself to this fact.

Now we shall examine briefly the different levels on which we find this African personality, and in order to give a clear picture we shall have to enumerate these levels:

## Political Level

African personality expresses itself in its strong rejection of white domination in Africa, in its determination to destroy that domination root, stem and branch. It expresses itself in its tireless effort to re-assert itself on the whole continent of Africa. It therefore aims at complete independence, total emancipation from foreign rule. It aims at being the master of its own destiny in Africa.

It is amply clear that African personality today is a very basic political philosophy without which one misses an important key to African political thinking. There is a relation between African personality and African political independence. An African personality that is politically dependent on foreigners loses its own integrity, its own identity, its very right to exist. The aim of total independence is to break the fetters and shackles that tramp African personality, and this is universally true of all desire to be independent.

A frequent question has been asked: Will independent African countries join the Western bloc or

the Eastern bloc? African political thinking, as represented, to borrow the language of another, by "Africa's Political Sputnik"—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah—is clear on the whole matter. Africa will go neither to the West nor to the East. Obviously, to go West or East is to submerge the very African personality implied in African political subservience without extending it to African personality.

This point becomes more clear if one thinks of the now-independent African countries—twenty-eight of them. Before they got their independence African personality was pushed into the background. But now the great African continent is peopled with African Presidents, African Prime Ministers, African Members of National Assemblies, and African Ambassadors. African thinkers, orators, writers, educationists, sportsmen and whatnot are now staging their own dramas which under political dependence they were forbidden to do.

Hence the truth is that African personality died with political dependence, but rose from the dead with political independence—its very flower. The army of Europeans who spoke for Africans has been pushed aside. Africa now speaks for herself. She does not have to act as a carbon copy for European ideas, thoughts and actions. She does not have to perform the role of rubber-stamping European schemes and plans. She now has recovered, retrieved, the long-lost right of saying, "yes" or "no" as she chooses.

From these observations we can safely come to the conclusion that African personality is inextricably interwoven, interlocked and intertwined with political independence. Such African political doctrines as African unity, non-alignment, positive neutrality and the African's aversion to imperialism, colonialism neo-colonialism and the balkanisation of the African States are deeply coloured and indelibly imbued with the concept of African personality.

## Cultural Level

"Man shall not live by bread alone" may be rendered, "man shall not live by politics alone." Man is not only a political animal, but he is

also a cultural animal. The political emancipation of the African peoples is now giving African personality its right cultural content. African songs, dances, dress, customs, and traditions which suffered a severe set-back under the terrific pressures of the European *civilizado* systems, have suddenly sprung to life as a result of political independence. The silent drums of Africa are now beating. The African heroes and saints who lay covered in the thick dust of European imperialism and colonialism have shaken off the dust, and they now stand hallowed in every African hearth.

The entire continent of Africa seems to be throbbing and pulsating with things African. The people seem to be reaching out for things African. They seem to be shouting with one big voice, "GIVE ME BACK MY AFRICA, AND THINGS THAT ARE AFRICAN." The spring of African culture is now here with us, and behold the beauty of its many colours!

## Economic Level

When imperialists and colonialists parcelled out the various parts of Africa to the various European Powers, there were two leading ideas in their minds. First, they regarded Africa as a source of human and raw materials. The human beings of Africa were viewed in the light of economic exploitation. In other words, they were relegated to the realm of fauna and flora to be cultivated or exterminated according to economic necessity. Second, Africa was regarded as dumping ground for the finished goods of Europe.

The effect of this two-pillar policy was most devastating to the personality of the African. It dehumanised, depersonalised, devalued, and besmirched his human dignity by treating him as an economic tool. It crippled the initiative, and frustrated the genius of the African in whom it created a pathetic state of dependence since the African was forced into the role of a spectator rather than of a doer and into that of a consumer

Continued on Next Page

rather than that of a contributor. In the economic field, as in the political sphere, the African lost his personality.

But the economic picture is changing in all independent African countries which no longer regard themselves as valuable sources, for raw materials for European secondary industries, and as dumping grounds for the manufactured goods of Europe. The African no longer exists to satisfy the economic schemes and economic purposes of Europe. He has ceased to be a means to European ends. He now exists in his own right. He is an end in himself in his economic sphere. This should explain the massive opposition of the African people to joining the European Common Market and the international trades union congresses since these directly and seriously impinge on the African personality as they all seek to control the African in one form or another. The idea of the Common African Market and the All-African Trades Union Congress commend themselves since they preserve and help the personality of the African people.

#### Military Level

During the First World War African soldiers were used to fight the possibility of German domination. They were told they were fighting for freedom, for democracy, and for the dignity of man. African soldiers responded magnificently hoping that after the War, the African people would also enjoy these things that were enjoyed in other countries, but, alas, they found themselves denied in the land of their birth the very things they had fought for, the very things they had been promised, and the very things they themselves longed for.

They felt they had been cheated, cajoled, duped by the imperialists. They felt they had been used as military weapons, and not as people. The same thing was repeated after the second World War until it was driven home to them that an African soldier who laid down his life defending freedom, was in actual fact defending the freedom of the imperialists and not his, freedom which was denied to him in his own country.

The realisation of this shook the African to the very core of his being, and today he objects very strongly to Africa being used as a military base by European powers. He opposes vigorously any military pacts or alliances with Europe. He wants Africa free from any military imperialism. This is how he wants to make sure that nothing again will submerge his personality which has suffered for so long. African soldiers today train to defend African not European freedom, just as European soldiers train to defend European not African freedom.

#### Educational Level

There are many more levels which we could mention here, but we shall make this one the last. An examination of history books written by imperialists and colonialists depicts, as cruel savages, African heroes who fiercely defended their country and the white invaders as always men of good intentions for the country they invade. Every villain is black, and every black man is villainous. On the other hand every whiteman is a hero, and every hero was a whiteman.

Hence the entire consciousness of the African students was thoroughly immersed with white heroes and black villains. History was deliberately distorted to uphold white superiority and to play up the supposed inherent African inferiority and sub-humanity. The whole school system was bent to this end. African personality had to be killed in every classroom, and in some European-controlled countries an ingenious practice of calling African teachers "Teacher so-and-so" and European teachers "Mr. so-and-so" was devised.

With the attaining of independence by many of the African countries, education is now in the full control of the African people themselves. The African-personality-killing school books are being re-written or discarded altogether. African schools are no longer required to teach white supremacy. They now teach the equality of all men as made in the image of God.

From what I have said here it should now be clear that the drama of African personality operates on two fairly constant principles. On

the one hand it rejects subservience to foreign powers and influences in any form. On the other hand, it reasserts *Africanness* in all its divergent and rich forms. It is both negative and positive. It is destructive of the imperialist and colonialist past, but constructive in relation to the African present and future.

But I should not be understood to be saying that African personality is necessarily adverse to things European. Far from it. If it were, that would be the surest road to self-strangulation, as, indeed, an old African proverb bears this out, "A bird builds its nest out of the feathers of another but no bird chooses the feathers for another." Each bird chooses feathers according to its own needs and tastes. This is precisely what African personality means.

To return to our original question: What really is African personality? It is that new spirit in the African which is proclaiming to the world at large: "No country is good enough to rule another without the consent of another. Africa is the captain of her soul, and master of her own destiny."

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has well said:

"For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now, what I have called an African Personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa's own sons."



You stay put there, in my interest—and your own.

## Northern Rhodesia Constitution—a Disaster

by A Northern Rhodesia Nationalist

AS a constitution for our country the latest formula announced by the British Government, if not produced entirely by them, is a disaster.

Not only will it have disastrous consequences on stability, but it will also have disastrous effects on future race relations. An opportunity to mobilise the remaining ounces of African goodwill towards Great Britain has also been missed, and it would be unwise for people in this country to take it for granted that after the Cyprus/Kenya/Nyasaland process has been thoroughly repeated in Northern Rhodesia sufficient African goodwill will remain for a friendly relationship with Britain.

#### Compromise of the Munich Type

The British Government's so-called constitution has been acclaimed in some quarters in Britain as a compromise and a compromise it certainly is, but one between the British Government on the one side and Sir Roy Welensky and his Tory back-bench lobby on the other. Our party and the vast majority of the people in Northern Rhodesia have not been a party to this compromise. It is therefore a compromise of the Munich type: We are being sold as Czechoslovakia was in 1939. Sir Roy Welensky is being appeased as Hitler was.

#### Betrayal

The British Government's present plan represents a betrayal of the good faith, patience, restraint and spirit of compromise that our Party showed when, although our just demands for undiluted, non-racial democracy, based on "one man—one vote", were not granted in the February White Paper, we nevertheless responded to the Governor's

invitation for discussions "within the framework and spirit of Her Majesty's (February) plan." While the ridiculous complexity of the present plan may be designed to confuse, it can no more conceal its departure in letter and in spirit from the February framework than can the Governor's signature to his Despatch mask the guidance in its draughtsmanship exercised by Sir Roy Welensky and Co. by long distance telephone and by the Voice-and-Vision created lobby on the spot at Westminster.

Last week's suitcase game has led also to a betrayal of the responsibility which the British Government has, even under the Federation framework, for constitutional advance in the "territorial sphere." The abdication of this constitutional responsibility to the Federal Regime is not only a breach of solemn assurances given in 1953 and subsequently, but is illegal. It cannot be glossed over by assurances that the decisions were recommended by the Governor and made by the British Government; that Welensky was "only consulted."

In so far as Federal intervention has temporarily won the day, we will now intensify our struggle against the Federal Regime, for, clearly the British Government has abdicated power to it even in the territorial sphere in Northern Rhodesia.

#### Too Clever by Half

Lord Salisbury's description of Mr. Macleod's game is far more appropriate to the present than it was in relation to the February constitution. By amendments that at first sight appear to be minor, he so destroys the balance of the February plan as to make it a basis

for no more than an adulterated parity instead of a fair gamble for the African majority that was recommended by the Monckton Commission in October last year. But he has now really been too clever by half; he has not only stepped outside the February framework—he has substituted a substantially different scheme into the original framework. The framework is in fact all that is left of the February scheme.

#### Apartheid onto the Statute Book

To implement this so-called constitution it will be necessary to classify the existing upper and lower "common" rolls into racial compartments and thereby introduce *Apartheid* in a country where it has not existed before (at least openly) on the Statute Book. Mr. Macleod may have been too clever by half, for the Upper Roll, if thoroughly classified racially, may well be denuded of its many 'Europeans'.

And how else than by racial classification of the Upper Roll voters can it be determined whether a national candidate has received the prescribed minimum of "European votes cast in the election?"

#### "Law and Order" or Law and Disorder?

To summarise, this is a bad constitution even by colonial standards. It cannot be allowed to become the constitution for our country.

If British Ministers choose to bring chaos to our country—whether the choice is through blackmail pressure or otherwise—by burying their heads in the sand when facing the "Wind of Change" the responsibility for the consequences is entirely theirs.

The Governor is reported to be ready to impose this "constitution" and to have emphasised that he had sufficient forces "to maintain law and order". Perhaps he has, but he can only maintain an order which will die through stagnation. Our people will not give it life.

We are confident that the people of Africa, Britain and the world over will support us in our struggle against colonial domination and for a democratic order in Northern Rhodesia.



# The Settler Republic of S. Africa

by Tennyson Makiwane

A MONTH has passed since the proclamation of the South African Republic. Already this so-called republic has been roundly rejected by the Africans and other non-white people who greeted its birth with massive strike action and other forms of protest. It is not a question here of whether South Africa should be a republic or a monarchy—the present republic has been brought about as a result of a referendum conducted amongst the white people who constitute the minority to the total exclusion of the non-white population although the latter constitutes the majority.

The republican celebrations themselves were a flop and the age-old dream of the settler nationalists (Boers) had become a nightmare. The dawn of republican day broke midst an unprecedented crisis in South Africa. The government had effected the biggest peacetime call up of the army and reserves, arms and ammunition had been widely distributed to white civilians, ten thousand freedom fighters were thrown into jail and numerous threats and acts of intimidation were resorted to by the authorities in a supreme effort to frustrate the legitimate protests by the majority of the people.

The great significance of the demonstrations which took place in South Africa at the end of May was they were directed not against this or that repressive law of the South

African Government but the whole system of persecution and racial tyranny, which is apartheid. And the Africans and other democrats demanded the calling of a constituent assembly (or National Convention) with full sovereign powers to draft a new democratic and non-racial Constitution for the country.

The deepening crisis in South Africa has its roots in the whole system of political and economic exploitation which was initiated by the British colonialists and has been intensified by the Nationalist Party of Dr. Verwoerd since it assumed power. For the sole aim of satisfying the greedy needs of monopoly capitalists in South Africa, Britain and the United States, who reap fantastic profits from the system, Africans and other non-whites have been denied basic human rights, condemned to poverty and backwardness.

Politically, out of a population of 15 million, only the three million whites have the right to vote or to stand for elections. The ten million Africans and the two million coloureds and Indians enjoy no such rights. Economically 85 per cent of the land is owned by the white minority whilst Africans own only 15 per cent of the land. In the field of employment the principle of equal pay for equal work does not exist. Africans earn only a fraction of what white workers earn for doing the same job. Moreover there is the notorious clause 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act which reserves certain categories of work for white workers only.

The African workers are prevented from resisting this unbridled exploitation by the fact that their trade unions are denied recognition by law. Moreover, in terms of the Native Settlement of Disputes Act and other legislation it is illegal for African workers to strike.

In the field of education, the so-called Bantu Education Act is intended to indoctrinate African children to accept a status of inferiority. Dr. Verwoerd himself, as the then Minister for Native Affairs, said when introducing this law "there is no place for the African in European society above certain forms of labour," in other words he saw only the status of a hewer of

wood and a drawer of water for the African. And recently the government, has excluded non-white students from the well established universities of South Africa.

Socially, the African is hounded and humiliated everywhere. His freedom of movement is curtailed by the so-called pass laws which compel Africans to carry passes, produce them on demand by the police, failing which, he goes to jail.

Everywhere the black man meets with colour restrictions in South Africa. He cannot use this life, that bus or that train, since these are reserved for white people only. There is an instance when an ambulance refused to carry an injured African boy, since the ambulance was for white people only. Such are the workings of apartheid.

It was in order to enforce these intolerable conditions that the Nationalist Party when it was returned to power launched an offensive calculated to turn South into a fully-fledged police state. Indeed, the top leaders of the Nationalist Party such as Dr. Verwoerd, were in open sympathy with Nazism and various acts of sabotage against the anti-fascist war effort were carried out by the supporters of the Nationalist Party.

Under such laws as the Suppression of Communism Act, which defines a communist as anyone seeking social, political and economic change in South Africa by unconstitutional means, many African and progressive leaders as well as trade unionists were victimised. Under such laws as the Criminal Laws Amendment Act the weapon of passive resistance was rendered illegal. Strikes by African workers are illegal in terms of four laws. In many areas suppressive measures such as bans on meetings, banishment of leaders were undertaken by the government to silence all opposition.

However, each time the government assailed the rights of the people, it met with stern resistance. The last ten years, in particular, have been an inspiring record of stubborn resistance by the Africans and other democratic forces against the fascist onslaughts. Since 1950, no less than seven political strikes were launched by the liberation movement; then there was the Defiance Campaign of

1952 in which 8,500 people of all races but mostly Africans went to jail as a result of defiance of unjust laws. Boycotts and demonstrations took place with an ever increasing vigour. Whereupon, the government replied to the legitimate protests of the people with more vicious and suppressive laws. It was against this background of mounting terror that the savage Sharpeville massacres occurred.

But in spite of these brutal measures, in spite of the treason trial and banings of the people's political organisations, the South African regime has failed to mute the freedom demands of the oppressed people. Although they are Nazis, the Verwoerd regime fails to muster the art of Nazism, precisely because of the unflinching resistance of the oppressed people. Over the years the Africans and other lovers of freedom in South Africa have struggled, suffered set-backs, struggled again emerging more determined on each occasion, launching ever bigger and bigger anti-government campaigns.

And indeed, the South African regime finds it impossible to rule other than by using force. Already, the government has had to declare a state of emergency, three times since the Sharpeville shootings last year. Economically, the restrictions imposed recently by the Minister of Finance to prevent the outflow of capital from South Africa shows that the Republic is in the throes of the most serious financial crisis since the war.

Meanwhile economic boycotts against South Africa, by states in Africa and abroad continue to gain new support. South Africa gets ever isolated from the civilized world, as shown by her expulsion from the Commonwealth, the ILO and her almost unanimous denunciation by the UNO.

All the same, the South Africa rulers blind to reason are determined to make that country the bastion of reaction in Africa, and an exporter of the counter-revolution. This has been evidenced recently by the despatch of White South African officers and mercenaries to Katanga to assist the traitorous Tshombe. And now that the people of Angola, arms in hand, have stood up to fight for their freedom, it is on the cards

that the South African Government will further assist the Portuguese colonialists (already South Africa supplies refuelling facilities in South West Africa for the Portuguese).

But the forthright statement by Minister of Defence, Jim Fouche, that "South Africa intends to fight a war in Africa in defence of the interests of all whitemen in the continent," is a clear challenge and threat to independent African States.

What then is the way forward for the liberation movement? Throughout Africa former colonial territories are daily becoming independent and taking their destinies in their own hands. And in most parts of dependent Africa constitutional talks are in progress where African nationalist leaders are demanding a status of freedom for their countries. In other words, the picture throughout the continent is one in which the

## Jomo Kenyatta

Continued

being consistently anti-colonialist and of demanding freedom for the African people. And it is for that "crime" that the colonialists and settlers have sought to crucify him.

In Kenya the mere cry of *Uhuru na Kenyatta* was in itself sufficient to prove that whoever uttered it was 'Mau Mau.' In June 1958 the redoubtable Oginga Odinga demanded Kenyatta's release in the Kenya Legislative Council. He was shouted down.

### Kenya Without Kenyatta

During the elections in Kenya at the beginning of this year any candidate who did not demand Kenyatta's immediate and unconditional release was shouted down.

Inside Kenya it has been fully established that Kenya without Jomo Kenyatta is like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Jomo

liberation movement is taking a bold offensive under the banner of "Freedom Now." South Africa can no longer isolate herself from the gush of freedom winds from the North. Hence, the demand for the calling of a constituent assembly to draft a democratic constitution for South Africa, is quite realistic and in keeping with general developments in the rest of Africa.

Since, however, the South African Government will not readily transfer its powers to a constituent assembly it is clear that the African people as well as other democratic forces in South Africa will have to wage a prolonged and stubborn war of attrition for the winning of their rights. In this connection, the struggles of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique on the one hand and these of the people of South West Africa and of South Africa become interwoven.

alone can unite KADU and KANU, the rival national political parties.

There is little doubt that Kenyatta will be the first Prime Minister of an independent Kenya, the first President of the East African Federation.

The release of Jomo Kenyatta will strengthen further the cause of Pan-Africanists who are irrevocably committed to the destruction of colonialism in all its forms and to the political unity and total liberation of Africa.

Jomo Kenyatta spoke for the entire African leadership when he told his accusers—who were also his judges—that:

"We look forward to the day when peace shall come to this land and the truth shall be known that we, as African leaders have stood for peace."

For Kenya that day is about to dawn. As soon as Kenya and Kenyatta take their rightful place in the comity of nations that day will have dawned. The African people look forward to that dawn.



# Africa and the European Common Market

by a Special Correspondent

ONE of the most important of epoch-making developments in the years since the Second World War is the awakening of hundreds of millions of mankind in the countries for so long under imperialist domination. Nowhere has this been more striking or more remarkable than in Africa, long regarded as the "Dark Continent."

The upsurge of the African peoples following so closely in the wake of the successful liberation struggles of the Asian and Middle Eastern peoples, confronted imperialism with a new and severe crisis. It threatened the imperialist strangle-hold on the one continent which the imperialists considered their last preserve—"a continent left in reserve by God."

For many long years Africa has remained largely undeveloped; the imperialists have deemed it only necessary to take the barest technical measures calculated to ensure a constant flow of cheap raw materials to the factories of Europe and America.

Today the peoples of Africa are determined not only to secure their political freedom but to extend and consolidate it by achieving also their economic independence. Countries like Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and Tunisia, which have won their political independence, are engaged in the no less absorbing task of freeing their economics from all traces of colonial bondage—dependence on a single crop destined for the world market, the almost total absence of manufacturing industry, poor technique and low levels of output. The peoples of the non-independent territories are no less exercised with this problem.

At the same time the imperialists have decided that Africa is no longer to be allowed to lie fallow. They are constantly advancing and perfecting schemes designed to secure the welding of Africa more firmly

economically and politically to Europe.

Thus the idea of Eurafrika, by no means new, is once more to the fore. On May 9, 1950, M. Robert Schuman, proposing on behalf of the French Government, that France and Germany should pool their coal and steel industries under a common authority said: "Europe could, with increased resources, pursue the realization of one of her essential tasks: the development of the African continent."

In the autumn of 1952 the Strasbourg Plan of the Council of Europe took up the theme of Eurafrika as a promising method of associating Germany and Italy with the opening up of the African territories of its member states. This plan proved very tempting, particularly to Western German industry and big business. When the Council voted on and approved the Plan on September 25, 1952 one of the chief spokesmen in favour was Dr. Semler, Chairman of the Munich firm of Indufina (founded in 1952), attending the session as a member of the German delegation. There is another leading West German industrialist who can claim to have played an equally leading part in pushing the idea of Eurafrika. He is Herr Hermann Abs, former economic Adviser to Hitler and now the chairman of more than 17 firms and member of the Boards of several others.

It is worth recalling that Africa as a field for European expansion was an idea much favoured by the Nazis before the war. After 1940 they adapted it to the idea of a German Europe. Latterday fascists still plug the theme of Eurafrika. For instance, the South African *Sunday Times* (October 19, 1958) reported that an organisation linked to the Mosleyites Union Movement in Britain had been established in Johannesburg.

It is called the "Europe-Africa Association" and its major aim is to

win support for the idea that Africa is the "last great living space left to Europe." The African continent, says this neo-fascist organisation, can supply Europe with raw materials which Europe herself grows. In return a united Europe—Mosley's goal—would be able to provide the huge sums needed to make territorial apartheid feasible in South Africa.

Although the Strasbourg Plan was passed by the Council of Europe it failed to secure the support of the Committee of Ministers and the experts of the O.E.E.C., in which American influence is predominant. The industrialists and businessmen of France and Britain were not yet prepared to share their spoils wrenched from their African possessions with their German counterparts.

Meanwhile, the West German imperialists kept the Eurafrika idea alive. In 1953 West German firms organised an Africa Day at the Frankfurt Fair and made plain their intention to participate in capital investment in Africa. Africa, so ran the argument, is simply the southward extension of Europe. Its economy is complementary to that of Europe. The Eurafrikans could therefore foresee the establishment of a system in which all the economic, financial, scientific and technical resources of Western Europe have been pooled and to which Africa has been firmly linked.

## European Investment Bank

In March 1957, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs met in Rome to sign a Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (a customs union or a common market). Among the provisions of the Rome Treaty are the establishment of a European Investment Bank and a Development Bank for associated overseas territories, most of which are in Africa. These territories are to be associated with the E.E.C. But, significantly, the Five-Year Convention on the manner in which their association is to be brought about excludes such Treaty provisions as co-ordination of policies of social insurance, labour legislation, conditions of work, trade union rights, collective bargaining which apply in the case of the six

The Rome Treaty has established in the heart of Europe a community of six countries with a population of 165 millions (equal to that of the United States) and covering an area of 1,750,000 square kilometres.

The viability of this huge industrial complex depends upon the ease with which it can command access to raw materials for its factories and ready markets for its surplus manufactured goods. The proximity of Africa to Europe and the fact that large parts of the continent are already the colonial preserves of members of the Community made its role in relation to the Common Market obvious.

In popular imagination Africa is a poor continent of impenetrable jungle and vast sandy wastes but the imperialists knew it rather as a continent of vast potential. Despite the sparse development the supplement to the United Nations report on world economy, 1953—54, showed that Africa is responsible for the following:—

56.7 per cent	of world production of gold
98.4 per cent	" " diamonds
25.9 per cent	" " copper
11.0 per cent	" " lead
37.6 per cent	" " manganese
38.3 per cent	" " chrome
80.6 per cent	" " cobalt
22.9 per cent	" " antimony
17.0 per cent	" " asbestos
28.7 per cent	" " phosphates
14.5 per cent	" " tin concentrates.

## Discoveries of oil in Africa

In addition there were vast supplies of such rare metals as columbite (niobium) and tantalum each estimated at 95 per cent, and about half the world supply of uranium.

The hydro-electric power supply potential of Africa is estimated at no less than 140 million k.w., about 40 per cent of world capacity. And now vast reserves of oil are being discovered almost every month; notably in the Southern Sahara and Nigeria. In the Sahara the field at Edjele has a total capacity of 100m tons, Hassi Messaoud 300m and Zarzaitine, near the Libyan border another 60m tons. France's total annual petrol consumption amounts to 20m tons. Is it any wonder that the French imperialists so stubbornly and monotonously echo the refrain, "Algerie Francaise"! Algeria, indeed, is to the French imperialists the gateway leading to the wealth of Africa, a gateway over which, if

they can, they intend always to exercise control.

Apart from the great mineral wealth the African continent, despite inferior cultivation techniques due to the lack of machinery and modern implements, contributes a large variety of agricultural products to the world, it produces 76 per cent of the world output of palm-oil, 22 per cent of groundnuts, 15 per cent of coffee, 70 per cent of sisal and considerable quantities of tea, cotton, tobacco, hardwoods, fruits and vegetables.

In order better to exploit this great wealth the "Development Fund" set up by the Rome Treaty for five years in the first instance will dispose of a sum of 581,250,000 dollars to which all the Six will contribute. France and Western Germany are to contribute 200 million dollars each, Belgium and the Netherlands 70 million dollars each, Italy 40 million dollars and Luxembourg 1½ million dollars.

It will be noted that Western Germany which has no colonies to benefit from these allocations nevertheless contributes as much as France whose territories receive more than 80 per cent of the total Fund.

The way the Fund will actually be disbursed is cloaked in mystery but the Convention declares that "applications for the financing of projects would be made by the responsible authorities of the member countries", and, says elsewhere that the Commission of the E.E.C. "would draw up annually the general programme of proposed investments on which the Council of Ministers will make the final decision."

If there remained any lingering illusions about Africa's role in relation to the Common Market they were surely shattered by M. Rene Pleven, former French Premier and author of the Pleven Plan which paved the way for the creation of the European Defence Community and German rearmament. Le Monde (March 12, 1958) quoted M. Pleven as saying in a speech at Saint Brieu, in N-W France: "There will be no sovereign and independent Europe without an African sub-structure." M. Pleven added on this occasions: "Our difficulties in Africa would interest the enemies of the Common Market."

Among the enemies of the Common Market may be included the independent states of Africa. For at the inaugural session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa held at Addis Ababa they made their opposition abundantly clear. They considered association with the European Common Market an obstacle rather than a help towards the achievement of economic independence and the gradual removal of economic barriers inside Africa.

## Common Market on Obstacle

The aggressive economic aims of the E.E.C. directed against Africa are closely linked with aggressive political and military designs in Europe, for all the six member countries are also members of NATO.

## Financial Times

Just as they control the six E.E.C. members in NATO the Americans aim to control their activities in the Common Market as well. The *Financial Times* (March 4, 1958) reported that many leading U.S. companies have completed plans for establishing subsidiaries, assembly plants or finishing plants or expanding existing plants to take advantage of the prospects of expansion following the coming into effect of the Treaty of Rome. A footnote to this story added that according to a recent estimate by J. Walter Thompson Company (U.S.), American investment in Europe will increase by 300 per cent to 9,000 million dollars over the next 25 years.

The same journal said that last year some 50 leading U.S. companies, including Du Pont and General Motors were believed to have held a secret conference in Rome on the schemes for European economic integration.

The plans of U.S. imperialism for direct African penetration are well advanced but indirect entry through the European Common Market is obviously not being neglected.

The challenge which the establishment of the European Common Market poses for the African will meet the most energetic reply. For it seeks to preserve the old imperialist economic pattern which has held them in bondage for so long.

# The new Face of Imperialism in Africa

by Dr. Alpheus Hunton

**DURING** the past year the anti-imperialist revolution in Africa has entered into a new phase.

The significant fact concerning the achievement of political independence during 1960 by some eighty million Africans is that the present 26 African-governed states, comprising more than two-thirds of the total population of Africa, have for the first time in modern history regained the power of exercising sovereign control over the major part of the continent and of determining for themselves—if they use their power effectively—the further course of the revolution for the complete liberation of Africa.

Some seventy-seven million Africans yet remain under alien rule and they include the forty-two millions in Algeria, South Africa and South West Africa, the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia. Racist dictatorship by the resident white minority, coupled with heavy European and American investments in these territories—with the war in Algeria now in its seventh year and mass murders and jailings occurring periodically to maintain the *status quo* in the others—marks them as especially grave threats to the whole of Africa and the peace of the world. And we must, of course, include among these danger areas the former Belgian

Congo whose independence was in effect quickly snatched away when it was seen that Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba was not content with being merely an obedient caretaker for the vested interests of Union Miniere and its fellow-exploiters of the country.

How will the independent African States with their 183 million people face the problem of bringing all the rest of the continent under the banner of freedom?

Will the wave of political advance sweep irresistibly onward, or will its momentum be dissipated by cross-currents of compromise and capitulation and by a strong undertow of African disunity?

Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea—whose government and people have demonstrated in action the real meaning of no compromise with imperialism—has predicted that all of Africa will be free within five years. But, needless to say, there are those in Johannesburg, Paris, London, Washington, and elsewhere who are thinking and planning otherwise.

At the very time when the admission of the new independent African States into the United Nations was being loudly acclaimed last year, there came to light a

counter-revolutionary conspiracy, backed by a coalition of the imperialist powers, to employ the facade of African political independence in many of the newly sovereign states, especially those of the so-called "French Community" as an instrument for blocking further advance toward real freedom and for preserving and extending the essential element of imperialist control, economic domination, in Africa.

The general outlines of the conspiracy became evident during the recent UN General Assembly deliberations on what to do about the Congo and the accreditation of its UN representatives, and on the issue of the proposed referendum in Algeria under UN supervision.

## New Flags, old Tricks

The strength of the African nationalist movement together with the power of the socialist world which supports its aims, has made it necessary today in most of Africa for the colonial powers to abandon their customary procedure of answering freedom demands with bullets. With the exceptions already noted in Algeria and elsewhere, they no longer openly oppose political independence; instead they endeavour to arrange that in the emerging states, power is handed over to African leaders who will continue to keep them subservient, in fact, in their former colonial masters.

So long as no African finger is placed on their mines and other holdings, they are quite willing for new flags to be raised over African capitals and for the representatives of the new states to take their seats in the United Nations.

The European masters, however, are compelled in turn to yield a larger share of their African spoils to the bigger boss the United States upon whom they are dependent for help in salvaging what they can of their dwindling empires.

Thus, colonialism tends to assume an international form. Collective arrangements replace unilateral control. The capitalist powers seek to co-ordinate their efforts toward maintaining their control and promoting their further exploitation of African resources, though not always succeeding in hiding the stresses and strains resulting from the dominating role of the United States in the partnership.

In the sphere of foreign private investment there has emerged in the last few years an increasing number of multi-national and multi-million-dollar mining, oil exploration, and other undertakings in many areas of Africa. LIBERIA'S rich iron ore deposits, for example, are being worked by a combination of American, Canadian, and Swedish interests in partnership with the Liberian Government, and with a West German steel consortium entering a \$50 million bid to join the party. In GABON, one of the new French community republics in West Africa, a U.S.-French syndicate is exploiting the Mekambo iron ore deposits, with Bethlehem Steel Corporation, holding a 50 per cent interest. In the same territory another Franco-American consortium is concerned with manganese extraction, and in this the U.S. Steel Corporation holds 49 per cent control.

The big FRIA bauxite mining and refining project in GUINEA, launched a year before its independence, is also dominated by American capital. Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation (48.5%), but it includes French, British, West German and Swiss interests. In Mauretania, further to the north on the west coast, French, British, Italian and West German companies have combined in one more iron ore extraction project.

In SOUTH AFRICA, American capital plays an increasingly influential role in mining as well as manufacturing industries. The new £G100 million investment programme, an-

nounced last December at the very time when the revolting racism practised by Verwoerd and his government was once again being assailed in the UN General Assembly, is typical of the monopoly interests' cynical indifference toward human values and human life.

In the same category is the manner in which French and American would-be investors have pressed their oil hunt in ALGERIA despite the clear warning from the Algerian Provisional Government of the folly and danger of this action.

In keeping with its policy of giving a helping hand to investment projects abroad in which American interests have a financial or raw material stake, as in South Africa, Rhodesia, Liberia and the Congo, the World Bank, whose President, Eugene Black, made a personal tour of Africa last year, has assisted these new joint investments.

A 35 million dollar loan went to underwrite the railway and other basic services required by the manganese-extraction syndicate in GABON, and 66 million dollars went for the same purpose to the international trust, MIFERMA, in MAURETANIA.

Europe and America need African raw materials, it is said over and over

again *ad nauseum*. What does Africa need? The answer, explicit or implied, is that what is good for Europe and America must perforce be good for Africa.

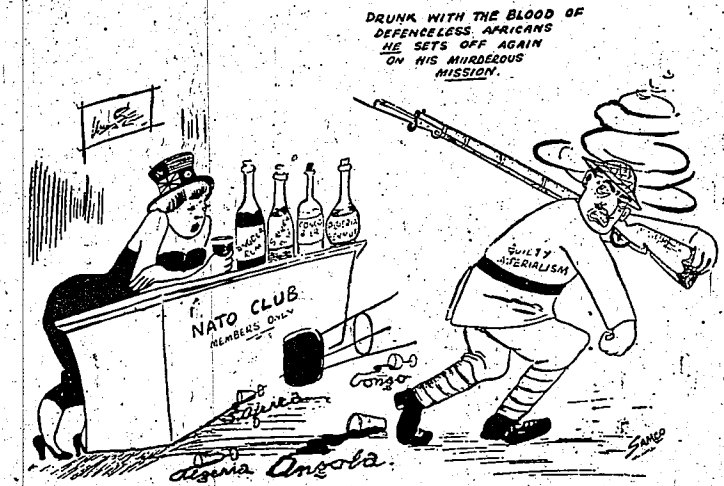
## CONTROL OF OWN DESTINIES:

**L**ET me affirm with all solemnity the occasion demands that any black man who is not with the African people today in their legitimate demands for control of their own destinies and their right to make their own mistakes and learn by them is a traitor to his country and its people.

Such a man must be severely judged by public opinion and sentenced accordingly. I shall introduce a new principle totally foreign to British law but not unknown elsewhere, (and after all we are not English men) namely the confiscation of all his assets and property and the privilege of citizenship for 20 years.

The necessary judicial procedure may well engage the attention of our lawyers. Whoever is not with us is against us.

—African Nationalist Leader



# Concept of Pan-Africanism

by E. L. Niloedibe

PAN-AFRICANISM is the idea and ideal based on the African situation. It is the concept that is linked with the African personality and African orientation. It is basic ideology of a dynamic, emergent new force, African nationalism. It is a manifestation of fraternal solidarity among Africans. It serves as a beacon light in the struggle for self-determination. It is an aid to the promotion of self-determination among Africans under African leadership for the benefit of the Africans themselves.

Before I give you a brief outline of the origin of Pan-Africanism, I would like in passing to acquaint you with the nature of the African struggle—with particular reference to the sub-continent of Southern Africa.

Nowhere in Africa today is there a nation whose destiny is determined by another—except in colonial Africa. In South Africa the white minority base their oppressive and discriminatory legislation on the Calvinistic myth that they are a God-chosen nation destined to rule and lead others, namely the African people. The struggle is directed against this attitude adopted by the white man in South Africa.

Since the coming of the whiteman to South Africa in 1652, there has been struggle which has been the form of wars—battles of dispossession. Our leaders today and the African people on the whole are engaged in a struggle not only against colonialism, imperialism and capitalism but against the denial by the

white minority of the African people's right to determine their own destiny. The struggle for the right of self-determination is the basis of the African struggle today.

Many obstacles are facing the leaders in the struggle among which is the Christian doctrine. Here they are faced with the influence of the Christian religion certain of whose dictums are not conducive to human liberty.

The African people are again faced with the arrogant and unfriendly white press which is in defence of white minority rule.

## The Origin of Pan-Africanism

The first Afro-American intellectual who had a clear vision of the concept of Pan-Africanism was Dr. W. E. B. Du-Bois. This concept was originally conceived by a West Indian barrister, but I give credit to Dr. Du-Bois who gave reality to the dream by conserving its ideals until such time when the concept was acceptable to African circles as a basic ideology for emergent African nationalism.

Africa during that time, as now, was going through a crisis.

Dr. Du-Bois convened a Pan-African Conference in London in 1900 to protest against white colonizers.

Between the years 1919-1945 Dr. Du-Bois organised intensively for the broadening of the Pan-Africanist concept and its perspective. He formulated programme and strategy along the path of non-violent positive action.

Dr. Du-Bois was then invited to address the World Race Congress of leading anthropologists and sociologists in London on the American race problem. He made the following observation: "Contacts of Negroes of different origins and nationality, which I had then and before at other congresses and the Race Congress, were most inspiring. My plans as they developed had in them nothing spectacular nor revolutionary. If in decades or a century they resulted in such World organisation of black men as would propose a United front to European aggression, that certainly would not have been beyond my dream."

But on the other hand, in practical reality, I knew the power and guns of Europe and America, and what I wanted to do was in the face of this power to sit down hand in hand with coloured groups and across the Council table to learn of each, our condition, our aspirations, our chance for concerted thought and action. Out of this there might come not race war and opposition, but broader co-operation with the White rulers of the World, and a chance for peaceful and accelerated developments of black folk."

He later attended the Peace Conference at Versailles after the war—where he insisted that the Allied Powers should adopt a Charter of Human Rights for Africans as a reward and recognition of the part they played in the battlefields of Europe and elsewhere. At this conference he was accompanied by prominent Africans from all parts of the continent. This gathering aroused considerable interest among international delegates who were attending the Peace Conference specially those with interests in Africa.

It was at this conference held as far back as 1919 that Africans voiced their demands. Of the resolutions presented by the African delegation to this Peace Conference, the most important was that which dealt with the State—it read as follows:

"The Natives of Africa must have the right to participation in the Government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that the Government exist for the Natives, and not Natives for the Government."

They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal Government, according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed to the higher offices of State; to the end that, in time, Africa is ruled by consent of the Africans... Whenever it is proved that the African Natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilised citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and culture, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the notice of the civilised World."

## The Spreading of Pan-Africanism

In 1949 Dr. Kwame Nkrumah founded in the Gold Coast (Ghana) the Convention People's Party to advance the cause of self-government—then Pan-Africanism took root on the African soil.

Pan-Africanism has captured the continent, and despite minor differences over pace and priorities, the African people are agreed that a stop must be put to the humiliating situation where in Africa we are still speaking of Settler South Africa, French Algeria, Portuguese Angola and Spanish Morocco.

It is agreed that the goal of all African Nationalists should be a United States of Africa.

The peoples of Africa are also agreed that emergent Africa must pursue a course of positive neutralism, not only in political matters but in economic as well as in cultural affairs. Thus it is that the leaders of the continent visit both East and West, and African Trade Unions decide to ally themselves with neither of the two international Federations of Trade Unions—the International Confederations of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions, but to harness African Trade Unions to the struggle for African emancipation and unity.

Before I treat in full the attitude to be adopted by African Nationalists to the two World blocs—East and West, let me, once more in broad outline bring to your notice the forces at work in Africa.

The advent of European imperialism and colonialism to Africa brought in its wake the phenomenon of White domination, whether visible or invisible which is characterised by the political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation of the indigenous African masses. Throughout this historic epoch, the age of white domination—when ever the spokesman or representative of white domination have sprouted a conscience, they have referred to this phenomenon as the "spread of Western civilization or the extension of Christian trusteeship."

The undisguised truth is that White domination has grounded down the status of man and stunted the normal growth of the human personality on a scale unprecedented in human history. White domination was established by the sword and is maintained by the sword.

In Africa the social force which upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the oppressed people is African nationalism. AFRICANISM is a social force that upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual. Africanism is the only logical and practical solution of the social question in Africa.

Let me develop this social question more fully. The basic question confronting the African people is identical with that which has faced mankind from the beginning of time itself; the problem of man's relation to his fellow man. It is the question of how man shall live with his fellow man in fellowship, in harmony and peace.

Man moves and has his being in a social environment. In the absence of social life the question would fall away. The social question whose structural foundations are to be found in economic determinism, arises within the framework of social relations. Man is therefore a social being and not an economic animal. To live in harmony with his fellow man, man must recognise the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of his fellow man and must eliminate the tendency on his part to uphold his own interests at the expense of those of his fellow man. It is only within such a set-up that the human

personality can be developed and that respect for it can be fostered.

## Purpose of Pan-Africanism

Now the question arises: What is the purpose of this Pan-Africanist concept?

While the African people have in no uncertain terms showed their complete disapproval of Western imperialism—they do not, however, intent to change one master—Western imperialism for another Soviet Tutelage.

Even if there are no Soviet troops in Africa but the threat of Soviet ideological exploitation is noticeable. My warning should be interpreted in these terms: That however much friendly aid from Russia will be in the New Africa, it will not and should not mean that Africa will thus place herself under Soviet influence, ideological or otherwise, or align herself necessarily against the Western European Nations and peoples.

In the struggle against imperialism the Africans believe in their capacity to achieve their freedom themselves in their own way, using their own methods. They reject the idea of their being liberated, for therein lie the seeds of their domination by, and vassalage to, another power or other powers, in place of the Western imperialists.

When Africa shall have been freed from Western imperialism and White domination, she will maintain a policy of friendship and co-operation with the freedom loving peoples of the East and West, on a basis of equality. She will jealously and vigorously guard her independence and her freedom to build her society in her own way, without any power or power-bloc whatsoever trying to ram a particular brand of ideology or system down the throats of the peoples of Africa.

## The Form of Government Envisaged

We aim, therefore politically, at Government of Africans by the Africans for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty

Continued on Next Page



to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African. We guarantee no minority rights, because we think in terms of individuals, not groups.

We are totally opposed to multi-racialism. Against multi-racialism we have this objection: that the history of Southern Africa has shown group prejudices and antagonisms, and if we have to maintain the same group exclusiveness, parading under the term multi-racialism, we shall be transporting to the new Africa, these very antagonisms and conflicts. Further, multi-racialism is in fact a pandering to European bigotry and arrogance. It is a method of safe guarding white interests, implying as it does, proportional representation irrespective of population figures.

In that sense it is a complete negation of democracy. To us African Nationalists, the term 'multi-racialism' implies that there are such basic insuperable differences between the various national groups here that the best course is to keep them permanently distinct in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to us is racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term truly connotes. In multi-racialism the tendency is to keep the group identity and conflicts and antagonisms continue to thrive.

Economically, we aim at the rapid extension of industrial development in order to alleviate pressure on the land, which is what progress means in terms of modern society. We stand committed to a policy guaranteeing the most equitable distribution of wealth.

Socially, we aim at the full development of the human personality and a ruthless uprooting and outlawing of all forms or manifestations of the racial-myth.

To sum it up we stand for an Africanist Socialist Democracy.

Let me develop this ideology further. The African Nationalists favour a planned socialist economy—a field in which the Soviet Union has pioneered, to be followed by Mao-Tse-Tung of China. We believe in a scientific objectivity, consummate

and non-partisan, and we will learn the best that can be learned and assimilated from the East. But so much of what is best will be borrowed or copied as will, in the view of Africa, and in the light of her peculiar situation, advance her cause as she understands it, and her own struggle for a new democratic Africa in which the masses of the people will have a rising standard of living and finally abundance of life. We, however, reject totalitarianism which has become manifest in some of the states of the East. We favour full political democracy including freedom of expression and constructive criticism.

We shall also not borrow without proper examination, political democracy on the Western pattern—that is as understood in the West. The political democracy on the British pattern—what does that mean? This means:

1. The form of political democracy under which every person of the right age has a right to elect or be elected to the legislature and other organs of State power.
2. The full democratic participation by the whole people in the exercise of political power and in the processes of law-making and government—which is the criterion of the people's right to control and shape their course and rate of their social and economic development. In this respect the form of, say, British political democracy is a model.
3. That nevertheless the form of political democracy as copied in the West will not be planned arbitrarily and artificially on African soil.

It will be creatively assimilated, in its whole or in its aspects, and dialectically grafted on to the developing structure of Africanist democracy as it will sprout from African socio-economic bases, itself rooted in and developing from the local conditions and circumstances peculiar to Africa, but stream-lined to meet the exigencies of a vast complex, modern state and society.

Let me not be misinterpreted. What does all that mean? Does it mean we African Nationalists, therefore accept capitalist system? Not by a long chalk.

Western democracy is admittedly a product of Capitalistic liberalism. As I have said, we shall take the best in the system and discard the out-moded useless and anti-popular. We shall borrow the political democracy at its best and reject and discard its capitalist base, background content and antecedents. We are aware that in the Western Democracies the state is the instrument of capitalist classes, wielding the decisive economic power, which determines the control of the state and governmental machinery.

Hence the masses in the West, although possessed of political power in theory are, relative to the capitalists, denied those economic social and cultural benefits which should flow from the exercise of a universal franchise, precisely because the theoretical political democracy is not grounded on a corresponding socio-economic democracy. The decisive means of production and the control of the wealth and means of life are in the hands of the capitalists.

In Africanist political economy the political democracy is grounded on an economic base of socialist production, and the toiling masses will take a leading part in building an Africanist socialist non-racial democracy.

Africanism is therefore Pan-Africanist in scope, purpose and in direction. It is a social force that constitutes the third social force in the world. It serves the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of Africa, and does not in any way serve the interests of either the Eastern or the Western powers. It is continental in scope, covering the entire continent, from Cape to Cairo from Morocco to Malagasy. It is a social force functioning through the media of African Social conditions, and operating to liberate Africa and to create a social order, original in conception, Africanist in orientation, socialist in content, democratic in form and creative in purpose.

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# The Chant of Paga Pass

by John Okai

## Part 1

FROM Upper Volta  
And from Lower Volta.  
The Pass at Paga  
Is passing like thunder;  
The pass is passing  
Like earthquake and lightning—  
Passing from Wenchi  
And wringing to Warri;  
Passing from Raffi  
And reaching for Rudolf;  
Passing from Keta  
And straining for Shama;  
Ferrying the farmer  
And carrying the cattle;  
Passing from Kpandu  
And speeding to Sambu;  
Passing from Lawra  
And leading to Lowa;  
Passing from Teshi  
And walking to Wankie;  
Passing from Kibi  
And flying to Fachi;  
Ferrying the courier  
And carrying the charcoal;  
Passing from Bawku  
And trotting to Tesnu;  
Passing from Tema  
And making for Misda;  
Passing from Louta  
And longing for Lagos;  
Ferrying the brothers  
And carrying the cocoa.

## Part 2

TH' axes at Paga  
Are rising and falling,  
Fracturing the fetters  
And freeing our fellows;  
Smashing and scattering  
The fences that sever;  
Crushing the chainings  
And levelling the landscape;

Passing from Nako  
And hurrying to Hierro;  
Passing from Banda  
And heading for Haifa;  
Passing from Dompim  
And hoping for Hiawin;  
Passing from Swedru  
And bouncing to Barthurst;  
Passing from Bango  
And rolling to Rhergo;  
Ferrying the butcher  
And carrying the butter;  
Passing from Samba  
And hopping to Hodna;  
Passing from Basse  
And running to Rungwe;  
Passing from Tapo  
And yearning for Yoko;  
Passing from Prampram  
And fleeing to Freetown;  
Passing from Tinga  
And stretching to Sandoa;  
Ferrying the children  
And carrying the cotton.

## Part 3

THE pass at Paga  
Is passing to progress,  
Bending together  
A people divided;  
Taking, replacing  
And emptying, refilling;  
Breaking, rebuilding  
And baring, reclothing;  
Passing from Tarkwa  
And panting to Pala;  
Passing from Bama  
And bounding to Bafia;  
Passing from Sese  
And sailing to Sirte;  
Ferrying the Sailors  
And carrying the cowries;  
Passing from Dunkwa  
And heading to Hoopstad;

Passing from Louta  
And hailing to Hülla;  
Passing from Safia  
And leaping to Lafia;  
Ferrying the shepherd  
And carrying the sugar;  
Passing from Sakpa  
And pounding to Panga;  
Passing from Tumu  
And moving to Meru;  
Passing from Hounde  
And heaving for Hotta;  
Ferrying the Pilgrim  
And carrying the ivory.

## Part 4

TH' axes at Paga  
Are rising and falling,  
Breaking and brushing  
The borders that hinder;  
Rubbing and clearing  
The ruling that limit;  
Passing from Peki  
And singing to Sharuin;  
Passing from Ada  
And swimming to Saida;  
Ferrying the worker  
And carrying the groundnuts;  
Passing from Bekwai  
And crawling to Kasai;  
Passing from Gawso  
And storming to Sherbo;  
Ferrying the dreamer  
And carrying the horses;  
Passing from Waso  
And spreading to Sinno;  
Passing from Kaya  
And rushing to Rabat;  
Ferrying the trader  
And carrying the water;  
Passing from Gansa  
And laughing to Luanda;  
Passing from Manso  
And calling to Cacheo;  
Ferrying the tourist  
And carrying the timber;  
Passing from Mako  
And crossing to Cairo.

## Part 5

THE pass at Paga  
Is passing to progress;  
Stepping through graveyards  
And gardens and wastelands;  
Going through lowlands  
O'er oceans and seas;  
Trotting o'er bridges  
Through house and village;  
Walking on highways  
Through hamlet and forest—  
Going o'er rivers

# The Torch of Destiny

by G. Adali Mortty

BURN!  
Perpetual Torch:  
Light and lead our way  
Along the path of progress and  
Of freedom.

Our path, the Sun's way:  
Rising and climbing,  
Setting only to rise again—  
A self-renewing cycle—  
Down the ages.

Like the circling Sun—  
The self-sustaining Sun—  
Burn and lead our way  
Along the path of union  
And of unity:

Burn,  
Flame of Destiny;  
Shine, and shining clear—  
The fog of prejudice and greed.

Flaming Torch:  
Warm and heal our hearts.  
Be our vision high and bright  
Like the meridian Sun—  
A vision for our race,  
Now and for our children's children.

The never-dying Sun  
Of Africa:

Burn and warm our hearts  
Along the way to freedom and to  
unity.

Shine,  
As once o'er Ancient Realms of  
Africa,  
Shine for ever, linking Present  
Realms of Africa.

Like the noonday Sun,  
Shine for all the race  
Of sunny Africa.

O'er our fields and forests  
Dry the golden grain.  
O'er our coming cities  
With industrial hum  
Flaming Torch  
Keep watch! Keeping watch!

Be the beacon on the hill:  
The star in the night  
For struggling Freedom Fighters  
Of Africa.

Freedom won,  
Be the guide,  
The focus  
Of united Africa.

# Paga Pass

Continued

And rapids and gorges;  
Leaping through boulders  
And valleys and plateaux;  
Marching through deserts  
And cornfields and grasslands;  
Leaping o'er harbours  
And cataracts and mountains;  
Climbing the high cliffs,  
The highlands and houses;  
Passing from Nouna  
And pulling to Pemba;  
Ferrying the dancer  
And carrying the orange;  
Passing from Bapla

And marching to Marra;  
Ferrying the ruler  
And carrying the palnuts;  
Passing from Roba  
And making for Bida;  
Ferrying the hunter  
And carrying the gold dust.

## Part 6

THE pass is passing  
Today and tomorrow;  
We know tomorrow  
And the things it will bring:  
Progress from troubles  
And setbacks and squabbles;  
Progress from fearings  
And questions and doublings.  
The monkey will swing  
From tree to tree.  
The bee will hover

# An African National Anthem

Mungu Ibariki

(Swahili Version of Nkosi  
Sikelel' Afrika)

MUNGU ibariki Afrika  
Watukuzwe viongozi wake  
Sikiliza kilio chetu  
Mungu tubariki

Njoo uhuru  
Njoo uhuru na umoja

Njoo uhuru enea Afrika,  
Bara iwe huru,  
Utumwa uondoke.

(English Translation)

MAY God bless Africa  
And glorify her leaders.

Hear our cry  
And bless us God.  
Come Freedom  
Come Freedom and Unity.  
Come Freedom spread throughout  
Africa.  
May the continent be free,  
And oppression disappear.

From hive to hive.  
The fish will swim—  
From sea to sea.  
The pass at Paga  
Is passing to progress;  
Passing from Narö  
And climbing to Kano;  
Ferrying the women  
And carrying the millet;  
Passing from Toma  
And clearing to Kumba;  
Ferrying the sisters  
And carrying the pepper;  
Shoulder to shoulder  
In comradeship touch;  
Nation with nation  
Will see eye to eye;  
Brother with brother  
Will together take salt;  
Footsteps from Paga  
Are homewards now turning.

# Pourquoi Mon Père Fut Assassiné

Par DENIS PROSPER OKITO fils du feu Président du Sénat Congolais Mr. Joseph Okito qui fut assassiné ensemble avec Mr. Patrice Lumumba Premier Ministre et Mr. Maurice Mpolo.

MON père fut un fervent disciple de Patrice Lumumba. Comme son Leader, il était pour un Congo Uni et Indivisible démocratiquement gouverné par des représentants élus de toutes les provinces; un système de gouvernement central avec également une forte représentation cantonale dans les Cercles et Chef Lieux. A l'avènement de l'indépendance du Congo, le Parti de Mr. Patrice Lumumba eut moins de quarante sièges des 117 et ne put former qu'un gouvernement de coalition avec des représentants de tous les importants partis politiques du pays.

Avec un gouvernement aussi largement représentatif, il n'y aurait aucunement besoin d'une Fédération inopportune qui disperserait le peu de richesse du pays en un double emploi non avénu de cadres. Tous les deux Mr. Lumumba et mon père ont compris les avertissements du Président Kwame Nkrumah sur le danger que constitue la balkanisation des Etats d'Afrique qui, comme dit Dr. Nkrumah introduirait le néo colonialisme. Ils savaient aussi qu'un effort était nécessaire

pour abolir le tribalisme de la politique du Congo dès le début sile Congo devrait rester une force vivante dans les affaires africaines, partant celles du monde entier.

Ceci malheureusement n'a pas été l'opinion de certaines personnalités comme le Président Kasavubu. Mais, malgré cette différence fondamentale Monsieur Lumumba et ses collègues ont pu travailler en coopération avec le groupe Kasavubu jusqu'au moment où, fatalement Mr. Kasavubu annonça qu'il a révoqué Mr. Lumumba de ses fonctions. Je me rappelle l'état d'agitation dans lequel pareille déclaration avait plongé mon père qui la qualifiait de "parodie politique". Il m'expliqua la situation comme suit: Mr. Kasavubu voulait être Premier Ministre et non Président sachant que le Premier Ministre détient les rênes du gouvernement et que le Président n'était qu'une cérémonie figurine.

Au fait, Kasavubu s'est fait demandé par le Ministre Belge Résident, de former un gouvernement alors qu'en ce même moment Mr. Lumumba était en train de donner les dernières touches au

Cabinet gouvernemental qu'il venait de mettre sur pied; et ceci sur la demande de ce même Ministre Résident Belge.

Mr. Kasavubu échoua naturellement et ne fut politiquement sauvé que par la générosité de Mr. Lumumba que Mr. van der Meersch de guerre lasse reconnut comme le seul homme capable de former un gouvernement avec un appui national. Si un Président doit disposer de pouvoirs aussi étendus que celui de révoquer un Premier Ministre qui l'a intronisé, tout le concept de la démocratie parlementaire se trouve donc neutralisé.

Mon père en tant que Président du Sénat Congolais, ne put évidemment pas tolérer un tel état de choses voire l'interdiction de pouvoirs au Premier Ministre dument appuyé par le Parlement. Il convoqua donc immédiatement le Parlement afin de passer la question au vote. Les Sénateurs ont rejeté à l'unanimité l'action de Mr. Kasavubu comme l'ont fait après les membres de la Chambre des Représentants. Au même instant les parlementaires ont réalisé qu'en l'absence des membres du groupe Kasavubu dans le Cabinet de Mr. Lumumba, l'idéal de la représentation nationale serait estropié; ils ont donc refusé d'appuyer la déclaration de Mr. Lumumba révoquant Mr. Kasavubu. En un mot, les parlementaires voulaient retenir le statu quo du pays. Kasavubu néanmoins ne fut pas d'accord et quand Mobutu profita de cette confusion politique pour déclarer un "coup d'état" militaire, au lieu de s'y opposer en s'alliant aux autres leaders politiques pour défendre le parlement et partant, le gouvernement légitime, Kasavubu se mit du côté de Mobutu, reconnut son soi-disant "Conseil des Etudiants". Mon père essaya à plusieurs reprises de convoquer le parlement afin de déclarer ce "Conseil" illégal mais il en fut empêché par la clique para commandos de Mobutu. Plusieurs membres du

Parlement furent arrêtés et mon père quelques temps après.

Moi, j'étais Vice Président du Mouvement de Jeunesse du Parti National Congolais de Mr. Lumumba. Ensemble avec notre Président Mr. Henri NZUZI, nous avons essayé de rallier la jeunesse pour protester contre la dictature militaire que Mobutu essayait d'imposer à notre Patrie. Nous connaissons tous Mobutu. Il ne fut même pas soldat-il était un simple commis dans les bureaux de l'armée mais il fut nommé Colonel après l'indépendance par Mr. Lumumba parce qu'il était jeune et instruit et surtout parce que Mr. Lumumba voulait utiliser tous les bons éléments troublés au pays. Et voici notre Mobutu armé et financé par les Belges et les Américains, leurs alliés qui au plus cajolaient ce garçon tombé du néant et enfin de compte le mirent en vedette dans les affaires du Congo.

J'étais avec Henri NZUZI au Bar OKA à Léopoldville vers huit heures du soir du 15 Octobre 1960 quand la clique de Mobutu y fit irruption et nous arrêta. Mobutu et sa bande craignaient que nous n'excitions la jeunesse à renverser son régime. Je fus incarcéré pendant une semaine et après libéré sous condition de quitter Léopoldville. Je m'en allais donc à Lusambo rejoindre ma mère et le reste de la famille. Quelque temps après, je fus à Luluabourg où j'appris que mon père, Mr. Lumumba et Mr. Mpolo ont été assassinés. A Luluabourg, le Président Mukege, un des partisans inflexibles de Patrice Lumumba fonda l'Etat du Nord de Kasai en opposition au soi-disant "royaume" que Mr. Albert Kalonji a établi en s'intronisant lui-même roi.

Je fus donc Attaché au Ministère de l'Agriculture de l'Etat de Mukenge depuis lors.

Permettez-moi de dire quelque chose au sujet des relations Ghana-Congo. J'ai été très impressionné de comment un petit pays comme le Ghana avec des ressources aussi limitées puisse se dévouer entièrement au bien-être du Congo. Quand notre pays se trouva dans l'impasse qui suivit la mutinerie de la Force Publique, Ghana a été l'un des premiers pays à nous venir en aide, nous fournissant des troupes mili-

taires par le truchement des Nations Unies. Quand notre service administratif fit halte à cause de l'évacuation en bloc du personnel technique et sanitaire, Ghana nous fournit des techniciens et des fonctionnaires pour faire tourner le moyen du gouvernement.

Mieux encore, le Président du Ghana Dr. Kwame Nkrumah a mis à la disposition de nos leaders, son immense expérience politique. Le Chargé d'Affaires du Ghana à Léopoldville Monsieur Welbeck était un visiteur assidu de mon père. Il apportait à mon père tout comme à Mr. Lumumba, les conseils du Président Nkrumah. De ce que j'ai pu glaner des entretiens de mon père, j'ai découvert que le Président Nkrumah mettait nos leaders en garde contre le danger qui résulterait du fait que certains d'eux s'allignaient avec les Grandes Puissances créant ainsi des divisions. Il ne voulait pas nous voir engager dans la guerre froide car disait Dr. Nkrumah l'Afrique ne désire guère s'ouvrir à aucune sorte de domination étrangère une fois libérée. Effectivement les Grandes Puissances voulaient à tout prix s'infiltrer en Afrique et la dominer, remplissant ainsi le vide créé par le départ du précédent colonialiste.

La politique du Ghana a été mal interprétée par les impérialistes au Congo, l'accusant d'exploiter la situation à son avantage. Mais mon père et Monsieur Lumumba tout comme leur peuple sont intelligents et ne voudraient en aucun cas se voir conduire par le bout du nez. S'ils ont suivi les conseils du Dr. Nkrumah c'est simplement parce que ces conseils étaient de bon aloi.

Le peuple congolais—hormi les soldats—ont bien compris le désir sincère du Ghana d'aider leur pays à conserver et sauvegarder son indépendance. Ils ont en conséquence bien accueilli les Ghanaëns. Ce ne fut que les soldats enclins à dominer le peuple en y semant la terreur qui n'ont pas voulu de la présence des troupes Ghanaënes servant sous le drapeau des Nations Unies.

Ces derniers au fait empêchaient les troupes congolaises de molester la population civile, et ces escarmouches ont été délibérément déclanchées par les soldats congolais faisant malheureusement des fois

quelques morts. Nous savons que si le Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies a seulement mis les nombreuses recommandations du Ghana en pratique, spécialement en ce qui concerne le désarmement de la Force Publique dès le début quand celle-ci n'avait pas encore été appuyée par les impérialistes, la possibilité d'une dictature militaire et celle d'un terrorisme sur le pays tout entier aurait été écartée, le gouvernement légitime du pays fonctionnerait normalement aujourd'hui et aucun doute mon père comme Mr. Lumumba n'aurait pas été tué.

Comment une telle Organisation, invitée par le Gouvernement élu du pays pour restaurer l'ordre et la paix au Congo aurait échoué dans sa mission ne pourrait s'expliquer que par cette idée que j'appuie d'ailleurs à savoir que le Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies Mr. Hammarskjöld qui dirigeait les opérations des Nations Unies au Congo est un agent impérialiste donc guidé par les milieux financiers occidentaux; pire encore, il était un fonctionnaire sans mérite qui méconnaissait les principes essentiels pour la sauvegarde de la paix et de l'ordre aux peuples Congolais.

Personnellement, je reconnais combien le Ghana nous a aidé pendant ces heures sombres de notre histoire; je profite donc de cette occasion pour exprimer au peuple Ghanaëns à son Gouvernement en tête duquel le Président Kwame Nkrumah et ceci au nom de la Jeunesse de la République du Congo—ma sincère gratitude. Je souhaite de tout coeur pouvoir me rendre au Ghana afin de transmettre à vive voix au Président Kwame Nkrumah, le message d'amour de respect et de reconnaissance de la Jeunesse Congolaise.

Pour terminer, j'aimerais rassurer tous les Ghanaëns et partant tous les vrais amis de la Nation Congolaise que nos parents ne sont pas morts inutilement. Nous, les jeunes ne perdrons pas de vue la juste cause qu'ils ont soutenue jusqu'à la mort. Nous continuerons la lutte, guidés par les conseils et expériences des pays comme le Ghana et nous sommes sûrs de remporter la victoire.

Une fois de plus, je remercie le peuple Ghanaëns et son Leader le Président Kwame Nkrumah.

Each African State is identified on the map with a number, and details are given in the accompanying text. All black areas on the map are free states, and all white areas are states still under white or colonial domination.

# NEW AGE MAP OF AFRICA

## THESE COUNTRIES ARE FREE

Territory	Population	Capital	Status	
Total	Non-Africans			
1. SENEGAL	2,300,000	50,000	Dakar	Independent, former French colony
2. REPUBLIC OF GUINEA	3,000,000	9,000	Konakry	Independent, former French colony
3. SIERRA LEONE	2,250,000	2,000	Freetown	Independent, former British colony
4. LIBERIA	2,000,000	1,000	Monrovia	Independent
5. IVORY COAST	3,200,000	15,000	Abidjan	Independent, former French colony
6. GHANA	6,691,000	7,000	Accra	Independent, former British colony
7. TOGOLAND	1,442,000	2,000	Lome	Independent, former French colony
8. DAHOMEY	1,725,000	2,500	Porto Novo	Independent, former French colony
9. NIGERIA	40,000,000	17,000	Lagos	Independent, former British colony
10. MALI	4,300,000	7,000	Bamako	Independent, former French colony
11. UPPER VOLTA	3,534,000	3,500	Ouagadougou	Independent, former French colony
12. NIGER	2,850,000	3,000	Niamey	Independent, former French colony
13. MAURITANIA	700,000	2,000	Nouakchott	Independent, former French colony
14. MOROCCO	11,598,000	350,000	Casablanca	Independent, former French protectorate
15. TUNISIA	3,965,000	250,000	Tunis	Independent, former French protectorate
16. LIBYA	1,172,000	—	Tripoli	Independent, former Italian colony, administered after World War II by Britain and France
17. EGYPT (United Arab Republic)	26,800,000	250,000	Cairo	Independent
18. SUDAN	11,615,000	—	Khartoum	Independent, former Anglo-Egyptian condominium
19. CHAD	2,600,000	2,600	Fort Lamy	Independent, former French protectorate
20. CAMEROON	3,325,000	16,000	Yaounde	Independent, former trust territory administered by France
21. CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	11,855,000	6,000	Bangui	Independent, former French colony
22. ETHIOPIA	18,000,000	40,000	Addis Ababa	Independent, Africa's most ancient kingdom
23. SOMALILAND	650,000	—	Hargeisa	Independent in union with Somalia, former British protectorate
24. SOMALIA	1,300,000	33,000	Mogadiscio	Independent in union with Somaliland, former UN trust territory, administered by Italy
25. CONGO	13,821,000	120,000	Leopoldville	Independent, former Belgian colony
26. GABON	420,000	5,000	Libreville	Independent, former French colony
27. REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO	795,000	11,000	Brazzaville	Independent, former French colony
28. MALAGASY	5,239,000	23,000	Tananarive	Independent, former French colony
29. TANGANYIKA	9,238,000	123,000	Dares-Salaam	UN trust territory administered by Britain, to become independent on Dec. 28, 1961

**FREE**  
29 States with total population of 183,945,000, including 1,352,600 non-Africans

**STILL TO BE FREE**  
21 States with total population of 76,035,000, including 7,381,700 non-Africans

## THESE COUNTRIES ARE STILL UNDER WHITE OR COLONIAL DOMINATION

	Population	Capital	Status	
Total	Non-Africans			
30. GAMBIA	301,000	500	Bathurst	British colony
31. PORTUGUESE GUINEA	565,000	2,500	Bissau	Overseas province of Portugal
32. SPANISH WEST AFRICA (Rio de Oro)	13,000	—	Villa Cisneros	Spanish colony
33. ALGERIA	10,930,000	1,250,000	Algiers	Divided into 32 Algerian departments and 2 Saharan departments of the French Republic
34. FRENCH SOMALILAND	67,000	4,000	Djibouti	French colony
35. KENYA	6,531,000	271,000	Nairobi	British colony
36. UGANDA	6,682,000	63,000	Eatsoebe	British protectorate
37. RWANDA URUNDI	4,700,000	2,500	Urumurva	UN trust territory under Belgian administration
38. ANGOLA	4,550,000	200,000	Luanda	Overseas province of Portugal
39. REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	15,500,000	5,000,000	Pretoria & Cape Town	Independent state, but political rights restricted to 3 million Whites only
40. MOZAMBIQUE	6,234,000	113,000	Lourenco Marques	Overseas province of Portugal
41. SOUTH WEST AFRICA	572,000	50,000	Windhoek	Former League of Nations mandate administered by South Africa. Present status subject of dispute with United Nations
42. BECHUANALAND	337,000	4,000	Serowe	British Protectorate
43. NORTHERN RHODESIA	2,430,000	84,000	Lusaka	In Central African Federation with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, under British protection
44. NYSASALAND	2,830,000	21,200	Salisbury	as above
45. SOUTHERN RHODESIA	3,070,000	234,800	Salisbury	as above, but with larger measure of self-government
46. SPANISH GUINEA	214,000	—	Santa Loe	Spanish colony
47. SWAZILAND	259,000	7,300	Mbabane	British Protectorate
48. BASUTOLAND	685,000	2,300	Maseru	British Protectorate
49. CABINDA	—	—	—	Province of Angola
50. ZANZIBAR	317,000	70,000	Zanzibar	British Protectorate

