

Voice of AFRICA



SINCE the advent of capitalism into the colonies colonial peoples have been reduced to the level of labourers and contract bondsmen, and are unable to organize effectively due to government and monopolist combine interference.

The philosophy of European capitalism in the colonies is that colonial subjects should labour under a foreign government with uncomplaining satisfaction. They are supposedly 'incapable' of developing the resources of their own country, and are taught to labour and appreciate European manufactured goods so as to become 'good' customers.

The meagre stipend given to them as a wage by the European capitalists is spent on spurious imported manufactured goods, the only kind they get. Curiously enough, the same coin that is given to the 'native' as a wage by his exploiter eventually returns to the pocket of that wily exploiter.

—DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

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**Editor-in-Chief:
KOFI BATSA**

OUR OPINION

SUPER PROFITS

WORLD opinion has called for a boycott of South African goods. The British Labour Party and the British T. U. C. even started a campaign for boycott of South African trade. But a British mining company operating in South Africa, the Consolidated Gold Fields, has reported a record profit of £7,029,829 in 1962 alone.

The Company's Chairman, Sir George Harine-Watt, announced this at the company's Annual General Meeting held in London on December 13. Sir George said that during the decade 1952-1962, output of gold in South Africa rose from 2.2 million fine ounces to over 4.6 million fine ounces a year and working profits from over £8 million to nearly £27 million a year.

In the 2-year period (1960-62) British politicians have tried to make themselves out as opposed to Apartheid in South Africa. They have even acquiesced in the expulsion of Verwoerd's South Africa from the British Commonwealth. But the cold facts show that British imperialism has not only maintained but has even increased its operations in Verwoerd's republic.

Between 1960-1962, the issued capital of the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Ltd. rose from £12½ million to £14½ million. The market value of its investments rose from £41.6 million to £47.3 million. Dividends paid on its investments rose from £3.7 million to £5.1 million while profits (before taxation) went up from £5.3 million to £7 million.

Continued on page 40

Imperialistic and Neo-Colonialist Interference in the Affairs of our Continent

by Cyrille Adoula

IN the name of the Government and of the people of the Congo, I, in my turn, want to wish you welcome and tell you how glad I am to see assembled here the outstanding representatives of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa.

I hope that your stay in Leopoldville will be pleasant and I can assure you, in any case, that we will do all in our power so that it will be as pleasant as possible, in spite of the present difficulties.

I must submit that it is not without emotion that I see gathered here, in this critical time for the Congo and for Africa, men whose names, lives and sufferings are the symbol and the testimony of the never-ending struggle they are carrying on for the freedom of the Continent of Africa and for the safe-guarding of the values which are dear to us.

You will certainly share my emotion if I recall to you the circumstances in which the Leopoldville Conference met more than two years ago in the month of August 1960—a Conference which was to be the last to see the representatives of all the independent African States assembled in one place.

At that time, Katanga, under the influence of foreign interests that you are all aware of, had just declared its secession and did not hesitate to plunge the Congo into chaos, the dire consequences of which the country would have the

The conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) was held in Leopoldville from December 28-31, 1962. Observers viewed it as of great significance with regard to the problem of Katanga's secession from the rest of the Congo.

Many resolutions were passed on the situation inside some of member-states which are still suffering under colonial and white minority rule.

The following is the full text of the address delivered at the opening session of the conference by Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Premier of the Republic of Congo. Mr. Adoula refers to the secession of Katanga as inspired by foreign interests and maintains that the struggle of the Congo for the consolidation of its independence and for the maintenance of its territorial integrity is the struggle of all Africa.



Late Patrice Lumumba—First Congolese Premier.

most difficult time combatting.

The secession of Katanga reached beyond the national boundaries of the Congo.

Its effect was world-wide in that it affected the interests and the rivalries of the great powers and constituted a permanent threat for Africa.

It also had an effect on Africa since it constituted, without any possible doubt, an imperialistic and neo-colonialist interference in the affairs of our continent.

It was in these circumstances that the head of the first Congolese Government, Patrice Lumumba, sent a heart-felt appeal to the independent countries of Africa and asked them to give help with brotherly support.

To this anguished call the independent African States responded with a unanimous voice.

They proclaimed in their resolutions the necessity of keeping the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo.

They condemned all secession and all manoeuvres aimed at the territorial division of the Republic of the Congo.

They affirmed that they put all their support behind the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, which they defined as the sole legitimate authority; in view of recognizing and consolidating the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo.

Sad Balance Sheet

Since then, two years and four months have gone by. Patrice Lumumba has died in his struggle. The unanimity of the independent African States has broken up over Congolese question. The secession of Katanga is more real than ever.

It is a sad balance sheet, and one of the rare elements of comfort that the Congo can find for this whole period comes precisely from the constant encouragement and unlimited support that it has never ceased to find on the part of the closely-tied peoples of the African Continent.

It is with a very special appreciation that my Government and the entire Congolese people remember the resolution on the Congo that was taken at the Fourth Conference of PAFMECSA at Addis Ababa last February.

The Conference asked for the immediate recall of mercenaries and agents of imperialism.

Fraternal Gratuities

It appealed to the great powers to respect the unity and the territorial integrity of the Congo, and to respect by the same token the resolutions of the United Nations.

It appealed to the independent African States, and to all the peoples of the world who believe in freedom, not to spare any effort to bring about Congolese unity.

Finally, the Conference condemned, in unequivocal terms, the activities of the secessionists.

These are words which remain deeply engraved on our memories and on our hearts, and for which we express to you our fraternal gratitude.

Moreover, this gratitude is expressed especially to the President of PAFMECSA for the courageous way in which he denounced the utilization of the territory of Northern Rhodesia by the Government of Great Britain as an opening, he said, for the enemy forces which have gone into Katanga to bring their support to Tshombe against the Central Government and the United Nations.

Since last February the situation in Katanga has hardly improved. The long and patient talks that I have had with Mr. Tshombe and the efforts of conciliation that have been undertaken by the Central Government have only come to an impasse.

Startling Proof

My Government has made known in a recent document the exact development of these talks and has furnished the startling and formal proof of the bad faith of these Katangese interlocutors.

Today, while retaining its confidence in the United Nations and while asking for the full application of the Plan of Secretary-General U Thant, the Central Government renews the appeal which was set forth at the first Leopoldville Conference.

The struggle that the Congo is conducting for its complete independence and for the maintenance of its territorial integrity is the struggle of all Africa. Our failure would be your failure. Our victory will be your victory.

But, however important the Katanga problem may be, it is certainly not the only one with which this Conference will have to deal.

As the African peoples achieve their independence—and there are many examples now in East Africa—new problems confront them, problems of neighbourly relations, problems of the organisations of transportation and of harmonizing the economies.

In this respect I would not want to propose too precise a programme to the Conference since it is the first time, if I am not mistaken that problems of this kind will be treated within the framework of PAFMECSA.

I do not think I am wrong in affirming that this Conference will be a landmark, confronting perfectly with historical evolution towards enlarging the goals that this movement proposes to achieve.

Under the conditions it falls to the Conference itself to specify the new objectives that it proposes to achieve, as well as to specify the most appropriate means of realizing these objectives.

I am convinced that the spirit of understanding, of fraternity and of solidarity that guides us is the surest measure of the success of this meeting.

I declare the Fifth Conference of PAFMECSA open.

AFRICAN ECONOMY

In this article, I should like to treat or at least, try to grapple with the problems confronting the fundamental exigencies of an accelerated growth of the African economy. First of all, I shall start with a general statement, referring myself to the experience of the last ten or twenty years, which obviously confirms that the economy of the countries whose development has been stopped or slowed down does not spontaneously succeed in catching up with its deficit as in the case of the industrialised countries.

by
Professor C. Bettelheim

OBSERVATION points out that in the absence of an economic plan, not only does the gap between the under-developed and industrialised countries remain, but it tends to enlarge itself.

Recent statistics have substantiated that during the last fifteen years, in spite of all publicity given to various attempts at economic development, the difference between the living standards of countries whose economic development had been stopped or slowed down and those of industrialised areas in Europe or America has widened.

But I feel it necessary to note at once, since illusions tend to exist, that planning is not a panacea that solves all the problems and that there may well be other plans alongside the ones that have a real influence in economic acceleration.

These other plans might on the contrary, through their very insufficiency or through the insufficiency of basic economic or social structures on which to rely,

finally aggravate the economic delay of the countries that wish to make use of them.

Thus, such plans apart from aggravating difficulties in the future, may also multiply disillusion and discouragement.

I think that one should particularly impress the fact that the defecting character of an economic planning could not only be of a technical origin; it might also, and it very often does, proceed from an institutional and social background. Thus, there can exist no possibility of real planning and a quick economic development if the objective and subjective requirements of an accelerated growth of the economy are not being met.

Some of these requirements are common to all countries, others are specific to certain groups of countries that have some common aspects in relation to their standards of development or their economic problems.

Now, I shall examine the general exigencies on the one hand

and on the other, those which are peculiar to Africa, drawing special attention to the western and tropical parts of the continent.

Because of the vastness of the subject matter, I shall confine myself to analysing some of the exigencies that I consider particularly fundamental and underline first of all, what one would call the political requirements, something that could not be neglected under the pretext of technicality.

As will be seen, I have established six main categories of fundamental exigencies, beginning with the political ones.

The first of them is that of the existence of an independent state on the international plan. Only an independent state can really control its economy, regulate its external exchanges, determine the one which the efforts of development should be given priority, as to a large extent, an effort of planned development is the one which is made to determine the

priorities of the development.

Because this political requirement is quite fundamental, I think it is superfluous to speak of a planned economic development in a country that has not as yet reached its political independence.

In that case, it will not be a matter of an economic development of the country but only the repercussions in the country of the economic development of another country that is the master-mind behind the operations.

The second requirement is that of the existence of a really democratic state. What is essential here is not what I would call formal democracy, that is to say the mere existence of a parliament, but democracy in the etymological sense of the word, for example, the government of the country by the people. The state is then at the service of the majority and not minority such as the feudalists, speculators or capitalists, who only look upon their activities for personal gain.

Unless such a requirement is satisfied, there can be no real planning, as the interests of the minority groups will automatically enter into conflict with very exigencies of economic planning and development and contradict them.

Classical Opposition

There are very many examples of this situation. I shall refer to India as an example, with which I happen to be familiar. Although the second Five Year Plan does not entirely satisfy all its conceptions, it contains a certain amount of objectives that correspond to the specific needs of the country's development.

But as from the first year of its application, it encountered a classical opposition, not so much from criticism and article, but under the practical form of an industrial and commercial activity. Within a year, this activity, aided by the pressure it exerted and the passivity of the Indian state and administration, succeeded in deteriorating the basis of a real start of this plan in the years following.

Thus, in preceeding to take in massive importations that the plan had not foreseen, a situation was provoked which rendered in little more than a year, the exhaustion of the external monetary reserves of India.

This, in turn, brought about the impossibility of carrying on the importations necessary for the very realisation of the plan. This is only one example, but reality constantly confirms its lesson.

Mass Support

From a general point of view, the fundamental democratic character of the State, indispensable to realising a real plan, made necessary by the fact that there always are, in view of an economic development policy, resistances to break, establish interests that work towards maintaining the existing state of affairs and therefore are opposed to the transformation brought about by the economic development.

Under these conditions, only the state that counts on the active and massive support of the largest classes of the population, is capable of planning of economic development.

When such political conditions are not realised, the economic struggles express only the changing and vacillating interests of the dominating classes which vary according to the international situation, with price fluctuation and with the relation of power between the various dominating group.

It is obvious that such fluctuations and oscillations lead to constant revisions of the plan which thus reveals itself as more and more incapable of securing complete economic development.

I shall add that the existence in the under-developed countries of the more or less parasitic classes (feudalists, speculators money-lenders and even a great numbers of capitalists), make part of this economic surplus, that is to say the excess of production after the consumption needs of the masses have been met, utilised not for accumulation or for even

political reasons, but for the consumption of these classes.

National Reserves

Such a distraction of the surplus reduces the possibilities of economic development. It is a fundamental economic law that the speed of a country's development is determined by the volume of national reserves.

Consequently, if a part of an already small national revenue is being used for the consumption of the parasitic classes, there is less accumulation and therefore less potential for economic development.

This situation is graver in the minutely developed countries, because the classes possessing above-average incomes which do not originate from labour, have for sociological reasons on which I need not dwell, a strong tendency not to transform these supplementary incomes into investments.

They are reserved for luxury goods, the importation of more or less luxury cars and all sorts of products which are not manufactured in the country. This reduces the possibilities of investment and affects the monetary balance or the balance of trade.

The democratic character of the State is also a necessity for planning as only really democratic state which is supported by the masses is capable of resisting the external pressures which are exerted on it to modify its economic policy and to deprive it of complete independence and fast economic growth.

Planning

I am thinking, in particular, of a little country like Cuba, that is making so much effort to break its old structures of economic dependence and showing, at the same time that it can only succeed by relying completely on the peasant and agricultural workers even organised in armed militias.

Planning is a continuous activity which goes from elaboration to realisation. Realisations cannot be achieved without the help and in-

tegral support of the population.

This is even truer when a country is poor to start with and has limited means, as each effort of the population carries more decisive weight. All these reasons and the initiative of the political power are decisive factors in accelerating economic development, and even infinitely more decisive than the illusion of external aid.

In many cases this may solve a particular problem, but it will never solve all the problems encountered by a minutely developed country, as this can only be done by the conscious, active, and fully voluntary participation, it is not astonishing to see a certain number of countries whose technical preparations sometimes leave nothing to be desired being incapable of completing the plans.

The best of plans remain ineffective when facing the indifference of the population, or worse, its hostility, which might be the case when the population sees that the benefits of development are reserved for a few limited social groups. At best they are restricted to a few limited actions which lead to no general development of the country.

Secondly, I shall deal with the international economic requirements. The first one being mobilisation and centralisation of the economic surplus, which should be consecrated almost entirely to economic development.

It should be remembered that the surplus is defined as the excess of current production after the consumption requirements of the whole working population have been met.

There are numerous ways in which to mobilise the surplus. The main one is direct centralisation by the State of part of the surplus, which noticeably and essentially happens when it arises from the activity of public sector enterprises, whether they be productive ones such as State farms and factories, or commercial ones arising from external trade.

Centralisation and mobilisation may also be effected by planning within production co-operatives where the excess of the receipts over expenses, instead of being entirely reserved for a consumption surplus, will be made available for supplementary accumulation.

If the surplus in under-developed countries reverts to the State and co-operatives, it is because these bodies provide for the maximum elimination of consumption by the parasitic classes.

One must again admit that in most under-developed countries, those who carry out economic activities and make profits continue to lead a foreign way of life, therefore a great part of their incomes which could be invested for the expansion of production, is devoted to sumptuous expense.

One must bear in mind that when the economic situation is such that a vigorous policy of accumulation is indispensable, one cannot afford to waste any part of the revenue which could be invested for economic development.

Parasitic Classes

It must be added that it is impossible in practice to mobilise the revenues of the parasitic classes through a fiscal policy, as the very range of such a policy would lead to even greater frauds especially in conditions of a weakly financed economy and a largely non-existent system of accounting.

Fiscal Policy

In a country like India which has a strong enough administration, it is estimated that the fiscal system brings about half of what it should and this system is not a particularly harsh one. It is therefore illusory to pretend that a fiscal policy provides sufficient accumulation of capital.

Experience shows that when the incomes of the privileged or relatively privileged are maintained, that is to say, when the structure

from which these incomes derive is maintained, the State is generally unable to effectively raise the taxes of those who possess the most important incomes.

The constant experience of under-developed countries which have not modified their economic structures but have nevertheless engaged in a planned policy is to see the effort of development begun in such conditions practically paid for by the mass of the population.

Profits and prices rise because of subsequent inflation; wages do not follow; their real value diminishes and the standard of living of the majority of consumers deteriorates.

This is followed by naturally increasing dissatisfaction and hostility towards the effort of economic development.

During India's Five Year Plan, inflation came about because of insufficient centralisation of the surplus, prices rose and the majority of the population found itself at the end of the plan with a lower standard of living.

Steel Production

This does not mean to say there has been no progress; industry has developed and steel production is to be trebled. This progress has brought no real improvement to the masses, who, in fact, have taken a backward step because they have had to bear the brunt of the development effort, and if I may say so, the benefits of this development have gone to those people who were already privileged.

The second fundamental economic requirement lies in the planned use of the surplus, to satisfy the need of the population and economic growth. In other words, one must use it to provide effective harmonious economic improvements which the population can immediately or very rapidly see.

It is perfectly possible to promote a series of measures which, though modest but sufficient would make the population feel that the efforts demanded of them and the

promises contained in the plan, not only will lead to improvements in the distant future but to immediate ones.

There are other exigencies beyond those of an economic or political character.

Development of Agriculture

Firstly, the people concerned in production must adapt themselves to the rapid economic development. In the world today, where, from the economic point of view the minutely developed countries must create production structures which correspond with those of others in the international sphere, this adaptation demands a priority extension of the social ownership of production methods.

On the one hand, this ownership must extend to the state and on the other hand to collective ownership, especially the co-operatives which have to play a considerable part in the development of agriculture.

These are the forms of social ownership which must receive priority of development if economic expansion is to be realised, as opposed to other forms which allow certain social classes to live without working and therefore a progressive reduction of the economic effort follows.

Privileged Position

This first social exigency represents the way to build really democratic, economic, social and political structure as it allows for the progressive diminution of the classes which enjoy a privileged position.

The second social exigency is to educate the masses, struggle against illiteracy, promote knowledge and improve public health.

Such efforts are indispensable in every country, but they are particularly urgent in Africa. The majority of the population is in bad health and especially susceptible to endemic diseases and therefore cannot take part in any general action to develop the economy.

The educational problem is also urgent owing to the large degree

of illiteracy inherited from colonialism by most of these countries. A well-planned economic policy does not restrict itself to a few limited objectives.

If one wishes a sufficient and rapid growth of the economy and an accelerated improvement in the standard of living, the masses must conscientiously participate in the general effort.

In other words, it is not enough to have created social and political conditions to secure their goodwill or sentimental attachment—they must give their active support which can only be brought about by knowledge and education.

Economic Development

Beyond this first priority lies the need to develop secondary education and technical instruction in order to train the cadres indispensable to rapid progress.

One must point out that the real obstacle to the economic development of the majority of under-developed countries is not, as is often said, the insufficiency of capital, but the lack of technicians, specialists and engineers. A prodigious effort must be made in this field, lack of which will result in the plan being technically unrealizable.

Africa Today

It is possible to ask for the help of foreign technicians but it is evident that one cannot establish a lasting and abundant development of a country's economy on this basis—especially the group of countries represented by Africa today.

This is no solution from either the political or economic viewpoint and is inconceivable in every respect because it does not supply the requirement of full knowledge of the conditions particular to each country.

Thirdly one must mention the fundamental psychological exigencies of a planned economy. The first consists in breaking-down traditional superstitions, the principle of routine and the passive

acceptance of the existing situation and replacing them by an active confidence in progress and the will to create new conditions to liquidate the present ones and therefore to move towards a better future.

Decisive Role

Without these changes, no economic construction of any great scope can be made. In this context, education, in its ordinary meaning, is not enough.

In reality, a decisive role must be played by the political organisations closely linked to the people which would not hesitate to tackle the problems standing in the way of rapid economic progress and ensuring of course that such step forward was well understood by everyone.

These are the only organisations capable of resolving these problems correctly as the democratic methods of the industrialised capitalist countries are not adaptable to this situation.

The second exigency which is closely related to the first is to stimulate initiative, inventiveness and self-confidence in the workers. The experience of China is a striking example of the acceleration of economic development which was present from the onset when one had the means to create conditions which caused the propagation of inventiveness and initiative throughout the country, thanks to the political organisations which animated these qualities.

It is obvious that these psychological exigencies cannot be considered in isolation and can only be satisfied at the same time as the political, economic and social exigencies.

Community Projects

An illustration of this lack of complete satisfaction can be seen in the Indian Community Projects. An administration was set up, theoretically to provide the apparently favourable conditions for the propagation of these qualities.

In fact a bureaucracy has been created which is completely incapable of carrying out this role. This has not arisen because the psychological factors had been underestimated.

On the contrary, they had been overestimated because the indispensable political, economic and social conditions did not obtain from the beginning, notably through the lack of real agrarian reform and more generally through failing to eliminate the traditional power of the privileged.

Fourthly, one must mention the need to create fundamental institutions. The first necessary step is to organise a sufficiently centralized public sector being able to make complete use of the nation's natural resources, especially those to be found below the ground, because these resources form the base on which to build the economic structure.

It is not enough to modify production by collective or socialist measures. This modification must be carried out in conditions which will allow centralised administration of all the essential resources by a public sector sufficiently strong to carry out real planning.

State Bank

The State must control money and exterior and interior trade. In practice this means that economic planning can only be carried out in a country which possesses a State Bank exercising a monopoly on the issuing of credit and controlling its apportionment to conform to the plan.

More concretely, this means that State monopoly on external trade must be established as trade is decisively important, especially in Africa where forms of economic dependence are essentially commercial.

Only a powerful state-controlled trade policy can vary imports and exports to the degree which will assure economic independence and only a state system can put the enormous profit hitherto enjoyed by the large firms to the service of national monetary accumula-

tion. If true planning is to be carried out, these profits in the future must be centralised by the State according to commercial principles and transferred to the central budget. This in fact is what Guinea did almost immediately after independence.

Foreign Capital

These same reasons justify the setting-up of a state apparatus to control internal commerce, commencing with the whole-sale trade which is obviously the easiest to handle. This will allow the state to concentrate on an important part of the surplus which is at the moment cornered by local and foreign capital.

This it will have at its disposal an extremely important source of accumulation which will expand, not only with the development of production but also with the selling of products.

Moreover, social reasons reinforce the need for state intervention in these spheres which avoid the birth or growth of a local, commercial and speculative middle-class whose existence would be opposed to true economic development.

The income of this class is from commercial profits which are proportionally larger than the difference between interior and exterior prices. This difference is largely determined by the weak economic development and thus the main tenance of high profits and a local middle-class is tied to under-development.

There are examples, not only in Africa, but in Burma and Indonesia, of middle-class opposition to industrialisation because profits arising from imports are much greater than those which could be realised from a national industry.

I should like to conclude—and this, obvious, not by chance—by stressing the importance of scientific exigencies to ensure true planning.

They consist in respecting the priority concerns the proportion between accumulation and consumption.

National Revenue

In the first instance, the proportion of accumulation should be more rapidly increased and as the economic system makes progress and the national revenue grows, it will be necessary to increase the proportion of consumption. But it is also necessary to increase the accumulation more quickly if one wishes to sufficiently augment the national revenue and to progressively bridge the gap between the under-developed and industrialised countries. Consequently this is a most important priority.

Technically these important priorities also demand, especially in keeping with the conditions existing in Africa, that the agricultural basis of the country be first of all reinforced and in the early stages made to serve only as a bait to industrial development.

But this development could only be accelerated when all the structures of African countries would have been consolidated, and institutions set up to cope with it. This will necessarily require some time.

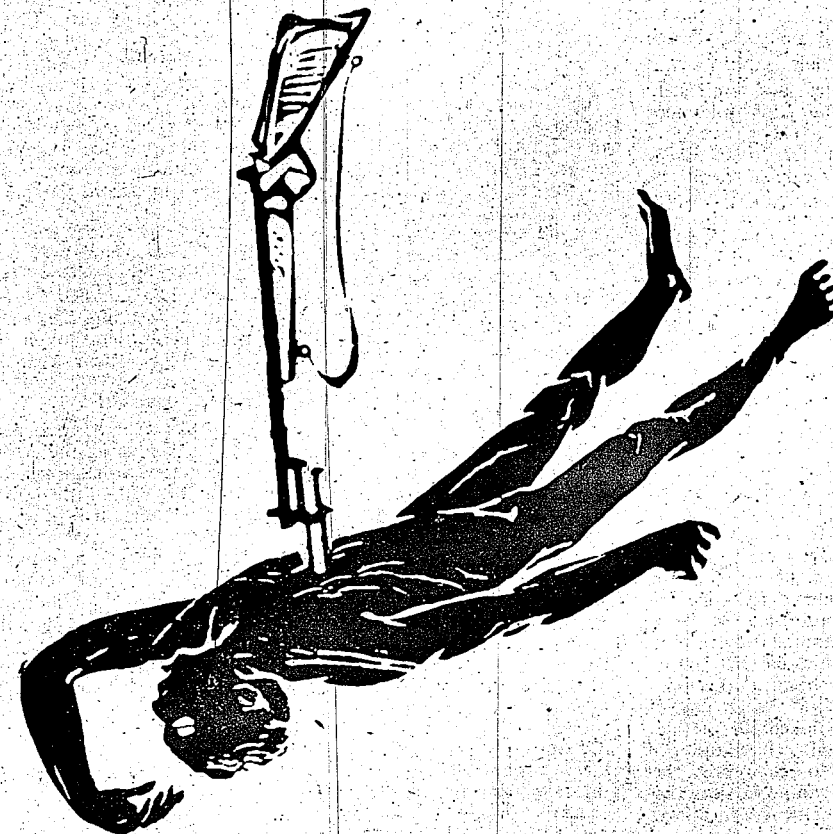
Super-profits in Rhodesia

The mining grant, the British-owned Rhodesian Selection Trust, has just announced the results of its operation for the last quarter (October—December) of 1962.

The group's pre-tax profits stand at £2,733,000 as against £2,189,000 in the previous (July—September) quarter.

Total profits for the second half of 1962 now stand at £4,922,000 compared with £4,462,000 for the same period in 1961. The sales of the Trust have gone up from 99,333 tons to 106,021 tons.

PORTUGUESE TERROR IN ANGOLA



SLAVERY

EXPLOITATION

MASS MURDER

The Land of Zimbabwe

by Our Special Correspondent

SALISBURY is a city of records. Statistics claim that it has more automobiles and ministers per European than any other spot on the globe. There are no public transport facilities. Every European has a car in which he goes visiting, shopping or to work. The record number of ministers may be explained by the fact that Salisbury is the seat not only of the South Rhodesian Government but also of that of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In short, —it is sort of "double capital" —of Southern Rhodesia and the Federation.

The South Rhodesian Parliament is housed in an old mansion in Cecil Rhodes Square. Its customs and forms have all been borrowed from Britain: the M.P.s wear wigs, the wooden benches on the right are for the members of ruling party, on the left for the opposition; the berobed Speaker hammers away with a gavel to restore order. He rarely uses it, though, because the political hue of the M.P.s is just as homogeneous as the colour of their skin—they are all white and all racist-minded. No real representative of the African population has ever crossed Parliament's threshold.

"Civilised Citizens"

In 1923 Southern Rhodesia was granted the status of "self-governing colony". But self-government is something enjoyed only by "civilized citizens," that is, the Europeans, whose number hardly exceeds that of the population of

any London suburb. The three million Africans are deprived of all rights.

An African's life in Southern Rhodesia is full of "can'ts." He can't leave his place of residence without a special permit, he can't live in a European district, he can't go out without a pass, he can't do work reserved for Europeans, he can't go to restaurants and cinemas for the whites, he can't do dozens of other things.

A big open-air cinema was recently opened in Salisbury. Spectators see movies without leaving their cars. This cinema is also "only for whites."

The ticket collectors do not check on entrance tickets. They look into the boots of the cars to see if any Africans are hiding there. But the Africans did see the movies just the same through binoculars from a nearby hill. This violation of the colour bar was the subject of a special parliamentary debate and it was decided to post a policeman to keep the Africans away from the hill.

"Arcadia" on Salisbury's Outskirts

There is an Arcadia after all. Only it does not look at all like the fairy-tale land described by eighteenth-century writers in their pastoral compositions. This Arcadia is situated on the outskirts of Salisbury. It has no greenery, no flowers, no rustics playing pipes. What it has is ramshackle hovels, half-naked children, women with emaciated faces, laundering clothes in wayside ditches. That is South Rhodesian Arcadia for you—one of the Salisbury locations for the coloureds.

Southern Rhodesia's laws forbid Africans and coloureds to live with the whites. There are special districts, the so-called locations, for them in the cities. As a rule, you find them on the outskirts and sometimes beyond the city boundaries. In the countryside, the Africans live only in reservations, where they are allowed to own and till land.

I don't know why this district of hovels on the outskirts of Salisbury has been called Arcadia. Probably as a joke. Just as in other locations, there is no running water, no electricity, no sewerage. Every morning, people queue up before a water hydrant, the only one in the whole block. The African eats once a day, that's all he can afford on his earnings.

Many have no roof overhead. They sleep where they can—under cars, bridges or open sky. They lie cuddled up on the ground, covering their heads with their hands, as though afraid of being hit in their sleep.

Poverty and Grief

I have seen a great deal of poverty and grief in the African locations, but what has touched me most is the lot of the little inhabitants of this hell on earth—their inflamed eyes, rachitic heads, thin arms, pot bellies, a look too serious for their years. These children know not the joys of childhood, many have to work on plantations and at factories to keep themselves, their brothers and sisters. Many don't know their parents. I have been told that quite a few are the illegitimate children of whites.

Through the reddish, filmy dust we could see the savannah, low trees, the colonnades of termitaria and the road stretching beyond the horizon. We were driving along this road to the Gibi Reservation. Now and then we would see wart hogs, marmosets and baboons scampering across, or a secretary bird lazily watching our car pass by. In the sky, spreading wide their wings, soared vultures. Their nests perched on mimosas resemble big black fruits.

Sometimes an African would happen along, raising his hand with fingers apart to ask for a ride. The European thumb method does not work here. The raised thumb is the salute of freedom fighters, and, as one of the hitchhikers we gave a ride to explain, it is enough for an African to raise it to find himself in jail or concentration camp.

Reservation

From time to time the breeze would blow the fragrant smell of tobacco our way—a sure sign that we were passing some European plantation. South Rhodesian tobacco is considered to be one of the best in the world and vies successfully with high-grade American tobaccos.

The reservation village we first came to was a small one—a few round huts, with a market place in the centre. The villagers took us for officials of the Native Affairs Department, for no other whites ever go there, and the looks on their faces were grim, almost hostile. But when we explained who we were, the grim looks gave way to smiles and they all started inviting us in. The first hut we entered had walls of bamboo covered with clay—a special kind taken from anthills. The floor was earthen, paved with apricot stones to keep it clean when it rained. Ants and termites are a scourge and so the floors are covered with turpentine, while the legs of the tables and beds are stuck in tins of water.

Infrequent Rains

Termites, however, have their use. Their nests show peasants where water is closest to the surface and it is near them that wells are dug. The infrequent rains bring very little relief. The sun has so baked the earth that it cannot absorb water and it evaporates. And to build dams and irrigation facilities is something the Africans cannot afford.

Our host took us to his "field" a quarter of a mile away. The little plot was covered with green bean shoots. He told us that next year he would cultivate millet and then maize for two years. Such

is the local "multi-crop" system of agriculture.

He also had several sheep grazing in the common pasture. The Africans have very little land and that is explained by the agrarian policy followed by the Europeans. The first white settlers, drawn to the country by the mysterious gold mines of King Solomon, soon found that the real wealth was not under but on the surface of this fertile soil. Fertile soil and mild climate promised good returns for their investments.

So they began to grab the land of the Africans and push them out into the barren, sandy reservations. The law has given 48 million acres of land to the 250,000 Europeans and only 39 million acres to the 2.5 million Africans.

European farms usually occupy scores of acres. Some of the owners till the land themselves, but most prefer to live in Britain and employ people to run their farms. At some farms, half of the land is not cultivated and has overgrown with shrubs and that with the Africans suffering from acute and hunger.

Big Bungalow

Many tobacco and maize plantations are regular large-scale capitalist enterprises, employing hundreds of African labourers and superintendents. The owner of one of the plantations we visited lives in a big bungalow with verandah surrounded by boundless maize fields and pastures. He has six African servants, not counting the gardener and the cook. But that does not put him out much, for African help is cheap. The mistress of the house boasted that she paid the cook only \$9 a month. She called her servants "Sixpence," "Guinea," "Whisky" and so on.

"I just can't remember those uncivilized names," she said carelessly by way of explanation.

Although the opportunities for the Europeans are pretty attractive, the number of settlers is not increasing. Capital is beginning to flow away. Salisbury, Bulawayo and other towns are virtually pasted up with sale and rent ads. And they

are much more eloquent than the government's invitation to "enterprising people" to come to Southern Rhodesia.

"Things are pretty bad," the immigration official registering passports told me. "The natives are restless. Of late I've been using the exit stamp much more than the entry."

The situation in Southern Rhodesia has indeed reached boiling point. Locations are constantly raided by troops and police. There are some 5,000 political prisoners in the country.

A new Algeria

The Africans' struggle against the colonial regime is led by the Zimbabwe African People's Union. This widely popular party demands democratization, independence and abolition of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It refuses to recognize the constitution promulgated in December last, which secured the dominant position of the Europeans, and is urging the Africans to boycott the parliamentary election which is to be held at the end of this year in conformity with this new constitution.

The South Rhodesian authorities however, turn a deaf ear to the people's demands. They know only one kind of reply—repressions. Of late there has been a lot of activity on the part of the South Rhodesian ultras of the Rhodesian Front, the local version of the French Organisation *armée secrete*. Founded early this year, it is made up of such extreme Right parties as the Dominion Party, the Rhodesia Reform Party and the Southern Rhodesian Party.

The Front wants the country to be a "white man's state free of London's control." In some parts of the country the Europeans have formed terrorist gangs and attack Africans. All that serves to aggravate the situation still more. The danger of a new Algeria in Rhodesia, wrote the *London Economist* in the spring, "has assumed critical proportions."

Continued on page 16

We are Determined to be Free

says N. Sithole

(National Chairman of ZAPU, Southern Rhodesia)

LORD Hailey in his voluminous AFRICA SURVEY to which distinguished Western Scholars of great international stature have contributed maintains that the concept of self-determination was not born in the African but in the Western world. This, of course, is an insult to the entire continent of Africa.

The principle of self-determination is inherent in all living and moving things. Get hold of even a chicken, and you immediately interfere with its freedom. The chicken struggles backwards and forwards and sideways in an effort to get out of your grip so that it can move in the open air in pursuit of self-determination.

The principle of self-determination was there long before imperialists and colonialists even set foot on the African soil, and it will continue to be there long after they have quit Africa as a ruling racial group.

No where in any part of Africa did the white man introduce democracy. Wherever the white man has been in power, he has denied the non-European any democratic way of life. The kind of democracy they had introduced everywhere in Africa was "government of the Africans by the white people for the white people."

There is nothing wrong with government of Americans, by Americans, for Americans; government of the French, by the French, for the French, government of the British, by the British, for the British; and government of Asians, for

Asians, by Asians, similarly there is nothing wrong with government of Africans, by Africans for Africans.

Our human personality has been so thwarted, and frustrated, and abused; that we have now taken human dignity as one of the cardinal principles in our political theory and practice.

Only those who know what it means to be relegated to the realm of flora and fauna because of their lack of Caucasian pigmentation can appreciate our dedication and devotion to the difficult task of salvaging African human dignity which has been sinking in the mire under the unceasing bludgeonings of imperialism and colonialism.

I feel uplifted, elevated, rejuvenated, and invigorated to see all over Africa the African personality coming forward in full force, and pushing out of Africa its adulterers and rapers. Our human dignity is in great danger unless we rule ourselves everywhere in Africa.

In brief, what I am trying to state here is: that in seeking to retrieve our lost self-determination, to establish democracy, and to restore the human dignity of the African people, this Conference is not seeking the things of the Western World, but of the African world.

Our human dignity was not invested in the factories of the West. Self-determination is not the monopoly of the West. Democracy is equally not a monopoly of the West. People all over Africa, as elsewhere in the world, like to rule themselves,

to do the ruling themselves, and to rule for their own benefit.

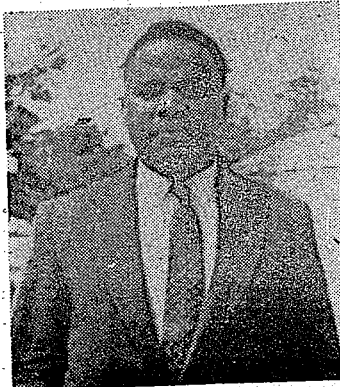
In other words, they want rule of themselves, by themselves, for themselves. We the freedom fighters are therefore fighting to recover those things dear to those who have gone before us, dear to those who are still living, and dear to those who are still to be born.

We are fighting to recover those eternal values of life denied to us for centuries. It is this comprehensive outlook, this larger spirit of humanity and brotherhood which bind free African to unfree African, and unfree to free African.

There is an African *we-feeling* which baffled even the cleverest of Western economic theories, and when African historians shall come to write the history of African liberation they will find the success of the entire movement of the liberation of Africa owed its success to this inexplicable behaviour of a brother never resting until he has freed his brother.

This is the greatness of our Africa. "History has forced us to become, to put it in Biblical language, our brothers' keepers, or to become our brothers' liberators, to put it in current Pan-Africanist language.

Early in February, 1961, a new constitution for Southern Rhodesia was forged on the anvil of white supremacy. The voters were divided into A and B voters. The former were to be virtually European, and



N. Sithole
Southern Rhodesia

the latter African voters. Representation in the Legislative Assembly was to be 50 Europeans and 15 Africans. This meant that the legislature was to be 77 per cent European and 23 per cent African in a country that is 90 per cent African and only 10 per cent European.

At three successive Congresses of the National Democratic Party, the new Constitution was rejected. Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Z.A.P.U. President, then referred the whole matter to the country, and a special referendum was held; 476,000 voted against the Constitution, but only 500 voted in favour of it.

Then Mr. Nkomo took up the issue with the British Government, but they ignored this on the ground that the referendum was not official although it had been highly democratic.

Then in February, 1962, Mr. Nkomo took up the issue with the United Nations who came to the conclusion that Southern Rhodesia was not self-governing, and therefore the British Government could still intervene, and suspend the new Constitution, but the British Government remained adamant.

The African majority and the United Nations majority could not move either the Southern Rhodesian Government or the British Government one way or another.

The Southern Rhodesian Government then embarked on a "claim-your-vote" campaign hoping to register between 50,000 and 70,000 African voters for the B Roll! But the African people boycotted the registration, and only less than 10,000 registered under great economic and official pressures from their employers and government officials.

The Government was disappointed, and so the police took a tough line against the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. On 20th September, 1962, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union was banned like the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress in 1959 and the National Democratic Party in 1961.

Over 300 Z.A.P.U. leaders were placed in restriction for three months. This included Z.A.P.U. President, Mr. Nkomo. Over 2,000 Z.A.P.U. supporters were arrested, detained and imprisoned.

In October, 1962, the Southern Rhodesian case came before the Fourth Committee of the United Nations which called on Britain to use her powers to see that the ban on Z.A.P.U. was lifted, and that the leaders were released from restriction, but this was to no avail.

By 81 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions, the United Nations passed a resolution urging Britain to suspend the new Constitution and convene another constitutional conference, but this also fell on deaf ears.

Meanwhile the African people made a strong vow that they were not going to recognise the ban, and that they were not going to form a new political party since this would be to recognise the ban. They decided to work underground. Up to now the African people are not in the mood to form another party.

In 1959 their Party was banned; in 1961, another of their parties which had been raised on the ashes of the first was also banned; and lastly, the third one—Z.A.P.U.—was banned last September. As one of them put it, "We are not going to form another party to be banned at the pleasure of the white man. Better to resist the present ban than to form a new one."

With Mr. Nkomo and his lieutenants safe in restriction, and also 300 other leaders and more than 2,000 Z.A.P.U. supporters in detention, imprisonment or restriction, Sir Edgar Whitehead, the then Premier, changed the election date from April, 1963, to December 14, 1962. It was a real handicap match! But the Africans, though leaderless, effectively boycotted the elections. Out of 10,000 African voters only 1,500 did actually vote so that the present Parliament represents virtually the white electorate.

The political downfall of the ruthless Sir Whitehead was welcome to the African people, but the sweep into power of the white-sup-

remacist Rhodesian Front has struck more terror and despair in many of the Africans so that they shall witness more desperate acts on their part. The following things happened at the recent Southern Rhodesian elections:

1. Only European-led Parties participated.

2. The Central Africa Party which was a mixture of Europeans and Africans was altogether eliminated as was the Liberal Party in Northern Rhodesian elections, and thus demonstrating the fact that European Liberalism, which in reality diluted white supremacy, has no room in today's African politics.

3. The United Federal Party which was also based on European liberalism—a strange concoction of despotic paternalism, hypocrisy and camouflaged herrenvolk—was defeated. Of their 29 seats, 15 are held by whites and 14 by Africans.

4. The Rhodesian Front openly went to the electorate with the battle of white supremacy, and they swung the U.F.P. European supporters to their side. They had also put up 15 African candidates, but none got in on their ticket. They got 35 seats—all white. Now, with this white-supremacist Party firmly in the saddle "our problem becomes clear but more difficult".

I now wish to draw the serious attention to the following problems that now confront the Africans in Southern Rhodesia. Some of the things happening in Southern Rhodesia is precisely what happened in South Africa in 1948.

General Field Smuts had been regarded by Britain, the United States and the European people in general as liberal in his policies although he saw to it that oppressive laws were made on the pretext that they would never be actually used against the Africans since, of course, he was so liberal.

But when he was finally ousted in 1948, and when Dr. Malan took over, the same laws were effective-

ly used against the African people. The judiciary and the police became part and parcel of the party machinery. It was the so-called liberal-minded General Field Smuts who laid the snake's eggs, and it was Dr. Verwoerd who hatched them.

In Southern Rhodesia it was the so-called liberal-minded Sir Edgar Whitehead who laid the eggs of oppressive legislation and tried to hatch them but failed. It now remains for Winston Field, the new Premier of Southern Rhodesia to hatch these eggs of oppression. To do this, he will have to strengthen the present police state considerably.

The trigger-happy, white police and police reservists are delighted that an apartheid party is now in power. They see another South Africa, and they will play it the South African way. This is one of the important results of the last election. Ideologically, and practically Southern Rhodesia has been brought much nearer the Republic of South Africa than she has ever been before.

With the emergence of African governments in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with the imminent break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which helped South African mercenaries to pass through to Katanga, and with the weakening of Sir Roy Welensky's position, South Africa, though she would not be interested in adding to her problems another batch of 4,000,000 Africans and thousands of English-speaking whites who are already a thorny problem to the Boers of South Africa nevertheless will welcome the opportunity of supplying white-supremacist Southern Rhodesia with finance, soldiers and military equipment in order to create a white buffer state between the black governments to the North and herself in the South.

Already there is talk of a NATO type of alliance between South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique, and obviously this is an alliance against the independent

African States as independent.

Already the new government in Southern Rhodesia shows clear markings of apartheid. Their separate community development schemes which they have already announced smack of the loathed Bantustans of South Africa. Their avowed policy of black areas, white areas, and multiracial areas, and their pledge to the white electorate and to the country that they are not going to revoke the iniquitous Land Apportionment Act which is the cornerstone of African exploitation, oppression and humiliation, leave the Africans in no doubt whatever that the whites in Southern Rhodesia have come to believe that they can only survive as a ruling racial minority if they adopt the apartheid policy of South Africa.

As a matter of fact the new Government has already announced that they have no intention whatever to hand over to the blacks. The Government of the country, they have affirmed, must remain in "civilised hands" which is another way of saying "in the hands of the white man." In other words, the African people have been bluntly told not to look for an independent African state in Southern Rhodesia.

Arising from the results of the last elections in Southern Rhodesia, we are now faced with the problem of Southern Rhodesia becoming independent under white minority rule. Two possible courses may be attempted.

First, the British Government under the constant pressure of the white settlers, and in an attempt to create a home for those whites in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia who may resent having to live under a black government, may grant independence to Southern Rhodesia before the establishment of a fully representative government.

Second, the white settlers may decide on a "go it alone" policy and declare themselves an independent state with all the sovereign powers of a state.

Either course would lead to an independent Southern Rhodesia, and if this happens, we shall have no alternative but to declare our-

selves also independent. If 250,000 foreigners can declare themselves independent, we feel we have not only a moral, but also a natural right to declare ourselves—4,000,000 of us—independent."

When I was in London recently, I was reliably informed that the British Government was toying with the dangerous idea of granting independence to Southern Rhodesia before that country had a full representative government, and, naturally, I was deeply disturbed and perturbed, and on behalf of my people I issued the following statement:

"The danger now facing Southern Rhodesia is the possibility of Britain granting independence to Southern Rhodesia under white minority rule. We shall regard such a step as a declaration of war on the African people of Southern Rhodesia, and we will not hesitate to form a government-in-exile, and as a government-in-exile we shall enlist material aid from other governments in and outside Africa. If fair constitutional means are denied to us, we shall be prepared to solve the problem with our blood."

It is important to note that when Mr. Richard Butler, the British Minister responsible for Central Africa, was asked in the House of Commons to give an assurance that he would not grant independence before a fully representative government was established in Southern Rhodesia, he answered that since Southern Rhodesia was in the Federation, the question of Southern Rhodesia's independence did not arise.

When later I asked him about this rumour of the British Government giving independence to Southern Rhodesia under white minority rule, he said the British Government had not decided on anything of the kind.

He might have had other reasons for answering so evasively, but I was imposed that in either case he gave no assurance that the British Government would not give inde-

pendence to Southern Rhodesia before the establishment of a fully representative government.

With the imminent break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, since the British Government has now publicly conceded to Nyasaland's secession, and since now the predominantly African government of Northern Rhodesia, and the white supremacist government of Southern Rhodesia are all dead against the existence and the continuation of the Federation, the question of Southern Rhodesia's independence becomes more pressing.

If Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia become, as they must, independent, then Southern Rhodesia must also become independent. Independence for Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will mean independence for the majority of the people, whereas independence for Southern Rhodesia will mean independence for only a small minority—less than 10 per cent—of the population.

This is why I feel that we are now faced with a very grave problem which, unless handled properly, may have to be solved with our very blood. We can no longer be non-violent to a point of enslaving ourselves.

We can longer be pacifist to a point of establishing oppression of 4,000,000 people by 250,000 whites. No. It cuts against life itself. It deprives life of its very meaning.

So much is tied up with the imminent break-up of the Federation, and I feel myself impelled to make certain observations if the problem facing us is to be solved without resorting to the last measure of dedication and devotion to the task of emancipating our people.

When the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland winds up sooner or later certain powers which had been vested in it will have to be vested elsewhere.

Since the Federation was created by an act of the British Parliament, two things are likely to happen when the Federal liquidation takes its full course.

First, each of the three territories may assume all the powers that were previously exercised by the Federal Government, and in this case this would mean that each of the three territories was fully independent.

We have no quarrel with an independent Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, but an independent Southern Rhodesia under a white minority government would start a new chapter of a bloody resistance.

Second, Britain, as creator of the Federation, may hold back certain powers previously held and exercised by the Federal Government from Southern Rhodesia until the country has a fully representative government. This is not only fair, but practical in that it would avoid a bloody solution to the problem now facing us.

Perhaps I should explain to this Conference why we, in Southern Rhodesia, believe that a bloody course is now inevitable unless there is a timely intervention in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia. Both history and logic are driving the African people to that course since other courses are now closed.

(1) The present position in Southern Rhodesia places 4,000,000 Africans at the mercy of 250,000 whites. The African people can no longer wait for a change of attitude on the part of the whites who are determined to be in full political control by hook or by crook.

The will to rule themselves and the terrific pressures exerted by other African countries which have become independent and which are about to get their independence, do not allow the Africans in Southern Rhodesia to remain folding their hands waiting for freedom to drop from Heaven like manna.

(2) The present government is unashamedly based on white supremacy which is another expression for the apartheid policy of the Republic of South Africa, and it is impossible to imagine the politically awakened Africans of Southern Rhodesia watching sheepishly the creation

of another South Africa in the land of their birth. The increasing wave of sabotage, arson and petrol bombing serve to indicate the growing mood of desperation among the African people.

(3) Under the present circumstances Southern Rhodesia can only be ruled by the police, the police reservists, the army, male and female, as if now the case.

This means that the present government can only rule by oppressing and suppressing the African people in a continent where more than two-thirds of the African countries are fully independent. A great explosion is everywhere imminent in Southern Rhodesia unless there is a timely intervention.

Under the present laws of Southern Rhodesia no leaders of a banned party may lead a new party for at least five years. African leaders cannot afford to wait that long. The irresistible push of the masses, the will to rule themselves rather than to be ruled and the force of history and logic forbids them to wait that long.

They must, of necessity, go underground and work from there until the will of the people smashes to pieces this oppressive minority rule. It is the sacred duty of the African leaders and the African masses to pursue their legitimate political aspirations, and to carry this noble and God-ordained pursuit to its logical and historical conclusion.

Either we are free, or we are fighting to be free.

We cannot suspend the historic struggle for the convenience of a handful of white foreigners. Our motto is "Forward ever, Backward never," as other African countries have done."

Because of this critical and most unsatisfactory position obtaining in Southern Rhodesia, acting on behalf of my President, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, I have had to make the following demands to Mr. Richard Butler on behalf of the voteless African people of Southern Rhodesia:

1. A new constitution based on adult universal suffrage is absolutely necessary. The solution to political problems in Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Kenya and elsewhere in Africa has been the granting of the vote to the majority of the people of that particular country.

2. After granting adult universal franchise, there should be a short period of self-government preceded by free elections wherein the majority shall participate. This will ensure a smooth transitional period from dependence to full independence.

3. During this period of self-government, Britain should hold certain powers which are held at present by the dying Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and these powers shall be surrendered only when the country becomes fully independent.

4. After a period of self-government based on free majority elections, independence should be granted to Southern Rhodesia, and then the people themselves will determine the future of their country according to democratic principles. The future of Southern Rhodesia must never be determined by 250,000 whites at the expense of 4,000,000 Africans.

I believe that a course of this nature would have the needed effect of redirecting the people's minds from the present disruptive channels to more constructive ones. People cannot be denied constitutional channels, and at the same time be expected to be non-violent. The powers that be cannot have it both ways.

If there will be constitutional means of solving the present problem, then we are entitled to expect a peaceful solution; but if there are no constitutional means, then everything else points to wide-spread economic disruption and unnecessary bloodshed.

I feel strongly that the task of helping to emancipate African countries still under the heels of colonialism and imperialism, can be achieved by

(a) pointing out to independent African States the dangers

now facing the African people of Southern Rhodesia;

(b) appealing to independent African states to help materially and immediately the people of Southern Rhodesia who are determinedly fighting to liberate themselves;

(c) appealing to Britain and the Commonwealth Nations to face squarely the iniquitousness and the dangerousness of constitutionally placing 4,000,000 Africans at the mercy of 250,000 whites;

(d) appealing to the French Community to use their good offices with Britain; and

(e) appealing to the United States of America to use her good offices with Britain.

I believe, that the freedom-hungry and freedom-seeking African masses, supported by the cosmic force to rule ourselves, and supported by the highest and noblest of principles which command the respect and co-operation of all those who love freedom not only for themselves but for others as well, can help us in this our bitter struggle.

The final answer is to be found with every African man and woman, and every African boy or girl, who refused in thought, word and deed to be ruled by foreigners, but who asserts his or her full right to the many blessings of freedom and independence, and who therefore dedicates himself or herself to the glorious task of freeing himself or herself from frustrating structures of foreign rule.

The problem Africans in Southern Rhodesia are facing was well summarised by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who said:

"The repressive measures enacted in the Central African Federation are similar in spirit and application to the anti-Sabotage Bill of Verwoerd's apartheid Government of South Africa.

"Both types of legislation seek to muzzle the political opinions of the oppressed Africans. But the Africans of Southern Rhodesia continue to raise their voices against injustice, oppression and undemocratic rule."

Land of Zimbabwe

Continued from page 11

The Africans have long stopped calling their country Rhodesia. They call it Zimbabwe. Whence this name? Our quest for the answer to this question brought us to Fort Victoria.

It was early in the morning when we set out. The road wound its way past green hills with slopes planted to citrus and fig trees. Suddenly the trees disappeared and before our eyes were ancient ruins covered with St. John's-wort and moss.

For almost a century, my companion Joshua told me, the mystery of these ruins held the attention of scientists all the world over. Where did they come from? At first it was thought that they were the ruins of the legendary mines of King Solomon, of which mention is made in the Bible. The gold mined there was allegedly used by King Solomon to gild his ivory throne and the cedar columns of his temple. The action in Rider Haggard's "King Solomon's Mines" takes place in Southern Rhodesia.

There is only one explanation for this legend; the Europeans would not believe that the Africans who, they claimed, did not possess any creative abilities, could build anything beautiful. And yet these ruins are what remains of the town of Zimbabwe, once the capital of the medieval African state of Benametapa. This town is mentioned in the memoirs of the Portuguese navigator Barbosa, who visited these parts in the 16th century. Enslaved early in the 18th century, this state disintegrated and its territory was subsequently divided by the Portuguese and the British.

The history of this state is evidence of the high level of cultural development of the South Rhodesian Africans in the Middle Ages and is an earnest that they will restore their statehood. The day is not far, they say, when the sun of Zimbabwe will again rise over their country.

NEGRO STOOGES BID FOR AFRICANS CHALLENGED

by Alex Prempeh

VARIOUS Negro organisations in U.S. have been brought together to present a case for the appointment of people of African descent as Ambassadors, etc., representing America in African countries.

The organisations involved are the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N.A.A.C.P.), Congress of Racial Equality (C.R.E.), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.), Negro American Labour Council (N.A.L.C.), National Council of Negro Women (N.C.N.W.), Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (B.S.C.P.) and National Urban League (N.U.L.) who have been brought together under the aegis of the American Committee on Africa.

These organisations represent American colonialism, imperialism and exploitation, but are being persuaded to play an active part in African politics. Their main objectives, however, are to disorganise the African labour unions for the benefit of the white-controlled labour union of America.

These opportunists and "quills" are desperately trying to solicit the endorsement of President Kennedy to appoint Negroes (sic) to the positions of Ambassadors, representatives, diplomats or

diplomatic personnel in the African countries for U.S. affairs.

At conference held outside New York City, they had the audacity to make attempts to move ahead of the African nationalists in America, to satisfy their white masters.

These handpicked self-styled Negroes (sic) have for years defiantly and emphatically presented every obstacle to Marcus Garvey, or everything pertaining to the cause of Africa, as for instance, African people's redemption. They have been indifferent to the African cause until now.

These so-called leaders of "Freedom rides", instead of fighting for the economic and political unity or advancement for their people, they are talking of civil rights instead of Human Rights. They seek their own personal advantages by selling Africa. Thus perpetuating the whiteman's policy of "divide and rule."

As there were enemies of Marcus Garvey, forty years ago, so these organisations are enemies of Osagyefo and President Toure today or work towards the stifling of the aspirations of Africans toward a Union of African States. They are anti-Nkrumah, anti-African labour, anti-Toure, anti-African unity, anti-African progress and

development, as long as their colonial, imperialist and exploiter masters make promises, compromises in their favour, or support their programmes to beguile the black masses in the United States.

The African nationalists in America, with their President Lewis H. Michaux, and Alex Prempeh, the Vice-President and Public Relations Officer, as "Ghana Patriots", dedicated to Osagyefo and African unity, solidarity and progress, are hopeful of being the means for an African exodus in the form of repatriation of people of African descent in America. They have strongly objected to the tactics of the stooges. This, they have done by sending the following letter to President Kennedy, with copies to the press, radio and television news commentators.

December 18, 1962.

"Honourable John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, White House, Washington, D.C.

Mr. President,

It has been brought to our attention that some Negro leaders have called upon the Office of the President to solicit appointments of Negroes to the status of Ambassadors, Representatives and Diplomats in Africa.

We strongly protest against this action, as in our view none of these leaders, handpicked or self-styled, have in any way contributed or favoured the aspirations of Africa, nor do they express any form of identity with Africa.

The idea, Mr. President, is peculiar and would be considered commendable if the proper people who are sincere in their relationship with Africa were to be chosen. But we, as an organisation, reflecting the aspirations of the Negro population in U.S., know these people who come to You, Sir, to be opportunists who are only interested in high positions so that they can continue to exploit the masses of Africans in America.

Continued on page 19

Power Centres in South Africa's Economy

In the previous articles several concentrations of economic power in South Africa have been dealt with. The political consequences of this analysis are discussed in the final article. It is argued that no "progressive capitalists" are possible because all the smaller businesses are dominated by one or the other of the two great groupings made up of mining and foreign capital and of Nat., state, and farmers' capital, and both of these are, in the final analysis, reactionary.

There are economic and political differences between the two big groupings which may be important at times however. The existence of a vast sector of state capital and the great extent of state interference in the South African economy means that a democratic government will have the possibility of immediately and effectively carrying out its social and economic policies provided it has a well thought out programme and competent people ready to direct the work.

Two Monopoly Giants No Third Force

by G. Fasulo

THERE are two giant economic groupings in the South African economy. The mining houses are dominated by Oppenheimer's Anglo-American empire (R2,000 million) and are closely linked with foreign capital in South Africa (R3,077 million). On the other side are ranged state-supported farmers' capital (R. ? M.) in close Nat.-directed alliance with state capital (more than R2,917m.) and Nat. capital (more than R627m.).

Politically it is well known that the first grouping supports policies ranging from U.P. to Progressive while the second grouping is the economic base of the Nationalists.

In the end both policies are White Supremacist, but the differences between Nats. and U.P.s and especially Progressives are considerable. Political realists bear in mind at all times the importance of their opponents' splits.

Is there any real basis for the political differences between the two great groupings or are these historical accidents? Is there any possibility of a third, more progressive anti-colour-bar group arising among the ruling class?

The Groups Differ

There are social and economic differences which underline the political differences between the big groupings. Mining and foreign capital have very strong links with the rest of Africa and overseas countries and they are strongly influenced by social and political developments there. Oppenheimer has indicated that he would like to end the migratory labour system for at least a part of his labour force in order to obtain higher productivity from a settled working class.

Concessions to the Africans are a necessary part of the economic and social policies of this grouping.

They are confident of their ability to continue to rule through their wealth and influence, especially by means of mass communication, even in a more democratic bourgeois parliamentary system.

The second great monopolistic grouping cannot and will not consider any concessions. The farmers' production is based on the most vicious relations of production in the country such as the tot system, labour tenancy, farm jails, the compound system at Bethal, etc.

Any democratic advances by the Non-White masses would completely disrupt these customs and relations, drastically decrease the degree of exploitation and no doubt lead to a major change in the ownership of the land. This is the reason why the farmers are the most reactionary force in the country and always have been.

Nat. control of state capital and their use of it to enrich themselves depends upon the continuance of their monopoly of political power. Any significant concessions would immediately threaten this and therefore the Nat. capitalists and civil servants are another solidly and unlimitedly reactionary section of the population.

No Independent Force

The political differences between the two groupings are real and deeply rooted and the possibility of making use of these differences at times by taking a different ap-

proach to the two groupings must be borne in mind.

No independent, progressive capitalist third force is possible. Only the very largest capitalist groups are strong enough to take a lead in the affairs of the rulers, and to make use of the major channels of propaganda to propagate their views on a mass scale.

There are no really giant groups outside the mining and Nat. groupings. Even the biggest remaining groups such as the Schlesinger group or the Frames group are pygmies by the standards which matter in this respect.

No real leader can arise for any small business men who might genuinely wish to see democracy in South Africa. The smaller businesses are also strongly dependent on the two big groupings. The Nats. control state contracts and state aid which can make or break any smaller business.

Insurance Funds

Mining and foreign capital have vast investments in secondary industry, provide the main market for much of industry and commerce and control most of the banking and insurance funds in the country. Any smaller business man who runs counter to the wishes of the two giants will be wiped out very quickly, and they all know it.

This is the reason why the appeals of people like Solly Sachs, in the past, and Ralph Horwitz and the Forum today, to the business community to remove the colour-bar fall on deaf ears.

The pattern of economic power which the Nationalists have built in South Africa has advantages in the long run despite the fact that it constitutes one of the biggest obstacles on the road to democracy. A democratic government would immediately take over the whole of state capital and the economic activities of the government departments.

This will give a democratic government control of most of heavy industry, the whole of the transportation system and a great deal of other industry. Through the

control boards and co-operatives it will have a great deal of power in agriculture.

It will also take over some experienced economic planning bodies such as those which have planned the Orange River Project, the Tugela Valley Development Scheme, border industry development, the Iscor and other expansions.

The Financial Sources

This planning machinery can be used to draw up plans based on quite different progressive and democratic ideas and designed to help the poor and oppressed sections of the population to emerge from poverty, ignorance and disease and not, like the present plans, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The financial sources of state capital will be available to carry out these plans.

It seems certain that the political struggles leading to democracy will involve some nationalization as well and so increase the economic power of a democratic government. It will be impossible to break the power of the Nats. without removing all the three sectors of economic bases: Nat. capital and farmers' capital as well as state capital.

Democrats should think seriously about these matters, because otherwise they will be fighting blindfolded. It is necessary to have a clear idea of who the enemy is and how to deal with him. The possibilities which have just been mentioned for carrying out progressive social and economic policies will remain unfulfilled unless the policies have been worked out and the people who have to carry them out are prepared.

Perspective of Socialism

To take over and run a complex and developed economy like South Africa's is no simple thing. Moreover, because all state posts are filled by Nats. and because almost all technical posts are filled by Whites sabotage or simple desertion as in the Congo are likely to be encountered on a wide scale.

The fact that South Africa has a modern industrial economy and a structure which favours planning means that the achievement of democracy is also a very long step towards socialism. It will be possible to solve the problems of educating, housing, feeding and clothing the people here much more rapidly and easily than anywhere else in Africa or Asia. This perspective of socialist or semi-socialist development of the country should be stressed.

It should inspire all democrats and it can act to attract large numbers of Whites to help in the fight against White supremacy and in the task of rebuilding South Africa afterwards. Democrats should not only stress these things in their political propaganda, but should also begin to think about and prepare for them.

Negro Stooges Bid For Africans Challenged

Continued from page 17

Having been associated with the leaders and students of Africa since the days of Marcus Garvey, we are aware that these men represent the "classless" and not the "masses". To us, they are the "Tshombes of America" who because of the success of the African struggle would like to feather their nests by jumping on the bandwagon. So, beware of false prophets.

The record of statesmanship portrayed by Marcus Garvey is one of extreme credit to African people everywhere and should not be sullied by "glory seekers" who will betray the cause of Africa without scruples.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas for you and a continued successful Presidency.

Very truly yours,

LEWIS H. MICHAUX
President."

JANUARY, 1963 19

UNITED NATIONS ACTION ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA

THE background to the Carpio mission is that for 15 years the United Nations appealed to South Africa to allow a visiting mission into the former mandate.

The 1950 advisory opinion of the International Court said South Africa still had an obligation to account to the international community for her administration of the territory; from 1953 until this year a United Nations Committee has prepared reports on the territory; a "good offices" commission worked from 1946 to 1958 trying, and failing, to find a basis for a negotiated solution; and in 1961 a UN Committee, chaired by Professor Fabregat, was barred entry to the territory, with the connivance of the British Government.

In December 1961 the United Nations dissolved the Fabregat Committee and appointed a new one with Vittorio Carpio of the Philippines as chairman and Dr. Martinez de Alva of Mexico as vice-chairman.

The Carpio committee was given specific objectives:

- To visit the country before May 1, 1962;
- To evacuate the military forces of South Africa;
- To release political prisoners;
- To prepare for general elections in South West Africa based on adult suffrage, and under the supervision of the UN, and so on.

Long before the Carpio mission ever tried to enter South-West

Africa I protested against the basic weakness of the resolution which stipulated that the mission should achieve its objectives "in consultation with the mandatory power".

For, contrary to expectation (it was thought that South Africa would have nothing to do with the resolution) South Africa decided to precipitate matters in her own way and favour. Dr. Verwoerd extended a conditional invitation to the chairman and vice-chairman of the new UN Committee on South-West Africa.

Prior to this there had been talks between Mr. Carpio, the chairman, and Mr. Fourie, then South African Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

The conditions stipulated that the chairman and vice-chairman would not raise during their visit to South Africa any of the objectives for which the Committee was specifically established. Yet the Committee accepted the invitation on those terms.

In my view the Committee should have rejected the invitation or should at least have insisted that the

Yet another chapter has been opened in the history of South-West Africa, this one, more packed with incidents and characters than usual. This year, United Nations discussions will grapple not only with the usual debates and resolutions, but also the ill-fated Carpio mission.

This, if it achieved little else has served to highlight the stubborn intransigence of the South African Government and to underline more sharply than ever the United Nations problem: how to get action on the South-West African issue.

The U.N. General Assembly will have to answer several vital questions this year. These are: How far has the Special Committee on South-West Africa been able to implement last year's decision of the International Court of Justice?

In the light of the Carpio-de Alva affair and South Africa's handling of this mission, are there still chances for a negotiated settlement with South Africa? Should the United Nations ignore the judgement of the International Court before deciding what action to take against South Africa? How can resolutions make way for action?



Jariretun Kozonguizi
(President of the West African
Nation)

VOICERICA

whole Bureau of the committee (chairman, vice-chairman and rapporteur, from Somalia) go. It will be recalled that this year one of the United Nations committees decided not to visit Angola after the Portuguese had indicated their willingness to allow the Committee in only if two members. (Bulgaria and Guinea, were excluded).

Arriving in South Africa the representatives of the Committee (Carpio and De Alva) were once more outwitted by the South African authorities. According to De Alva they were made to agree to the issuance of a joint communique with the South African Prime Minister at the end of the visit. It appears this was set as the condition for being allowed to visit South West Africa.

The most controversial paragraph in the joint communique is the following:

"... at the request of the Prime Minister both the chairman and vice-chairman gave their impressions gained during their ten days' visit to the territory."

They stated that in the places visited they had found no evidence and heard no allegations that there was a threat to international peace and security within South West Africa; that there were signs of militarism in the territory; or that the indigenous population was being exterminated...

Both the South African and overseas press played up this paragraph, concluding that the South African Government had been whitewashed.

UN delegates were stunned and rumours of bribery were rife. But Chairman Carpio remained silent until he reached Cairo, where his

new post as Ambassador was at stake. Then he categorically denied any knowledge or association with the joint communique.

Conveniently he avoided all South Africans there including the representative of the South West Africa National Union. In New York Mr. Carpio stated that he did not make a statement while he was in South Africa for fear of his life—and as a matter of fact, he added, he had been poisoned.

He spoke of having had coffee with the Prime Minister.

The Communique

The wickedness of that communique is not in that it was issued at all but in its irrelevance to the issues at stake and the calculated omission of the facts. It was completely silent on the policy and practice of apartheid, the extent of its effects on the African population, and ultimately on the country itself.

No opinion was given on the denial of political rights and the exploitation of the vast majority of the inhabitants of South West Africa for the good of a minority of South African settlers.

These are the issues that form the basis of the case against South African administration in South West Africa.

With regard to the points mentioned in the communique, suffice here to say that nobody could sensibly expect, in the circumstances under which the visit took place, that there could be overt incidents to demonstrate that the situation was a threat to peace and security.

Incidents usually take place at the provocation and more often on the initiative of the South African officials in South West Africa: these were at the time under strict orders, for a change and for the time being, to behave themselves. The white policemen, for instance, who are normally armed, did not even carry batons during the visit.

Africans meeting the visitors were free to demonstrate in any numbers for the duration of the visit and

could even enter the "whites only" Grand Hotel to see the UN visitors. (After the visitors had left some who had spoken to the UN men were summarily dismissed by their employers at the instigation of the South African police.)

On one day, 25 members of the South West Africa National Union, including five members of the National Executive Committee, were arrested and charged with "holding a procession".

Furthermore, South Africa could not have troops stationed in South West Africa having extended an invitation to the UN Committee to visit the territory. According to the documents submitted by the chairman and vice-chairman to the United Nations, people in Ovamboland had told them that the troops which were there in 1961 had been removed in 1962.

No word was said about the military base at Walvis Bay. South Africa claims that Walvis Bay is part of their territory. The people of South West Africa reject that completely. In any case, the remotest point of South West Africa is only a matter of hours away from South Africa's military might.

The point on the extermination of the African population is as irrelevant as the others to our present case. What we have said at the United Nations, and it is a fact, is that the rate of population growth and the life expectancy of the Africans in South West Africa are much lower than that of the white settler.

This we maintain is a direct outcome of the appalling conditions under which the Africans are forced to live by the South African administration.

Thus the communique was irrelevant to the case, just as its contents were devoid of any factual basis.

When the Carpio mission came under review at the United Nations I demanded that the Special Committee trace the origin of the communique, and dispose of it systematically rather than ignore it as was done by resolution of the UN Special Committee. Tackling the

communique would have cut the ground from under the feet of South Africa; instead South Africa has been provided with something to hang on to, in the debates.

As for the respective positions taken by Carpio and De Alva on the issue of the communique, the latter seems more truthful. But his admitted role in the drafting and presentation of the communique with all the shortcomings we have pointed out is a caution against any trust being placed in him. Indeed his role ought to be vehemently assailed.

Carpio appears to be not only unrealistic but to have taken up a dishonest position as well. He has admitted that he saw beforehand the memorandum on which the communique was based, but he did nothing as chairman to prevent its adoption, let alone its publication (that is if his disclaimer can be accepted). He was in South Africa for about a week after the publication of the communique, but did not disavow his association with it then.

In his letter from Cairo to the under-secretary for trusteeship affairs in which he explained his position on the communique, the highly important element of his being poisoned is not mentioned. He said it only in New York for the first time.

There is no alternative but to condemn Carpio's role without reservation if for nothing else than the fact that he saw a memorandum to a dangerous communique and its publication, and allowed it to cause confusion which has done much harm to the case of South West Africa which he, under the protective atmosphere of the United Nations, claims to champion.

Enough of the Carpio and De Alva affair and communique.

Parting of the Ways

Two lessons emerge clearly from the communique debacle:

As far as any negotiated settlement is concerned, South Africa and the United Nations have parted company.

The clever manoeuvring on the part of South Africa should convince the United Nations that more attention has to be given to the question of implementation rather than to the mere passing of resolutions.

Up to now the United Nations has appealed to South Africa to co-operate, has appointed committees of investigation into South West African conditions, and has tried to negotiate. The great majority of countries in the world, their governments and people abhor what South Africa is doing in South West Africa.

The Legal Case

The Whites in South-West Africa have been forced to think about the future of the country, and are very conscious that their role is under attack. But this is where the achievement of the United Nations ends. Mounting world opinion has not changed the situation in South West Africa. South Africa is more firmly based and consolidated there than ever.

The South West African case is before the International Court of Justice at the present time. Liberia and Ethiopia charge that South Africa has violated the mandate and are asking the Court to declare so, and to order that the position be rectified.

In the meantime South Africa has filed preliminary objections querying the competence of the Court. She claims that new facts have come to light since the advisory judgement of 1950.

The lawyers are through with their arguments on the preliminaries and judgement is expected in six weeks' time. If the Court upholds South Africa's position that should be the end of the present proceedings. If, on the other hand, the ruling goes against her, argument will start on the merits of the case and this is not expected to end before the end of 1963.

It is thus clear that we cannot rely entirely on the legal action as this is bound to be protracted. Even then legal proceedings alone cannot

be enough, or enforceable against a habitual delinquent like South Africa.

A Plan for Action

A new approach to the question is needed. All the resources of the United Nations must be concentrated on action against South Africa.

I would like to see this year's UN session work along these lines:

The S. A. Administration in South West Africa should be condemned in the strongest of terms for gross negligence of its duties and obligations in regard to South West Africa under the mandate.

The most drastic action should be called for to force South Africa's removal from South West Africa, lock, stock and barrel, and to effect the transfer of the government to the people of South West Africa, through the United Nations.

For the sole purpose of planning compulsive action, a UNITED NATIONS ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA COMMITTEE should be appointed:

To study all possible measures that can effectively be imposed by the United Nations including sanctions, economic and otherwise against South Africa; and

To make positive recommendations to the Security Council in favour of such measures not later than a date to be stipulated, in any case not later than February, 1963:

In a nutshell a negotiated settlement of this problem is no longer possible. South Africa is determined to maintain its position of intransigence.

Further resolutions and declarations on the part of the United Nations will only expose this body—

the greatest experiment of its sort in the history of mankind—to accusations of being a dummy, that is, unless these declarations are accompanied by a show of forceful determination to remove from South West Africa the mal-administration and oppressive regime of South Africa.

Legal proceedings alone cannot be sufficient or enforceable especially against such habitual delinquents as South Africa. The judgement must be underlined by a force which can effect compulsive action.

This can be provided if every conceivable body with respect for the ideals of the United Nations, governmental and non-governmental, can vow to carry out, in conjunction with the legal action, a concerted programme of sanctions which can be undertaken through the orderly but possibly effective machinery of the United Nations.

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Linguistic Problems of Contemporary Africa (1)

THERE are various, frequently contradictory factors which make the African linguistic problem all the more complicated, because they emerge simultaneously and at different levels.

It is primarily a scientific problem and this is often overlooked, but it is also a political problem, a cultural problem and even an economic and social problem, and all these aspects are closely interwoven.

There is no easy solution available, precisely because it has to be dealt with from all angles at once and because decisions can only be taken and delicate compromises reached, after weighing different, incompatible factors.

No possible compromise can be envisaged, however, on the scientific aspect of the matter which conditions all the others in the long run.

Linguistic Research Workers

It must be admitted that there is a general shortage of material necessary to deal thoroughly with these questions. There are as yet, relatively few specialists in the field of general linguistic, and the lack of research workers and teachers is particularly acute in African linguistics; there are probably no more than 200 people concerned throughout the world, including amateurs.

Of the hundred professionals, roughly half are British-trained and the rest are to be found in the U.S.A., Germany, Union of South Africa (almost exclusively Bantu

specialists), U.S.S.R., and a few isolated scholars in Czechoslovakia, Italy, Portugal, Brazil and Spain. There are ten in France, four working permanently in the field, two at the Language Orientales, one at the Hautes Etudes and the rest at the C.N.R.S. (National Council of Scientific Research).

African language specialists are almost all British-trained, or more precisely, trained in South Africa: Chief Luthuli, for example, has worked on the Bantu languages of South Africa. To my knowledge there are only two African students specializing in this field in Paris.

Elementary Problems

The number of French students is no greater, in spite of the fact that there will be a large number of openings in African linguistics for some time to come, due to the general shortage of staff. American universities, in particular, are clamouring for African specialists and seeking them in Europe and in Africa.

This lack of staff explains why such an apparently elementary problem as the actual number of Negro-African languages has not really been solved. No one knows, at present, how many such languages exist. This is partly due to the fact that linguists have not reached agreement on the theoretical problem of the distinction between a language and a dialect.

As far as Africa is concerned, it is, also due to the sovereign need to obtain information on the spot; of some languages only a name is

known and it is not certain how many different names refer to the same language. Furthermore, several tribes speak different dialect of a common language and they are considered as different languages because it has not been possible to undertake sufficiently far-reaching dialectological surveys.

For example, there is the case of Mende in West Africa: Delafosse considered this to be one single language with three main dialects—Bamana (Bambara), Maninka (Maninké), khasonké, to which should no doubt be added the lingua franca called Diola on the Ivory Coast. A contrary view is expressed by other authors, who state that this is a group of languages.

Criteria

They justify their argument by showing that the differences are sufficiently great to prevent a Bambara and a Malinké from understanding each other when speaking their respective tongues.

Criteria other than linguistic ones should probably be applied in these cases; for example, paralinguistic criteria, like the existence of unified writing, or sociological ones, such as the existence of a single ethnic or political entity.

In spite of very pronounced dialectal variations between the different spoken forms, Hausa and Yoruba are certainly both single languages, because of the existence of a unified system of writing and spelling. On the other hand, the fact that six or seven different transcriptions of the spoken forms of the so-called Pahouin group have been made, has tended to turn each one into a language on its own, although the phonetic and syntactical differences are minimal.

With these reservations in mind and taking into account estimates which vary from 600 to 1800, a figure of 700 languages would, in my opinion, be fairly accurate. It should be recalled that some of these languages are spoken by only a few hundred people, sometimes only by a few dozen, whereas others are common to several hundred

thousand individuals and sometimes even to millions.

There is a tendency for the total number of Negro-Asian languages to dwindle; some of them disappear with the extinction of the group that spoke them, others become assimilated to neighbouring languages for sociological reasons.

Sometimes several languages are deliberately amalgamated into one single tongue; this was the case, for example, of Shona in East Africa, which was the result of a philological unification accomplished by religious missions, with the support of the British Government.

Académie Française

Any such attempt at unification must be the result of a political decision and of theoretical linguistic research. This is precisely what happened in France. By the edict of Villers-Cotteret in 1527, François I, made the French tongue the official language of the kingdom; in 1635 the Académie Française was established, according to Richelieu, officially to define and regulate the use of the French language.

This did not prevent other languages—such as Alsatian German, Provençal, Occitan, Breton, Basque—from surviving to this day in spite of penal prohibitions which were only officially abrogated in 1941.

This brings us to the other aspects of the problem, more specifically to the economic and political ones, which were certainly amongst the main preoccupations of François I, when he made the French language compulsory. It is obvious that a common language is a powerful factor in national unity and therefore particularly desirable in recently created states, of which the ethnic homogeneity is relatively small.

This is so obvious to some Africans that they would like to go even further and impose a single language on the whole of Africa immediately. It has even been suggested that "common Negro-African" be revived, which shows a complete lack of linguistic knowledge.

Although scientifically speaking it is fairly probable that about 7000 years before our era there existed a language from which most of those spoken in Africa to-day derive, it is unfortunately certain that this ancestor-language no more resembles the present languages than primitive Indo-European spoken at the same period, resembles French, Russian or Hindi to-day.

In other words, the fact that Hindi and French are both Indo-European languages is comparable to the fact that both Wolof and Zulu are Negro-African ones; but it does not mean that an Indian can be easily understood by a Frenchman or a Senegalese by a South African; neither does it mean that Russian and English—or Hausa and Fang—can be mixed to obtain a joint language comprehensible to both parties.

The only possible pan-African solution is the one which was, I believe, proposed to the Rome Congress and which suggested that an existing language be officially adopted and disseminated everywhere.

Local Susceptibilities

The choice of such a language would lead to untold difficulties, because of the local susceptibilities involved. There are only two languages which, from the practical point of view, are sufficiently widespread on a broad inter-tribal and international level: Hausa in West Africa, and Swahili, which could be taught fairly easily throughout the region south of the Equator.

On the other hand, the constructions of Hausa are fairly original and differ from those of other Sudanese languages which are more varied than those of the Bantu languages. It should certainly therefore be difficult to teach.

To revert to the problem as it appears to each State separately, it is certain that linguistic unity is a cohesive factor, but it is also certain that such unity is very exceptional within the frontiers invented by the European diplomats of the 19th Century.

The states nearest to achieving it are those such as Mali, where the majority of the population speak

languages belonging to the same group and sufficiently alike to allow them to be amalgamated, either on the basis of philological studies, in the same way as standard Swahili, written Yoruba or Shona were created, or by adopting one of the languages in the group which would have to be chosen either because it is spoken or understood by the largest number of people or because it is the richest or the simplest.

Ethnic Group

In other States there may be a greater linguistic diversity, but for one reason or another, one specific language may have spread considerably beyond the limits of the ethnic group of which it is the mother tongue.

This is the case of languages adopted for administrative purposes by the British and Belgian colonial authorities: Swahili in Kenya and Tanganyika, Lingala or Kongo in the southern provinces on the left bank of the Congo. It is conceivable that these languages will continue to be used, perhaps even more extensively, but any choice would unquestionably lead to regional or tribal reactions.

The Kikuyu in Kenya and the Baganda in Uganda went as far as rioting in protest against the use of Swahili, and the Tiv in Nigeria did likewise against the use of Hausa.

There are still a number of states where no local language predominates outside very limited areas, thus creating on a smaller scale the problem of a pan-African language. It is much more acute in these cases because of the urgency involved and the need to find practical solutions.

It is not only national cohesion which is involved in all these instances, but the whole of economic and social development. It is absolutely indispensable that the government responsible for this development should be able to speak directly to the masses for whom the development is intended or who will essentially be called upon to carry out tasks contributing to their own development; they must therefore be able to use a language which is

understood perfectly by all the people.

There can be no question of wasting several years teaching them a common language, either African or European, to ensure that they can obtain the training and information necessary to make the effort expected of them.

At this stage a multiplicity of languages acts as a brake. Firstly, because it leads to a fragmentation of the driving impetus of the government and secondly, because of the cost involved in producing a multitude of written or audio aids, to which must be added in many cases the cost of indispensable preliminary research work necessitated by the lack of knowledge of non-written or badly transcribed languages.

Serious Scientific Study

The inevitable conclusion is that although it may be necessary to use local languages in order to contact the masses, it is generally impossible to use all these languages and therefore a choice is inescapable. This implies an act of political authority which, if it is to be effective, must be based on the results of serious scientific study.

At this stage another consideration emerges; to make a choice of one or several languages implies the sacrifice or even the disappearance of others. The choice will probably be the result of purely practical considerations such as the dissemination or the statistical importance of the languages selected, and those spoken by a restricted number of people or in a limited area will be sacrificed.

Such a choice will probably be taken without reference to current needs or the requirements of theoretical linguistics. With the knowledge at present available it would be impossible to establish any sort of hierarchy of the cultural value of Negro-African languages.

Nevertheless, a language of little practical use for mass communication purposes, may possess a spoken literature and a remarkable fund of poetry. Yet another language confined to a handful of old people may be of considerable interest for

comparative linguistics or for the proto-history of Africa.

In general, a language is such an important element of the culture of a people that a certain hesitation may be felt in sacrificing any of them, as this would inevitably lead to the devaluation of the culture which they were designed to express. The interests of science and a certain concern for universal humanism are here in contradiction with practical considerations.

Actually, the problem exists on a much larger scale in connection with the role of European languages in modern Africa. A Malian statesman told me when I was arguing in favour of Mende: "French is good enough for us" and he added that in view of the urgency of certain material needs, in his country, to try to deal with the problem of the use and preservation of local languages was unthinkable.

"When we have sufficient engineers, agronomists and doctors trained in Europe, then we will begin to think about linguistic." This is a realistic attitude in the present economic situation in Africa, which calls for the establishment of certain priorities and these inevitably lead to the preservation of an educational system based on the use of French or English.

Economic Reasons

Most of the universities in Northern Europe require at least one of the theses for doctorate to be written and published in one of these tongues. There are economic reasons, amongst others, for such a decision (the size of the market for publications in these languages) and these apply with even greater force to Africa.

There are also historical reasons; the fact that France, Germany, Russia and Great Britain drew ahead during the 18th and 19th Centuries.

There are only four international languages used for scientific purposes in the world today: English, German, Russian and French. This does not mean that it is impossible to reason scientifically or to teach science and technical subjects in

Czech, Dutch or Swedish (these examples were chosen purposely because the countries concerned are technically highly-developed) but simply that all international publications appear in the above-mentioned languages.

It would be wrong to say that African languages are a barrier to the teaching of science and technical subjects. The syntactical structure of those known to me would not provide any major obstacle to the pursuit of logical reasoning.

The absence of technical terminology in the vocabulary is all the more easy to remedy since, in fact, the international technical terminology is based on an artificial assembly of Greek and Latin roots.

"Telefun"

The Parisian who speaks of a "telegram" rather than of "far-off writing" is expressing himself in Greek, in the same way as a Duala who speaks of "telefun". In some of the ex-British colonies the local languages have already been used to teach elementary arithmetic.

There is therefore no linguistic obstacle but there is a practical one: a scientist or modern technician must be able to read international literature as it is obviously not possible to translate all of it and it would be particularly uneconomical to have to do so into languages requiring prior adaptation. This is true not only of advanced scientific literature, but also of school text-books.

It might be a paying proposition to translate them into Hausa and Swahili, which are "understood" by tens of millions of people, perhaps even into Peul and Yoruba (5 millions) but it certainly would not pay to translate them into languages understood by fewer than one million people.

Does this mean that the whole educational system in Africa must be limited to the exclusive use of French and English, as mentioned above? This will probably be the case if education is to be considered as a paying proposition. From the political point of view such a solution would have the advantage of making unnecessary any choice

which might provoke tribal reactions among the ethnic groups whose languages were not to be used.

But there are other aspects to be considered. First, there is the fact that the majority of the adult population still do not know the languages of the ex-colonisers and therefore it would be impossible to establish contact with them, except by using local languages, for a programme of fundamental education, for example, or for a political campaign. Second and most important is the cultural aspect, already mentioned in connection with languages that are not widespread.

That a language is the basic element of the culture it expresses, has already been mentioned; any translation distorts the original text, even when two closely-related languages are involved. If the local languages are excluded from African education, then there is the risk that African cultures will deteriorate and progressively lose their originality.

It is sometimes said that there is no need to include any such subject in the curriculum because "the Africans know their own mother tongues"; by this reasoning it should not be necessary to teach British school-children English or French to children in France. In many ethnic groups traditional teaching includes an apprenticeship in correct speech, especially for boys.

If this disappears, the local languages will evolve rapidly and in complete anarchy to such an extent that young Africans will no longer be able to easily understand the proverbs and tales of their grandparents. If we also take into account the psychological difficulties observed by some educators, due to certain forms of bi-lingualism which lead to a marked dichotomy between the school and the home background, then it is to be feared that an elite educated solely in French or in English will feel uprooted.

The educational system in the ex-British colonies—primary school in one of the local languages (not

necessarily the pupil's mother-tongue), followed by secondary and higher education in English—helps partly to overcome some of the difficulties already enumerated. There are others, however, the limited choice, the bad quality of textbooks, and the delay involved in beginning to learn an international language which is made more difficult because the pupils begin their apprenticeship at an age when their intellectual flexibility and receptiveness are less acute.

Finally, with an equal number of years' education to their credit, Africans in ex-British colonies handle the English language less well than Africans in ex-French territories handle French. There is no literacy movement in English comparable to the French-speaking African school. There are, however, more literacy works written in local languages in English-speaking Africa, but because of translation difficulties very few of them are distributed on an inter-continental or even pan-African basis.

The need to recognise the preservation of African culture with the acquisition of a widely-spoken world language is not as difficult as it was a few years ago. Electronics have supplied us with an economical and easy method of collecting and preserving oral texts and therefore the oral nature of most Negro literatures is no longer an obstacle to their preservation.

Tape-recorders and transistors are now available. Without sacrificing any of the advantages of teaching French and in French, it is now possible to complete this type of education with a course on local language and literature, with the help of tape-recordings and broadcasting. The use of such technical aids would also overcome the difficulty frequently encountered in English-speaking Africa: language A taught by a B-speaking teacher to children of a C language group.

Ministries of Education might well call upon well-known "men of speech" (in the sense of "men of letters") to establish libraries of films and recordings as audio aids

for the teaching of the mother tongue in each region.

At a later stage, critical bi-lingual texts could be published for use at secondary or higher educational level. Speech is the essential factor at present, because when the elders who are the last repositories of such oral texts die, much will be lost beyond recall. They must also be used in a distributed form before evolutions in language make them incomprehensible to the younger generations.

There are other educational methods which might be tried. The use of French and English, for example, might be reserved for the teaching of specifically technical subjects, whereas Negro-African languages could be used for "cultural" subjects, such as history. Furthermore, the second international language—Arabic or English in French-speaking Africa—could well be taught on the basis of the construction and phonology of local languages, rather than of the French tongue.

All this presupposes, however, an enormous preliminary scientific effort, making full use of all the branches of modern linguistics, including semantics and linguistic sociology, which are sometimes overlooked. It is essential that such a scheme should be based on international co-operation, spreading far across political boundaries which in Africa have little relation to ethnic and linguistic boundaries.

Unfortunately, there is a lack of specialists, which is particularly regrettable in a field where amateurism is inadmissible and demagogism and sentimentality can wreak havoc. Neither good intentions nor political or religious orthodoxy can replace scientific knowledge and even if this is less mysterious than the uninitiated might suppose, it nevertheless requires several years of apprenticeship.

African students have a definite advantage in this field because of their native familiarity with the languages dealt with and it is regrettable that so few of them are taking it up as a speciality.

LE SAHARA OCCIDENTAL ESPAGNOL

Par Attilio Gaudio

AVEC l'indépendance de l'Algérie et, par conséquent celle du Sahara algérien, l'on peut dire, comme je l'avais écrit avec quelques années d'anticipation dans "le Sahara des Africains", que le Grand Desert, qu'une occupation étrangère et l'arbitre des déferents pouvoirs européens avait sectionné et compartimenté, contre toute logique sociale et économique, est revenu à ses véritables habitants.

Aujourd'hui enfin, de l'Oued Dra à l'Oued Allaqui, les Sahariens ont retrouvé leur liberté, dans l'attente de retrouver un jour, avec la réalisation du Grand Maghreb, leur souhaitée unité.

Il est toutefois une vaste région qui marque encoche sur la carte géographique de l'Afrique saharienne un dernier réduit de la présence colonialiste: elle porte le nom évocateur de Rio de Oro. C'est un anachronisme qui ne pourra de toute façon pas se maintenir longtemps que les Espagnols continuent à braver, avec un mépris de l'opinion publique maghrébine et internationale qui indigne, l'évolution irréversible de l'histoire africaine.

Les Espagnols de Fyanco sont désormais les seuls, avec les Portugais de Salazar à ne pas vouloir comprendre qu'aucune force au monde ne pourra plus empêcher les Africains d'être libres chez eux. Cette invraisemblable obstination

ibérique, qui a déjà transformé l'Angola en une deuxième Algérie, va bientôt fatalement pousser à l'exaspération les Marocains qui ne parviendront pas à régler ce problème par voie diplomatique avec le dictateur de Madrid qui, depuis 1936, n'a fait sienne que la raison de la force.

Un exemple significatif suffit: dans une interview que le Gouverneur Général de Ifni et du Sahara Espagnol, Don Pedro Latorre Alcubierre, a accordée le mois dernier à la revue officielle espagnole "Africa" et dont le texte a été communiqué à Madrid à un rédacteur de l'Agence Italia, on trouve cette incroyable déclaration: "Vous pouvez dire bien haut que dans notre Sahara il n'existe aucun problème politique.

Le Saharien est totalement espagnol et cela non par une simple déclaration officielle, mais parce que cela est le sentiment impérieux de sa population, qui depuis le jour où l'Espagne s'est installée dans le désert, est venue à nous jusqu'à s'identifier complètement avec nous... Sa véritable patrie c'est l'Espagne et c'est seulement à celle que les Sahariens doivent le bien-être matériel et moral dont ils jouissent et qui ne fait qu'augmenter".

C'est à se demander si ce Gouverneur, qui agit comme un procon-

sul dans la très marocaine cité berbère de Sidi-Ifni, croit à ce qu'il dit, s'il est aveugle ou s'il a la même mauvaise foi que les autres fascistes français qui ont prétendu jusqu'au bout que le 9 millions d'Algériens étaient français.

Cela nous conduira aussi bientôt à voir à nouveau les tribus sahariennes du sud marocain reprendre les armes comme ils le firent déjà courageusement en 1959 pour libérer enfin de l'occupation étrangère cette dernière partie du Sahara maghrébin.

Mais les événements nous permettront sans aucun doute de revenir dans un futur proche sur les contentieux hispano-marocains. Le but de cet article est plutôt d'illustrer les différents aspects humains, historiques et économiques de ce pays, en réalité si peu connu, dont la presse ne parle pratiquement jamais et sur lequel même les livres scolaires et les encyclopédies sont si avares de renseignements.

La portion du Sahara occidental qui s'ouvre sur l'Océan Atlantique face aux Iles Canaries et qui reste une des régions les moins connues et visitées, est politiquement partagée en trois zones:

—le Maroc méridional, ex-protectorat espagnol, restitué à la couronne chérifienne en avril 1958 (capitale Tarfaya), ayant une superficie de 25.600 kilomètres carrés. Ses frontières sont au Nord l'Oued Dra, à l'Est le 11^{ème} méridien W; du Greenwich et au sud le parallèle à 27°40 de latitude Nord;

—le Séguet-el-Hamra (capital El-Aïum), avec une superficie de 82.000 kilomètres carrés et qui s'étend au Sud jusqu'au 26^{ème} parallèle;

—la colonie du Rio de Oro (capitale Villa Cisneros), avec 190.000 kilomètres carrés de superficie. Elle est limitée à l'Est par de douzième méridien W du Greenwich jusqu'au tropique du Cancer où la frontière décrit une courbe que laisse à la Mauritanie la sebkha saline d'Iljil et croise le treizième méridien W du Greenwich; au sud, le parallèle à 21°20' de latitude Nord.

Cependant ces confins tracés sur les cartes géographiques ont une valeur uniquement politique et ne constituent nullement des frontières naturelles. Le partage des régions naturelles du Sahara occidental ne peut se faire de par sa structure géologique.

La population du Sahara occidental espagnol et marocain varie entre le 80.000 et 100.000 âmes. Elle est composée presque exclusivement de nomades, qui pénètrent souvent au Sahara algérien et mauritanien à la recherche de pâturages.

Anthropologiquement, cette population présente des sujets étant les prototypes de six couches différents à savoir:

- des protonordiques;
- des méditerranéens;
- des brachicéphales arménoïdes;
- des sémites;
- des berbères que l'on rattache aux hamites;
- des négroïdes.

Cependant, la répartition ethnique est limitée actuellement aux trois grands groupements des Tekna, R'guibat, Maures et, en plus, aux minorités négroïdes appelées "haratines".

Les trois premiers portent, mélangés en eux, presque tous les éléments du classement anthropologique cité.

Les Tekna constituent une confédération de 12 tribus que comprennent, au total, 50.000 âmes.

Ils sont repartis en deux groupes, l'un d'origine berbère et l'autre arabe: les Ait Atman (clan berbère) et les Ait Ejjmel (clan arabe "Maqil"). Tandis que les derniers sont venus de l'Est au XIII^{ème} siècle en conquérants, les premiers seraient les descendants de ces peuplades guézoules qui paraissent bien être ni plus ni moins que les Guétules classiques dont parle Salluste dans sa "Guerre de Jugurta" et qui avaient occupé, d'après Polybe, cite par Plin, toute la région du Sous, du Dra, de l'Oued Chebika et de la Seguiet-el-Hamra.

Ces Guétules ont été parmi les plus réfractaires à l'islamisation. En effet, malgré leur soumission et

conversion apparentes aux Arabes, les Guétules ont continué longtemps à garder leurs rites et traditions ancestraux, d'origines punique et même juive. Il ne faut pas oublier que Hannon, lors de son fameux périple, avait fondé des comptoirs libyo-phéniciens, à l'embouchure du Dra peut-être non loin de l'actuelle Tarfaya.

Aux ancêtres des Tekna on attribue aussi les ruines préislamiques d'Adrun (2 km. au Nord d'Assa) et celles de Tizqui-Remtz.

Les pays des Tekna est limité: —au Nord par l'Oued Noun et le Djebel Bani (Sud-marocain); —au sud par la Séguet el Hamra; —à l'Est par la Hamada de Tindouf; —à l'Ouest par l'Océan.

Leur terrain de nomadisation est beaucoup plus étendu. Il va de Villa Cisneros à Tagunit (plus de 1000 kilomètres et de Tarfaya à Iguidi (plus de 500 kilomètres).

Parmi les nomades du Sahara Occidental, les Tekna sont ceux qui ont les sens commercial le plus développé et on peut les qualifier de grands trafiquants du désert. Ils sont les seuls à posséder, en plus de leurs troupeaux, une véritable richesse agricole constituée par un bon nombre d'oasis fertile et de terrains irrigués dans le Sud Marocain.

A côté de leurs 200.000 chèvres, et 30.000 chameaux, les Tekna possèdent plus de 100.000 palmiers, de 5.000 oliviers et ils peuvent compter sur une récolte annuelle d'environ 30.000 quintaux d'orge. Ils extraient aussi le sel des sebkhas salines de Tantant et de Tindouf.

Les R'guibat sont environ 15.000 éléments; tous nomades. Ils sont célèbres pour leur caractère guerrier et indépendant. Leur terrain de nomadisation est celui du Rio de Oro central et oriental, ainsi qu'une large partie du Sahara algérien et mauritanien.

Actuellement, les R'guibat du Sahara occidental espagnol sont partagés en deux grands groupements: les R'guibat du Sahel (Ouest) et les R'guibat du Cherg ou Guasem (Est). Ils ne sont en tout cas pas plus de 15.000.

Les Maures sont le mélange de de trois races: les berbères autoch-

tones, les arabes conquérants et l'élément nègre qui est venu s'ajouter comme esclave.

Ils ne sont pas plus de 30.000 au Rio de Oro méridional, contre 350.000 en Mauritanie.

L'exploration

L'exploration européenne du Sahara occidental remonte au XV^{ème} siècle, époque à laquelle apparaurent pour la première fois des commerçants et des aventuriers portugais et espagnols.

Ces derniers, venant des Iles Canaries, fondèrent des comptoirs dans le Sud-Marocain, notamment dans celui de Santa Cruz de Mar Pequena (Ifni actuel). Les Portugais, eux, exploraient presque tous le littoral du Rio de Oro.

Les Espagnols réussissaient à soumettre la confédération des tribus Guézoula (Tekna), tandis que les Portugais entraient en contact avec les nomades du Grand Sud. Mais cette présence ibérique devait cesser bientôt, balayée par les Chorf Saadiens de Taroudant et par les tribus sahariennes coalisées.

Au XIX^{ème} siècle, la véritable exploration du Sahara occidental fut entreprise par l'Espagnol Joaquim Gatell, qui en 1865, fit le premier voyage de l'Oued Noun au cap Bojador.

Il a laissé un carnet de route publié en 1877 par la Société Géographique de Madrid sous le titre: "Viajes por Marruecos, el-Sus, Uad Nun, y Tekna".

Quelques années plus tard, d'autres voyageurs espagnols s'aventurèrent jusqu'au Rio de Oro, notamment Cervera, Quiroga, Rizzo, Cristobal Benitez, qui ont laissé des relations utiles mais incomplètes.

En 1880, l'ingénieur anglais Mackenzie fonda un comptoir au Cap Juby, dans l'espoir de développer un commerce lucratif avec les tribus de l'intérieur. Mais sa tentative resta sans lendemain à cause de la prompt réaction du Sultan du Maroc qui, se voyant menacé dans son commerce saharien par cette concurrence étrangère, acheta à Mackenzie le comptoir. L'Anglais avait fait bâtir un édifice en pierre qui fut vite entouré par la mer envahissante et coupé de la côte. A présent, on peut le voir au large de Tarfaya, délabré et abandonné.

En 1884, les Espagnols débarquaient en force au Rio de Oro et fondaient le comptoir et le poste militaire de Villa Cisneros, depuis capitale de la colonie.

Les premiers jours de l'année 1887, le Français Camille Douls se faisait déposer sur la côte sauvage et inconnue du Rio de Oro, par des pêcheurs canariens. Il avait accosté près du cap Bojador, en plein pays maure, comme un naufragé, déguisé en musulman.

Il tomba aussitôt dans les mains d'une fraction des Oulad Delim, les écumeurs du Sahara occidental, hantaient cette côte inhospitalière et fatale aux navigateurs imprudents.

Dépouillé, maltraité, chargé de chaînes, il subit pendant douze jours une très cruelle captivité et il dut la vie sauve à la connaissance parfaite des prières musulmanes qu'il récitait chaque fois que sa position devenait plus critique.

Au bout de douze jours, un chef religieux crut finalement reconnaître en lui un Turc. C'est alors qu'il expliqua à la tribu que l'autre côté du désert, vivaient des musulmans de race, de langue et de mœurs très différents de ceux du Sahara et qui étaient pourtant de fidèles croyants de l'Islam. On le crut et il fut aussitôt délivré des fers et agréé comme "frère" dans la tribu.

Etant de cette manière astucieusement devenu l'hôte d'une des peuplades les plus redoutées du Rio de Oro, il put parcourir avec eux et en toute sécurité une grande partie des régions inexplorées, cinq mois durant.

Les notes et les découvertes géographiques de cette randonnée ont fait partie de la communication que Camille Douls adressa le 16 décembre 1887 à la Société Géographique de Paris.

Pendant cette longue nomadisation, Douls s'était fiancé à une fille maure qui, involontairement, lui facilita le retour. En effet, l'explorateur fit croire aux chefs de la tribu qu'il se rendait au Maroc pour chercher la dot afin de pouvoir épouser la jeune fille.

Il put ainsi librement quitter le Rio de Oro, il franchit l'oued Dra,

gagna Goulimine, Agadir, Marrakech et enfin s'embarqua à Mogador pour la France. Mais le Sahara l'avait "mordu" et, pris de nostalgie, il repartit un an plus tard. Revenu au Maroc, il voulait traverser tout le Sahara occidental jusqu'au Niger. Parti du Tafilalet, l'intrépide explorateur fut massacré par ses guides.

L'insécurité qui régnait dans ces territoires lointains ne permit qu'une nouvelle brève exploration en 1914, menée par le topographe espagnol Enrique d'Almonte qui y consacra un essai d'une centaine de pages dans le bulletin de la Société Géographique de Madrid.

Ce n'est que quinze ans plus tard que survint la figure la plus attachante de l'exploration saharienne.

Michel Vieuchange est né le 26 août 1904 à Nevers. Rêveur et enthousiaste, ce jeune licencié es-lettres voulait à tout prix partir pour le Grand Sud et atteindre Smara, la ville de Ma-el-Ainin, demeurée jusque là mystérieuse.

Vaillamment aidé par son frère, Jean Vieuchange, qui devait devenir son biographe, Michel partit pour la grande aventure en 1930. Il décida de se déguiser en femme musulmane. Au départ de Mogador, il emporta deux montres, deux boussoles, deux appareils photographiques et de médicaments contre le paludisme, la dysenterie et les morsures de serpents. Son frère l'accompagna jusqu'à l'oued Massa, au sud d'Agadir.

Là Michel quitta ses habits d'Européens pour ceux d'une marocaine. Il revêtit une longue tunique blanche, dissimula son visage derrière un voile, passa à ses doigts des bagues en argent et à son cou de larges pendentifs. Dans le silence de l'obscurité de la nuit, il embrassa son frère et disparut seul vers le Sud, avec ses guides, sans connaître ni un mot d'arabe, ni un mot de berbère.

Il arriva à Smara le 2 novembre 1930, après deux mois de marche en pays dissident et inconnu. Epuisé mais heureux, il laissa dans une bouteille qu'il enfonça dans le sol de la vieille kasbah à moitié détruite en 1913 par la colonne Moret, ce

billet "Mon frère Jean Vieuchange et moi-même Michel Vieuchange, français, nous en commun fait la reconnaissance de Smara, chacun se chargeant d'une part de la mise en oeuvre, mon frère du soin de me secourir au cas où, captif ou blessé, je l'appellerai moi-même pénétrant dans l'oasis le 10 novembre 1930".

Il avait pu rejoindre la ville de son rêve, la photographe, la décrire. Quelques heures après son arrivée à Smara, il reprit la voie du retour. Mais après avoir parcouru presque 1.500 kilomètres à pied et à chameau, il fut terrassé par la dysenterie et mourut en arrivant à Agadir, le 30 novembre 1930. Peu avant de quitter son frère, Michel, dans un instant d'exaltation, lui avait dit cette phrase qui devait lui être de funeste présage : "Voir Smara et mourir".

Il laissait de son voyage fantastique un carnet de route que son frère fit publier à Paris par Plon en 1933 et qui restera parmi les documents les plus émouvants de l'exploration.

Entre 1945 et 1950, le Sahara espagnol a été partiellement mais scientifiquement étudié par les naturalistes espagnols Eduardo y Francisco Pacheco, Carlos Vidal y Box, Manuel Alias, Amilio Guinea Lopes, dont les travaux géologiques, géographiques et botaniques furent réunis et publiés en 1949 par le Conseil Supérieur de la Recherche Scientifique Espagnole.

La préhistoire et les stations néolithiques étaient étudiées dans la même période par le Professeur Martin Almagro Basch, qui publiait un article remarquable illustré par 251 planches et dessins, le seul existant jusqu'à présent et ayant comme titre: "Prehistoria del Norte de Africa y del Sahara espagnol".

Parallèlement à ces approches scientifiques du Sahara occidental, par des spécialistes espagnols, il y a eu un certain nombre d'études, d'explorations et de publications, riches en renseignements précieux et dont les auteurs étaient des officiers de l'armée espagnole et des méharistes. Les livres d'histoire et

d'ethnographie saharienne du colonel Domenech-Lafuentes, du colonel de Oro, du commandant Manuelo Clemente, et de Flores Morales méritent une mention spéciale.

En 1950, une expédition dirigée par l'auteur, accompagné par les Français Georges Jégo, Gabriel Pellé et Robert Giry débarquait à Tarfaya en provenance des Îles Canaries et visitait successivement Villa Cisneros, le Rio de Oro, et l'Adrar Sentouf, d'où elle passa en Mauritanie. Cette expédition recueillit un abondant matériel linguistique, botanique et ethnographique.

Deux ans plus tard, l'auteur parcourait seul, à pied et à chameau, la hammada et les (régions) du Dra et de la Seguiet-el-Hamra, recueillant de nouveaux renseignements ethnographiques et géographiques.

En 1952, un voyage et une enquête ethnographique des plus sérieuses furent entrepris dans la région de la Seguiet-el-Hamra, par l'Espagnol Julia Caro Baroja, dont les résultats ont paru dans un volume publié en 1955 par le Conseil Supérieur de la Recherche Scientifique sous le titre de "Estudios saharianos".

La pacification du Sahara occidental sous contrôle espagnol devait être de bien courte durée. Elle n'a d'ailleurs jamais été totale, ni réelle.

Seuls, les quelques groupes méharistes de l'armée coloniale faisaient de timides randonnées d'inspection et de police, assez espacées, à l'intérieur du Rio de Oro et de la hamada, en zone tribale. Mais les forces régulières espagnoles, ainsi que les fonctionnaires de l'administration n'ont jamais osé s'aventurer hors des pistes battues, ni trop loin des postes militaires établis dans les principales casis, aux grands croisements: des pistes caravanières et près des pistes les plus fréquentées par les nomades.

Cette situation d'équilibre a duré une vingtaine d'années, jusqu'à la proclamation de l'indépendance du Maroc et des revendications sahariennes d'Allal el Fassi.

La trêve armée a été brusquement rompue par les Tekna, et les R'Guibat qui ont repris le combat

sous la bannière de l'Armée de Libération du Grand Sahara, prônée par l'Istiqlal et dont l'action anti-espagnole recevait une "consécration de principe" par le Roi du Maroc et par le gouvernement de Rabat.

Simultanément, les Ait-Ba-Amrane déclenchaient une attaque contre l'enclave espagnole d'Ifni et les bandes armées du Sahara occidental entreprenaient une guérilla dans tout le Rio de Oro.

Montés sur des chameaux très rapides et résistants tels que les sont les chameaux des élevages R'guibat avec une parfaite connaissance des lieux et une endurance dans ce genre d'action que les Européens ne possèdent pas, équipés d'armes légères mais modernes, les forces Tekna et R'guibat concentrées sur la Seguiet-el-Hamra, dans le Zmmour et au nord de Villa Cisneros, ont attaqué en décembre 1957, de nombreux postes espagnols.

Dans la région de Smara et de la Seguiet-el-Hamra, des convois militaires ont été sabotés. Elles ont en outre affronté en bataille ouverte des parachutistes et des réguliers espagnols dans la région d'El-Aiun et de Villa Cisneros.

Seule une action de riposte et de ratissage concordée avec les forces française des confins algero-marocains et de Mauritanie, appuyée par l'aviation, a pu partiellement endiguer l'offensive des dissidents, en 1958.

Espérant pouvoir résister avec plus d'efficacité à la pression de l'adversaire, le Conseil des Ministres du gouvernement espagnol, décréta, en janvier 1958, que les deux territoires d'Ifni et du Sahara, dépendant jusqu'alors du gouverneur général de l'Afrique Occidentale espagnole, étaient intégrés à la métropole, devenaient des provinces, et dépendraient désormais de la Présidence du Conseil et du Commandement militaire des Canaries.

Cette mesure extrême n'empêcha pas la situation de s'aggraver. En Avril 1958, l'Espagne cédait sur le terrain diplomatique et restituait au gouvernement marocain la région de Tarfaya que les Espagnols gar-

daient sous le Protectorat depuis l'instauration du protectorat français sur le Maroc.

Le 9 avril, une commission marocaine déléguée par Sa Majesté Mohammed V et dirigée par Abdelkébir El Fassi, alors directeur des Affaires du Sahara et des Frontières, prenait pied à Tarfaya. Le lendemain, presque tout le pays Tekna se trouvait rattaché au Royaume du Maroc.

La mise en valeur intensive et rationnelle du Sahara occidental espagnol n'a pas encore été entreprise. Les difficultés inhérentes au milieu lui-même ne sont pas les seules en cause. L'insécurité a toujours régné dans cette partie du désert, par suite de l'esprit farouche d'indépendance des trois groupements ethniques qui l'habitent. Les Espagnols ont tout de même réussi à s'installer dans quelques localités du littoral où leur autorité est restée incontestée jusqu'aux événements récents.

En 1960, dans les tentatives de contenir la poussée nationaliste et les dangers de lutte armée, le Gouvernement franquiste a décrété que les territoires de Ifni et du Sahara, considérés jusque là comme des colonies, devenaient des provinces espagnoles au même titre que les autres provinces métropolitaines.

Cela s'est d'ailleurs révélé être une fiction juridique car le régime d'exception politico-militaire a été maintenu et ces deux territoires sont restés interdits aux étrangers (nécessité absolue d'un visa qui ne peut être obtenu qu'au Ministère des Colonies, après consultation avec le Gouverneur de Sidi-Ifni, visa qui, en fin de compte, n'est accordé que très rarement et, en tout cas, jamais aux journalistes, même pour les ressortissants des pays qui peuvent entrer en Espagne sur simple présentation de leur passeport).

Le 17 novembre 1960, le journal officiel publiait un nouveau décret portant sur l'organisation de la police territoriale de la nouvelle province du Sahara. Par ce décret, le Sahara Espagnol s'est vu en réalité soumis à un régime policier et militaire d'état de siège. Le décret précise: "La police territoriale du Sahara, qui se substitue au Groupe-ment de Police de la Province,

dépend de la Présidence du Gouvernement. Le Gouverneur Général de la Province est l'Inspecteur de droit de la Police Territoriale, qui est Commandée par le Chef de l'Armée désigné par la Présidence du Gouvernement.

Les différents chefs de la Police territoriale seront recrutés parmi les officiers des armées de l'Air, de Mer ou de Terre et dans la Garde Civile.

Les classes, sous la dénomination d'instructeurs, seront recrutées dans l'Armée de Terre, l'Infanterie de Marine, les troupes d'aviation et la Garde Civile.

La troupe, sous le nom d'agents de police sera recrutée dans l'Armée de terre.

Les nominations des chefs et des agents de la Police Territoriale seront faites par la Présidence du Gouvernement, librement ou au moyen d'un concours, sur proposition de la Direction Générale des Places et Provinces Africaines et après avis du Gouverneur Général.

La Police Territoriale des Provinces du Sahara sera chargée de la sécurité, de l'ordre public, des services d'information et d'enquête, de la poursuite de tous les délits et de l'arrestation des responsables, de la sécurité des noyaux urbains et ruraux, de la protection des personnes et des biens, etc. . . .

Des efforts sur le plan de l'habitat et des communications ont été néanmoins entrepris depuis cette date. La "Direction Générale de Navigation", dont certains navires de passagers et marchands faisaient depuis longtemps du cabotage entre les Iles Canaries et les ports de la Côte Saharienne, a établi un service hebdomadaire régulier de navigation au départ de Las Palmas pour El Aiun, Villa Cisneros et La Guera.

Cette année, le Ministère des Travaux Publics a donné son approbation pour la réalisation d'un plan triennal d'urbanisation qui prévoit la construction, de 1962 à 1964, de 2.550 logements pour les fonctionnaires civils et militaires: 1.500 dans d'autres localités.

A El-Aiun, le Gouvernement espagnol a en outre terminé l'installation d'une très puissante station émettrice de radio dont les programmes en Espagnol et en Arabe

peuvent être entendus à Rabat et à Nouackhott, et dont le but de propagande politique n'a pas besoin d'être expliqué.

Les seuls centres urbains d'une certaine importance sont El-Aiun, qui compte 6.000 habitants, et Villa Cisneros 2.000 habitants.

El-Aiun est située à une centaine de kilomètres au sud de Tarfaya; ce sont les Espagnols qui ont créé cette petite ville saharienne. Elle joue le rôle de capitale administrative et militaire de la région traversée par la Séguiet-el-Hamra jusqu'à Smara et au Guelta Zemmour. On y trouve les mêmes bâtiments modernes qu'à Tarfaya, les mêmes petites villas coquettes et confortables pour le personnel civil et militaire; en plus, la ville est entourée de palmiers et de jardins potagers que les eaux de la Séguiet-el-Hamra irriguent abondamment.

En quittant El-Aiun en direction du sud, on trouve le vide du grand désert sur plus de mille kilomètres. Au-delà de ces immenses solitudes, sur lesquelles les nomades R'guibat et Maures restent les maîtres absolus et incontestés, au fond d'une baie, s'élève Villa Cisneros, capitale de la colonie du Rio de Oro.

Villa Cisneros est située à quelques milles au nord du tropique du Cancer. Elle est composée d'un fort militaire, d'un aérodrome, de deux hôtels pour les voyageurs en transit aérien et d'un nombre raisonnable de maisonsnettes européennes construites en face du fort.

Le quartier indigène est constitué par quelques maisons en pierre, bâties par les Espagnols au moment de leur première occupation, un souk pour la vente des marchandises manufacturées des Canaries et pour l'achat des marchandises apportées par les nomades, une école d'arts indigènes, une mosquée et, selon la saison, de nombreux campements de tribus maures.

Une des deux sociétés commerciales créées pour l'exploitation des produits de la pêche sur la côte du Rio de Oro, une des plus poissonneuses de l'Afrique, a son siège à Villa Cisneros. C'est la "Compania colonial de Africal". L'autre la "Entidad Marcoteguie", se trouve à la Guera, le poste le plus méridional du Rio de Oro, sur la baie du

Lévrier, très proche du Port Etienne.

C'est surtout la pêche à la langouste, dont la baie, du Lévrier est le centre très connu, qui intéresse cette société. Mais la principale exploitation de la richesse marine de la Colonie, la seule pour l'instant, revient aux pêcheurs canariens qui envoient régulièrement des flottilles de plus de 500 chalutiers entre Tarfaya et la Guera, d'où elles ramènent des tonnes de poissons.

Les bancs de langoustes de la baie du Lévrier assurent aux pêcheurs canariens et africains une source inépuisable de revenus.

Le poisson est envoyé aux Iles Canaries, où l'industrie poissonnière s'est modernisée au cours de ces dernières années. L'huile de foie des courbines, poisson que l'on trouve en abondance sur le littoral du Rio de Oro, semble pouvoir remplacer l'huile de foie de morue dans toutes ses applications.

En outre, des laboratoires spécialisés seront créés pour extraire de cette nouvelle huile, la vitamine A, la vitaminer et la substituer aux graisses comestibles dans la fabrication du savon et de la cire. La tête et les détritres des autres poissons provenant de la côte atlantique du Sahara seront desséchés et réduits en poudre pour obtenir une farine riche en protéine pour l'alimentation du bétail.

L'agriculture est encore inexistante et tous les efforts faits par les autorités espagnoles pour engager une partie des tribus nomades à se fixer dans les centres ont été vains.

La seule tentative du côté espagnol pour assurer la mise en valeur du Rio de Oro a été entreprise ces dernières années dans le domaine minier. Par ordre du ministère espagnol de l'Industrie et du Commerce, des missions ont été confiées des 1947 au géologue Manuel Abia Medina de l'Université de Madrid.

L'on avait déjà découvert de nombreux gisements potassiques, mais ils n'avaient jamais été mis en exploitation par suite des difficultés de transport et, dernièrement de l'insécurité du territoire. Il en a été même pour les mines de cuivre qui ont été découvertes dans le Djebel Anial et à Ehel-Ayina dans le Djebel Talmadent. Le résultat le plus

surprenant cependant des prospections géologiques effectuées par Abia Medina a été la découverte d'un grand gisement de phosphate tricalcique qui s'étend au Sud d'El-Aiun, près de la Séguiet-el-Hamra.

Le long de l'oued Itghi, la formation affleure à même le sol et sa teneur, à partir de deux mètres de profondeur, est de 65 pour cent, avec des réserves approximatives de 57.000.000 de tonnes. Quoique les communications soient difficiles, le gouvernement espagnol en a décidé l'étude et la Société Nationale espagnole "Adaro" a envoyé à El-Aiun techniciens et équipements pour y commencer les travaux.

Mais une fois encore, la situation politique s'étant détériorée, ce projet, qui aurait pu être le premier succès espagnol dans la mise en valeur du Sahara Occidental, a été paralysé. La restitution au Marco de la région de Tarfaya a, en plus, enlevé à l'Espagne toute possibilité d'embarquer le minerai extrait, car le seul port bien équipé du littoral entre l'oued Dra et le Cap Blanc est celui de Tarfaya.

Le fer a été découvert en différentes zones géologiques, mais seulement dans une on a localisé six masses minérales en surface de très haute teneur. D'après les prospections que les techniciens espagnols ont menées jusqu'à présent, on peut déduire que cette masse minérale comporte environ 70 millions de tonnes de minerai de fer d'une teneur de 58 pour cent. Un avant-projet d'exploitation est encore à l'étude à Madrid.

Dans cette même masse de minerai ferrugineux, a été déterminée la présence de l'oxyde de titane à raison de 14 pour cent. La séparation par processus magnétique-métallurgique de ces deux métaux est également à l'étude.

Ce dynamisme dont a tout de suite fait preuve le Maroc dans son Sahara a engagé l'Espagne à faire aussi un pas décisif vers une mise en valeur éventuelle de son sous-sol saharien. Madrid, pour la première fois, a ouvert les portes aux capitaux étrangers, appartenant à toutes compagnies, en titres privés et individuels qui ne soient pas financés par un gouvernement, ayant comme but la prospection

de son sous-sol national.

La loi partage le territoire national ouvert à la prospection en trois zones:

— le territoire péninsulaire, Iles Baléares, Iles Canaries et territoires espagnols d'Afrique du Nord;

— le territoire de la Guinée espagnole;

— le territoire de l'Afrique occidentale (Sahara).

Toutes ces zones comprennent les eaux territoriales et des plates-formes sous-marines. Les permis de prospection auront une validité de six ans pour la première et troisième zones, et de neuf ans pour la seconde zone. Des prorogations pourront être accordées pour trois ans, avec réduction de 25 pour cent de l'aire initialement prospectée.

Au Sahara seront accordés des permis d'exploitation uniquement aux concessions dont la superficie sera supérieure à 125.000 hectares.

Le nombre maximum de permis qui pourront être accordés au Sahara à la même compagnie ne pourra dépasser 16.

Les permis d'exploitation donnent droit aux bénéficiaires d'exploiter librement et exclusivement sa concession pendant cinquante ans, renouvelables.

Les sociétés étrangères sont soumises aux mêmes lois fiscales que les sociétés nationales.

L'Etat espagnol comme seule participation aux bénéfices de l'exploitation en zone saharienne, le 12,5 pour cent du produit brut ou de la valeur en espèces des hydrocarbures vendus, frais déduits.

Un Institut National de l'Industrie, contrôlé par l'Etat espagnol, a été créé pour les recherches et l'exploitation des hydrocarbures. Le nouvel organisme pétrolier a signé un certain nombre de contrats d'association avec des compagnies étrangères, surtout américaines, qui ont demandé et obtenu des permis de recherche au Sahara espagnol. L'Ini participe ainsi aux travaux de prospection dans une dizaine de concessions différentes.

Elle s'est associée au fifty-fifty avec la "Pan American hispano Oil Company" dans les périmètres No 5 et 6, au fifty-fifty avec la "Gao of Spain" dans les périmètres No 17 et 44, aux 40

pour cent avec la "Caltex" dans les périmètres No. 22, 31, 32, 41, 45, et 57. Globalement, la participation officielle espagnole aux recherches pétrolières dans le Rio de Oro représente les 23 pour cent du total des périmètres en prospections égaux à une surface de 2.443.192 hectares.

Des intérêts privés espagnols participent également, en dehors de l'Ini, aux recherches pétrolières au Sahara sur une surface de 1.6974 hectares. Mais ce sont évidemment les services miniers officiels qui jouissent de l'aide gouvernementale, laquelle s'élève, pour les cinq prochaines années, à un crédit relativement faible de 10 millions de pesetas.

Pour ses recherches minières sur le terrain, l'Ini a signé un accord de coopération avec le Bureau français de Recherches du Pétrole qui a envoyé en Espagne une mission géologique.

Cette co-opération pétrolière franco-espagnole n'est d'ailleurs pas limitée aux prospections dans le Rio de Oro: dès sa création, l'Ini avait essayé d'obtenir une participation dans les travaux de recherche de la Société Nationale des Pétroles d'Aquitaine dans le Sahara algérien qui devait en effet découvrir du pétrole à Hassi-el-Gassi. La promulgation de la loi espagnole sur les hydrocarbures a cependant rendu impossible la réalisation de cet accord.

D'autres compagnies américaines ont obtenu des permis de recherches au Rio de Oro, formant des groupes pétrolières seules ou en association avec des organismes espagnols. Ce sont:

- Campsa (Spain Cities Services Petroleum Co.; Banco Español de Crédito.)
- Phillips (Phillips Oil Co.)
- Cepsa (Compania Espanola de Petroleos; Spanish Gulf Oil Co.)
- Caltex (Texaco Spain Inc.; California Oil Co. of Spain.)
- Atlantic (Atlantic Exploration Co.)
- Union (Union Oil Co. of California.)
- Sun (Hispanic Sun Oil Co.; Champlin Oil Refining Co.)
- Paboc (Ini; Pan American Hispano Oil Co.)

- Gao (Ini ; Gao of Spain Inc.).
- Sobio et Tidewater (Sohio Iberian Oil Co. ; Tidewater Oil Co.).
- Ipesa (Magellan Petroleum Co. ; Oil Investments Inc.).

L'Ipesa a été renforcée par la suite par la participation de la société française Safrep, qui détient actuellement les 33 pour cent du capital et de l'Ini, qui détient les 10 pour cent du capital.

Cette société est titulaire au Sahara espagnol d'un permis de recherche couvrant le carreau No. 18 de la zone 3, d'une surface de 2.448 km², qui lui a été accordé le 1er mars 1960 pour une durée de six ans.

En vertu d'un autre accord

d'assistance technique franco-espagnol, intervenu avec la société Ipesa, la Direction des travaux de recherches dans la concession No. 18 au Sahara espagnol a été assumé par la Safrep. Une première équipe de géologues a mené une campagne de prospection du terrain du 15 novembre 1961 au 1er mai 1962. Ensuite, la Safrep a mis en exécution une campagne de sismiques.

Mais c'est dans certaines concessions américaines au sud de la Seguiet-el-Hamra, que les travaux de recherches semblent à l'heure actuelle les plus avancés. En effet, les techniciens de la Caltex, de la Gulf Oil et de l'Atlantic ont déjà mis en action perforatrices pour les premiers sondages.

C'est en Août 1962 que l'Atlan-

tic Exploration Company a annoncé un nouveau forage d'exploration à une profondeur de 1830 mètres pratiqué sur un périmètre de 240.000 hectares. Il faut rappeler à ce propos que cette compagnie américaine avait acquis en 1960 des concessions totalisant 800.000 hectares, mais qu'une grande partie avait été ensuite abandonnée, les premiers forages entrepris n'ayant donné aucun résultat positif.

Il faut dire que cet insuccès dans les recherches pétrolières au Rio de Oro s'est avéré commun à toutes les compagnies engagées et qu'aucun indice important n'a encore été signalé qui fasse espérer en la présence d'hydrocarbures commercialement exploitables dans cette partie lointaine du Sahara maghrébin.

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LA NOUVELLE STRATEGIE IMPERIALISTE

I.-LA PENETRATION EN PROFONDEUR: LE RESEAUX

(Extrait de "L'Étincelle")

S'ADRESSANT aux militant de son parti, le C.P.P., réunis au Stade d'Accra le 8 Janvier 1963 pour commémorer le 13e anniversaire du déclanchement de l'Action Positive contre la domination coloniale b. tannique le Dr. Kwame NKRUMAH, Secrétaire Général du C.P.P. a déclaré :

La Révolution africaine est le phénomène le plus déterminant de la deuxième moitié du XXe siècle".

PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU XXE SIÈCLE

Deux guerres mondiales ont marqué la première moitié de ce siècle. Néanmoins, c'est la Révolution socialiste d'octobre 1917 qui s'est révélée le phénomène de loin le plus important de cette période. En effet, alors que depuis le Congrès de Berlin, le capitalisme atteignant sa phase impérialiste avait étendu sa suprématie sur l'ensemble du globe, la Révolution Socialiste d'Octobre 1917 en Russie intervenait non seulement pour arracher à la domination capitaliste 1/6 du globe avec ses ressources et ses hommes, mais également pour déclancher un processus qui a dès lors déterminé toute l'évolution de l'histoire Mondiale. Dans une première réaction unanime de conservation, les impérialistes qui avaient senti le danger que cet événement constituait pour l'ensemble de leur système entreprenaient d'écraser au plus tôt l'Union Soviétique naissante.

Les ouvriers, les paysans, les intellectuels et les soldats révolutionnaires soviétiques unis comme un seul homme sur la base des principes scientifiques du marxisme, la diplomatie militante de LENINE, guide éclairé de la Révolution, et la solidarité du mouvement prolétarien dans les pays capitalistes envahisseurs mettaient en échec l'entreprise de re-conquête rapide. L'impérialisme défait sur ce front, se repliait pour organiser, aidé par des agents internes, réactionnaires autochtones ou saboteurs et espions étrangers, la grande croisade de la subversion que devait compléter au besoin une offensive militaire d'envergure.

Le capitalisme allemand, vaincu de la première guerre mondiale, était choisi pour servir de principal instrument dans une agression armée rendue nécessaire par la résistance et la consolidation du régime soviétique. En effet, le capitalisme allemand aiguillonné par l'impérial-franco-britannique, avait réuni les meilleures conditions pour ce rôle, ayant réussi au surplus à transformer, aux yeux d'une fraction importante du peuple allemand, sa propre défaite en une défaite nationale. Ainsi naquit Hitler. Mais ce sous-produit du capitalisme international n'entendait jouer ce rôle qu'après avoir avalé ceux-là mêmes qui avaient aidé au développement de sa puissance.

Ainsi la guerre qui était préparée par les impérialistes pour l'anéan-

tissement de l'unique Etat socialiste a donné la deuxième guerre mondiale dont la conséquence la plus importante a été la naissance d'un puissant camp socialiste et le développement impétueux du Mouvement de libération des peuples colonisés.

DEUXIÈME MOITIÉ DU XXE SIÈCLE

Au cours des premières années de la deuxième moitié du XXe siècle, le mouvement de libération nationale a connu en Afrique un essor tel que 1960 a été déclarée dans le monde "Année de l'Afrique".

Cette appréciation s'est justifiée non seulement du fait de l'accession de plusieurs pays africains à l'indépendance—hélas nominale pour la plupart d'entre eux—, mais aussi et surtout par l'ampleur et le retentissement de la crise congolaise. Par la lutte du peuple congolais et de son héros. Partice LUMUMBA, la crise congolaise est apparue comme étant le symbole du refus systématique des peuples africains de se soumettre au néo-colonialisme.

A l'échelle du continent comme au Congo, l'acharnement de l'impérialisme à substituer au colonialisme ancien le néocolonialisme, démontre clairement que l'espace vital du système impérialiste, assailli par les peuples en lutte, s'est considérablement réduit et que l'Afrique représente son dernier camp de retranchement.

C'est que, dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, l'Afrique désormais détermine non seulement le rapport des forces entre camp capitaliste et camp socialiste, mais aussi, et surtout d'une façon plus immédiate, les rapports des forces entre les puissance capitalistes elles-mêmes.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE ET CONTRADICTIONS INTERNES DE L'IMPERIALISME

S'agissant des rapports des forces

entre puissances impérialistes, il apparaît, en effet, que si tous les impérialistes s'accordent, à des degrés divers, à se servir de l'entêtement portugais pour freiner l'essor de la Révolution africaine et à faire jouer à l'Afrique du Sud, face à cette révolution, le rôle de l'Allemagne hitlérienne face à la Révolution soviétique, il n'en reste pas moins que le camp impérialiste est déchiré en Afrique par des contradictions insurmontables.

Au Congo, la lutte acharnée entre impérialistes est aujourd'hui évidente : elle oppose l'impérialisme qui veut garder dans le cadre du néo-colonialisme ce qu'il a acquis du temps du colonialisme, et que l'on pourrait appeler *néocolonialisme de statu quo*, à l'impérialisme qui, tenant compte du rôle prééminent qu'il a joué dans la reconquête du Congo, réclame la redistribution des énormes richesses de cette partie de l'Afrique. Ce *néocolonialisme de redistribution*, comme on pourrait le désigner, en raison de sa grande participation au financement du budget des Nations Unies et particulièrement dans son opération congolaise, utilise l'organisation internationale pour aménager un Congo "uni" qui serait à sa dévotion.

Au niveau de l'ensemble de l'Afrique, ce néocolonialisme de redistribution, utilisant à la fois son expérience du néo-colonialisme, sa puissance matérielle, les Nations Unies et leurs organismes spécialisés, des agents internes, espions et saboteurs étrangers ou réactionnaires autochtones dont certains sont chefs d'Etat ou de réaliser une *Unité Africaine de type latino-Américain*.

Cependant il existe une variante du néocolonialisme de redistribution qui tout en étant solidaire de la première forme dans le cadre de l'entente germano-américaine basée sur la vieille croisade anti-soviétique et certains objectifs économiques communs, trouve un terrain d'entente avec le néocolonialisme de statu-quo dans le cadre de l'association des pays Africains au Marché Commun Européen. Pour avoir encore plus d'avantages, dans les Etats clients français, le capita-

lisme allemand se livre à un véritable chantage vis-à-vis de la France en ayant recours à la fraternité aryanne pour laisser la porte ouverte du Marché Commun Européen à l'Angleterre et aux pays nordiques.

Cette position intermédiaire entre le néocolonialisme de redistribution et le néocolonialisme de statu quo permet au capitalisme allemand de s'accommoder de toutes des formes d'unité africaine d'obédience néocolonialiste et lui laisse une marge importante de manœuvre pour la conquête de ses propres états clients notamment dans ses anciennes colonies. Ce qui met évidemment le capitalisme allemand en conflit avec toutes les puissances néocolonialistes et plus particulièrement la France et la Grande-Bretagne.

Le néocolonialisme de statu-quo qui utilise, quant à lui, l'expérience de puissance coloniale africaine l'emprise intellectuelle et économique, la politique de subversions budgétaires, l'implantation militaire et des agents à sa dévotion dont la plupart sont chefs d'Etat, préfère des regroupements basés sur ce que sa propagande appelle "l'union verticale", c'est-à-dire l'inféodation des anciennes colonies à l'ancienne métropole. Ces regroupements d'ailleurs non exclusifs visent dans leur politique d'unité Africaine, soit à intégrer de nouveaux pays sur la base d'affinités linguistiques, soit à asseoir des régimes chancelants. *C'est ainsi que beaucoup ne cherchent dans l'unité Africaine que la constitution d'un véritable syndicat des faillits.*

Le néocolonialisme de statu-quo présente lui aussi une variante : celle de ceux qui, ayant trop longtemps compté sur la solidarité de leur regroupement intercontinental, sont dépassés par les événements. Ceux-là offrent, aujourd'hui, le spectacle pitoyable et pittoresque d'un impérialisme qui en est réduit tantôt à présenter, comme carte de visite, ses états clients africains pour se faire admettre dans la Communauté Economique Européenne, et tantôt à essayer, par tous les moyens, de faire revivre le tribalisme anglo-saxon.

RÉVOLUTION AFRICAINE ET COEXISTENCE

S'agissant du rapport des forces entre le camp impérialiste et le camp socialiste, il est clair que si la Révolution Africaine triomphe de l'impérialisme moribond et réalise l'Unité Africaine, par l'action dynamique et positive des peuples, qui seule garantit l'indépendance véritable et conditionne l'édification en Afrique d'une société socialiste et prospère, les forces du capitalisme seraient considérablement affaiblies.

C'est pourquoi parlant du rôle historique de la Révolution Africaine dans une déclaration exclusive à l'ETINCELLE, le Dr. NKRU-MAH a dit :

"Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui l'on a atteint un tel état d'équilibre qu'une seule voie s'offre à l'Humanité en dehors de sa propre destruction : celle de la coexistence.

"C'est pourquoi la Révolution Africaine ne peut accepter la moindre co-existence avec l'impérialisme."

GUERRE PERMANENTE CONTRE L'IMPERIALISME

L'HISTOIRE de la colonisation en Afrique c'est l'histoire de la lutte permanente, sous des formes variées, des peuples africains contre l'impérialisme.

Ce n'est qu'après des conflits souvent meurtriers et prolongés que les impérialistes ont pu établir leur domination sur l'ensemble du continent. Même pendant la période de consolidation des empires coloniaux, la résistance a continué, parfois sourde, parfois ouverte mais toujours hoyée dans le sang par les colonialistes. C'est dans cet esprit de résistance irréductible que le Mouvement de Libération en Afrique devait puiser ses forces pour s'organiser à la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale en un courant révolutionnaire qui a entraîné l'abandonnement sinon l'effondrement des empires coloniaux.

La manifestation la plus spectaculaire de cette victoire du Mouvement de Libération a été l'accession en 1960, de nombreux pays africains à l'indépendance.

Cette victoire cependant devait s'accompagner d'une défaite non moins spectaculaire et historique. Le refus catégorique opposé au néo-colonialisme par le peuple congolais avec à sa tête Patrice Lumumba, avait déclenché une épreuve de force qui présentait sous un jour cru les faiblesses du Mouvement de Libération et soulignait le caractère douteux de l'indépendance dont jouissant bon nombre de pays africains. Au même moment, il se révélait brutalement aux peuples africains que l'impérialisme avait clairement réalisé l'importance déterminante de la Révolution Africaine, et que face à cette révolution il avait élaboré toute une stratégie nouvelle.

LES LECONS DE LA CRISE CONGOLAISE

Dans ces conditions, et profitant de l'effet de surprise, l'impérialisme conduit par le néo-colonialisme de redistribution, l'emportait : Patrice Lumumba était assassiné, le Congo balkanisé et submergé par le néocolonialisme. Il ne restait plus aux peuples africains qu'à renforcer leur lutte en tirant de cette défaite historique les leçons qu'elle impose à savoir : premièrement, que la lutte pour l'indépendance ne saurait être fictive et l'unité africaine à moins d'être une escroquerie ne sauraient se départir un seul instant du cadre d'une lutte anti-impérialiste conséquente et sans relâche.

LES QUATRE POINTS DE LA NOUVELLE STRATEGIE IMPERIALISTE

Car la nouvelle stratégie impérialiste, si elle est contrainte d'éviter l'attaque de front pour ne pas provoquer une mobilisation anti-impérialiste plus grande des masses, n'en est pas moins plus perfide et plus dangereuse pour les peuples africains. Elle entend les prendre par l'action indirecte. Cette stratégie de l'impérialisme à l'époque du néo-colonialisme, est en effet la stratégie du velours. Elle comporte quatre points fondamentaux :

1—LA PENETRATION EN PROFONDEUR ;

2—LA BATAILLE DANS LA FOULE ;

3—LA GUERRILLA CONTRE-REVOLUTIONNAIRE ;

4 un point non encore révélé par les impérialistes mais qu'en est pas moins un point important de leur stratégie : l'AGRESSION ARMÉE CONTRE LES FOYERS REVOLUTIONNAIRES PAR LE TRUCHEMENT D'ETATS CLIENTS MONTES EN AGENTS PROVOCATEURS.

La pénétration en profondeur est le principe de base de la nouvelle stratégie impérialiste. C'est elle qui permet aux anciennes puissances coloniales de jouer, avec une habileté qui déconcerte les masses, la farce du grand départ au moment même ou elles tentent plus que jamais de renforcer leur implantation. C'est elle qui permet au néocolonialisme de redistribution de miner l'Afrique(au chant d'un prétendu anticolonialisme traditionnel et sous le couvert d'une assistance qui s'acquiert aisément au prix de la liberté.

TACTIQUE DE LA PENETRATION EN PROFONDEUR

La pénétration en profondeur consiste à placer dans les organisations de masse, dans tous les rouages des l'Etat et particulièrement dans les plus vitaux (Information, Parti, Diplomatie Economique Armée, Syndicats, Organisation de la Jeunesse, Education), des agents qui opèrent soit ouvertement soit clandestinement pour les intérêts du néocolonialisme sur le plan national ou continental. Cette tactique prend toujours au dépourvu les peuples. C'est par conséquent sur elle que les combattants de la libération et de l'unité africaine doivent plus que jamais concentrer leur vigilance. Il est bien souvent difficile aux masses populaires d'imaginer sous l'habit de leur Président de la République, un agent de l'impérialisme ; surtout lorsqu'au surplus ce dernier peut porter les lauriers d'un passé anticolonialiste plus ou moins tumultueux ou user d'une phraséologie pseudo-révolutionnaire. Il est difficile aux combattants de la libération d'imaginer leur compagnon, couvert par la gloire d'une décennie de lutte anticolonialiste, jouant dans l'om-

bre le jeu honteux de la trahison. Il leur faut une vigilance particulière pour découvrir sous un langage ultra-révolutionnaire doublé d'une ruse politique de renard les sombres machinations qui tentent de conduire la lutte vers une voie de garage.

L'ARMEE DES AGENTS

Le fait indéniable que l'impérialisme a réussi à installer à travers l'Afrique un nombre impressionnant d'agents est tout simplement une réalité objective que ni la présomption, ni une fierté nationale, ou un esprit de parti mal compris ne sauraient effacer. La cinquième colonne de l'impérialisme comprend désormais des agents de tout calibre : des Chefs d'Etat ou de gouvernement, des ministres et députés, des chefs de services administratifs et de officiers des Forces Publiques, des dirigeants syndicaux et des responsables ou cadres de partis politiques et d'organisation de la jeunesse, et même des la jeunesse, et même des ministres du culte de toutes les religions.

LES TYPES D'AGENTS

L'armée des agents s'est constituée et grossit toujours ses rangs selon un processus adapté aux exigences des politiques coloniales et aux réalités des différentes époques de la domination impérialiste. Ce processus comporte deux phases : celle de la politique d'assimilation, et celle de l'exploitation des contradictions de classes au sein de la masse des colonisés.

Dans la première phase, le colonisateur, qu'il soit français, anglais, portugais ou belge, s'efforce d'assimiler aussi bien à sa culture qu'à son mode de vie une partie nécessairement infime de la population. Par ce moyen, il s'attache de manière indéfectible ses principaux agents de liaison avec la population, et ses principaux auxiliaires dans l'administration de la colonie. Ces africains ainsi coupés de leur milieu social et culturel, et intimement convertis à la cause de la colonisation, constituent le type de l'agent assimilé. L'indépendance nationale, même formelle, leur paraît un paradoxe. Dans le cadre même de

cette indépendance ils demeurent fidèles à leurs convictions profondes : à savoir que la colonisation a été, voire demeure une nécessité vitale et bénéfique pour les peuples d'Afrique, et que cette indépendance, comme tout autre phénomène politique, social, économique ou culturel, ne saurait être viable que basée sur un lien "indissoluble" avec le colonisateur, sous une forme ou sous une autre.

Avec l'extension de l'administration coloniale, des petites villes et de points de traite vers les campagnes, l'accroissement du nombre d'ouvriers salariés et leur organisation au sein de mouvements syndicaux, et l'entrée de la masse des paysans dans la vie politique de plus en plus intense, marquée par le Mouvement de Libération, les agents assimilés du colonialisme deviennent rapidement insuffisants. Dès lors, en plus des agents assimilés dont la fidélité est garantie l'impérialisme trouve de nouveaux agents aux caractéristiques différents. Ces agents lui sont d'autant plus nécessaires qu'ils sont issus de secteurs les plus représentatifs de l'immense majorité de la population (syndicats co-opératives), des couches socialement les plus influentes et politiquement les plus actives. Il y parvient en contradictions de classes.

Les rares éléments bourgeois autochtones (gros planteurs, gros commerçants), la féodalité dont les intérêts sont ébranlés et le pouvoir menacé par les contre-coup sociaux du Mouvement de Libération, pratiquent une politique constante de recherche d'alliés extérieurs puissants. Aussi, qu'ils soient au sien du Mouvement de Libération ou qu'ils lui opposent une résistance ouverte, ces éléments trouvent-ils avec la main tendue de l'impérialisme des garanties qui satisfont à leur volonté de faire prospérer leurs intérêts propres dans le cadre d'un régime néo-colonialiste, ou leur assurent tant bien que mal la consolidation d'un pouvoir incertain. Ce sont là des agents alliés.

Dans les Mouvement de masse, qu'ils soient politiques, syndicaux, ethniques ou religieux, l'ignorance ou le rejet des principes d'organisation scientifiques, liés à un niveau d'éducation relativement bas, conduisent à des méthodes d'organisation et de travail copiées sur le milieu social environnant ou sur les formes traditionnelles d'organisation sociale. Les formes d'organisation féodales et petite-bourgeoises réduisent les masses au rôle de sujettes et de clientèle. Elles créent au niveau des éléments dirigeants peu conscients ou peu convaincus un esprit féodal ou petit bourgeois en contradiction avec leur origine de classes et les objectifs de leur lutte.

C'est ainsi qu'en Afrique nombre de dirigeants syndicaux, de chefs de partis ou d'autres organisations de masses en arrivent aux hésitations, aux tergiversations hypocrites qui estompent toute volonté réelle de lutte effective contre l'impérialisme, et qui ouvrent la porte à l'aventure. Car, dès lors, les masses ne sont plus pour cette catégorie d'africains qu'un moyen pour la réalisation d'ambitions personnelles, une clientèle qui leur permet d'aborder avec le plus d'atouts le grand marchandage avec l'impérialisme à qui ils vendent aux enchères les nobles aspirations de leur peuple. C'est le type de l'agent recruté, le plus vil de tous, celui qui s'établit par un acte de trahison. Il compte en Afrique d'innombrables échantillons; syndicalistes et politiciens en faillite, chefs ou "représentants" de groupes ethniques ou religieux..., autant d'hommes que l'impérialisme utilise dans la mesure où les masses ne les ont pas découverts, mais qu'il rejette telles des oranges pressées dès que les peuples les démasquent et les vomissent.

Aux côtes de ces trois principaux types d'agents gravitent la plupart des représentants de la petite bourgeoisie amoncelés par l'impérialisme et sa stratégie néo-colonialiste, ignorants du pouvoir créateur du peuple, ont choisi la voie de la résignation. Ils jouent avec le feu de la Révolution Africain. Ils tremblent devant

l'impérialisme qu'ils considèrent comme un géant dont il est impossible de venir à bout. Ils s'agit là d'agents résignés. Quelques chances s'offrent encore à ces hommes pour rejoindre le sillage de la Révolution à moins qu'ils ne persévèrent dans la voie qu'ils ont empruntée, celle de leur propre perte. Car l'impérialisme, s'il est plus que jamais un géant agressif et puissant, n'en demeure pas moins un géant aux pieds d'argile, un tigre en papier; et la Révolution africaine passe par la liquidation des agents.

LES RESEAUX

Pour permettre à l'action nocive et paralysante de ses hommes un rendement maximum, l'impérialisme les dispose à travers le continent en un double réseau, ouvert et masqué, et au niveau de chaque pays, en un double réseau également ouvert et masqué.

L'ECHELLE DU CONTINENT

Le réseau Continental Ouvert : est constitué par des Chefs d'Etat, de gouvernement, des dirigeants syndicaux, des chefs ou cadres de partis qui coordonnent leur action en se présentant ouvertement comme d'obédience impérialiste et ne se cachent pas de travailler pour les intérêts du néo-colonialisme.

Le Réseau Continental masqué : est celui des chefs d'Etat, de gouvernement, des dirigeants syndicaux, des chefs ou cadres de partis dont le confusionnisme pseudo-révolutionnaire, les inextricables contradictions apparentes servent avec une efficacité particulière les desseins du néo-colonialisme dans la mesure où ils réussissent au mieux à dissiper les énergies des forces révolutionnaires, à les enliser dans des conflits stériles ou à les démobiliser.

SUR LE PLAN DE CHAQUE PAYS

Le Réseau Intérieur ouvert réunit les forces réactionnaires habituelles attardées du régime colonial. Elles opèrent ouvertement selon les signes de l'impérialisme.

Le Réseau intérieur masqué est constitué dans chaque pays les agents infiltrés au sein du Mouvement de libération, que ce dernier

soit ou non au pouvoir. La tâche principale de ce réseau est de désorienter le Mouvement de Libération vers des objectifs réactionnaires d'en provoquer l'éclatement ou l'asphyxie de favoriser l'action des réseaux ouverts ou l'action directe de l'impérialisme.

LA FIN DES FAILLIS

L'UNE des faiblesses fatales des réseaux ainsi mis sur pied, c'est qu'ils sont l'oeuvre de divers impérialismes dont les intérêts sont de manière quasi permanente en conflit.

L'aggravation des contradictions internes de l'impérialisme s'ajoute partant à l'inlassable lutte des peuples, pour provoquer des mutations violentes au sein des réseaux, des chocs, ou des éclatements. C'est la raison pour laquelle les agents de l'impérialisme vivent aujourd'hui dans le désarroi. Ils sont pris en chasse par la montée de la colère des peuples contre le néo-colonialisme. Ils sont pris dans le tourbillon des règlements de comptes entre impérialisme, règlements où ils ont maintenant conscience de jouer aussi leur carrière politique sinon leur peau. Leur tentative de constituer

un syndicat des faillis sous le couvert du noble objectif de l'Unité Africain n'est pas en mesure de les sauver : pour les peuples africains en lutte, c'est déjà une manoeuvre cousue de fil blanc. Les faillis marchent inexorablement vers leur triste fin.

En les démasquant et en précipitant leur chute, en renforçant la nécessaire vigilance, l'organisation l'éducation des forces révolutionnaires, les combattants de la Libération et de l'Unité Africaines mettront en échec le premier point de la nouvelle stratégie impérialiste.



BOOK REVIEW

"AWAKENING AFRICA" (Vol. 1)

by Staff Writer

IT is appropriate at this moment when the African nationalist leaders are obsessed with the task of finding ways to promote African Unity after achieving independence, a book bearing on the subject should have been published. It is "Awakening Africa", an epitome of the historical facts about the evolution of African Unity.

But any concept of African Unity is unreal except the process is preceded by political emancipation. This book although primarily concerned with the various aspects of African Unity, it essayed to piece together the history of the struggle for Africa's liberation.

The idea of African renaissance gave birth to the concept of Africanism, originated by the Africans who were shipped away and sold into slavery in the Western Hemisphere by white slave dealers.

Pan-African Congress

What was slavery was like alchemy which converted these Africans (Negroes) into the realisation of their rights as human beings like their masters.

The book also tells about the birth of the Pan-African Congress whose main aim centres upon the political and economic unity of the people of the African Continent.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester on October 15-21, 1945, started the real struggle for the attainment of these objectives of the movement.

A Resolution, of which Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was the architect, adopted and approved by the Congress formed the bedrock upon which the fight was based.

The Resolution among other things expressed belief in the rights of all peoples to govern themselves. It recognised the fact that the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples was the first step towards, and necessary pre-requisite to, complete social economic and political emancipation.

African Unity

It is noted that while the 1954 Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester was a milestone in the struggle to liberate Mother Africa, the Conference of the Heads of Independent African States, initiated by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and held in Accra on April 15-22, 1958, just a year after Ghana had gained independence, cut the first sop of African Unity.

For the first time in the history of Africa, Heads of independent African states (eight in all at that time) were gathered together under one roof to discuss common problems facing the African continent, especially the "forging of closer links of friendship, brotherhood, co-operation and solidarity between them;" in other words, the founding of African Unity.

Other significant milestones in promoting and fostering African Unity include the Conakry Meeting of May 1, 1959, the Sannequille Summit (in Liberia), on July 15-19, 1960 and the Addis-Ababa Conference on June 1960.

"Awakening Africa" is a priceless book, scholarly-written and pregnant with great knowledge about the evolution of African Unity. The printing is clear and is illustrated with African Unity conference pictures.

The foreword by Mr. A. K. Barden, Director of the Bureau of African Affairs, who wrote in his personal capacity and he alone accepts responsibility for the contents of the book, is a masterpiece.

For a long time to come people would resort to the pages of this book to refresh their memory about the facts relating to the fight for Africa's Liberation and Unity. This is a book worthy of being preserved for the edification of future generation.

Editorial

Continued from page 1

The company is so satisfied with its South Africa operations that its chairman has said that "the significant feature of our present phase of expansion is that we are seeking not only to develop new mines covering a wider range of minerals than in the past, but also to extend our interests into industry."

No doubt, the company is thriving upon cheap African labour inherent in the system of white domination in South Africa.

The revolutionary task of the workers of South Africa therefore becomes that of positive action directed towards total disruption of the South African economy.