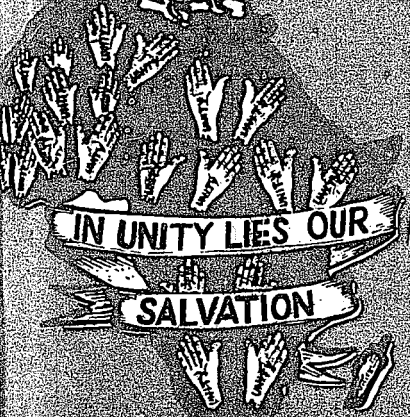


Voice of AFRICA



IN UNITY LIES OUR

SALVATION



ABOVE all, we have emerged at a time when a continental land mass like Africa with its population approaching three hundred million are necessary to the economic capitalisation and profitability of modern productive methods and techniques. Not one of us working singly and individually can successfully attain the fullest development. Certainly, in the circumstances, it will not be possible to give adequate assistance to sister states trying, against the most difficult conditions, to improve their economic and social structures. Only a united Africa functioning under a Union Government can forcefully mobilise the material and moral resources of our separate countries and apply them efficiently and energetically to bring a rapid change in the conditions of our people.

—DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

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OUR OPINION

TOWARDS CONTINENTAL UNITY

THE foundation stone of African Unity was well and truly laid at Addis Ababa and we can say with pride that our leaders who attended the Summit Conference have proved to the world and especially to the dismay of the imperialists and their lackeys that, after all, the African is quite capable of governing himself in common unity despite all the imaginary difficulties of which our avowed detractors make so much capital.

Undoubtedly, we are all aware that much more lies ahead of our leaders and having successfully cleared the first hurdle they should not rest on their oars but be ever vigilant, because the enemy is still trying to infiltrate into our midst, and plan for that continental unity without which the Organisation of African Unity would be a mirage.

What all Africa is looking forward to is a united Africa: unlike the United Nations, for example, where groupings are formed and pressures develop in accordance with the interests of the groups concerned nor is it desirable to have Africa into a loose organisation such as the American States, in which the weaker states within it can be at the mercy of the stronger or more powerful ones politically and economically and all at the mercy of some powerful outside nation or group.

Addis Ababa spelt the death knell to all the various groupings and regional blocs. In effect, there does not now exist a Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union nor a Monrovia or Casablanca group as such, and it will be in the interest of all African states to note that the encouragement of regional blocs by outside powers, ostensibly for the purpose of granting aid is a calculated ruse on the part of neo-colonialists to break the so-

(Turn to page 2)

(Continued from page 1)

solidarity and unity for which so much has been sacrificed and for which we have worked so tirelessly.

Co-operation among African States in the past has not given us the continental identity (as it was encouraged by colonialists) and the political and economic force which would help us to deal effectively with the complicated problems confronting us in Africa today. A United Africa will provide greater central bargaining power to negotiate for assistance from foreign sources and the choice of sources will not be restricted.

In continental unity lies our strength, political, economic and defence. The urgent need, therefore, is to pursue this objective relentlessly to avoid pitfall of a far worse colonialism and to mobilise the material and moral resources of our separate countries to bring a better standard of life to our people. This is a sacred trust and our leaders will not fail us.

Vigilance should be our watchword! It would be a fruitless endeavour if our leaders would allow themselves to be used by the colonialists to divert us from our avowed objective.

We stand united, a mighty force against the intrigues of die-hard imperialism and neo-colonialism. We are wide awake to the intrigues and manoeuvres of the imperialists and we shall not be caught off our guard.

Away with groupings and regional blocs! Forward to African continental government!

EVIL REGIME

WORLD opinion against the sacrilegious practice of apartheid in the tottering Verwoerd regime has given strength and momentum to Africans in South Africa and in Salazar's Portugal where, the struggle for liberation from discrimination on grounds of colour, continues unabated.

In addition to economic measures which are being implemented to ostracize South Africa on account of its die-hard apartheid policy, action is also being taken in the fields of entertainment, culture and sports to prove to the racialists that their days are numbered.

Forty-eight prominent playwrights have agreed to ban performances of their plays in South Africa "in any theatre where discrimina-

tion is made among audiences on grounds of colour". In a public declaration they have stated that they will insist in future on having a clause in their contracts automatically refusing performing rights in any theatre where colour discrimination is practised "as an expression of their personal repugnance to the policies of apartheid."

The authors supporting the ban organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement include such names as J. B. Priestley, Dauphne Du Maurier, Graham Greene, Bernard Miles, John Osborne and many other well-known personalities of stage and screen.

The writing is clearly on the wall that despite Verwoerd's desperate attempt to raise a formidable fighting force equipped with the latest weapons of destruction aided and abetted by other imperialist powers who think of the lives of human beings in terms of cold cash and as fodder for war, the days of apartheid and all that it entails are numbered.

The eyes of the world are on South Africa and the perpetrators of atrocities and brutalities against Africans in that country should realise that evil will not endure forever; it may gain some temporary advantages but they should note that "the mill of God grinds slowly but surely."

These prophetic words were uttered by Emperor Haile Selassie I when he addressed the august body of the League of Nations at Geneva in 1934 when Italy had violated numerous treaties and public statements and embarked on an aggressive war against Ethiopia.

The representatives of the 52 member states heard his story in silence and in shame but were unable to stop the human carnage leashed on the ill-equipped Ethiopians by Mussolini's thugs.

These words were fulfilled when the whole world was plunged in war in 1939—the League of Nations died a natural death and Emperor Haile Selassie regained his kingdom.

History is repeating itself! The United Nations should exert itself more forcefully and implement the various resolutions passed against South Africa or it will face the same fate as the League of Nations?

Africans have taken up the challenge and will fight tooth and nail to break that unholy regime in Pretoria.

BIRTH OF AFRICAN UNITY

By

Dr. Yoshitaka Horiuchi

Ph.D., L.L.D., M.B.A. (Japan)

AFTER centuries of colonialist exploitation, a New Africa is born today," hailed President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana at the Addis Ababa Summit Conference when the heads of 32 African nations, representing 207 million people of 30 per cent of Africa, unanimously signed the Organization of African Unity Charter on May 25.

The most important turning point in modern history since the Afro-Asian Bandung Crusade for full freedom and racial equality, the OAU—superceding the Casablanca and Monrovia blocs—marks the beginning of a New Africa in the Atomic-Space Age.

The keynote of the OAU was the dramatic opening speech at the Summit Conference by the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, the martyr of collective security whom the Western leaders of the League of Nations sold out to appease Mussolini's Fascist Italy's aggression against the last "Free African nation" in 1935, told the African leaders: "We cannot leave here without creating a single African organization. If we fail in this, we will have shirked our responsibility to Africa and to the people we lead."

The OAU seeks to cement the unity, collective security, economic co-operation of African nations, total freedom from colonialism and aiding their 40 million brothers still under European colonialism to win

independence, non-alignment in the cold war between the "Red Russo-Chinese colonialism" and "White colonialism" blocs, international co-operation with the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE

The OAU is headed by an Assembly of the Heads of nations, meeting once a year and passing resolutions by two-thirds majority. A foreign ministers' council meets at least twice a year, passing resolutions by simple majority. Special commission for common defence, economic and social, culture, health, science, mediation and arbitration will be set up. A permanent secretariat will function all year-round.

History will long remember the foresighted Founding Fathers of the OAU—Ethiopian Emperor Selassie, Ghanaian President Dr. Nkrumah, United Arab Republic President Gamal Abdel Nasser, as well as the heads of state of Tunisia, Algeria, Mauritania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad, Central African Republic, Nigeria, Cameroon, Burundi, Tanganyika, Uganda, Somalia, Dahomey, Mali, Malagasy, Sudan, Gabon, Congo Brazzaville, Congo Leopoldville, Ruanda.

From a height of thought, the OAU symbolizes, what Vice-Presi-

dent Richard Nixon described in his report of his African Mission as President Dwight Eisenhower's representative in 1957, that: "Africa is emerging as one of the great forces in the world today."

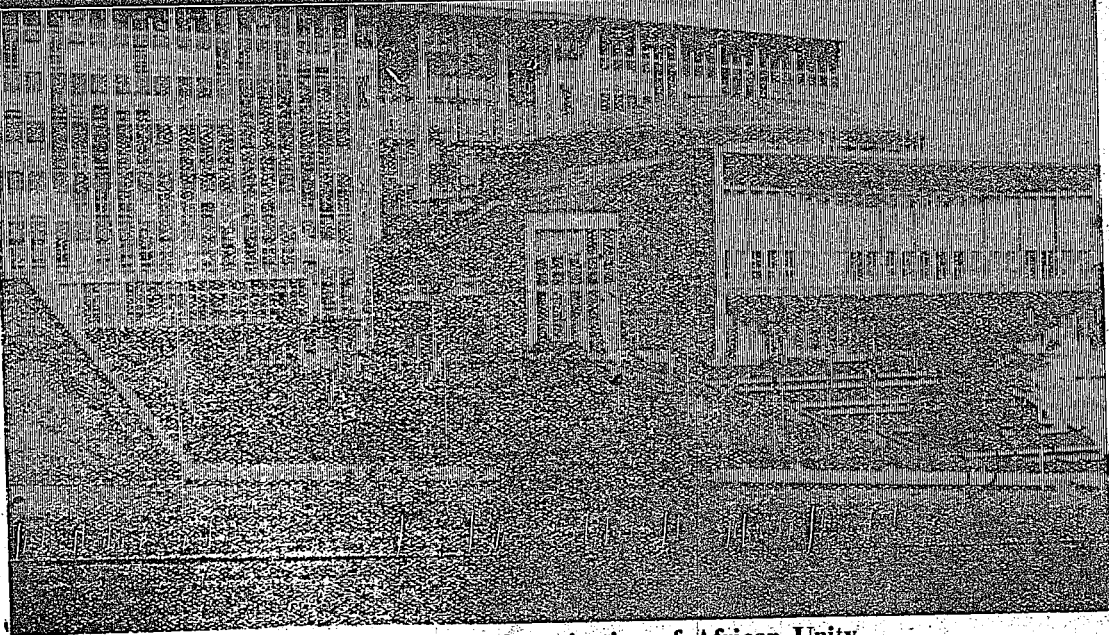
More realistically, the OAU is an answer to what the U.S. Assistant State Secretary Ambassador Henry Byroade in his "World's Colonies and Ex-Colonies" writes that many Afro-Asian leaders fear that "Western nations might through the back door reintroduce colonialism." President Dr. Nkrumah warned the Addis Ababa Summit of this neo-colonialism, and urged the creation of a United States of Africa to safeguard their hard-won freedom after centuries of tears. Is it any wonder that both President John Kennedy and Premier Nikita Khrushchev sent congratulatory messages to the African Unity Summit Conference?

The OAU, symbolizing the New African revolution of rising expectations, necessitates our new outlook towards Africans. Much of our thinking regarding Africans, frankly, are perverted "remnants of white racist-colonialism propaganda and Negro slavery stereotype," notes the eminent Pakistani statesman Mohamed Ali's "The Task Before Us":

"It (Western racism) perverted world history and literature. Even though Western dominance is barely two centuries old (1757-1905), most Europeans writers treat history as the march of the superior Western races to their place of pre-eminence in the world. Every original thought, every invention (including Arab science), every high aspiration (including Asian Christianity) is appropriated to the West."

This racism, warns Oswald Spengler's "Decline of the West," has perverted the Truth, necessitating a new outlook of Afro-Asians. White master racism today is the Western Achilles heel, and the Communist Russo-Chinese best cold war weapon, to win the support of the Afro-Asian third world holding the balance of power in the two worlds cold war.

(Turn to page 4)



Birthplace of the Organisation of African Unity

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WHAT IS RACE

The truth is, the popular geographic interpretation of race erroneously viewing all black, white, brown, yellow people of African as "blackman," of Europe as "white-man," of Asia as "yellowman"—is childish and stupid. UNESCO'S "What Is Race?," written by fourteen famous American and European ethnologists, notes "the similarity of bone structure, of the delicate, internal organs, of the complex nervous system in all human beings." The same A. B. AB, O blood types in all (man-made) races, "make it apparent that we had only one common ancestor."

From the common cradle of birth in Central Asia-note the UNESCO "What Is Race?," Dr. Carleton Coon's "Races of Europe." Dr. J. Lipscomb's "White Africans"—mankind emigrated in all directions over the then continuous land to America, Australia, Africa, Europe. The 77 billion babies born since our common ancestor began about 300,000 B.C. until June, 1963 have all been brothers under the skin-mongrels, Hopeless-

ly mongrel! And no race or nation, writes Dr. R. Garth's "Race Psychology," ever had more than a "temporary advantage over another." Indeed, Afro-Asians dominated Europeans for a comparatively longer period.

Contrary to popular opinion, Africa has played yesterday, and is destined to play tomorrow, a far more important role in the history of mankind than many realize. The Egyptian Ambassador Osman Ebeid writes that "We (Africans) had a great civilization (for thousands of years) when Europe was still a crawling barbarian child." The Greek imitation of the superior Afro-Asian Agricultural Revolution began the first civilization in Europe, marking the birth later of the Graeco-Roman civilization in South Europe.

After the fall of Rome until Columbus' discovery of America (1476-1492), for one thousand years African-Asian supremacy dominated semi-barbaric Dark Ages Europe. The British Professor W. Friendman's "Introduction to World Politics" writes, "the East has dominated the West," particularly during 573 years (711-1284/1492) when

"the (African) Arabs were not only physical masters of southern Europe, but the centre of a civilization which had absorbed Greek, Jewish and Christian influences." Professor P. Hitti's "History of the Arabs," World History Encyclopaedia, Alghani Education Minister and U.N. Ambassador Dr. Najib Ullah's "Islamic Literature" notes that the Arab colony, Moslem Spain, was "the most civilized" and "the greatest intellectual centre of Europe" having the only universities in medieval Europe where Europeans went to study science.

"In science (physics, chemistry, trigonometry, algebra, astronomy, etc.), medicine, music, military arts, architecture, academic life, in short in all fields of civilization the (Arab) Moslems at that time were the teachers and semi-barbaric Europeans were the pupils," explained Dr. Omar Malik, Ambassador to Japan and West Germany, and former Junjab University Vice-Chancellor, at the Afro-Asian-American PR Tokyo Conference.

...all God's children,
 One family here!
 Surely, not all in vain!

INSOLVENT PORTUGAL SPENDS £26M. ON DEFENCE

BIG BUSINESS GOES TO RESCUE

AFTER the rebellion in Angola, the Portuguese economy was approaching a state of collapse. The effort of repressing the liberation movements in her African colonies is more than backward, tottery Portugal can survive on her own.

This year Portugal is spending £26 million on defence. The bill has risen four times what it was before the rebellion in Angola.

Now she has trouble in all her African colonies.

And international Big Business is coming to Portugal's rescue.

It is estimated in Lisbon that by the end of this year about £60 million of foreign capital will have

been injected into Portugal and her African "possessions" since 1958. The biggest investor is West Germany. The powerful Krupps organisation has been pumping 3,000,000 tons of iron ore by the end of next year.

Next most important investor is Japan, followed by the United States. Britain has not been forthcoming in the way of capital investment, but she is an important customer for Portuguese port wine, cork and canned fish. Now she has licenced the manufacture in Portugal of shirts, shoes and raincoats for the British market.

Motor car manufacturers from various parts of the world have invested £12 million in assembly plants in Portugal. West Germany is also loaning £12 million at the low interest rate of three-and-one-third per cent. But Portugal is still £37 million short for her six year development plan.

Some of the aid is spent on projects within Portugal itself. Other aid goes direct to Africa. But the Portuguese domestic economy is closely integrated with that in Angola and Mozambique. Indeed, Portugal regards these territories as "integral parts of Portugal".

Portuguese revenues from Africa keep the home economy going. All aid to Portugal helps her to maintain her grip on her financially lucrative African empire.

NATIONALIST FORCES INFLICT CASUALTIES

In a press release issued by the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands it is claimed that on June 9 PAIGC fighters led by Comrade Marga made a surprise attack on the Portuguese boat "Cabo S. Vicente" which entered the Canochaque river bringing reinforcements. In the encounter, several enemy soldiers were wounded and some died as a result of their wounds.

On June 10, Comrade Marga's PAIGC jungle fighters attacked 3 trucks on duty on the road to Bédanda. There were two dead and several wounded.

Three enemy boats at Cadique port on the left bank of the river Combijan were attacked by PAIGC fighters led by Comrade Amadou Djallo. The enemy was routed.

Silvino DA LUZ, a Lieutenant in the Portuguese Colonial army in

Angola, a Cape Verdian and member of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands who deserted on February 17, 1963, when passing through Kano Airport, has arrived at the General Secretariat of our organisation, to continue the fight against Portuguese colonialism.

Lieutenant MURA PINENTA, a Portuguese who deserted the colonial army in the so-called Portuguese Guinea, on 25th May 1963, left Conakry on June 27, to join the other democratic Portuguese to fight against the fascist-colonial regime of Salazar.

Before his departure, Lieutenant MURA PINENTA, wanted to express through the world press, his gratitude for the cordial relations shown him by our fighting Party.

On the other hand, as a result of the questioning of the Portuguese

Air pilot, Antonio LOBATO, arrested on May 22 1963 by our jungle fighters and well treated like any other prisoner of war, there is some suspicion regarding his behaviour.

These doubts as well as the pilot's responsibility in bombing our population and villages demand that the matter should be carefully considered.

ON JUNE 5:— During one of the clashes that took place in Combijan area, three enemy soldiers were killed by the PAIGC jungle fighters who were led by Comrade CASIMIRO FERNANDES.

ON JUNE 11:— At the port of Jabada, on the left bank of the river Geba, four Portuguese vedette boats carrying reinforcement were sunk by the PAIGC jungle fighters commanded by comrade N'Tchampo.

ON JUNE 13:— In Calaque region, the PAIGC fighters under the command of CORONA, attacked two trucks carrying Portuguese soldiers. The enemy lost 13 soldiers and several of those who fled were wounded.

CONTINENTAL GOVERNMENT BEST SUITED FOR AFRICA—Kwame

GHANA under the dynamic leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has been in the forefront of the fight for African Unity and for freedom and independence for African colonies still under repressive colonial rule.

Conferences of incalculable interest to Africans have been held on the initiative of Ghana at which important matters concerning the plight of African colonies still under the iron rule of imperialists have been discussed and policies and strategies adopted towards the final goal of liberation and the fulfilment of our aspiration to govern ourselves.

To mention a few, the conference of Independent African States held in 1958 and the All African Peoples' Conference held in December of the same year. Guinea and Ghana came together and formed a Union which was regarded as the nucleus for the achievement of African Unity, to be joined later by the republic of Mali. There was also the Casablanca Conference.

It is apparent that apart from the initial success of these groupings there was the need for a broader unity among African States for conserving their resources for the advancement of the whole continent and some African leaders who had seen the light had been working seriously towards that ideal. One of these leaders is no other than Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

It is, therefore appropriate, in the circumstances, that on the eve of the Addis Ababa Conference one of the initiators of the move for African Unity, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah should address his colleagues on the advisability of joining

a union which should lead eventually to continental unity and government.

In his message Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah referred to the "superficial differences existing among us which the colonial powers

have successfully emphasised and exaggerated in the past:

"I am convinced that under such a proposal all frontier disputes, economic difficulties, political disagreements among African States and neo-colonialism, still hanging like



Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah... a tireless worker for African Unity and continental government

the sword of Damocles over the Independent African States, can all be resolved within the framework of a Union Government of African States.

"In a united Africa, there would be no frontier claims between Ethiopia and Somalia, Zanzibar and Kenya, Guinea and Liberia, Mauritania and Mali or between Togo and Ghana, because we would regard ourselves as one great continental family within a Union of African States. There is no time to waste, for we must unite now or perish, since no single African State is large or powerful enough to stand on its own against the unbridled imperialist exploitation of her men and resources and the growing complexities of the modern world.

1. A COMMON FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMACY

"There are some sixty odd States in Africa, about thirty-two of which are at present independent. The burden of separate diplomatic representation by each State on the Continent of Africa alone would be crushing, not to mention representation outside Africa. The desirability of a Common Foreign Policy which will enable us to speak with one voice in the councils of the world is so obvious, vital and imperative that comment is hardly necessary.

2. COMMON CONTINENTAL PLANNING FOR ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA

"The resources of Africa can be used to the best advantage and the maximum benefit to all only if they are set within an over-all framework of a continental planned development. An over-all economic plan, covering an Africa united on a continental basis would increase our total industrial and economic power. We should therefore be thinking seriously now of ways and means of building up a Common Market of a United Africa and not allow ourselves to be lured by the dubious advantages of association with the so-called European Common Market. We in Africa have

looked outward too long for the development of our economy and transportation. Let us begin to look inwards into African Continent for all aspects of its development. Our communications were devised under colonial rule to stretch outwards towards Europe and elsewhere, instead of developing internally between our cities and states. Political Unity should give us the power and will to change all this. We in Africa have untold agricultural, mineral and water-power resources. These almost fabulous resources can be fully exploited and utilized in the interest of Africa and the African people, only if we develop them within a Union Government of African States.

3. A COMMON CURRENCY, A MONETARY ZONE AND A CENTRAL BANK OF ISSUE

"The advantages of this would be inestimable, since monetary transactions between our several States would be facilitated and the pace of financial activity generally quickened. A Central Bank of Issue is an inescapable necessity, in view of the needs to orientate the economy of Africa and place it beyond the reach of foreign control.

4. A COMMON DEFENCE SYSTEM

"Because we do not yet have a common system of defence, some African countries feel insecure and have therefore naturally entered into defence pacts with foreign Governments. This endangers the security of all Africa.

The present practice whereby each State tries to establish its own individual defence system is intolerably expensive at a time when money is most urgently needed for the compelling task of education and other social welfare activities. Some attempt has already been made by the Casablanca Powers and the Afro-Malagasy Union in the matter of common defence, but how much better and stronger it would be, if instead of two such ventures there were one over-all

(land, sea and air) Defence Command for Africa?

"In the penultimate paragraph of the message, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah advocated the creation of a Central Political Organisation with its own Constitution which would have to be drawn as a matter of urgency. He goes on to explain in detail the composition of the Union of African States.

"To implement the above proposal, a Central Political Organisation with its own constitution would have to be drawn up as a matter of urgency. It is suggested that "this Union of African States should consist of an Upper House and a Lower House. Each State would have the right to send two representatives to the Upper House, irrespective of the size and population of the State; while admission to the Lower House would be secured on the basis of proportional representation in accordance with the population of each State. *This proposal does not in any way interfere with the internal constitutional arrangements of any State.* The overriding concern of the Union of African States would be to give political direction in regard to the implementation of the proposals mentioned above. From the standpoint of accessibility, the Central African Republic could provide the most central site for the *Union Government*, if the right approach is made."

Let us hope, in the words of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, that "the gates of continental unity will be flung wide open and Africa will be able to speak with one voice and some authority to the world".

Our Subscribers

As a result of some technical difficulties the "Voice of Africa" has not been appearing regularly every month as before.

We wish to assure our numerous subscribers that these difficulties have now been overcome and "Voice of Africa" will be produced monthly as from August, 1963.

THE BANISHED

By
EARL DENMAN

THEY GIVE STRENGTH TO AFRICAN NATIONALISM

IMPRISONMENT and banishment by the notorious and power drunk leaders of the apartheid regime in Pretoria will not weaken nor dampen the spirit of African nationalists: unlawfully imprisoned and languishing in the dungeons in Pretoria.

It rather gives more potency to the liberation movement and to those who have taken over the fight from these leaders.

The voice of Kenneth Mosenyi is typical of the type of African leadership which is needed in the apartheid regime of Verwoerd. What matters is bravery and courage. Mosenyi will not go on his knees and ask for freedom as a favour. He will not be tempted to betray his country and his people for a kingdom if he is promised one.

The dynamic spirit of African nationalism cannot be stemmed in its raging path to liberation and freedom for our brothers still suffering under the pangs of colonialism.

Africa is on the march! Our cause is right and no power on earth can stop the fury of our awakening nationalism. We shall trample over colonialism and neo-colonialism and live as free men in our own land. Every nationalist should read "Voices" and be imbued with and rededicated to the noble cause of nationalism and unity.

Huddled against roofless walls they lie

Dispirited, and broken as the walls. Perhaps, on the morrow they will die

Or, living, will not heed what fate befalls,

Vaguely existing like unwilling shadows

Voiceless and echoless and impotent.

The blood in their veins is a stream that flows

Only downward, without power of ascent.

Titanic longings make their only prayer

A prayer for death. They have surrendered

All but the broken body, and despair

Is the only hope since God has not heard

Their frequent pleas.

Perhaps Death

Will accept them soon. Otherwise the tide

Changes not for them; nor does the sun

Bring seasonal plenty. How can they hold pride,

Being hungry? Or know of further pain,

Being full of it? How is beauty known,

Or love, or peace, unless they come again?

And how is kindness or mercy shown

By avenging angels?

Our apathy

Imprisons us, our guilt walls us in. Fear

VOICE OF STEPHEN NKAID- MENG, BANISHED FROM SEKHUKUNLAND

Except for this!

Nkadimeng is not afraid.

Nkadimeng is all right. He is beyond hurt but not beyond caring.

How are my people?

Is the Government weakening, are my people getting stronger?

Nkadimeng speaks from afar, from the wilderness, but not from an empty heart.

There is much time for thought here, but little does Nkadimeng think about himself.

His thoughts are not here.

They are with his people.

Should you think of me, then think of this:

Nkadimeng is not worried.

The struggle of my people goes on.

VOICE OF KENNETH MOSENYI BANISHED FROM ZEERUST

This is what matters, bravery.

This is what counts, courage.

Mosenyi has both.

Enough and to spare.

A Government official says:

I should write to the Minister in Pretoria,

Asking to be sent home.

Me, Mosenyi the militant! Ask? Plead?

And lose honour?

The minister put me here. It is not for me

To go on my knees and ask

For freedom as a favour.

No, I shall not heed the voice of the temptor

Though I be promised a kingdom.

Here is my kingdom, here

In the heart of Mosenyi.

Bars our way, changes light into dark. See

The accused are free. Search, they are not here.

And so, wearied, we leave them where they lie.

Dispirited and broken till they die.

BOYCOTT GOODS

FROM

PORTUGAL

AND

SOUTH AFRICA

MAY — JULY, 1963 9

GRAVE SITUATION LIKELY IN Sⁿ RHODESIA IF....

GHANA has warned Britain of the grave situation likely to arise if, as a result of British legislation, further powers were conferred upon the present white minority regime in Southern Rhodesia.

The warning is contained in a Government Note, handed on July 4 to Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, British High Commissioner in Ghana, by Foreign Minister Kojo Botsio and released in Accra on July 9.

This timely action taken by the Government underlines clearly the persistent and consistent role which it has pursued in the acceleration of the dependent African territories ever since she attained her independence in 1957. Many conferences of historical importance have been held in Accra under the aegis of Osagyefo more than anywhere else in Africa. These conferences have carved the path and strategy to liberation movements throughout the whole continent of Africa culminating in the record achievement of independence by 24 dependent territories.

Ghana has for some time been a lone voice in the wilderness sharing every bit of her resources at great sacrifice with her less fortunate brothers in their struggle to achieve their freedom. But now that the mantle has fallen on the United hands of the 82 leaders of Africa, let us hope that the struggle will be pursued with the same pace, fortitude, understanding and self-abnegation for the greater objective — Union of African States.

In the Note, therefore, Ghana has acted in accordance with Article 111 (6) of the Charter of African Unity. The full text of the Note, follows:

GHANA WARNS

The Minister of Foreign Affairs presents his compliments to the British High Commissioner and has the honour to refer to the grave situation likely to arise if, in consequence of the Bill introduced in the British House of Commons on July 3, further powers are conferred upon the present Government of the British Colony of Southern Rhodesia.

The British Government will be aware that at the meetings of Heads of States and Governments of the Independent African States held at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia from 22nd to 25th May, 1963, various resolutions were unanimously agreed by the Heads of States and Governments there present.

Among other matters which were thus agreed upon was a Declaration "that the forcible imposition by the colonial powers of the settlers to control the governments and administration of the dependent territories is a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the legitimate inhabitants of the territories concerned." Further, the Heads of States and Governments there present invited "the colonial powers, particularly Britain with regard to Southern Rhodesia, not to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to foreign minority governments imposed upon the African peoples by the use of force and under cover of racial legislation". The Heads of States and Governments declared that in their view "any transfer of this kind would amount to a violation of the provisions of the United Nations Resolution 1514 on Independence".

Since Ghana and Britain are the only two members of the Commonwealth represented on the Security Council, and since it is likely that these issues may be discussed in

the near future in that body, it is only proper that the Government of Ghana should make clear in advance to the British Government its views on this issue and the course of action which is likely to follow.

The British Government will appreciate that, following upon the proposed dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the powers and authorities of the former Federal Government can only be transferred to the colony of Southern Rhodesia by Act of the British Parliament.

Democratic Constitution

This puts the British Government in a position to do what it has always stated it was previously constitutionally unable to do, namely enact a democratic constitution for the colony of Southern Rhodesia and to comply with the Charter and the Resolutions of the United Nations.

The present constitutional position of Southern Rhodesia was established in 1953. In that year the British Parliament enacted The Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Act. This Act enabled the British Government by Order in Council to deprive the Government and Legislative Assembly of the colony of Southern Rhodesia of such powers as might be decided upon. Under authority of this Act the British Government enacted The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Constitution) Order in Council, 1953, which took from Southern Rhodesia the control of all those matters which are listed by authorities on Constitutional law as the essential attributes of a self governing Colony.

This Instrument provided, among other matters, that the Legislature of Southern Rhodesia should no longer have power to make laws in regard to nearly every matter of importance. Among these matters were everything relating to external affairs and defence, including the maintenance, training and administration of the present Federal Police Force. The Government of Southern Rhodesia was

further deprived of the power to impose any income tax or tax on profits, or upon the sale of goods. It was forbidden to levy any duties of customs or excise (other than duties on motor spirit). It was deprived of its previous control of the central banking system, and of currency, coinage and other similar matters. In the field of communications, the construction, alteration and maintenance of all main roads, railways, shipping, harbours and airfields were all taken from it. The Government of Southern Rhodesia also lost control over higher education, and even over agriculture, except where such agriculture should be designated as "African agriculture".

From this it will be clear that from 1953 onwards the Colony of Southern Rhodesia was in no sense self governing. Nevertheless, through the assistance of The Federal Government, the Government of Southern Rhodesia has been able despite its lack of power to deny the African population of almost every human right and to impose on them degrading social and economic conditions which continually have aroused the concern and condemnation of the United Nations.

Franchise Agreement

Up till now the British Government has never sought at the United Nations to defend the conduct of its Colonial Government in Southern Rhodesia. It has however sought to justify its failure to intervene by advancing the constitutional theory that owing to British Parliamentary "conventions" it has lost all power to legislate for the Colony. For reasons given later in this Note the Government of Ghana is unable to accept this argument, but assuming for the moment that it was correct, it is clearly and obviously no longer valid once the Federation is dissolved. A situation will then arise in which the Government of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia will only be able to continue its policy of oppression if the British Parliament transfers to it again those powers of government of which it was deprived in 1953.

According to the Commonwealth Relations Office List, 1963 (an official British publication) the provisional figure of European inhabitants of the Colony was, according to the census of 1961, 221,500. According to the same source, the preliminary results of a census held in April and May, 1962, showed that the African population of the Colony amounted to 3,610,000. There are thus over 16 African inhabitants in the Colony for every one European inhabitant. Nevertheless, the franchise arrangements enacted by Order in Council by the British Government in 1961, provide in practice that the African inhabitants have only the opportunity of electing at the most 15 members to the Legislature of the Colony, which has a membership of 65 in all. Even in the case where Africans can be elected, the franchise is so arranged that the European voters can have a decisive say in determining which African members should be chosen.

As the British Government is aware, the colonial Legislature of Southern Rhodesia has not only allotted 37 million acres of the best land in Southern Rhodesia to the 221,500 Europeans already there (and as a reserve for future Europeans immigrating, who on arrival are allocated a minimum of 750 acres) but it has also converted 4 million acres into "European National Parks". The 3,610,000 Africans are crowded into 44 million acres, a large proportion of which is officially classified as Class III, that is to say of poor granite —said soil.

Fiscal Policy

African farmers are not allowed crops, such as high grade fine cured tobaccos. The Southern Rhodesian Cold Storage Commission refuses to buy meat from any African farmer and the Grain Marketing Board will only purchase African grown maize at a much lower price than it pays to European farmers. African children must pay school fees ranging from £3 to £60, and their education is State subsidised only to the extent of £8 per head per year. European children pay no fees and their education is subsidised from public funds at the rate

of £107 per head per year. The taxation and fiscal policy of the Federation, supported by the Southern Rhodesian Government, has been to pay for the building up of European industry by raising the cost of living of the African people and by imposing and increasing indirect taxation on those commodities used almost exclusively by the African population.

Above all, the apartheid system of South Africa remains in full force and effect in the Colony. *The African inhabitants of the Colony are prevented from owning property in central urban areas and are in practice excluded from the professions and the Public Service. African constitutional, political or industrial activity is suppressed by the Southern Rhodesian legislation, such as The Unlawful Organisations Act, which is copied section by section from South African law.* Africans can have thus no legitimate political life and African industrial wages are kept to a fraction of that paid to European workers by the prevention of effective trade union action. Thus, while the European industrial worker enjoys an average wage or around 50 per cent in excess of the comparable wage paid in Britain, the African worker only receives one tenth of the wage rate of his British counterpart.

Correct Facts

The British Government has never argued at the United Nations that the facts set out above are incorrect. The British representatives have confined themselves to the argument that Britain is constitutionally precluded from dealing with admitted abuses and that the matter is not within the competence of the United Nations. The following statement made by Mr. Godber on behalf of the British Government to the Fourth Committee of the Assembly on 25th October, 1962, appears to the Government of Ghana to sum up the British position. Mr. Godber said, according to the official record—

"... From the middle of the 19th century, however, there had been a convention against Parliament legislating for self governing Colonies without their con-

sent and the same convention applied to Southern Rhodesia. This convention was now very powerful . . ."

A statement to the same effect was made in the British House of Commons on 8th November, 1961, by the Secretary for Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs, and this expression of British policy has been also quoted by British delegates during the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Mr. Duncan Sandys said—

" . . . Having nearly 40 years ago given a Constitution, which is virtually self government at home in Southern Rhodesia, it would be constitutionally improper and impracticable for us, without the consent of Southern Rhodesia, . . . to impose upon it a new Constitution with much wider representation to Africans, if we thought that was right and desirable . . ."

The Government of Ghana has never accepted these arguments as valid. Since 1953 the powers of self government possessed previously by the Government of Southern Rhodesia have been transferred to The Federation and the British Government and Parliament can certainly legislate for the Federation, and indeed this has been stated in the recent correspondence between the British Government and the Colonial Government in Southern Rhodesia.

Further, the constitutional principle now advanced by Britain runs contrary to previous British practice.

After the First World War, and up till 1936, the leading writers on British constitutional law always classed together Southern Rhodesia and Malta as self governing Colonies. The Malta Constitution of 1921, like that of Southern Rhodesia of 1923, was established by Letters Patent from the Crown made, as declared in the Malta Letters, in order to provide for the establishment of "responsible government" while there were slight differences in the constitutional

provisions in regard to these two Colonies, in the main it can be said that their Constitutions were identical. Nevertheless, in 1936 the British Government revoked the Constitution of Malta and substituted direct Colonial office rule without first obtaining in any way the agreement or consent of the Malta Legislature.

In such circumstances, the Government of Ghana fails to understand why the British Government is now denying that it possesses in regard to Southern Rhodesia the powers which it exercised in the case of Malta.

During the debates in the British Parliament on the Malta (Letters Patent) Act, 1936, which empowered the British Government to suspend the Maltese Constitution, it was significant that the existence of the convention referred to by Mr. Godber having existed "from the middle of the 19th century" was never mentioned by any of the speakers in either House who then represented the British political parties. The only occasion upon which it was raised was in the House of Lords by a former Prime Minister of Malta. In replying to him, the Earl of Plymouth, speaking on behalf of the then British Government, dismissed in these words this constitutional argument which, in regard to Southern Rhodesia, is now relied on by the British Government at the United Nations—

" . . . I have read all the documents I can find with regard to this particular point and nothing that I have read, and nothing that I have heard this afternoon, has led me to change my opinion on this matter that there is no intrinsic obligation on the Government of this country permanently to maintain representative institutions in Malta. . ."

The Government of Ghana considers that if such a convention as is now relied on by the British Government in relation to the Colony of Southern Rhodesia had been in existence in 1936, it would have been discussed in the British Parliament at length in regard to Malta.

For this and other reasons the Government of Ghana considers as invalid the constitutional argument put forward by the British Government at the United Nations.

In the case of Malta, on the authority of the Malta (Letters Patent) Act, 1936, the British Crown, on the advice of British Ministers, and without the agreement of the Legislature or Government of Malta, issued new Letters Patent by which the Legislative Assembly was abolished and the power of legislation entrusted to the Governor on the instructions of the British Government.

The Government of Ghana can see no constitutional or practical reason why the British Government could not have followed a similar course in regard to Southern Rhodesia and empowered the Governor of that Colony, for example, to legislate so as to provide for a franchise based upon the principle of 'one man one vote'. Whether or not the British Government decided to pursue this course has always been naturally a question of policy which was solely within its competence.

All that the Government of Ghana would emphasise is that it has always been constitutionally perfectly possible and practical for the Government of Britain to revoke the present discriminatory franchise laws of Southern Rhodesia without the necessity of obtaining the agreement or concurrence of the present Southern Rhodesian Government or Legislature.

Fortunately, however, the situation occasioned by the break up of the Federation makes it possible for the Southern Rhodesian question to be dealt with by other means. In order to correct the admitted evils, it is no longer necessary for the British Government to legislate positively for the Colony. It is sufficient if, in the present circumstances, the British Government refrains from legislation in regard to the Colony on specific matters.

For example, the whole apparatus of the European oppression of

Africans in the Colony is paid for out of the produce of taxation. The British Government are therefore in the position of being able to refuse to transfer the power of taxation to the Southern Rhodesian Colonial Government until such time as that Government undertakes to demolish this apparatus. The British Government can refuse to return to the Colonial Government control over European agriculture until the various discriminatory Land Apportionment Acts of the Colonial Government are repealed. It might be made a condition of the return of any powers whatsoever that the Colonial Government must first alter its franchise laws so that all adult inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia can vote at elections.

If the British Government is right in its contention that it has no control over the exercise of authority or power once that authority or power is conferred on the Colonial Government of Southern Rhodesia, then in fact a moral responsibility is placed on the British Government to see that no transfer takes place until suitable safeguards are assured. In view of the unanimous Resolutions of the Addis Ababa Conference referred to above and the specific Resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations in regard to Southern Rhodesia the Government of Ghana must call to the attention of the British Government the serious consequence of failing to take the legislative opportunity which is now open to it to end racial discrimination and unrepresentative government in the colony of Southern Rhodesia.

In a matter of this importance the Government of Ghana must make public its views and will do so.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to the British High Commissioner the assurances of his highest consideration.

UN CALLS FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS

Following is the United Nations Charter on fundamental human

rights quoted in support of Ghana's Note.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

MINDFUL of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

CONSCIOUS of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

RECOGNISING the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence.

AWARE of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace.

CONSIDERING the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in trust and non-self-governing territories.

RECOGNISING that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations.

CONVINCED that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace.

AFFIRMING that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose

of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law.

BELIEVING that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crisis, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith.

WELCOMING the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognising the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence.

CONVINCED that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory.

SOLEMNLY PROCLAIM the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. And to this end

DECLARES that :

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise

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NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

by
Arthur Wina

WHAT is a workable theory of multiracialism? My answer is that there is none. Such a theory is only called for if one accepts that there is an inevitable clash of interests in a society of different communities even when the individuals of these communities enjoy the same treatment before the law. I and the political party to which I belong neither accept nor recognise such a clash as inevitable. Mr. Kaunda has come out with a negative theory in order to satisfy those who think such a theory is necessary.

Mr. Kaunda has often said that 'one is born black, green, white or yellow not by one's choice at all.'

There can be no question of providing for Europeans a special position in society, nor of victimising them in favour of Africans. Those who make their home in a territory and contribute to the national cause and wealth must be accorded identical treatment before the law. Our people have been victims of racial discrimination; terrible miscalculations and impositions of wrong and unjustified policies have been perpetrated against us, especially since the establishment of Federation. We realise that it is sometimes in the nature of human beings to retaliate and to derive some satisfaction from the exercise of revenge.

These are human traits which cannot be classified as noble. Our concepts of humanism and non-racialism are far nobler objectives which we are determined to uphold whatever the temptations and however temporarily justified the opposite course may be. Naturally perhaps the common man who went through all this nasty experience may more often than the leader feel the temptation to revenge, to

expropriate, to suddenly demand cars, big houses, as most pessimists would like us to believe will happen. I think that primarily this live problem is one of leadership; secondly, it is one of peace; thirdly, it is one whose resolution would depend upon the circumstances in which the change-over takes place and on the character of the races that were dominant before the change-over.

LEADERSHIP

Leadership in a situation transforming white domination to democracy must be of an exceptionally honest and brave type. It must be capable of leading and not merely of responding to the unrealistic pressures from below. It must be prepared to get its policies understood clearly, and I repeat clearly, and vigorously show that it is engaged in doing those things which the mass of the people are crying for and which are legitimately their right. It must maintain a rapid pace so far as this pace does not upset the ship. It must create more and better educational opportunities, provide jobs through economic development, improved agricultural productivity and opportunities, advance the local people in Government, commerce and industry support small industries and business on entrepreneur or community bases.

Leadership must also be aware that there are vested interests and remnants of the old regime who can make its task difficult and who must be won over if possible. These elements may exercise a significant though temporary control over certain resources, skills and techniques: in most cases, however, they will adjust themselves to a changed situation when circum-

stances force them to do so. But leadership must impress them with its integrity and honesty of purpose, not to go out of its way to pacify them—this would not be true to our code of nationalism—but give them the impression and the fact of fair play and justice. In the long run, and this is the acid test of leadership, the people must feel that work is going on to meet their legitimate wants and aspirations at as rapid a pace as is possible within the circumstances.

EDUCATION

This necessarily brings us to the question of economic opportunities. One cannot, in Africa, separate the provision of economic opportunities from the big key to all—education. For a people entering an era of technology and better living, education is an essential prerequisite. For us with a largely rural background, who have for ages been the reservoirs of cheap labour for other people's enterprises, the role of education is absolutely essential. By education I don't of course mean the classics. I mean that type of instruction which must prepare one to live in and make one's contribution to the monumental task confronting all new nations—economic development and nation building.

With this educational background, economic opportunities must rapidly open up to the people mainly through governmental effort and personal initiatives. Fundamentally these must restore a sense of human dignity by providing people with the fruits of the maximum of their efforts and guarantee to the less talented their minimum needs of food, shelter and education for their children. Non-racialism and humanism require that personal cravings for opulent wealth must give way to consideration for others.

In N.R. we are fortunate in having one of the most extensive copper deposits in the world, as well as cobalt, iron, lead, and zinc. These rich resources provide government revenue through taxation, they offer employment opportunities to thousands and in many indirect ways support the national

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South Africa Losing Grounds

WHY would the son of a former Governor-General of South Africa who had a promising career in the British Colonial service, which would have led to other appointments, take an active role in the uphill fight for the rights of Africans in a country where the black man is regarded as sub-human?

This question was asked of Patrick Duncan, son of the late Sir Patrick Duncan who was Governor-General of the Union of South Africa from 1937 until 1943, when he died. His father previously had been a member of Parliament and a cabinet minister.

"I formed the view many years ago that our country could never progress until it had freed itself completely from racism," answered Duncan. "There are many other issues which must be settled in South Africa but they cannot be dealt with until the race issue is resolved."

NO PEACE

The former National Committee member of the South African Liberal Party and one-time editor of Contact, "South Africa's Non-Racial Fortnightly," said the white minority in the country, now a republic, must come to regard themselves fully as Africans. "They must accept majority (African) rule. Until that day, we will have no peace."

Duncan, who just 11 years ago was a district commissioner and magistrate in the British Colonial Service, is now in Basutoland prohibited by the British Government to return to the protectorate which lies in South Africa North-east from the Cape Province. He was already under banishment in South Africa. Today, he is a member

of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and is said to be the banned South African organisations only white member.

In Chicago to visit his sister Mrs. Deborah Cowen, the 45-year-old Duncan was making plans to meet Nana Mahomo, London representative of the PAC, in New York. Duncan and Mahomo were scheduled to talk with newspapermen in New York and government officials in Washington. They were expected to discuss the South African freedom movement and latest moves by South Africa to block non-white resistance to segregation.

A one-time advocate on non-violence, Duncan now believes that some form of violence is inevitable in South Africa. It was over this issue—the question of using force—that brought about Duncan's split with the Liberal Party.

"Force is a component part of our (the PAC's) struggle," Duncan declared in an exclusive interview with the Associated Negro Press.

The Pan-Africanist Congress led the campaign in 1960 against laws requiring Africans to carry identification passes. Called the "Positive Action Campaign" the movement sparked the Sharpeville riots, on March 21, 1960.

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economy. The world price of copper is still firm and likely to remain so for a long time to come. But we must diversify our economy; we must in particular expand the agricultural industry and we must establish secondary industries based on the products of agriculture—cotton and textile, groundnuts, fruits and meat processing, carpet and cattle cake manufacture, oil pressing, fisheries.

We must attract secondary industries to supply our expansive urban communities with wireless and television sets, motor tyres, shoes, pharmaceuticals, agricultural implements, etc. This shopping list is by no means exhaustive. We have the market in urban areas; an increasingly effective demand in rural areas and a tremendous potential market in East Africa and the Congo which politically we are in a better position to serve than in Southern Rhodesia or South Africa.

We are considering various incentives and inducements to attract the establishment of those industries, provided certain requirements are fulfilled. We need international capital to finance our social schemes mainly in the fields of education, housing and hospitalisation.

Northern Rhodesia is not, and cannot be, a haven for millionaires, but today it offers one of the best securities and return on investment in Africa. More than 63 new companies were registered in Northern Rhodesia between December 15 and March 19—more than twice the number registered for the same period last year when we were living under a colonial and white dominated system. This is clearly a demonstration of confidence which Sir Ronald Prain echoed a few weeks ago in a report to the Board of Directors of Rhodesian Selection Trust.

Education and a broad and faster pace of economic development through a combination of private capital and public funds are the keys of economic opportunities. Community projects, co-operative activities, maximum use of local material and training and use of local labour and skills are fundamental to this programme if it is to benefit and have an impact on the people of the country. The campaign for national liberation must soon divert its forces to a campaign for national development. Only in this way can the deep emotions and forces of nationalism be diverted into another equally challenging task of national development and nation building.

AFRICA:

THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

THE break-up of the colonial system is a result of the struggle of the national liberation movement under favourable international conditions created by the weakening of imperialism and the transformation of the socialist camp into a world force. The African liberation movement brought national independence to more than 29 countries with total population of 184 million souls. What strategy should be adopted by the African liberation movement in our social and productive forces?

National Democratic anti-imperialist governments. What are the detailed aims of these governments? Full and complete freedom, establishment of national industries and development of agriculture, expulsion of foreign monopolies, removal of all remnants of colonialism and imperialism introducing, of agrarian reform, to put an end of poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, lack of housing, low wages, illiteracy and racial discrimination, equality of women. Which tactics would be suitable for the application strategy with the above-mentioned aims? The most suitable tactics would be to build a United National Patriotic Front of liberation struggle against the imperialists. Which patriotic forces should this patriotic form comprise?

WORKERS

Although the Africa working class is weak and inadequately organised it is still the most stubborn and advanced class opposed to all sorts of oppression because it suffers more than any other class from exploitation and social discrimination.

THE PEASANTRY

They form the broadest mass of the national liberation movement. They suffer double oppression of the local feudal and tribal chiefs

By
Tayib Zarag

and foreign monopolies. They are a tremendous potential force. To the peasantry the elimination of colonial oppression is inseparably connected with the solution of the agrarian question.

NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

Because they want to control their own investments are they ready to take an active role in the struggle against imperialism? It is important to state the fact that this class is compromising and the broad mass of the workers and peasants should be very cautious and awake in dealing with the bourgeoisie in the course of the long struggle.

The general situation in most of the countries of Africa shows us that it is very easy to bring all these forces under a United Front. The peoples of Africa do not have a homogenous social system. There are several social orders in various countries of Africa. In some, Africans live under feudalism or capitalism. Each country therefore has its peculiar social, economic and political problems which are to be determined, recognised and considered separately and individually. Due to this fact it is difficult in this short time to deal with every country in Africa fully and separately. But in order to have a general view of the role of African parties and youth organisations let us divide the country in the following order: 1—Countries still under colonialism, and 2—Countries which have their own government but are still economically dominated by their former rulers.

COUNTRIES STILL COLONISED

Building the National United Front to reach the above-mentioned strategy. This is the vital role of the political parties and youth organisations of such countries. General strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and protests. The youth, trade union and students' organisations are the vanguard of such campaigns. For international support there must be offices of the respective countries in the Independent African countries and the peace-loving revolution is in course, as in Angola, it is the duty of all the anti-imperialist forces to offer material as well as moral support.

COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS BUT ECONOMICALLY ARE STILL DOMINATED BY THEIR FORMER RULERS

The role of democratic forces in these countries is to expose to the masses in the country and outside the puppet reactionary government. In most of such countries a treacherous dictatorial system prevails, which needs a solid organisation capable of leading the struggle even in the illegal work. Strikes, demonstrations, protests and pamphlets. Here, of course, international support, especially from independent African countries is a vital necessity to the struggle in such countries. The youth and students' organisations are to work closely with all the strata of the people for the removal of the remnants of colonialism and help in the elimination of illiteracy.

COUNTRIES WHICH ARE INDEPENDENT AND FOLLOWING AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

The united patriotic front is also a necessity to these countries in order to proceed to its aim of complete independence by removal of economic backwardness, the defence of the territorial integrity, removal of all foreign remnants, whether it is in the form of American financial aid or any sort of military bases, to develop national economy, etc. At this stage, as is the case in many African independent states such as Ghana or Guinea, it is necessary for all the democratic forces in these countries to co-operate in fulfilling the general strategy but it does never mean the abolishment of classes with strong antagonistic interests. The class antagonism can only be abolished under socialism defined by Marx and Lenin when it is based on social ownership, means of production in its two forms—state (public) and co-operative or collective farm property. Only in this system there is no more any exploitation of man by man. Although we do fully agree that each country will reach socialism through ways and methods best suited to its own people, we do feel that it is essential that there should be no confusion or misunderstanding about what we mean by socialism in its correct form. There is not and can never be such things as national socialism.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

However, under conditions of private ownership of the means of production in an independent anti-imperialist country, it is the duty and responsibility of the workers organisations such as trade unions to fight for better wages and working conditions for their members, it is the duty and responsibility of the youth and student organisation to fight for the reform and democratisation of the educational system, elimination of illiteracy, revival and expansion of national culture, guarantee of employment after graduation, training of national cadres in the field of

science as well as of other technicians, the improvement of living and study conditions of students, to have the right to take part in the international seminars and youth and students' festivals, to strengthen friendship and exchange cultural and other fruitful experience with all the democratic and peace-loving organisations in the world. Only under a democratic, anti-feudalist, anti-imperialist regime can our countries develop smoothly at this stage, along their own lines without any foreign interference.

Dear friends, allow me to emphasise this word *democratic* for its vitality. Freedom of press, organisations, and association; Freedom of speech and movement are the essential guarantee for our normal revolutionary development. Without democracy and an anti-reactionary action it is impossible for the underdeveloped countries, such as we have in Africa, to proceed in their normal social development; so long as the private ownership of the means of production is still maintained it is the duty and responsibility of all the political parties and democratic forces to fight stubbornly for democracy. It is the responsibility of the democratic forces to be awake, cautious and consequently uncompromising in matters dealing with democracy. Long live democracy in the whole of Africa.

ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS

The former colonialists, the neo-colonialist powers, and the U.S. imperialism in particular, take advantage of the economic backwardness of the majority of the African countries and impose on them unfavourable conditions and strings under the pretext of economic aid or assistance, they exert all efforts and undertake various manoeuvres to prevent these countries from rapidly attaining full economic independence, make bilateral and military pacts setting up aggressive military organisations such as they have formed in Asia and Latin America (CENTO and SEATO), maintain military bases which are a permanent threat to the sovereignty of the newly independent nations in Africa, back dictatorial regimes in some countries thus infringing on the national

sovereignty of the people as well as the normal process of development of democratic institutions, and employ various other means to prevent these countries from developing along their own lines without any foreign interference. The imperialists try to detach the people from their real enemy by making demagogical agitation against the so-called Communist Danger... We should like to stress that there is no Communist Danger in Africa. There is an imperialist, neo-colonial danger, there is the danger of war; there is the danger of the inhuman racial discrimination. The only organ to stand stubbornly in the face of all these dangers is the Democratic National Front with all its real forces.

Another role of the political parties in the independent countries is the nationalisation of the big projects which are to be newly constituted, due to the fact that the national bourgeoisie is too weak in many of the African countries to finance all these projects without foreign capital. Even the states when looking for an aid must see to it that it is given without any strings linking the respective states to foreign domination.

We must not forget the role of the political parties and democratic organisations to support materially and morally our brothers who are still colonised and to help the democratic forces in the semi-colonial countries and countries living under dictatorial treacherous regimes.

It is therefore necessary that all the democratic forces in Africa have brotherly ties with each other in order to exchange experience and support each other.

Pan-Africanism as such is a good thing, but in Africa today, the term pan-Africanism is loosely used to mean sometimes some very reactionary things. I cannot say anything more on this occasion than what DuBois the father of pan-Africanism said: Panaficanism, that is to say the unity of all the democratic forces including the independent states is a definite tool against imperialism in the struggle of today.

Due to the fact that our continent's interest opposes war, it should

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peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence, and freedom.

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity. 947th

PLENARY MEETING, DECEMBER 14, 1960.

RESOLUTION 1747 (XVI) QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RECALLING ITS resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960, containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

HAVING CONSIDERED the report on the Southern Rhodesia submitted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial Countries and Peoples.

CONSIDERING that the vast

majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia have rejected the Constitution of December 6, 1961.

DEPLORING the denial of equal political rights and liberties to the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

NOTING WITH REGRET that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has not yet taken steps to transfer all powers to the people of Southern Rhodesia, as required under paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV).

HAVING FURTHER CONSIDER the evidence submitted by the petitioners before the Special Committee.

1. APPROVES the conclusions of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the implementation of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples on Southern Rhodesia, and affirms that the territory of Southern Rhodesia is a non-self-governing territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the charter of the United Nations;

2. REQUESTS the Administering Authority:

(a) To undertake urgently the convening of a constitutional conference, in which there shall be full participation of representatives of all political parties, for the purpose of formulating a constitution for Southern Rhodesia in place of the Constitution of December 6, 1961, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of "one man, one vote", in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

(b) To take immediate steps to restore all rights of the non-

European population and remove all restraints and restrictions in law and in practice on the exercise of the freedom of political activity including all laws, ordinances and regulations which directly or indirectly sanction any policy or practice based on racial discrimination;

(c) To grant amnesty to, and ensure the immediate release of, all political prisoners;

3. REQUESTS the Special Committee to continue its constructive efforts towards the earliest implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to Southern Rhodesia in order to ensure its emergence as an independent African State. 1121st PLENARY MEETING, JUNE 28, 1962.

RESOLUTION 1755 (XVII) QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RECALLING paragraph I of its resolution 1747 (XVI) of June 28, 1962, which affirms that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory.

DEEPLY CONCERNED at the deplorable, critical and explosive situation obtaining in Southern Rhodesia as a result of the state of emergency, the banning of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, and the arrests and detention of nationalist leaders a situation which constitutes denial of political rights and endangers peace and security in Africa and in the world at large.

1. URGES the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take, as a matter of urgency, measures which would be most effective to secure:

(a) The immediate and unconditional release of the President of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and all other nationalist leaders restricted, detained or imprisoned;

RESOLUTION 1760 (XVII) QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

(b) The immediate lifting of the ban on the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union;

2. REQUESTS the Government of the United Kingdom to inform the General Assembly at its seventeenth session regarding the implementation of the present resolution. 1152nd PLENARY MEETING, OCTOBER 12, 1962.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

RECALLING its resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960 the provisions of which are fully applicable to the Territory of Southern Rhodesia,

RECALLING its resolution 1747 (XVI) of June 28, 1962, by which the General Assembly affirmed that the Territory of Southern Rhodesia is a non-self-governing territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations,

CONFIRMING the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and to form an independent African State,

HAVING CONSIDERED the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

HAVING HEARD the petitioners,

NOTING WITH DEEP REGRET that the administering Power has not yet taken steps to carry out the request, contained in resolution 1747 (XVI), to undertake urgently the convening of a constitutional conference, in which there shall be full participation of representatives of all political parties, for the purpose of formulating a constitution for Southern Rhodesia, in place of the Constitution of December 6, 1961, which would ensure the rights of the majority of the people, on the basis of "one man one vote", in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United

Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, embodied in resolution 1514 (XV).

1. REAFFIRMS its resolution 1747 (XVI);

2. CONSIDERS that the attempt to impose the Constitution of December 6, 1961, which has been rejected and is being vehemently opposed by most of the political parties and the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and to hold elections under it will aggravate the existing explosive situation in that Territory;

3. REQUESTS the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take the necessary measures to secure:

(a) The immediate implementation or resolutions 1747 (XVI) 1755 (XVII);

(b) The immediate suspension of the enforcement of the Constitution of December 6, 1961 and cancellation of the general elections scheduled to take place shortly under that Constitution;

(c) The immediate convening of a constitutional conference, in accordance with resolution 1747 (XVI), to formulate a new constitution for Southern Rhodesia;

(d) The immediate extension to the whole population (without discrimination, of the full and unconditional exercise of their basic political rights in particular the right to vote, and the establishment of equality among all inhabitants of the Territory;

4. REQUESTS the Acting Secretary-General to lend his good offices to promote conciliation among the various sections of the population of Southern Rhodesia by initiating prompt discussions with the United Kingdom Government and other parties concerned, with a view to achieving the objectives set out in this and all the other resolutions of the General Assembly on the question of Southern Rhodesia, and

to report to the Assembly at its present session as well as to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

5. DECIDES to keep the item entitled "Question of Southern Rhodesia" on the agenda of its seventeenth session.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO OSAGYEFO

In a message addressed to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, on the occasion of the celebration of the third anniversary of the declaration of the Republic on July 1, Mr. I. T. A. Wallace Johnson, Chairman of the Sierra Leone National Service Bureau (SALNEB) expressed his heartiest congratulations and that of the Sierra Leone National Service Bureau on the occasion of the declaration of the third Anniversary of the Republic of Ghana.

The message continues:

"In doing so I do hope that by this time those elements, be they within or without, who feel they can by means of terrorism retard the progress of your country, which I also claim to be mine and all progressive Africans, shall have realised that the progress of Ghana goes from conquering on to conquest and could by no means be retarded.

Once more congratulating you and Your Government and the People."

AFRICA

* Continued from page 17

be stated here that it is the duty and responsibility of our parties and democratic organisations to fight hand in hand with the peace-loving countries in order to maintain peace.

Long live the Unity of Africa, against imperialism!

Long live the Liberation Movement in Africa!

Long live Democracy!

MAY — JULY, 1963 19

ZANZIBAR AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE

INTRODUCTION

THE people of Zanzibar went to the polls on July 9 and the elections were spread over a period of four days to enable the military and the police to be moved from one island to the other to avoid a repetition of the June 1961 disturbances.

The results of the elections were announced on July 15, and the two parties, forming the coalition, Z.N.P. and Z.P.P.P. won 18 of the 31 seats. The A.S.P. therefore, won 13 seats. The A.S.P., Afro-Shirazi Party, is made up of the indigenous Africans, who form the bulk of the population in Zanzibar but have no claim to the wealth of the land.

Even though they have lost the elections one would sympathise with them in view of the many difficulties which they had to face; with more determination and better organisation the A.S.P. should be able in the very near future to turn the tables in its favour; the small majority of 5 to the credit of the coalition is a clear indication that the combined forces of Z.N.P. and Z.P.P.P. do not, after all, enjoy the support of the masses it claims.

In the circumstances, the coalition have been asked by the British Resident, Sir George Mooring to form a government to lead the Islands to independence.

A pamphlet giving the historical facts about Zanzibar (Unguja) national struggle has been published by the Bureau of African Affairs and it is our pleasure to reproduce it for the benefit of our readers.

The foreword to the pamphlet was written by Mr. A. K. Barden, Director of the Bureau of African Affairs.

FOREWORD

AS more and more African countries become independent there is the urgent need for all Africans to be well informed about conditions in other parts of our great continent where, very unfortunately, our brothers are still wallowing under the sting of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

That is exactly what this pamphlet sets out to do. It is a modest attempt to trace the early history of the people of Unguja corrupted into Zanzibar and the struggle of the indigenous Africans against other forces to call their country their own where "80 per cent of the land belongs to a handful of 13 per cent of the population and 20 per cent belongs to 80 per cent of the population."

That is the crux of the matter. Like most East African countries, Unguja also has the same settler problem. It is a multi-racial country populated by:

- (a) Europeans who are mostly civil servants and number about 500.
- (b) Indians who control the wealth of the country and occupy almost all the higher grade clerical posts. They number 20,000.
- (c) Arabs who own 80 per cent of the fertile land. They occupy almost all the higher parts in the administrative service, and the police force. They number 50,000.
- (d) Comorians from Comoro Islands, most of whom, though Africans, do not wish to identify themselves as Africans. They number about 5,000 and are graded a step higher than Africans.
- (e) The Shirazis are Africans who claim to have Persian blood

and these also regard themselves higher than Africans from the mainland whose ancestors might have been brought there as slaves.

The Africans, including Shirazis and Comorians number some 307,000 out of the total population of 377,500.

There is clearly a sharp line of demarcation between the Arabs and the Africans; the former, aided and abetted by the British colonial administration, enjoy a higher standard of living than the indigenous Africans who are denied better educational facilities and training to equip them to hold jobs in the civil service and in commerce.

Against this background of oppression and degradation has emerged the Afro-Shirazi Party, for short, A.S.P. under the leadership of Othman Shariff who is working untiringly to bring the Africans to their heritage.

Unguja goes to the polls from 9 July, this is a decisive test for the ASP for them to win the elections and according to their statement "to reconstruct Zanzibar into a country free from hunger, sickness and ignorance."

Much research has gone into this pamphlet and the writer should be commended on his painstaking in collating a mine of information into this little pamphlet, for the students of African history.

In the words of our Leader, Osagyefo the President: "Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of other African states."

Let us hope that the ASP will liberate the Africans in Zanzibar from the position of third-rate citizens.

"THE PASSIVE SYMPATHY OF THE AFRICAN MASSES MUST BE CONVERTED INTO ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TOTAL EMANCIPATION OF AFRICA. AFRICA IS TOO SACRED A LAND TO HARBOUR HYPOCRITES. SOONER OR LATER, BUT SOONER RATHER THAN LATER, OUR CONTINENT WILL BE PURGED OF ALL FORMS OF COLONIALISM FOR THE FIRE OF INTENSE NATIONALISM IS BLAZING ALL OVER AFRICA AND BURNING TO ASHES THE LAST REMNANTS OF COLONIALISM."
—KWAME NKRUMAH

THE UNGUJA (ZANZIBAR) NATIONAL STRUGGLE

"THE history of Unguja", says Bwana Othman Shariff one of the leading African nationalists, "is a saga of pathetic events which have with monotonous regularity, led to the economic exploitation, political domination and social degradation of the indigenous African people by foreign interests.

"And such process has culminated in the absolute demoralisation of the African people who have always been trampled upon as slaves and underdogs in their own and only mother country.

Unguja is the ancient African name for the 'fairly-tale' island of Zanzibar and is still in circulation today. The name Zanzibar derives from the Arabic Zanj meaning the "Black man" and is a corruption of Zaquebar, "the coast of the black man".

The "Zanzibar" Protectorate comprises the mainland island of Unguja, the second largest sister island of Pemba, the island of Tumbatu to the northwest of Unguja, the island of Kojani to the north-east of Pemba and sometimes even as "Mwamba", the coastal autonomy. Throughout this pamphlet unless glaringly inconsistent

with the text the name Unguja shall be used to the group of islands mentioned. Since the character of the contemporary problems of any society derives from the history of that society, it is necessary to make a brief examination of that history before giving an objective analysis of that society itself. It may or may not be that Bwana Shariff's comment gives the key to the understanding of the history and the contemporary society of Unguja.

The first non-African peoples to colonise this Azanian coast, as the Greco-Roman world styled this part of the African continent, were merchant princes of Tyre and Tarshish, descendants of the Queen of Sheba. The main object of these early colonisers was not colonialist; they were bent neither on robbing the people of their land nor other possessions nor on conquering them but simply on trading with them.

They were few but constant; they made themselves agreeable, learnt the language of the masses, married their women and set up trading stations. By 500 A.D. they began to give an Arab inflexion to the culture of the coast.

The coastal African peoples constantly absorbed these Arab peoples but never wholly assimilated them. The fact that they were constantly reinforced from Arabia and the Persian Gulf prevented their outright assimilation. Out of the interaction of their culture and that of the coastal Africans a new culture emerged: the Swahili African synthesis of non-African ideas that none the less remained basically and predominantly African. The picture changes after the beginning of Arab expansion under the influence of Islam, in the 7th century A.D. Refugees now came down the African coast from Arabia. They no longer came for trade only but for settlement as well.

It is during this period that Islamic cities dominated by Arab ruling groups were founded. Among the sites of ruined towns or cities that have been identified are those of Unguja Kuu and Kizimi Kazi in Zanzibar. These are probably the ruins of the towns reputed to have been founded by the Persians from Shiraz. The consensus of opinion about the culture of these merchant cities and kingdoms is that they were neither Arabian nor Persian nor Indian, they were African and predominantly negro African.

The Persians are reputed to have ruled the Azanian coast including the Unguja and Pemba islands for a period of two hundred years before they were forced to leave. Even at this early date slaves ranked high among the African products which Arabs were exchanging for commodities brought from India, Persia and Arabia. The islands once more enjoyed peace and tranquility until the advent of the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century. The Portuguese colonised these islands beginning with Ravasio's threat to raze Zanzibar to the ground unless its ruler acknowledged the supremacy of the King of Portugal.

The Portuguese ruled the people with untold brutality for another two hundred years. The people strenuously resisted Portuguese rule until they finally managed to expel the Portuguese.

Unguja was at this time under the rule of an African potentate, the *Mwinyi Nkuu* and Pemba under a woman opposite number, the *Mwanapemba Mdibo*. The Mdibo lived at Mbuzini in Pemba. It was at this time that the Arabs stepped in not as conquerors but as co-religionists of their fellow African brethren, but these gradually worked their way to the position of rulers.

By 1822 the British Government signed an agreement with Seyyid Said, Imam of Miscat, recognizing him as an overlord over the East African coast including Zanzibar. The Imam, however, was not in actual control of these areas and the Mazrui of Mombasa was among those rulers who successfully asserted the independence of his people. In 1840 the Imam, beset by hostile neigh-

bours at home such as the Wahabi and Jawasmi and caught fast in a ferment of family intrigue decided to make Zanzibar his capital.

The advent of the Imam in Zanzibar increased the number and power of the Omani immigrants in the island and enabled him to establish some suzerainty however tenuous over the inhabitants. The caravans of the Arab and Somali slave-traders carried into the interior as far as the Great Lakes. Gunther describes Unguja, at this time, as "the biggest—and most hideous—slave entrepot in the world." He goes on to state that "here a literally black market flourished. A man cost less than a goat."

The British claim the credit for the abolition of the slave trade here. The African nationalist of our day knows that if the British did abolish chattel slavery upon the island of Unguja they did so only to follow that up with a new form of slavery, colonialist slavery, and that continues to this very day.

The Berlin Conference, held from November 1884 to February 1885, infused some method into the madness of the scramble for Africa. And the colonisation of Unguja became part of that process.

Speaking in the House of Commons on March 12, 1885 Lord Gladstone, Britain's Liberal Prime Minister, declared that:

"If Germany is to become a colonizing power all I can say is, God speed her. She becomes an ally and partner in the execution of the great purpose of Providence for the advance of mankind."

The Conference, convened by Britain, France and Germany signed the General Act on February 26, 1885, to regulate their pay claims in the scramble for Africa peacefully. It was to help in achieving this "great purpose of Providence" that the British in 1890 exchanged Heligoland for Unguja with the Germans. On June 14, 1890, the British signed an agreement with Seyyid Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, by which they undertook to "protect" Unguja.

What the British really protected is the Albu-Said Dynasty, the ruling clan in Unguja and not the people of Zanzibar.

In 1895 the British signed another treaty with the Sultan in which they recognised the ten-mile coastal strip in Kenya as part of the 'Sultan's possessions' and under which they are obliged to pay the Sultan £16,000 rental a year for it. Now that Kenya is on the eve of independence the Arab minority settled thereupon is making a determined bid for its secession.

According to the Kenya African Anti-colonialist Movement, the KAAM "the ZNP is a movement which is responsible for spreading subversive activities among the minority Arabs in the coastal part of Kenya. The preaching of the ZNP and other Arab reactionary elements is that the coastal part of Kenya must have autonomy under the rule of the ZNP and the Arab Sultans of Zanzibar."

The main African parties in Kenya are violently opposed to any attempt to rob them of their coastal strip. They demand the immediate abrogation of the 1895 Treaty and the reversion of the coastal strip to the African peoples. The Afro-Shirazi Party in its memorandum to the one-man Commission of Inquiry appointed by the British to probe this issue demanded its submission to a plebiscite under the United Nations auspices.

FOREIGN OFFICE CONTROL

Until 1913 Unguja was controlled from the British Foreign Office. In that year it was transferred to the Colonial Office. The transfer itself gave the lie to its alleged status of being an independent Sultanate under British protection while Hailey claims that there is in Unguja "some element of division of sovereignty"

the island's real status has been aptly described as being that of a "pantomime caricature of a colony, with an Arabian Sultan to provide the pomp and pageantry, and a British Resident to wield all the power."

The Zanzibar Order-in-Council of 1924 and 1925 issued under the British Foreign Jurisdiction Act defined the jurisdiction to be exercised in Zanzibar and the classes of persons who were to be subject to that jurisdiction.

The "Decrees of the Sultan" are those laws that have been passed by the Legislative Council and assented to by the Sultan. If any laws affect the interests of non-Ungujians they have, by reason of Article 42 of the 1924 Order-in-Council, to bear the counter-signature of the Resident.

The Executive and Legislative Councils of 1926 were set up in terms of these Orders-in-Council. The 1926 Executive Council comprised the Sultan (President) Heir Apparent to the Unguja Throne, four *ex-officio* members and three nominated officials who all had to be British Civil Servants.

The Legislative Council comprised the Resident (President) four *ex-officio* members (members of the Executive Council), five nominated official and eight unofficial members. It comprised a total of eighteen members. The eight unofficial members were nominated by the Sultan with the advice of the Resident and had to include 3 Arabs, 2 Africans, 2 Asians and one European.

As far back as October 1955 the British Government announced new constitutional proposals, to enable Unguja to attain "internal self-government within the commonwealth" by appropriate stages.

Under that constitution (1957) the Executive Council consisted of the Resident (President) 4 *ex-officio* members, 3 official members nominated by the Sultan on the advice of the Resident and 3 un-official nominated members (an Arab, an African and an Asian).

The Legislative Council consisted of 26 members; the Resident (President) 4 *ex-officio* (members of the Executive), 9 official and 12 unofficial members.

6 of the unofficial seats were for the first time in the history of Unguja to be filled by election on a common roll. The remaining 6 were to be nominated by the Sultan on the advice of the Resident from candidates with the backing of 100 registered voters. Voting for the elective seats was for men only and the usual qualified franchise of colonial rule obtained. Under this constitution the Afro-Shirazi Party won 5 of the 6 elective seats. The remaining 1 seat went to the Muslim Association and the Zanzibar Nationalist Party failed to win a single seat.

In March 1960, Sir Hilary Blood became a one-man Constitutional Commission. Sir Hilary proposed that only three *ex-officio* members, the Finance, Legal and Civil Secretaries, should remain in the Legislative Council. The Resident was to remain as President of the Executive Council but a Chief Minister was to be appointed to lead the Legislative Council. The Executive would consist of six elected and three nominated members. It would total 13.

The Legislative Council was to consist of 29 members comprising 21 elected members from single-member constituencies, 5 nominated members and 3 official Ministers.

These proposals were adopted with an additional elected seat making the total elected seats 22. The Legislative Council was therefore to consist of 30 members.

ELECTIONS

The General Election took place on January 17, 1961. The

Afro-Shirazi Party won 10 seats, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party 9 and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, a splinter group from the Afro-Shirazi Party 3.

The majority party, the Afro-Shirazi Party could thus not form a government except in coalition with either or both of the minority parties. The 3 elected members of the Z.P.P.P. split with one for the A.S.P. and the other two for the Z.N.P. Two coalition of equal strength were now face to face and a deadlock ensued.

The Z.P.P.P. immediately issued a statement announcing the expulsion of Bwana Shamte Hamadi and his other elected colleague on the score that they had no mandate to commit the Z.P.P.P. to a coalition with the Z.N.P.

On January 28, the Z.P.P.P. decided ostensibly to heal the rift within its ranks but really to cash in on the fact that it alone held the balance of power. They proposed a three-party government in which the posts of Chief Minister and Assistant Chief Minister were to be theirs and offered two ministerial seats each to the major parties and one nominated ministerial seat to each of the three parties.

The Z.P.P.P. further decided that if either of the major parties rejected its "compromise" it would offer its co-operation to the party that had accepted the offer. The Z.N.P. accepted the offer but the A.S.P. rejected it with contempt. And the stalemate continued.

On February 11, 1961 the administration decided on a new general election which was to be held in June. The general elections were held on June 1, 1961 and the results were: 10 seats for Afro-Shirazi, 10 for the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and 3 for the Z.P.P.P. By this time one seat had been added to the elective seats making the total 23.

During these elections a nationalist uprising was sparked off and this resulted in the death of 68 and the arrest of over 1,000 people.

The Z.N.P. offered the post of Chief Minister to Bwana Muhammed Shamte Hamadi of the Z.P.P.P. and an uneasy coalition government was formed. The fact that the total number of votes obtained by the combined strength of Z.N.P. and Z.P.P.P. is less than that obtained by the A.S.P. alone shows clearly that matters cannot rest as they are.

THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

In spite of the fact that the Sultan is an Arab whose family comes originally from Omani in Arabia the people of Unguja accept and love him to such an extent that the sultanate has not become an election issue.

The 51-year-old Sir Abdulla Bin Khalifa, Sultan of Zanzibar succeeded his father Seyyid Sir Khalifa Bin Harub, Khalifa II. as Sultan of Zanzibar on October 17, 1960.

"The Sultan himself", as one African nationalist spokesman puts it, "is not a problem constitutionally but the constant peaceful infiltration of other Arab tribes from Omani and elsewhere has created a real problem in the Protectorate of Unguja by providing a nucleus and favourable conditions for the perpetuation of neo-traditionalism colonialism, and neo-colonialism."

Dealing with the position of the Arab community in Unguja Lord Hailey says "it might now be better described as a 'dominated' rather than as an 'immigrant' community. This comment itself needs to be examined, Unguja is a multi-national country populated by:

* Europeans who are mostly civil servants. These number about 500.

* Indians who control the wealth of the country and who

occupy almost all the higher grade clerical posts. These number 20,000.

- * Arabs who own 80 per cent of the fertile land and who occupy almost all the higher posts in the administration, secretariat, and police departments. These number 50,000.
- * Comorians from Comoro islands, most of whom, though Africans, strongly object to identifying themselves with Africans and therefore deceive themselves that they occupy a position a stage higher than the African. These number 5,000.
- * Shirazis these are Africans who claim to be the indigenous people of the islands and who also claim to have some Persian blood because of the Persian occupation of 700 A.D. The Shirazis, though identifying themselves as Africans, arrogantly regard themselves rather different from a purely mainland African whose ancestors might have been brought to the island as slaves. Except for those whose two parents come from the North an Arab is anyone who thinks he is.
- * Africans are those who belong to strict tribal groupings and newcomers from the mainland. The Africans including the Shirazis and the Comorians number 307,000. The total population of Unguja is 377,500. 81.3 per cent of whom are Africans and 18.7 per cent non-Africans. 300 people to a square mile it makes that island the most densely populated part of Africa.

UNGUJA STRUGGLE

The politics of Unguja, like the varied nature of its multi-national population, tends to be very complicated. The complexity of this politics follows closely the mixed-grill nature of the population. The society of Unguja is such that it would appear the smaller the group the greater its importance.

Right on top of the social scale are the Europeans and they are mostly British. This is to be expected as the British Resident is the factual ruler of the Protectorate.

After the British the next in importance are the Indians. These are mainly traders and professional men. They are the wealthiest section of the population.

The Arabs come next. Their importance stems from the fact that the Sultan is an Arab and is, in theory at least, ruler of the country and again that the Arabs are the greatest land-owning individuals by reason of the fact that the Albu-Said Dynasty to which he belongs saw to it that their followers were amply rewarded especially with land gifts.

The Africans are at the bottom of the social ladder. Their main use to their alien overlords is that of hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are, inter alia, the sources of cheap labour for the clove and coconut industries which are largely Arab owned.

It is said that in the heyday of slavery and the slave trade the Africans were sometimes used as material for lining the tombs of Arab dignitaries so that the passage of the dead Arab from this world to the hereafter might be the easier.

The real nature of the society of Unguja derives from the nature of the economy of Unguja and so do the dynamics of social change. The tendency to make the economy of a country almost totally dependent upon one or two crops is a typically colonialist manoeuvre. As is the case in colonial countries too much money is spent upon imports which could very well be locally produced.

The commerce and industry of the country is in the control of non-African hands. African workers drudge and slave for the be-

nefit of non-African interests, an essentially colonialist tendency. 80 per cent of the land is owned and controlled by the Arab feudal land barons who even among the Arabs themselves constitute a microscopic minority. And this land is the most fertile in Unguja.

The overwhelming African majority have to contend with the remaining 20 per cent in the island. This lack of land has created a squatter problem which was an important item in the sparking off of the recent post-election clashes in Unguja. More important still, in an essentially agrarian economy, such as that of Unguja, the lack of land has meant absence of a steady means of livelihood throughout the year for a large majority of the African people.

In an attempt to gloss over these salient facts the Zanzibar Nationalist Party states that "the problem in Zanzibar has not been the concentration of large areas of land in the hands of a few and land hunger for the majority. Except for Government the large land owner does not exist."

The state, in the guise of the Arab Sultan, owns 6,000 acres of land which remain unexploited while the masses starve. As the 80 per cent of the land was alienated to the Arabs on the ground of their being Arabs to say that the mere demonstration of this fact is 'racialism' is not a ruse to juggle with words but it is torture in its real sense.

The land problem, manifested in the existence of what Ali Muhsin refers to as the "floating squatter element" became so grave that it induced Abeid Karume to declare to his followers in 1958 that:

"The land belongs to you. Whoever tries to stop you is pouring petrol over himself with one hand and lighting it with the other. Only the trees belong to the alien land owners."

African nationalists claim that Arab domination in Unguja has resulted not only in economic but also in educational and social disparity between Arabs and the Africans. In pursuance of their policy based on the claim that Unguja is an Arab State the British Colonial administrators have gone out of their way to provide more educational facilities for the Arabs than for the Africans.

They have, for instance, offered bursaries on a very generous scale to them and also introduced short courses of instruction and other relevant facilities to enable them to fit into the public and civil service more easily.

Such courses of instruction have been made open to candidates who have only the standard VIII education to their credit. Such pupils are used for the mass production of half-baked Arab officers intended to fill necessary posts in the administration.

Official frowning upon colour discrimination is a basic canon of the law of Islam. For this reason there is no colour discrimination as such in Unguja but the African people are in practice subjected to vicious and dangerous though subtle forms of social degradation. The Non-Africans in Zanzibar are inclined in the behaviour to regard themselves as superiors to the African people.

"It is interesting to note" says Othman Shariff leader of the Opposition in Unguja Legislative Council, that "Arab domination in Zanzibar is so vicious and virulent that in the whole police force, there is not a single African gazetted officer; in the whole Judicial and Legal Departments there is not a single African in the higher cadre; in the whole of the Government Secretariat there is not a single African employed in the higher stratum; in the whole of the Administrative Department only about five Africans have been employed; in the whole of the Administrator-General's Department there is not a single African in the higher cadre."

And all this is true not only of all other government departments in Zanzibar but also of the private companies.

The anti-colonialist bug has bitten Unguja, just as it has the greater part of Africa. For that reason talk about "Zanzibarisation" has become the vogue. In Unguja, however, Zanzibarisation becomes in effect Arabisation of posts.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The establishment of political parties in Unguja dates back to 1957 when the first elections were held.

Before 1957 Unguja had only spasmodic social movements organised either on communal or on religious basis.

There was the African association which was composed mainly of indigenous Africans originally from the African mainland. There was also the Shirazi Association composed of indigenous Africans of the island who lay a mythical claim to Persian origin dating back to the 8th century when Unguja was part of the Persian Empire.

There was the Arab Association composed entirely of Arabs, the Indian National Association composed of Indians and the Muslim Association composed of persons of Pakistani origin. In order to wade through the stormy seas of the 1957 election campaign these communal associations trimmed their sails accordingly.

The African and Shirazi Associations formed an alliance and the Afro-Shirazi Party came into being.

The new type of association demanded by the exigencies of the political situation was a fusion instead of an alliance and the party to this day, bears the imprint of its origin.

An alliance always suggest a league of group of differing tendencies and varying trends and for that reason can only be looked upon as a stop-gap device rather than a permanent arrangement.

A fusion implies the ironing out of the differing tendencies and varying trends and the forging of uniform and solid tendencies and trends.

The question of changing the party's name to bring it into line with its national tasks and historic mission is, however, now receiving the attention of the party leadership.

The Arab Association converted itself into the Zanzibar Nationalists Party with the Arab minority as its base and a sprinkling of Arab-orientated Africans around it.

The Indian and the Muslim Associations retained their identity but assumed more overtly the functions of political parties. They both co-operate very closely with the Z.N.P.

The formation of the A.S.P. came as a surprise not only to the Arabs and other non-Africans but also to some of the Africans who, in Ungujaian political parlance, are usually referred to as "Arab stooges".

All the world knew that the Ungujaian Africans were the least educated of the entire community because they had never been given the opportunity of education which had always been readily available to other sections of the community.

What was perhaps more important was the fact that the Africans had been known in the past to have accepted without question the role of economic, political and intellectual leadership for the Arabs and the Indians.

Wonder of wonders! the down-trodden African had at long last gathered sufficient courage to form their own political party at a crucial moment in the history of Unguja. And this was to the amazement and dismay of their so-called superiors.

The 1957 elections came and the Z.N.P. met with defeat, crushing, overwhelming defeat. Out of the six contested seats they won not a single seat. The A.S.P. won five of the six seats. The sixth seat went to the Z.N.P.

The Arabs did not take the defeat lying down. They made a determined bid to win over to their side some of the few African educated leaders. And this policy eventually bore fruit in March 1960 when three of the five elected Afro-Shirazi leaders under the leadership of Sheik Ameir Jajo broke away from the A.S.P. forming the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party which fought the January 1961 and the June elections in alliance with the Z.N.P.

In their bid to wean away a section of the African leadership from the A.S.P. the Z.N.P. concentrated upon the type of African who would give away their all for the "honour" and "privilege" of being regarded as Arabs or people of Arab descent. It is this type of African that the Z.N.P. captured.

THE CONSTITUENCIES

In all the Unguja elections held since 1957 the A.S.P. emerged as the majority party. In the June 1961 elections in a 94 per cent poll throughout the Unguja the A.S.P. gained an overall majority of 1,092 votes over the two other parties combined.

Explaining why the A.S.P. lost the elections in the sense of obtaining only ten seats against the combined 13 of the Z.N.P. and Z.P.P.P. Sheik Othman Shariff said this was "because of the way the constituencies were drawn." And there's the rub.

What are the essential differences between the two major parties?

Both parties stand for the immediate independence of Unguja and both stand for a policy of non-alignment with either the East or the West bloc.

In a post June 1961 election session of the Legislative Council the A.S.P. led in the introduction of an independence motion. The Z.N.P. proclaims its "non-racial" character from the housetops and its very name bolsters that claim.

In spite of this claim of non-racialism the Z.N.P. are bitterly anti-African. They contemptuously dismiss the African as "the mainlanders" as witness this excerpt from a speech by Ali-Muhsin the party leader.

"It is blasphemous for us to be ruled by the mainlanders. We are prepared to shed blood so that we shall not be ruled by them."

Since most of the Arabs in Unguja came from Omani on the mainland of Arabia one wonders why he does not include the Arabs in that term. Be that as it may, the speech reflects the existence in Unguja of a dangerous band of pseudo-revolutionaries. The two parties differ on their approach to the question of an East African Federation.

Addul Rahman (Babu) Mohamed, Secretary-General of the Z.N.P. states that the Z.N.P. takes "a strong stand against the idea of an East African Federation before complete political and economic independence".

The Afro-Shirazi Party stands for an East African Federation after the attainment of independence.

Since the Z.N.P. has no target date for the attainment of complete economic independence, they stand for the attainment of an East African Federation in the Greek Kalends.

The real position is that the concept of an East African Federation is unacceptable to the Z.N.P. because such an association would be predominantly African and essentially non-Muslim. As has already been stated it would be "blasphemous" for these Arabs to be ruled by Africans.

DISTURBANCES

It was a favourite boast of His Highness Seyyid Sir Khalifa Bin Harub, late Sultan of Zanzibar that Unguja is not merely the most beautiful island in the world, with its glowing beaches, but the most peaceful.

His Highness's body must now be turning in its grave today, especially after the disturbances of June 1, 1961 and succeeding days.

Incidents at the polling stations were the spark that ignited the conflagration of the noontide episode of June 1, 1961.

Kharusi read the Riot Act at Dajarani at 12.34 p.m. on June 1, 1961

Until this time whatever had taken place during the election was not unusual. Scuffles had taken place as had happened during the January 1961 elections. People had been pulled out of the queue because of the feeling that they were going to vote twice, as had happened earlier. Accusations that some people were impersonating others were made as had also happened earlier.

What was unusual in June 1961 was the sudden appearance on the scene of a group of men in a pick-up van, a group of men generally described as Manga Arabs. These were armed with daggers, pangas and swords. The carrying of such weapons on election day had been declared an offence by the electoral laws in Unguja.

The Z.N.P. leader has admitted that "it may well be that these swords were found at the headquarters of the Zanzibar Nationalist." Counsel for the Afro-Shirazi told the three-man probe trial that this admission was "a very serious matter."

The African group at Darajani was armed with firewood and sticks and the Arab group with deadly weapons. The Superintendent of Police attempted to disarm the Africans while leaving the Arabs armed.

The reason given for this amazing dereliction of duty on the part of the police chief was that the swords were carried for self-defence and the sticks for aggressive attacks.

It was the withdrawal of their voters by the Z.N.P. leaders from the voting booths in their concentration at the branches in Darajani that worsened the whole situation.

The clashes that took place were between supporters of the rival parties. Riot squads used batons and tear gas to disperse the crowds at two of the main polling stations.

The British Resident, Sir George Mooring invited 100 Kenya special police to Unguja to help in the quelling of the disturbances and imposed a state of emergency. Later more troops of the King's African Rifles from Tanganyika arrived.

Road blocks into the town of Zanzibar netted a large assortment of weapons, including harpoon guns and clubs studded with shark teeth.

The first person killed was an African believed to be a supporter of the ASP. It was on June 2, that the disturbances spread to the countryside. The cry of "the Arabs are killing us" spread like wild fire throughout the countryside.

The evidence before the three-man commission was that 68 people in all had been killed and that 64 of these were Arabs. While two or three Africans were "officially" among those killed. The number of Africans killed is believed to be far more than the figure given.

In a joint statement to the Press the Z.N.P. and Z.P.P.P. described the deaths as "cold-blooded, unprovoked and premeditated massacre." Before the probe men they raised this point only at the eleventh hour—on the tenth day—and only one of them did

so but had no evidence to support this declaration. And this led the Afro-Shirazi to describe the whole stunt as "yet another instance of political behaviour of political parties to take advantage of a political event."

All the joint statements had claimed that the dead had "laid down their lives in the cause of their country's freedom", the ZNP leaders asserted that the 64 were Manga Arabs whom Ali Muhsin described as "neither assimilated into the Zanzibar life nor acclimatised." Abdul Rahman Mohamed the ZNP General Secretary denied that most of the dead Arabs were their members.

On June 11, 1961 the A.S.P. decided to boycott the Legislative Council in protest against "indiscriminate and arbitrary" arrests carried out by the security forces since the post-election disturbances.

By this time over 64 people had been killed and 1,083 arrested on charges of murder and looting. The party refused to attend the council until further arrests were stopped and those already under arrest were tried by independent magistrates "from anywhere except Zanzibar."

In a statement the party claimed that elementary civil and political liberties had been "shamelessly trampled down in a way that means complete disregard for justice." The party expressed its lack of faith in the coalition government and its complete loss of faith in the colonial power.

Late in August, a Ghanaian lawyer defended four politicians charged with murder in one case, eight in a similar case. The accused were all discharged and acquitted.

On August 26, the Attorney-General applied for a postponement of the next murder trial to September 11, 1961. He applied on the grounds that the result of the previous murder trial had "heightened the political tension and led to a deterioration in the security arrangements for the Protectorate."

By way of an aside the Attorney-General added that "too many people were becoming interested in court trials probably because of the novelty of an African barrister appearing before the courts."

It may be added in passing that the majority of Unguja people were seeing an African lawyer for the first time and could not believe the evidence of their own eyes. Like the African people of other colonialist countries, they enjoyed, with a great deal of relish, the mere spectacle of European officers under the fire of cross-examination from a fellow African.

In September, the same Ghanaian lawyer defended 36 politicians on charges of murder and obtained their discharge and acquittal.

CAUSES OF THE UPRISING

Attempts were made to turn the massacre into a racial issue into one of Africans versus Arabs," declared the joint statement of the Z.N.P. and Z.P.P.P.

"The reason for camouflaging this hideous treachery as a racial issue was to solicit sympathy from the Africans on the mainland and to justify the bloody massacre by claiming it to be a nationalistic uprising. It is nothing of the sort."

In his address to the three-man Commission of Inquiry into Civil Disturbances presided over by Sir Stafford Foster-Sutton, Mr. Fraser-Murray who appeared for the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party said:

"Now my submission is that these disturbances were overwhelmingly racial in character. It is, in my respectful submission, clear beyond doubt from the evidence, not only on the evidence

but on what has happened here in the hall, that deep down there was a racial animosity and this was at the bottom of it all."

The cat is out of the bag. The issue was, after all, one of Africans versus Arabs. The whole episode was a nationalist uprising. And that comes straight from the horse's mouth!

The issue was that of Africans versus Arabs and herein lies the essence of its political nature. It is not an issue of bone structure or hair texture and the attitude of one group of people towards these but one of a clash of interests. It was not a racial but a political issue and essentially nationalist issue.

It is an issue of the clash of Africans who have a country, a society and a culture of their own and of the Omani Arabs who though in Africa for well over one hundred and twenty years are, to borrow a graphic phraseology, neither assimilated into African life nor have become acclimatised." And this has been so because of the constant stream of immigrants from the Arabian mainland and because of the encouragement by the colonial administration of the idea of Unguja being an Arab State with an Arab rule when in fact it is an African State where African majority rule should obtain.

"I do not propose to go through all of the evidence on this," adds Mr. Fraser-Murray "but I do ask the commission to take note of the number of times in which the differences rather than the similarities between Africans and Arabs are harped upon, and the fact that a man is an Arab is emphasised; not that he is a landlord, but that he is an Arab landlord; that is the way in which the emphasis is put."

It has already been pointed out that 80 per cent of the land in Unguja is in the hands of the Arabs who comprise barely 13 per cent of the total population. In the remaining 20 per cent of the land the Africans who constitute 81 per cent are mere tenants-at-will of His Excellency, the Sultan. These facts in themselves are political and not racial. And the Z.N.P. cannot get away with it by merely demanding legislation against those who point them out.

One other underlying cause of this nationalist uprising is closely linked with the land issue. From 1957 until the June elections the relationship between the landlords had been particularly strained.

For centuries Africans had been on these lands but were evicted. After the 1957 elections, the A.S.P. inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Z.N.P. which prided itself on being the sole political educator in Unguja was hurt because it had failed to be elected into office, and more than that hurt because it failed to secure a single seat in the Legislative Council.

For the African people having voted as they chose, the African squatters felt the full wrath of the defeated Z.N.P. and the squatter question became live politics. The Arab landlords threw them out.

With much success the Afro-Shirazi Party made representations to the Government on behalf of these squatters. Eventually the A.S.P. bought a piece of land to settle these people.

Asked what they did to assist the evicted squatters the Z.N.P. leader said these were only a few out of thousands of squatters. Asked whether any of these were members of the Z.N.P. he replied: "Some of them may have been; I do not know."

Apart from the township of Zanzibar most of the disturbances took place in areas where these evictions had been effected. There can be little doubt if any that the squatter evictions contributed greatly to the "nationalist uprising" of June 1961.

The facts are that the evictors were Arab landlords, the evicted African squatters and the whole eviction process a retaliatory

measure against the African people for having exercised their voting rights without fear or favour but decidedly in their own interests.

Why did the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and their satellite, Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party shift from their insistence that the causes of the disturbances were political to the viewpoint that these were racial?

Mr. Fraser Murray accuses the A.S.P. leadership of "appealing directly to the emotion directly to something that a man cannot help; because (and here he quotes Ali Muhsin,) a man cannot alter his mother and his father."

Here the Z.N.P. mouthpiece is deliberately attempting to confuse the issue; the issue here is why should 80 per cent of the land belong to a handful among 13 per cent of the people and why should 20 per cent be said nominally to belong to 81 per cent of the people?

The argument of altering one's mother and father is as irrelevant as the hackneyed argument of Settler South Africa about one's sister marrying Kaffir. Both arguments are red herrings deliberately introduced to confuse the trail of the real issues at stake.

Again the issue here is why should these landlords deprive people of a means of livelihood and a roof-over their heads simply because these people refused to be used against the interests of their own people who constitute not only the real owners of the land but also the majority of the population?

The question of altering one's father and mother is again very irrelevant.

"Indeed today, in an island such as Zanzibar" Mr. Fraser-Murray continues it is wicked to inflame the emotions of people by arguments based on race."

For reasons already elaborated upon, Fraser-Murray's arguments cannot impress any African nationalist today. The only class of African "nationals who remain today victims of such naive arguments are the self-confessed multi-racialists who are lackeys and flunkies of colonialists and their agents."

The charge of an exploited, oppressed and degraded people being racialistic is fantastic. It is only within a society where the material basis for exploitation, oppression and degradation has been eliminated that the charge of racialism can be legitimately levelled. All that the exploited can be blamed for (if blamed they can be) is their failure to appreciate the basis of their exploitation. All multi-racialists, black and white would do well to put it in their pipes and smoke.

The *volte-face* of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and their African puppets about the real nature of the cause of the uprising must be sought and found in the phenomenon of Arab domination which the ZNP seeks to perpetuate under the guise of Arab leadership. And that is the position that the Afro-Shirazi Party is determined to resist with all the force at their command.

A third underlying cause of these deplorable disturbances is what one witness before the probe men described as "the social revolution that had been blazing the last eight years when Africans began to claim a share in the island's political, commercial and social life.

The rise of political parties with the introduction of the elective principle in Unguja politics accentuated and heightened political consciousness and thus contributed substantially towards the making of this social revolution.

Political consciousness in itself meant that the people were becoming aware not only of the processes of their colonialist enslavement but also of the ways and means of their emancipation. It meant people were beginning to take their politics more seriously than before and to question the conduct and activities of others more searchingly.

The increasing doses of political education, political indoctrination and political propaganda that accompanied political activity throughout the Spice Islands of Unguja created, in the name of political struggle, a situation that could if not duly sublimated, explode without warning at any time.

June 1961 was Unguja's third election and the masses were geared for showdown. And the explosion occurred.

THE FORCES AT WORK

In a statement on the disturbances the Afro-Shirazi Party declared: "While we denounce and condemn the violence and savage brutality that has taken place in the recent election, we request the Administration to take cognisance of the fact that this is the first time that the African people of Zanzibar have been prompted to retaliate after extreme, incessant provocation while our friends are veterans of this game, always using the Manga Arabs to cause trouble and then using them as scape-goats and keeping themselves out of it."

The political set-up in Unguja is best summed up as comprising a poverty-stricken African majority relegated to an inferior status by an aristocratic, feudalistic Arab minority with the British Raj maintaining the *status quo* and conferring its official blessings over the situation.

The British established their authority over the Africans, basing it on support for the Arab Sultan who signed the treaty for protection with them. Fundamentally, this situation still exists today.

The Arab community have, because of British colonial policy which regards Unguja itself as an Arab state with an Arab Sultan, always been and regarded themselves as the curly-haired darlings of both the colonial government and Administration.

The entire political and social set-up in Unguja is sufficient to give the lie to the ZNP charge that the Afro-Shirazi is "on very good terms with the British Colonial Administration" that the fact that it was that Administration that interfered with the Hillary Blood constitutional proposals to give them an additional safe seat at stone-town which robbed the A.S.P. of the chance of forming the government. This seat has 900 votes whereas a number of A.S.P. safe seats have as much as 5,500 votes. It was this same Administration that added another safe seat to the Z.P.P.P. at Mtambile.

The Z.P.P.P. has lost its identity so completely that one wonders why they keep on within the forces that they are a separate entity from the Z.N.P. It is made up of Africans who are at the beck and call of the Arab ruling class. While the Z.N.P. leaders publicly stated that it would be blasphemous for them to be ruled

by Africans, they do not seem to think it equally blasphemous for them to put up a stooge Chief Minister.

The African people of Unguja find themselves pitted against such formidable and stupendous forces as the colonial government, the colonial administration machinery, the wealthy landed Arab minority, and the wealthy Indian minority. These are the forces that are opposed to social change and the same forces that are in alignment with the Zanzibar Nationalist Party in its determined bid to perpetuate alien and colonialist domination in Unguja, how be it under a new guise.

The Z.N.P. asserts that the A.S.P. "supports U.S. missile bases, saying that the bases would provide work for the Zanzibaris."

On this point the Kenya African Anti-Colonialist Movement states: "It is a matter of subversion for the Z.N.P. to allege that the American nuclear base in Zanzibar is supported by the A.S.P. The A.S.P. expressed its opposition to any foreign imperialist base in Zanzibar. In reality, the American nuclear base was established after the Arab Sultan of Zanzibar had made a *secret deal* with the British Colonial Government and the Americans. It is for the Z.N.P. to tell the Sultan to close down this dangerous atomic base immediately.

The Afro-Shirazi Party is, says a Party statement, a national movement *vis-a-vis* all the forces acting against our objective, it is crystallised out of the feelings, wishes and demand of the majority of the people of Zanzibar. It is the manifestation of nationalist feeling and the embodiment of our patriotism."

"The policy of the Afro-Shirazi Party," the statement declares is first and foremost positive independence and the Party will fight relentlessly to achieve and maintain independence for the people of Zanzibar. On this hinges all other aims of the Party for without independence and freedom from exploitation our ideal to reconstruct Zanzibar into a country free from hunger, sickness and ignorance will never be realised.

Zanzibar, (Unguja) went to the polls again on 9th July. But barely a fortnight to the elections it attained internal self-government, to be exact, on 25th June—this will probably go down into history as the "most short-lived" Cabinet.

The ceremony of administering the oath to Prime Minister Hheikh Mohammed Shante-Hamadi and his Cabinet took place in the Sultan's private apartments as he was indisposed with a leg ailment and the ceremony was relayed to the waiting crowd.

In his address the Prime Minister gave an account of the Government's achievements during its two-year term of office and outlined what it hoped to do in the future.

He said that as soon as the elections were over and in the event of his Government being returned, it was intended to enter immediately into negotiations with Britain with a view to the earliest achievement of independence.

The Cabinet is as follows:

Prime Minister—Sheikh Mohamed Shante.

Sheikh Ali Muhsin, former Minister for Education, now Minister for Home and Legal Affairs.

Sheikh Juma Aley—former Minister for Agriculture, now Minister for Finance.

Sheikh I. A. A. Malaawy remains Minister for Health.

Sheikh Ameir Taja is Minister for Education (new appointment).

Sheikh Omar Hamadi—Minister for Agriculture.
Sheikh Ibuni Saleh—Minister for Works, Communications and Land.

Sheikh Maulidi Mshandana—former Asst. Minister now Minister for Commerce and Industry.
Mr. Amiral Abdol Rasul—Asst. Minister to the Prime Minister (new appointment).

Sheikh Raschid Hamadi—new appointment, Assistant Minister for Home and Legal Affairs.

The Afro-Shirazi Party faces its decisive battle at the forthcoming elections. On its success will depend the total emancipation of the Africans and their treatment as equals of the Arabs. There should be no superior class.

* In the 1961 elections the two major parties won ten seats each. The deadlock was solved by the Z.N.P. forming a coalition with the Z.P.P.P., whose leader, Sheikh Mohammed Shamte, became Chief Minister.

In its earnest endeavour and national aspirations to liberate the Africans in Zanzibar from the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water the A.S.P. has the wholehearted support of other independent African states in accordance with Article III (6) of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity which was signed by the Heads of State of 32 Independent African countries at the Summit Conference at Addis Ababa on 25th May, 1963.

The Organisation of African Unity is committed through its Decolonisation Committee to accelerate, by all means possible, the independence and freedom of African States still under colonial rule and the people of Unguja should be helped to throw away the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism which has deprived them of their rightful heritage.



Bwana Othman Shariff... African nationalist leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party.

BRITISH IMPERIAL MORALITY UNMASKED AS FEDERATION IS BURIED

By
Manu Sipalo

A FORMER Governor of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Sir Arthur Benson, cynically wrote an article entitled "Seven wasted years". This was after Benson had locked us up in Salisbury prison and held thousands of our kinsmen in detention camps. Ten years after the iniquitous Federal scheme was imposed, a top British Cabinet Minister presiding over the funeral ceremony of the dead Federation, cried: "What a sad occasion!" Without necessarily moralising the issue, the occasion was definitely a sad one, and the godly years had been unholy "wasted". But who has been responsible for this "sadness" and who has "wasted" the years? In human terms, this sadness means: During the life of the Federation the African people who the British Government had vowed to protect, suffered thus:—

IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

116—men, women and children killed by the so-called Security forces (of the settlers),

Over 60—African hereditary rulers ruthlessly destooled

Over 30,000—men, women and youth jailed for terms of imprisonment ranging from one month to 20 years and many are still in jail.

All these were done in the name of law and order when in fact the very exercise was the abrogation of "Law" in an effort to establish an "order" without opposition. If this is the "sadness" Butler talked about, then we are with him; and if he meant the end of his imperial

dreams, we are still with him but if he meant something else, pardon us to say "Gone are the days!"

Now that Federation is to be abolished by December 31 this year, we of Zambia look forward to immediate independence next year. We do not mourn for the death of this monstrous constitutional misadventure but we certainly mourn for the lives lost and the economic rape done to our country during its life time. It was for the purposes of stealing Northern Rhodesia's wealth and for the purposes of containing the upsurge of Pan African Nationalism that Federation was introduced. On the former score, it succeeded ruefully, but on the latter, it failed in a manner that Britain's own imperial moral fibre has been scratched to the pith.

VICTORIA FALLS CONFERENCE

The Victoria Falls Conference was not in itself a grand show although it helped in resuscitating Tory's political morality at home. African nationalists got what they wanted: a fixed date for the break-up; Southern Rhodesia settlers got what they wanted: a major share of the armed forces (to help hover over African nationalists in the Colony) and Welensky and his henchmen got what they wanted: a longer period of descent from the heights for the purposes of messing the Rhodesian finances, a period for manoeuvring to cripple African Governments in the North by effective collaboration with ageing potentates (like Mwanawina III) and weak-kneed African political

upstarts and fortune seekers—the running dogs of the settlers (like the African National Congress, N.R.). All these we are fully aware of. The British money magnates have not been silent; from 6,000 miles away they have worked to push in the World Bank in an effort to seduce us into so-called economic links with Southern Rhodesia.

Never in the history of decolonisation has the World Bank been used by an imperial power to force its schemes by threatening to starve a people that are just emerging into nationhood. The World Bank is the mainspring of the international money market—an international monetary consortium whose Charter does not allow it to offer aid with strings.

But here in the Rhodesias the Federation of British Industries with the paternal sanction of the Tory Government, have induced the World Bank to hang an economic scare over our heads. We are



Sir Roy Welensky... His great energies might still be used if he accepts the inevitable and conducts himself in the right manner

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clearly watching the activities of the unfortunate World Bank representatives now in Rhodesia who are being forced to do a job intended to cement neo-colonialistic plans. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* (I fear the Greeks even when they offer gifts).

The credit worthiness of N.R. cannot be doubted nor is our international goodwill and confidence wanting. We will for all time be able to raise international credit without the step-motherly economic fulcrum of the Federation of British Industries and their theatrical Tory Spokesmen in the British Government. It is on this score that but for mere moral considerations we could have repudiated the Federal debt without much loss of international goodwill and confidence. As for the Federal debt we could have easily cried: "he who called the tune, must pay the piper." The fate of the 35,000 European civil servants is a matter for the Federal and British Governments, who held out laurels for them in pre-1953 days. These Governments must compensate them or induce them to remain in the Service of the Territorial Governments. We certainly need their services, but from their proven communal egocentricity, oh Lord save us! We don't need litimus, blue or red to prove our stand on this.

● ECONOMIC LINKS

The case for economic links has been unduly emphasised. There are only three items on the agenda: the Rhodesia Railways, Central African Airways and the Kariba. As for a common currency and a uniformed banking system—to this we say flatly no! We will establish our own currency (plans are well ahead on this), our own Central Bank and we will within economic reason and the law of the land allow Commercial Banks of any nation to operate. For practical reasons we may not be able, ab initio, to disentangle ourselves from the clutches of the Central

African Reserve Bank but that we will in time, is a certainty.

The three items on the agenda, namely: Railways, Airways and Kariba power are not big problems.

For the Airways we will share the aeroplanes, all assets and liabilities of the Central African Airways. I am sure European pilots will be too glad to serve a stable and conscious free Government. The Railways will be a headache for some five years but after that period we will be joining the East African Railways System.

KARIBA: It is certainly difficult to divide lake water. We are prepared to run it on the same model as Canada and the United States run the powerful hydro-electric scheme on the St. Lawrence River. Where are the economic links that are being talked about so much?

It would be day-dreaming to expect an African Government in Northern Rhodesia to help finance a minority settler Government in Southern Rhodesia which is ruthlessly oppressing our kith and kin

there. It is easy to manipulate tariff walls and international taxation in order to bring Winston Field and his ilk to their senses—*Carent quia Vate Sacro!* We fully know that under the now, jaundiced political skin of the settlers is this inscription: A man may stay to love what he comes to rape.

Zambia shall be free and united in the Campus of Pan Africanism and positive non-alignment. We are certainly not tip-toeing for a high dive into paradise but with political freedom one is not wrong to shout: paradise is here, it is here, it is here!

The Federal Government Coat of Arms has these words: *Magnae mereamur.* (Let us deserve to be great). Can the European school teacher at Hartley (S. Rhodesia), the inventor of this motto chosen from among many and for which he got a near Nobel Prize, repeat these words today! These are Canutian dreams come true—(Africans) deserve to be great!

THIS MONTH'S QUOTE

"MEN write many fine and plausible arguments in support of monarchy, but the fact remains that where every man in a state has a vote, brutal laws are impossible. . . . There is a phrase which has grown so common in the world's mouth that it has come to seem to have sense and meaning—sense and meaning implied when it is used; that is the phrase which refers to this or that or the other nation as possibly being "capable of self-government"; and the implied sense of it is, that there has been a nation somewhere, some time or other, which WASN'T capable of it—wasn't as able to govern itself as some self-appointed specialists were or would be to govern it.

The master minds of all nations, in all ages, have sprung in affluent multitude from the mass of the nation, and from the mass of the nation only—not from its privileged classes; and so, no matter what the nation's intellectual grade was whether high or low, the bulk of its ability was in the long ranks of its nameless and its poor, and so it never saw the day that it had not the material in abundance whereby to govern itself.

—MARK TWAIN— "Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court."

LE SAHARA ALGERIEN ET SES RICHESSES PETROLIERES.

Un bref historique des événements récents et souvent méconnus en ce qui concerne spécifiquement le Sahara algérien permettra au lecteur de mieux comprendre l'importance effective attribuée par tous les intéressés au royaume d'Antinea où, depuis quelques années, les colonies des puissants camions pétroliers disputent de plus en plus les chemins du désert aux lentes caravanes chamélières.

Le jour où la France avait délibérément interrompu la conférence d'Evian avec les représentants du G.P.R.A.; il fut clair pour tout le monde qu'elle voulait à tout prix maintenir ses prérogatives sahariennes et que, surtout, elle ne voulait pas perdre son empire pétrolier. C'est ainsi que, dans les cinq dernières années, la France, devant l'inéductibilité de l'indépendance algérienne, a tout mis en oeuvre pour amputer du Sahara le reste de l'Algérie.

En juillet 1959, un projet de "République Saharienne Autonome", bâti sur le principe qui permit plus tard à Tschombé de mener à terme la sécession du Katanga, fut présenté par le "député des Oasis" Hanza Boubaker, à des notabilités sahariennes des trois grands groupes ethniques Reguibat, Chamba et Touareg. Chargé de cette tâche destinée à "congoliser l'Algérie" par les milieux financiers et politiques de Paris, Hanza Boubaker se heurta aussitôt à l'opposition de ceux qu'il était censé convaincre. Au cours d'une réunion à Laghouat, puis d'un déjeuner à Saint Eugène, dans la banlieue d'Alger, les chefs sahariens refusèrent d'accepter la mutilation de la République algérienne future et la création d'un nouveau Katanga. La suite des manoeuvres ont été révélées le 28 décembre 1961 par bulletin spécial de l'Algérie Presse Service" dont voici les passages essentiels:

"En réponse à ce refus, Boubaker fit arrêter l'un des chefs de la "zaouia Tidjana" et demanda l'

aide du gouvernement français qui se décida à intervenir directement auprès des populations sahariennes. C'est Debré lui-même qui se déplaça; bientôt suivi d'une mission gouvernementale présidée par Guichard. La mission échoua.

Boubaker, cependant, poursuivait son action et, une fois encore en avril 1961, il réunit, avec l'appui de la police et de l'armée française, 54 représentants des régions sahariennes. La réunion, tenue dans la maison du Préfet des Oasis à Ouargla, se termina par un fiasco pour ses organisateurs.

L'administration française employa alors d'autres méthodes provocatoires. Une opération d'envergure fut menée personnellement par le Gouverneur de la Banque d'Algérie, ami personnel du Général Challe et "bienfaiteur" des organisations fascistes. Il s'agit encore de réduire les commerçants d'origine saharienne, principalement les Mozabites, à la banqueroute. Le Gouverneur de la Banque d'Algérie, aidé par l'agent d'affaires Tubiana, de la Banque Populaire et l'avocat Gazon ordonnèrent aux tribunaux de Commerce de rendre des arrêts de faillite contre les commerçants Mozabites suspects de patriotisme, tandis que les banques leur refusaient les facilités habituelles en exigeant le remboursement immédiat de prêts.

Ceux que "l'opération banqueroute" ne toucha pas furent victimes des plastiqueurs de l'O.A.S.; plus de 90 magasins d'Alger appartenant à des Sahariens furent détruits. L'activité commerciale de ces Algériens fut, dès lors, pratiquement interrompue.

Les populations sahariennes ne désarmèrent pas pour autant. Le nombre de "fidayines" dans le centre et la région de Ouargla s'accrut; leurs actions, notamment en août 1961, s'accrochèrent et les manifestations d'attachement au Gouvernement provisoire de la République Algérienne des ouvriers des chantiers pétroliers (Hassi-Mes-

said entre autres) se multiplièrent.

La première mesure prise par le Secrétaire Général du Département des Oasis, Abrial, et le commandant de la zone militaire, fut la déportation dans les camps du nord de l'Algérie de 1,500 ouvriers-pétroliers de la région de Ouargla.

Le recours à la provocation religieuse fut ensuite décidé. Le 5 septembre 1961, l'Administration coloniale dépêcha un groupe de harkis qui dévasta la mosquée de Ouargla, s'acharna sur les livres saints et répandant la rumeur que ce sacage était l'oeuvre des Mozabites.

Puis la répression dirigée par Erbelin, beau-frère de la "députée" Sid-Cara et maire de Ouargla, s'est déclanchée contre les populations de la région. Les chefs spirituels sahariens ont été emprisonnés avec plusieurs de leurs compagnons, des commerçants expropriés et déportés, tandis que les exactions des harkis ont été, comme à Paris, soutenues et encouragées par l'Armée et l'Administration françaises. Les premières victimes de cette répression furent évidemment les Sahariens que l'on voulait voir désavouer le gouvernement algérien et le F.L.N.

Mais, malgré leurs défaites répétées, l'ancien ministre Max Lejeune, l'ex préfet Baylot, le député fasciste Biaggi, ont présenté le 4 décembre aux Nigériens Boubaker comme "le représentant des populations sahariennes". Les comparses ont tenté de relancer leur projet de République Saharienne. Ce fut l'occasion pour le Président Hamani Diori d'affirmer: "Je n'aiderai jamais et en aucune façon à la création d'un Katanga Saharien".

Et ce fut la Conférence d'Evian et le cessez-le-feu. Les négociations très serrées en matière, ont vu les positions françaises faire place, après de vaines tergiversations, à celles du F.L.N.; tout au moins sur le plan politique essentiel, celui de l'intégration territoriale.

"L'affirmation de la souveraineté politique algérienne sur tout le territoire national n'est pas pour nous

une fin de soi, ce n'est qu'un des aspects, le premier, de notre position générale, expliquait "El Moudjahid" dans un article sur la question Saharienne".

Non moins important à nos yeux, le second aspect: pour nous, le Sahara n'est pas une frontière, ce n'est pas une barrière mais un trait d'union pour l'Afrique.

L'Algérie n'est pas le seul pays à avoir une région saharienne. La Tunisie et le Maroc en ont également. La Mauritanie, le Mali, le Niger, le Tchad et la Libye sont des états dont le territoire, en totalité ou en partie, appartient au Sahara géographique.

C'est pourquoi le Sahara n'est pas un territoire à part; de tous les côtés, ses limites se confondent avec les pays riverains; tous les pays africains du nord et du centre ont des régions sahariennes.

Lorsque la souveraineté politique des Etats africains indépendants a été reconnue, il n'a pas été envisagé de les amputer de leurs régions sahariennes.

Il ne saurait être question pour nous de renoncer à établir les bases du Grand Maghreb sur une mise en commun de nos richesses sahariennes respectives. Cette mise en commun, pour être sincère, valable, ne peut être étouffée, ni imposée, mais doit être volontairement décidée par des Etats souverains, libres et égaux.

Dé même, il ne saurait être question pour nous de renoncer à nos frontières communes avec frères du Mali, dont la position claire et courageuse depuis leur indépendance constitue pour nous un soutien précieux, le garant de la solidarité africaine, l'ébauche d'une coopération sérieuse entre Africains du nord et du centre. L'amitié forgée dans la lutte avec nos frères de Bamako, et au-delà, ceux d'Accra et de Conakry, trace la voie de la solidarité africaine de demain.

Tous les Etats africains véritablement indépendants soutiennent notre lutte, soutiennent nos justes revendications sur l'intégrité territoriale de l'Algérie.

Tous les Etats africains véritablement indépendants se sont asso-

ciés à nos protestations contre les lancements de fusées du centre d'Hamma, près de Colomb-Béchar, depuis 1959; contre les essais atomiques français perpétrés à Reggane depuis 1960.

Pour tous ces pays frères, il est clair que le Sahara algérien n'est pas un territoire politiquement vacant, que le Sahara tout entier appartient à l'Afrique, que les pays africains ne peuvent accepter de voir une partie de leur sol servir aux préparatifs de la guerre froide et de la guerre atomique.

Les richesses du sous-sol, découvertes en Algérie, peuvent aussi fonder la coopération entre le Maghreb et l'Afrique Noire. En effet, les pays situés au sud du Sahara manquent de sources d'énergie: le gaz qui existe en quantité dans la région d'In Salah et qui n'est pas exploité actuellement (le gaz d'Hassi R'Mel se trouvant plus au nord) pourrait servir à aider ces pays africains dans leur construction économique: Cette mise en valeur du Sahara des Africains pour les Africains ne pourra se faire qu'après l'indépendance de tout le territoire algérien. C'est ce qu'ont voulu récemment rappeler nos frères du Mali en proclamant qu'il ne fallait pas discuter du Sahara avant l'indépendance de l'Algérie.

Les réserves énergétiques du sous-sol saharien dépassent largement dans l'état actuel des connaissances, les besoins du développement économique de l'Afrique. C'est pourquoi il est normal dans notre propre intérêt, de tenir compte des intérêts étrangers engagés dans l'affaire saharienne; le pétrole et le gaz sahariens intéressent aussi la France, comme les pays d'Europe occidentale qui constituent aussi un marché. Ce n'est pas par philanthropie ou par hasard que les compagnies étrangères ont trouvé pétrole et gaz au Sahara algérien, mais parce qu'elles en avaient besoin. Dans la mesure où ces compagnies sont prêtes à respecter la souveraineté algérienne, nous sommes prêts, quant à nous, à envisager les modalités d'accord d'échanges et de libre coopération, assurant les intérêts réciproques des parties en présence.

Car il est bien évident, aux yeux du peuple algérien, que "la prospection et l'exploitation des richesses du Sahara ne sauraient en aucun cas se muer en droits de propriété".

Cette "coopération fructueuse" à laquelle nous sommes prêts, avec les pays du Maghreb, avec les pays de l'Afrique, avec les pays industrialisés — quels qu'ils soient — est aussi pour nous une position fondamentale: le peuple algérien s'est levé en masse depuis sept ans pour retrouver son droit à l'existence, à l'identité nationale et aussi pour construire une Algérie viable politiquement et économiquement. Aucune manœuvre ne le détruira de ce but. La coopération internationale "fructueuse" que nous voulons, c'est une coopération dans la clarté, sur la base des intérêts réciproques dans l'égalité des pays et le respect absolu de la souveraineté nationale, sans contrepartie politique. Cette coopération ne peut être que librement décidée par un Etat souverain.

Si de tels principes de base n'étaient pas respectés, on verrait réapparaître, sous le couvert de "coopération internationale" ou d'assistance technique" le colonialisme camouflé en néocolonialisme.

C'est pourquoi il ne saurait être question pour nous d'entériner purement et simplement des constructions juridiques, administratives ou financières imposées de l'extérieur sous prétexte de faciliter la solution du problème algérien. La mise en valeur des régions sahariennes doit être décidée pour chaque région par l'Etat auquel elle appartient, libre à cet Etat de s'adresser à qui bon lui semble pour obtenir capitaux et techniciens.

Les peuples africains ont déjà fait éclater le cadre de la "communauté" préfabriquée. Ils feront éclater de même tout organisme administratif ou financier étranger, toute organisation supranationale ou toute société anonyme sous contrôle étranger qui viserait à reconduire la mainmise colonialiste sur les richesses de l'Afrique, qui viserait à se substituer aux Etats souverains pour délivrer des permis de recherche, orienter les investissements, répartir les bénéfices, décider du développement des pays respectifs, décider le volume des ventes.