

Colonies admitted that "the policy of the naturalization of the natives is timid, though the reality of the Colony does not permit big progress."

The workers have to carry a "carnet" (identity card or pass), the employers a "Registro" (Registration Card). Unemployed people are liable to be arrested and sent to work building roads.

A new "Patronato de Indigenas" (Permanent Commission for the Protection of Natives) was set up by the Franco "Decreto" (decree) of 29 September, 1938, with the ostensible purpose of protecting African population and the workers in particular.

The President and other members (representing Spanish officialdom and big business and plantation magnates) are nominated by the Governor. Unfortunately, this body has so far not implemented fully the

"social law" outlined in the Decree of 30 July, 1940, for the various "Boletin Oficial" of the Colony. Rapacious exploitation continues unabated.

There are a few African Reverend Priests and Sisters; but so far we have no information that any of them has been lifted to a place of authority like Bishop. But catechists are freely trained!

### Spanish Inquisition

"Next to bodily physique for Health," states a Spanish official document, "the religious Mission and the school are elementary essentials of colonization.....for a Catholic, the Mission is the essential fundamental value of colonization, for Spaniard especially. Without the Catholic Mission, one cannot

conceive of Spanish Colonization." Today, with the exception of a few Protestants and Baptists who survived the inquisition leading to the expulsion of the English Missionary, Alfred Saekar, in 1858, most of the Islands inhabitants are Catholics. Catholic Missionary work started in Rio Muni in 1897 and 1939 an estimated 50 per cent of the population were converted Catholics. Today, there are very few "pagans" in the inaccessible interior.

### Forced Labour

In a speech before the General Assembly of Spain in June, 1939, the Governor-General admits that the indigenous people have to give one day every week for "prestacion personal" (forced labour). This forced labour is mostly utilised in constructing and repairing roads as also setting up plantations. According to an official Spanish publication, each "Native" Chief must furnish such free African labour as may be demanded by the official of the Colonial Administration on tour.

According to an official estimate in November 1941 workers in the plantations and forestry industry come from Spanish Guinea (78.2 per cent), Nigeria (19.5 per cent) and Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa (2.3 per cent). At the outbreak of War II in 1939, the French put an embargo on their subjects going to work in Spanish Guinea.

Nigerian labour is recruited chiefly via Calabar, Eastern Nigeria. There are at present about 20,000 Nigerian workers in Spanish plantations of which 12,000 are "Treaty labourers." Their conditions of service, housing, health remittance, etc., are governed by the Agreement of 1943 as amended in 1957. Horrible stories of forced labour in Spanish Guinea still percolate to the outside world and the Nigerian public has long been campaigning for the cessation of the recruitment of labour in the country for "Panya."

A special branch of the Nigerian Labour Dept. in Santa Isabel ensures that the Agreements are observed to letters. The Federal and Eastern Nigeria Governments received a capitation fee of £5 per labourer formerly it was 15/-. From time to time, and especially during the war



years, there have been disturbing information about children kidnapped for work in "Panya"..... so scarce is the labour available in Spanish Guinea.

### Education And Health Services

Most schools are run by the Catholic Mission. There are a few 'Escuelas Oficial' (Government schools) in the main towns. The total number of school children is very small. In the Escuela Oficial de Mikomeseng in 1941 there were only 270 scholars on the roll.....and this in spite of the five time "notable incremento" claimed by the French regime. Girls now attend school in larger numbers, in some places forming 20 per cent of the total enrolment. Most of the school teachers and Headmasters are Spanish (in contra-distinction to what obtains elsewhere in Africa). The few African school masters belong to the Bube, Kombe and Pamue communities (which seem to be the leading sections of the African population).

The schools are concentrated around Bata and Santa Isabel. The level of educational advancement is very low. By 1941 only two sons of the soil were studying in Santa Isabel to become magistrates.

Out of a total Budget of 19,200,000 Ptas in 1941 only 245,100 was spent on African Education (official and missionary Islands of Carisco, Elobey Grande and Elobey Chico) Exchange: 25.22 Pesetas=£1 Sterling.

After the scanty schooling they get, the Africans are only fit to work as carpenters, teachers, nurses, blacksmiths, clerks. The only "technical" training work available is in the Post and Telegraphs Service or Guardia Colonial (Police) or the Agricultural Research Station in Evinayong (Rio Muni) where new grains of cocoa, coffee, etc. are developed. No African, no matter how "advanced," can be enrolled in the Civil Service.

Hospitals, dispensaries, are few and inadequate. Filaria malaria and trypanosomiasis take a heavy toll of lives.

### Economic Potential And Spanish Exploitation

Animal wealth (1939 data): Horses few; cattle 31,000; sheep 300; pigs

100. Food has to be imported to feed the workers. That is why a flourishing trade in contraband goods exists with the Nigerian coast. There are at least 1,300 Nigerian "licensed" traders in Fernando Poo for this purpose.

Chief exports in order of importance are: timber (mahogany and ebony chiefly), Cocoa (13,400 tons in 1939 and 23,400 tons in 1956-57). Coffee (2,500 tons in 1939 increased tonnage since then). Other important export crops are palm oils, palm kernels (nuts), copra and coconuts.

There are few factories mostly soap and timber milling. Rio Muni is very rich in "white coal" (from waterfalls), minerals and timber; but these are still largely untapped. African wages are very low. According to official Spanish sources, the average basic monthly salary of a labourer is 30 Pras (2522 Ptas=£1), of which 50 per cent is "retained" for him! Africans own only a few retail shops and plantations (farms).

All major business, banking, shipping, export-timber trade are monopolised by the Spanish. The plantations are owned by Spanish "absentee" gradees and economic tycoons. They are managed and supervised by Spanish Agents who live on the estates.

So vigilant and efficient is the Spanish secret police that they promptly threw out non-Spanish Africans who wanted to stage strikes for better wages in the post 1945 years. Some Spanish subjects who had migrated to the mainland were hunted and forced to return home for fear that they might get infected with the nationalist tide then sweeping West Africa like a fever.

Journalists (the lucky few who are given visas) who visit S. Guinea are feted and taken on conducted tours; but returned workers narrated their tales of woe on the mainland.

### Prospects For Freedom

The people of this corner of Africa had their first big break during the Republican regime in the 1928-36 era. By a series of decrees, the concessions were suspended in 1930 and in 1932 by the Agrarian Reform limited to 20 hectares each (1 hectare=2,471 acres). Further alienation of African land was stopped. In 1933 African markets

were re-organised and economic exploitation was eliminated by arranging for the marketing of cash crops through quasi co-operative African village establishments.

A "Codigo de Trabajo" (Labour Code) was drawn up benefiting from the strictures passed on the treatment of Liberian labourers by the League of Nations Enquiry. The Labour Inspectors and Patronato became more active in the protection of African interests. Unfortunately this interesting experiment in the liberalism of a European colonialism was ended when the Francofascist clique overthrew the Republican Government in the 1936-38 Civil War.

When the Franco regime came to power, it resorted to the status quo ante. Spanish capital benefiting from this carried out vast expansion programmes under the impetus of war and the embargo. If Metropolitan Spain itself is not rid of totalitarian rule, we cannot expect much help by way of internal "evolution" or "liberalism."

That these territories can achieve their freedom by way of passing under another European Power is not likely. Since Spanish Guinea is today a great economic asset to Spain the prospect of sale is remote (although in that case, Spain has promised France first preference).

The only prospect for freedom, difficult though it is, lies in internal awakening at a historically ripe moment, supported and continually sustained in all ways by external African co-operation. A simple glance at the map will show that Fernando Poo is a loaded pistol at the heart of Cameroons. The strategic importance of Spanish Guinea was amply shown during World War II when German submarines using the islands as secret hide-outs sank many allied ships of the West African coast.

It is a moot point whether a free and strong Cameroons whose Yasa, Fang, Mabea and Kpe peoples have got blood relations in these territories would long let them remain or fall into hostile hands. Spanish Guinea may well be liberated like Ifni.

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# South Africa and United Nations

by Peter H. Molotsi

IT has become clearer than ever before that Settler South Africa is fighting a losing battle against African nationalism in particular, and against humanity in general.

During the current session of the United Nations, as in the past South Africa has, true to type, come under fire and all-round condemnation for its brutal fiendish policies aimed at the perpetual enslavement of the indigenous people. The blinkers are being mercilessly torn off the settlers' eyes and the writing is on the wall for all to see.

Since the founding of the United Nations, the membership of South Africa has been an uneasy one precisely because the settler minority who have arrogated to themselves the right to steer the ship of state have been uncovered and their true shape of masqueraders has been fully exposed.

It has been established beyond shadow of doubt that the South African settlers have no *modicum* of right to lord it over the indigenous people, consequently countless resolutions have been passed calling on the delinquent government to abandon their obnoxious apartheid policy. With unflinching regularity and scorn these resolutions have not failed to find their way into the waste paper baskets of the colonialist Pretoria regime.

The patience of the U.N. is beginning to wane fast and its reaction is becoming more violent as evidenced by the recent un-

precedented vote of censure on settler Minister, Eric Louw, who recently attempted to insult the intelligence of Africans by emitting crude fabrications in yet another abortive bid to sell apartheid to the United Nations. This belated ill-mannered and ill-timed move boomeranged sharply on poor Eric and it was correctly dismissed as "offensive, fictitious and erroneous."

Remarked one African delegate: "South Africa has shown by its behaviour that it is not fit to associate with decent states and decent peoples. Mr. Louw has supplied us with abundant nails with which to nail his regime into the coffin. It is only a question of time to bury it." We endorse these sentiments. The wrath of the United Nations has of late risen in intensity against settler South Africa and the signs are that she is heading for a fall. This trend is inevitable because in the present era when the whole of mankind is taking strides to progress and shedding the chains of colonialism and imperialism, settler South Africa alone has exposed herself as an anachronism.

Settler South Africa is the only country in the whole wide world which has made the primitive doctrine of "racial supremacy" part and parcel of a declared state policy by which the masses of people are denied fundamental civic, political, social, economic and cultural rights.

The ruling foreign minority in this set-up has arrogated unto themselves

exclusive and absolute juridical, military, economic and political power which they exercise ruthlessly to maintain their ascendancy and reduce the indigenous people to helotry and virtual slavery.

Settler South Africa is the only country in the world in which a primitive caste system is protected by semblance of legality and in which human fragmentation is lauded as upright state policy.

The decrying voice against South Africa has now risen to a *fortissimo* with the accumulated resentment almost at the bursting point.

The Special Political Committee of the U.N. recently recommended political and economic sanctions against settler South Africa and consideration of her expulsion from the U.N.

It gave overwhelming approval to a resolution that would have the General Assembly urge all states to take such separate and collective action as is open to them to bring about an abandonment of apartheid.

Amendments to this resolution added to it a call for an embargo on petroleum shipments to that colonialist fascist country and for a bar on any support and assistance which may be used for the purpose of intensifying the violence of the settler regime against the indigenous population of South Africa and causing further bloodshed."

Is it surprising that the U.N. tone is hardening? Why is it that South Africa is becoming a stinkard and being systematically ostracised by the international community? Are the African delegations in particular for no good cause sadistically enjoying the spectacle of the Verwoerdian maniacs squirming and groaning under a perennial barrage of criticism?

The record of South Africa has been a very bleak one indeed, particularly in the last twenty-four months and has aroused such revulsion as may lead the perpetrators of this evil to certain doom and disaster.

The tragedy of the situation is that in the same period the bipolarisation of forces in conflict in South Africa itself has been thrown to new wider dimensions and brought into sharper relief.

I am convinced that as the struggle for national liberation gains in momentum and in intensity it will be within this content that victory will come our way.

And now a glance at the events of the last twenty-four months, and world reaction to them.

It will be recalled that following Mangaliso Sobukwe's call to the African people to take final positive action against the Pass Laws "as a first step to independence," thousands of our kinsmen were brutally massacred at Sharpeville and Langa. The world community was stung with shock and indignation.

It is to be noted that what made the protests over the Sharpeville shootings and subsequent events so different from those which had taken place before was their widespread extent and the universal denunciation and condemnation expressed.

The United States Department took the unusual step of "interfering" in the domestic affairs of a country with which it enjoyed normal diplomatic relations. The House of Commons passed a resolution in condemnation, a move which was duplicated in various forms in many other legislatures throughout the world.

In Norway flags flew at half-mast on the day of the funeral of the victims. The Brazilian Ambassador in Pretoria was recalled and a football match against a settler South African team was cancelled in Rio de Janeiro. Numerous heads of state made trenchant comments while the United Nations Security Council convened in a special session. Meanwhile Mangaliso Sobukwe lay chained hand and foot by that blood-thirsty settler regime in their jails as he is up to the moment of writing.

Members of the Security Council of the U.N. when solemnly assembled in April, 1960, were in a sombre mood, and after examining the situation, resolved that the council:

- (a) Recognises that the situation in the Union of South Africa is one that has led to international friction and if continued might endanger international peace and security.
- (b) Deplores that the recent disturbances should have led to the loss of life of so many

Africans and extends to the families of the victims its deepest sympathies.

- (c) Deplores the policies and actions of the Government of the Union of South Africa which has given rise to the present situation.
- (d) Calls upon the (settler) Government of the Union of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur and to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination.
- (e) Requests the Secretary-General in consultation with the (settler) Government of the Union of South Africa to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the principles and purposes of the Charter and to report to the Security Council whenever necessary and appropriate.

It was against this background that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers conferred in May 1960, the year of Africa's destiny. And although apartheid, as an item "falling within the domestic jurisdiction of a member state," was not on the agenda, it hovered in its most sinister form like a cloud over conference and overshadowed the proceedings. It was on everybody's lips.

People said policies that could result in Sharpevilles were a menace to Commonwealth solidarity and a threat to world peace. South Africa, a growing number of observers felt, did not appear qualified for membership in a club whose reputation was the upholding of human rights and the promotion of the social well-being of its multi-coloured members.

The feeling of exorcising South Africa from the club rose to fever pitch. African nationalists in South Africa had already declared their intention of isolating settler South Africa politically, economically and culturally from the comity of nations. The outcome of that conference was in the nature of things bound to weigh heavily on the United Nations which watched the proceedings with rare interest.

Eric Louw, settler Foreign Minister, returned from that conference a disappointed man, a sorry spectacle. He had gone there to secure the assurance that if South Africa became a republic she would still remain a member of the Commonwealth. It was also his divine mission to establish that apartheid was the sole concern of himself and his ungodly colleagues and therefore outside the pale of discussion by the outside world.

But the pressure of the forces at work was such that he had to consent to discussing it in a series of informal meetings. And it was exactly there where the principal clashes with wide repercussions occurred.

At one point Tunku Abdul Rahman reminded him that he (the Tunku) was Prime Minister of Malaya and at another Dr. Kwame Nkrumah summarily cancelled his projected visit to Ghana.

Upon his return Eric Louw reported in detail to his colleagues who then resolved afresh that, since the whole world was wrong and since only they, the white minority, were right, they would not be influenced from outside the borders of the country of their conquest.

With characteristic intransigence they reaffirmed their worn-out argument that any discussion of the explosive situation in South Africa by people other than themselves was a contravention of Article 2 (7) of the UN Charter the terms of which read as follows:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are *essentially* within the domestic jurisdiction of any member state or shall require members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII." Chapter VII deals with "action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression."

The UN generally and the Afro-Asian Group countries in particular have held the widely supported view that Article 2 (7) is never read in isolation but in conjunction with Articles 55 and 56 which read:—

“With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples the U.N. (of which S.A. is a member) shall promote:

- (a) Higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- (b) Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.”

Article 56 states that all members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations for achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the white settler Government chooses to turn a blind eye to these articles for every phrase therein is an indictment of their myopic suicidal policies.

It is not contested that they have over a long period sucked the lifeblood out of the African people and battered on their sweat and tears, blood and labour. They have enacted legislation the aim and effect of which has been to perpetuate the slavery of the African masses. By a system of unbridled economic exploitation they have ensured not only starvation wages for the African people, but also unprecedented political oppression and unparalleled social degradation of these masses.

By a vile system of job-reservation these Christian saints of the much-deformed Dutch Reformed Churches have barred the indigenous people from the most lucrative categories of employment which are exclusively reserved for themselves—the superior race. They have set up a vicious spy ring whose ignoble task it is to enforce these measures ruthlessly and to report on sections of industry which may tend, for whatever reason, to ignore the draconian provisions of this decree.

Numbers of unemployed Africans have spiralled to astronomical figures. They are generally dragooned to forced-labour camps where they are under whiplash the whole day. There is no indication that these conditions will ever improve until the total

overthrow of white domination in South Africa has been effected. It appears the U.N. itself is slowly coming around to this same conclusion.

The misguided arrogance and persistent affront to the world by the settlers has spilled over to South-West Africa which has long been subject of dispute between the colonialist Pretoria regime and the U.N.

It will be remembered that on December 17, 1920 the Council of the League of Nations conferred upon His Britannic Majesty the right to administer S.W.A., a former German colony, in terms of the Mandate which was later passed on to South Africa by His Britannic Majesty. The following are some of the salient points from the terms of that Mandate:

- (a) The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate.
- (b) The Mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited and that no forced labour is permitted except for essential works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration.
- (c) The supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives shall be prohibited. (Jariretundu Kozonguizi, President of the South West Africa National Union states that this provision is the only one that has been fully and ruthlessly enforced by the colonialist S.A. regime).
- (d) The Mandatory shall ensure in the territory freedom of conscience and free exercise of all forms of worship, and shall allow all missionaries to enter into, travel and reside in the territory for purposes of prosecuting their calling. (The Reverend Michael Scott, outstanding Anglican clergyman veteran campaigner and champion, of human rights has been declared prohibited immigrant by the colonialist regime).
- (e) The Mandatory shall make an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, contain-

ing full information with regard to the territory indicating measures taken to carry out the obligations assumed in terms of the Mandate.

The Pretoria regime has tenaciously refused to submit these reports to the U.N. Trusteeship Council. The regime holds nothing but contempt for the Council.

The colonialist regime has, with impunity, extended its apartheid policies with its concomitant evils to the territory. It has denied the indigenous people rights of ownership of land, refused to recognise their popular organisations, refused to grant them a share in civic government, denied them democratic rights which are the exclusive preserve of the settler minority, denied them fundamental rights of free movement, association, assembly, thought and expression. It has systematically subjected the indigenous people to extreme humiliation, denying them a living wage to ensure human level of existence.

The U.N. was most indignant at the pig-headedness of the South Africa settler regime but did not seem to know what action to take.

The Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa in 1960 gave a lead in considering this situation afresh. It concluded that the international obligations of South Africa concerning South-West Africa should be submitted to the International Court of Justice for judicial adjudication. This move was to be spearheaded by Ethiopia and Liberia who had indicated their readiness to act for the African Continent in this matter. The U.N. subsequently endorsed this line of action.

The Third All-African Peoples' Conference meeting in Cairo in 1961 emphatically condemned the settler South Africa Government and its policies in South-West Africa and demanded the Pretoria Administration to quit the territory at once. Conference called on the U.N. to act against South Africa with uncompromising firmness and utmost immediacy.

At the current session of the U.N. a report by the nine-nation South-West Africa Committee declared that the whole line of

# Towards an African Philosophy (Part II)

by Rev. Father Mongameli Mohama

WHAT then exactly is the meaning of this triangle or cone and circle? The biological significance is the most obvious. In fact the phallic characteristics of the Ethiopian obelisks, for example, are painfully clear. Yet it would be trifling to stop only at this level of reality. A true symbol is always a springboard into different planes of reality (cf. Mircea Eliade: *The Structure of Symbols in Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Sheed and Ward, London and New York). The first mound of creation

stood in the centre. This was sometimes also represented by a tree—remember the sacred sycamore of Egypt, or also the ancestor-tree that often stood in the circular courts of some Bantu tribes.

We cannot, therefore, content ourselves with just the obvious meaning of the signs in consideration. To take the Ethiopian obelisk again as an example, we see that it was meant also to symbolise a temple. In the issue of the Ethiopian Magazine Africa which was devoted

to the first Accra Conference, an Ethiopian writer made this point very clear.

In fact, at the bases of these obelisks one sees an engraved altar, while the whole length of the column up to its summit has the different stages of the Temple building sculptured on it. The Egyptian pyramid too had a temple connected with it, while inside it lay the dead kings, queens, and princes. At the same time the pyramid contained the most precious records. The Egyptian obelisk is not only a symbol of life as its Ethiopian counterpart, is but also a record of the works and achievements of man in writing. Monoliths, cones, and trunks of trees are also put to this use.

## Gamut of Symbols and Myths

Though we may not have exhausted all the significant functions of this symbol in African culture, we feel justified to say that it stood for creation, for the contrast and unity between life and death (cf. Kurt Lange and Max Hirmer, *l'Egitto*, p.15 Sansoni Editore, II edizione Italiana, 1957), the contrast and unity between the rational and irrational elements in the universe. In fact, the place of sacrifice and prayer was the mountain, and the mountain was regarded as the centre of the world. This is well demonstrated by Frobenius on pages 152—154 of his work quoted above.

To leave the geometrical field and proceed to symbolism on the organic level, we want to remark at once here that there is a whole gamut of symbols and myths running almost through the whole animal kingdom. In order to put some order into this medley and to follow what we think to be a reasonable course in the interpretation of the remarkable relations established by the African mind between man and beast, we will adopt the teaching of Ogotemeli as propounded in Griaule's book, *Dieu d'Eau*:

*"L'animal, dit enfin Ogotemeli, est comme le jumeau se l'homme. Et c'est de lui que ce servait l'ancetre demiurge (parentheses mine) pour se faire connaitre des vivants qui'l voulait aider, car l'animal etait comme son jumeau; certes distinct de lui, ne en d'autres zones, de*

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## South Africa and United Nations

Continued from previous page

South Africa policy was in contradiction of the Mandate, the U.N. Charter and the "enlightened conscience of mankind."

The Committee, further, said the situation in the territory had grown from bad to worse and only intervention by the U.N. could obviate "armed racial conflict." It referred to the ruthless application of apartheid in all aspects of the life of the indigenous inhabitants. It also stressed the obviously criminal attempt by the Verwoerd clique to annex that territory for their own benefit instead of developing it towards self-determination and

independence in accordance with the expressed wishes of the indigenous people.

Finally, the Committee warned that the situation has given rise to deep-seated resentment among the African peoples and that only timely intervention by the U.N., with all authority at its command, could prevent armed racial conflict in Africa. It declared South Africa unfit to continue administering the territory and urged the U.N. to study ways and means of terminating S. A. maladministration of South West Africa while instituting a "U.N. presence" there.

# Vers L'union Proletarienne Africaine

**D**EPUIS la conception de la *Federation Pan-Africaine de Syndicats (C.P.S.)* plusieurs forces sinistres se sont fait sentir tendant a faire breche dans la fondation solide de l'etablissement d'une classe unitaire des travailleurs Africains.

L'encouragement que la *Confederation Mondiale des syndicats Libres* accorde sans vergogne aux *Syndicalistes recalcitrants de Dakar* qui s'efforcent de former un autre groupe est en effet un exemple classique de ces forces. Nous publions si-dessous un article de, *Jack Woodis* le journaliste renommé. Cet article a ete deja publie en 1953, mais dans la conjuncture actuelle des choses nous trouvons qu'il s'avere necessaire de le reproduire ici. *Unite d'action—La Voie de L'avant.*

Le seul moyen par lequel les Africains peuvent s'assurer une independance et une justice sociale se trouve dans l'Unité: L'Unité dans leurs propres rangs; l'unité parmi les travailleurs Africains et les autres sections exploitées de leur peuple. Une Union solide entre les peuples et les travailleurs des pays de la Metropole, Union des travailleurs Africains avec les autres travailleurs du Monde. Tous les peuples colonisés souffrent de l'exploitation. Les imperialistes se sont saisis de leurs territoires par la force de l'épée et à coups de fusil.

Ce qui est pire c'est que ces mêmes imperialistes essayent de maintenir leur domination dans ces territoires par la force et d'autres methodes de violence. Ils pillent les ressources et les richesses minerales et agricoles de ces territoires et empêchent l'établissement d'industries lourdes dans ces

pays. En dehors de tout cela ils exportent vers les colonies de larges proportions d'articles très chers, y investissent de fortes sommes afin d'exploiter une main d'oeuvre "bon marché" et s'assurent ainsi un sur-profit énorme.

## De Sang et de Larme.

C'est à un prix très cher que les peuples colonisés survivent cette politique qu'ils paient de leur sang, de leur larme et de leur sueur. Ils vivent dans des conditions affreuses de pauvreté; ils sont forcés au travail et aussi de la discrimination raciale instaurée honteusement par les colons. Il faut ajouter que non seulement on leur refuse la formation de syndicats et la jouissance des libertés démocratiques mais aussi leur propre culture nationale est bannie. Leur dignité humaine assujettie par les oppresseurs. Les préparatifs des imperialistes pour une troisième guerre mondiale a occasionné de plus fortes attaques sur les peuples Africains dont la strategie en richesses, en communication, et en arme humaine est convoitée par les imperialistes dans leurs préparatifs. Comme ils s'efforcent de matérialiser ces projets, les imperialistes sont décidés à empieter sur la volonté des peuples.

Les travailleurs Africains sans aucun doute reconnaissent que pour eux le seul moyen de sauvegarder un meilleur avenir est de mettre fin une fois pour toute au système colonial qui les exploite. C'est un fait indéniable que l'oppression coloniale est la cause essentielle de pauvreté et de misère des peuples d'Afrique. Et

serait-il superflu d'ajouter qu'aussi longtemps que ce système demeurera, les travailleurs africains ne connaîtront pas le bonheur? Dans ces conditions les africains se doivent de lutter et de combattre la domination coloniale dans toutes ses formes et manifestations.

Le besoin et les droits de toutes les sections des peuples opprimés par les imperialistes doivent être reclaims avec instance et defendus même ment. Tout le long de cette lutte journalière le système entier de l'exploitation coloniale doit être mis à nu. Tout succès remporté dans ces batailles aussi minime qu'il soit est un pas important des peuples colonisés car ceci permettra à d'autres de suivre leur exemple, de s'inspirer de leur expérience et d'unir leur forces dans une lutte implacable contre le système colonial tout entier.

## Les Forces Patriotiques

L'exploitation coloniale est si étendue et si profondément enracinée quelle touche toutes les sections importantes de la population: Les travailleurs, les planteurs, les artisans les hommes de profession, les étudiants, les magasiniers et même les entrepreneurs locaux qui s'efforcent de développer les industries indigènes sont étouffés par les gants de fer des grandes monopoles étrangères. Bien entendu, les travailleurs ne sont pas isolés dans leur lutte. Il faut qu'ils se réunissent tous sous un étandard autour de leur leader, constituant ainsi une grande armée de forces démocratiques et patriotiques du pays. Incontestablement, cette armée embrassera la presque totalité des masses.

Les travailleurs en Afrique ne doivent pas se permettre des divisions dans le front démocratique de la nation. **Le front nationale des peuples contre l'oppression coloniale doit être conduit par la masse des travailleurs et ils doivent aussi embrasser tous ceux qui sont opprimés par les imperialistes et qui sont néanmoins déterminés à appuyer la lutte pour l'indépendance.**

Mais la classe ouvrière ne peut jamais réunir en un seul limon toute les sections de la communauté, se faisant les guider si au sein même de son organisation; il subsiste la désunion.

En conséquence, le devoir préliminaire de tous les travailleurs de tous les syndicats, est de consolider l'union entre les classes ouvrières. Car, un seul front uni des travailleurs peut jouir de l'appui et de la confiance des masses et peut donc conduire ces derniers vers la victoire dans leur lutte pour la libération.

Afin de parvenir à ces résultats, il importe que la classe ouvrière, que les syndicats maintiennent un contact quotidien avec les travailleurs. Ils se doivent de connaître leurs peines, leurs doléances et être prêts à les aider. Ils doivent aussi défendre les intérêts des travailleurs aussi bien que de leur prêter une oreille attentive. Dans leurs efforts d'acquiescer la justice pour les travailleurs, ils doivent à tout moment choisir des moyens de lutte que la majorité des travailleurs pourra approuver et non avoir recours à des mesures susceptibles d'avantager seulement la section privilégiée de la communauté.

#### **Union—Un Moyen Efficace.**

L'Union parmi les classes ouvrières n'est possible que dans la mesure où tous les travailleurs ont un pouvoir de contrôle démocratique sur leur Organisation et leur Chefs de file. Les faiblesses du syndicalisme colonial doivent être systématiquement déracinées partout où elles existent comme par exemple la tendance de confier aux mains d'un ou deux individus les affaires du syndicat est à remplacer par une discussion de forme démocratique des problèmes et de la ligne de conduite du syndicat.

Les travailleurs doivent également avoir le contrôle des finances de l'Organisation et de ses Gérants. Les Organisations Syndicales ne doivent pas être occasionnelles, temporaires ou pire encore des comités anodines de grèves qui ne font absolument rien à l'avantage de leurs membres. Les Organisations Syndicales doivent être constamment en alerte et défendre au fur et à mesure les intérêts de tous les travailleurs.

En effet, tous les travailleurs sont des frères. Ils ont les mêmes problèmes et les mêmes aspirations. Ils sont tous opprimés tous exploités par le même ennemi: l'impérialisme. Il va sans dire que tous les travailleurs quelque soit leur penchant religieux ou politique, lettrés ou ignorants souffrent au même degré de la pauvreté et de la misère. Il est donc possible d'unir toute la classe ouvrière contre l'exploitation afin de combattre efficacement la pauvreté, la misère et l'obscurantisme. L'union de tous les travailleurs est donc pas seulement une possibilité mais un facteur déterminant.

C'est le sang même de la classe des travailleurs et aussi des organisations syndicales. Pour les travailleurs l'union est la seule garantie de leur indépendance et de leur bien être car, de par cette union dans la lutte contre l'oppression coloniale ils pourront non seulement accélérer leur propre libération mais aideront efficacement les autres travailleurs de par le monde dans leur lutte pour la paix la liberté et un meilleur devenir

## **L'Afrique Recherche la Paix**

C'EST fort dommage que le monde soit au seuil d'une guerre destructive imminente. C'est écoeurant de voir qu'il existe encore ce que l'on peut appeler le complexe de "Samson au Gaza" (Voir les Juges Chapitre 13 à 16.) Des hommes qui préfèrent voir le monde entier périr que de s'accommoder à des circonstances qui leur déplaisent.

Pourquoi donc tous ces préparatifs de guerre? Pourquoi cet échange d'insinuations peut obligeantes entre les grandes puissances?

Sans nul doute cet état de choses n'est pas dans l'intérêt de l'humanité. Les préparatifs de guerre dérobent à toute chose son essence. Les industries les plus rentables, les meilleures méthodes techniques, les hommes de sciences et tout l'appareillage scientifique sont mis à pied d'oeuvre dans ces préparatifs belliqueux. Même si les sombres nuages de guerre s'éclaircissent, les dépenses d'armements restent les plus déconcertantes.

Quand à nous Africains, nous sommes conscients du fait que l'al-

## **Ghana au Conseil de Sécurité**

LA 16ème session de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies a élu le Ghana au Conseil de Sécurité par 88 voix au scrutin secret.

La victoire du Ghana n'est pas seulement une glorieuse justification de ses principes et de son esprit militant mais aussi de son objectivité dans les problèmes internationaux et le triomphe spectaculaire de son influence toujours grandissante dans les forces de libération au sein des Conseils mondiaux.

Comme nous le savons tous, l'année 1963 est la date limite de l'indépendance totale du continent africain, les années 1962 et 1963 décideront donc du destin final de ce continent.

De part l'Afrique tout entière, les combattants pour la liberté se réjouissent que leur porte parole-en-chef au Conseil mondial soit un pays dévoué à la cause et aux intérêts des masses populaires.

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ternatif de la guerre est l'abondance de vie qui n'est qu'une des possibilités sans nombre—d'utiliser l'intelligence et les capacités humaines à déraciner la pauvreté.

Nous nous sommes toujours demandés: Comment avec un si magnifique succès de la science et de la technologie, un humain de cette terre puisse encore souffrir de la pauvreté; ne serait-ce que pendant une seule journée?

Une des causes principales de pauvreté en Afrique est que la plus grande partie du potentiel mondial de nos jours, et partant les plus grandes richesses du continent Africain, sont exploitées et utilisées dans ces préparatifs de guerre. Nous devons en conséquence dire aux leaders du monde de réajuster leurs ambitions et celles de leur nation aux intérêts du monde entier.

Il nous est plus que de droit de crier. L'Afrique veut la paix.



# Voice of Africa

## Radio Ghana

### Transmission Times and Wavelengths

#### ENGLISH SERVICE

(i) SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA			
1415—1500 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
1830—1915 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	
(ii) EAST AFRICA			
1500—1545 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
(iii) SOUTH, SOUTH-WEST AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA			
1500—1545 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	
2000—2045 GMT	15.285 Mcs	19.62 Metres	
(iv) WEST AFRICA			
1500—1545 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
1700—1745 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
2000—2045 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
2130—2215 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	

#### FRENCH SERVICE

(i) CONGO, CENTRAL AFRICA, MADAGASCAR			
1745—1830 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	
1915—2000 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	
(ii) WEST AFRICA			
1745—1830 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
1915—2000 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
2045—2130 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	

#### SPECIAL ENGLISH SERVICE—U.K. AND EUROPE

2045—2130 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres
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#### PORTUGUESE SERVICE

(i) ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE			
1415—1500 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	
1630—1715 GMT	17.740 Mcs	16.91 Metres	
(ii) GUINEA, ANGOLA			
1630—1715 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	

#### HAUSA SERVICE

(i) WEST AFRICA			
1545—1630 GMT	9.545 Mcs	31.43 Metres	
1830—1915 GMT	6.070 Mcs	49.42 Metres	

#### ARABIC SERVICE

(i) UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, SUDAN, LIBYA			
1630—1715 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
(ii) MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA			
2005—2049 GMT	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	

#### SWAHILI SERVICE

(i) EAST AFRICA			
1415—1500 GMT	15.285 Mcs	19.62 Metres	
1715—1800 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
1830—1915 GMT	21.545 Mcs	13.92 Metres	
	11.805 Mcs	25.41 Metres	

## Modern "Piracy"

Continued from page 3

in practice, has been to give all aid covertly possible to the secessionist regime in Katanga while paying lip-service to the unity of the Congo."

We know why Britain is interested in Katanga. She must grasp the copper. She must loot the land. She must plunder everything.

It is in recorded history that the first great accumulation of capital which marked Britain's transition from feudalism to capitalism were acquired on the high seas, under the flag of the British Jolly Roger. But the wheel has turned full circle. Now that the sun is virtually setting on the British Empire and no part of the world can be taken with broadsides and cutlasses, Britain resolves to device a new system of robbery. But it is too late.

The world has taken on a new look. Damn the decadent British diplomacy, Katanga is bound to be an integral part of a united Congo.

# Africa and Europe

## *First Encounter* (A new History of Africa)

by Basil Davidson

FIFTEENTH century explorers from feudal Portugal found in West Africa, in the Congo and Angola, a feudal Africa. That Africa, which according to one school of thought has no history, had developed a social system of fiefs and vassals, liege-lords and serfs or retainers, duties and obligations up and down the social scale.

But while the feudal system in Europe was coming to an end to be replaced by capitalism, the feudal system in Africa "had reached a social equilibrium and evolved a society that was largely balanced in itself, any overflow of discontent being allowed to disperse across the endless lands."

The history of some of the peoples of Africa can be traced back to a period five centuries B.C. when their Stone Age ended and they moved into the Iron Age. (Later the techniques of smelting copper and iron developed in Africa were carried by slaves across to Brazil).

From the time of the first Portuguese discoveries until early in the sixteenth century, Europeans dealt with Africans on terms of equality. "And if European attitudes to Africans in the early times displayed a wide range of contrast, they were generally uniform in one important respect. They supposed no natural inferiority in Africans, no inherent failure to develop and mature. That was to be the great myth of later years . . ."

### 40 Million Slaves

The author asks, and answers, a question of the greatest importance.

If at the time of their first contact, feudalism was the prevailing system in both continents, how was it that Europe developed and became industrialised while Africa stagnated?

The answer is to be found in the slave trade, in the tremendous consequences of this trade for the people of Africa. It is estimated that about forty million were sold as slaves. How many times this number were killed in obtaining so many slaves cannot even be guessed at. In exchange for slaves the sellers received "luxuries and the means of war," firearms, gin, beads, trashy goods and whatever could be ostentatiously consumed by the rulers and rich men of the tribe. The firearms were used to capture more slaves.

The wise and far-sighted among the African rulers, for example the Mani-Congo in 1526, opposed the slave trade but then found that they could not get firearms to defend themselves—and to be defenceless among slave dealers meant to become a slave yourself.

The first white dealers in slaves had only limited markets to supply—the small domestic requirements of their home countries. "In the sixteenth century neither France nor England had any significant interest in slaves... A royal declaration of 1571 stated that 'France, mother of liberty, permits no slaves. . . .'" Then came the development of sugar and tobacco plantations in the West Indies, and "A royal order of 1670 threw open the slave trade to any Frenchman who wished to engage in it. The

King's desire declared this order, was to promote in every way possible 'the trade in Negroes from Guinea to the Islands' . . . . ."

The dealers left the European ports with cargoes of trade goods for Africa and loaded up with slaves, the survivors were sold in the West Indies and the ships loaded with sugar, tobacco, rum, etc., and returned to the home ports often showing profits of 300 per cent on the round trip.

Many Europeans believed that all Africans were cannibals—that the slaves they bought were saved from the stew pots; they would have been surprised to learn that it was commonly believed in Africa that the Whites bought slaves in order to eat them.

Basil Davidson throws a clear light of reason on many beliefs that are hallowed by age, and debunks them. Supporters of apartheid should read this book. It is their common argument that they have thousands of years of civilisation behind them; they will find from it that this also applies to Africans. Slavery existed in Africa, as it did in Europe, but the slave was able to grow rich and to obtain his freedom.

In the heart of darkest Africa, at the time of their first contact with the explorers from Europe, there were men wise in statecraft and great in civilisation, genuine leaders of their people, who wished to gain from Europe teachers and technicians, carpenters and boatbuilders, and begged for them to be sent, but in vain. At that time white slave dealers were throwing overboard sick slaves because if they died on board the insurance money would be forfeited.

"In the nineteenth century there were many cases of slavers who threw their whole living cargoes into the sea when pursued by British anti-slaver patrols, the impounding of their ships."

The Leopard Society, which has enjoyed fame in a certain type of story book and occasionally in the press, one finds to be not very dissimilar to a Chamber of Commerce.

This is a most instructive book. It is arresting at first reading but one ventures to suggest that its main value will be in use as a work of reference and as a stimulus to further reading.

# Towards **AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE** *and* **UNITY**

**V**ICTORY may be delayed or obstructed, but it can never be snatched away. You the patriotic sons of the Motherland now engaged in a glorious struggle at home to dislodge the wily foreign oppressors must realise this; you must not let yourselves be distracted by side shows and imperialist sponsored fissiparous tendencies. Keep the flag flying; the flag of African Independence and Unity. You have got many friends and sympathisers abroad. You are therefore not alone in your struggle. At the same time you must be sure that by doing this you are keeping up the sound and time-honoured tradition of fighting your own battles yourselves; excessive reliance on outside supports is delusive and dangerous. The torch has been lighted; it will burn on for ever and ever. **FORWARD EVER BACKWARD NEVER.**

Those of you, sons and daughters of Africa, who are fortunate to be abroad, have a special duty in fully girding yourselves for the struggle which awaits you at home. At the cross-roads, where we find ourselves, we have no room for ideological differences. You must close your ranks and strengthen the foundations of monolithic pan-continental fraternity dedicated to the immediate liberation of the African Motherland and the ushering in of a bright and glorious New Order—A United States of Africa.

Above all read; read. Read everything, something of everything. It will enable you to break the one-sided indoctrination to which the Motherland has been subjected by the stubborn imperialists. It will enable you to develop a critical acumen, to increase your vigilance, to sharpen your sword for the rapidly approaching final show-down with the foreign oppression. Furthermore, it will enable you to see Africa in her true setting and the role the imperialists and their agencies have been playing therein since the last century. Africa must be liberated. Remember always that you have four stages to make:—

- THE ATTAINMENT OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE;
  - THE CONSOLIDATION OF THAT FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE;
  - THE CREATION OF UNITY AND COMMUNITY BETWEEN THE FREE AFRICAN STATES;
  - THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AFRICA.
- FORWARD THEN TO INDEPENDENCE. TO INDEPENDENCE NOW.**

**TOMORROW THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA.**

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