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# Voice of AFRICA



# FREEDOM!



**F**OR over one hundred years we languished under the heel of the colonial oppressors.

I need not go into the details of our sufferings, and the indignity and degradation endured by us.

All I want to say is that when our people at last arose in disgust and resentment against the inhumanity and degradation perpetrated against them the colonialists reacted in their usual state pattern of action, and some of us were imprisoned, others were prosecuted and others suffered death. We were undaunted.

We went forward, fighting until we achieved victory and attained our independence and sovereignty.

Consequently, we declared to the world that the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent.

We are not fighting for African liberation only. We are fighting also for the political unification of Africa, for without unity there can be no future for the African people.

We are seriously anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist, and we shall never compromise in this struggle.

—DR. KWAME NKRUMAH.

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KOFI BATSA

## EDITORIAL

### ***The Belgrade Conference***

“WHY yet another force?” Some ask the question, with an implied sneer. “Is it not foolish to suppose that the two world powers would allow their policies to be influenced by the number of nations which met in Belgrade?” they ask.

But for most of the people in this world the Belgrade Conference of Neutral States means a moral response of majority of mankind to the facts of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and to the possibility of their reoccurrence.

One moral issue is that nuclear weapons may annihilate or destroy not merely innocent civilian populations, but also the absolutely innocent, those still to be born.

For the majority who were represented at Belgrade, whoever embarks upon nuclear warfare, may possibly have taken a decision which could lead to the extermination of the human race, and to rendering this earth uninhabitable. One fact is clear: whoever starts an H-bomb war today is really bringing about incalculable genetic damage, or he is bringing human history to an end.

From Belgrade it has become clear that any government which makes preparation for war, does so without the consent or even the passive acquiescence of a goodly number of the people of the world.

On colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, the Belgrade Conference stated emphatically that:—

Lasting peace could only be achieved if colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations were radically eradicated.

From Belgrade it has become clear to mankind that the sands of time have already run perilously low; for truly the portents in the skies spell dreadful calamities.

Any action which should be taken now should better be taken in dead earnest, lest the light of PEACE be totally extinguished and mankind be made to plunge once more into the darkness and terror of the past instead of into the peace and the glory of the future.

## An Important Link



The tall mast in this picture which is at Tema, has an important part to play in Radio Ghana's External Service. A programme from an External Service studio is fed into a programme link or an ultra high frequency transmitter which is a small power transmitter.

From its base in Tema, the tall mast shown here collects the programme from a similar ultra high frequency transmitter in Accra. It then feeds the programme into the transmitter at Tema. The programme is next amplified and fed into transmitter aerials from where it goes to the outside world. *(See p. 32 for Transmission Times & Wavelengths)*

# The African Struggle

by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

**WE** in Africa today are engaged in a relentless struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. The continent is in a great nationalist ferment and the chains of oppression are breaking down everywhere. In nineteen fifty-seven, when Ghana became independent, there were only eight independent African States; today there are no fewer than twenty-eight, with many others still to follow. The struggle is hard and fierce. The events in the Congo, in Angola, in Algeria and more recently in Tunisia, are clear indications of the determination of the colonialists and imperialists not to give up.

It is also a clear reminder of the necessity for the political unification of the African Continent. We are confident, however, that the days of colonialism are numbered and that the evil which it represents will be crushed once and for all.

In addition to the preservation of world peace, the two basic aims of our foreign policy are African Independence and African Unity. The one is inextricably bound up with the other. I repeat here what I told the Ghana Parliament on July 4, 1961 "the people of Africa have learnt to their cost that independence is not just a matter of political constitutions or changing of flags. There are subtle and surreptitious ways by which the colonial powers can maintain their grip of the subjected peoples even after the visible trappings of foreign sovereignty have disappeared. So long as the peoples of Africa are divided into so many wholly artificial political units arbitrarily fixed for them by their colonial masters, it is not possible to attain true independence or economic equality.

"If we in Ghana are so much in favour of Pan-Africanism, it is not on account of any selfish motive of

increasing our own importance but because we are so deeply convinced that it is only through African unity that the peoples of this great continent can really free themselves from foreign domination and rule."

Our struggle against colonialism is part of the struggle for world peace; for the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism means the positive removal of the fundamental causes of war. This is why we support all efforts aimed at establishing the fundamental rights of all peoples, and the promotion of peace and security throughout the world. It is also for this reason that we have persistently supported the just demand of the Chinese People's Republic for admission to the United Nations. It does not make sense to us that over six hundred million people should be excluded from the only international body dedicated to the pursuit of peace.

## Depressed

## Stooges

42-year-old depressed thrice commercially and chronic politically bankrupt Moise Kapenda Tshombe, arch-tribalist and arch-imperialist stool-pidgeon and self-styled President of Katanga, Congo Republic, together with 32-year-old equally depressed, agricultural demonstrator, Albert Kalonji, Baluba-tribalist leader and self-styled King of the Mining State of Kasai.

"President" Tshombe (right) and "King" Kalonji are here seen ruminating over their manifold political sins and crimes against Africa and the African people.



# ***Imperialism is***

## ***Weakening*** *Says Non-Aligned States' Conference*

*THE following are extracts of the communique issued by the non-aligned conference, which took place in Belgrade, Czechoslovakia last month. The communique said:*

**N**EVER before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations.

**"Imperialism is weakening, colonial empires and other forms of foreign oppression of peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are gradually disappearing from the stage of history. Great successes have been achieved in the struggle of many peoples for national independence and equality.**

"In the same way, the peoples of Latin America are continuing to make an increasingly effective contribution to the improvement of international relations. Great social changes in the world are further promoting such a development.

"All this not only accelerates the end of the epoch of foreign oppression of peoples, but also makes peaceful co-operation among peoples, based on the principles of independence and equal rights, an essential condition for their freedom and progress.

"Tremendous progress has been achieved in the development of science, techniques and in the means of economic development.

"Prompted by such developments in the world, the vast majority of people are becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that war between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity.

"This awareness of peoples is becoming a great moral force, capable of exercising a vital influence on the development of international relations.

"Relying on this and on the will of their peoples, the Governments of countries participating in the conference resolutely reject the view that war, including the "cold war," is inevitable, as this view reflects a sense both of helplessness and hopelessness and is contrary to the progress of the world.

"They affirm their unwavering faith that the international community is able to organise its life without resorting to means which actually belong to a past epoch of human history.

"However, the existing military bloc, which are growing into more and more powerful military, economic and political groupings, which, by the logic and nature of their mutual relations, necessarily provoke periodical aggravations of international relations.

"The cold war and the constant and acute danger of its being transformed into actual war wave, become a part of the situation prevailing in internal relations.

"For all these reasons, the Heads of State and representatives of Government of non-aligned countries wish, in this way, to draw the attention of the world community to the existing situation and to the necessity that all peoples should exert efforts to find a sure road towards the stabilisation of peace."

The declaration said that the non-aligned nations "do not wish to form a new bloc and cannot be a bloc" but asserted that they decide to co-operate with any Government, which sought to contribute to the

strengthening of the confidence and peace in the world.

They supported the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted at the 15th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and recommend the unconditional total and final abolition of colonial rule.

The participating countries declared that the struggle of the people of Algeria for freedom and self-determination to be "just and necessary" and said Algeria would be given all the possible support and aid.

They demanded "the immediate termination of all occupation and the restoration of the territorial integrity to the rightful people in countries in which it has been violated in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the withdrawal of foreign forces from their national soil.

"The immediate evacuation of French armed forces from the whole of the Tunisian territory in accordance with the legitimate right of Tunisia to the exercise of its full national sovereignty.

"The tragic events in the Congo must not be repeated and that it is the duty of the world community to continue to do everything in its power in order to erase the consequences and to prevent any further foreign intervention in this young African State, and to enable the Congo to embark freely upon the road of its independent development based on respect for its sovereignty, unity and its territorial integrity."

They condemned "the policy of apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa and demand the immediate abandonment of this policy.

They further stated that the policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the world constitutes a grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

They condemned the imperialist policies pursued in the Middle East, and declared their support for the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

They condemned the establishment and maintenance of foreign military bases of the people and declared

their full support to countries who were endeavouring to secure the vacation of these bases.

The conference re-affirmed its conviction that:

All nations have the right of unity, self-determination, and independence by virtue of which right they can determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without intimidation or hindrance.

All 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.

In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

The participants considered that "Disarmament is an imperative need and the most urgent task of mankind. A radical solution of this problem, which has become an urgent necessity in the present state of armaments, in the unanimous view of participating countries, can be achieved only by means of a general, complete and

strictly and internationally controlled disarmament."

The Heads of State or Governments pointed out that "general and complete disarmament should include the elimination of forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms as well as elimination of institutions and installations for military training, except for purposes of internal security."

They also demanded "the total prohibition of the production, possession and utilisation of nuclear and thermonuclear arms, bacteriological and chemical weapons as well as the

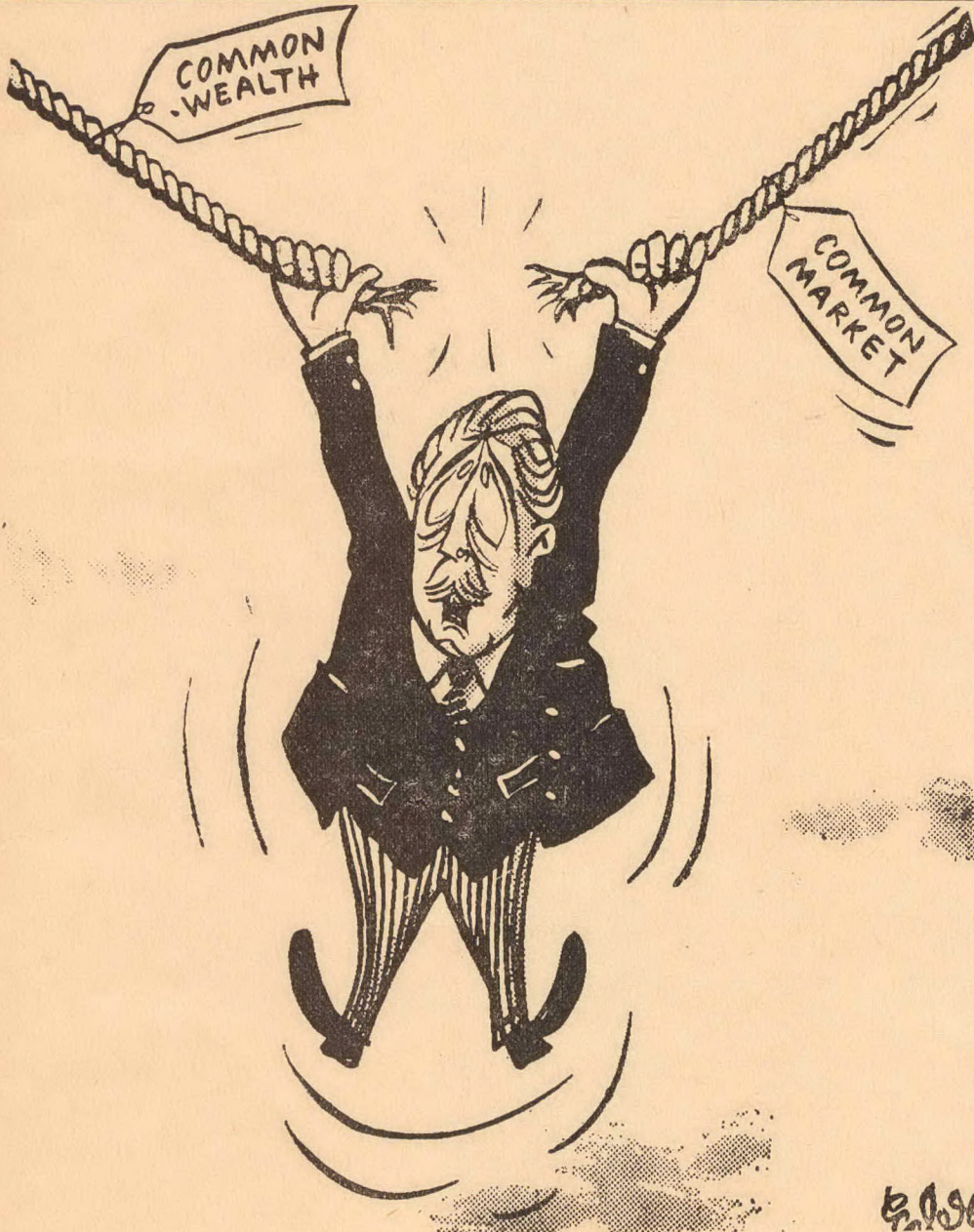
elimination of equipment and installations for the delivery and placement and operational use of weapons of mass destruction on national territories."

The participating countries called upon "all states in general, and states exploring outer space at present in particular, to undertake to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes."

They expressed the hope that the international community will through collective action, establish an international agency with a view to promoting and co-ordinating human actions in the field of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space."

The declaration urged that non-aligned nations should be represented at all future world disarmament conferences and requested for guarantees by an effective system of inspection of control of a general and complete disarmament.

The countries asked the United Nations General Assembly "to find a solution to the question of expanding the membership of the Security Council and of the



Continued on page 32

# "Rod of Iron" Rule in Rhodesia

*Troops and armed police are out in the streets of Salisbury and other towns of Southern Rhodesia. In Northern Rhodesia there is alarm among Africans at the way they have been let down by the British Government.*

*Reports from Salisbury say that the colony "seems headed for a major clash." Sam Russell gives the background to this tense situation.*

**B**RTAIN has been warned. We are now committed to "rod of iron" rule in Southern and Northern Rhodesia in an attempt to impose on the African people constitutions which flout democracy in every line and letter.

The threat of the "rod of iron" was made by the Premier of Southern Rhodesia Sir Edgar Whitehead. Behind him stands the Premier of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sir Roy Welensky.

## Trust Betrayed

Welensky, Whitehead and the other exponents of white domination in Rhodesia, are opposed by the overwhelming majority of the people of Northern and Southern Rhodesia—the African people.

These African people are led by the National Democratic Party in Southern Rhodesia (President, Joshua Nkomo) and by the United National Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia (President Kenneth Kaunda).

Nkomo put his trust in the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Duncan Sandys, and was betrayed and left in the lurch. Kaunda trusted the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, and was sent home with a cooked constitution.

Now arms are to be used to try and impose these cooked constitutions. No wonder Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., warned in House of Commons the other day: "As a result of the policy of the present Government in Central Africa, we are likely to have a situation there which may repeat some of the terrible consequences which have happened in Northern Africa."

Mr. Brockway hoped that this may not happen and that the Tory Government might "reverse the disastrous policies which are leading to these conclusions."

But if the British people are not to be faced with a Bizerta in Bulawayo, Salisbury, Lusaka or in the Rhodesian copper-belt, then much more must be done to alert the labour movement to the danger of which Mr. Brockway warned.

It was the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, who stated at a dinner given in his honour by Portugal's fascist dictator in Lisbon: "Both British and Portuguese doctrines of colonial Government are based on respect for the human personality. Both reject racialism."

## Cat Out

The world has seen how "our oldest ally" understands "respect for human personality" in Angola.

Much play has been made about the alleged "progressive" attitude of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, compared with the Tory backwoodsmen, 100 of whom signed a motion against the Macleod proposals for Northern Rhodesia.

This constitution, as that for Southern Rhodesia, is a plan devised to keep the white settlers with their farming and mining interests in power. The scales are weighted on the side of Sir Roy Welensky and his United Federal Party.

In Southern Rhodesia, much play has been made about the so-called "Bill of Rights" which is supposed to ensure a fair deal for the Africans.

But Sir Edgar Whitehead let the cat out of the bag when he declared his acceptance of the scheme, because

according to him, it will ensure that no future Labour Government will be able to introduce changes which the whites of Southern Rhodesia would not accept.

## Home's Homely

In its present state Southern Rhodesia has been described by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salisbury as a Nazi State. The "Bill of Rights" will not apply to the discriminatory laws already on the statute book in Southern Rhodesia.

Not so long ago, during a visit to the U.S. the Foreign Secretary Lord Home, held forth at great length in speeches at Harvard University and in Chicago about the wonderful benefits brought by British colonialism to Africa.

"I am not sure," he said in Harvard, "that the manifest justice of British Colonialism is not the example which will clinch the case against Communism in the minds of the neutral and unaligned. The contrast between the British Commonwealth and the Russian Empire cannot be ignored."

There are eight million Africans and 300,000 white settlers in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. At the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland of the 235 students enrolled this year, only 61 were Africans.

When the University College was opened in 1957 it was said that the number of African students should not be more than the number of white students, in order "not to lower civilised standards."

Since then, Lord Home's "manifest justice" has been shown by maintaining a ratio of one to four in the enrolment of African to white students and by the continued limitation of educational facilities for Africans.

In the whole federation there are only four high schools, of which two have only recently been opened, where African students are prepared for university entrance examinations. In Salisbury, the federal capital, there are only two secondary schools for an African population of over 150,000 to 14 secondary schools for just 65,000 whites.

*Continued on page 30*

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# *Nationalistic Role of Mau Mau*

by Aleks Ukut

IT is safe to say that although many people have received the news of Jomo Kenyatta's release considerable joy, a lot more have done so with a grain of salt, or with some mixed feelings.

I am however not having in mind the Kenya European settlers, or the Conservative British Government or even the imperialists generally. I am thinking of true African patriots who have demonstrated their welcome attitude to Jomo's come-back to leadership in various ways.

### **Ascending Mount Kenya**

Underneath the congratulatory messages and invitations, runs a deep undercurrent of righteous indignation against the repressive British colonial policy in East and Central Africa that, among other things, led to Jomo's detention and imprisonment.

Although we all welcome the news and the event, we cannot help feeling that such belated action cannot atone for the grave injustice done to African nationalism in that part of Africa. However, when we remember that it is better late than never, we cannot but heave a sigh of relief. More especially because we cannot have Comrade Lumumba back in the same way. We wish we could.

Let us endeavour to ascend Mount Kenya.

From there, we will take a bird's eye view of the past, present and future of this great and heroic African state facing Mount Kenya.

Clearly in our view are poster questions: What really was Mau Mau? How did it operate? Was Jomo really party to it? What is the present and future political situation in Kenya? What part will Kenyatta

play? And indeed, staring us straight in the face is—just how hot still is the "Burning Spear?"

### **The Blunders**

In order to appreciate Kenya, or any other African state for that matter, we must invoke memories of the past. In other words, was there any form of civilisation before the coming of the white man? Or was it truly a "primitive" society (whatever this means) as some Europeans would have us believe?

Commenting on the social and economic situation in Kenya that led to the Mau Mau Resistance Movement, Mr. F. D. Corfield, the one-man Commission appointed by the Governor of Kenya as "a primitive race who had stagnated for centuries." In his view, the Kenyans rose not because they suffered social injustice," but because "a new civilising influence impinged on them with suddenness." To say the least, this is a complete negation of truth and history."

And it is this type of narrow, self-conceited frame of European mind that is chiefly responsible for the blunders of all colonial governments. If the colonialists had taken the trouble to leaf through the histories of Egypt, Malta, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Congo, Uganda and Kenya, to mention only a few, they would have better appreciated their role, and, perhaps, modified their arrogant approach.

### **Great Zimbabwe**

In the first century A.D., an Egyptian-Greek sailor-trader wrote an account of his trade with the East

African Coast. The Azanians as they were called (whence Zanzi and Zan-ghibar, meaning the coast of the black people; now Zanzibar) exported ivory, rhino-horn, tortoise-shell and some oil in huge quantities, as far as Egypt and Phoenicia. In return, they imported hatchets, daggers, awls and glass. As civilisation leapt forward, iron was smelted in the East African interior and stone buildings of indigenous African skill sprang up.

Zimbabwe is the most lively testimony of that great, glorious past in East and Central Africa. And people like Corfield need to go there on an educational excursion.

Kenya as we know it today is a triplet brother of Tanganyika and Uganda. The present borders, like all colonial boundaries, are artificial. Not long ago, a number of Masai chiefs and elders led a delegation to the Governor of Kenya demanding that they be merged with their brothers in Tanganyika, which has a larger population of the Masai. As usual, they went back frustrated.

Kenya has an area of 225,000 square miles, and a population of 6,500,000 people. Of these, there are 6,200,000 Africans; 170,000 Asians; 66,000 Europeans and 37,000 Arabs.

### **Stolen Lands**

Before the Europeans stumbled down the Kenya Highlands, the system of land ownership among the Kikuyu and other tribes in Kenya was communal. It was called the Githaka, and control was patriarchal.

European immigration started actively around 1902. There was so much scramble for the rich, cool highlands that a Land Committee had to be instituted in October 1904 to implement the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 to the letter. The Ordinance declared that "land not in beneficial occupation" (by the natives), at the time was at the disposal of the Crown. And thus Ngong, Kabete, Karura, Kiambu and Ruiru areas were stocked into the Crown.

"Before the Masai who were mostly herdsmen could drive home their sheep and cattle, their chief had been cornered into signing an agreement which herded them into two "reserves," leaving the Rift Valley and the beautiful plains of Nairobi empty for European settlement.

The Masai and the Kikuyu had been constantly at each other's throat. And so when the Governor promised the Masai protection from their "enemies," they signed away their rights, little knowing they were signing death warrants, not only for themselves, but for the whole of Kenya. Signing continued progressively; and by 1913, a spadeful of Europeans found themselves tilling and golfing about on 10,000 square miles of land enveloping Laikipia and Nanyuki.

It was not to be too long after that before the "natives" trooped up to demand their stolen lands.

After the 1914-18 war, the African soldiers found themselves the odd men out in Kenya's social and economic life. Population in the reserves had begun to bulge to such an extent that the reserves were overflowing.

World prices collapsed—and Kenya's coffee price fell headlong with them. At home, consumer prices jumped together with poll tax.

The ex-servicemen marched aimlessly about the streets, and the few that had fished some jobs found their pay-packets thinning.

It was an entirely different case with the white soldiers and settlers. Many of them had the land and plough waiting before they could peel off their war uniforms. Revolt among the Africans was therefore a foregone conclusion—a just effect of an unjust cause.

### Driven Underground

In the midst of all this, a young soldier shouldered his way to the front.

He was a Kikuyu, called Harry Thuku, who unfortunately was to turn the colonial guns towards his people years later. Starting to hear him launch the Kikuyu Association. This became the East African Association in 1920.

Following a riot in which three Africans were killed in Nairobi, the leader of the Association was sped away in a police van. His deportation and the shootings drove the revolution underground, although not for too long. For it soon raised its head again as the Kikuyu Central Association.

This time, a young employee of the Nairobi Town Council, Johnstone

Kenyatta (he became Jomo in 1938 while in Europe) was the dominant figure. Johnstone became the Association's secretary and editor of its journal *Mwigwithamia* in 1928.

We must now pause to glance at the life of a man who has become a myth, not only in his own country, but also in all Africa.

Kenyatta's grandfather was a man of great influence in his tribe Kikuyu. Young Kenyatta pranked about on the grazing grounds, herding cattle. At 10 years of age, he fled the field for a Church of Scotland Mission school. On leaving school, he served one Mr. J. Cooke a European as a domestic servant. His brilliance was easily spotted, and Kenyatta soon found a job in the local government. By 1921 when about 28, he had acquired sufficient guts to bolt his job for political meetings.

### The Lenin School

Under his leadership, the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) became a big thorn in the colonialist flesh. Injustice over land tenure was the major issue. In 1929, he led a KCA delegation to the United Kingdom to demand political rights and an enquiry into the Kenya land situation. Their petitions fell on deaf ears, and Jomo decided to stay on in Europe. He did not return to Kenya till the next sixteen years.

While in Europe, he studied anthropology in U.K. and wrote his scholarly, historic *Facing Mount Kenya*. He married an English girl and had a son. He worked actively with African nationalists who visited the United Kingdom. Some of his colleagues included Dr. W. E. Du Bois, George Padmore and Dr. Nkrumah. He visited the Soviet Union in 1929-30 and in 1933, studied in the famous training ground for Marxists, the Lenin School.

### Naughtiest and Knottiest

While he was away, the KCA was proscribed in 1940 for "subversive activities." But in 1944, a well educated teacher, Eliud Mathu formed the Kenya African Study Union which in 1946, became the famous Kenya African Union that was destined to absorb all the shocks in the Mau Mau affair.

James Gichuru held the chair of the Union till the return of Jomo Kenyatta in September 1946. On June 1, 1947, Jomo Kenyatta was hoisted leader of the Kenya African Union. And so began the greatest battle for freedom ever waged in Africa.

The colonialists found the Burning Spear so hot that the Kenya African Union was also banned in June 1952, four months before the declaration of the emergency that led to the mass arrests and imprisonment of Kenya African leaders, including Jomo.

We now come to the naughtiest and knottiest question of our time: the Mau Mau. Just what was it and how did it operate?

### The Philosophy of the Revolution

You cannot tell the Kenya or Kenyatta story without braving, as daringly as possible, the Mau Mau issue. There is no point in dodging the question even if this is done on the grounds that it is a bygone issue. The truth is that it is not. The thing to do is to tackle the question—with an absolutely detached mind. No sentiment must blur our judgment.

Whatever our judgment over it may be it is bound to influence the philosophy of the Revolution in Africa, for good or for ill. More important still, Kenya is, to this day, shadowed by both colonialism and Mau Mau. Not until Kenya, and indeed, all Africa is free—completely free from old and new colonialism—can we conveniently and safely close the Mau Mau file in our history casebook. It will be crass folly to do so now.

Ever since the two words "Mau Mau" filtered into Kenya's political air in 1948, no one has really known their meaning—to this day. For one thing, there is no such word in any of the Kenya dialects. The Mau Mau was commonly associated with the Kenya African Union of which Kenyatta was leader.

But what really was Mau Mau? A Police Intelligence Report in October 1951 attempted to define Mau Mau: "This is a Kikuyu secret society which is probably another manifestation of the suppressed Kikuyu Central Association. Its objects are anti-European, and its intention

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# ONE-PARTY VERSUS TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

by Ndabaningi Sithole

IN this article I wish to examine as objectively as humanly possible the two-party and one-party system as they affect present political thinking inside and outside Africa.

The biggest complaint the West have against the newly independent African States is that the Opposition is not effective enough. They fear that these States are heading for one-party system which, they conclude, is another form of dictatorship. In other words, they fear that many of the independent African States are in danger of becoming dictatorships.

In a sense, dictatorship means the loss or absence of democracy, and democracy means the absence of dictatorship. What guarantees democracy? What guarantees dictatorship?

It would appear that most Europeans believe, rightly or wrongly that the two-party system is an effective guarantee to democracy, whereas the one-party system promotes and fosters dictatorship.

A few lessons from history will help us here. Italian Fascism and German Nazism, both of which are European dictatorial systems, were born and crystallised under the very nose of the European-cherished two-party system. Historically, the two-party system has not, in some Western countries, prevented the birth of dictatorship, just as the latter has not prevented the birth of democracy in other Western countries.

In European-ruled Africa the two-party system has not prevented dictatorial rule. Over the last fifty years the two-party system in South Africa has been used to whittle down the liberties of the majority of the people, to deny that majority the right to vote in their own country. For the last thirty-eight years the Opposition and the Ruling Party in

Southern Rhodesia have been unanimous on keeping the majority of the Africans out of the Voters' Roll. They have effectively resisted the establishment of a truly democratic government in the country. In both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia the two-party system has been used from start to finish to stop democracy from extending to the majority of the people. If the two-party system were the magic formula of democracy, then we should have had democracy long ago in both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and other European-ruled African countries which follow the same system.

The recently-emancipated African countries do not place great importance on the two-party system, partly because it does not in itself guarantee democratic processes, and partly because, at this particular stage of their development, and when it is realised that the former *master* countries are only too eager to return by hook or by crook, the Opposition may only be African in appearance but European in fact. The Opposition may have its remote controls in London, Washington, D.C., or in Paris. African political thinkers, while accepting the opposition in principle, do not readily accept it in practice unless it demonstrates quite clearly its freedom from puppetism or imperialist manipulation.

But their fears go deeper than this. The Opposition, in the Western sense, to justify its existence, must continue relentlessly to find the loopholes in the Ruling Party, not for the purpose of keeping the Ruling Party in power, but for the sake of overthrowing it at one point or another. Between the Opposition and the Ruling Party there is a grim struggle for the leadership of the nation. To cause the downfall of the Ruling Party is the alpha and omega

of the Opposition. The newly-independent African States, obviously, cannot afford this Western luxury which was developed over a long period of history. There is a strong feeling that if the newly-independent States followed this luxury, the unscrupulous members of the Opposition would be financed by foreign countries to wreck the Government and in this way bring the country under foreign control.

Perhaps this point needs further elaboration. Today the European Powers that have had to give up their *African possessions* are looking for ways of returning to Africa so as to control her destiny in one way or another. The African people who have suffered and sacrificed much in order to gain their independence are alert to the many attractive forms of *neo-colonialism*. Europeans are looking for military and economic pacts, and an unscrupulous African Opposition which is power-hungry could be used as a foreign agent.

At any rate, it is felt by most African political thinkers that the independent African States cannot afford the political upheavals of France, the political fireworks of Britain, and the capitalist politics of the United States of America. There is yet too much to be done rather than indulge in the fine politics of a long-established country. It is obvious that even in the newly-independent African States the two-party system cannot be the surest guarantee to democracy since the Opposition at this stage may only be in a foreign hand.

This, however, does not mean that the new African States can ensure democracy by following a one-party system. Neither it nor the two-party system can guarantee democracy to the peoples of Africa and to the peoples of the world. The two-party system may be European imperialism's gateway to African countries, and equally so, the one-party system may be dictatorship's first eggs in Africa.

Now we must answer the question: What is this democracy about which the West cares so much? In the words of President Abraham Lincoln, democracy is "government of the people, by the people, for the people." It follows then that a two-party government or a one-party gov-

ernment which is not "of the people, by the people, for the people" is not democracy. But if it is "of the people, by the people, for the people" it is democracy in every sense of the word.

A "government of the people" means a government consisting of the people, reflecting the people of a specific state. Hence European governments in African countries are not government of the people. They are government "of Europeans." This is why they exclude the African. If they were government of the people they would include the African also. "By the people" means a government that is carried on by the people themselves, the people of that country. In any European-ruled country "by the people" means "by Europeans," "for the people" refers to the government which is carried on for the benefit of the people of that country. In a European-ruled African country "for the people" means "for Europeans."

In the final analysis, democracy, all over European-ruled Africa, has come to mean, "government of Europeans, by Europeans, for Europeans." Hence the truth that European rule in Africa is the very antithesis of democracy, and this is why the African gives no serious attention when Europeans say, "African States may jeopardise democracy." If there is anyone who has seriously damaged the cause of democracy in Africa, it is the white man himself who has unsuccessfully fought hard to deny it to more than 200,000,000 people. The white man has paid lip service to democracy, but has denied it to others except to himself.

Perhaps his real fear is that the African who is now in the saddle of political power may visit his iniquities and deny him democracy. But of course the African political thinkers cannot be influenced by such fears which are merely the projections of the white man's mind.

Democracy is something that the African, like his European counterpart, loves. The African is democratic almost to a point of inaction. Every one else must have his say; every one else must agree before a decision is taken by the group. "A decision that disturbs the heart of another is not a wise one" speaks

well of the African sense of democracy.

In a one-party or two-party system, democracy is assured if the following principles are adhered to. It is not the form but the content that counts, and that content is the will of the majority. If the one-party or two-party system expresses the will of the majority, that is democracy. If neither the one-party system nor the two-party system expresses that will, neither of the system is democratic in the right sense of the word.

### The Principle of Election

In a truly democratic country the leaders are freely elected by the people. The right to elect leaders carries with it the right to reject leaders. In any European-ruled country where Africans are not given the vote the right to elect leaders is not there, and the question of rejecting leaders constitutionally does not arise. In South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, for instance, the right to elect leaders is confined only to Europeans, but not extended to the African people. Constitutionally recognised leaders are rammed down their throats. Traditionally, Africans are used to choosing their leaders. They never had their leaders chosen for them by a foreign power.

### The Principle of Representation

This is another basic principle that can ensure the survival of democracy. Free elections are useless unless the intention is to get the right representatives of the people to represent the needs and the aspirations of the people in different parts of the country. In South Africa the white electorate chooses white people to represent African interests in Parliament. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland a predominantly white electorate chooses African representatives to the Federal Assembly. This is a mockery of the democratic principle of representation. Objecting to these leaders thrust upon them, Africans say, "The so-called African representatives do not reflect the views of the African people. They reflect those of the white electors." How true!

### The Principle of Discussion

In any African tribal group, this principle was adhered to very strictly.

The chief and his men met together, discussed and arrived at important conclusions. They exchanged views freely. They did not come together in order to agree with one another. Nor did they come together in order to oppose each other. They came together to discuss—to examine the *pros* and *cons* of what was before them. The thesis was clearly stated, the antithesis carefully examined by everyone, and a synthesis cautiously sifted, and thus the conclusion represented the will of the people—the very essence of democracy.

In a predominantly white parliament, as is the case in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, the African people who form an overwhelming majority are excluded from any parliamentary discussions that finally affect them. There is no exchange of ideas, insights, experiences and conclusions between black and white. The white people just refuse to discuss with the African people, and there ends the matter.

### The Principle of Compromise

In all discussions at the Chief's place conflicting points-of-views of the various members were resolved by the application of the principle of compromise. Each man was ready to give up a certain point of view in the light of the discussion. He was prepared to meet other men half-way, and the other men also met him half-way. The spirit of compromise is something like this: "I am willing to surrender so much if you also surrender that much. I can't get exactly what I want, and you can't get exactly what you want. But if we are to make any progress both of us have to leave our present positions." Right from the beginning the African learnt to compromise with other people.

On the other hand, however, predominantly white parliaments which never discussed with the African people never learned to compromise. They did everything their own way. They were never prepared to compromise with the African. Between black and white there was to be no compromise. It is impossible to imagine national discussions without compromise. To a large measure democracy depends for

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# ***The Basutoland National Struggle— Historical Background***

by *Molapo Qhobela* (Associate Editor, "Voice of Africa")

THE Basuto did not come into prominence as a nation until 1818, when King Moshoeshoe of the Bakoena tribe in Northern Basutoland gathered together remnants of some tribes that had been scattered by the raids of other African tribes in Southern Africa. It is for this reason that people of all major language groups can be found throughout Basutoland.

The new nation had to contend with a series of conflicts with Africans, emigrant Boers of Dutch descent and as well as with the powerful English armies of the time commanded by such notorious Generals as G. Cathcart in 1852 when the British were thoroughly routed by the Basutos for the first time and for many other times thereafter.

Then there was a series of wars between (1852-1868) the Basutos and the Dutch settlers now occupying this parts of Basutoland called "The Orange Free State." At last in 1868 Great Britain accorded Basutoland "protection", and the terms of the Treaty between the King and Queen Victoria being that Basutoland would enjoy complete internal self-government with Britain responsible for her defence against the land and blood-thirsty armed tyrants of Dutch descent.

It should not surprise anybody if it is stated here that the terms of this Treaty were naturally not honoured because of the well-known British attitude towards anything which is not British. The result was that during these wars, 49,000 square miles of

the most fertile part of Basutoland was lost to the Dutch settlers because of the vacillating policy of the British towards critical colonial issues.

## **Briton Condemned Britain**

It was because of this strange attitude towards Basutoland that even Englishmen themselves like D. D. Buchanan during the 1863-1868 wars had to come out and criticize the British attitude in Southern Africa towards Basutoland. Before quoting relevant excerpt of his famous dispatch to the then British High Commissioner in Southern Africa on March 27, 1867, it would be useful to observe that the Basutos were then without a press through which to communicate their grievances (if they had any at all) and appeal for aid to those who loved justice as well as peace. It would again be fitting to observe that the Basutos had no authorised agency to give utterance to their claims to consideration; and that on the contrary, their enemies lost no opportunity of vindicating themselves and securing the support of their fellow countrymen. Buchanan had this to say about British "neutrality" of the day:—

*"Then again our Government lends itself to facilitate the supply of ammunition to the Free State, while it declares a neutrality, which leaves the Basutos defenceless, and exposes them to the barbarity of a well-armed and heartily encouraged foe. Every*

*feeling of justice revolts at such a state of things."*

And about Basutoland D. D. Buchanan again wrote:—

"Never was there a field more ripe for the harvest of civilization than is this nation, and never could England fulfil her mission with greater prospects of promoting civilization preventing oppression and war, without the risk of any outlay whatever."

I deemed it wise to quote these historical documents at length, first to drive home our contention that Basutoland has never yielded to foreign and colonial aggression; and also as an illustration of the fact that we have had to go through hard times to keep it a 'Blackman's country,' as Moshoeshoe called it, and lastly to prove that we shall disregard the outcome of our actions if only we are convinced that our actions aim at keeping it Black.

## **The Statesman and the King**

Moshoeshoe was his name. Much can be written about this man who was so able in handling national issues in times of crisis. Much can be written about this man who had always burned with a desire for the preservation of peace. As early as 1830, his Constitutional Monarchy was easily one of the best in the African Continent. It is because of this man's attributes of national leadership that the course of Southern African history has had to follow its present trend. "Moshoeshoe was one of the most remarkable Africans of historical times . . . and his just rule and love of peace won the praise of his European contemporaries"—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Sir Godfrey Lagolen in his *The Basutos* (2nd Vol.) writes of him:—"It was well that he was granted the honour of rejoicing, for the burden of Kingship bore heavily upon him through the ages, affording him few of the pleasures of life or the rewards of hard labour. Stirred by intense patriotism, a virtue possessed in no small degree, he burned with a desire to make his people into a nation. It is impossible to recall the story of his life without admiration for the untiring energy of the man; simple by nature, toughened by crude

associations, contending for life with Dutch settlers or British armies, yet all the while staggering under the weight of intrigues domestic or foreign. If loyalty to one's country and life in its service together with the charity of a kind heart, count towards salvation, Moshoeshoe could claim it."

And lastly:—"His name is impressed in the memory of all the natives of Southern Africa as one who was faithful to them, and who possessed a singular genius for successful dealing with whitemen."

### Commentary

It should therefore be clear to anybody that in as far as the land issue was concerned, the British had always assisted the Dutch descendant of Jan van Riebiec who was expelled from Holland because of theft. England has always maintained this strange attitude towards Basutoland and her sister so-called protectorates of Swaziland and Bechuanaland, with this peculiarity that while White Hall regards Basutoland as a colony, this territory is governed not from colonial office but from the Commonwealth Relations Office.

The reason for this stupid arrangement is too apparent for any simple minded person to see. It is that the British again had always conspired against Basutoland with the foreign settler government of South Africa that Basutoland by virtue of her geographical position would one day become part of the Union of South Africa. *But time is proving it to the conspirators that if they think that Basutoland (and the other two protectorates) will ever become part of the fast demoralizing Union of South Africa, then they are not only suppressing their conscience but are also swimming against the tide of history in the African Continent.*

### Future Unpredictable

Much can be written of the historical past of Basutoland. Much can also be written, perhaps, about the future trend of affairs in Basutoland, but little is being written about the present quiet and fast peaceful revolution taking place in this country. Inevitably, the rhetorical question is "why"? It is not for anybody even to make an attempt to reply this important question but only wait for time to pronounce an impartial verdict, taking into account the fast rate of political advancement in the country.

### Unpardonable Ignorance

Because of its mountainous character, Basutoland has been given all sorts of clumsy and ill-conceived names ranging from such peculiar things as "The Kingdom in the clouds" and "the Switzerland of Southern Africa." To the majority of people (both in Africa and outside), this country is just one of these so-called "little" countries of the vast continent to which much importance may not be necessarily attached, or about which much may not be said. These negligent attitude and ignorance are unpardonable.

We would indeed accept this negative outlook towards Basutoland if the present geographical demarcations imposed on this country by the protagonists of white and foreign domination who thrive on the threadbare principles of racial superiority and arrogance, would be unconditionally accepted. And yet contrary to what some people think, the Basutoland Congress Party and the people of Basutoland in general do not, and never will, allow themselves to view such an important question from so negative an angle.

### Physiography

Geographically, the country consists of volcanic mountains which

have acquired the name Drakensburg. They overlie some horizontal beds of sandstones, with the highlands dissecting the plateau between 6-11,000 ft. The western edge rises sharply into peaks which plunge Eastwards with valleys cutting them from North to the South at the Basutoland-Natal border. The valleys are well watered and very fertile and can be cultivated up to about 7,000 ft. They are evenly populated.

Basutoland is entirely surrounded by the Union Territory. Its boundaries run with those of Natal to the East, the Cape of Good Hope Province to the South, and the so-called Orange Free State to the North-west. The country lies between latitudes 28° 35' and 30° 40' South, and longitudes 27° and 29° 30' East. The total area is 11,716 sq. miles, (the size of Belgium), the quarter of which comprises the lowland in the west with between 5,000-6,000 ft. above sea level. The remaining three quarters are highlands rising to more than 11,425 ft in some parts of the Drakensburg. The Drakensburg mountains form the area from which three largest rivers in South Africa have their sources. This has caused Basutoland to be rightly called the "Sponge of South Africa."

### Climate

Rainfall is a bit variable and averages 28' a year over the greater part of the country. Rain falls mostly between October and April with an average of 1' for every other month of the year. Serious droughts are very rare and there is a large number of perennial streams. The lowland temperatures vary from a 90° F maximum in summer to a winter minimum which sometimes drop to below 20° F. The highlands ranges are much wide and temperatures below zero are usually recorded in winter months.

# ***Renascent Africa***

by *Frederick S. Arkhurst*

IT is, perhaps, inevitable that Africa is today a centre of world attention and interest. With Asia rid of colonialism, Africa has become the last continent over which western European nations still seek to perpetuate their control. Yet even in Africa dramatic changes are taking place which are rolling back the frontiers of imperialism. After

tolerating European colonization and the arrogance of white settlers for scores of years, Africa is now reawakening and demanding those rights to which all men are heir.

The reawakening of Africa has found expression particularly at the level of political and constitutional advancement. But this will only come to fruition with the redefinition by the African of his real place in his continent—his role in the political, economic and social life of Africa. This redefinition is already taking place and it is quite clear today that the African knows that his destiny can only be decided by himself in Africa and not by foreigners in other countries. The Africa of today symbolises hope; it is the continent of optimism and change. Indeed, not since the period which followed the

signing of the Berlin Agreement of 1884 has the continent of Africa experienced such swift and dramatic changes as it has since the Second World War. The important problem now facing the African is to define his own political, economic and social objectives in these conditions of rapid change.

## **The Decline of Colonial Power in Africa**

The "Scramble for Africa" which followed the Berlin Agreement resulted in the establishment of western European domination over most of the continent. But while that period was characterized by the carving of the continent into a mosaic of meaningless enclaves, protectorates and spheres of influence, the upsurge of African nationalism and independence movements after the second World War has marked the beginning of a rapid process disintegration of European power on the continent, and the beginning of the end of the economic exploitation of the resources and peoples of Africa in the interests of western European nations.

The "revolution of rising expectations" which has fired the imagination of millions of Africans is the result of three major factors whose cumulative effect finds expression in the rise of new states in Africa and agitation by the still dependent territories for their political and economic emancipation. These factors are themselves in the process of evolution and thus defy evaluation in precise and concrete terms. First is the whole political and intellectual climate of the twentieth century which had its beginnings in western Europe and which finds expression in the concept of self-determination and the right of all peoples to govern themselves.

It is also exemplified by increasing concern for the dignity of the human personality and the right of all men to equality of opportunity and treatment in all spheres in which they operate within the society, the nation or the international community.

This more enlightened atmosphere has made possible the full operation of a second factor: the increasing awareness of the African peoples of their potential and the translation of

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## ***Nationalistic Role*** Continued from page 9

is to dispossess Europeans of the White Highlands. Its members take oath not to give information to the police and may also swear not to obey certain Acts of Government."

There are two observations in this police report.

First, the Police Force was imperialist-manned. And so its report could only reflect the imperialist mind.

Second, no mention whatsoever either by allegation or implication was made of intention to kill. The oath was administered for reasons which were obviously nationalistic. The Kikuyu had the right, the natural right, to team up in order to demand their lands from the robbers.

The second point is very important. For it is worthwhile to emphasise that three years after the operation of the Mau Mau, an imperialist Police Report saw no real "evil intention" in the organisation, as Corfield later claimed.

### **Terrorist Government**

It is also interesting to note that up to the appearance of the Police Report in 1951, there were no serious Mau Mau incidents. No killings, no assassinations. There were of course

cases of beatings, and scattered incidents of arson. The major content of the Mau Mau up till that time was oathing with the sole intention of collective bargaining for their rights.

The only attempt on someone's life was on December 13, 1950 when an assailant thrust a spear into the bed of Chief Waruhiu in the dead of night. He missed the mark, and was caught. Investigations later proved that Chief Waruhiu had convicted the assailant's wife for an illicit gin offence. It was later clear that there was no political motive in it, although the Chief had engaged in a lot of anti-nationalist activities.

It is therefore difficult to see why, all of a sudden, there appeared such a horror cloud over a purely nationalist movement.

My observation and analysis prove that it was the Colonial Government, and not the Mau Mau that was terrorist.

To begin with, oathing is a traditional custom in nearly all Africa. But the Colonial Government outlawed it. This was the first major blunder. How could they outlaw a custom that ran in the very blood of the people and had been

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