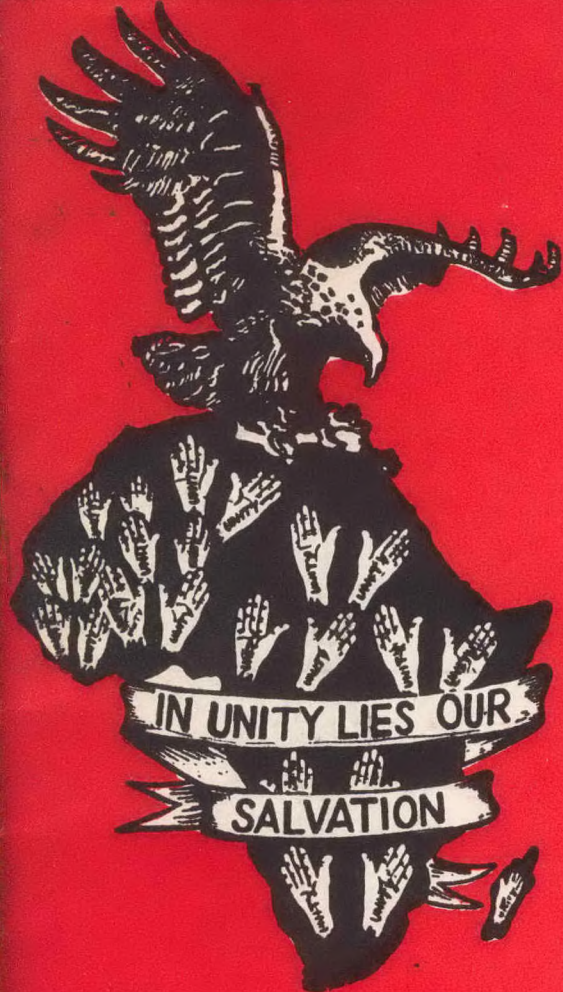
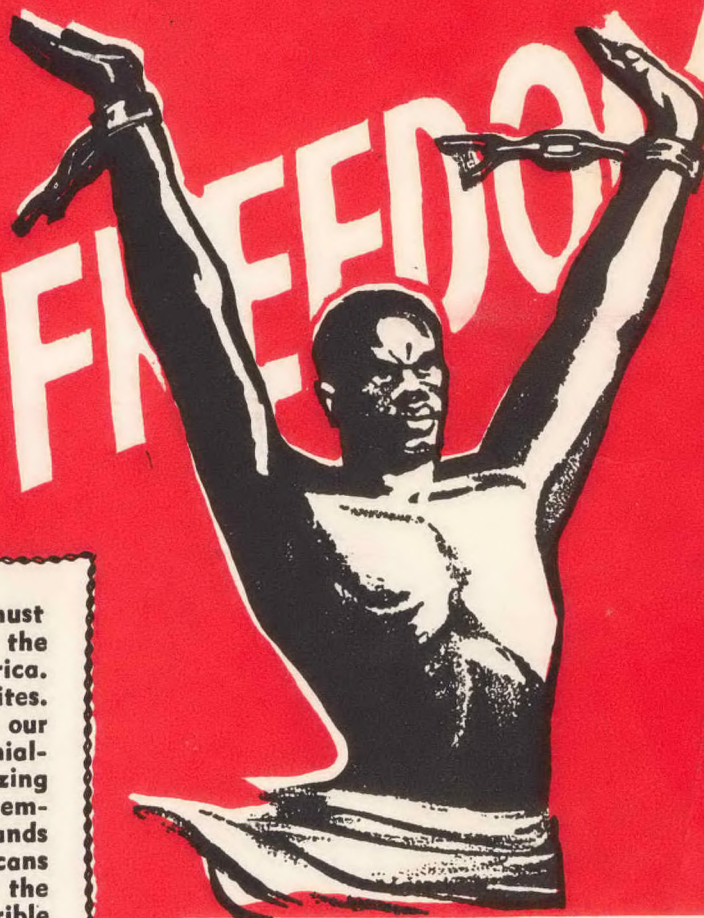




Voice of AFRICA



FREEDOM!



THE passive sympathy of the African masses must be converted into active participation in the struggle for the total emancipation of Africa. Africa is too sacred a land to harbour hypocrites. Sooner or later, but sooner rather than later, our continent will be purged of all forms of colonialism, for the fire of intense nationalism is blazing all over Africa and burning to ashes the last remnants of colonialism. The civilised world stands aghast at the brutal massacre of unarmed Africans in South Africa. Yet this wanton outrage of the Government of South Africa is hardly more terrible than the explosion of French atomic bombs in the Sahara.

It is ironical to think that the rulers of South Africa call themselves Christians. If Christ were to appear in South Africa today he would be crucified by them if he dared opposed the brutal laws of racial segregation. Apartheid and nuclear weapons must shake the conscience of the Christian world. But what are the churches of the world doing about these very contradictions of Christianity?

—KWAME NKRUMAH

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To a Wh. Socy, who has
never been truly exposed to any
militant cause. not so much, it
reads of literature published
by the State. some, with a
hook.



Voice of Africa

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KOFI BATSA

EDITORIALS

We Welcome Tanganyika

DECEMBER 9, 1961 is yet another red letter day for Africa. On that day Tanganyika becomes the 28th Independent African State. Over 22 African States are still dependent. These are all under colonialist domination.

We welcome Tanganyika into the fold of the Independent African States. By her accession to independence she becomes an integral part of the bulwark of the struggle for the freedom and independence unity of Africa and the bastion of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The African liberation movement is irrevocably committed to 1963 as the target date for the final overthrow of colonialism and its vestiges and for the enthronement of freedom, independence and unity in Africa.

Tanganyika, part of the ancient state of Azania, is born into a ceaseless turmoil of political activity marked by the blow of a mighty gale of social change which is destined to sweep into the orbit of the wreckage and debris of history all those who like the prehistoric man of Africa, are unwilling or unable to adapt themselves to changing environment.

We hail the emergence of independent Tanganyika. It is a portent majestic. It is bound to strengthen the liberation forces of Africans in their titanic struggle against the forces of oppression.

Africa Wants Peace

IT is unfortunate that it appears the world is on the brink of a destructive war.

It is shocking that there is still what might

be called a "Samson in Gaza" complex; there are people who would rather see the whole world perish than put up with things they do not like.

Why all these preparations for war? Why all these exchanges of hard words among the great powers?

Surely these things are not in the best interest of mankind.

War preparations take the cream of everything; the most advanced industries, the best techniques, the best scientists and the key points of science are all put into the service of war. Even if no war actually breaks out, the burden of armaments remains a crippling one.

We in Africa know that the alternative to war is more life—it is one of unlimited possibilities, it is one of using human intelligence and capacity to remove the great plague of poverty.

We always ask: Why in the face of human achievements of science and technology should anyone on this earth be poor for another day?

One of the main reasons why we have poverty in Africa is that so much of the world's actual wealth, and even more of Africa's potential wealth, is being used for preparing destruction.

We must tell the world's leaders to re-adjust their personal and national interests to the interests of the world.

We have every right to speak out; AFRICA WANTS PEACE!

Exposure of West Germany's Role in Katanga

FOLLOWING an unsolicited letter from Mr. Eichborn, West German Charge d'Affaires to Ghana, giving "a clear picture of the point of view of my (F.R.G.) Government about a private German plane, owned by a Hamburg Company and operated by a German crew which was impounded in Leopoldville on April 10, because it had carried arms and ammunition", the Chairman of Bureau of African Affairs wrote to Mr. Eichborn on June 5, 1961 revealing that "the Portuguese are using 'ouzi' sub-machine guns which are exclusively of West German design and are manufactured in Israel."

He pointed out that though the Federal German Republic Bundestag passed an Act

which prohibits any sale of and trade in arms for military purposes by West German citizens, facts prove that West German planes have been engaging in illegal arms traffic in the Congo.

On June 7, 1961, Mr. Eichborn wrote back to the Chairman thanking him for the frankness with which he had stated his point of view. He promised to give him more information.

On July 10, 1961, Mr. Eichborn explained away the episode by stating that the planes which carried arms to Congo left Hamburg for Brussels and then loaded "general cargo" for Kolwezi in south Katanga without the crew having any knowledge of the cargo.

He stressed that "it is the constant policy of the Federal Government of Germany to prevent with all her abilities that arms might be delivered into areas of international tension."

We took Mr. Eichborn's word. We couldn't help doing that. But today we have every reason to believe that the Federal Republic of Germany has sold 61 twin engine Dornier aircrafts to traitor Tshombe of the Katanga province of the Congo. French and Belgian pilots are handling these planes.

Twelve of these planes left Munich with heavy loads of naval bombs and air-to-ground rockets. They stopped for a while in France, refuelled in Sardinia and Bone in Algiers, and flew over the Sahara, Nigeria and the Cameroons. They took off from N'gaoudere after 71 minutes to Port Moire in the Congo. They were refuelled in Luanda in Angola, and like the planes which carried arms to Katanga in March 1961, these planes finally landed at Kolwezi airbase near Elizabethville on October 21, 1961 at 9 p.m.

These infamous disclosures show clearly that West Germany has a hand in Tshombe's blind march toward catastrophe. We hold that West Germany is involved in acts of calculated sabotage in the history of Africa.

We have every right to arrive at this conclusion. We sincerely feel that the West German authorities must be attacked root-and-branch for this treacherous act.

A warning note: We are prepared to stop anybody defiling African soil. We are prepared to resist any force. We will not rest until all enemies of Africa are thrown out.

See page 36 for another editorial



Osagyefo Sends Message to All-African Youth Conference

Friends and Comrades,

I am happy to welcome to Ghana delegates attending the Preparatory Committee meeting of the All-African Youth Conference. I am particularly happy to learn that this effort is in fulfilment of the wishes of African Leaders who attended the All-African Peoples' Conference in Conakry and in Cairo.

Today, more than ever before, Africa needs a dynamic youth movement having its own identity and free of the apprehension and servility which are the price some other youths of Africa still have to pay for remaining in colonial and neo-colonial bondage.

If the youth of Africa are to shoulder their future responsibilities with honour, then they must themselves prepare the ground for a re-direction of the thinking of the youth from the ignoble necessity of compromise and adjustment to all that enslave them. They must find their own way of eradicating that mal-adjustment which finds expression in cynical attitudes or in sullen silence towards the ideals of those who seek to create a new personality for the African.

They must learn to shoulder the responsibilities of a people not only struggling to be free, but also making every effort to create and sustain their own institutions and to accelerate economic and social progress.

I have great faith in the youth of Africa and I am confident that the delegates who are here today will arrive at decisions which will further the cause of African unity and bring about an increasing realisation that the peoples of Africa have a common destiny and a vested interest in peace.

I wish you success in your deliberations.

French Version

C'EST une grande joie pour moi de souhaiter la bienvenue aux délégués qui sont venus à Accra pour assister à la réunion du Comité Préparatoire de la Conférence Pan-Africaine de la jeunesse. Je suis surtout heureux d'apprendre que cet effort répond aux désirs émis par les leaders Africains qui ont participé à la Conférence des Peuples Africains tenue à Conakry et au Caire.

Aujourd'hui plus que jamais, l'Afrique a besoin d'un mouvement dynamique ayant sa propre identité débarrassé de la crainte et affranchi de la servilité, le prix que payent encore certains mouvements de jeunesse d'Afrique toujours sous la ferule du colonialisme et du neo-colonialisme.

Afin de pouvoir assumer honorablement ses responsabilités futures, la jeunesse d'Afrique doit préparer le terrain pour une nouvelle orientation de la pensée qui la tient à l'écart de l'ignoble nécessité de compromis et d'adaptation à tout ce qui l'asservit.

Elle doit chercher son propre moyen de faire disparaître complètement le déréglage qui s'exprime soit par des attitudes cyniques soit par un silence obstiné en face des idéaux de ceux qui cherchent à créer une nouvelle personnalité pour l'Africain.

La jeunesse doit apprendre à épauler les responsabilités d'un peuple qui lutte non seulement pour se libérer mais pour créer et soutenir ses propres institutions afin d'accélérer le progrès économique et social.

J'ai grande confiance en la jeunesse d'Afrique et je suis certain que les délégués ici assemblés prendront des décisions pouvant avancer la cause de l'unité Africaine tout en faisant comprendre que les peuples d'Afrique ont une destinée commune et un intérêt particulier dans la paix.

Je vous souhaite un bon succès dans vos délibérations.

Tanganyika— Emerging Sovereign State

TANGANYIKA was a United Nations Trust Territory. With the Belgian territory of Ruanda Urundi it constituted the former German East Africa from 1884 until 1919. It was administered under the League of Nations Mandate by Britain until 1946 when it was placed under the United Nations Trusteeship with Britain as the Administering Power.

Constitutional Developments in Tanganyika

The constitution of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika differs from that of a Protectorate only in so far that in international law its administration has been subject to the degree of international supervision formerly exercised by the League of Nations through the agency of the Permanent Mandates Commission and more recently exercised by the General Assembly of the United Nations through the agency of the Trusteeship Council.

The Trusteeship Agreement which was based on Articles 73 and 91 of the Charter of the United Nations differed chiefly from the mandatory instrument in so far that it placed on the administering authority a definite obligation to promote "the development of free political institutions in Tanganyika, and to that end to develop the participation of its inhabitants in advisory and legislative bodies and in the government of the territory, both central

and local, as may be appropriate to the circumstances of the territory."

In the early history of the mandatory administration, attention was directed to purely constitutional developments rather than to the procedure of native administration. At a later period when political issues began to occupy a more important place in the territory they never provided the same occasion for inter-racial discord as in Kenya. That was no doubt partly due to the differences between the character of the European and Asian communi-

ties in Kenya and Tanganyika.

In Tanganyika the Europeans formed a far less homogenous group. They represented a number of different nationalists and they had not the advantage of occupying a compact block of the country such as the highlands in which most of the Europeans of Kenya were concentrated. The Asian community of Tanganyika was smaller in number than that of Kenya and it was also most scattered and was less efficiently organised.

Evolution of Tanganyika Legislative Council

The Tanganyika Order in Council and Royal Instructions of 1920 established an Executive Council which was wholly unofficial in composition. In 1926 the Legislative Council was established. This consisted of 13 officials and ten nominated unofficial members. It was the practice that two of the latter should represent the Indian community and that one of the European members should be selected to represent African interest.

The effect of the usual provision that members of the Legislative Council must take the oath of allegiance to the King was to disqualify from membership the considerable German population of the territory. The question was raised whether this was consistent with the principle of non-discrimination imposed on a mandated territory. In 1945 an amendment to the constitution provided for an enlarged membership consisting of 15 officials and 14 nominated unofficials. Of the unofficial seats seven were allotted to Europeans including a European representative of African interest, three to Asians and four to Africans. Only two of the African members were appointed at once, the other two taking their seats in 1947 and 1948.

This was then the position in 1945. In 1949 it was decided to appoint a Committee of the legislature partly to



JULIUS NYERERE Prime Minister of Tanganyika
He leads his country to full independent state next month

consider a re-organisation of the constitutional structure and partly to give a more effective and at the same time more popular form to the instructions of the local government. The Committee which reported in 1949 recommended the retention of an official majority in the legislature but there was a divergence of opinion as regards the maintenance of the previous ratio of official representation. The government accepted the view that the only solid foundation for the political development of the territory lay in the equal distribution of the unofficial seats between the three communities.

There were also recommendations regarding the establishment of local government institutions on a basis which would permit all three communities to take part in the working. In 1952 a special Commissioner was appointed to consider among other things the most appropriate system for election to the Legislative Council. His conclusions were that the ultimate goal would be a system of common roll elections with safeguardings for minority representation, but that such a system was not practicable in the greater part of Tanganyika in the near future.

He thought, however, that such elections with educational qualifications and safeguards for minorities might be tried as an experiment in two three-member constituencies. Meanwhile European and Asian representation should be chosen by communal election or where this was not feasible by nomination. Africans would if possible be represented through some form of indirect election. Though these proposals were accepted in principle by the British government there continued to be a long process of discussion regarding the procedure for putting them into effect and the new constitution did not come into being until April 1955.

The number of members to the Legislative Council was then raised to 61 of whom 31 were official members, namely 19 officials and 12 nominated unofficials, the latter being divided equally between Europeans, Africans and Asians. The 30 representative members on the official side are also divided equally between the three communities.

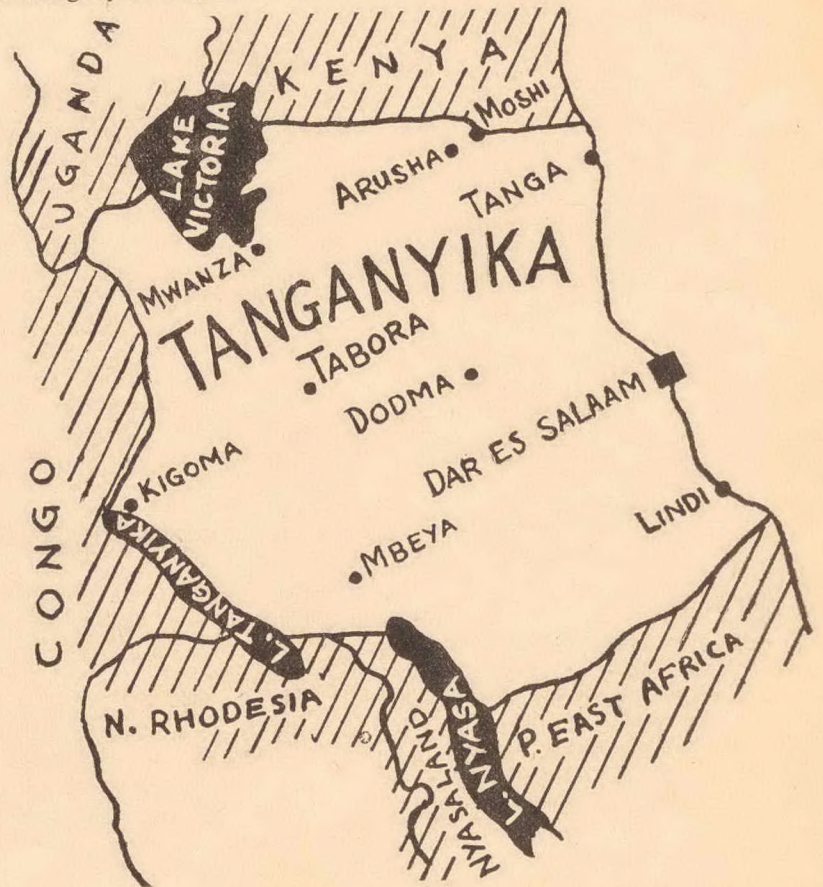
The Executive Council which in 1938 comprised eight officials was extended in 1939 to include four unofficials (three Europeans and one Asian). Further changes were made in 1953 and 1955 and the council in the latter year comprised eight official members, all Europeans and six unofficial members divided between Europeans, Asians, and Africans. In 1948 the working of the Executive Council was re-organised by allocating the responsibilities for different departments among the eight official members.

The report of the Mission of the United Nations which visited the territory in 1951 was accepted as containing useful suggestions for the guidance of the administration. The report of the Mission which visited the territory in 1954, however, had a different reception. The Chairman of the Mission dissented from the recommendations of his colleagues that a date should be fixed for the granting of self-government for Tanganyika and that this should in no case be within the next 20 years. The Tanganyika Legislative Council

passed a resolution unanimously and condemned the report.

In the event the United Nations Trusteeship did not endorse its Mission's recommendations that the territory should attain self-government in 20 years. The existing constitution provides no basis for forecasting the shape which will be assumed by the constitution of the territory under any system of self-rule which left the representation of the different communities to the natural play of political forces.

The first General Elections for the 30 elected seats in the Tanganyika Legislative Council were held in the territory's ten constituencies in two stages during September 1958 and February 1959—15 members being elected from five constituencies at each stage. All voters were required to cast their votes—for an African, an Asian, and a European at the same time. The seats contested in both stages of the elections were won by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) or Independent Asian and European candidates adopted by TANU



The Bill providing for these elections in implementation of the 1956 constitution had been passed by the Legislative Council in May 1957. Its Provisions included the Qualitative Franchise of the electors "on a common roll" of three members from each of the three main races. Thus the number was increased from nine to ten by the Order in Council of November 9, 1957 thereby providing for a total of 30 elected seats—ten Africans, ten Asians, and ten Europeans.

In the first stage of the elections in which 80 per cent poll was recorded there were 39 candidates. The United Tanganyika Party (UTP) which is a non-racial party formed in 1956 by a group of unofficial members of the then Legislative Council failed to secure any seat and did not contest the second phase for which 18 candidates presented themselves. As a result only three of the remaining 15 seats were contested while 12 candidates were returned unopposed.

The present constitution of the Executive Council of the Legislative Council is a following.

Executive Council

A ministerial system was inaugurated in the territory on July 1, 1957, as a result of which the official members of the Executive Council were designated Ministers—an indication that in future they would concentrate on formulation of policy. In order to relieve them of executive and administrative responsibilities in departmental matters the appointment of six Assistant Ministers (four Africans, one Asian, and one European) who would speak for the departments assigned to them in the Legislative Council, was announced in May 1957. The Executive Council now comprises nine Ministers (officials) and seven unofficials.

Legislative Council

The Order in Council of November 1957 increased the membership of the Legislative Council excluding the Speaker from 61 (31 ex-official and nominated members of 30 representative members) to 67—an addition of six nominated members, three on the government and three on the representative side. By the same

year the duration of the Council was extended from three to five years. The Legislative Council now consists of a Speaker, 34 members on the government side and 33 representative members distributed as follows: *Government Side:* Sixteen ex-official members (i.e. nine members who are officials and six Assistant Ministers who are unofficial) and 19 nominated members. The *Representative Side:* is made of 30 directly elected members and three members nominated by the Governor—one African—one Asian and one European. *Further Constitutional Changes:* Opening the first session of the new Legislative Council in March 1959 the Governor announced that the number of Ministers would be increased from nine to 12 as from July 18, that five of them would be unofficial i.e. elected Ministers—three Africans, one Asian, one European. These 12 would comprise the Council of Ministers who would take over the functions of the Executive Council. The Governor then announced the formation of post-Election Committee with the following terms of reference:

- (a) To recommend changes in the representation by elected members in the Legislative Council "bearing in mind that parity of representation between races is not a permanent feature of the constitution and that there must be adequate representation of the main minority communities, Europeans and Asian;" to examine the number and boundaries of constituencies; and to reconsider possible changes in the tripartite voting system.
 - (b) To recommend how many nominated members should seat in the Legislative Council and what interest they should represent.
 - (c) To reconsider whether changes were desirable in the present qualifications for candidates and voters.
 - (d) To consider the advisability of appointing a Territorial Council to advise and report on new legislation—without having any delaying powers.
- This was agreed upon by the opposition on March 19.

TANU's Demands

So far the Tanganyika African National Union is calling for legislature of 82 members of whom 79 would be elected. TANU is asking that 13 seats should be reserved for Asians and Arabs and eight seats for Europeans leaving 58 seats open to people of any race. Only three officials, responsible for the portfolios of Defence, External Affairs, and Legal Affairs should be retained in the Legislative Council. TANU is also hoping that by the end of 1959 their request for a simple majority of elected Ministers in the Executive Council would be granted and that there should be a General Election next year to create the enlarged legislature they are demanding.

Things had changed rapidly since the TANU had made a simple demand towards the end of 1959 about the reservation of 13 seats for Asians, Arabs, and Europeans living in Tanganyika.

The Tanganyika African National Union under the able leadership of Julius Nyerere, was fast becoming a force which could not be ignored in the political struggle of the country, and the complete absence of any so-called "Opposition" in British colonial circles was conspicuous by its absence in Tanganyika right from the time of nominations for the July 1960 Legislative Council elections.

The 25th July, 1960 was nomination day for Tanganyika and something which had never been seen elsewhere occurred in this country when TANU, gained an overwhelming majority at the nomination stage of the elections with 58 of their candidates passing unopposed in a total of 71 constituencies.

Meanwhile at the beginning of August 1960, certain individuals who specialise in seeing danger where none exists, had started making some unfounded allegations against the Leader of TANU who they said was engaged in some secret arrangement with puppet Tshombe of Katanga for the purpose of safeguarding the financial interests of Katanga's imperialist agents. Mr. Nyerere did not waste time in dismissing the allegation as nonsense that it was in fact.

Zanzibar

by Staff Writer

THE island of Zanzibar has been referred to in many different names ranging from contemptuous and spiteful ones, right up to the most praiseworthy and romantic ones.

One journalist described it as a "fairy-tale pantomime caricature of a colony, with an Arab Sultan to provide the pomp and pageantry, and a British Resident to wield all the power."

Since events on this small island colony recently attracted world-wide attention, it would be wise before writing anything about Zanzibar to take a glance at the fascinating historical background of the island.

History

It is said that Zanzibar has a long historical association with India and the countries of the Persian Gulf. Zanzibar was first mentioned in the eleventh century when one Persian ruler called Kilwa fled to this island. This fact is substantiated by ancient inscriptions in Kizimkazi in Southern Zanzibar, and gives an indication that a mosque was built here round about 1107 A.D. The Kilwa incident led to a series of clashes in Ungaja (Swahili name for Zanzibar) between the Northern and Southern elements on the island.

Round about 1500 A.D. Zanzibar was colonised by the Portuguese who dominated the island until about 1528, and this brief period of colonisation was followed by an "alliance" between the Portuguese and some Zanzibar rulers who are reported to have even assisted the Portuguese on their raids on Mombasa. The first Resident Sultan of Zanzibar was installed in 1828.

The clove island was proclaimed a British protectorate in 1890 as a result of some peculiar agreement between Germany, France and England affecting the then German East African territory of Tanganyika, Madagasca and Zanzibar respectively.

In 1913 control of this island passed from the British Foreign Office to the Colonial Office. Zanzibar has had Legislative and Executive Councils since 1925.

The island of Ungaja has had the misfortune of having been once a steaming pot of slavery where Arabs subjected the indigenous people to humiliating slave conditions in the plantations.

Population

The scented island of Zanzibar has a total population of 304,000 with Africans constituting about three-quarters of the population and consists mostly of Shirazi people which is a name derived from ancient times when the island was conquered by Persians from Shiraz in the eighth century A.D.

Like in almost all colonies, there is in Zanzibar that pyramid arrangement of social and cultural structure with the Arabs at the apex, Indians in the middle, and Africans at the base.

In his "Inside Africa," J. Gunther states that as a result of a long period of domination over indigenous people, Zanzibar was once "the biggest—and most hideous—slave entrepot in the world," and a man is said to have cost less than a goat. However, false or true that exaggeration might be, it is not our concern in this article, which is calculated to deal with the present-day political set-up in the island, to waste time on utterances or statements calculated to debase this island.

Government

The island has Responsible Government with a Privy Council composed of six officials: The British Resident, the Civil Secretary, the Attorney-General, and three members appointed by the Sultan.

The Executive Council consists of the British Resident (who is President), three ex-officio members, the Attorney-General, Financial Secretary, the chief Minister, and four Ministers chosen from a party which commands the majority of elected members of the Legislative Council.

Political Parties

There are three main political parties in the island: the Afro-

Shirazi Party (ASP), the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP)

The rate of political advancement in Zanzibar can be measured against recent tragic events in the island which were deliberately sparked off by the puppets of imperialist and colonialist oppression.

The two first political parties are much stronger and well organised than the third weak ZPPP, which is precariously balanced between the other two parties.

As the continent of Africa surges towards liberation and human dignity, this island has not remained a dumb and motionless spectator. Political parties have recently been very active and loud in the unconditional demand that the rate of national advancement towards sovereign status should be accelerated.

Elections which attracted world-wide attention were held in January and June of this year. On both occasions, there has been an election deadlock resulting from two equal splits of the total votes cast by the electorate.

In the January elections, an election stalemate arose when the militant Afro-Shirazi Party won ten seats out of the 22 seats in the Legislative Council. The less militant Zanzibar Nationalist Party won nine seats leaving three seats for the weak Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party the successful candidates of which split up with two of them joining the ZMP and the one remaining candidate lining up solidly with the militant ASP.

The June elections were by no means different from the January ones. Once again a constitutional deadlock developed when the ASP and the ZNP both got ten seats each, leaving the ZPPP with two seats.

It was during the June elections that the outcome of the vile and venomous imperialist underground manoeuvres brought matters to a head when elections which could have otherwise been very peaceful, erupted into the worst form of violence in the island's memory. Soon the world radio stations were blurring out news of violence in Zanzibar.

Continued on page 15

The True Source of Settlers' Fears in Southern Rhodesia

by T. H. Mudzingwa

THERE is no better and sounder way of knowing a person than what his past reveals. The oppressed African has more truth to put before the world, but what he lacks is the means to do so. His counterpart, the white settler, who has nothing but mountains of lies to tell the world—take Southern Rhodesia for instance—has his kith and kin to propagate machinery. The contradictory and conflicting statements in imperialist newspapers, as regards situations in Colonial Africa, bewilder the outsider who may be seeking the truth.

It is interesting to note that when all is peaceful and quiet, these colonies are labelled as progressive fine markets and capital investment potentials. They do not end there. They further sugar the pudding by saying that towns in these "quiet" colonies "spring and grow up" like mushroom from day to day. But when African awakes and demands the right to the affairs of his country, description swings directly there and then to the opposite. The moment the African demands the right to run that which is African, he immediately turns from being peaceful into a "black savage" clad in animal skins ready to "massacre the civilized whites."

The towns that were previously reported as booming with progress instantly turn jungles in a matter of days. Descriptions of jungle creepers—yet unknown—sprout through the magnificent buildings that were reported springing up. The wide spacious tarmac streets turn to winding forest paths. So do

all diseases—ranging from common fever to the highly infectious small pox—become rife and prey on the Africans—killing them in thousands. Said to be doing its worst is famine, let alone reports of looting and burglary.

Such are the contradicting pictures painted by all imperialist papers, ranging from Britain to Belgium. But how the populations of these so-



called Western Free World swallow such contradictions is difficult to understand. And one wonders—if they do swallow them—whether imperialism has not succeeded in making them insane. However, the theme of this article is what appears from its heading. We shall deal

with the contradictions as we go on. In Southern Rhodesia, the unwarranted fears of the white man stem from his iniquitous history since the day of his arrival.

The white men first came to Southern Rhodesia—in considerable number—in the year 1891—the so-called Pioneer Column, which should rightly be called "a savage and vagabond Column" was composed of Vagrants or Vagabonds of British Stock.

They came from South Africa where they had failed in mineral ventures. History of their own writing says they got into Southern Rhodesia without firing a single shot; which shows how peaceful and hospitable the Africans of Southern Rhodesia were. They are still as peaceful as all that to date, except that they have come to know the naked evils of the white man now.

But despite the fact that the white man entered Southern Rhodesia without any African resistance, he decidedly thought it imperative to provoke the African to anger, so that history should record bloodshed in Southern Rhodesia. This was to be enforced by a foreign law which was to be savagely and ruthlessly executed.

British Justice?

British justice, the law was called, though in effect, it was tantamount to mockery of all same laws, was thuggery. The law was to be established as follows: Armed corps of the Pioneer Column were to be turned into police forces, which were to be established over the police forces; presided Magistrates to be named *Native Commissioners*, from whose offices thuggery decrees, in the name of British justice,

were proclaimed:

"The police force and camps were established. Whips made from Rhino and hippo skins were supplied to the police, not only to enforce but also to inflict 'British Justice'."

African villages were established in rural areas. The whips-equipped

police force went into these newly established African homes inflicting "British Justice" by whipping all those found at drinking or working parties. The whipping was not only confined to men but to women as well. They felt this was not enough. Soon they demanded "worship" from the African—examples of these diabolical acts can still be found in some of the elderly Africans today. That did not satisfy them either; their next demands were African women, wherever they spent a night on patrol.

The Native Commissioners

Not only were the police the offenders: the Magistrates who in this country are called Native Commissioners did their part, too—they were all free to exercise their wishes in a newly founded "heaven." But these were a bit dignified. Their fault was that they demanded heavy fines from those who were brought before them, for trial—which amounted to robbery.

The fines ranged from a herd of cattle to several irrespective of how trivial the case might be. As a result of this indiscriminate fine charging, some Native Commissioners got wealthy; some are even so up to now. Some of these Native Commissioners have been nicknamed "CHITEMA MHURU", which translated in English means "the man who charges a bullock for a case irrespective of how trivial." Others have been nicknamed "PONDORIRI," which means a man who fines two pounds sterling (£2) for any trivial matter.

The result of the said iniquitous acts was an African uprising, six years after the white man's advent (1896-97).

In the uprising more evils of the white man revealed themselves—ranging from the climax of treachery to outrageous savagery. There is an English saying which goes thus: "Courtesy begins at home." I should change it to read:

"Savagery begins at home," for this representing British or Western civilisation, committed the worst atrocities in the history of African colonization.

Their record: Raping African women—these are the grandmothers

of the present generation in Southern Rhodesia, extermination of men—some of whom were our grandfathers, burning African villages—where thousands of herds of cattle were stolen and driven to South Africa, they turned into beef and sent to their needy kiths and kins in Britain. That was the beginning of trade between Southern Rhodesia and Britain.

The uprising was truly an undecided war, ending only by a truce called the "INDABA." The whites took advantage of this truce and hanged most of the African leaders, labelling them instigators.

More Repressive Measures

The above mentioned white man's inhuman activities may be unbelievable to those who have never been under harsh occupation. But the history of Southern Rhodesia, written by the British, does reveal even more than this.

Other moves were made to make industry and agriculture, the feeding of African farm labourers on Brazilian beans and maize meal, the crowding together of Africans in intentionally built slums in all industrial establishments, and the pathetically inadequate medical facilities for Africans—All these iniquities committed by the white man in Southern Rhodesia make him a totally intolerable enemy of the African, hence the strife in the colony today.

It is this iniquitous loving of the white man which makes him dread the idea of power being handed over to the African.

He fears the African, if given power, may take revenge of the past wrongs and bring back the lessons of rape, murder and arson to the teacher, who in this case happens to be the white man.

This is the true source of the white man's present fears in Southern Rhodesia today; not the open distortions of the African reality, which appears in all British papers wherever they happen to be circulated.

But on the contrary the African has not such intentions to take revenge of the past. All he demands is immediate power to govern his own country, and nothing more.

Zanzibar

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The *Manchester Guardian* of the 3rd June, 1961, reported that about 145 people had been treated for serious injuries and that about 103 were either detained or arrested.

Although it is difficult to be precise with regard to the actual cause of violence during the June elections, several suspicious circumstances point in the direction of the disgruntled puppets and secret agents of foreign domination in the island.

Barbaric Minded Elements

The leaders of political parties started levelling some malicious allegations against each other with regard to the actual cause of violence. But one nationalist leader of the most influential party in the island, attributed the eruption of violence to hostile activities of the members of the opposite camp whom he accused of having caused violence by intimidating the electorate, and hurling insults at the people who did not exhibit the desire to vote for their party.

These barbaric minded elements were reported to have wrecked election meetings of the Afro-Shirazi Party, and although their actions were always reported to the police, no step was ever taken to bring the cowardly thugs to justice.

This unfortunate incident resulted in 36 Afro-Shirazi Party members being arrested by the island's biased police and ultimately charging ten of them for murder and other serious crimes. Were it not for the timely intervention coupled with a brilliant way in which a Ghanaian lawyer, Mr. K. Swanzy, conducted the defence of the accused, these innocent people could have, perhaps, been condemned to death.

Since the eruption of election violence in Zanzibar, the British have been trying to cook up some form of a Coalition Government. Regardless of what the elements hostile to African liberation may attempt to do in Zanzibar, they can rest assured that the island will, in the not too distant future, emerge as an independent state.

The Essential Duplicity of Apartheid

by Rev. Michael Scott

APARTHEID has two faces. With one, it looks out ingratiatingly on the civilised world, claiming that its philosophy in practice represents the pattern of development for the future peace and happiness for the respective races of South Africa. Thus it is claimed, each race will go forward along its own lines of development on the basis of its own separate culture and traditions. The other face of apartheid that is turned inwards towards South Africa, has on it the marks of fear, hatred and brute force. To the non-European peoples apartheid means *baaskap* or white supremacy, and that they have no part in the white man's civilisation and city life save as servitors of the master race.

In their own reservations only will they be allowed to practise some of the professions, but they must not expect to be educated and trained in skilled occupations where they compete with white skilled labour in the cities and mines and industries of the white man. The population of South Africa consists of 3,067,638 white people, 10,807,809 Africans, and 1,488,267 of mixed race and 477,414 Asians, who were brought from India in the last century by an agreement between South Africa and the British Administration in India at that time.

But in the Parliament of South Africa, which has been thought of as a self-governing

Dominion of the British Commonwealth for more than fifty years, the representation is all white. The African people, who number three quarters of the whole population, are not represented in the House of Assembly. The people of mixed race (Coloured) have four white representatives. The Asian people have no representation at all, though in India and Pakistan their kith and kin have attained full self-government.

So the Parliamentary system that we have liked to think of as a Western democracy is in reality what in fact Dr. Verwoerd boasts that it is in his own country, namely *baaskap*. But the essential duplicity and hypocrisy of apartheid consists in the fact that while it claims to allow Africans to develop along their own lines and to preserve their social systems and tribal customs, its legislation is designed to strengthen an industrial and agricultural system which is economically dependent on cheap migrant labour. That is really why the majority of white people in South Africa have again at the last election returned the Nationalist Government to power. Migrant labour supplies the gold and diamond mines, the farms, factories, shops and houses of the white people with cheap labour for which it pays an abysmally low wage, on the pre-supposition that Africans have all got land in the reserves on which their wives and children can maintain

themselves while their able-bodied husbands and brothers are away at work.

The problems of South Africa, the poverty and the break-up of homes and families and the social system of the African people, cannot be understood without a grasp of this main fact of the situation, namely the perpetuation of the migrant labour system by successive South African governments under the doctrine first of segregation under General Smuts and that of apartheid under the Nationalists.

For all that preachers have said about apartheid from the pulpits of the Dutch Reformed Churches, the fact remains that Africans are still dispossessed of their land. They have been reduced by the white man's laws to about ten per cent of the total land surface, so that these Native Reserves have become over-populated, overstocked and soil eroded and the population so squeezed that the Reserves are today little more than reservoirs of cheap labour to supply the white man's towns, industries and farms.

The South African State today constitutes a whole intricate network of legislation, designed to keep the non-European peoples in their place and to prevent any organised resistance to the policies imposed upon them and the status assigned to them by the Master Race. In the pages that follow, are given some of the practical implications of the policies of apartheid in terms of legislation and the regulations which govern the whole life, labour and education of the non-European peoples.

Apartheid and South Africa

The word apartheid means "aparthood" or segregation. The word comes from Afri-

kaans, the language of the white people of Dutch ancestry in the Union of South Africa. In theory, apartheid stands for an ultimate objective of the present South African Government, namely, to partition the country so that the "Europeans" (white people) and Africans will each have their own distinct areas.

The cities and most of the rich farm land would be European areas, and Africans would be admitted to them only as servants or migrant labourers. This "ideal" of apartheid is tactily admired to be unattainable in the foreseeable future by the Government, and the only comprehensive plan for territorial apartheid, contained in the report of the Tomlinson Commission, has been rejected as too expensive and impracticable.

Practical Apartheid

Practical apartheid differs greatly from "ideal" apartheid. It means the imposition of white supremacy combined with complete segregation of Africans. Under apartheid the white one-fifth of South Africans is forcing an inferior status of virtual servitude, upon the non-white four-fifths of the population. To achieve this, the Government has denied Africans the rights to vote; to strike or to bargain collectively; to worship publicly in white areas; to travel; to seek work; to stay overnight in urban areas; or to engage in many other normal activities without special permission. It has forced thousands of Africans to leave their homes in order to enforce complete residential segregation. Some of the laws by which practical apartheid is being accomplished include:

1. Pass laws require Africans to receive special permission in order to travel, to find a job, to stay out after curfew, to live in a particular locality, etc.

2. Group Areas Act provides for complete residential and business segregation for the four main racial groups (African, Asian, Coloured and European). Under this law thousands of non-whites are being forced to leave their homes and move to new areas set aside for them.

3. Native Laws Amendment Act gives the Government power to prohibit Africans from attending churches or other institutions located in European areas.

4. Bantu Education Act provides an educational system for African children which will prepare them only for unskilled or menial jobs in a white man's society. Under this law education has been taken out of the hands of the churches, which had a more liberal approach.

5. Separate Registration of Voters Act removes Coloured voters from the regular voting rolls. Africans were similarly removed in 1936. No non-whites may be elected to the Parliament of the Union of South Africa.

6. Industrial Conciliation Act gives the Minister of Labour, at his discretion, the right to determine what occupations members of various races may engage in.

7. Population Registration Act provides for the classification of the people of South Africa according to race, with each individual required to carry identifying papers.

8. Suppression of Communism Act gives power to the Minister of Justice to declare any person to be a "Communist" and suspends the rights of such "Communists" to work for the Government or any labour union, to travel freely within the country, and to attend public meetings. The definition of "Communist" is so broad that anyone who opposed any policy of the present Government might be included.

9. The Separate Amenities Act legalise existing patterns of segregation in public places and permits the owners to declare what their policies will be.

10. The Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Acts empower the Government to declare a state of emergency and rule by decree, fixing severe penalties for those who protest against any racial laws or incite others to do so.

In addition the Government has arrested 156 South Africans on the charge of treason. 60 of these were released after preliminary hearings lasting nearly a year.

Apartheid in Schools

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was enacted to transfer African primary and secondary education from provincial authorities to the central government. The twenty-five per cent of the African children for whom there are "government Bantu schools" are now being educated for subservience. As the Minister of Native Affairs expressed it, "There is no place for Africans in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour." Mission schools which have refused to conform to the government educational programme have been made to close.

In March, 1957, the Government introduced the Separate University Education Bill, which was passed at a subsequent session of Parliament. The Act empowered the Government to establish state-controlled university colleges for non-whites and to take over two non-white colleges without compensation. The administrative and teaching staff of all state-controlled colleges are now public servants, appointed, promoted, disciplined, and dismissed by the Government. Misconduct for which the Minister of Native Affairs (not the Minis-

ter of Education) may discipline or dismiss university personnel is defined to include: commenting in public "adversely upon the administration of any department of the Government or of any province..." and the propagation amongst any section of the population..." or which would "impede, obstruct or undermine the activities of any Government department."

The Act provides for the establishment of five university colleges organised on an ethnic basis: a college for Coloureds in Western Cape Province; a college for Asians in Natal Province; and three colleges for Africans; one for Sotho and related tribes, one for the Zulus, and one for the Xhosa, in all of which instruction will be given in native languages. When these colleges are ready, non-white students will be forbidden to attend any other institutions of higher education, including the "open" English-speaking universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), where all students attend the same classes and become members of the same student societies.

University Education Bill

Leading educationalists overwhelmingly opposed the Bill as undermining university autonomy and academic freedom. Prof. Z. K. Matthews, Acting Principal of Fort Hare at the time and one of the 156 South Africans who were charged with "treason" because of their opposition to apartheid, has pointed out the absurdity of using native languages for subjects not encompassed in their vocabularies.

Which dialect of a given language is to be used, he asks, and what of the student who does not speak any of the languages of instruction or who is geographically close to a college not of his ethnic

group? Prof. Matthews finds the creation of five new colleges wasteful when existing facilities could have been expanded, particularly since money could not previously be found for essential research.

The Chancellor of Cape Town University, a former Chief Justice of South Africa, the Hon. A. Van der Sandt Centlivres, finds the Bill "subversive of the very concept of a university," lowering standards and repelling "teachers with the necessary independence of mind and general academic standing required for a reputable university." Professor MacCrone of Witwatersrand voiced general academic distaste when he said, "The two open universities are being politically butchered to make a Roman holiday for racial ideologists."

The student bodies of the "open" universities have staged demonstrations against the Bill. The Natal Branch of the South African Medical Association has declined "to cooperate in any way with any authority other than the University of Natal."

Apartheid and Workers

Of the 16 million South African citizens, approximately two-thirds are African.

Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to be represented by unions at all. African labour unions are denied recognition by law, and employers are forbidden to deal with them in any way. The Minister of Labour stated in 1953, "I want native trade unions to disappear."

All workers are denied the right to meet and organize freely. Government officials are empowered to ban any meeting they believe to be "dangerous" and to prohibit any person from attending any meeting. The Minister of Justice may forbid any person to hold any position in a labour union by blacklisting him.

White unions are forbidden to have African members and must establish separate branches for Asians and Coloureds (persons of mixed descent).

Two-thirds of all workers have no right to determine their own working conditions. African workers are compelled to accept the wages and working conditions set by their employers and the Government. Disputes are settled by Government agencies without African representation. Africans are systematically denied equal pay for equal work.

Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to choose their own jobs. Africans are allowed to do only the least desirable and lowest paid work: domestic and agricultural labour and unskilled industrial jobs. In order to force more Africans to work on farms and in the mines, where labour is scarce, the Government has passed laws to prevent Africans from seeking work in any city or town without Government permit. Africans found to be "idle" or "undesirable" persons are sentenced to "work farms" or "prison camps" for as long as two years.

Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to strike. Africans who strike or break an employment contract may be fined or put in jail for as long as three years.

All workers are denied the right to decide where they will live. Government officials are empowered to determine the areas which will be open to each race for homes or businesses.

Two-thirds of all workers are denied the right to own homes. Africans are now prohibited from owning land or any buildings on the land. The Government has used its power to assign living areas to

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Gambian Youth Train in Ghana



This picture shows the last batch of the Gambian youth who were airlifted from Gambia by Ghana Airway to study techniques in Ghana

THE Ghana Government in pursuance of her policies and ardently faithful to her avowed belief that the Independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of the African continent and its islands, has not only championed the cause of progressive African Liberation Movements at international forums but has lent moral and wherever necessary concrete material support to brother Africans who for no fault of theirs are languishing under imperialist domination. This expression of brotherhood and unity common to Africans was clearly demonstrated last month when a chartered Ghana Airways plane piloted by Ghanaian crew landed on the tarmac of the sizeable Bathurst Airport to airlift 45 youths to Accra. That African Unity ultimately leading to a Union of African States is a possibility and could be achieved in our lifetime could be judged from the spontaneous outburst of joy and songs of solidarity and belongingness with which the Ghanaian crew was welcomed by the hundreds of people who gathered at the airport to witness the promise and vision of the great leader translated into action.

To a student of contemporary African history believing in Pan-Africanism the occasion sym-

bolised two significant factors in the African Liberation Movement.

Firstly, it proved beyond every reasonable doubt that the African given the opportunity could equal if not surpass the European in every field of learning. It is only when a country is completely liberated that unlimited visas of know-how are readily made available to her without let or hindrance. It was no wonder that during the bleak days of the struggle to liquidate colonialism and imperialism Osa gyefo shrewdly said: "Seek ye first the political Kingdom and everything shall be added unto thee." That statement is pregnant with political reasoning. Whoever thought that hundreds of years of exploitation, suppression and intimidation, not to mention colonial white washing of the African brain, an African of all nature's creatures could pilot a plane during our own lifetime.?

Secondly, it gave the lie to imperialist bragging that Ghana was not sincere in her advocacy of Union of all African States. The Government of Ghana true to her noble course and confident of the practicability of the Union of the whole continent of Africa could not sit complacently until her economy became buoyant before rendering assistance to her neighbours. The little we

have must be shared with our needy brothers.

In the onward march of Africa to complete Independence and Unity, we cannot afford to do without training the youth who after all will stand firm for the new African Age.

In Ghana and many parts of Africa youth movements are emerging with vitality and strength.

The Ghana Government has established the Ghana Young Pioneers. Apart from inculcating into the youth the love of country, devotion, sense of duty to the state, and ideals of world peace and African Unity, the Pioneer Youth provides basic technical training in trades requiring long term preparation, such as aviation seamanship, radio and marksmanship. Thus it aims at not only emphasising the need for being patriotic and developing one's talents to the full, but also at gearing the outcome to the benefit of society as a whole.

Today there are 45 Gambian Youth in Ghana to study youth work. The Ghana Pioneer Youth Authority has organised programmes covering the major part of supplementary education in reading, physical education, photography, modelling, weaving and other arts and crafts for the Gambian Youth.

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