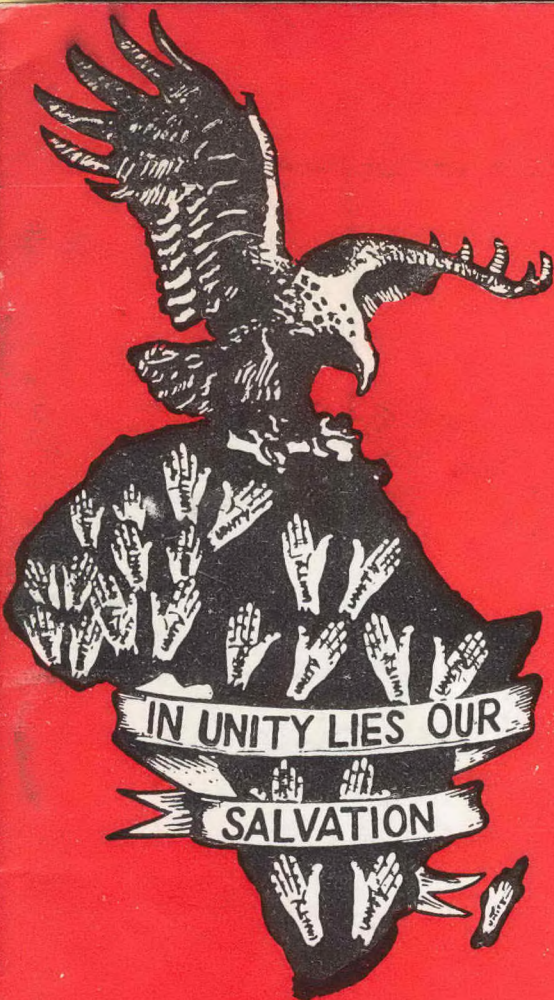


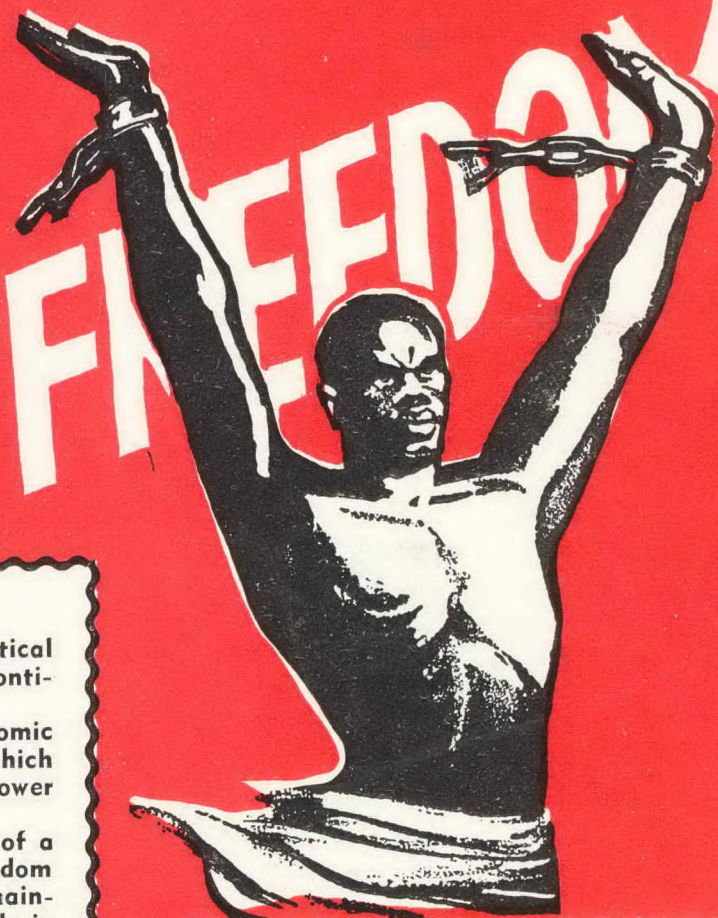
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Voice of AFRICA



FREEDOM!



UNITED AFRICA

IN my view a united Africa—that is the political and economic unification of the African continent—should seek three objectives.

Firstly, we should have an over-all economic planning on a pointed continental basis which would increase the industrial and economic power of Africa.

Secondly, we should aim at the creation of a joint Military Command. I do not see any wisdom in our present separate efforts to build up or maintain vast military forces for self-defence which, in any case, would be ineffective in any major conflict.

The third objective which we should have in Africa comes from the first two which I have just described.

If we in Africa set up a common economic planning organisation and a joint military command, it follows that we shall have to adopt a common foreign policy to give political direction to our national continental defence and our national continental economic and industrial development planning.

—DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

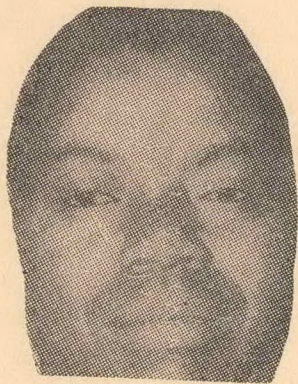
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Guilty men . . .

Moise Kapenda

Tshombe



TSHOMBE
"Traitor most accursed"

IN the November 3, 1961 issue of the *Time* magazine, Thomas V. Jones, the notorious financial tycoon, President of the Northrop Corporation, Beverly Hills, California, said in a letter that: "Being on the cover of *Time* is like facing the judgment of history while you still have to live with it."

To the disgust of all decent people, Moise Kapenda Tshombe appeared on the cover of December 22, 1961 issue of *Time*. It is not necessary for judgment on this man to be suspended. The evidence is available for the verdict to be passed at once. In Africa, *The Voice of Africa* has declared him the "traitor most accursed" for 1961.

Tshombe's shabby approach to the realities of the African situation and his short-sightedness in an age when leadership of even a scout group demand some amount of foresight, prove how right we are to say that Tshombe has

Column One

Continued on next page

Roy Welensky



This man ROLAND WELENSKY: Semi-Literate Bloodstained British Puppet "Ruler" of the Rhodesias

THE process of decolonisation in Southern Africa seems to have struck a rock in the Rhodesias and an important chip in that rock is no other than that protege of the white herrenvolk below the Limpopo—Roland Welensky. The herrenvolk of settler South Africa stoutly cling to the master-race bating propensities of the late Dr. Malan and Welensky has imbibed these from them.

The South African born Welensky whose mother is a Boer and father a Polish-Jew, grew-up in Salisbury a barefooted ducktail. After completing standard IV he joined the Rhodesia Railways as a fireman and later became locomotive driver—the only rank a man of his slothful mentality could ever reach.

In the Railways he acquired one other delinquent title—that of champion boxer. In the

Column Two

Continued on next page

Tshombe

not got the slightest touch of leadership. Long before he entered politics for the sake of filthy lucre he was known in the back streets of Elisabethville as an incorrigible rogue. In his politics today Kapenda Tshombe reflects this rancid background of his early days.

Apart from his unpopular role as a confusionist and a collaborationist in the Congo, Kapenda acts as a liaison in surreptitious deals between colonialists and reactionary African nationalists.

Recently, Harry Nkumbula and Bennings Lambe of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress visited Katanga and arranged for 2,000,000 francs (about £14,000) and six Land Rovers from Tshombe to fight against the dynamic Northern Rhodesian leader, Kenneth Kaunda and the UNIP. Tshombe has paid the money through a bank in Kitwe.

Every schoolboy in Africa knows that Kapenda murdered Lumumba, Okito and Mpolo. Blood does not seem to get a chance to dry in his palms.

North Katanga remains littered with mountainous piles of rubble and myriad possessions of the murdered dead. All the ineffable suffering in the Congo today stems from the greed and avarice of this mere *factotum* of vested interests in Katanga.

Every African knows that Tshombe is running at breakneck speed towards the great cavernous emptiness of a most tenebrous future.

But that he is a traitor—a nervous one at that—we are duty bound to tell the world. We hold that he is politically bankrupt. We have always emphasised that he is an arch-imperialist stool-pidgeon. His chronic nervous breakdown sums up our estimation of him. He is always haunted by the nightmarish aberration of the dark, hallucinatory underworld to which he belongs.

A correspondent of the *Voice* who saw Tshombe recently says, he is aging shockingly. His face now haggard, lined and sallow, wears a hollow haunted look. His hands shake uncontrollably. It is known that he does not sleep at night. His eyes, which seem to stare at the fearful world about him have great dark pouches under them.

Moise Kapenda Tshombe is ending like all traitors and murderers do.

Welensky

thirties he moved to Northern Rhodesia and like all other "promising" poor whites, was assisted by business tycoons to purchase a farm at Broken Hill.

In 1938 he entered the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council and was automatically made leader of the white elected members because of his donkey oratory. His donkey oratory and deep-seated hatred for the African people quickly won him favour with the giant money magnates of the British South African Company, the Rhodesia Select Trust and the Anglo-American Group. He was thus introduced to their spokesman Godfrey Huggins who was then the brain behind the plot to impose "Federation" upon the African people.

In 1953 they formed the "Federation". In 1956 Welensky was knighted and became "Prime Minister" of the "Federation."

The unusually fat for a Prime Minister, 300 lb—Welensky is a notorious tea-drinker and non-smoker. This is the fattened calf the British rentier-class have planted in Rhodesia to halt the upsurge of African nationalism both within the "Federation" and from the North.

Welensky is in sinister league with that equal unholy trio Verwoerd, Salazar and Tshombe in a diabolical plot to subvert the African struggle for freedom and perpetuate the African's enslavement.

Die-Hard Colonialist

His recently exposed activities in Katanga clearly show Welensky to be a die-hard colonialist and imperialist puppet, a lackey of the White moneyed class and an irredeemable degenerate specimen of humanity.

Roland Welensky—bloodstained capitalist agent, is deeply implicated in the murder of Great Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjöld—small wonder that he is unashamedly and irrevocably committed to backing to the hilt that notorious murderer and traitor Moise Kapenda Tshombe.

Welensky, you are on Africa's "BLACK LIST" as Criminal Colonialist Puppet No. 1. Your "Federation" is a time bomb that is sure to explode in your hands and smash you, your masters and your "Federation" to smithereens.



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A MAGAZINE OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

EDITORIALS

African Unity

GREAT ideas, if firmly believed, can become as real as reality. When magnified by multitudes, they are rendered irresistible. Great ideas have conquered conquerors, routed legions, made armies invincible and sired civilisations.

Like the biblical grain of mustard which grew up as the greatest among herbs and became a tree, so that the birds of the air came and lodged in the branches thereof, the great seed of African Unity which touched the soil of Africa in Accra in 1958, is growing as the years go by.

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's recent speech on African Unity before the Ghana Parliament has made the whole idea of African Unity very realistic.

The fear of some African leaders that they will be swallowed in a union of Africa, has been allayed by the Osagyefo's statement that:

"Countries in such a union will naturally maintain their own constitutions, continue to use their national flags their national anthems, and other symbols and paraphernalia of sovereignty which they don't have to surrender."

He declared that a United Africa should seek three objectives:

- An over-all economic planning on a united continental basis.
- The creation of a Joint Military Command for common defence and

Continued on next page

- A common foreign policy to give political direction.

Osagyefo Dr. Nkrumah's speech has clearly mapped out the basis of African Unity. It has clearly put forward the idea that African Unity is not an Utopia.

We recommend the speech to all African leaders for study and scrutiny.

The sands of time have already run perilously low; for the shape of things glaringly show the danger that awaits a disunited Africa. From Bizerta to Pretoria expensive lessons come up each passing moment. The lessons to be learnt, therefore had better be learnt in dead earnest, lest our great Africa be made to plunge into darkness instead of into the glory of the future.

FORWARD TO A UNITE AFRICA!

Incorrigible Rogues

WE publish on page nine of the "Voice" a thorough revelation of imperialist shameless manoeuvre in Katanga. The facts are accurate and the figures are true to the type.

We have more facts on hand.

The incorrigible rogues in this shameless plot aimed at perpetuating the present impasse in the Congo are known to us. Their activities and their movements are quite clear to us.

We are strategically placed to destroy these unrepentant violators of human rights who are plagued by the monstrous alchemy of converting human blood into gold. We know where to hit.

Indeed, as if eager to accelerate still further their rapid decline, these colonialists choose to ride with the least enlightened forces: and more—to become the paladin of combatants preparing to make their mode of life prevail, not by the creation of ennobling ideals but by use of force.

The African masses are advancing to a glorious future. Surely, any sane person should feel the thunderous march of the African giant racing to a bright future.

The colonialist must accept the realities of the African age, however harsh they may be.

The target date—December 31, 1963—will surely see Africa free. This fact has become as real as reality. It has been magnified by the action of the African masses and has been rendered irresistible.

We Take the Lead

DR. Samuel Johnson, famous scholar and lexicographer, added two new words to the English language: Johsonian and Johsonese, but these two do not appear in his famous dictionary.

The two epithets may only seeming be reckoned as synonymous; but a close study of their context of usage will confirm the truth of the well-known aphoristic injection: "there are no synonyms in the English Language". Johsonian refers to Johnson's style or work at its best and Johnsonese at its worst.

More important than the words themselves are their suffixes—*ian* and—*ese*. The one has clearly a complimentary meaning and the other a derogatory one.

It is small wonder, therefore, that the imperialists whose guiding philosophy is: "give a dog a bad name and hang him," are today indulging in the favourite pastime of bandying backwards and forwards such coinages a Angolese, Katangese and Congolese.

It is time that in liberation circles such coinages are replaced by such usages as Angolan, Katangan and Congoan.

The *Voice* will in future give the lead in this matter.

We Shall Fight to the Last Man

by *Kenneth Kaunda (President, UNIP)*

WE are obviously now in the process of making and writing the most difficult and complicated chapter of our history. We of the United National Independence Party to look at the problem squarely in the face and are prepared to meet blows as they come and give twice as much.

The evidence I gathered on my recent trip of the Northern and Luapula provinces makes me charge the so-called security forces of murder, arson, plunder and savage atrocities. Four cases of rape were reported to me but I did not receive sufficient evidence because these are alleged to have taken place in Chinsali and Abercorn where I was not allowed to go. I know the charge I make is a serious one but it is true. What has been happening in these troubled areas—and is still happening in Chinsali, Abercorn, Mporokoso and Kasama areas to a certain extent—I am positive the Central Government does not possess full facts of—much less His Excellency the Governor himself. In the words of one prominent chief “I thought we were going to meet the Governor but he came and stayed with those Europeans at the Boma and went away.” He was a disappointed ruler.

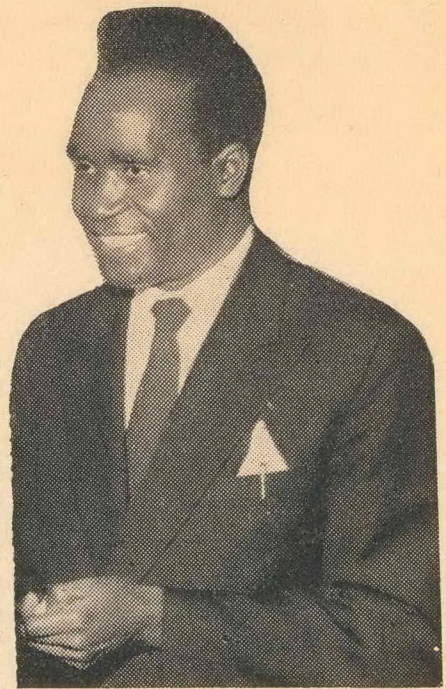
Whole villages have been razed to the ground; food stuffs including goats, sheep and fowls have been taken away to say nothing of clothes, pots, pans and other utensils. What they could not take away they destroyed. It is either gross ignorance or downright insincerity on the part of those in authority to say those Africans who wished could complain to their District Commissioners. For instance one official was involved in a riot and has since been presiding magistrate over cases of the very people he was rioting with. How does any sane person expect Africans to take their

complaints to such a man? In any case, does anyone think justice can be done?

One of our local dailies reports that I was not at all welcome in the Northern Provinces and it reports its source as Government Information Department. It is no longer a secret that the Kasama Government Information Department has been biased against United National Independence Party because of one man there. To prove my point, I was just coming from interviewing one of the four chiefs organised by a certain official not to see me. The chief in fact received me very traditionally. In one place Boma messengers rushed to shake our hands.

One white cadet came out and shouted them back to their sitting places. They were punished a few minutes later. One thing is clear, these messengers are Africans. In the same District we were told no one would see us—yet just outside crowds were swelling as news spread we had arrived. chiefs received us with open arms and we discussed our problems as ‘beloved father and son.’ Wherever we went our people simply poured in to see us—who are Government agents deceiving? No one apart from the Government itself of course! Because of intimidation African businessmen and those in high scale-employment played the Nicodemus. All these atrocities just help to make United National Independence Party more and more popular! This is the Gospel truth. Our people simply love the party!

As for the Paramount Chief Chitimukulu, I still hold him in high esteem and will always be happy to serve him. In his wisdom, what is happening today he predicted in a long talk with Mr. James Johnson, former Labour MP for Rugby when



KENNETH KAUNDA

we invited him in 1957. When we take over, which won't be too long from now, he is one of our natural rulers we shall long remember for his courage and wisdom. He has fought against Federation and nothing can change my admiration for him—no matter what colonialist intrigues may try to plant between him and me. He is my beloved natural ruler.

The campaign against identity cards has been so successful that the authorities are now so perplexed that all they can do is to compel my followers to pay fines which they refuse and then they send messengers and others to forcibly take some property of the persons concerned. Prisons are so full now that most of the prisoners at certain Bomas are using their own clothes, there are, as in the one case I am sure of, as many as three prisoners to a blanket. Savage beatings by Police go on.

In view of all this, I once more appeal to the British Government to send a judicial commission of inquiry. I have been charitable by thinking they don't know what is happening—and I believe this. If they don't I will have no alternative but to take this matter to some August International Organisation.

Continued on page 27

Lest We Forget

Patrice

Lumumba,

first Prime

Minister of the

Republic of

Congo in his

last days being

Mishandled

and Tortured

by his

Murderers,

the Belgians

and Tshombe



Freedom is a Strange

Feeling

by Henri Alleg

(An Algerian hero, who escaped from a French jail after five years' imprisonment and torture and is now in Czechoslovakia, a free man).

NOW that I am free there is an odd feeling that I cannot shake off. It is the strangeness, after years in prison, of being able to walk freely in the streets, of being able to open a window and finding that no iron bars obstruct the view.

Now my heart does not shrink every time I meet a policeman; now I can smile at him, knowing he is a friend.

I often think of the prison where I left so many friends. Particularly I do remember the hard times in the de Barberousse Prison in Algiers.

In a few days time it will be two years since we began a hunger strike which was to have lasted 12 days.

My prison mates and I were just above the death cell in which there were 120 prisoners at that time.

We staged the hunger strike to obtain some improvement in the terrible conditions which prevailed in that and all other Algerian prisons.

The French colonialists refused to consider us as political prisoners. Our people were often treated worse than the common criminals who enjoyed advantages we were denied.

We didn't have beds, bed-clothes or tables. We ate from rusty pots on the floor.

The prison guards beat the prisoners with keys, fists and constantly insulted them. On the slightest pretext prisoners got two or three months solitary confinement.

Step Failed Them

Each morning death awaited two or three Algerian prisoners. At night we waited in vain to sleep. Sometimes sleep would not come, and when it did we hoped that we would not wake up in the morning to see another of our friends die.

Nor did those sentenced to death sleep. They remained awake so that they would not be surprised by the sudden arrival of the guards and the police who would drag them to the guillotine hardly awake.

They wanted to die fully awake and alert so that they could shout their confidence in the victory of their country. Or if others were to die we wanted to hearten them with our songs.

We lived under such conditions in 1957 and 1958. Thanks to the actions organised by the prisoners and our hunger strikers, thanks also to international solidarity and above all the struggle of the Algerian people, things changed.

There were some improvements, but no sooner were they won than the French administration put an end to them and our problems started all over again.

This is why hunger-strikes were held so often. A recent one lasted until the Algerian prisoners forced the French administration to concede to their demands and grant them the status of political prisoners.

This was a big victory for the prisoners who had been demanding this for years.

Patriots

Their determination and their heroism have won the admiration of the whole world. Yet it is still necessary to say that the conditions of the concentration camps in which patriots are held, are reminiscent of those of Nazi prisons.

The Algerian people as a whole have suffered terribly during the seven years of war. More than a million of their sons have been murdered by the French colonialists.

Thousands of Algerian men and women who have been driven out of their villages now live in camps.

Negotiate

In spite of this they continue their struggle under the leadership of their Government. But their hopes for peace are great.

Peace is possible if the French Government stops manoeuvring, if it stops talking about peace while continuing the war, if it ends its plans to divide Algeria, and if it sincerely wishes to negotiate with the provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

This is what the French people themselves want.

No matter what happens Algeria will become independent sooner or later and the people of Algeria will take the road of social progress and real democracy.

The Death of Central Africa Federation

by *Serious African*

THE British colonies in Central Africa were considered till recently, regions of relative tranquillity among her possessions on the continent of Africa. After the establishment of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, however, the situation there radically changed.

In examining the situation in these extensive countries, it is better to consider the situations which led to the lumping together of three different countries—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—against the will of the African people.

For over 20 years the industrialists and planters of Southern Rhodesia, where over two-thirds of the Federation's white population live, have fostered the idea of setting up under their rule in Central Africa a big state with dominion status. This would give them hold on the two Rhodesias enormous natural resources of gold, copper, chromite manganese, lithium, and so on, and also enable them to utilise the labour reserves of over-populated Nyasaland, which annually provides some 70,000 workers for the mines and plantations of her more developed neighbours.

Analyzing the results of the Federation's eight years of existence, one sees that the Federation forced on the Africans has not solved a single problem of Central Africa, but on the contrary, has only aggravated the relationships between white settlers and Africans, and brought further complications to the political situation. A sober look at the schemes of the European colonialists, not on the basis of what they say, but of what they do, one sees in their present efforts to strengthen the unpopular Federation, the wish

to consolidate their rule over one of Africa's richest regions.

Let us consider the composition of the Federation's white community. Between 1947 and 1957 alone the number of immigrants from the Union of South Africa nearly doubled. The majority of industrialists and planters of the Federation are linked by origin and tradition with their white brethren of the Union of South Africa. This undoubtedly has a great impact on the attitude of the white settlers towards the native population of the two Rhodesias.

White domination in both Rhodesias began seventy-one years ago and was linked with the name of one of the most shameless colonialists, Cecil Rhodes, who, in the words of Lenin, "pursued an imperialist policy with the utmost cynicism."

Through one of his agents, Rhodes concluded an agreement with King Lobengula of the Matabele tribe giving him right to mine gold in the King's domain. A territory of fabulous wealth was acquired with the help of Whisky, in exchange for a month's rent of £100, one thousand rifles, a steamer for tripe along the Zambesi River, which, however, the King never had the good luck to enjoy. A trifling incident was provoked and the deal started by deceit was clenched by force of arms. A war, which cost British four men dead and the Matabele hundreds, made Southern Rhodesia a British colony. The South African Company, founded by a charter granted by Queen Victoria, actually ruled Southern Rhodesia for decades.

Having got its bridgehead for future advancements, the company bought for a song the "copperbelt", one of the world's largest copper deposits on the upper Zambezi—and

another British colony appeared—Northern Rhodesia. Then the British seized Nyasaland.

Racialism

We see Southern Rhodesia as a classic country of legalised racialism, where the colour bar embraces all spheres of public life. In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act gave all the best and most of the land to the white settlers. Figures published in the "land in Southern Rhodesia", a pamphlet recently published in London, show that 2.2 million Africans in the country own only 41 per cent of the land, and some million Africans have no land at all, while 50,000 white settlers possess one-and-a-half times more land—the most fertile.

At the mines in Northern Rhodesias where the Africans get higher wages than elsewhere, 40,000 African receive approximately £7,000,000 a year, while 7,000 white workers get £14,000,000.

Race discrimination bars Africans from any professions. Recently, it is true, African doctors and lawyers have appeared in Central Africa, but they can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The African, the legitimate ruler of Africa, has to suffer race discrimination at every step: in the hotels, railway restaurant cars, in the shops, where he is served with inferior goods through a "black" window. The pass system restricts his freedom of movement. The Federation has a total of 60 colour bar laws.

And this is all the more disgusting, because the doctrine of race segregation—apartheid—which blossoms so profusely in the Union of South Africa, is not the official ideology of the Federation's ruling circles. Today when colonialism is disintegrating all over the world, and one African people after another is winning its independence, it is becoming increasingly clear that the old way of ruling cannot go on. Racial policy in the Federation has therefore, been made to look respectable. It is now called "partnership."

To believe the racialists, the Federation is destined to become a "great experiment zone." "The Central African man will cease to be considered as black, white or brown," and "henceforth the division will be drawn between the civilised and the

Colonial Instrument of Torture in N. Rhodesia



These are freedom fighters in Northern Rhodesia Prison. For three days these men were told to hold the food in their hands without eating it. Later they were transferred to another Prison some 5,000 miles away from Lusaka and were forced to carry these tins containing food which was never served on their way to another Prison. This is the moral fibre of the so-called British "civilizing mission" in Africa

primitive." But Cecil Rhodes also advanced the principle of "equal rights for equally civilised people."

In his book *Central African Witness* published in 1959, Cyril Dun, correspondent of the influential British Sunday paper, the *Observer*, sarcastically ridicules the colonialists' notion of "Civilised Man." "Provided a man earns more than £750 a year, he is civilised even if he is barely literate. Contrariwise if a man's income is low, his civilised state can be recognised only if his standard of education is high."

Partnership

"Partnership" envisages the parallel development of both races and gradual bringing of the fruits of culture within the reach of the native population. But what is being done to bring this about in practice? Nothing.

The policy of "parallel development" is a gigantic fraud. In Central Africa, every member of the segregation Society—which supports the apartheid policy has the vote. Their blatant racialism receives no check from the authorities!

Only the white man is allowed to assert his right to rule. Every attempt of the African to defend his legitimate right to rule his own country is immediately treated as a threat of "black racialism" and is repressed.

Despite the great publicity which has been given to the "partnership" policy, nothing is being done in the Federation to ease the policy of race discrimination. For all the manoeuvres of the Federation's leaders on this question are linked with current political expediency and dominated by the desire to assure public opinion that they are not pursuing the racists from the Union of South Africa.

The ruling Federal Party acts according to what an author calls "the businessman's ethic." The proponent of this point of view consider that the Africans must be granted some measure of freedom in the economic field, otherwise the whites cannot prosper. But at the same time they do everything to halt the political activities of the African and preserve the existing social barriers. Years will pass, they say, and these barriers will

vanish of themselves. But how long will this take? "Even in a hundred or two hundred years' time," answers Premier Roy Welensky, "the African shall never hope to dominate the Federation."

The fight

The peoples of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, however, cannot accept this geological rate of change. They understand perfectly well that under the whiteman's rule they will never be able to overcome their profound economic and cultural backwardness.

Despite the flood of loud hypocritical phrases of the colonialists about their "civilising" mission, they are more alarmed than pleased at the prospect of acquainting the Africans with education. At any rate, they are not at all keen on the job. The Federation's former Premier, Lord Malvern, spoke quite frankly on this subject:

"There is no need to suggest to the African that we came here to help him", he declared towards the end of 1956. "We came here to earn our living . . ." And in truth during the last years more foreign capital has been invested in the Federation's economy than in any other African country, except the Union of South Africa and the Congo (former Belgium).

The situation has been made clear to us that it is the aim of Britain to allow the minority white group to govern the Rhodesias and Nyasaland to the exclusion of the seven million inhabitants.

The British Conservatives, still empire-conscious, sensitive to the plight of their fellow countrymen settled overseas, aware that the white community has made itself rich by exploiting the African, feel that the British Government has a moral obligation to safeguard European interests.

It is surprising that despite the British boast that they have faith in democracy, they find it difficult to accept that universal adult suffrage is the first measure which must be considered in guaranteeing the right of the many over the privileged few.

Despite the arrest and imprisonment of African nationalist leaders on flimsy charges; the alerting of

troops throughout the Federation; the threat of Europeans to sabotage any constitution which ensures universal adult suffrage; the double tongue role of Iain Macleod, the British Colonial Secretary; the numerous raids by Roy Welensky's Police on the homes of Africans; and the tightening of already stringent laws, the African nationalist movements have made several strides.

It is the view of some people that a path must be found in Central Africa for a multi-national community in which the African would, of his own free will, co-operate with the white man, who would continue the skilled work in developing the resources of the region. For ensuring this co-operation an interim period of ten—fifteen years is necessary during which time the metropolis is to act as a stabilizing factor between white and black. This, they say, may save us from both the threat of apartheid looming from the South and from "black dictatorship."

Thus have these people based their argument for preserving colonialism in Central Africa. This "positive programme" is not new. It is beneath criticism and unacceptable to the African.

Such formulas as "multifarious community" or "internal self-determination" mean nothing. This mystification is aimed at depriving Africa of her rights to freedom.

The Africans of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland are determined to win their freedom and decide on what to do with the minority groups in their midst.

The pressure of the nationalist forces has increased in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. No use of attempting to damn the revolutionary tide. The British Government by attempting to side with Roy Welensky and his crazy white settlers is precipitating the destruction of the European in Central Africa in rapids more precipitous and turbulent than the Victoria Falls.

The nationalist leader of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda has sounded the warning note: "Not even an inch of Africa will be given to a foreign race. We are determined to clean the entire Central Africa of the evils of imperialism and colonialism."

History and Civilisation

by Staff Writer

MR. Verwoerd recently assured us once again that "it is the White man to whom all progress must be ascribed of which people all over the world at present boast."

The learned Doctor obviously knows nothing or prefers to know nothing about the history of Europe, Asia or Africa. He finds it more convenient to replace history by myth just like his admired model, Alfred Rosenberg, the "philosopher" of Nazi Germany.

According to one of the most cherished myths of the racialists Europeans created civilisation out of nothing, rather like God creating the world out of chaos.

But the blessings of civilisation are not the property of any one human group which they can graciously distribute or rightfully keep, as they see fit. Civilisation happens to be the product of mankind as a whole and to its development peoples from all over the world have contributed. No group, least of all the people from the North and West of Europe, who arrived so recently on the historical scene, can claim a monopoly of contributions to civilisation.

West Came Late

One wonders where civilisation would be if Asian and African peoples had not invented the use of writing, discovered how to smelt iron and cultivate grains, created the wheel, produced multiplication tables and minted coins thousands of years ago before the people of Europe emerged from the most primitive savagery.

We could easily fill several issues of *Voice of Africa* if we tried to give an exhaustive list of Asian and African contributions to civilisation

because it would turn out to be practically a history of human civilisation as such.

White civilisation, in the "purity" with which it is propagated in Verwoerd's South Africa, does not compare too well with the ancient civilisations of Asia and Africa.

Just to take one example from the material sphere, it may surprise some of the pundits of apartheid to know that the elaborate drainage system of the ancient Indian cities which flourished on the river Indus about 4,000 years ago was superior to that provided by White civilisation in that part of its towns which it refers to as the "location."

Moral Ideas

And the moral ideas of these ancient civilisations would seem to have risen to a conception of universal justice and human brotherhood which is far beyond the grasp of the "civilised" defenders of Afrikaner tribalism.

"Behold it is not to make for himself slaves of any people," stated the traditional address delivered by the Egyptian Pharaoh two thousand years before the birth of Christ.

Upon assuming office, high state officials in Ancient Egypt were told: "Forget not to judge justice.....Look upon him who is known to thee like him who is unknown to thee; and him who is near the king like him who is far from his house."

The social philosophy of Ancient Egypt reached its climax in the universal moral doctrines of Ikhnaton (fourteenth century B.C.). In his beautiful hymns Ikhnaton makes no distinction between his own people and foreigners.

All men are in the same degree God's sons and must regard them-

selves as brothers. For the first time in human history religion is conceived as a bond uniting men of different colour, language and custom.

Greek Learning

The wisdom of the Bronze Age civilisations of the Ancient Near East provided the basis for the later cultural achievements of the Greeks who were great traders and travellers and so were able to benefit by learning from the Asian and African peoples with whom they came into contact.

Subsequently, the barbarian invaders from Northern Europe destroyed the old Graeco-Roman slave civilisation and most of its cultural achievements. Europe entered the long period of its Dark Ages, while the cultural heritage of the ancient world was productively developed by the great civilisation of the Arabs.

When the Crusaders from Western Europe invaded the Near East from the end of the eleventh century A.D. onwards they were amazed to find themselves in the presence of a civilisation far more advanced than their own. The same discovery was made by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo when he visited China in the thirteenth century and found there a degree of culture which made most of Europe look like a jungle.

Surprise in Africa

And a similar surprise awaited the readers of the first reliable description of the Negro civilisation of West Africa to be published in Europe.

Its author, Leo Africanus, described to his astounded readers the huge libraries of African scholars in university towns like Timbuktu, the great wealth of the African rulers and merchants, their efficient and peaceful administration and other matters which might make many an inhabitant of war-torn sixteenth century Europe feel envious.

Civilisation has never been confined to particular human groups but has grown step by step through the contribution of people of every race and colour. At different historical periods different kinds of contributions have been made by different kinds of people. Some

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KENYA: The old Tory Game of Divide and Rule—John Siddon

THE statement on Kenya by Mr. Maudling, Britain's Colonial Secretary, shows the Tory Government is up to its old tricks again.

Divide and rule. Bolster up reaction. Play for time in order to give added strength to the chosen collaborators, and to allow disunity to deepen and spread.

Most people know how British imperialism has used these tactics. Hindu versus Moslem in India. Arab versus Jew in former Palestine. Catholic versus Protestant in Ireland. Tamil versus Sinhalese in Ceylon.

Africa has been no exception to this rule. But in Africa further refinements to the method have been added.

Division

Faced in the past decade with a growing insistence by the African people that they be allowed to rule themselves, British imperialism has worked hard to play on every division and backward-looking force.

Its aim has been to make possible the creation of "federal" States in which feudal and tribal reaction would play a key role, and British imperialism be left, in effect, to rule the roost from behind the scenes.

If anyone doubts this, let him read Kwame Nkrumah's autobiography and learn how this trick was attempted in Ghana.

Despite the clear verdict of the 1954 General Election, which gave the Convention People's Party an overwhelming majority, reactionary politicians in alliance with semi-feudal chiefs in Ashanti, started a separatist agitation, hoping to secure the establishment of a federal form of government which would enable them to resist and sabotage the central government's programme.

This agitation points out Nkrumah, was backed by most of the Press, while the actions of the British Government "served as a stimulant to the unrest."

Majority

By strong decisive action, backed by the overwhelming majority of the Ghanaian people, Nkrumah smashed this separatist plot and Ghana was thus enabled to embark on a programme of advance.

Though balked in Ghana, British imperialism has scored in Nigeria, making use of the feudalised Northern People's Congress to ensure that the leading positions are in the hands of a feudal reaction.

In Northern Rhodesia, where the "threat" of independence draws ever nearer, British imperialism has already made the first moves to foster a separatist agitation in Barotseland.

While in the Congo, largely due to British imperialist influence, the same classic game has been played with Katanga.

Background

Some understanding of this background is necessary if one is to appreciate what Maudling and the British Government are trying on in Kenya.

The present crisis arises from the refusal of British imperialism to accept the demands of the Kenya people.

In the 1961 elections, deliberately held before Jomo Kenyatta's release and appointment as leader of the Kenya African National Union, that party received 550,000 votes against 150,000 votes for the Kenya African Democratic Union.

Yet it is not KANU, with nearly 80 per cent of the votes, which is the

Government of Kenya. It is the British Government with a Council of Ministers composed of KADU representatives together with Europeans.

KANU, with support from all the different peoples of Kenya, stand for a united Kenya, for the formation of a strong central government which will be able to stand up to imperialism and plan the development of the country's economy. It has called for independence by February 1962.

KADU, which is supported by the Governor as well as by many settlers in Michael Blundell's New Kenya Party, stands for a regional federation.

This would give full scope to tribal, separatist and parochial tendencies, lead to disunity and leave British imperialism in the background but with decisive control still in its hands.

Regional

At the beginning of October, KADU put forward a plan for a "regional government system" which would establish no fewer than five regional governments in a land of only seven million people.

"The details of the plan," said *The Times*, "were worked out by KADU's European associates."

Since then, KADU has stirred up hostility in the country and openly threatened "civil war" if its plans are unheeded.

Kenyatta has rightly warned against the dangers involved in this agitation by KADU. "Regionalism leads to a Congo situation," he said, "and we don't want that to happen in Kenya."

But the British Government, far from trying to damp down the spreading flames, is only fanning them further, as Maudling's statement shows.

In his announcement last week he gave backing to the federal scheme and refused to accept Kenyatta's proposal of February 1962 as the date for independence, arguing that it "will still take some time" before independence.

Even on the very day of his arrival in Nairobi, before he had acquainted himself with the situation, Maudling said: "Clearly, there could be very

We Shall Fight to the Last Man

by *Kenneth Kaunda (President, UNIP)*

WE are obviously now in the process of making and writing the most difficult and complicated chapter of our history. We of the United National Independence Party to look at the problem squarely in the face and are prepared to meet blows as they come and give twice as much.

The evidence I gathered on my recent trip of the Northern and Luapula provinces makes me charge the so-called security forces of murder, arson, plunder and savage atrocities. Four cases of rape were reported to me but I did not receive sufficient evidence because these are alleged to have taken place in Chinsali and Abercorn where I was not allowed to go. I know the charge I make is a serious one but it is true. What has been happening in these troubled areas—and is still happening in Chinsali, Abercorn, Mporokoso and Kasama areas to a certain extent—I am positive the Central Government does not possess full facts of—much less His Excellency the Governor himself. In the words of one prominent chief “I thought we were going to meet the Governor but he came and stayed with those Europeans at the Boma and went away.” He was a disappointed ruler.

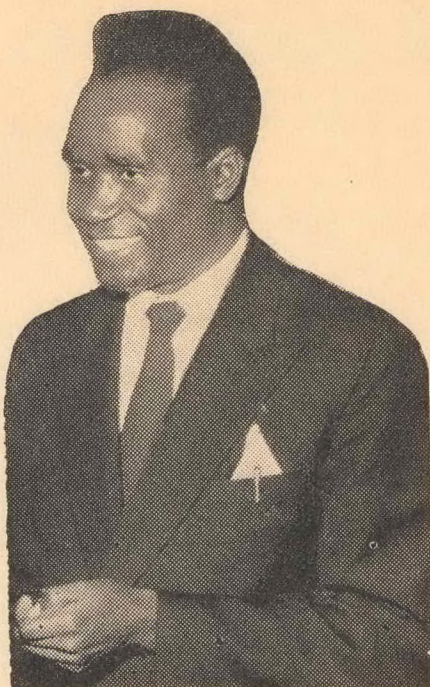
Whole villages have been razed to the ground; food stuffs including goats, sheep and fowls have been taken away to say nothing of clothes, pots, pans and other utensils. What they could not take away they destroyed. It is either gross ignorance or downright insincerity on the part of those in authority to say those Africans who wished could complain to their District Commissioners. For instance one official was involved in a riot and has since been presiding magistrate over cases of the very people he was rioting with. How does any sane person expect Africans to take their

complaints to such a man? In any case, does anyone think justice can be done?

One of our local dailies reports that I was not at all welcome in the Northern Provinces and it reports its source as Government Information Department. It is no longer a secret that the Kasama Government Information Department has been biased against United National Independence Party because of one man there. To prove my point, I was just coming from interviewing one of the four chiefs organised by a certain official not to see me. The chief in fact received me very traditionally. In one place Boma messengers rushed to shake our hands.

One white cadet came out and shouted them back to their sitting places. They were punished a few minutes later. One thing is clear, these messengers are Africans. In the same District we were told no one would see us—yet just outside crowds were swelling as news spread we had arrived. chiefs received us with open arms and we discussed our problems as ‘beloved father and son.’ Wherever we went our people simply poured in to see us—who are Government agents deceiving? No one apart from the Government itself of course! Because of intimidation African businessmen and those in high scale-employment played the Nicodemus. All these atrocities just help to make United National Independence Party more and more popular! This is the Gospel truth. Our people simply love the party!

As for the Paramount Chief Chitimukulu, I still hold him in high esteem and will always be happy to serve him. In his wisdom, what is happening today he predicted in a long talk with Mr. James Johnson, former Labour MP for Rugby when



KENNETH KAUNDA

we invited him in 1957. When we take over, which won't be too long from now, he is one of our natural rulers we shall long remember for his courage and wisdom. He has fought against Federation and nothing can change my admiration for him—no matter what colonialist intrigues may try to plant between him and me. He is my beloved natural ruler.

The campaign against identity cards has been so successful that the authorities are now so perplexed that all they can do is to compel my followers to pay fines which they refuse and then they send messengers and others to forcibly take some property of the persons concerned. Prisons are so full now that most of the prisoners at certain Bomas are using their own clothes, there are, as in the one case I am sure of, as many as three prisoners to a blanket. Savage beatings by Police go on.

In view of all this, I once more appeal to the British Government to send a judicial commission of inquiry. I have been charitable by thinking they don't know what is happening—and I believe this. If they don't I will have no alternative but to take this matter to some August International Organisation.

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