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AFRO-ASIAN BULLETIN

JOURNAL OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT
OF AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

Vol. IV

Indiana University

No. 5-8

DEC 11 1962



Dr. Fidel Castro,
leader of the cou-
rageous Cuban people.



Mr. Joshua Nkomo,
leader of the valiant
South Rhodesia peo-
ple fighting for their
rights and freedom
against imperialism
and colonialism.



Mr. Nelson Man-
dela, prominent leader
of the African Na-
tional Congress of
South Africa, arrest-
ed by the colonialist
"apartheid" govern-
ment.

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Vcl. IV

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Price: P.T. 5 (15 U.S. Cents)

UGANDA'S ROAD TO FREEDOM

By M.F. AROMA — OGWANG

Since the end of the World war II, the World has witnessed spectacular liberation movements in all continents including Africa.

In Africa the turbulent struggle for emancipation from Colonial regime gathered momentum in the last two decades and have transformed the Continent into free independent States dedicated to the concept of freedom, equality and human dignity.

The rapidity of events in the African evolution to freedom caught up with Uganda at the close of 1950, and found expression in various political movements and the formidable one being the U.N.C. (Uganda National Congress).

At the formation of the U.N.C. the liberation struggle in the African Continent from foreign domination was serious and tense. The dramatic turn came about in Uganda's struggle, when the U.N.C. adopted the famous slogan "Self Government now !"

Everyone then realised that victory was in sight and Unity was the triumphal road to reach this glorious end in the liberation struggle.

However the U.N.C. ran into the rocks in its struggle for liberation of Uganda. The colonial regime toiled hard to disintegrate this mighty force of nationalism and at the same time applied brutal force in the form of deportation, imprisonment and banning of meetings. The leaders were for a moment confused and inevitably there occurred a split within the U.N.C. and for some time the Struggle went underground pending recognition.

The split of the U.N.C. was indeed a

blessing in disguise. It marked the beginning of the bitter struggle for freedom, and a spontaneous emergence of the new force in 1957.

This was the hall mark in the road to Independence.

This all began when there mass arrests of politicians all over the districts. Among those arrested and thrown mercilessly, let alone, ruthlessly into the grim jail of Luzira to serve perilous terms of detention and ill-treatment for so-called Sedition, there was a veteran politician known as Y. Engur, district Chairman of U.N.C. and the Vice President of the Uganda National Congress.

At this junction, the political movement was at its grimmest moment and the Colonial pressure and oppression was at its apex. Nothing more was left for the oppressors to do. By all means they had down-trodden the party and strangled the Movement according to its calculation.

The Country was alarmed, but in no way did it panic or lose confidence. It was the greatest period of political awakening and very urgent discussions took place all over the country. In Lango where I was living the matter was put at the highest tribunal of the Party. to deal with this serious crisis. It was resolved unanimously to call upon Mr. Milton Oboto, who was at this time in Nairobi to come home and lead his people to freedom.

Mr. Oboto responded urgently without fear of arrest and false imprisonment in the country. He was hailed on his arrival ; and from that very day, Uganda politics gathered a great momentum.

In a matter of months he was elected to the Legislative Assembly and he organised skilfully a Representative members organisation as a forceful voice of the people entirely different from the majority voice of the Nominated Members.

Once more, yet, History unfolded itself, when Mr. Obote tactfully brought about the merger of Uganda People's Union to his wing of U.N.C. and put into being the U.P.C.; there from he has been successively elected the President General of Uganda People's Congress.

Although the Party organisation was a complete Affair; the political issues had accumulated into great complexity. Facing the UPC, there emerged another organisation known as "The Democratic Party" which rallied Catholic sympathies behind the scenes and overseas, while in the open combat denied furiously any connection with international catholicism. Yet it was an immediate challenge to march 1961 election.

Uganda under British rule was dangerously riddled with tribalism. This prompted secessionist ideas in some quarters and sparked off federal ideas in many quarters. It has been clear in all parts of Africa that the concept of Federation is a great danger to the Unity of the Country. This is due to the fact that implementation of the federal system would inevitably fall into the same

boundary that tribalism thrived. This would mean that Federation, when brought about, would fortify and perpetuate tribal group-basic principles of Unity.

Furthermore, there are four hereditary rulers in Uganda whose positions have always hung over the free destiny of Uganda.

The strength of allegiance of the people and their psychological reaction to the democratic struggle, was the pace-setter in our action and trend-setter in our thought.

However, the rapidity of the political evolution brought to these people, in clear and unmistakable terms, the very circumstances in which they live and the grave problems facing them. This was the duty of the U.P.C., which acquired unlimited success ultimately in charge of action and thought.

Several were the problems which I cannot mention all here, and I have avoided chronological order as events were so rapid one after the other. I will mention briefly the general feature of the Parties at the time of march 1961 election.

One of the outstanding parties was the Uganda People Congress which is a militant national movement dedicated at its uttermost to the Party preamble of Unity and Independence.

Some Aspects of the National Question In Africa

By IVAN POTEKHIN

In the struggle to carve up the African continent each imperialist power tried to snatch the biggest and the juiciest part for itself, Africa was literally sliced up into half a hundred pieces. The natural borderlines between the ethnic groups were disregarded, with the result that the territories they inhabited were torn as under by political frontiers marking the boundaries between the colonies seized by European powers. The situation was further complicated by the fact that parts of various nationalities were included in each colony. There was scarcely a colony in all of Tropical Africa inhabited by a single people.

Imperialist ethnographers and linguists try to justify this colonial brigandage by claiming that ethnic chaos reigned in Africa prior to the advent of colonialism and that the colonialists introduced some semblance of order in this respect. In reality, however, it was the colonialists who created ethnic chaos by arbitrarily dividing up the continent into a host of political units. One might cite any number of examples to corroborate this, but one will suffice. The Somali people, an ethnic group which given the opportunity for normal historical development, had all the prerequisites for taking shape as a single nation, was split up into several parts. In the struggle for an outlet from the Mediterranean and Red seas into the Indian Ocean, Britain, France and Italy divided the territory settled by the Somali in three parts. Each of these powers established its own order in its particular colony, although the colonial policy of all three pursued a single aim, namely, the exploitation and political subjugation of the local population. Each colonial power introduced some elements of its

own culture, habits and customs into the lives of the Somali. Thus the emergence of a single Somali nation was seriously hampered. Only now, after the victory of the national revolution, have the Somali people embarked on national development, but their path is still beset by many obstacles.

Survivals of Tribal Organisation

The cutting up of the map of Africa, however, is not the whole story. In order to strengthen their domination over the African peoples the colonialists actively supported the disunity wherever feudal state forms prevailed. (Nigeria, Uganda and elsewhere); they artificially preserved the old tribal structure and tribal organisation, making the tribal chiefs the servants of the colonial administration. They went so far as to impose the institution of chiefs where these had never before existed — for example, among the Kikuyu in Kenya. They regarded tribal organisation as a reliable means of keeping the African peoples in social and political subjection. Field-Marshal Smuts, one-time head of the government of the South African subjection. Field-Marshal Smuts, one-time head of the government of the South African Union, in a series of lectures delivered at Oxford, warned future colonial officials that the breakdown of the tribal system "should be prevented at all costs... If this system breaks down, and tribal discipline disappears", he said, "native society will be resolved into its human atoms, with possibilities of universal Bolshevism and chaos..." And John Gunter, the American journalist, after visiting Africa and talking with colonial officials, wrote: "So long as Africans remain tribal... they are not a problem except in the field of local administration".

This reactionary colonialist policy was a serious barrier to the formation of nations. The division of national groups into small communities --- tribes or sections of tribes headed by princes and chiefs who exploited the peasants under the wing of the colonial authorities, using feudal or semi-feudal forms of exploitation --- was artificially maintained. The tribes degenerated into something like petty feudal principalities. Through the tribal chiefs the colonialists encouraged tribal exclusiveness and stirred up antagonism and enmity between the tribes. In this they were aided by the missionaries and linguists who developed the tribal dialects into written languages, and by the ethnographers who painstakingly described the different customs and habits of the tribes while carefully ignoring whatever features they had in common. Thus the combined front of colonialists, missionaries and scholars prevented the tribes from merging into nationalities and nations.

Problem of National Language

One of the basic attributes of a nation is a common language. The language of a people or nation is formed when one of a group of kindred tribal tongues becomes for one or another reason the language most widely used among the tribes, squeezing out other tongues and enriching itself in the process. The final victory of this language over the others is achieved when it becomes the literary language.

Long before the European colonialists arrived in the eastern part of Tropical Africa Swahili was the language in which the tribes and peoples inhabiting that part of the continent communicated with one another ; Swahili has existed as a written language for a long time, using at first Arabic and later Latin characters. In the western part of the continent the dominant language was Hausa, written in a slightly altered version of Arabic. The main language of the Congo basin was the Kikongo. In many other areas intertribal languages, i.e., languages used by large

ethnic groups which later might have crystallised as nations, began to emerge before the colonialists arrived. The beginnings of a written language in the Nsibidi, Vai, Bamum and other tongues had appeared, but the advent of the colonial regime interrupted the process.

The language of the metropolitan state became the official language for each of the colonies. It was used for public gatherings, the press, the radio, and communication between the different tribes. An African who wished to find a place in life beyond the confines of his own tribe was obliged to learn the official language. This prevented any of the local languages from becoming the common language of communication for the entire population of the given colony and developing into a literary language.

This lingual confusion suited the colonialists down to the ground. Only a small section of the indigenous population could speak the language of the metropolitan country. The bulk of the population, made up of different peoples and tribes, had no common language, a situation which facilitated the colonialist "divide and rule" policy and prevented the population from uniting to resist imperialist enslavement.

That explains why the colonial authorities did nothing to promote the development of the national languages in Africa.

In the French colonies of Tropical Africa the authorities made no attempt even to create alphabets for the African languages with the result that their peoples had no written language of their own when they won their national independence. In the British colonies written languages were introduced on the basis of the Latin alphabet for many dialects, but this impeded rather than promoted the formation of the national languages, inasmuch as the British colonial authorities and the missionaries created alphabets for tribal dialects thereby adding

to the lingual confusion and obstructing the development of an inter-tribal language. On the Gold Coast, for example, four different written forms of a single language, that of the Akan, were created by making written languages of the Ashanti, Fanti, Akim and Akwapim dialects. This proved to be a serious obstacle to the national development of the Akan people. A government committee has now been set up in independent Ghana to work out a unified Akan alphabet.

So far, the British and French languages are still the official languages in the newly independent states of Tropical Africa. And as literacy spreads more and more people will learn these languages. But this does not solve the problem of national language. Foreign languages can hardly become the linguistic foundation of national union. This question was discussed at the Second Congress of African Writers and Cultural Workers held in Rome in 1959. In a resolution on linguistic problems the Congress recognised that Africa "should not accept any foreign language, European or any other, as the national language".

What complicates matters is that different languages are spoken in many states in Tropical Africa. The degree of similarity or dissimilarity between these language varies. In some countries these languages belong to different lingual families, in others, they are languages of the same family or even dialects of the same language. Hence the task of creating a national language will have to be tackled differently in each case : in some countries a single national language can be created, in others, two or more. Some states will be mono-national, others, multi-national. These, of course, are problems which the peoples and governments of the countries concerned must solve themselves.

A mass movement to abolish illiteracy is now spreading in the African states. And here, too, the question arises : in what language to teach the people — English, French,

or their native tongue. It is not a matter of eliminating the study of foreign languages altogether — that would be a step back — but of the relation between the native and foreign languages.

Most of the governments in Tropical Africa have not yet made up their minds on this question.

The question of a national language, which affects the relations between peoples whom circumstances have brought together within a single state, is one that must be approached with extreme caution. The history of multi-national states shows that every nationality cherishes the right freely to use its own language and any restriction of this right is bound to lead to national conflicts.

National Culture

Down the centuries the peoples of Africa have created a distinctive culture of their own. Their music and dances, songs and folklore, sculpture and painting, their costumes, dwellings, etc., form a cultural heritage that could have served as the foundation for the evolution of a national culture. But again colonialism stepped in and thwarted the natural process. The colonial authorities did not lift a finger to advance African culture. What is more, they labelled it the primitive culture of a "lower race", of interest only to the collector of exotic ethnographical curios. They also took administrative measures to suppress the national culture. For example, folk songs and dances were not allowed in schools, and Africans were taught to regard their own cultural heritage with contempt. In this respect the imperialists were not altogether unsuccessful, for some African intellectuals actually did begin to despise the national culture.

At the same time the people were debarred from European culture. Between 90-95 per cent of the population remained illiterate. Up to the time of the Second World

War there was not a single professional theatre in this part of the world. Nor was there any literature in the native languages. Even the most elementary European amenities of life were beyond the reach of the bulk of the population. True, the colonialists did educate a handful of "elite" to serve as colonial officials and priests. Contrary to their intentions, a number of distinguished leaders who were later to head the national liberation movements emerged from this "elite". But it also produced some despicable lackeys of imperialism, and hence it served its purpose.

A powerful movement for the development of national culture is now sweeping Africa. African literature is rapidly advancing, a national cinema is coming into being, professional theatres are being organised, and more African scientists and scholars are appearing on the world arena. African intellectuals are engaging in lively debates concerning the way of national cultural development.

Prevalence of Pre-Capitalist Social Relations

The economic basis for the formation of bourgeois nations was the development of the capitalist mode of production and capitalist production relations. Colonialism acted as an obstacle to the capitalist development of Africa and the emergence of the classes associated with capitalist society. The imperialist monopolies, it is true, opened capitalist enterprises in Africa, but they took steps to prevent the emergence of a working class. As one French colonial expert pointed out, the most costly item from the social standpoint was the worker. Proletarianisation of the African workers, he said, would be a far greater danger than that of the European inasmuch as the class struggle in the overseas countries is accompanied by a national struggle. Hence, to exploit the labour of the Africans in the European-owned enterprises, while preventing the African from becoming a proletarian, became the guiding principle of the colonialists in the labour question.

Since there was no manufacturing industry to speak of and capital investment was concentrated chiefly in mining, plantations and road-building where mechanisation could be kept at a minimum, the European companies preferred to use contracted peasant labour. This was all the cheaper because the countryside remained the source of the reproduction of labour power.

Since the worker was paid a bare subsistence minimum for a single man, he could not bring his family with him, could not settle in the town and become a worker in the strict sense. Despite these precautions it proved impossible to prevent the rise of an African proletariat. The number of wage earners has considerably increased since the war and now stands at 15 million (including all categories of employees). However, the bulk of the workers in the principal spheres of capitalist production -- mining and plantations -- are still peasants whose homes are in the villages.

The colonialists also did their best to retard the growth of a national bourgeoisie. All the channels for the accumulation of capital were closed to Africans. In some countries administrative measures were taken to restrict capitalist enterprises by Africans. It was only after the Second World War, when the political domination of the colonialists were directly threatened, that they took the course of creating a "middle class" and began to support African enterprises to some extent.

Production relations in Tropical Africa are a complex interweaving of tribal relations (now dying out), patriarchal-feudal (the dominant type) and capitalist relations (which are gaining ground).

The artificial conservation of pre-capitalist social relations preserved those forms of social organisation which hold back the crystallisation of nations.

Such is the general picture of the many barriers raised by colonialism to the develop-

ment of nations in Africa. The picture, however, would be incomplete without mentioning the political oppression of the colonial peoples. Up to 1945 representative institutions were non-existent in the African colonies; the people were ruled exclusively by governors appointed by the colonial power. But the colonial system is contradictory by its very nature. Contrary to the will of the colonialists, tribal organisation gradually disintegrated, the tribes inter-mingled, new social relations developed the towns became centres of political and cultural life and a national intelligentsia came into being. Colonialism could not completely close the doors to national development, it retarded the emergence of nations, but it could not stop this natural historical process. A stimulus to national development was the anti-imperialist movement led by national organisations.

The exact degree of national consolidation of the peoples of Tropical Africa is difficult to determine. In some cases the process is approaching completion, in others it is only beginning. Most of the peoples are still at a stage somewhere between these two points. But speaking of Tropical Africa as a whole one can say that the process of the crystallisation of nations has not yet ended.

Prospects

Africa is now experiencing a national anti-imperialist revolution which is destined to put an end to imperialist enslavement and pave the way for free national development. Over a large part of the continent the first stage of this revolution has ended: state power has passed from the imperialists into the hands of the local national forces, and national state-hood has been established. But colonialism has not yet been abolished in these countries. They are still economically dependent on the metropolitan country, and hence their state sovereignty is limited; exploitation by foreign capital continues to the detriment of their economic development.

In all spheres of social and intellectual

life substantial survivals of colonialism still remain. The existence of puppet governments must also be regarded as a survival of colonialism. President Nkrumah of Ghana has called such governments another variety of the system of indirect rule. The complete elimination of colonial domination is the task of the next stage of the national revolution.

Hitherto the national question hinged mainly on the struggle against foreign imperialist domination, for independence. Hence the national question was one of the relations between the colony and the colonial power. That problem still remains to be solved. But now that independence and statehood have been reached, the national question acquires new significance as a problem of the relations among the peoples within the African states. And this is a ticklish problem.

Because of the discrepancy between the ethnic and state frontiers, the Ewe people live in Ghana and in Togo, the Masai live in Kenya and in Tanganyika, the Wolof in Senegal and Gambia, the Malinke in Guinea, Mali, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Gambia, etc. How to overcome this legacy of colonialism is one of the most difficult problems facing the African state today.

To revise the political map and change the state frontiers in order to bring them into accord with the ethnic boundaries is an impossible task at the present stage. One way of overcoming the difficulty would be regional federation or a union of African states.

The idea of creating a union is popular in Africa. It is supported by many progressive statesmen and has found reflection in the state laws of a number of countries. The preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Guinea, for instance, states that Guinea "unconditionally supports any policy aimed at establishing a Union of African States".

Similar ideas are contained in the Ghana Constitution. Last April the presidents of

Ghana, Guinea and Mali signed the Charter of the Union of African States.

In the first half of this year another union, the so-called Afro-Malagasy Organisation for Economic Co-operation appeared. But this is a union of an entirely different kind. Not all unity is useful and progressive. The African peoples need a unity that would help them to put an end to colonialism and obtain genuine national freedom. That is not the aim of the Afro-Malagasy union. Its leaders are pro-imperialist and the union's purpose is not to unite the African people to achieve final victory over imperialism and colonialism, but to split the continent and weaken the united anti-imperialist front.

Another question associated with the emergence of nations is that of the future development of the countries of Tropical Africa. The national bourgeoisie in these countries is weak, while the working class is relatively strong numerically. The industry now being established is predominantly state-owned. If agriculture is to make headway some sort of peasant co-operatives will have to be established. In many of these countries there is communal land ownership. There is, then, a definite basis for a non-capitalist way of development.

What course these countries take will depend on who wields the state power and

on the alignment of the political forces. The general lines of development can be discerned. In Guinea, Mali and Ghana measures are being taken to restrict the growth of private national capital; in Nigeria, on the other hand, private capitalist enterprise is encouraged. Some African states are pursuing a policy explicitly designed to steer the country away from capitalism, which has brought so much suffering to the peoples of Africa. It would, however, be incorrect to assume that these nations have already made their final choice in this respect. The question of the way development depends in the final analysis on the correlation of the social forces in each country.

The African states, which have arisen as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system, are still young. Few of them have existed independently for more than a few years. They have as yet no experience of statehood, and the policy of their governments on the national question has not yet taken final shape. From this standpoint everything that has been said above must be regarded merely as a modest attempt to look ahead into the future. The national question in Africa is a very delicate one. To solve it painlessly will require much wisdom and political tact on the part of the governments concerned. The final word in the settlement of this question, as of all other matters pertaining to the building of the new life, rests with the African people themselves.

West Irian An Integral Part Of Indonesia

By B. A. UBANI

Of late, in order to detach West Irian from Indonesia, ethnologic and geographic arguments have been advanced. It has been said that the population of West Irian is not Indonesian but Melanesian, and that West Irian is not part of Indonesian geography. On the other hand, the racial affinity and geographic unity between West Irian on one side and the Australian New Guinea and Papua on the other side have been much stressed.

That such arguments for detaching West Irian are dangerous as well as unrealistic can be immediately seen: British Borneo and Indonesian Borneo are geographically and ethnologically one. So also is the case with the Portuguese Timor and the Indonesian Timor. Malaya is racially one with Indonesia. So also is the Philippines. Canada and the United States of America are a geographic unity and their respective peoples have a racial affinity. Haiti and Dominica have racial affinity and geographic unity. Examples can be multiplied and re-multiplied. But those given are more than enough to express the fact of history that in our century, especially in Asia and Africa, nationalism and national states, cut across racial and geographical boundaries and have developed and matured and become cohesive within the political boundaries fixed by the previous colonial powers during their colonial rules. Indonesia is not at all an exception to this rule. Indonesian nationalism and nation is not based on ethnology and physical geography but, on the contrary, it cuts across the racial and geographical boundaries and became mature and cohesive within the political boundaries of the former Dutch East Indies.

But, this is not at all to say that West Irian on one hand and the other part of Indonesia on the other have no ethnologic and geographic affinity.

On the point of geography, the term "Indonesia" has been used interchangeably with that of the Malay archipelago or Malaysia and East Indies archipelago. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. XIV, page 709, (1950 publication), Malay Archipelago is defined as "the largest group of islands in the world, lying southeast of and north and southwest of Australia. It includes the Sunda Islands, the Moluccas, New Guinea, and the Philippine Islands, but excludes the Andaman-Nicobar group".

In a joint introduction to the book "Adat Law in Indonesia" (1948 publication), Prof. E. A. Hoebel of New York University and Prof. A. A. Schiller of Columbia University state that "Indonesia's identity is geographical, but not political. For the archipelago that stretches for some thousand miles across the southern Pacific includes not only the Netherlands Indies (which includes West Irian), but also the Philippines, British Borneo and Portuguese Timor".

Yet another authority, Dr. B. H. M. Vlekke says in the preface to his book "Nusantara — a history of East Indian Archipelago" (1944 publication) that before the war, what we call Indonesia now "politically is known as Netherlands Indies and geographically as the East Indies or Indonesia". Thus, even according to Dutch authority — Dr. Vlekke is a Dutch Professor — Indonesia and East Indies are interchangeable geographic terms. And this includes West Irian as well. (It is worthwhile to note that Dr. Vlekke, in the preparation of his book "Nusantara", was assisted by Ch. O. van der Plas, then the Chairman of the Netherlands East Indies Commission with the latter's expert advice; and was given full support and supplied much valuable information by the Netherlands Information Bureau in New York).

From the ethnologic point of view, the whole peoples of the Pacific, whether they are labelled Indonesians, or Melanesians, or Micronesians or Polynesians, are racially inter-related, sharing the same group of culture and languages.

It has been the accepted view of the anthropologists that the peoples of the Pacific came originally from ancient Asia. They migrated to different and numerous islands of the Pacific in many successive waves through Malaysia, especially that part which is now called Indonesia.

Indonesia was then the cauldron into which the Asian migrants were thrown and in which they were remoulded and largely transformed and merged with others. It was from this melting pot that eventually the peoples of the Pacific sprung.

Let us by-pass here the migration to Java of the ape-man called Pithecanthropus erectus, for he has no bearing on the present people of Indonesia. But about 25,000 years ago the Stone-Age hunters, the Negritos, migrated from Asia, followed by the Australoids. Next came the Negroids. About 3,000 B.C. or about 5,000 years ago the Proto (Early) - Malays migrated to Indonesia and forced most of the Negroids out to follow the earlier route of most of the Negritos, into what we now call Melanesia. And about 300 B.C. started the second and the last wave of migration of the Malays. These late comers are labelled by the anthropologists as the Deutero (Late) - Malays. Like previous arrivals, the Deutero-Malays also forced the earlier migrants into the interior of the Indonesian islands or into further east Pacific islands. In this way the two island-groups of Polynesia and Micronesia were also populated as those of Melanesia.

Thus, throughout Indonesia, to quote Furnival's words in his book "Netherlands India", "many peoples have been ranging for untold ages in a long succession... Over the

whole area the earlier arrivals are distributed in pockets, and the Papuans, first notable in Flores, increases as one goes eastwards to New Guinea, so that racial diversity is one outstanding character of the archipelago, and even in Java (about the same size as England without Wales) there are three distinct races..."

Dr. Vlekke, describing the racial diversity of Indonesia says that "... the inhabitants of one small area may be of widely different racial types. In West New Guinea, for instance, dwarf-like people with an average height of only four feet five inches may live close to tribes whose men have an average height of as much as five feet six inches. In one village people have a distinctly semitic appearance, the older men closely resembling the bearded Assyrian Kings of the monuments of Nineveh, while the people of the next village are of an unmistakably Negroid type".

In other words, it may be said that since time immemorial, Indonesia has been the recipient of successive waves of immigration. There has been constant ebb and flow of peoples which result in the fusion of races and mixture of blood so that it is difficult now to distinguish distinctly one race from the other. Vaguely we may discern more and more predominance of the Malays as we go more and more to the western side of Indonesia and more and more predominance of the Papuans (also called Melanesians) as we go more and more to the eastern side. But there is no fixed demarcation line between the two.

The Netherlands Government's report to the United Nations in 1949 says, "Racially the indigenous peoples (of Indonesia) may be divided into Malays in the west and Papuans in the east. As these races have intermixed to a considerable extent, they are not separated by clearly defined boundaries".

Linguistically also the rest of Indonesia

is closely related not only to West Irian, but also to the islands of Oceania. Language experts trace almost all the languages spoken in Malaysia of which Indonesia is a part, in Melanesia, in Micronesia and in Polynesia to a common source generally referred to as Malay-Polynesian or Austronesian.

According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. XII (1950), "Cultures which existed in the archipelago in prehistoric times are still alive in Australia and in the islands of the Pacific. The Mesolithic hand-axe culture as well as the flake culture (of Proto-Toalian type) reached Australia. The axe with oval or lentoid cross-section, known prehistorically from eastern Indonesia, is identical in form with the stone axes still in use in New Guinea and Melanesia. The quadrangular size spread with the Polynesians far into the Pacific, while the highly specialized stopped and shouldered adzes of eastern Polynesia and of New Zealand correspond to those of the Philippines and of Celebes. The stone monuments and stone structures of Malanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia compare closely with prehistoric and recent megalithic monuments in Indonesia. Traces of the Indonesian Bronze Age culture (socketed bronze axes, etc.) have been found on Lake Sentani in northern New Guinea, while Indonesian Bronze Age influence can be traced in the decorative arts of the native tribes as far as the Solomon Islands. Thus the prehistory of Indonesia furnishes a key to the deeper historical understanding of the recent history not only of the archipelago itself, but also of Australia and of the Pacific".

Again, picking up a specific instance of West Irian, Dr. Vlekke observes: "the tribes of Indonesia are basically one people and even minorities like the Papuans differ little (from the rest of the Indonesians) in matters of religions and customs". He is referring to the fact that original Indonesian beliefs still survive among the Indonesian Muslims and Christians, and that animism is at the bottom of all religious conceptions of the Indonesian people.

Lastly, in any debate or argument on whether West Irian is or is not part of Indonesia we must not ignore the fact of history of the political usage of the term "Indonesia".

The term "Indonesia" is a new term. It began to be used by Europeans like G. R. Logan and Bastian only at the second half of the last century in ethnologic and anthropologic and even geographic sense covering a much bigger area than the present Indonesia. It had never been used as a political term till the Indonesians themselves began to use it at the second decade of this century for the whole area of the former Netherlands Indies. This name was accorded constitutional and legal recognition by the Netherlands Government itself when the Netherlands constitution was amended in 1948 and the term Netherlands East Indies was replaced with that of "Indonesia".

In its report to the United Nations in 1949 the Netherlands Government declared that Indonesia is the same as the former Netherlands East Indies and includes New Guinea west of 141 degrees East.

MOZAMBIQUE UNDER PORTUGUESE RULE

By MANUEL C. J. GUIHOLE

(1) POSITION IN AFRICA

- (a) Mozambique is an African country with a population of about 6,500,000 Africans and over 80,000 Europeans and 6,300 others (1961). It lies to the South of Tanganyika, to the West, the federation of Nyasaland and Rhodesias and to the South is the Republic of South Africa. It occupies an area of 771,125 Square Kilometres. Its capital town is Laurenco Marques.
- (b) **CLIMATE:** It has one rainy season from December to April. It has sufficient rain to grow crops without the aid of irrigation. It has four big rivers namely: Ruvuma marking the boundary between Tanganyika and Mozambique. (Ruvuma has a length of 750 miles), Lurio — length 500 miles, the Zambezi running from Angola (another Portuguese Colony) passes through Mozambique to the Indian Ocean to the east of Mozambique; Save is another river and Limpopo to the South where we have a big European settlement (settler scheme planned to accommodate about 1,000,000 white settlers). The Zambezi is navigable for a long part of it and so is Ruvuma.
- (c) Its chief imports by value are cotton, textiles and wine from Portugal with a duty tax of 50% and exports are cotton to Portugal which is grown locally in Mozambique.

(2) GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

Mozambique is constitutionally a Portuguese Province Overseas, and is administered by the Lisbon Government (Salazar Regime) — with a Governor-General as its representative in Mozambique. There are nine

provinces each headed by a Governor. Below the Governors are the District Commissioners who are responsible to the Governors, and below them are (Chiefs do Postos) and chiefs below them. All these posts are held by Europeans. Africans are nominated as chiefs hence they cannot oppose their boss. Those chiefs are used for collecting people for forced labour in European farms and mines with very little pay. These chiefs also have their subordinates. When a chief dies his relative succeeds him, preferably a son.

(a) LEGISLATURE:

There is a house of representatives with a total of 23 members. 15 of these are elected and 8 nominated by the Governor-General.

Elections of the 15 members:

There are no definite qualifications for one to be a voter, but there are points to give you an idea as to how elections are held. The whole thing is the convenience of the Lisbon Government of Salazar.

Here is how the 15 members are elected to the office:

- i) One member is elected by Europeans who earns not less than Escudos 10,000 (£100 sterling) per month. They are all Europeans.
- ii) One member is elected by various departments of Civil Service though those who are not Europeans do not vote.
- iii) Two must be elected by the Catholic Church and one of the elected persons must be a priest. Electors here are Europeans.

iv) Two are elected by the Administrators Collegium — District Commissioners and the like — who are also Europeans.

v) Nine members are elected by those people who have been registered in the voters' register and must be loyal to the Government.

NOTE : In all cases, no African qualifies as a voter, not even those who are assimilated, nor mullatos. In view to the foregoing facts one sees that the type of election is not direct. In fact no definition can be given to it except that it is a controlled election. The so-called Governor-General heads this house. This house meets between April and October. A letter of notification is given by the Governor-General to the members 20 days earlier.

(b) COUNCIL OF MINISTERS :

This body is composed of six officers who are appointed by the Overseas-Government (Salazar Government). They are :

- i) Secretary-General
- ii) Two Provincial Secretaries.
- iii) Military Commander
- iv) Financial Secretary and
- v) Attorney-General.

Again this body is headed by the Governor-General and is responsible to the Lisbon Government. In this body there are two other officers who are members from the house of representatives (Lower House) to represent the interests of the Natives. Also there are all the heads of various Government departments to answer on matters affecting their respective departments. The activities of this Council of Ministers are not made public and it is the source of all the colonial atrocities. Everything is "Top Secret". This is briefly the Portuguese Colonial lay out.

(3) ASSIMILATION AND ITS RESULTS

In the year 1922 the Colonial Government started the fascist campaign of assimilating people. The qualification in this year and thereafter was that "Anyone who was baptised was to be registered as Assimilado". The Colonial regime found out later that the number of Assimilados was getting bigger every time — because the church was so active in getting the masses converted as a part of the colonial activities.

However, they had an answer ready to the ever growing problem ; and to reduce the number to their liking they changed the qualification to Assimilation form "Baptism" to "Education". The new move was started in 1927. In this new code, the qualification is that one must speak good Portuguese and is of 49 class (complemetar). To a very competent pupil this takes 8 years of continuous education. Besides, one has to get a certificate from one's responsible officer in the Judicial Department, a certificate from the Military Commander, must not adhere to the customs of the indigenous people, and must be holder of a professional post which can earn him money to live a decent life (as they call it "European Life").

If and when you fulfil all these requirements they are handed to the D.C. who passes them to the Governor-General and upon his approval you get registered (Registo Civil de Nascimento) and you are thereafter referred to as assimilado. Consequently all your children are assimilado by the virtue of their father's assimilation. This campaign was started by the imperialists to divide and rule. They well knew that if they did not take this move, all Africans would unite and fight to throw off the colonial yoke. None of the assimilados are supposed by law to mix with those who are not assimilated, hence no question of changing ideas, no unity among the indigenous people, as a result of a well-calculated measure by the imperialists. The Portuguese Regime claims that those who

are assimilated enjoy the privileges of the upper class, (Europeans). All the people of Mozambique have refuted this since none of these assimilados qualify as an elector nor do they get responsible posts in the civil service as do the Europeans. Therefore it is quite clear that the idea is a colonising tactic. Today in Mozambique, there are 6,800 African Assimilados. Hence, I speak from personal experience and not from what I have been told or heard. I have undergone the process myself. I therefore make myself available for further questions on this subject of assimilation since I cannot put every point on paper.

(4) SOCIAL STRUCTURE — MAJOR TRIBES

Mozambique is divided into two divisions. The North and the South. In the South there are four small tribes which when grouped together are called Landim. They all speak one language. The biggest of the four segments is Machangana and has to itself a population of about 500,000.

In the North there are six tribes and they are all referred to as Wamacua. The Wamacua are more than a million. These figures are to the best of my knowledge. The Government is so secretive that it is practically very difficult to get the correct figures for each tribe.

Here it is worth mentioning that the people are so much divided that they hardly know one another. From one district to another, one must have a pass of movement. This pass is almost out of question. One has to satisfy the authorities to the effect that

one has paid poll tax, main tax, and has also to testify to the District Commissioner as to why one has to travel to another location.

Free movement is within a distance of 50 miles from your place of residence. This pass is called "Cardeneta Indigena". If you are a holder of this book you produce it to the authorities and they endorse it for the place you wish to visit ; those who are assimilated have a different book for the same purpose.

The Indigena are no better than slaves and are subjected to anything that the Government deems fit for them.

(5) POLITICAL PARTIES

The question of political parties in Mozambique does not even arise at this late time when the world is thinking of improved conditions of living and better human relations. Radio is forbidden to operate on any wave length other than Lisbon and all news is censored.

However, the people of Mozambique are keenly aware of what is happening around them and have managed to have political parties outside their own country. There are two parties namely : MANU — Mozambique African National Union of which I am the National President and UDENAMO (Uniao Democratica Nacional Del Mozambique) whose national President is Mr. A.C. Gwambe.

THE MANU has branches in Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Kenya. "UDENAMO" has an office in Tanganyika only.

Bechuanaland Struggle For Freedom

By P. G. MATANTE

Vice President, Bechuanaland People's Party

The Bechuanaland struggle began as early as 1871 after a series of land grabbings, rapings and robberies had taken place earlier, as it will be noted that our former Kings were compelled to seek British Protection.

After the diabolical Berlin Conference, staged in 1884, in which the three Colonial powers signed an instrument on the "Scramble For Africa" and divided it among themselves. The British imperialists proclaimed the so-called Bechuanaland Protectorate only in 1885.

In 1891 the imperialist Government after appointing a High Commissioner, gave authority to rule Bechuanaland by Proclamation, even today in the year 1962, this ancient and antiquated pattern of British Imperialistic rule pre-dominates with the policy of segregation being used as part and parcel of British imperialism in Africa.

This colonial power, at any time, kept the terms of the agreement reached at the Conferences of 1889, when it gave definite promise that it would not interfere with the Government of the Batswana Principality.

But in November 1895 when a delegation from our Country went to London to confer with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, an agreement to allow the Rhodesian Railway to pass through a strip of land now known as the British Crown land, was made in exchange for future British protection.

The partition and colonisation of Africa is a well known fact. It is known that a number of diverse methods were employed for exploitation and domination. It has been recently recognised that Africa was first seen as a great game reserve, to lock it up for a period of years, to keep it a dark continent

that could produce human cargo for the goal of keeping the entire continent in servitude.

The British form of colonialism may well be considered in a class by itself, in view of the systems developed to create forms of government, and those which are crown colonies. Today when the world recognises the United Nations, the British sit among Nations, guilty of using terms such as self-government and self-determination among peoples, while at the same time giving aid, support and encouragement to new forms of present day colonialism in terms of investments, geological surveys for minerals and the exploitation for the resources of a people and their country.

During the year 1920 European and African Advisory Councils were established. These bodies were separately formed in accordance with the policy of discrimination of Blacks and Whites which is commonly practiced in the entire territory. Whites were elected by whites only and the Africans were officially appointed by the High Commissioner who receives nominations from the Resident Commissioner.

In the year 1950, a Joint Advisory Council of Europeans and Africans was established as a new creation with the bringing together the former separate European and African Advisory Councils. The Council consisted of seven official members, all whites, eight unofficial whites and eight Africans. The whites were elected by ballot by white electors who saw to it that their interests were strongly submitted and protected, while the African members were appointed by the High Commissioner.

Earlier in 1924, the white settlers, South African whites, begged the South African gov-

ernment to incorporate the so-called High Commission Territories. The settler Prime Minister of South Africa urged the British Government to treat the matter with urgency and all seriousness. The imperialists told the settler government that they were not prepared to incorporate or transfer these territories unless the inhabitants of that country were ready to accept the incorporation.

This was also another cleverly accomplished trick played by the imperialists as Bechuanaland was being prepared for a linking up with the so-called Federation of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, which is already on the verge of breaking.

During the life of this Joint Advisory Council, the African members debated at great length the need of a Legislative Body. They showed argument to the effect that time was long over due for Self Rule.

The imperialist deliberately and purposely delayed this request of a Legislative Body in order to be able to introduce a fake document in the name of constitution. This in itself is a violation to the agreement terms reached in 1885 and 1895 Conferences.

In 1959 the Secretary of States for Commonwealth Relations directed the High Commissioner who has his official residence in Pretoria, South Africa, to set up a constitutional Committee, in accordance with the set Plan, as Mr. Duncan Sandys has already indicated in his letter to Northern Rhodesia dated 17th March 1960, from the House of Commons.

Late in 1959 the Joint Advisory Council set up a constitutional Committee: with the Resident Commissioner as Chairman, six official members (whites), two unofficial white members and four Africans.

The constitution provides direct elections to the Legislative Council for white and Asian settlers only. Indirect election by show of

hands is held for all Africans under the chiefs, in Area Councils, District and African Councils and then finally to the Legislative Councils where the High Commissioner appoints African members to the Legislative Council.

Qualifications

WHITES AND ASIANS FRANCHISE

- (a) Status of British subjects or British protected persons;
- (b) Age 21 years or over;
- (c) Residing in the Protectorate for 12 months prior to application for registration;
- (d)
 - i. Ownership of land or stock in the Protectorate to the value of 200-0-0 or
 - ii. Possession of one or more important types of trading licences, or
 - iii. Income of two hundred pounds from any source in 12 months prior to application for registration;
 - iv. Must not be disqualified on account of foreign allegiance, sentence of death or imprisonment exceeding six months, unsound mind or disqualified for election offense;
 - v. Being a wife of a person so qualified.

AFRICAN FRANCHISE

- (a) Must be adult African;
- (b) Must have resided continuously in the area concerned for two years, immediately preceding the date of application for registration (a person who has retained his home in the area concerned but was absent for temporary period not exceeding 12 months during the two years shall be deemed to have been resident for the requisite period);
- (c) Must not be disqualified on account of foreign allegiance, sentence of death or imprisonment exceeding six months, un-

sound mind or disqualified for election offence.

already registered thousands of men and womens members.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The Resident Commissioner as Chairman
Three ex-officio members whites
Seven official members whites
Ten elected unofficial members whites
Two nominated unofficial members
Representing a population of 3,000 whites
One Asia representing only 200 Asians
Ten appointed Africans
Two nominated
Representing a population of 355,000 Africans

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Resident Commissioner Chairman
The Executive Council consists of
Three ex-officio white members
Two official white members
Two nominated white members
Two nominated African members.

Prior to the elections the Bechuanaland Peoples Party issued a memorandum to the Resident Commissioner opposing the Constitutional proposals. The Resident Commissioner rejected the Memorandum on grounds that his committee had already recommended on their proposals.

The Bechuanaland Peoples Party has today launched a campaign against this fake constitution, for complete and total rejection.

The Party in marshalling its forces has

The British imperialists in this fake document have gone to the extent of influencing the African Legislative Council members to form the Bechuanaland Democratic Party which of course is the ghost of the dead Bechuanaland Federal Party.

The Bechuanaland Democratic Party is led by Seretse Khama the rightful ruler of the Tamanwato tribe and also an Executive Council member.

The Democratic Party which has already introduced a multiracial policy is supported strongly by all white settlers since its birth five months ago.

The Bechuanaland Peoples Party, the only Nationalist Organisation in the entire tereritory demands immediate dissolution of the present existing Constitution and urges the imperialists through the United Nations Committee of Seventeen for an immediate Constitutional Conference where the whole people of Bechuanaland will be represented there after a date to be set for immediate independence.

The People of Bechuanaland appeal to all peace freedom loving people, Countries and Governments for assistance, financial aid, and encouragement in this struggle for immediate independence and they are confident that they will be victorious.

TANGANYIKA

Tanganyika is the first country in East Africa to achieve independence after very long years of foreign domination. Since its independence, it is busy not only in giving its independence a real meaning.

It has become a source of inspiration and help to all the parts of East, Central and South Africa which are still struggling for independence.

During the next few months it is going to take further steps towards extending and consolidating its independence. It will have a new constitution under which it will come out of the Commonwealth and establish a republic.

Tanganyika has an area of 362,688 thousand square miles, of which 20,000 is composed of lakeland. In 1954 its total estimated population was 8,196,000 of which 8,084,000 were Africans, 22,500 Europeans and 89,000 other non-Africans, mainly Asians.

This country was first colonised during the end of the last century by the German colonialists. After the first world war, under the Peace Treaty of 1919, the Germans were forced to surrender this colony along with others and the League of Nations mandated Britain to administer this territory. Britain converted it into its colony and remained there until last year when it was forced to give independence.

During the years of their colonisation the colonialists converted Tanganyika, like other colonies, into a raw material producing appendage. They developed only the production of sisal, groundnuts, tea and coffee and usually earned millions through their production and export. In 1959 itself they exported, the worth of 20 million sterling only in sisal, British monopol-

ists had invested more than twenty million sterling. Beside these agricultural produce, the British colonialists expropriated the natural wealth of the country to their hearts' desire. Only one company, Williamson and Co., had an investment of 4.4 million sterling in the diamond industry. From all this wealth which the colonialists looted, they did not pay the workers even twenty pounds a year and kept the population in the most backward conditions.

Chagga cultural Association of Tanganyika in a petition to the United Nations, (1951) said about labour condition "The Association strongly objects to labour utilisation Board... This Board, a government creation, is more of a slave market than centralisation of man power. Africans are recruited from all over the country by means which are far from voluntary. The unfortunate Africans are transported as far from their homes as 800 miles in such a way that would make our blood run cold. Cattle are better treated than these perspective labourers". The same picture there like any other colony. During the British regime 80 to 85 per cent of the population was illiterate. According to UNESCO report, in 1955 only 3.6 out of 10 thousand attended any school.

According to British Empire Society in 1953, 50 per cent of the population of Tanganyika was suffering from Trachoma (an eye disease) and about 25% people with leprosy.

This was the contribution of the colonialists towards spreading "civilisation" in this area. The young Republic has to consolidate its independence, it has to solve these tremendous problems left by the savage forces of colonialism. We are sure that the government and people of Tanganyika will succeed to meet this challenge.

Colonial Rule In Swaziland

Swaziland is sandwiched between Mozambique in the East and in the North, South and West by the Republic of South Africa.

Its area is 6704 square miles and as it is a black weak State, between 1945 and 1960 the imperialists carved off large portions of the country and its frontiers shrank to what they are today. The Swazi nation lays a strong claim to the original frontiers into Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa.

POPULATION

Inside Swaziland there are over 300,000 Africans, there are over 300,000 outside the present frontiers who pay allegiance to the Swazi King. There are 10,000 European Settlers of which 75% come from the Republic of South Africa. There are 3,000 people of mixed blood (coloureds).

CLIMATE

Swaziland is divided into 3 regions, Viz: The High Veld, the Middle Veld and the Bush Veld. The climate is sub-tropical.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Swaziland is very rich. It has minerals of all sorts chiefly, gold, asbestos, iron ore, and coal etc...

Agriculture is the back bone of the country with such products as mealies, rice, sugar cane, wheat, oats, cotton, casava etc...

In the great wealth of the country the Africans have no part since the imperialists and the colonialists hold a monopoly over it. The Africans remain poverty stricken and live under deplorable conditions unsuitable for human beings.

There is a great industrial development but the Africans only take part as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Europeans. They are payed slave wages and salaries.

EDUCATION :

In education discrimination is practiced against the Africans. For instance there is a separate syllabus for the African schools. European education is free and compulsory whilst that of the African is paid for and is not compulsory. There is absolutely no technical education for the Swazi. The per capita grant is £ 75 ¾ for the European child, £ 28 for the coloured child and £ 5 for the African child per year.

The imperialists and the colonialists have retarded or suppressed African education so as to entrench themselves and continue forever their domination and exploitation.

SOCIAL SERVICES

The imperialists pay very little attention to the social services for Africans and hence the Swazis are socially back-ward, all attention is concentrated on the social services for the imperialists and colonialists.

HEALTH SERVICES

The health services are woefully inadequate and here again the Imperialists and the Colonialists show little interest in the health of the nation "Am I my brother's keeper?"

THE GOVERNMENT

There is no government of the people by the people and for the people as such at present but an imperialist regime under the colonial office in London. with a High Com-

missioner in Pretoria in the Republic of South Africa and a local Resident Commissioner duly assisted by white officials.

There are two advisory Bodies Viz :

- 1) The Swazi King's Council, "The Swazi National Council".
- 2) "The European Advisory Council" representing the colonialists. There is not one African holding an executive post in this kind of government, all key posts are held by Europeans, mostly the citizens of the Republic of South Africa.

Legislation is by proclamations of the High Commissioner and the Government is bureaucratic and dictatorial.

In every phase of life discrimination exists. The government as at present constituted is built on dualism or separate development which is nothing but apartheid or Bantustan.

The Swaziland Progressive Party has constantly demanded this kind of government to be reformed.

At long last in 1961, the answer came and a Constitutional Committee was appointed to draft proposals for a Legislative Council. This Committee was unrepresentative, consisting as it was of government officials and nominated National representatives, mostly government employees or stooges.

In this Committee there were three nominated members of the Swaziland Progressive Party who did not represent the Party's views ; however, due to their outspokenness and opposition they were expelled from this Committee. However, this was good as it gave the party the opportunity to be free and make opposition unhindered outside of government control.

The deliberations of this committee were conducted in strict secrecy and the people were expected to sing or dance to the tune of the government, the settlers and the stooges. In December 1961 the proposals, still shrouded in great secrecy, were taken to London by a Committee of 5 and after comments made by the Colonial Secretary they were returned to Swaziland. Due to the opposition by the Swaziland Progressive Party they have been totally rejected by the Nation. However, a time limit up to the end of June 1962 was allowed when discussions will be resumed, but the people of Swaziland must decide their fate under the pressure of the Imperialists and the Colonialists. It is now the duty of the Swaziland Progressive Party to wage the Constitutional fight now, or failing to do so the imperialists will win, and the Swazi nation be doomed forever.

The Party appeals to all freedom loving nations for financial assistance now so as to be able to withstand the onslaught of the Imperialists and Colonialists.

The Party has appealed to the United Nations and favourable resolutions have been passed by this World Body supporting the claims of the Party and demanding immediate independence for Swaziland.

The Party under guidance of a constitutional expert drew up its proposals and made them public long before the proposals of the Constitutional Committee.

POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN SWAZILAND

There is great political alertness in the Country. The Swazis have awakened and are demanding the restoration of their human rights.

From 1929 to 1960 the Swaziland Progressive Party has been the only Party. The imperialists fearing its power have made efforts to destroy the Party but failed. They

have tried to form sham parties with no following. If the country is to be saved from imperialism, colonialism, exploitation and domination the Swaziland Progressive Party must receive support now.

THE POLICY OR PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY

(1) To support the Swazi King to be a constitutional Monarch. This will remove the stigma on the King of being a puppet or stooge of the British imperialists.

(2) To get rid of British Imperialism and have sovereignty returned to the Swazi King.

(3) To have a Parliament of the country based on adult suffrage, one man, one woman, one vote.

(4) To have a non-racial policy which gives equality to all citizens irrespective of race, colour or creed and thus completely outlaw discrimination.

THE ROARING YEARS

A Short History

Of The African National Congress of South Africa

By

JOSEPH V. MATTEWS

This year was the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress.

Since 1912 the African National Congress has played a notable role in the freedom struggle of the African people, not only in the Union of South Africa, but in other parts of the African Continent as well.

STATESMAN AND WARRIOR KING

It would not be correct to say that the founding of the African National Congress marked the beginning of the struggle for freedom of the African people. For over a century prior to 1912 the indigenous peoples of our country had fought long and hard against the invaders from Europe. They had fought not as a single national group, but as individual tribes. Even as they fought in this way many far-sighted tribal leaders realised the inevitability of defeat arising from disparate efforts. In their own way these leaders tried to achieve a united front of all the African tribes in the fight against the invaders. Notable amongst these leaders of the past were the wise Statesman-King of the Basuto, Moshoeshe I, and the Warrior-King of the Zulus, Chaka. The former sought to achieve African unity by means of diplomacy, and the latter by disciplined force.

This is not the place to recount the long and gallant tale of tribal resistance to the well-armed and organised Europeans. But the tale can be regarded as having ended with the defeat of our most dramatic and colourful people — the Zulu in the "Bambata Rebellion" of 1906. From then on the fight for freedom has had to be conducted within the framework of modern political practice. It became neces-

sary to find the political instrument for a struggle of National Liberation.

FOUNDING A NATION

The formation of a National Organisation was already for-shadowed in the African national delegation that proceeded to England in 1908 to protest against the passing of the South Africa Act by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. This delegation recorded African opposition to the decisions of a National Convention to which our people were not a party. Not for the last time Imperialist Britain refused to take into account the feelings of the African people in matters vitally affecting their own destiny.

At it happened the call that resulted in the first Conference of the African National Congress in 1912 did not come from any of the established leaders of the time, but from a young lawyer newly returned from a period of study overseas. Dr. I.P. Ka-Seme in an impassioned plea published in the only African owned newspaper, "Imvo" called for the formation of a united nation in these words "the demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that existed between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other African must be buried and forgotten. We are one people." He advocated the formation of a Congress and proposed an agenda for an inaugural meeting.

On January 8, 1912 what was without doubt the most representative gathering of Africans held to date met at Bloemfontein. Delegations came not only from the Republic of South Africa but from the High Commission Territories and further afield.

Traditional and modern leaders, chiefs and commoners all came together to mark the founding of a new nation. Those who were present tell of the wonderful spirit that prevailed at the Conference, and of the ease with which the Conference elected, for the first time, **National Leaders**. Dr. John L. Dube was elected first **President-General**, and as **Secretary-General** the Conference elected the noted author and translator of Shakespeare Sol. T. Plaatje.

Under the influence of American-educated Dr. Seme an attempt was made to construct the African National Congress on the model of the American Congress.

The efforts of the Conference seemed to be directed along two main paths. The paramount aim was to do away with the divisions of the past and to speak with a single mouthpiece which would be the African National Congress. No less important was the desire to achieve within the newly formed South African State, complete freedom and equality of status for the African people.

Within a year of its formation the Congress was faced with a major challenge. The notorious Natives' Land Act (1913) was passed by the Union Parliament. Both before and after the passing of this Act the Congress waged a vigorous campaign of protest against it.

A very vivid and moving description of this campaign and of the sufferings that arose from the passing of the Land Act are contained in a book (now unhappily out of print) entitled "Native Life in South Africa" by Sol. T. Plaatje, the first Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

Realising the futility of trying to persuade the Union Government to withdraw the Land Act, the African National Congress decided to send a delegation to Great Britain. There it was hoped to influence the British Government to veto or disallow the Act. The delegation led by Sol. T. Plaatje got to England in

1914 and engaged in an active publicity campaign to influence British public opinion. The British Government refused to veto the Land Act and advised the delegation to return to the Union and co-operate with the Government. During that year World War I broke out and the pleas of the African people were drowned by the thunder of guns.

It is perhaps convenient to mention at this stage the organ of the African National Congress which played a vital role in the building up of national unity among the African people. This was the newspaper "Abantu-Batho" founded almost simultaneously with the African National Congress. Until this newspaper went out of existence in 1931, it carried the message of African unity and freedom throughout the length and breadth of the country. An important feature of the newspaper was that it was a multi-lingual journal. In it for the first time all the African languages were used in newspapers. Not only did the "Abantu-Batho" use the African languages in this way but it campaigned for the teaching of African languages in schools, which up to then did not include them in the curriculum. The newspaper popularised the policies of the organisation and even its songs.

THE ROARING TWENTIES

After the first World War, in common with other oppressed people, the Africans in the Union launched great struggles. Numerous strikes were organised including the famous "Bucket Strike" by workers in the sewerage department in Johannesburg. Also worthy of mention is the 1919 Campaign against the first attempt by the Union Government to impose the pass system on women. The attempt failed.

The declaration by President Wilson of the United States that all nations were entitled to the right of self-determination had its effects on the South African political scene. The African National Congress decided to send its second delegation to Europe, this time to the Peace Conference at Versailles. The delega-

tion went there to demand on behalf of the African people the right of self-determination.

It is interesting that a delegation led by Dr. Hertzog was at Versailles at the same time to claim the right of self-determination for the Afrikaner people. There was also the official Government delegation led by General Botha and his right-hand man General Smuts.

The Peace Conference, dominated as it was by the Imperialist powers, paid no heed to the demands of both unofficial delegations.

Whilst in France the delegation of the Congress was able to participate in the first Pan-African Congress held in Paris in 1919, under the inspiration of the Negro thinker, Dr. W.E.B. Dubois.

Meanwhile in the Union the people were getting disillusioned at the apparent failure of the Congress to achieve immediate success. There seemed to be a growing lack of direction in the Congress leadership, division and corruption. New organisations sprang up, two of which were destined to play a major role in the African struggle for freedom.

In 1919 the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, popularly known as the I.C.U. ("Ndiyakubona Mlungu" — "I see you White man") was founded in Cape Town by Clements Kadalie.

In 1921 the Communist Party of South Africa was founded in Johannesburg.

The history of the twenties is dominated by the activities of both these organisations and in particular by the I.C.U. The latter organisation eclipsed the African National Congress as the mouthpiece of the African people until inherent weakness, internal dissension and government repression caused it to disappear from the South African scene in the early thirties.

Although severely weakened the ANC still continued to organise the struggle of the people

on the political front. Some regions were very active in campaigns based on local issues.

Very important legal struggles against unjust legislation were conducted by the Congress in the courts of the land, for example, the famous Letanka Case in which the Congress challenged the right of the Transvaal Province to impose a tax on Africans. The twenties are important too as the period during which the A.N.C. popularised the National Anthem "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrica".

In 1935 the African people in the Union faced a very serious crisis.

Until then Africans in the Cape had enjoyed franchise rights on a common roll with Europeans provided they satisfied certain qualifications. The franchise rights of the Africans in the Cape were much prized by them. Although they were hedged about with qualifications with which the majority of Africans could not comply, nevertheless they implied that some Africans at least were recognised as citizens of the country. Thus even in those parts of the country where Non-Whites had no political rights whatsoever they looked upon the Cape African franchise as a guarantee of hope for the future even for themselves.

General Hertzog who was Prime Minister of the country indicated that he would introduce certain Bills in Parliament, one of which was designed to abolish franchise rights of Africans in the Cape.

THE FIRST ALL-AFRICAN CONVENTION

Professor Jabavu of Fort Hare and Dr. Pixley Ka-I. Seme, then President General of the African National Congress issued a call to all African organisations to attend a Conference which would be held in Bloemfontein, on December 16th, 1935. The object of the Conference was to formulate the African reply to the Hertzog Bills. This Conference which soon came to be known as the All-African Convention captivated the public mind to such

an extent that when it took place it turned out to be the largest Convention that Africans ever had. A memorandum was drawn up at the Conference rejecting the Hertzog legislation, and a delegation was elected to carry the decision of the Conference to the Prime Minister Dr. J.B.M. Hertzog.

A delegation led By Professor D.D.T. Jabavu and including among others Z. R. Mahabane and Dr. J. L. Dube was elected and, needless to say, it failed to persuade the Government to withdraw the legislation.

At the December Conference it had been arranged that the deputation which would interview the Prime Minister in January 1936 would report back to a special Conference to be held in Bloemfontein in June 1936. The deputation had carried out its mandate and it looked as if they would have nothing to report, except the failure of their mission. Subsequently, in February 1936 it was announced in the press that a solution had been found. The solution which came to be known as the "Compromise" had apparently been suggested by some members of the All-African Convention deputation and had the support of certain members of Parliament. The Prime Minister invited the deputation to return to Cape Town so that he might ascertain their views on the "Compromise."

This news came as a bomb-shell to the African people as the deputation had no mandate whatever to suggest a compromise. The situation was not improved by the fact that the names of those who suggested the compromise were not disclosed. This started a series of rumours and conjectures among the Africans as to the possible identity of the compromisers. The mystery remains as tantalising as ever up to this day.

The All-African Convention deputation then met the Prime Minister again and indicated that they adhered to their original memorandum. Despite this, General Hertzog decided to go ahead with the compromise suggestion,

subsequently embodied in the Representation of Natives' Act (1936).

THE SECOND ALL-AFRICAN CONVENTION

As had been arranged at the first All-African Convention, the second convention took place in July 1936. By this time the Hertzog Bills had become law and the Conference decided to give the Representation of Natives' Act "a fair trial".

Another question which engaged the attention of the second All-African Convention was its own future. The idea was suggested of converting the Convention into a permanent body. This was hotly contested by the representatives of the African National Congress. Many of the people who attended the Convention were newcomers in politics and they pressed for a new body which had no lurid past to live down. All the stalwarts of the African National Congress like Vabaza, Skota and others warned that any attempt to try and side-step the African National Congress would end in failure. Time has proved them right.

The African National Congress has had its ups and downs. Other organisations had risen like mushrooms and appeared to challenge its existence or eclipse it in membership and influence. But after a fitful existence they disappeared leaving the African National Congress stronger than ever.

The All-African Convention, despite the opposition of the African National Congress was made a permanent body.

POST-WAR CLAMOUR

The year 1937 was the Jubilee of Congress which had been in existence 25 years. During that year there took place a great revival of the African National Congress.

From then on the history of Congress is one of steadily growing strength, influence and

maturity. The second World War broke out in 1939 and in the favourable circumstances of a war which from 1941 became a progressive struggle for freedom against fascism, the African National Congress further consolidated its strength.

The second World War ended in 1945. The mood of the African public was one of hope that the war had not been fought in vain as far as they were concerned.

Before the end of the war there had been a great deal of talk about post-war reconstruction. The key-note of all discussions was that the post-war world would most surely be different from the pre-war world. The African National Congress had itself debated the prospects of a better South Africa during the years 1944/1945. The result of these discussions had been the famous pamphlet entitled "African Claims". This document was in the nature of an examination of the Atlantic Charter and its application to South Africa. As a policy document it has great validity to this day.

Despite all the optimism engendered by the victory over Nazi Germany and her allies, South Africa remained very much the same. The colour-bar was as rigid as ever; the pass laws as well as poll tax laws enforced just as stringently. There was no sudden rise in wages and the fact that a man had been on active service did not carry much weight with employers.

THE GREAT MINERS' STRIKE

During the war years intensive organisation of the mine workers into the African Mine Workers' Union had taken place. The African Mine Workers' Union had been formed by the African National Congress in close co-operation with the Communist Party. By the middle of 1946 the leaders of the Mine Workers' Union thought the time had come to strike for higher wages. The strike began on Monday, August the 14th and it is estimated that about 100,000 African Mine Workers came out on strike. The

reaction of the Government was swift and merciless. By the end of the week the strike had been broken with the use of armed force and loss of life. The importance of the great miners' strike to the history of the A.N.C. is that it marked the end of all intra-parliamentary struggle.

From then onwards the demand grew for the rapid build-up of the African National Congress into a mass organisation whose main weapon would be extra-parliamentary action.

The climax to this trend was reached in the 1949 National Conference of the African National Congress. At that Conference a new leadership was elected and a Programme of Action was adopted. The Youth League of the African National Congress, formed in 1944 as a result of a resolution adopted in the Kimberley Conference of the African National Congress (1943), played a major role in the agitation for a new policy. The Youth Leaguers were the principal protagonists of a more militant stand by the African National Congress.

The demand for a new policy was to a large extent dictated by the growing reactionary character of the South African state. In May 1948 the most reactionary section of the South African ruling class, namely the Nationalist Party was elected to office. This Government immediately assumed the offensive against the National Liberation movement. A whole series of repressive laws were introduced and passed in the Union Parliament. These events exercised a great influence on the 1949 Conference of the African National Congress.

THE JUNE 26 MOVEMENT

The ten years following this Conference are the proudest in the history of Congress. It is that decade which gave rise to the June 26 Movement. June 26 is the date on which the most historical campaigns of the Liberatory movement had been launched.

The first fruit of the Programme of Action

was a powerful demonstration of workers in the Transvaal held on May 1st, 1950. This was the famous Freedom Day Strike called by the Transvaal African National Congress, the Communist Party and the Indian Congress, as a protest against the restrictions placed by the Government on the movement of various leaders. In one or two areas in Johannesburg people on that day gathered in protest meetings. The police intervened and many people were killed. Parliament was in session at the time debating the Suppression of Communism Bill, the Group Areas Bill and other anti-democratic measures.

The National Executive of the African National Congress met and concluded that the Suppression of Communism Bill was directed not only at the Communist Party, but at the entire Liberatory Movement in South Africa. Therefore, it was decided to call a general strike for June 26th, 1950. This was the first of the famous June 26th Campaigns. In many towns throughout the Union thousands of people responded to the call of the African National Congress. The new policy of militant mass struggle attracted increased mass support, and conscious of the need for sustained struggle against the attacks of the National Government the African National Congress in 1951 decided to launch the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws.

On June 26th, 1952, volunteers in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth defied certain unjust laws. They were duly brought to trial and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. During the months that followed 8,500 men and women of all races went to goal for their participating in the Campaign. The Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign jointly organised by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress was the most powerful and sustained struggle ever launched by the oppressed peoples. The reaction of the Government was to pass more savage laws, in particular, the **Criminal Laws Amendment Act (1953)** and the **Public Safety Act (1953)**.

As far as Congress was concerned, it clearly emerged at this time as the undoubted spokesman, not only of the African people but of all freedom-loving peoples in South Africa.

Following the end of the Campaign there was a general feeling that the people of South Africa should get together in order to discuss the South Africa of the future. Thus at the National Conference held at Queenstown in December 1953, a resolution was adopted calling for the convocation of a Congress of the People whose task would be to draw up a Freedom Charter.

After an intensive organisational effort lasting eighteen months, the greatest gathering of representatives of the people met at Kliptown in Johannesburg on June 25th, 1955. The following day this great gathering of over 3,000 delegates surrounded by hundreds of police adopted the Freedom Charter.

The Charter was a clear and noble expression of the ideas of the Congress Movement regarding the future South Africa. It laid down the basis for a National democracy which would afford all peoples in South Africa the opportunity to live a free and cultured existence. It is the most important single document in South African history.

Just over a year later one hundred and fifty six men and women of all races were arrested and charged with High Treason. The allegation was largely based on the **Freedom Charter which the Crown alleged was a "Blueprint" for a Communist State.**

The people reacted vigorously against the arrest of their leaders. Huge demonstrations were held, particularly in Johannesburg where the **Preparatory Examination** was held. There is no doubt that it is the Treason Trial which stimulated the struggles of 1957. The **Bus Boycott on the Reef** lasted three months and ended in a defeat for the Bus Company and the Government. Mention must also be made

of the great general strike of June 26th, 1957.

Two years later at a mammoth gathering at Curries' Fountains in Durban the Economic Boycott Campaign, which has now assumed an international character, was launched on June 26th, 1959.

The Conference of the African National Congress held in December 1959 reviewed the position relating to the pass laws and decided on a massive onslaught against the pass laws to begin on April 1st, 1960. Ironically enough the 1960 campaign against pass laws was started not by the A.N.C. which had led and borne the brunt of the struggle for years past but by the newly formed splinter organisation — Pan-Africanist Congress. On March 21st, 1960, this new organisation started its campaign by which certain of its members proceeded to police stations to submit themselves to arrest on the grounds that they did not have their **Reference Books** with them.

In the greater part of the country there was no response to the call of the Pan-Africanist Congress. However, at two police stations, namely Sharpeville in the Transvaal and Langa in the Cape, large crowds of Africans gathered. The crowds had accompanied those who were due to surrender themselves to the police. The gathering of peaceful unarmed crowds outside these police stations was a provocation which played into the hands of the trigger-happy police. The scene

was reminiscent of the crowds that gathered outside the Winter Palace in Russia in the year 1905, led by the provocateur Father Gapon. The Massacre that followed touched off the Russian Revolution of 1905. On the afternoon of March 21st, the P.A.C. Campaign became world news as a result of the greatest massacre in our history.

The Sharpeville massacre called for an immediate reaction from the A.N.C. which mobilised all its resources, both internal and international, for a massive attack on the Nationalist Government which was responsible for the massacre. The A.N.C. called for a protest strike to take place throughout the country on March 28th, 1960. The African working class responded virtually unanimously to the call. During this time thousands of Africans burnt their passes as directed by the A.N.C. The international reaction to the events in the Union was so united as to be without precedent. **The Security Council of the United Nations** itself expressed its verdict against the policies of the Union Government. The Union authorities panicked, declared a state of emergency and arrested 2,000 political leaders and 18,000 ordinary men and women who were described as "idlers". The A.N.C. and P.A.C. were declared unlawful organisations.

Bannings have never succeeded in stopping a freedom movement. The struggle goes on.

TO FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

Through the troubled history of man comes sweeping a blind fury of destruction and the towers of civilization topple down to dust.

In the chaos of moral nihilism are trampled under foot by marauders the best treasures of man heroically won by the martyrs for ages.

Come, young nations, proclaim the fight for freedom, raise up the banner of invincible faith.

Build bridges with your life across the gaping earth blasted by hatred, and march forward.

Do not submit yourself to carry the burden of insult upon your head, kicked by terror, and dig not a trench with falsehood and cunning to build a shelter for your dishonoured manhood, offer not the weak as sacrifice to the strong to save yourself.

Rabindranath Tagore



Three Black Marigolds And A Rose

By MULK RAJ ANAND

All her dead children were rising like swirls of bile in her mouth, as she stood holding the last dead one in her hands, while the grave digger was busy opening up the earth in the backyard of the house for the burial. The eddies of tenderness about the big eyes of the little ones choked her. The long times of waiting for the belly to mature, and push down the new child from her womb, conjured up dreads of the future. And she was torn, though she could cry. The shock of little Nila going had congealed her heart.

Asura, her husband, stood behind her, tall and unbending like a tree which can withstand the storm. And he stretched his right hand to hold her as she was nearly doubling over with the weight of the offering to the god of death in her outstretched arms.

"Ayesha", he whispered.

She did not turn towards him. She was possessed by the nerve-ends of feelings, which uprushed like the defiance of his enemies against the world and him. O that he had shrunk from the struggle for power and the things it brings, because then Nila would not have withered away. At times she had seen the distortions on his face, when anger against his enemies coloured it an intense purple and the eyes dilated in speech, and the passionate lips, which were so warm in kissing, pouted sullenly with the bitterness of defeat. If only she could have shown him daily the taste of dry bread and guided him back to this garden, away from the open mouthed ardour of the quarrells with the white folk!... But he was possessed by thoughts larger than his long head. Because the whites were possessed of the powers of demons, which exploded like thunder blasts from booming horizons and chattered from the mouths of nearby

machines guns. And, between them, stood she the mother of three dead children and of the one to be born...

The two women who served in the house, and the gardener's wife, came forward, pushing her back with heavy limbs from all sides, and Ayesha felt as though vultures were gnawing at her flesh before tearing the body of her child away from her arms. The dread of shrill, wing-flapping, shrieking seagulls was in her bones, from the time she had gone fetching water from the banks of the Nile which flowed by her village. Gently, she pushed the mourners away, as she used to scatter the birds overhead with a wave of the hand, while beckoning the gods to still her thumping heart and rid it of the fears. Why, these women worked on a stranger's hearth and knelt in the evenings' darkness before the cross and beckoned prehistoric memories to their aid in going through the chores, and the music of their prayers was sad, and they had wept to see the child's last breath go out, like black harps with broken strings...

The gardener turned grave digger was puffing.

"Not so much breath in me, lately", he said in an even voice as though nothing had happened to the world.

As no one answered him, he stretched his body up, wiped the sweat off his face and, looking bleary eyed at the mourning figures before him, said:

"I was stronger when I dug the grave for the bulldog of Madame Bloom, the wife of the Governor..."

There was a note of abject pride in his voice on recalling that he had been the servant of so important a person as the great White Chief.

"Dig a little deeper", Asura whispered.

"Come on... The Sun is sharper..." Then he paused as though to control his irritation with the gardener, Raha, but continued: "This child is not a dog. He was our diamond".

"That bulldog of Madam Bloom was like Churchill — that bulldog!" Raha said to reassure Asura of his loyalty.

Ayesha heard the exchange and grasped the meaning of the words in her instincts. The colour of the black clay was her son, as though sprung like a plant from the soil by the river Nile. Only the poison of the slow burning disease of tuberculosis had caught him from somewhere in the putrid air when Asura was in prison. And then the diamond had become paler, drying up like a sapling without water. Could he have been saved by the village doctor, if she had gone home? Those herbs had enabled her to survive when she was wasting away after her laughter at a ribald story, told by her aunt, had aborted the very first of her dreams... Over and above the heads of people, the angels of death were hovering, the aeroplanes, denying access to the roads from which they could have escaped from this town to the forest. And now, they were held prisoners by their own folk, who had been purchased like decoy cattle by the king of the White folk in order to catch the lions. The love of riches of the Tshombes of the world seemed to pervert all grace, madden Asura until he had taken to drugs. Power poisoned all the bareness of life, because every man, every soldier, was seeking the remainders thrown out from the big banquets. "O why did you not proclaim poverty as the ideal?" she wanted to say to her vain husband. "And did you not yourself give way to indulgences when you were to be the most devoted? Did you not divine that the minds of murderers are fed on loot? Death, the whole of death, facing our people — did it not frighten you away from needless gratifications? And now you stand beckoning sorrow from the elements because a life has died before it began? And you were so fond of purity - you named this child after the liberator of India!"

The women, who had edged away where she had pushed them, now came forward again and held her firmly, as though they had smelt the putrid bubbles of thought that were iridescent on her placid face. The smell of her garments soiled by the sweat of the hot morning, burnt into Ayesha's senses. And yet she did not turn them away, standing as she did on the brink of the abyss, into which she would have to throw away her dead boy, and on the base of the mountain of her belly, she felt the movements of little legs kicking the spot from which was to be a new beginning.

"O hours of childhood!" she cried in her soul, beckoning memories of the moments when she had run, climbed trees, swung into a caper, from the sheer force of existence, forced by the sap of the bursting fruit in her. She recalled the haste she had made in growing up, refusing to wait to be loved by the glowing moons whose rays pierced her skin in the clearings of the bush forests where she had played... Who could understand the core of loving in a young girl's heart, with the tempestuous thrusts of desire, held in check by the shame of roses? And then who could comprehend the overwhelming sorrow at the passing of all she has cherished, of silent burials made by the haters of feelings. She wanted to rush out with a violent, shattering movement, which would throw off the hold of her female companions. She wanted to leap up to the heavens to defy the gods who had taken her pure event. She wanted to assault all the walls, the homes, and the trees, with the mother's passion to save the seed which was sprouting in her - for all around were the enemies.

"Mother," said the grave digger, Raha, as he stood up again from his bent stance. "Patience now, just a moment. And I will have made a nice little bed for the poor innocent one..."

"All the clumsy strokes of the spade have not levelled the bottom of the grave," Asura said in an impatient bullying voice. And, then

assuming a firm, quiet demeanour, he added "No pretexts. Level up the bottom."

"Sire, I have left the earth raised on one side to give a pillow for the little head... I will just shovel up some of the stones and then..."

The words of the grave digger smoothed the air somewhat, as they betokened the care he had taken to give comfort to the little one.

Ayesha felt like the mother, because Raha had called her by that name. Above the clouds of gloom, which hovered over her black crinkly hair, beyond the fretfulness and the faulty protuberance of her belly, she wanted to smile at the sympathy which was in the gardener's voice. Only the obscure egos of the people around her might misunderstand the coming of sunshine on her face. She turned to look at the firm, quiet presence of her spouse to see if the words of the grave digger had also wrung from him a little pity. Asura was persevering in the formal pose of the bereaved. A nameless pain that was still quite small swirled up from the sides of her belly and spread the usual sadness of long suffering over her, she soft gloom of acceptance of the thousand imperfections of this man.

Asura gave her a sham smile, and his lips opened to assure her, though he could not say what he felt.

All her gnawing feelings now turned in a flow towards him, as though from the abysses of her entrails, where she was bearing a new child for him, she felt a strange compassion for his arrogant maleness, a kind of weakness which might make him stronger in that very erectness with which he was fighting for the vast lands. Perhaps, there was going to be some harmony on the transformed earth when the outsiders had gone... And was it not her own possessiveness about him that had made her resent his frequent absences, his childlike pompousness, and the riveted armour of the defensive structure he

had built up around this body, like the old warring chiefs of Africa put on to guard themselves against their enemies. Only the mask had almost begun to belong to his face, the mask of hardness. Could it be that he was strengthening his will from the weakness of the past into the look of courage? Nonni, the elderly help who was now holding her on the left, had said that the women of the east were talking of withholding themselves from the men, until they could win freedom from the foreigners, because they did not want to bear slaves any more. "Asura had not failed in the fight", she had told Nonni. "At least he is still fighting..."

"Come now, mother", said Raha looking up, "give me the child, and I shall sing him to sleep there, in the lap of grandmother earth..."

The humour of the gardener's words soothed Ayesha. She nearly smiled. But the act of giving away the corpse was too much for her.

"O my darling babe", she cried, "O ..."

And then with a resurgence of will, she said: "Angel, take it, lay it gently, gently... there..."

And she suppressed a sob, almost choking with the suppression of her cry.

Asura stood shut in the prison of his obscurity, until his half lit soul bent towards Ayesha, and he touched her head, as though to bless her.

Over her young tight breasts, her silk robe rustled, spreading the milk of calm across her body, as she bent forward to look at the corpse before Raha should fill up the grave.

Instinctively, her hands folded across her belly, as though in the inspired effort to protect the new growth there from falling into

the pit before her. She drew back, holding her galloping heart still, even as her eyes dimmed.

Across the vague mist of her tears, she could see the earth.

The gardener put three black marigolds and a rose which he had kept by, on top of the grave, and said :

“The black marigolds are for the three you have lost — and the rose is for the one who will bloom, Mother. Be brave... There will be a lot of life yet...”

In the quivering scale-pans of her imbalance, she felt the pressure of Asura's strong calm hand.

“Go with him,” Nonni said.

MALAYSIA

The Prime Minister of Malaya and the British Government have recently signed an agreement to merge Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei and establish a Federation. They have worked out this agreement inspite of the strong protest and objections of the people and democratic organisations of these areas.

The Colonial British Government is negotiating on behalf of the People of N. Borneo, Sarawak and brunei. The people of these areas and their organisations have no voice in these decisions. They are being traded like chattels. The strong democratic forces in Singapore have forced the authorities to concede a referendum, but the terms have been worked out in such a manner that it becomes

an absolute farce. The terms give only two alternative to the people. Either they accept a subordinate position under the Federation or allow half the population to loose its citizenship. They have no right to reject these proposals.

The whole agreement has been worked out in such a manner so as to strangle the democratic growth in these areas and maintain them permanently as military and economic base of the British and SEATO Colonialists.

We give below the memorandum submitted by a number of organisations of Singapore which throws light on how it affects the people of Singapore.

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON COLONIALISM OF THE UNITED NATIONS

We have been directed by the petitioners, the nineteen Legislators in the Singapore State Assembly, and the Council of Joint Action comprising 5 political Parties in Singapore, namely the Barisan Socialist Workers' Party, Liberal-Socialist Party, the United Democratic Party and the Party Rakyat, to express the deepest appreciation and gratitude to you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee on Colonialism of the United Nations, for this opportunity you have afforded us to present for your deliberation a matter of grave concern for the people of Singapore.

Singapore, in law and in fact, is a Colony under the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom now proposes to transfer sovereignty over Singapore to the Government of the Federation of Malaya not in accordance with the freely expressed will and

desire of the people as enunciated in Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations, adopted at the 958th Plenary Meeting on the 20th December, 1960.

As stated in our memorandum to you of the 6th July, 1962. Singapore, though a separate entity from the mainland of Malaya, has at all times sought to become integrated with Malaya, and it is the aim of all political parties to seek full and genuine integration with the Federation of Malaya. For military and economic reasons the United Kingdom has maintained Singapore separate from the Federation of Malaya which was granted independence in 1957.

Singapore, however, was and still is held as a Colony. In 1955 the Rendel Constitution was introduced with limited franchise and

limited powers of internal self-government. Dissatisfaction with the constitutional set-up and popular demand for complete internal self-government led to the re-opening of negotiations between the United Kingdom Government and an all-party delegation representing the people of Singapore. The agreement reached is contained in the Singapore (Constitution) Order in Council, 1958, which extended the powers of the State Legislature, elections to which were held on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Under the constitution agreement of 1958 Singapore continues to remain a colony of United Kingdom. A greater measure of local autonomy has been accorded to the local elected Government but defence and external affairs remain direct U.K. responsibility. The Order in Council 1958 enables the U.K. to nullify any legislative measure or administrative act in the name of Internal Security. Further the U.K. Government has the power under Sections 104, 105 and 106 of Part XII of the Order in Council to amend, add to, or revoke and replace the order under which the Singapore State Assembly function. The U.K. Government reserves the right to suspend the Constitution of Singapore.

Opposition to Singapore's continued colonial status and the demand for complete independence or greater self-government or for a full and genuine integration with the Federation of Malaya has been made by political parties at various times.

The present Constitution was agreed to in 1958 on the understanding that talks for the new constitution arrangement would be resumed before 1964. The U.K. Government is now seeking to transfer sovereignty over Singapore to the Federation of Malaya without providing the people of Singapore the means to freely express their will and desire over the terms of the transfer.

The official term for the transfer of sovereignty is contained in the White Paper pro-

posals of Command Paper 33/61. The proposals provide for a transfer of British sovereignty of Singapore to the Federation of Malaya whereby Singapore citizens merely retain Singapore citizenship and are not given a common citizenship with the Federation citizens. Furthermore the proposals prohibit Singapore citizens from standing for Election or voting in the Federation, and provide only 15 representatives for Singapore to the Central Parliament when in fact Singapore will be entitled to a minimum of 25 representatives on the basis of proportional representation. The main objection is on the citizenship issue which leaves us at the mercy of the metropolitan power, the Federation of Malaya, whose Parliament would be in a position to amend the Constitution in a manner that can adversely affect the rights and responsibility of Singapore citizens.

Thus the 624,000 citizens besides not becoming Federal citizens shall not share a common political life with the people of the Federation and shall to all intents and purposes be regarded as an alien and subject people. In other words, the White Paper proposals confer sovereignty over Singapore to the Federation of Malaya without the people of Singapore sharing equal citizenship rights with the people of the Federation or having the appropriate influence in the Federal Parliament.

The Government of the State of Singapore with the tacit support of the U.K. Government now proposes to hold a referendum ostensibly to ascertain the views of the people on the constitutional future. Originally the Government has indicated its intention to place the official proposals before the people for acceptance or rejection. Having however sensed the measure of popular resentment towards the Government proposals, the Referendum Bill was amended and passed, forfeiting the people of the democratic right of dissent. Instead, as voting is compulsory, they are being compelled to choose one of the following alternatives:

(a) the constitutional arrangements set out in Paper Command 33 of 1961 giving Singapore autonomy in education and labour;

or

(b) a complete and unconditional merger as a state on an equal basis with the other eleven states in accordance with the constitutional documents of the Federation of Malaya;

or

(c) to enter Malaysia on terms no less favourable than the terms for the Borneo territories.

An outline of proposals (a) and its implications has been given above.

Proposals (b) have never been worked out. The Government alleges under proposals (b) that more than half of our citizens will not qualify for citizenship in the Federation. These proposals are extremely vague and in the view of the petitioners are designed to be used as a facade of democracy and of giving the people the right of rejection of proposal (a).

The opinion of Sir Ivor Jennings and an eminent English lawyer, Mr. Dinglefoot Q.C. has been sought and is attached as an Appendix together with the initial statement of case.

Proposals (c), the most recently inserted alternative have yet to be defined. Nothing is known about the terms and conditions that are to be offered to the Borneo territories.

In the circumstances it will be appreciated that the only position which is known are the terms of proposal (a). The other two proposals remain ambiguous.

In keeping with what we believe are the true aspirations of the people of Singapore, the petitioners had proposed a fourth alternative in the Singapore Legislative Assembly:

A genuine merger of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya, with Singapore entering the Federation as the 12th state and with all its citizens automatically becoming Federal Citizens on Merger Day. Our proposal was rejected.

We have stated that none of the alternatives to be proposed in the referendum is acceptable to the majority of the people. The voter therefore has no right to express dissent. If he marks a X against all 3 or against 2 it will be deemed to be an uncertain vote, and that will in turn be deemed by law to be a vote in favour of the proposals of the Government i.e. proposals (a).

If he casts a blank i.e. unmarked vote, that will also be deemed by law to be in favour of proposal (a). Also all blank or unmarked votes, all uncertain votes, all votes in respect of proposal (a) will by law be required to be mixed together and added together, so that the total will be declared and the individual elements will not be known to the public. That is, the number of uncertain and unmarked votes will not be known and disclosed to the people.

The petitioners wish to bring the attention of the Committee on Colonialism of the United Nations to the mechanics of the National Referendum Bill which deny the people the opportunity of freely expressing their will and desire in respect of their constitutional future. This law provides:

(a) that it is compulsory for all citizens to vote. If they do not vote their names will be taken off the electoral register and they will not be permitted to vote or stand as candidate at any future election until they give a sufficiently good explanation or pay a fine; and those persons who pay a fine or make adequate explanation must wait until the revision of the next electoral register before being able to vote or stand for election. This next revision may not take place before the next general elections.

(b) any person who tears or defaces his ballot paper, will be considered to have committed a criminal offence which carries a prison sentence of one year and disqualification from voting for a period of 3 years.

(c) any person who casts a blank or uncertain ballot paper shall be deemed to vote for the Government proposals -- proposal (a)

(d) the voter will not be permitted to answer YES or NO to any proposal put in the referendum but must accept one of the proposals.

The people of Singapore therefore have no choice but to vote. The petitioners do not complain against the legal obligations so long as the people are afforded the opportunity to express rejection of all the 3 proposals. Our most strenuous objection is that the people of Singapore are being denied the right of democratic dissent.

Large sections of the people of various political persuasions have been incensed by this deprivation of their basic democratic rights. In addition trade unions, academic bodies, like the Law Society of the University of Singapore and student organisations of Singapore's two Universities (Student Union of University of Singapore and Nanyang University Students' Union) and other student organisations have expressed their dismay and called for the right of the people to say YES or NO to be safeguarded.

We the petitioners plead with you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Colonialism, to ensure that the spirit and substance of the United Nations Resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 will be given effect in the forthcoming referendum of Singapore.

We do not claim to represent the entire people of Singapore; nor do we presume to be

wholly representative of their desire. All we seek to ensure is that, in the matter of transfer of sovereignty, the people of a colony should have the processes available for the free expression of the will and desire of the people. We find comfort and hope for securing this basic rights inscribed in the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. We are particularly heartened by the views expressed by the representatives of the Republic of India on the Puerto Rican case.

It is this democratic right of dissent that we hold to be of paramount importance if the will and desire of the people is to be faithfully ascertained.

In summary our position is as follows:

Singapore is a colony of the United Kingdom. Sovereignty over the territory is to be transferred to the Federation of Malaya in a manner that would violate the spirit and purpose of the United Nations Resolutions.

We recognise that there are people in Singapore who are prepared to accept any one of the proposals to be placed before them. As democrats we believe that if they are in a majority their will should be implemented, and though we have fear of the ultimate repercussions, we would accept the democratic system that the will of the majority should prevail and should be accepted peacefully and loyally by the minority.

All we seek therefore is for an honest referendum whereby the wishes of the people of Singapore can be genuinely ascertained and respected. As it is the U.K. Government that is responsible for the transfer of sovereignty, we appeal to the Committee to take appropriate measures to ensure that this transfer of sovereignty is carried out in accordance with Resolutions 1514 (XV) of 1960 of the United Nations.

The Programme of the Bechuanaland Peoples Party

Manifesto

- (a) The basic aims of the Bechuanaland Peoples Party is to establish a free democratic Government in Bechuanaland Protectorate founded upon the will and participation of all the peoples (men and women) of our country and to co-operate to the fullest extent with all of our brothers and sisters to rid our continent of all forms of foreign domination and to rebuild it according to the desires of the peoples.
- (b) Unification of all the people of Bechuanaland Protectorate into a cohesive, representative, national political organisation, irrespective of their race, ethnic, religion or creed.
- (c) Reconstruction of the economic, education and social foundations which will support and maintain the real African independence which our people desire for themselves.
- (d) The discrimination or prejudice based upon tribe, nationality or colour in any form shall be made a criminal offence.
- (e) There shall be freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion.
- (f) Bechuanaland Peoples Party believes in Pan-Africanism, the Union of African States, Positive Neutrality and one common nationality for all Africans.
- (g) Bechuanaland Peoples Party advocates the review of all artificial boundaries created by colonialists in Africa.
- (h) All native legislation shall be abolished in Bechuanaland Protectorate.

POLITICAL AIMS

Bechuanaland peoples part stands for :

- (a) Complete national independence now under the African Government and not later than 1964.
- (b) The Bechuanaland Protectorate Government shall be elected by universal adult suffrage. That is, one man one vote irrespective of sex, property, religion, colour, nationality, place of residence and education.
- (c) That all the people will enjoy full equality of rights and responsibilities which will be attached to the quality of Bechuanaland and Protectorate citizenship without discrimination.

ECONOMIC AIMS

- (a) There shall be publicly owned industry as well as private owned industry in Bechuanaland Protectorate.
- (b) In the area of our economy where private owned industry shall be permitted, the development of African-owned industry shall receive priority, foreign capital may be allowed in Bechuanaland Protectorate, if it will be invested in such industries as controlled by Bechuanalanders.

AGRICULTURE

No Bechuanaland Protectorate lands shall be alienated either directly or indirectly from the hands of the people and all existing lands with foreign title deed and ownership shall be placed under the Government in conformity with the principles of African Communal ownership.

CO-OPERATIVES

- (a) The Government shall assist and encourage the development of multiracial co-operatives, particularly agriculture co-operatives.

EMPLOYMENT

- (a) The Government shall make suitable employment to all able Bechuanalanders.
- (b) Legislation for compensation for occupational diseases shall be introduced in the country.
- (c) Force and contract labour shall be abolished.

EDUCATION

- (a) All schools shall be publicly operated.
- (b) There shall be free and compulsory education for all Bechuanalanders with no discrimination as to race, sex, religion or colour.

SOCIAL SECURITY

For all cases of incapacitation resulting in inability to work outside the control of an

individual, such person shall be provided with sufficient means for subsistence of his or her dependents.

HEALTH

- (a) Bechuanaland Peoples Party will increase Government Hospitals including health centres in the country.
- (b) Mobile Medical Clinics will be used in areas where it is necessary.
- (c) Facilities for the training of doctors and nurses in modern medical fields will be provided by the Government.
- (d) Free medical treatment for all Bechuanalanders will be provided by the Government.

National Headquarters,
Bechuanaland Peoples Party
P.O. Lobatsi
BECHUANALAND.

Dar es Salaam Address:
c/o South West African
Peoples Organisation,
P.O. Box 2603,
Dar es Salaam,
TANGANYIKA.

The Second Preparatory Committee Of the Afro-Asian Jurists Conference **DECLARATION**

The Preparatory Committee assembled in Conakry on May 25th, 26th, 27th, 1962, in the Hall of the National Assembly and including the delegations of Algeria, Angola, China, Guinea, Kameroun, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Niger, Japan, Indonesia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Upper Volta, Vietnam and Cuba;

Note with satisfaction that the appeal sent on March 23rd, 1962 by Professor Hirano, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Conference of Afro-Asian Jurists and the Minister of Justice of the Republic of Guinea, Mr. Paul Faber, have met with a favorable response in the countries of Africa and Asia;

Express their deep joy in regard to the mass participation of all the jurists invited to this present meeting which was enhanced by the quality and competence of the delegates;

Considering the fact that the agenda of the forthcoming conference of the Jurists of Africa and Asia, worked out by President Hirano and the Guinean Jurists, has been approved by every delegation;

Take pride in the fact that this agenda is the expression of the common concern of the peoples of Africa and Asia at a time marked by the struggles against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism for the recovering of liberty, dignity, full and complete sovereignty;

Are very pleased that every member of this Preparatory Committee who are all jurists and also militants, intimately linked to their peoples, have felt the necessity to develop and reinforce their co-operation and solidarity against their common enemies;

Considering the unanimous agreement of the Preparatory Committee for the meeting in Conakry next September of the Conference of Afro-Asian Jurists;

Considering everybody's commitment to

do everything possible for the complete success of this meeting;

Adopt the terms of the appeal launched in Conakry on March 23, 1962;

Resolve to hold a conference of Afro-Asian Jurists in Conakry beginning September 23rd, 1962;

Decide on the creation of a provisional secretariat, the purpose of which will be to ensure the material preparation of the conference and the preparation of recommendations for the benefit of all African and Asian Jurists in order to ensure the complete success of this important demonstration;

Take pride in the climate of fraternity, friendship and cordiality which characterizes the present meeting;

Express their active solidarity to the fraternal peoples struggling against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, particularly in Angola, West Irian, South Vietnam, South Korea, Congo, Kamerun, South Africa, Laos and Japan;

Protest vehemently against the presence in Africa and Asia of foreign bases and troops, and affirm that the speedy elimination of these evidences of colonialism and neo-colonialism is a significant contribution to the cause of World Peace;

Strongly condemn instances of armed interventions against the countries which struggle for their existence and their national independence;

Finally taking note of a number of particular situations in Mauritania,

Declare their solidarity with the peoples' struggle for liberty and progress against colonialism and imperialism for unconditional independence and the right to choose one's own destiny.

Second Preparatory Committee

The Second Preparatory Committee Of The Afro-Asian Jurists Conference Resolution On The Arrest Of Gizenga

Considering that the Great African Patriot Antoine Gizenga is detained in a Congolese desert island since February 1962, as a result of a detention decree issued by the Central Government of the Congolese Republic;

Considering that Mr. Gizenga had never been the object of any officially known judicial pursuit;

Considering that the Congolese Parliament has however proceeded to deprive the former vice-Premier of the Congolese Republic, who is at the same time a deputy, of his parliamentary immunity;

Considering that the lawyers regularly appointed by Mr. Gizenga's family have not succeeded to obtain entry to the Congo to assist their client, in spite of the numerous approaches to the United Nations General Secretariat as well as to the Congolese Central Government;

Considering that the fate imposed on Mr. Gizenga is a flagrant and particularly a serious violation of the fundamental rights of man;

Considering the passive attitude which has made possible so many crimes in the Congo;

Express its deep concern in front of the procrastinations in the case of Gizenga;

Launch an appeal to universal conscience;

Instantly demand the Afro-Asian group in the U.N.O. to use its full authority to realize the immediate release of Mr. Antoine Gizenga and eventually, to facilitate for the lawyers of the great patriot:

- 1) Access to the Congo;
- 2) Contacts with their client;
- 3) Putting at their disposal all documents allowing them to carry on their duties;
- 4) Free and effective assistance to their client, in front of any jurisdiction called to judge this great patriot.

Conakry, May 27, 1962.
Second Preparatory Committee

TOKYO DECLARATION

The 8th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Prevention Of Nuclear War in Tokyo

AUGUST 6, 1962

Today, seventeen years after the atomic bombing by the U.S. of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we Japanese delegation of 10,000 and 86 overseas delegates from 10 nations of the world and 9 international organisations meeting in Tokyo, the Capital of Japan, an important base for the U.S. preparations for war, have held the 8th World Conference against A and H Bombs and for Prevention of Nuclear War, holding high the banner "Prevention of Nuclear War."

Mankind is now exposed to the danger of nuclear war.

Now that thermo-nuclear weapons and efficient rockets have been developed to such a high degree, nuclear war is no longer a means of solving problems. This question is a problem belonging to all mankind, irrespective of differences in social systems and political ideologies.

Among the causes of the threat of nuclear war today are military intervention by imperialist forces in the struggle for national sovereignty and independence and the movement for colonial liberation, using military treaties and foreign military bases as foothold.

Along with the moves of West Germany, the recent continued U.S. interference around the Indochina Peninsula, and military operations from bases in mainland Japan, Okinawa and South Korea are becoming dangerous factors that could throw the world into the danger of nuclear war.

The earnest desire to save mankind and the cultural heritage of history from great destruction, and to release man from the chains of colonial slavery, to the preservation of human dignity and free progress, is arousing throughout the world the powerful movement to prevent thermo-nuclear war, and attain true independence.

There have never been so many people as there are today who recognize the critical situation of humanity, and at the same time see the way to establish enduring peace by the realization of general and complete disarmament and by the indefatigable struggle and endeavour of the people.

To open up a bright future under these circumstances it is absolutely incumbent upon us to strongly develop the movement for attaining peace, by overcoming the differences between the nations and races. We are greatly encouraged by the upsurge of the peace movement among women in the United States, the movement for denuclearization in Europe, etc., which followed the lead of the Japanese movement against A and H bombs. The struggles for colonial emancipation and national independence, joined with the peace movements of the world, have made a great contribution to the prevention of nuclear war and world peace.

The attainment of the sovereignty and freedom of nations can help remove the threat of nuclear war and greatly decrease its danger. At the same time the realisation of general and complete disarmament which has now become an important task for all mankind, will help the movement for national independence.

In the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war, the movement for peace and the movement for national independence are supporting and helping each other and are inseparable. In order to overcome the threat of nuclear war, we stand firm in our support of the national independence movements of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, fighting against imperialism and colonialism.

1) In consequence of the series of ultra-high altitude nuclear tests being conducted over the Pacific by the United States since last spring, the preparations of nuclear war have been accelerated and the threat of outbreak of war in Asia has been extremely intensified. We have been protesting against this with strong indignation. In this situation the Soviet Union resumed its nuclear tests yesterday (Aug. 5). We note this state of affairs with a deep regret, and whatever the reasons we cannot tolerate a continuance of the stalemate existing in the nuclear test ban conference.

If this situation continues unchanged, it is as clear as day that the ashes of death produced by nuclear tests will bring about irrevocable calamities to the life of mankind, that conditions will increase for the emergence of new nuclear nations, and further, that the danger of the outbreak of nuclear war will reach unprecedented heights.

At this moment, we oppose the conducting of any nuclear tests by any nation, and demand first of all that all nuclear powers at once unconditionally conclude a nuclear test ban agreement.

An agreement on the immediate stoppage of nuclear tests can be reached. In today's terrible situation with the nuclear arms race at its ultimate, an agreement on the immediate stoppage of nuclear tests is the effective alternative to the immediate conclusion of a test ban agreement to meet this crisis.

We believe that the proposals by the eight

neutral nations at the Geneva Conference should be taken into consideration.

The stopping of nuclear tests will break down the barrier to the total prevention of the production, stock-piling, use and spread of nuclear weapons, and open the way to general and complete disarmament, that is to say, total abolition of all arms.

2) The establishment of nuclear free zones is very important for the prevention of nuclear war. The establishment of nuclear free zones must be hastened covering the Asian-Pacific region, from Japan to the USA, and in other parts of the world. The declaration of nuclear free Africa has already been adopted in the U.N. To achieve the establishment of such zones, it is necessary to have those powers that are making preparations for nuclear war adopt denuclearization, and press resolutely and broadly the movement for the realisation of this.

In Japan in particular favorable conditions for the establishment of a nuclear free zone will be created if the Japanese people carry on a forceful and successful popular campaign against the nuclear arming of U.S. forces in Japan as well as the "Japanese Self-Defense Forces" and against the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan.

3) We demand the dissolution of all opposing military blocs, and the withdrawal of military bases and troops from all foreign territories. To achieve this we will promote powerful movements all over the world. Particularly in Asia, the action of U.S. military forces, with Japan under the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty as well as South Korea as their foothold, is stirring up the danger of war in South Korea, the Taiwan Straits, Laos, Vietnam and other parts of Asia. Especially in South Vietnam, undeclared war is being waged by the U.S. The U.S. forces must withdraw immediately from these parts. In Latin America and Africa, the same enemy has to

be exposed, and struggle must be supported against him.

Parallel with the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), a plan is being intensely promoted for the formation of a North East Asia Treaty Organization (NEATO). For this purpose, Japan-South Korea talks are being held in an intensified way. All the people of the Asian countries are jointly waging powerful struggles to oppose these moves.

Such extremely dangerous manoeuvres related to the preparation for nuclear war are being intensified with overseas military bases as strongholds in different parts of the world. We must eradicate these moves by the strength of the peace forces.

4) With dangers caused by military treaties and military bases increasing, the arming of Japan and West Germany with missiles and nuclear weapons is posing special issues of grave importance. The revival of militarism in both countries is the crux of nuclear war preparation and is creating an extremely dangerous situation, linked as it is with U.S. military operations. The build-up of the German "Wehrmacht" Forces and the Japanese "Self-Defense" Forces is a great menace to their neighbouring nations. We must struggle in all phases of national life, political, economic, social and cultural, against this manifestation of militarism promoted and protected by the U.S. in order to prevent further revival of militarism in the both nations.

5) The purpose of the movement for relief of atomic victims is to give to the victims the guarantee of their life and livelihood as a basic right, and is an important aspect of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs.

We strongly demand that the United States government which has the greatest responsibility for this problem together with the Japanese government, should make complete compensation to the victims, and for this purpose we shall intensify the movement.

The vast majority of mankind totalling thousands of millions of people throughout the world are friends of peace. Together we have powerful and unshakable might of people. But at the same time we must be acutely aware that there do exist forces wanting to destroy peace and throw mankind into misery and desolation thousands of times greater than the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In order to victoriously strive for the prevention of nuclear war, we must realistically point out the chief enemy of peace for what he is demonstrated by the above facts and with the people, on the basis of truth, make unflagging efforts to remove the sources of the danger of nuclear war.

It is impossible to attain our aims merely by the efforts of limited numbers of people. Results are achieved only when all peace-loving nations and all people are united above differences in their political or religious creeds, and in their unity oppose those imperialist forces of war threatening peace, and carry through powerful mass campaigns.

We trust in the vast energies of the people. We will keep vigilance, march forward, and strengthen the broad unity of all peace forces. When the people of the world undertake united action convinced of the criminal nature of the war plots, threat and oppression, to make the inhuman attempt abandoned and for mankind to build new relations based on reason and justice for the whole of mankind.

With full confidence in the victory of the future of mankind, and at this important moment, we make this solemn declaration in Tokyo in the name of the Eight World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Prevention of Nuclear War.

Recommendations for International Common Action

1. To wage powerful actions in September in each country to oppose all nuclear tests and to press for the immediate and unconditional

conclusion of a test ban agreement between all nuclear powers, and to demand the complete banning of nuclear weapons.

2. We must struggle for the realization of general and complete disarmament. Let us rise in action demanding that the forthcoming session of the U.N. General Assembly make concrete plans towards this end.

Let us develop common action directed to governments of the nations concerned and the United Nations to demand general and complete disarmament.

3. In order to prevent an outbreak of nuclear war and promote general and complete disarmament, let us strengthen common actions of the peoples of the regions concerned with the aim to establish nuclear free zones in different parts of the world, participated in by the Asia and Pacific regions including the U.S.A.

In view of the pressing situation in Asia, let us hold a Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific regions.

4. The existence of nuclear missile bases,

the stationing of foreign military bases and military alliances are increasing the danger of nuclear warfare. The colonialist rule and intervention in domestic affairs of other countries by imperialist forces constitute dangerous sources of military conflicts which may develop into real nuclear war.

It is necessary to further strengthen the ties between the movement for the prevention of nuclear war and the anti-colonialist movement, in particular, the national liberation movement carried on in Asia and Africa and Latin America.

5. It is necessary to make widely known the truth about the atomic bombing and to strengthen to campaign for the relief of atomic victims.

In developing international common action for the above-stated objectives, let us strengthen international solidarity, rally broad peace forces around our movement, act according to concrete conditions of each country, smash preparations for nuclear war and thus march forward toward the attainment of national independence and the establishment of world peace.

MESSAGE

of

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization to the World Congress For General Disarmament and Peace In Moscow

(9-14, July 1962)

**Delivered by Mr. Abdel Wahab El Salloum, Iraq representative on the Permanent Secretariat
and Chairman of the Secretariat's delegation.**

Mr. Chairman, dear friends and brothers,

First of all permit me, on behalf of the fraternal delegation of the Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation and on behalf of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, to express our utmost gratitude to the invitation extended to us by Prof. Bernal on behalf of the World Council of Peace and the Preparatory Committee of the Congress for Disarmament and Peace which is held in this beautiful city of Moscow. Allow me also to greet you, fellow delegates, who have come here from all countries the world over to express their determination and readiness to struggle to the end against the aggressive war policy of the imperialists, for establishment of world peace and contributing to general disarmament. At the same time I would like to express our deep gratitude to those who have consistently and continuously supported the Afro-Asian peoples struggle for the attainment and consolidation of their national independence.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation support the convocation of the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace and sincerely wishes it success.

I take this opportunity to extend my thanks in the name of the Permanent Secretariat, to the Soviet people and the Government and to the Soviet Committee for the promotion of the Congress, for their hospitality

and generous invitation which give us the chance to meet in this country, the country of vanguard of peace, freedom and progress.

I would like further to express my appreciation and deep gratitude to Prime Minister N. S. Khrushchev for his attention and support to the liberation movement in particular and the peace movement in general.

The Soviet people who have greatly contributed to the Afro-Asian peoples' struggle against imperialism and colonialism are now successfully marching toward further progress. It is the Soviet people who have sacrificed most during World War II started by imperialist Germany, Italy and Japan. And it is the crushing and mortal blow given by the Soviet people and Soviet Army to Hitler Germany and militarist Japan which led to the defeat of the fascists and by so-doing ended the war victoriously.

And today the Soviet Union is the most powerful country that is standing firmly against any attempt by the imperialists that can push the world to another new war.

In our epoch of today an intensified struggle of the peoples the world over against imperialism, for world peace, national liberation, democracy and progress is going on. The emergence of new Afro-Asian states, in addition to popular movements of national liberation, as well as the support of socialist

countries has changed the balance of forces of the world in favour of the anti-imperialist struggle for freedom and world peace. The forces of peace have surpassed the forces of war. The forces of the progressives have surpassed the forces of the reactionary. Bright prospects for the cause of independence, peace, democracy and progress are unfolding before the peoples of the world. Recently our Algerian compatriots, after 7½ years of armed struggle, have achieved their national independence and thereby restored peace in this part of the world and help consolidate world peace. All of us who are present here rejoice and express our congratulations at this event and sincerely hope that our Algerian brothers will consolidate further their national independence.

We also witnessed the victory of our Laotian brothers. After hard struggle they have been able to compose a coalition Government, foil the imperialist plan of sabotage and thus give the country the possibility to follow the path of independence and sovereignty. Very soon the Laotian people will expel all foreign interventionists and free the country from imperialism.

We are also gratified with the victory of our Indian friends who at one blow expelled the Portuguese colonialists from Goa, Daman and Diu.

Last but not least, again after hard struggle our friends from Ruanda and Burundi achieved their national independence.

All of us are indeed happy with these hard won victories. We solemnly greet them on the success they achieved in their hard struggle. Their struggles have greatly weakened the forces of imperialism and thus contribute fundamentally to the cause of world peace.

The present situation imperatively demands that the peoples the world over further unite and wage a continuous and determined

struggle against the policies of aggression and war of imperialism, of which the U.S. imperialist is the leader. U.S. imperialism together with other imperialists and reactionaries from all countries have established all kinds of aggressive military pacts and alliances and are carrying out criminal activities with ever increasing intensity to oppose the national liberation movements and the socialist countries and thereby seriously pushing the world to an unprecedented arms race and preparing a new war.

Dear friends and brothers,

To bring about disarmament is indeed a common aspiration and under such conditions is a common struggle of all peace-loving peoples; it is a component part of the struggle of the people of all countries to preserve world peace. We have always worked energetically for general disarmament and regard general disarmament as an important means of the struggle in defence of world peace. We are joining our efforts for the struggle to stop the breakout of a new war, and regard it would be an illusion to defend peace in any other way than by fighting against the source which endangers it i.e. imperialism the only warmonger. We consider that the struggle of all peace-loving nations and peoples against imperialism arms drive and war preparations is an important part of the struggle for general disarmament. In order to safeguard world peace, we must accomplish first of all the following tasks: to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, thwart the aggressive design of the West German revanchists and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

Disarmament talks have been going on for fifteen years since the end of World War II. During the fifteen years from 1948 till the present, the direct military expendi-

ture of the United States has multiplied six fold. Up to September 1961, the U.S. has rigged up military blocs, established military bases in various parts of the world. According to data published in the "New York Times", the U.S. maintain all together 900 overseas military bases including 250 major ones. The number of U.S. troops stationed abroad exceeds one million. The U.S. also have carried but armed intervention and military provocation in many parts of the world and even launched aggressive wars. Just recently it landed 5,000 marines in Thailand, threatening to invade neighbouring Laos.

The policy of the U.S. and other imperialist countries confronts the whole world with an ever expanding drive and increasing threat of war. Recently the U.S. have resumed again atomic weapons' tests jointly with the British in the Pacific and at the same time blackmailing the Soviet Union to accept their condition for a nuclear test-ban treaty. Kennedy even openly declared that in certain circumstances, the U.S. might have to start a nuclear war. In the past year the Kennedy Administration has made three additions to its original military budget, thereby showing the "strongest" zeal in the arms drive.

This growing armament race and the aggressive policy of military pacts and military bases is a direct instrument to thwart the struggle of the people for freedom and impose on them neo-colonialism, enchain their economy and reduce the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America to enslavement and abject poverty, as is very obvious from the recent events in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Algeria, Congo, Cuba and other parts of the world.

The struggle for disarmament, for liquidation of atomic weapons and military bases is favourable to the people fighting for freedom and for building a free and prosperous economic and social life just as the struggle against imperialism and for national independence is favourable to the struggle for disarmament.

The struggle for general disarmament and the struggle against imperialist aggressive war policy are two courses which lead to the same goal.

Hence we support the struggle for general disarmament and it is also one of the major important reasons for us to support the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow.

But there are many difficulties in the way of realising the objective of general and complete disarmament due to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. hence it is an absolute necessity to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of achieving complete and general disarmament. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale. to mobilize the people to wage an active and resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and achieve tangible results. Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist countries, the independent Afro-Asian countries, the national liberation movement and all freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples including the American peoples and countries the world over, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations of the imperialists, and force them into an agreement on general disarmament.

At the same time we hope that the Congress will not only make contribution to the struggle for general disarmament but also make equal contribution to the struggle for complete national independence liberation by rendering full support to it, because this is the lofty aspiration of the Afro-Asian peoples. For us Afro-Asian peoples, the fundamental task of our movement is to struggle for the attainment and safeguarding of the national independence against imperialism which constitute our best contribution for the cause of peace, because the liberation of peoples will help the promotion of disarmament in order to establish world peace.

Dear friends,

Imperialism proved to be the worst enemy of the peoples struggling for freedom, national independence, democracy, progress and world peace. It attempts to strangle the national liberation movement as we witnessed in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, i.e. in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, South West Africa, Basutoland, Kenya, Angola, Congo, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Kamerun, Zanzibar and 15 more other dependent territories in Africa; also in South Vietnam, South Korea, Laos, Okinawa, Taiwan and the off shore islands of China, West Irian, Cuba and other Latin American countries.

Moreover the imperialists are using new tactics to cover up their machinations and deceive the peoples by means of implementing neo-colonialism over the newly independent countries. In the Congo they are using the U.N.O. to dominate this country and put in prison many patriots and first of all the staunch freedom fighter and Vice P.M. A Gizenga while at the same time let free the traitor and secessionist and murderer of Patrice Lumumba, Tshombe. Recently the 17 Nation Committee of the U.N.O. also rejected a resolution for urging the British colonialist to release Zanzibar patriots detained by the British authorities in Dar Es Salaam. Indeed, in spite of resolute action taken by the socialist countries, and non-aligned countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which obtained certain useful decisions, we must remain vigilant so long as the U.N.O. in its present structure and composition is often incapable to fulfil its responsibility, and is often used as an instrument in the hands of the imperialists.

Very recently the Chiang Kai Shek gang in Taiwan with the support of the U.S. imperialists is intensifying its preparation to invade Chinese mainland. Thus the U.S. imperialists not only continue to occupy Chinese

territory of Taiwan and try to create "two" or "one and a half China's", but also making attempts to invade China's mainland itself. The whole world condemn this aggressive plan and if they really dare to invade China, no doubt, they will be met with crushing defeat.

Not far from China, in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are engaged in a bloody war of aggression against the heroic people of South Vietnam.

We call upon you all, delegates to support the struggle of the South Vietnamese people for complete national independence against the Ngo Diem Diem clique and the U.S. imperialists. We call upon you to resist and condemn U.S. intervention and aggression in South Vietnam, for if this U.S. intervention and, aggression is not stopped, it will seriously kindle in Southeast Asia another war which will surely endanger world peace.

We also call upon you to support the national liberation movement of the people of Rhodesia, South and North, who are daily fighting continuously against the White settlers and the British colonialists. There is danger in Rhodesia of a repetition of Congo and a second Algeria with the OAS terror.

We also call upon you to support the liberation struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea against the Portuguese colonialists, to support the Kamerunian people in their struggle against a foreign army of 100,000 men which controls exclusively all the major fields of the young federal republic, and all African peoples' struggle against colonialism in all its manifestation, against imperialism and for real national independence.

We call upon you to support the struggle of the people of Indonesia West Irian who are fighting against the Dutch colonialist, to support the people of Japan against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and for the recovery of

Okinawa, to support the people of South Korea for reunification and independence against U.S. occupation.

We also call upon you to support the heroic Cuban people against another threat of invasion from the U.S. imperialists. Not long ago the Cuban people succeeded in foiling and defeating the aggression in Giron Beach organized by the U.S. imperialists. And, no doubt in the future the Cuban people will also succeed to foil any attempt against their country. The U.S. imperialists try to make another attempt through the OAS (Organization of American States). But Cuba is not alone. The Latin American people's answer is the Havana declaration in which they express their strong support to the Cuban people. Again the U.S. failed to strangle young Cuba by means of the OAS.

Dear friends and brothers,

It is clear now that the problem of world peace is linked to the struggle for national independence against imperialism and colonialism.

We always hold that all struggles for peace and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and struggles of all peoples under imperialist enslavement and oppression, to oppose imperialism and achieve national independence and liberation, are all struggles against imperialist armed expansion and war preparation. All these struggles help the realisation of general disarmament. The imperialist policies of aggression and war are the cause of both arms race and colonialist aggression. Therefore, the struggle against the imperialist arms race and for general disarmament and the struggle against imperialism's colonialist aggression and for national liberation support and complement each other. The struggles of oppressed nations and peoples the world over for liberation have steadily weakened the strength of imperialism. They are a powerful force in the current world-wide opposition to imperialist policies of aggression and war. Thus, while striving

for general disarmament, it is necessary to strengthen constantly the struggle of all those peoples seeking national independence and liberation.

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and manoeuvres of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the freedom and peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace and national independence, because imperialism has not changed its intention and nature of aggression and domination.

Whenever peoples are fighting for national independence and peace, they find themselves face to face with an international common front of imperialists headed by the U.S.

While expressing its wholehearted support to the convening of the International Conference for General Disarmament and Peace the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity,

Appeals to all African and Asian peoples to intensify their struggle against imperialism, for their complete national independence and liberation and to this end to take a firm stand against the armament race, nuclear tests and the preparations by imperialists for a third world war that threatens mankind.

Dear friends and brothers,

In conclusion may we hope that this Congress will pay due and full attention to the aspirations and desire of the Afro-Asian peoples and render them full support.

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, regard it as its duty and honour to remind all the participants in the Conference here to take full consideration of their aspirations.

May this important Congress end with success.

Long live Freedom and World Peace!

Message To The Peoples Of The World

From The World Congress For General Disarmament

And Peace

1962

We have come to Moscow from the four corners of the earth. We have various professions and differing convictions. We have for a week discussed with the utmost frankness the questions arising from the danger of nuclear war that hangs over mankind. This has helped us to know one another better and we are convinced that it is possible to find a way out of the situation that today threatens every country and every people.

The arms race increases tension and mistrust between nations. The tension and mistrust between nations promote the arms race. A vicious circle has been created. The destructive power of weapons grows more and more frightful, yet voices are heard demanding the unleashing of a preventive war.

Nevertheless, we firmly believe that disarmament is not only imperative, it is possible. No longer is it a dream only of the best minds of humanity. For the first time in history it has become a practical task facing each and everyone of us.

Lifting the burden of the arms race would bring benefit to all. Disarmament would release resources that could be applied to raise the standard of living in all countries. Disarmament would save funds that could be applied to increase the rate of development of countries so far economically underdeveloped. Disarmament would involve the disappearance of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops, thus aiding the peoples struggling for national independence. Disarmament must be general, complete and under strict international control. There can be no disarmament without control, no control without disarmament.

We have thoroughly studied the obstacles that hinder its realisation, and we know that its achievement will be hard. There are those who oppose even negotiations, some from blindness and inertia, others from private interests or from military ambition. We are convinced, however, that all obstacles can be overcome. In every disarmament plan weak aspects can be pointed out, but we hold that it is better to agree on a compromise acceptable to all than to pursue the arms race.

However, experience has shown that it would be a dangerous illusion to believe that disarmament can come of itself. It is impossible to rely only on the diplomats and military specialists who prolong discussions from year to year. Only the efforts of the people of all lands can compel the statesmen to find a solution. Divided protests are not sufficient. It is time for a mighty movement of resistance to the arms race and all war preparations.

If humanity has escaped being plunged into nuclear war during the past seventeen years; this is due above all to the tireless efforts of the peoples for peace. But we must openly recognise that there are still many who stand aside from active struggle against the arms race. There are still many not alert to its dangers, many who have not yet realised the full seriousness of its threat, nor their responsibility for saving peace. And to all these we say: "Realise the dangers of the days in which we live, rally to the ranks of those who are fighting for disarmament and peace".

Time does not wait. Thermo-nuclear weapons may soon be found in the arsenals

of dozens of countries, and the improvement of means of delivering such weapons may make control impossible.

We are firmly opposed to all testing of nuclear bombs and similar devices, firstly because of their threat to life and health of this and future generations, and secondly because they increase the tempo of the arms race. We earnestly appeal to the governments of all the nuclear powers. We call on them to reach without delay, agreement on renunciation of all tests of nuclear weapons and conclude a treaty banning forever all such tests everywhere — in the atmosphere, in outer space, underground and under water.

This would be a first step towards the complete prohibition and elimination of all nuclear arms and means of delivering them. Our chief and urgent task is the conclusion by the governments of a treaty of general and complete disarmament under strict international control. We therefore call for business like and practical discussions on all the plans

put forward, enabling the swift conclusion of the treaty.

Under the pressure of public opinion, and thanks to the action of the uncommitted countries, the positions of the chief negotiating powers in respect to the principles of disarmament have to a certain extent grown closer. But serious differences of opinion are still producing deadlock. Only if the peoples intensify their pressure can a treaty be secured.

It is for the forces of peace to set an example towards bringing about better understanding and dissolving mistrust. To this task we believe our Congress has made a powerful contribution. Ways must be found, appropriate to every country and every organisation to continue this beginning. Passivity harms the cause of peace. On us all depends the dawn of the day when mankind will be liberated from the threat of nuclear death. We who want peace are many. If we all should act, and if all who act should act together in friendship, we could clear the road of our common aim, enduring peace.

Moscow, 14th July, 1962.

South Vietnam Liberation Fronts

Policy Statement on Independence and Neutrality

A 14-point policy of independence and neutrality has been adopted by the South Vietnam Liberation National Front.

In a statement released by LPA, the Front's central committee declares that "the Front will strive resolutely and persistently for the establishment in South Vietnam of an administration pursuing a policy of independence, and strict and positive neutrality". The statement makes clear the following points:

1. As a state having sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, South Vietnam will not join any military bloc or treaty, or any bloc or treaty of a military character, and will not accept the protection of any military bloc or treaty. It will not enter into military alliance or alliance of a military character, with any country, and will not sign with any country treaties contrary or harmful to South Vietnam's neutrality.

2. All foreign troops and military personnel must withdraw from South Vietnam. South Vietnam will not accept the presence on its territory of foreign armed forces, military personnel and military bases.

3. South Vietnam will carry out a fully independent and sovereign internal and foreign policy. All blocs and states must neither intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, nor bring pressure to bear upon it, in whatever forms and whatever fields, political or military, economic or cultural, diplomatic or internal.

4. South Vietnam will carry out the 5 principles of peaceful co-existence in its relations with all countries, regardless of their ideological system and political regime. It will establish friendship and diplomatic re-

lations with all countries on condition that they respect its sovereignty and treat it on an equal footing. South Vietnam will not allow any country to use its territory to threaten other countries' security.

As for the neighbouring Kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos in particular, South Vietnam will maintain friendly relations with them and thoroughly respect their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

5. South Vietnam will build an army with the sole aim to safeguard the fatherland's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and security. With adequate effectives and equipment, the army of neutral South Vietnam will be a defensive and peaceful army.

6. South Vietnam will thoroughly realise democratic liberties for the people. Freedom of thought, worship, opinion and organisation will be guaranteed to all citizens, political parties, mass organisations, religions and nationalities.

7. South Vietnam will receive aid from all countries, directly and without any political conditions attached, and provided such aid aims to help develop the economy, culture and welfare of the South Vietnamese people.

8. South Vietnam will carry out a policy of democratic and independent economy, free itself from foreign manipulation, and prohibit all forms of monopoly by foreign capitalists.

9. Foreign nationals of any citizenship will be allowed to reside and earn their living in South Vietnam, and will be protected by South Vietnam laws, provided they do not harm the South Vietnamese people's interests.

Foreign capitalists of any citizenship will be permitted to do business in South Vietnam, and their interests will be guaranteed, provided they respect South Vietnam's laws.

10. South Vietnam will carry out cultural exchanges and broaden cultural co-operation with all countries.

11. The Vietnamese nation is one. But, in view of the fact that Vietnam has been divided into two zones with different political regimes, due concern must be shown to the question of Vietnam's reunification and adequate consideration given to the characteristics of this situation and of the two zones. This question will be decided by the people of the two zones, on the principle of equality, non-annexation of one zone by the other, negotiations between the authorities of the two zones, and step-by-step reunifications.

Priority must be given to the consideration of the question of restoration of normal relations between the two zones in view of the readjustment and development of the economy and because of the sacred sentiment and urge of the people in both zones.

The future political regime of unified Vietnam will be decided by the people of both zones.

12. South Vietnam is ready to form with the Kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos a peace and neutral zone in South East Asia, in which each member enjoys full sovereignty.

13. South Vietnam will actively unite with all states and organisations working for peace and friendship among nations. It will contribute to the realisation of general disarmament throughout the world, liquidation of nuclear weapons, cessation of A-bomb tests, and dissolution of hostile military blocs.

14. South Vietnam's independence and

neutrality must be respected and guaranteed by the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam, and by all countries and parties concerned.

The statement notes that the Front's policy of independence and neutrality has enjoyed ever stronger support from the South Vietnamese people, and ever wider approval from organisations and personalities of various political tendencies, at home or in exile, including prominent figures and senior officers of the South Vietnam army.

It pays tribute to the understanding shown to the Front's policy by public opinion the world over, particularly in Asia and Africa. "The peaceful settlement of the Laotian problem and the declaration of neutrality of the Laotian coalition government has strongly inspired us", it states.

It thanks Cambodia's Head of State, Prince Sihanouk, for his constructive proposals concerning the South Vietnam situation.

The statement denounces the U.S. for deliberately imposing upon the South Vietnamese people the so-called "protection" of SEATO. The South Vietnamese people do not recognize SEATO's "protection", it stresses. "The South Vietnamese people", it goes on "hate, and are fed up with the fascist dictatorial family rule installed by U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam. We only want democracy. The crude war of aggression launched and expanded by U.S. imperialism must be ended and peace restored at once in South Vietnam".

"The South Vietnamese people demand the establishment in South Vietnam of a national and democratic coalition government representing the interests of all strata, factions, tendencies and nationalities there. An independent and neutral South Vietnam can only be a friend to the U.S., but the South Vietnamese people are determined not to be enslaved by the warlike financiers from

the other shore of the Pacific and are resolved to throw off at all costs the yoke imposed by the U.S. imperialism upon them".

The statement points out that honest public opinion in the U.S. has shown ever greater understanding of South Vietnam realities, and that more and more Americans have sternly condemned the dark designs and adventurous moves of the Kennedy administration.

"The South Vietnam war is taking a heavy toll of lives from both Vietnamese and Americans and is threatening to take more. We believe that the American people are strong enough to compel their rulers to give up the criminal path and recognise the sovereignty, independence and neutrality of the South Vietnamese people, in the interests of both nations", the statement says.

"Of late", it goes on, "the American imperialists and their henchmen are worrying much about the development of the neutrality tendency among the South Vietnamese people. They angrily slander neutral nations and the neutrality policy of the South Vietnam Liberation Front. They threaten and even ruthlessly repress organisations and individuals favouring neutrality in South Viet-

nam. However, their acts only betray their confusion, and prove the correctness of the Front's policy", the statement remarks.

It stresses: "The South Vietnam Liberation National Front central Committee holds that those in the South Vietnam administration who have always styled themselves as nationalists are having the best opportunity to prove their good will and patriotism before the people at home and world public opinion. Should they deny the country peace, independence, democracy, neutrality and prosperity, they would once more lay bare their true colours, and this would only drive them into complete isolation".

The statement expressed the "hope to contact all patriotic forces in South Vietnam to exchange views on the policy of independence and neutrality, and attain practical action serving this noble and urgent goal, first of all, to strive to remove the obstacles to South Vietnam's independence and neutrality, the U.S. aggressors and their hangers-on".

The statement calls on all governments and peoples of the world to support the Front's policy.

SITUATION IN THE KAMERUN

RACE FOR UNITY

Ever since last May, a lot has been said about the U.P.C.'s joining the policy of the neo-colonialist government of Ahidjo Foncha.

A commentator reports that by this rallying the U.P.C., concerned about unity, would bring in the future its loyal support to the President of the Republic and would even accept "The creation of a unified party as wished by President Ahidjo". In other words, that will mean the dissolution of the U.P.C. and other political formations even if they are stooge-like in favour of the governmental Kamerunian Union.

OPPOSITION TO THE CREATION OF A UNIFIED PARTY

Four Kamerunian personalities have expressed in a joint letter their opposition to the unified party of Ahidjo; they are:

Mr. Andre Maria Mbida, former Prime Minister and leader of the **Kamerunian Democrat Group**; Mr. Charles Okala who was lately Minister of Roreign Affairs and leader of the **Kamerunian Socialist Party**; Dr. Eyid Bebey leader of **Kamerunian National Worker's Party**; the renegade Mayi Matip representing what they have called the "**Legal U.P.C.**" Because of this opposition these four personalities have been arbitrarily arrested and detained in spite of their parliamentary immunity, and in spite of the strong protest of public opinion, sentenced to 30 months in jail and a fine of 250.000 CFA.

Resorting to such radical measures against personalities who are moderate, points to a process of non-reversible and ever greater fascisation especially since the vice-president Ernest Ouandie, back in the bush, has given a new impetus to the Revolution.

By the light of these facts, one can see that the slight inclination of Mr. Ahidjo to join the African Charter of Casablanca or to form diplomatic relations with socialist countries, is a fact that betrays his resolve to disguise the insuperable internal difficulties of his tottering regime. It must be noted that this operation rigged up by the imperialists, proves how our enemies, convinced by experiences that nothing can be achieved in the Kamerun without U.P.C. and even less against it, need a U.P.C. stamp to give their regime a minimum of prestige to the public opinion and especially the international one.

REASONS FOR THIS CAMPAIGN

To start with, it is meant to deceive the Kamerunian voters in the forthcoming elections a second time. Thus all political parties having been eliminated the Kamerunian Union, party of the privileged candidates, would present the electoral lists.

The second motive is to lull the minds of the people and to make believe that the difficulties of the stooges originate from the existence of many political parties. Even the American, French and English imperialists would not agree with that opinion.

Ahidjo's Kamerunian Union today holds 70 seats out of 100 in the Yaounde Assembly, that is 70%, and 40 out of 50 at the Assembly called the Federal Assembly, that is 80%. In spite of this record percentage, this party does not rule and will never be able to rule the Kamerun.

As matter of fact, as they were created by electoral frauds carefully planned by police terror, these assemblies are composed of the "mis-elected". Because of this character of unlawfulness, the deputies and the government, supported and protected by the imperialists' coalition, carry out an anti-national policy on all levels. The results of which is

that the Kamerun has its axis on foreign interestst and against the aspirations of the people of the Kameroun.

COMPLETE REVOLUTION

The people of the Kamerun are not revolutionaries out of spite but by full rights. The people of the Kamerun have not fought for independence to see their country occupied by foreign mercenary troops. The one hundred thousand patriots who have already fallen during the resistance, amongst whom were the two heroic leaders RUBEN UM NYOBE and FELIX ROLAND MOUMIE respectively Secretary-General and President of the U.P.C., have not sacrificed their lives to replace the French colonialism by another French, American, West German colonialism or by a novice Kamerunian colonialism, **but to change the economic, the social and the political order which exploits them.** That is why the U.P.C., through its Secretary-General RUBEN UM NYOBE, said in 1952 : "Independence is the rule of people of the Kamerun by the people of the Kamerun and for the people of the Kamerun".

U.P.C. CONCEPTION OF UNITY

The union of all the patriotic forces in our country is a vital necessity for the Revolution in the present stage which has for main aim to free the nation from French neo-colonialist occupation as well as, in the future stage, the edification of a Kamerun of new democracy.

As well as a present necessity this union is first of all an answer to the particularly cruel and exploiting nature of French neo-colonialism which exercises domination over our people under the cover of local agents of whom Ahidjo is the front rank man. Thus this unity must be the militant and concrete expression of the will of the quasi-totality of the people to free itself effectively from French domination.

As a matter of fact French neo-colonialism is characterised in the Kamerun by the fact that in its manifestations it recognises but one law : that of the absolute fulfilment of its means, that is how it intervenes in a particular clear way in all the fields of Kamerunian national activity, and where on different pretexts its agents exercise a real dictatorship.

ON THE MILITARY LEVEL

On the military level, the war for colonial reconquest is carried out by the French of the Kamerunian army, according to a least 80,000 soldiers and officers, while those of the Kamerunian army, according to a declaration made by the Kamerunian Minister of Armed Forces on April 13, 1962 in Yabassi, amount to 5,000 men only and even that embryo of a Kamerunian army is commanded by French officers. It is only as a simple matter of form that Kamerunians are promoted to the grade of officers. The obvious reality which ceaselessly arouses the the just resentment of Kemerunian officers is that they have the name of commanders, but are deprived of all power.

That is now how in the Ministry of Armed Forces in Yaounde it is the Frenchman GUERINH who is in charge of the Gendarmerie, the French AURONSSEAU (colonel) superior commander of the Legion of the Gendarmerie in Garona ; GRAMMAIN commander of the National Kamerunian Navy, BLARY (captain) commander of the Legion of the Gendarmerie in Douala, commander GROSS (major) in Douala, and not forgetting Colonel LAURIER, commander FAL-LON, Captain LAVAL, Lt. GUILLEMOT and all the others such as Colonel BLANC, military adviser at the Ministry of Armed Forces, Captain BARON, Head of Interarmed Military School in Yaounde.

This discriminatory situation has already aroused the just indignation of the patriotic soldiers and officers of the Kamerunian Army

and it is only as an attempt to calm them that Mr. SADOU DAODOU declared at the military camp in Douala on January 20, 1962 "I know, you are concerned with a problem, that of the presence of French cadres amongst you. I ask them and you to work together for the common good... I request you to trust those in your cadre who have come from that friendly nation France. I ask them and you to work without any complex or any mental reservation".

But in spite of all that, anger is still brewing in the Kamerunian Army.

ON THE ADMINISTRATION LEVEL

In the Kamerunian administration, justice and police, the dictatorship of French nationalists, thinking minds of French neo-colonialism, exercises itself with a virulence as strong as in the army. Their action, fundamentally anti-popular, arouses the anger of the whole Kamerunian people and particularly of the African officials.

In Mora a certain frenchman, Bernard Gerard, is sub-prefect, in Marona, Roy Jean is also sub-prefect, in Yaounde, Cobrat is President of the Court of Appeal, in Douala, Gean Pilcque is Interdepartmental Labour Inspector of the West, in Yaounde, Raoul Danalo is Advisor of Labour in the Legislative as well as in the Ministry and the Social Laws, in Marona. Le Henauf is Mayor and the Township's Secretary is also a frenchman by the name of Trousey, Porsand is General Attorney at the Court of Appeal in Garona... etc... not forgetting Morand and Doutre, these French commissioners sow terror in Garona. The revolt of the Kamerunian officials faced by this dictatorship of the thinking minds of French neo-colonialism manifests itself under many forms. Already on August 23, 1961, Okala Charles, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and prisoner today declared in Midikiminiki : "Among the prefects and high officials of whose complete devotion the State must rest

assured many protect and keep terrorists and bring them help under the form of money and amunitions".

As a result to this declaration the government in Yaounde launched a vast repression campaign against officials. Dismissal and suspension of mayors and town councillors, suspension or reduction of salaries, delaying promotions, dismissal and even arrest of officials were multiplied but these measures never changed the determination of patriotic officials and that is how in a circular of President Ahidjo dated March 1962, the head of State declares that : "civil servants must abstain from criticising in an open and insulting manner the policy of the government" and that "civil servants must choose between their loyalty to republican institutions and their resignation from their office".

ON THE ECONOMIC LEVEL

In the economic field the domination of French colonialism, even though shaken by American and West German infiltration, remains great. Because of this competitive infiltration, as well as the action of patriots against the economic basis of neo-colonialism in the Kamerun, the reaction of French business-men is clear. They group themselves on one hand to plunder better and on the other hand to exert a greater pressure and monopolise all the control levers of national economy.

Because they are grouped, the Kamerunian economy at the level of production and internal and external commercialisation is concentrated in the hands of a few foreign enterprises who manipulate the purchase and sales prices in favour of their interests only.

This situation has at least two consequences.

(1) The profits of the enterprises, because of the monopolisation, reach particularly great proportions ; that is how for instance in the case of the "Breweries of the Kamerun" profits have gone up from 256,866,530

francs C. F. A. in 1959 to 330,296,975 francs C. F. A. in 1960.

(2) Most of the Kamerunian producers and tradesmen are cornered into bankruptcy or become simple middlemen in the service of foreign monopolies.

ON THE SOCIAL LEVEL

The consequences on the social level are very clear : the maximum of wealth is monopolised by a small minority while the majority of the people lie in terrible poverty.

The social minority group who monopolises the wealth in our country includes :

- French business-men.
- The all powerful Colonial administrators hiding behind the mask of technical advisors.
- a handful of Kamerunians forming the compradore bourgeoisie or bureaucracy, deriving its financial power from the economic and political domination of French imperialism.
- Some feudals, traditional chiefs who derive their maintainance from exploiting the peasants.

Facing this exploiting and possessive minority, there is the majority of the people dominated and exploited one way or another by French neo-colonialism. This majority includes the peasant classes, the working class and the national middle class. This majority of our people is united by the fact that French neo-colonialism is the main cause of

its misery. It is neo-colonialism which fundamentally stops it from developing.

This analysis of the manifestations of the French neo-colonialist dictatorship in different sectors of the national life makes it more possible to recognise the agents of neo-colonialism in our country and its victims. The policy of uniting the patriotic forces in view of which the U.P.C. is working, is based on this objective analysis. The unity mentioned by Ahidjo and his agents is based only on confusion.

What the people aspires to is liberty and happiness. This liberty and this happiness are not dim notions which will come true just because the neo-colonialists and their supporters repeat them twenty thousand times in their speeches. For our people and for our party freedom and happiness will only become concrete when the obstacle to this liberty and prosperity, that is the French neo-colonialism, would have been completely and forever overthrown, crushed and swept away.

To achieve this end, the union we desire and which is vital for the safeguarding of our country must be a militant union and be based on a program of common struggle with the basis **of the struggle for real independence, the liquidation of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of Franco-British extermination and reconquest troops and the restoration of all democratic and syndical freedoms.**

NDJOG ALOYS-MARIE

Report of the Activities of the Permanent Secretariat

From April 1962 to September 1962

Mr. Youssef El Sebai, issued on the 14th of April a Press Communique in the name of the Permanent Secretariat in which he invited all Afro-Asian peoples to protest against Japanese-South Korean talks. The Korean people have protested against these talks, in the firm hope of re-unification of their country. The Japanese people will also stand up against such talks, in their strive for the integrated, completely independent Japanese state. There exists then a common will between these two peoples for smashing these talks.

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The Permanent Secretariat issued on the 23rd of April, on consolidation of the Bandung Conference spirit which is staunchly anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist, the Permanent Secretariat called upon the Afro-Asian peoples to strengthen their solidarity in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

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In support of the new upsurge of the Japanese people for the restoration of Okinawa, the Permanent Secretariat issued on the 28th of April a press-release calling upon all the national committees and the popular movements to support the people of Japan in their struggle for freeing Okinawa from the foreign occupation.

*

The Permanent Secretariat delegated Mrs. Diallo, acting Secretary of Guinea on the Board of Secretaries, and Mr. Osende Afana, Kamerun representative on the Board, to Conakry, so as to participate in the Pan African Youth Conference held in Conakry during April 1962.

*

On the second of May the Permanent Secretariat sent a circular letter to all the national committees, on the situation in Central Africa, calling upon Afro-Asian, freedom and peace-loving peoples to exert all their efforts to foil and frustrate the imperialists' and white settlers' plots and to support the militants for freedom and calling upon the national committees and organisations to organize a special campaign for the liquidation of the imperialist rule in Nyasaland, South Rhodesia and North Rhodesia.

On the 10th of May, the Permanent Secretariat issued a press-release calling for the liberation of Mr. Babu of Zanzibar and his colleagues and demanding an end to be put to the reign of terror actually prevailing in Zanzibar and calling upon all national committees and freedom loving organisations to declare their protest on the aggressive British policy and to support the Zanzibar people.

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The Permanent Secretariat, in a press-release issued on the 20th of May, demanded of the U.S. Government, the SEATO Governments and their allies to stop the policy of armed aggression against Laos and South Vietnam, to comply with the Zurich and Hinhop agreements on formation of a coalition government and immediate abolition of the military rule in Saigon.

*

The Permanent Secretariat sent a circular letter on the 28th May to all national committees, condemning the U.S. Imperialists who violated the Geneva agreement and who

exercise a policy of oppression and persecution against the South Vietnam people, the Permanent Secretariat declared its support for the just struggle of the South Vietnam people for independence and re-unification of the country.

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The Permanent Secretariat strongly protested against the resumption by the U.S.A. of nuclear tests and called upon all peoples of the two continents to multiply their efforts in the struggle against nuclear tests. in its press-release of May 27th.

*

On the same date the Permanent Secretariat supported the Palestine people in their struggle for the restitution of all their legal rights and for the liberation of their homeland and its restoration to its sons; the real fight, for the restoration of the usurped part of the Palestine homeland, between the Arab Palestinian people and the Israeli aggressors did not start yet, the Permanent Secretariat stressed, the Palestinians are bound to regain their rights, to go back to their country and to exercise their legal rights, as a result of constant struggle supported by the peoples who have already won their independence.

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The Permanent Secretariat held a press conference in its headquarters on the occasion of the 1st June "South Arab Solidarity Day" in which Mr. Sheikhan El Habashi, Secretary-General for the South Arab League, delivered a declaration in the name of the League calling the peoples of Africa and Asia to the danger of the British existence in the region, and the danger of negligence of this existence particularly after the British have established a military base in Aden.

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On the same occasion the Permanent

Secretariat issued a press release which mentioned: "The Permanent Secretariat remaining wholly convinced that sooner or later, the Arab South people will achieve their freedom, independence and all rights, it strongly demands the cessation of the brutal acts committed by colonialism in this part of the world, proclaiming its solidarity with the Arab people in the South, in its valiant struggle and against reactionaries, imperialists colonialists and for national independence".

*

The Permanent Secretariat declared its condemnation to the refusal by the Belgian Government to withdraw its forces from Ruanda-Urundi on the eve of independence, it called upon all freedom and peace-loving peoples, in its press release of June 2, to protest against this attitude by the Belgian government.

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On the occasion of the meeting of the Casablanca Charter Heads of States on June 15, the Permanent Secretariat issued a press-release wishing all success to the deliberations of the meeting and expressing its conviction that this meeting would arrive at resolutions that would contribute to the realisation of independence, prosperity and peace for Africa.

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At the invitation of the International Committee for Aid to Algeria and the Congo, the Lawyers' Collegium for the Defence of Antoine Gizenga, arrived at Cairo and held several consecutive meetings as from June 16, the Collegium consisted of Mr. A. S. R. Chari (India) Dr. Francis Osmel (Cuba) Mr. Camara Sikhe (Guinea) Mr. Mothumba (Congo) as well as Mes. Amin Fahim and Magdi Doss (U.A.R.).

The Collegium launched an appeal to the world public opinion in which it stressed the

correct legal and political stand of Mr. Antoine Gizenga and underlined its impeccable implications, called the world public opinion to struggle for the safeguarding of the rights of man, for the release of Mr. Gizenga or for his fair trial which is bound to lead to the affirmation of his innocence.

The Collegium decided to exert all possible efforts with the aim of obtaining entry-visas to the Congo so as to be able to exercise defence of Mr. Gizenga, it also decided to delegate two of its members and two members of the Permanent Secretariat to New York, to expound the Gizenga case to the World Public Opinion and to continue in its endeavours for obtaining entry-visas to the Congo.

The Collegium sent cables to Mr. U-Thant Secretary-General of the U.N.O. and to Mr. Cyrille Adoula Prime Minister of the Congo, in protest against Gizenga's arrest and demanding to be allowed to defend their client.

*

On the occasion of the Korea Day (June 25) the Permanent Secretariat in its press release of that date hailed the new upsurge in South Korea and called upon all national committees, popular movements and peace-loving peoples to condemn all unjust agreements with South Korea and to observe the "Korea Week" as from June 25, in support of the valiant Korean people who struggle for the withdrawal of the U.S. forces and the re-unification of the homeland territory.

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On June 26, "South Africa Freedom Day", the Permanent Secretariat issued a declaration in which it proclaimed its support for the South African people in their valiant struggle against the tyrannical white rule and the perfidious plots of apartheid. The Permanent Secretariat called upon member organisations, independent Afro-Asian States

and all freedom loving peoples to support the struggle of South Africa, materially and morally.

*

In a press release of June 30, the Permanent Secretariat reiterated its appeal to the national committees and peace loving peoples of the world to redouble their activity in support of the Vietnamese people struggling against the imperialist intervention, the disembarking of forces in Thailand, by the U.S. and other imperialist countries and their lackeys of the SEATO which created a serious situation in the whole area of South East Asia, which is part of the imperialist scheme to subjugate this region once again to imperialism.

*

An important delegation of the Permanent Secretariat, composed of secretaries for India, Japan, Indonesia, China, the Soviet Union, and Irak went to participate in the World Conference for Disarmament and Peace, held at Moscow on 9-14 July 1962. The delegation carried a message in the name of Permanent Secretariat which expressed its wholehearted support to the convening of the International Conference for General Disarmament and Peace and appealed to support African and Asian peoples in their struggle against imperialism for their complete national independence and liberation and to this end to take a firm stand against the armament race; nuclear tests and the preparations by imperialists for a third world war that threatens mankind.

The delegation visited some of the republics of the Soviet Union after the conference.

*

The Permanent Secretariat delegated Mr. Camara Mamady, representative of

Guinea, to visit Vietnam to participate in the National Conference of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee.

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Mr. Camara Mamady then left for Tokyo, on an invitation of the Japanese Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs to participate in its 8th Conference held on 1 — 8 August.

The Chinese Solidarity Committee then invited Mr. Camara Mamady to visit China.

*

In its declaration of August 22 issued on the occasion of a press Conference held in the headquarters of the Permanent Secretariat ; it protested against continued arrest of the Congolese leader Antoine Gizenga, following the news of his hunger-strike which in itself proves that he was arrested on allegations by the Congo authorities who claim that he asked for protection. The Permanent Secretariat mentioned in the said declaration the establishment of a collegium of lawyers to defend Mr. Gizenga and the difficulties encountered by the collegium in obtaining entry-visas for the Congo and appealed to the world consciousness to avoid another crime like that of the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

*

On August 30, the Permanent Secretariat issued a declaration requesting all national committees and popular organisations to exert all efforts for the defence of Cuba and the consolidation of solidarity with the Cuban people.

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The Permanent Secretariat sent a circular letter to all member organisations reaffirming its previous proposal to organise a seminar on Economic Problems and

suggested that a special publication should be issued in the near future, treating questions of economic developments in Asia, Africa and other countries.

*

The Permanent Secretariat issued, on August 30, a declaration in protest of the arrest of Mr. Nelson Mandela, leader of the National African Congress in South Africa, and against the policy of apartheid and Colonialism in South Africa, the Secretariat decided to appeal to the Afro-Asian peoples and to the world public opinion to protest against this persecution and to struggle for the safeguarding of the freedoms and rights of the South African people.

*

The Secretariat decided to consider the establishment of a special committee for organisation of aid to the South African people and to appeal to the Afro-Asian Jurists' Conference which is going to be held in Conakry on October, to organise the defence of Mr. Nelson Mandela and a campaign against the apartheid laws in South Africa.

*

The Permanent Secretariat organised on September 12 a popular rally in the Press Syndicate hall in Cairo, in which addresses were delivered by the ambassador of Ghana in Cairo, Mr. Pilisio, representative of the National African Congress of South Africa, Mr. Ibrahim Issa, Indonesian representative on the Board of Secretaries, Mr. Edward Ndolvo representative of South Rhodesia Office in Cairo, and Mr. Moursi Saad El Dine, Secretary-General in interim of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization.

The Permanent Secretariat decided, as well, to establish a legal committee from among its members to discuss efficient means for defence of Mr. Mandela.

The Permanent Secretariat decided to delegate Mr. Abdel Wahab El Salloum (Iraq), Mr. Chu Tze Chie (China), Mr. Tepliachine (U.S.S.R.) and Mr. Ibrahim Issa (Indonesia) to participate in the Afro-Asian Jurists Conference to be held in Conakry on October 15.

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MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS

The Independence Movement in Porto-Rico sent an application to the Permanent Secretariat asking to join the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation.

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The People's Progressive Party, of British Guiana, under the leadership of Mr. Chedi Jagan expressed its keen desire to join the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, as well as other mass organisations in the West Indies.

Other organisations in Africa also applied for membership :

- The Swaziland Progressive Party.
- The Petchuanaland People's Party.
- The Democrats Congress of South Africa.
- The People's Party of Nigeria.
- The Trade-Union Congress of Nigeria.
- The Friendship Association between Nigeria and Foreign Countries.
- The National Union of Ruanda.

The Permanent Secretariat will submit all these application for consideration and decision to the Third Afro-Asian Peoples Conference in its forthcoming plenary session.

*

Concerning preparatives undertaken to hold the Third Conference, two missions of the Permanent Secretariat left for Tanganyika to discuss the details of convening the Conference, it was preliminarily decided to hold the Conference on 7 — 12 January 1963 in Dar Es Salaam, Tanganyika.

DRAFT AGENDA OF THE THIRD AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

- (1) Struggle against Imperialism and Colonialism and for Complete National Independence, National Liberation and World Peace.
 - a) Struggle against neo-colonialism.
 - b) Struggle against foreign military bases and aggressive military blocs and treaties.
 - c) Struggle against manufacture and tests of nuclear weapons and for disarmament.
- (2) Economic Questions.
 - a) Economic emancipation, independent development of National Economy and economic exchange.
 - b) The Europlan Common Market and its effects on the Afro-Asian countries.
- (3) Cultural Questions.
 - a) Development of National Cultures and Cultural exchange.
 - b) Liquidation of remnants of colonialism in the cultural field.
- (4) Social Question.
 - a) Youth and Women.
 - b) Trade-Unions.
- (5) Organisational Questions :
Consolidation and expansion of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Movement and development of Solidarity with the Latin American peoples.

*

The Permanent Secretariat has delegated Mr. Ibrahim Issa, Indonesia's representative to attend on its behalf, the third Meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Fund held in Conakry current September 25-26, Mr. Fuad Galal, representing the U.A.R. has also left to attend this meeting.

*

The Permanent secretariat has delegated Mr. Aziz Ben Milud, Algeria's representative to attend on its behalf the Second Conference of the National Congress of Popular Forces held in Morocco, May 25-27 1962.

News of the National Committees and Member Organisations of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Movement

CHINA :

The Chinese Solidarity Committee organized on the occasion of "AFRICA FREEDOM DAY" a garden-party during which several speakers took the floor. We received a letter from the Chinese Committee on the subject, to which was enclosed a reportage on the rally made by Hsinhua News Agency, as well as a copy of the cable of support sent by the rally to the Secretary General of the All African Peoples Conference on this occasion.

*

People of all walks of life in the Chinese capital held an impressive rally on August 27, 1962, enthusiastically celebrating the success of the Eighth World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Prevention of Nuclear War held in Tokyo. The rally was jointly sponsored by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and five other organisations. Mr. Liao Cheng-Chih, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity addressed the rally. Mr. Pa Chin, who headed the Chinese Delegation to the Tokyo Conference, gave a report on the Conference and its brilliant success. Mr. Camara Mamady, Guinean member of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation who attended the Tokyo Conference on behalf of the Secretariat, also spoke at the rally. A message to the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was unanimously adopted by the rally.

*

The Committee issued a statement on August 30, demanding the restoration of freedom to Antoine Gizenga, and condemning once more the U.S. imperialists and their agents for intensifying their persecution of Gizenga and threatening his life in spite of the repeated protests by the peoples all over the world.

CEYLON :

The Permanent Bureau of Afro-Asian Writers will hold its meeting in Colombo from 4-6 October, to discuss its agenda which consists of two items :

- 1) Literary activity in the Afro-Asian countries since the IIInd Afro-Asian Writers' Conference of Cairo.
- 2) Activity of the Permanent Bureau.

The U.A.R. Writers Committee delegated Mr. Mursi Saad El Dine to attend this important meeting.

INDIA :

On September 8, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity issued an appeal to the public asking all Indians "to come forward and demonstrate their sympathy for the victims" of the earthquake which occurred recently in Iran.

It called upon Indian doctors and nurses to volunteer for "the noble mission of contributing for the relief and welfare of the devastated areas".

*

The Association issued on Sept. 14, a statement on the 4th National Conference for

Afro-Asian Solidarity in India, proposed to be held on January 1963 at Jaipur. The statement stressed the necessity of regional preparations and planning so as to assure the full success of the Conference.

On the same day, the Association informed all state branches of a letter from the Ceylon Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity inviting the Indian Committee to an Asian Economic Seminar to be held in Colombo from October 25, 1962.

The Indian Association stressed the importance of having a strong delegation to participate at the said seminar in view of its benefits to the whole of Asian economy.

*

The Indian Association for Solidarity in a statement on Angola issued on September 20, stressed its support to the move of Indian and other Afro-Asian governments at the U.N. General Assembly for the independence of Angola and sanctions against Portuguese imperialism. Imperialistic moves against Angolan case were also noted in condemnation. The Association called upon all its branches and members to hold meetings and issue statements of solidarity with the people of Angola.

The Association issued also a strong statement on the arrest of Mr. Nelson Mandela protesting against the barbaric and unjust methods employed by the South Africa Government against Mr. Mandela. The statement appealed to all governments and all peoples to defend the fundamental rights and the Charter of the U.N. and to do all in their power to compel the South African authorities to release Mr. Mandela.

*

The Association issued on Sept. 20, a declaration to all its branches asking them to observe a "Disarmament Week" from October 2 to 8, 1962.

With the declaration was enclosed an appeal for Disarmament addressed to the People and Government of India urging them to contribute to a worldwide campaign aiming at the conclusion of a complete and general disarmament pact and banning of all nuclear and other tests.

KOREA :

The Korean Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee sent a cable to the Permanent Secretariat declaring protest and indignation at the trial of a number of students and youth in South Korea following their demonstrations against repression of liberties in South Korea.

Action by the Permanent Secretariat was taken on the issue.

MADAGASCAR :

The Malagasy Solidarity Committee expressed in a letter sent to the Secretariat, its anxiety on the conditions of M. Gizenga and expressed its solidarity with the movement struggling for his liberation.

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In another letter this committee requested us to transmit the best wishes and congratulations to the Algerian People and Government on the occasion of the cease-fire in Algeria.

SAWABA PARTY (NIGER) :

We received a communique issued by the SAWABA Party (Niger) informing us of the arbitrary arrest of a number of officials of the SAWABA Party under false charges.

The Party calls upon all Nigeris to protest against these unjustified measure and to unite against neo-colonialists elements in Niger.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA :

Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of

the Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea reported to the Permanent Secretariat (as well as to the Secretary-General of the U.N.O.) on barbarous crimes committed by the Portuguese imperialists in Portuguese Guinea, massacres, genocide, infant poisonings and atrocities against women and old people.

Action by the Permanent Secretariat was promptly taken on the issue.

OMAN :

Omani Imamate Office in Cairo reported the release of Sheikh Soliman Ben Said Ben Zahran, Omani top-ranking politician from Muscat Prison, where he had been detained upon orders of the British authorities, and his arrival at Omani revolution headquarters.

The Omani Office in Cairo has sent to the Secretariat numerous bulletins and items of information on the bitter struggle carried by Omani's nationalists against British troops of occupation.

A strong mine blast posed by Omani Nationalists on the road leading from Dank to south of Abri — destroyed a British armoured car and injured occupants.

As a result to arbitrary arrest of Omani nationalists from Wadi Samel, Omani fighters ambushed near Badbad a British armoured car and destroyed it. 3 of the occupants were killed and two seriously injured.

British forces launched virulent attacks and mass arrests were effected in the Wadi Samel area after a demonstration protesting against establishment of a military base at Sayabayin.

Near Manh, nationalists raided a British armoured car patrol destroying one of them.

On the 1st of May, Omani nationalists intensified their attacks on British patrols and

posts. Two armoured cars were damaged by nine explosions.

Concerning the new British plot aiming at destruction of Omani's entity, the Omani Cairo Office has sent to us a copy of the communique issued to reveal and denounce this neo-colonialist manoeuvre.

The Communique said that British had submitted, in the name of Sultan Said Ben Teymour of Mascat, to the O.M.S. a request of membership for Mascat and Oman. Immediately Imam Gaber Ben Aly of the Omani Imamate filed a protest to O.M.S. stating that Mascat's governor was a British agent imposed on Mascat and had no legal authority to speak on behalf of Mascat and less on behalf of Oman which is not, moreover, within the scope of the Mascat Sultanate.

The communique added that the Arab League officials and other Arab representatives adopted a positive stand against this issue which aims at "legalizing" a Muscat-Oman fusion through one membership in international bodies.

In a statement issued on the September 15, 1962 Omani Office in Cairo commented on the news concerning the forthcoming British, land, sea and air manoeuvres in the Arab South. It said that the real aims of British behind the said manoeuvres is to intimidate the struggling Arab forces in this part of the Arab World. British imperialists by such aggressive policy prove to world opinion how little is their respect to U.N. Charter and International Laws.

Nonetheless, valiant Omanis struggling for liberty and independence are determined to carry on their fight, sure of their ultimate success against imperialism and colonialism.

Action of National Armed resistance to British imperialists in Oman are continuously taking place in all parts of the Omani homeland. British armoured cars and expeditions are mined, British aggressive forces are rebutted and military posts attacked.

VIETNAM :

The Permanent Secretariat received from the Vietnamese Committee extracts from the speech delivered by M. Xuan-Thuy, President of the Committee, to the rally organized in Hanoi on March 24, 1962 on the occasion of the cease-fire in Algeria.

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The Permanent Secretariat also received a cable from the Committee declaring indignation and protests against the execution of Professor Leguang Vinhe Vinh and others, in South Vietnam.

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Action by the Permanent Secretariat on this issue and on the South Vietnam question was taken as reported in the news of our activities.

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Through Hanoi, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front has sent to our organization a message informing us that it has filed a strong protest to the U.N. Secretary-General expressing the indignation of South Vietnamese on the Gizenga issue and requesting the U.N.O. to endeavour immediately for the liberation of this great Congolese patriot.

*

The message includes also a call of the South Vietnam National Front to all popular and progressive Organization's of the world, for their support to the struggle of South Vietnam against U.S. imperialism and its agents.

More than 1,300 Vietnamese Youth and students observed on April 25, the "Anti-Colonialism Day". The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Vietnam Youth Federation and the Vietnamese Committee for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity. In a resolution adopted during the meeting, the participants called on the youth all over the world to voice support for the just struggle of the South-Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, for peace and the unification of Vietnam.

*

The Vietnamese Committee for Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity issued on August 25, 1962 a statement demanding guarantees on the life on Antoine Gizenga and urging his immediate release.

*

A mass rally was held by the Vietnamese Committee for the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity to celebrate the 7th anniversary of the historic Bandung Conference.

Mr. Hoang Minh Giam, Minister of Culture of the D.R. Vietnam Government and former deputy-head of the Vietnam Delegation to the 1955 Bandung Conference spoke at the meeting which was attended by numerous personalities representing the Government, different political parties and mass organisations as well as a large audience from Hanoi. The speakers highlighted the great victories of the National Liberation movement during the past years in Asia, Africa and Latin America since the dawn of the Bandung Principles.

*

The Vietnamese Committee issued on May 14, 1962, a statement condemning the resumption of nuclear tests by U.S. imperialists and the French Government and supporting peace proposals of the Soviet Union on Disarmament.



SOVIET UNION :

The Soviet Union Solidarity Committee in Tashkent held a public meeting on the occasion of the Day of Africa. The participants in a cable addressed to the Permanent Secretariat conveyed to the African Peoples their congratulations and full support in the struggle of Africa for freedom and independence.

*

The Permanent Secretariat sent a letter of thanks to the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Moscow and to the Soviet Peace Committee for their action as they forwarded to Algeria various foodstuffs and medical materials, on the expense of the "Peace Fund" — for the value of 25,000 rubles. This friendly aid was delivered to the delegate of the Algerian Red Crescent in Tunis, on July 11th.

*

The Mongolian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has held public rallies on several occasions such as "the Korean Week", "the Solidarity Day with Vietnam", "the Independence Day of Algeria", "Revolution Day of Cuba", "the Independence Day of Tunisia". Radio and press joined the celebrations.

The Committee is undertaking definite programs of preparations with regards to the

IIrd Afro-Asian Conference. These programs include placards, post cards and stamps.

The Presidium of the Committee met on July 20, and decided to contribute for 500 U.S. dollars for the forthcoming IIIrd Conference.

*

The Soviet Solidarity Committee and the Soviet Association of Friendship with the Peoples of Africa jointly organized a popular rally on the occasion of the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace held lately in Moscow. Mr. Tursun Zade, Chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee took the floor to welcome the delegates. Other Soviet officials and personalities also delivered speeches. Then delegates responded to the warm welcome and thanked the Soviet people for arranging the meeting and for its full expression of friendship and solidarity. Among the latter were: Ma Thi Tiu, on behalf of the South Vietnam delegation. Mr. Abdel Wahab El Salloum on behalf of the Permanent Secretariat, Madeira Keita, from Mali and several others.

*

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee issued a statement condemning the arrest of Nelson Mandela, the prominent fighter for freedom in South Africa and urging for the cessation of persecutions of leaders of the South African National Liberation Movement.

News of the Afro-Asian and Friendly Organisations

We publish hereafter a summary of news, statements, declarations, letters etc. received by the Permanent Secretariat from various Afro-Asian and friendly organisations.

From Adn :

The Permanent Secretariat received a cable from the "Association for the Liquidation of Imperialism" in the Arab South condemning the London Constitutional Conference on Aden on protectorates as a mockery and a false gathering aiming at implementing a new British neo-colonialist plot.

From the Australian Peace Council :

We received copies of two letters dispatched by the said council, one to Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, praising his stand as to the presence of foreign troops in Thailand and Laos which endangers peace in South East Asia and his demand for their urgent withdrawal; the second to the acting Prime Minister of Australia condemning his policy of support to American manoeuvres in South East Asia and asking him, consequently, to recall immediately Australian troops stationed there so as to safeguard relationships between South East Asia and Australia.

From Australia (Melbourne) :

The Seamen's Union of Australia has sent to the Secretariat on June 8, 1962, a message in which it condemns the dictatorship of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime and stressing active support and solidarity with the heroic struggle of the patriotic South Vietnamese fighters.

Enclosed with the message were a number of press cuttings illustrating the protest action undertaken on this issue by the Union.

From Bulgaria :

From Bulgaria, we received a letter informing us of the creation of a Committee for Friendship and Solidarity with the African peoples. The letter included a broad program of future activities.

From Czechoslovakia :

The Permanent Secretariat received a cable from Prague informing us that the Czechoslovak Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa and Asia was established on September 22, for furthering friendly relations and affirming its support for the African and Asian peoples.

From Hungary :

The Hungarian Solidarity Committee informed us, in a letter, of the new formation of its Bureau. It also gave us a detailed report on the activities undertaken since its creation.

The Hungarian Committee for Friendship with African Peoples has launched a month campaign of solidarity with peoples struggling for independence and peace. Artists contributed to its success by organizing an art exhibit called, "Artists for liberation of Peoples".

From the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (Brussels) :

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers has forwarded to our Organisation informations on its various activities in the field of international solidarity and friendships among peoples and in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It has namely sent to us copies of its statements concerning :

- On the American intervention in S. Vietnam.
- On the declaration on the Punta Del Este Conference.
- A Declaration on the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace.
- Memorandum in support of the restoration of civil liberties in Greece.
- A communique on the situation in South Korea.
- A communique on the situation in South Vietnam.

From the German Democratic Republic :

The G.D.R. diplomatic representation to U.A.R. has sent to our Organisation a message expressing the solidarity of the G.D.R. people with the African peoples and their struggle, on the occasion of the "Africa Day" held on the 15th of April.

From Poland :

From Warsaw, the Polish Association for Friendship with Africa conveyed to the African peoples the expression of full solidarity and friendship of the Polish People. This was on the occasion of the "Day of Africa".

From Saudi Arabia (Riad) :

Patriots of Arab South and its "Youth" Branch dispatched to our organisation a number of cables strongly denouncing the constitutional Conference on Aden and the Protectorates held in London, underlining that all its decisions shall not represent the will of Arab South peoples and stressing that the aspirations of the South Arab peoples are expressed by the Association of the "Sons of Arab South".

From World Council of Peace :

The World Council of Peace has conveyed to the Afro-Asian Peoples his best wishes on the occasion of the Bandung Week and expressed his full solidarity with their struggle for Liberty, Progress, Prosperity and Peace.

The Council has also sent to us a cable of greetings and best wishes on the occasion

of the Day of African Liberation held last April, 15.

From the "Women International Democratic Federation" (Berlin) :

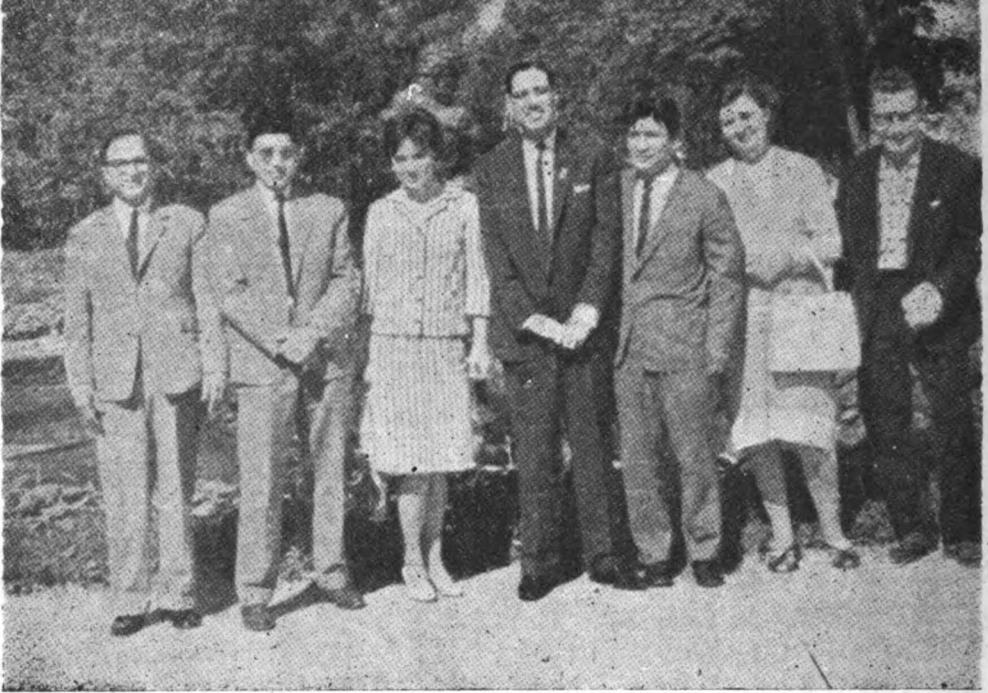
We have received from this friendly Organization two messages; the first informs us of the cruelty of President Idigoras Fuentes' regime in Guatemala against those of struggling for the restoration of democratic liberties in Guatemala and which resulted by more than 30 killed and around 500 severely injured in addition to the daily mass arrests and deportations. The message whilst asking our organization to express solidarity and support with the galant Guatemalan people includes the text of the protest cable sent to President Idigoras Fuentes.

The second press release is on the strikes of workers going on in Spain who are seeking betterment of their actual low conditions and the brutal repression of the Franco regime which denies to the workers "the right of strike". It includes the text of protest cable sent to Franco by the W.I.O.F. as well as a message of support to the Spanish women for their heroic stand and participation in the demonstrations.

On May 25, 1962, the Federation addressed a letter of encouragement and support to the Spanish women, the wives of striking minors and metallurgists.

On the same date, the President of the Federation, Mme Eugenic Cotton, launched an appeal to all women organisations on the occasion of the International Congress for Peace and Disarmament held in Moscow from 9 to 14 July 1962.

The Federation dispatched a cable to the Argentina's President protesting against the arbitrary arrest of the Vice-President of the Union of Argentine's Women. In the statement issued with the text of the cable, the Federation calls upon all feminine international organizations to launch a protest campaign on this issue.



Some members of the Permanent Secretariat delegation to the Moscow Congress with Mrs. A. Mursina and Mr. Lobov from the Soviet Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity.



A group of the Permanent Secretariat delegation to the Moscow World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace with Mr. Rashidov former member of the Board of Secretaries, Mr. Kalimullah (India), Mr. Abdel Wahab El Salloum (Iraq) and Mr. Yang Chi (China).



Mr. Maksudov member of the Secretariat for the Soviet Union and Mr. Ibrahim Issa member of the Secretariat for Indonesia in the Moscow Conference.