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National Unity — Key to success.



Dr. Julius NYERERE, President  
of the Republic of Tanganyika.

LONG LIVE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

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**Djamila Ebouhred' welcomed by the Secretary General Mr. Youssef El-Sebai on her visit to the Permanent Secretariat on October 13, 1962.**

# THE BLUFF OF A CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION IN BASUTOLAND

Basutoland is a geographical enclave in the territory of the Republic of South Africa. It is a political enclave in the domain of the sick and dying British Empire. In deference to the undying will of the Basotho people for National Sovereignty, the British gave a concession of "Representative Government" to Basutoland in 1960.

The working of this Representative Government has proved without doubt the inadequacy of this "stage of political development". The Party that secured a resounding victory in the elections in January 1960, the Basutoland Congress Party, has been forced to take the position of the official Parliamentary opposition in the "Legislative Council" by an unelected majority of Chiefs, Nominees and Government officials. It goes without saying that though the people are in fact "represented" by its elected minority, the Council has no mandate other than that of the Colonial office in London — mainly the Neo-colonisation of Basutoland. Aware of this reality, the people of Basutoland expressed their dissatisfaction with the working of this Representative Government and reiterated their demand for the restoration of the Independence of Basutoland. The British Colonial Authorities have now constituted a Constitutional Commission which is purported to sound up the feelings of the people and formulate their demands in the Recommendations to be contained in their Report.

The Constitutional Commission is the centre of Political Activity in Basutoland these recent months. The origin of this Commission is a clear indication of the low levels of chicanery and deceit to which a Colonial Empire can resort to, when in pains of death. It was a common knowledge in Basutoland that in the second session of the "Legislative

Council", which opened in March, 1962, the Basutoland Congress Party, the main stream of the National Liberation Movement in Basutoland, would table a motion before the council calling for "complete internal Self-Government in Basutoland". The British Colonial Authorities in Basutoland, knowing that they and their willing unelected majority would not oppose such a motion without further invoking the indignation of the people, decided that the motion of the Basutoland Congress Party be by-passed and that they introduce their own motion calling for Responsible Government, although in every clause of that motion, there was no reflection of such a demand.

The amendments proposed by the people's Party — the Basutoland Congress Party — to give the motion of flesh of the peoples' will were defeated and the motion of nominal Responsible Government was passed by the Council with a further authority for the Paramount Chief to constitute a Constitutional Commission after consulting and getting permission from the High Commissioner in Pretoria, to review the existing mock Constitution and make recommendations about a Responsible form of Government.

The nature of this Constitutional Commission is written in the nature of Neo-Colonialism itself. Neo-Colonialism grabs a country even before formal political Independence. The Commission is an expression of the Colonial Policy of Constitutional Gradualism and deceit: The peoples' attention is been channelled through and towards Commissions which are manipulated by the imperialists, while the train of Neo-colonialism is on the rails. The terms of reference of the present Commission are so narrow that it has already been written off as a Constitutional

bluff. The people are being asked to submit memoranda and give oral evidence on Responsible Government as defined by the British. The Commission will not consider demands for Independence or severing of governmental ties with Britain.

The composition of the Commission is undemocratic and unrepresentative of the African people of Basutoland. It is a direct reflection and repetition of the mockery representation in the Legislative Council. The Paramount Chief of Basutoland is being used by the British in appointing the Members of the Commission. There are twelve members in the Commission of which two represent the Basutoland Congress Party and therefore an estimated 75% of the entire population ! The Party that secured 32 seats out of 40 in the 1960 elections, is practically unrepresented and therefore the people are unrepresented in the composition of the Commission. The Constitutional Commission is as follows :

- a. The British Colonial Government :  
2, both lawyers.
- b. The Chieftainship Group :  
2, both Chiefs.
- c. The Basutoland Congress Party : 2.
- d. The Basuto National Party :  
2, both Chiefs.
- e. The Marematlou Party :  
2, One of them a Chief.
- f. The Basutoland Freedom Party :  
2, One P.C.'s Adviser, the other a Minister and puppet.
- g. Then the Chairman and the Constitutional Expert are the two others.

The three political groups, Marematlou Party, Basutoland National Party and Basutoland Freedom Party have been given preposterous representation, out of proportion with their following, if at all they have any. These three political associations, which have no other merit other than dancing to the colonial tune, have a majority of 6 members against 2 Congressites, taking for granted the Neutrality of the African Constitutional

Expert and the Chairman who is an official of the Colonial Government. Only those who live on illusions would expect such an undemocratic composition to produce a democratic constitution.

The working of this Commission has further testified to its deceitful nature. Over one thousand memoranda submitted to the Commission shocked the colonial Authorities by their unanimous demand for Independence. Shocked by the radical written demands of the people, the Constitution passed to the oral stage full of hope. Here again the political consciousness of the people and leadership of the Basutoland Congress Party further shocked the British. Congress speakers took complete control of the gatherings with radical but legitimate demand for Independence. The commission toured a good half of the country to find that at every meeting Congress leadership voiced the demand of the people in a militant mood. The people could not allow other groups the benefit of the platform. Towards the close of the country tour, the Colonial Authorities, demoralised by the unanimity of the people's demands, which are in contrast to those envisaged by them, decided to change the procedure of oral hearings in order to create the impression that at some areas their political groups have a following.

Instead of open hearings where people could put forward their demands publicly, certain chiefs and heads of political groups opposed to the Basutoland Congress Party came forward with their own demands and fictitious lists of people they claim supported their demands. The figures so produced by these people were so exaggerated as to make the whole affair a mockery. In fact, in most cases the names of school children who hardly understand what is happening, plus those of nuns in the Roman Catholic Missions, in collaboration with the priests, paid teachers, most of whom are puppets and the colonial authorities were inserted in the lists. No wonder in some areas, where the population

is known to be less than 10,000, the Basuto National Party claimed to have the support of 40,000, while at the same time the Basutoland Congress Party brought forward a true list of peoples who could be pointed out and who in most cases attended the hearings in order to support in person their leaders.

At the time of writing, the Commission had just finished its tours of the country and was preparing to sit down to sift the thousands of memoranda submitted by the masses of the people; and despite the increasing manoeuvres of the British Colonial Authorities, it is now clear the entire Nation is politically conscious and demands Independence now, in the most unequivocal terms.

One may venture into forecasting the results of this commission. The Commission is to give its unpopular recommendations to the Legislative Council which will because of its undemocratic nature, endorse the same. The recommendations will be an oral defiance of the will of the people. After touring the country, hearing the militant call for Independence by the people, **the Commission will recommend that the people do not want Independence BUT "RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT" in its Colonialist interpretation.** A delegation undemocratic in composition as both the Legislative Council and the Constitutional Commission will head for London for discussions with Her Majesty's Government

and thereafter will issue an order-in-Council embodying the ingredients of a New Constitution for Responsible Government. And the parties will go to the country on that basis.

The Basutoland Congress Party will have to go to the country, to rally the people around its leadership, not with the purpose of working an undemocratic Constitution. The B.C.P. will contest the elections on the understanding that the Constitution is unacceptable and the people must vote Congress in order to give Congress the mandate to reject the Constitution and scale for a constitution worthy of a free and independent Nation. The struggle for National liberation will not be deflected by Constitutional swindles but will continue in a clear vision of National Aims.

The British in collaboration with the Chiefs are busy working publicly to provoke bloodshed. The people are trying to avoid this but nobody knows to what extent their indifference shall carry them.

Rule by force shall never last a minute in Basutoland.

Rule by will of the people is the only Remedy.

**Lerato Masoabi**  
B.C.P. Member

# Land Monopoly In South Rhodesia

75 per cent owned by Settlers ! ! !

By JARAMOGI MUFAKOSE

"We create our own troubles" — Godfrey Huggins. How "many true a word in that little jest" !

Indeed the white man has created his own troubles in Central Africa.

## BEGGARDOM

When the white man came to Southern Rhodesia, the black man's wealth was vested in his cattle and land. The black man had neither the wish nor the need to work for anybody. This made the settlers decide to create conditions under which the African would need to sell his labour — hence the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act and the complementary Land Husbandry Act, which have gradually but very consistently forced the African from his independence, self-sufficing position towards beggardom.

Under the foregoing legislation, land distribution in Southern Rhodesia is as follows :

## RESERVE LAND

The majority of rural Africans live in "Reserves" in tribal communities. Each family is issued with 6 acres of land by the settler government. These 6 acres are held at the government's pleasure and are never increased with the growth of the family (this is intended to force the youth into the towns to glut the labour market.

## TSETSE-INFESTED AREAS

The Reserves are all in the most unproductive and unhealthy parts of the country — mealies can grow up to above ten feet in

European areas, while in Seke Reserve the best crop is about two feet; Wankie Reserve is tsetse-infested. The number of cattle an African in the reserve can own is strictly according to the whims of the local government official — the Native Commissioner — who is, incidentally, the people's worst antagonist. Some people own 4 cattle, others 2, the majority none.

Africans are not allowed to rear sheep, goats, donkeys — in fact most of the farm animals.

## AVOIDING "OVERCROWDING"?

These same Africans used to own herds of hundreds to thousands of cattle before the advent of the settler; they used to till the best land at will. But now some herds were simply seized by European farmers; the newcomers; cattle and still other herds were shot down or being killed out by lack of pasture and water; cattle die through the regular injections they receive from the government Veterinary Department against the will of the owners; Africans are forced to sell their stock to white farmers to avoid "overcrowding"; cattle die through regular dipping enforced in accordance with Government decree against the will of the people; the local Native Commissioner and Land Development Officer lay down innumerable rules and regulations to harrass and cow the people as required by the Government.

## CAN BE MOVED

If the Africans happen to be on well-drained land that is good enough to become European-owned, they are moved at random to poorer land; if there is any mineral found

in an African area, they are moved unceremoniously (mostly at the point of a gun); Africans are not allowed to grow good money-earning crops like Turkish tobacco.

### **PURCHASE AREAS**

A few Africans who have undergone a special training and happen to have the money may lease land of up to 200 acres, no more, for a specified probationary period, after which they may or may not be allowed to buy the land. Needless to say that these areas are poorly drained and sandy or unhealthy. All the other rules and regulations imposed upon the Africans on Reserve land still apply.

### **EUROPEAN AREAS**

Although the European settlers constitute less than one-twelfth of the total population of Southern Rhodesia, they own 75 per cent of the land — the richest, best-drained and healthiest. The settler land owners hold up to 6,000 acres each; they rear as many cattle as they wish; they can indulge in mixed farming, which Africans are forbidden to undertake; they draw assistance from the Government in the form of long-term loans; they may impound any stray cattle from the African area and either charge a fee (usually £5 per head) for their recovery, or add them to their own stock; they may fence the rivers and force the neighbouring Africans to pay for watering their cattle, although legally — in theory — all river water is public property (the Africans are usually required to work for a specified number of days on the white man's land every month as payment in kind).

### **COOPERATIVES**

The Europeans do not have to be trained before they can run farms. All rural whites are free to join any party, while rural Africans may only join European-led parties or else have nothing entirely to do with politics. Settler farmers market their produce through their own cooperative societies and associa-

tion, while Africans can only market their grain through the Grain Marketing Board, which fixes the prices (all the cash from African marketing is handled by Government-sponsored cooperatives and consequently large sums of money wind up in government coffers).

### **FOR IMMIGRANTS**

Crown land is land which is lying fallow and is advertised overseas (to attract immigrants) as land that is unoccupied because there is too much land in Southern Rhodesia, and yet Africans are land-hungry.

Many Africans live on European farms. These "squatters" have to work for a number of days in the month to pay for their stay on the farmer's land -- just like in the feudal days of Europe.

### **EXHORBITANT RATES**

In Urban Areas, Africans cannot own land. All Africans have to lease living quarters at unbelievably exorbitant rates — from £1 to 36 per month — considering that the average earnings of an urban African are about £6 per month, while the average earnings of an urban European are £90 per month.

### **FORCED TAXATION**

Taxation of Africans by the all-white Government is resented, and of late, the army has had to be used to collect these taxes -- and there are many of them: Head tax, bicycle tax, dog tax, Council tax, cattle tax and a host of others.

### **WELLING UP**

When to all the foregoing is added the fact that there is much land that is lying fallow, having been purchased from the Government and by speculators in Britain, it will be clearly seen how the white man has introduced thorns into Southern Rhodesia; how the African is gradually being forced into a cul-de-sac; and how inevitably bitterness is welling up in his breast.

# The Death Of Central Africa Federation

By "AFRICAN"

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

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

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

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

Let us consider the composition of the

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

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

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

Having got its bridgehead for future advancements, the company bought for a song for "copperbelt", one of the world's largest copper deposits on the upper Zambesi — and another British colony appeared — Northern Rhodesia. Then the British seized Nyasaland.

## RACIALISM

We see Southern Rhodesia as a classic country of legalised racialism, where the

colour bar embraces all spheres of public life. In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act gave all the best and most of the land to the white settlers. Figures published in the "Land in Southern Rhodesia", a pamphlet recently published in London, show that 22 million Africans in the country own only 41 per cent of the land, and some million Africans have no land at all, while 50,000 white settlers possess one-and-a-half times more land — the most fertile.

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

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

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

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

To believe the racialists, the Federation is destined to become a "great experiment zone". "The Central African man will cease

to be considered as black, white or brown", and "henceforth the division will be drawn between the civilised and the primitive". But Cecil Rhodes also advanced the principle of "equal rights for equally civilised people".

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

## PARTNERSHIP

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

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

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

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

The ruling Federal Party acts according

to what an author calls "the businessman's ethic". The proponent of this point of view considers that the Africans must be granted some measure of freedom in the economic field, otherwise the whites cannot prosper. But at the same time they do everything to halt the political activities of the African and preserve the existing social barriers. Years will pass, they say, and these barriers will vanish of themselves. But how long will this take? "Even in a hundred or two hundred years' time", answers Premier Roy Welensky, "the African shall never hope to dominate the Federation".

### THE FIGHT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Such formulas as "multifarious community" or "internal self-determination"

mean nothing. This mystification is aimed at depriving Africa of her rights to freedom.

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

The pressure of the nationalist forces has increased in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. No use of attempting to side with Roy Welensky

and his crazy white settlers is precipitating the destruction of the European in Central Africa in rapids more precipitous and turbulent than the Victoria Falls.

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

# NEO-COLONIALISM

(a) PEACE CORPS

(b) AFRICA CROSSROADS

by J. M. Oyangi

As we approach our independence in Kenya there appears manifestations of other forms of colonialism and imperialism. The Youths of KANU expose the following active agents of this new kind of colonialism to be (i) the Colonial Consulates and missions based in Nairobi as nerve centres of espionage and pressure points on our African political leaders who are going to form our future independent Government in Kenya; (ii) the so-called "Peace Corps" and "Africa Crossroads" emanating from the United States of America; (iii) military bases at Kahawa and Gilgi! and the naval base at Mombasa; (iv) the religious missionaries from Britain, America and other imperialist and colonialist countries; (v) Moral rearmaments; (vi) Colonial Cultural bodies; (vii) the I.C.F.T.U.; (viii) the puppet KADU Government in Kenya being used by the British imperialists in furtherance of neo-colonialism.

Since the conditions of our national independence have become inevitable, the United States of America (Head of the imperialist and colonialist powers) is trying to deprive this independence of Kenya from its essence of real independence. This is being done through economic "aids" to the colonial puppet government of KADU, trade unions, and certain individuals, and most recently sending into Kenya, the so-called "Peace Corps" and the "Africa Crossroads". All these are aimed at serving or rather safeguarding the imperialistic and neo-colonialistic interests of the USA.

To-day we have these young men and women who have been brought into Kenya from the USA to "help" dig roads and build a library for African children. These are called "Peace Corps" and "Africa Crossroads". We are told that their aim is to foster

"good understanding" between the U.S.A. and the people of Kenya. The Youth of KANU would like it to be known that these "Peace Corps" and "Africa Crossroads" are not as we are told; they in fact, are members of the American Central Intelligence Agency — sent here especially to carry out espionage and bluff the African people that the American way of life is the best in the world.

We know for a long time the U.S.A. usually falsely believes that when a colonial power leaves a country to be independent, it would take over its position, for it also believes that the African people are inferior and therefore incapable of doing anything on their own. And that for its defence against the bogey of communism it must encamp Kenya together with the whole of Africa, Asia and Latin America for the establishment of military, air and naval bases in readiness for war against the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries.

The Youths strongly warn the Hon. Kariuki K. Njiri, the member for Forthall, who has accepted a group of these "Peace Corps" and "Africa Crossroads" to build him a library for African children, and Doctor Mungai Njoroge who has accepted another group of the same category to build a road to his clinic that they must stop using these dangerous American people. There are enough African masons and enough African people who know how to build houses and how to build roads or for that matter, our Youths could have volunteered to do this job if Messrs. Njiri and Njoroge could have approached the KANU Youths. We firmly believe that these people have ulterior motives, for if they really wanted to help, they should have sent the money they have used in flying to Kenya and staying in luxurious hotels to Messers Njiri and Njoroge

to employ local people to do the job. Even if it could be argued that they have good intentions, it must be known that they do harm also, for they worsen the unemployment situation by taking the jobs that could easily have been done by the large number of unemployed Africans.

It must be known to Messrs. Njiri and Njoroge, plus others who support the "Peace Corps" and "Africa Crossroads" that such people under other disguising names have for many years been used in many other countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America to foster puppet governments which have later been overthrown by their people as it was in South Korea, Laos, Turkey and Cuba. It must also be known to these misguided gentlemen that since the second world war, the U.S.A. has bound the people of Japan in the so-called military "security treaties" aimed at destroying the Peoples' Republic of China, the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries. It must be known to these people that the U.S.A. has for a long time kept the Latin American countries in social and economic subjugation. When one of them, Cuba, tore-off the American imperialist hands, the Kennedy Administration trained mercenaries and supplied them with arms, fighter planes, commanders and money in their abortive colonialistic attempt to reconquer the popular revolutionary government of Cuba headed by that heroic and popular leader, Dr. Fidel Castro.

Some of these American Agents have been heard to say that the present Kennedy Administration is better than that of Eisenhower. These agents should understand that the old colonialists will not take their defeat lying down. And, what is more significant, fiendish U.S. Neo-Colonialism is still spreading its hands all over the world. We know the Kennedy Administration, in order to deliver the United States from its plight, has

had to make some alterations in its tactics of conquering the world.

With respect to Kenya, it means to infiltrate by posing as "sympathisers" of our struggle for national independence, aiding our Trade Unions, aiding particular individual political leaders and other individuals being built into capitalists, using the so-called "Peace Corps" and the "Africa Crossroads" and other tactics. It means to foster actively its agents so as to attain the aim of using Africans to fight Africans, as it were with the people of Japan, South Korea, South Vietnam, Laos, China, Turkey, Congo and Cuba. It means to use the United Nations and other International Organisations under its control, to use its vassals and those who are willing to serve it, in interfering in the affairs of the African people of Kenya and undermining our cause for winning and safeguarding our true national independence.

The Youths of KANU remind all members of KANU and KADU that these two major political organisations have agreed and committed themselves to the policy of Pan-Africanism and neutrality to the two opposing sides of the world as adopted by the All-African Peoples Conference and the All African Trade Union Federation. They should warn these individuals who are going against these policies by trying to drug the African people into the American Neo-Colonialist camp, that, we the true African sons of the solid will, will not tolerate this any longer. The Youths alongside the broad masses of the African people of Kenya must maintain sharp vigilance and wage unremitting struggles against British Colonialism and American imperialist and Neo-Colonialist policies. The "Peace Corps" and the "Africa Crossroads" must go now.

**J. M. Oyargi**  
President, KANU  
Youth Organisation

## National Unity, A Key To Success

The 17 years since the Republic was born in 1945, have taught the Indonesian people a number of lessons, one of the most important of which is that if the people are united, everything is possible, but if they are disunited, the revolutionary struggle easily gets pushed onto the wrong track.

President Sukarno, in his recent 17th August address, called this year "A Year of Triumph", and indeed, a year of triumph it has truly been. Our people have scored a number of important victories. Through militant struggle (we call it the "Trihora") we have succeeded in forcing the imperialists to conclude an agreement on the transfer of West Irian to the Republic of Indonesia, and in this struggle, the united Indonesian people were greatly helped by the assistance and support of the Socialist countries and the entire progressive world, especially the peoples of Asia and Africa.

This year, too, has been the year in which the Indonesian Armed forces, with the active help and co-operation of the people, succeeded in routing the terrorist gangs who had been spreading havoc for years in the countryside. The capture in June this year of Kartosuwirjo, leader of the "Darul Islam" terrorist army, brought to an end 13 years of murder, robbery, destruction and misery in West Java. The security problem that has been with the Republic so long has now been 95% solved.

Furthermore, a number of important construction projects have been completed, among them the complex of sports venues, the centre of which is the outstanding Main Stadium which takes pride of place as the largest and most modern Stadium in Asia.

The outside observer who has had occasion in the past to take a glance at Indonesia, may well wonder what it is that has made these victories possible.

To explain these successes in full, would require a lengthy discussion of the outstanding developments in Indonesian political life during the past few years, and particularly of the mobilising role of the Political Manifesto of our Republic. But on this occasion we should like to deal briefly with only one aspect — the question of national unity, an aspect which is undoubtedly one of the keys to the successes which the Indonesian people have begun to score.

Let us begin with the concept of "Nasakom" one of those terms born so recently but now so much on the lips of the Indonesian people. This word combines the first syllables of three Indonesian words: Nasionalis (Nationalists), Agama (religious groups) Komunis (Communists). These comprise the 3 basic trends in Indonesian political life "Nasakom", then, a term coined by President Sukarno, very aptly expresses the unity between these three trends.

"Nasakom" is not just a catch phrase or an empty slogan. It is a living reality which is manifested in a number of forms.

Acceptance of and support for the Political Manifesto as the joint programme of the people by all political parties, and close co-operation between them in striving for implementation, is one of the expressions of "Nasakom" in action. "Nasakom" has been given an official position of leadership in the leading organs of a number of state bodies. Leaders of the main political parties of these

3 trends, the Indonesian National Party (PNI), the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) the largest Moslem Party, and the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), have been appointed Vice-Chairmen of the Indonesian parliament, the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (the supreme organ of people's sovereignty), the Supreme Advisory Council, a body set up to advise the President and the Government on basic matters of State policy, and the National Planning Board. The three parties are also represented at ministerial rank within the State Consultative Leadership, an enlarged Cabinet which decides upon basic matters of State policy.

"Nasakom" finds its expression too, in the co-operation between the mass organisations in all the people's movements, the trade union movement, the peasants movement, the women's movement and the youth movement. In all cases, broad co-operative liaison bodies have been set up through which the mass organisations of the different trends carry out regular contact and joint activity. The Indonesian women, for example, have the Indonesian Women's Congress which incorporates all nation-wide women's organisations. The Youth Front, likewise embraces all nation-wide youth organisations. These bodies ensure close co-operation but they do not exist as something superior to the mass organisations which comprise their membership, they do not deprive the mass organisations of their existence as separate organisations, as independent organisations, pursuing their own programmes and setting their own objectives.

### **THE NATIONAL FRONT**

Side by side with "Nasakom", national unity obtains concrete expression in the National Front. The National Front is a State body with the President as its Chairman. A cabinet Minister has been appointed Secretary General and the 3 Deputy Chairmen are from 3 "Nasakom" parties. Its membership is composed of the political parties, the mass organisations and individuals. The leading bodies of the National Front, right from the centre

down through the provincial organisations to the lowest organisational units, include representatives of the main trends through representation of the political parties, and also representation of the various mass organisations. The National Front plays an important part in mobilising the entire people to participate in multifarious national activities, such as action to raise production, to cut through bottlenecks in the economy and it helps to spread indoctrination regarding the Political Manifesto, as well as organising people's mass celebrations such as the celebrations marking the anniversary of the birth of the Republic.

National unity is increasingly being referred to these days as "national gotong royong", gotong royong being the expression denoting mutual assistance for common objectives, a term which today has been broadened to apply to unity of all political trends to attain the common objectives specified in the Political Manifesto.

The national unity of the Indonesian people has firm roots. The Political Manifesto stresses the indispensability of unity and this Manifesto itself has acted as a powerful unifier. Furthermore, the Manifesto states that the pillar of Indonesian society is the workers and the peasants. It is self-evident, therefore, that close alliance between these two main forces comprises the third facet of Indonesian national unity.

The Indonesian people are very proud of their national unity and guard it most zealously. They are convinced that as this unity strengthens even further, the victories achieved so far will be consolidated and greater victories will be scored in the future, victories on the economic front and victories against imperialist attempts to take advantage of the conditions under which the transfer of West Irian to the Republic is to take place. With stronger national unity, this "year of triumph" will be the first of many more "years of triumph" taking our people to total victory over imperialism and feudalism and setting them on the path to Socialism.

# Katanga And Peace In Central Africa

Since Moise Tshombe was ill-advised by Welensky and the spineless Belgians to secede from the Central Government of Leopoldville, Central Africa has had insecurity daily hovering and looming over it with a sinister look. Some day it will drop and blanket this once haven of peace. When it does, it will not be the responsibility of communism, the only scapegoat the Western capitalists always blame for their shortcomings — but a direct responsibility of the West and their intrigues.

When the U.N. was invited in to help quell the chaos Belgium and Britain had created, political observers thought that Katanga secession would be nipped in the bud. They were wrong, little did they know that Britain would openly work within the World Body to bolster Tshombe and his maniacal and licentious dreams of becoming autonomous and sovereign.

Large sums of money which, without this intentionally created confusion, should have been used on other necessities, have been spent on sending tourists to Katanga under the camouflage of United Nations Congo Command to go and flirt with Tshombe. They have completely and utterly failed to school a small political delinquent but instead they shelter and nurse him like a golden egg, Britain and Wall Street being the conductors.

There are countries which have tried to settle this fiasco once and for all but only to meet a stone wall of resistance from Britain, her allies and some elements within the U.N. Secretariat. Whenever it comes to a showdown with this political clown, these reactionaries, who are making much money out of the whole affair, stand impossible in complete defiance of U.N. resolutions which they helped draft. Instead they offer Tshombe all the armament he requires to shoot and mow the Balubas and hospitals. In return he accuses the U.N. command as being respon-

sible. In this there is a ready hand of Rhodesian and English press to support him.

During the September hostilities last year, British stood out unique in defiance of bringing Tshombe to his knees. They used all the means at their disposal to thwart U.N. Command moves in teaching Tshombe a lesson he would take long to forget. They denied the Swedish jets landing facilities in Uganda which resulted in reinforcement not arriving in time to finish off Tshombe. In Rhodesia, their political god-child, Welensky, under the instructions of Lord Salisbury in London declared he would offer, Tshombe political asylum should be request for it. Furthermore, this international juvenile delinquent, harboured fighter planes belonging to Tshombe at Ndola and Lusaka airdromes. With the help of Rhodesian jets, these planes would snick into Katanga at night to attack U.N. positions. And Britain is the master of Rhodesia. Arms and all military paraphernalia Tshombe wanted were channelled through Rhodesia. How could a delinquent be schooled with all this sabotage? Only Britain knows.

During the hostilities, Katanga forces, manned by money, grabbing Belgian and Boer officers, killed indiscriminately whenever they were let loose on the streets. But when it came to reports leaving Rhodesia, it was only the U.N. which was capable of firing on women and children. Katanga forces were saintly, they could not do such a thing. The Rhodesian press screamed at every move the Indian troops made in trying to teach Tshombe to behave better. Their screams echoed in Britain with boomerang! To make the whole thing look more comic, somebody in the U.N. secretariat thought it fit to buy all victuals required for the feeding of U.N. soldiers from Rhodesia, their enemy! So how can Rhodesia not support Tshombe to continue in his dreams when it means gaining a bigger market for Rhodesian produce? Roy will continue

telling Tshombe to fight on. He needs the market! If there are any nations of the world that think that the ending of Katanga secession is just beyond the next corner, they are in for a high jump. Katanga secession as long as it serves British financial interests is here for keeps. This in the end will necessitate and facilitate the explosion of the looming catastrophe in Central Africa.

The only possible quick ending of Tshombe's dreams, thereby minimising the number of the dead, is to close all offices in Elizabethville that masquerade as trade or economic, legation or consulates. Elements in these offices are the elements responsible for continued misbehaviour of Tshombe.

The other way to clip of Tshombe's astronomical flight will be the results of the Northern Rhodesia election. If and when the United National Independence Party emerges victorious, Tshombe will find himself without all the help that has boosted him. Then we hope he will fly a low and ordinary pitch! The clown will be minus Roy and his help to continue with his defiance of the legal government of Leopoldville. The trouble is that presently, Tshombe knows that should any force be used against him, he will simply send an S.O.S. appeal to Roy and all the military help he will require will be handy. Help from Welensky is help from Westminster. But unfortunately political days of his friend the Rhodesian Colossus Roy Welensky are numbered. So what? Tshombe's days too are!

# Resolutions of the Consultative Conference of the African National Congress (S.A.)

HELD IN LOBATSI, BECHUANALAND  
OCTOBER 27-28

This consultative conference having heard the report of our representatives abroad completely approves of their work and compliments them on the excellent achievements registered on behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa.

This conference further approves the report of the National Executive and endorses the recommendations made therein. In particular, the conference urges immediate action in regard to the establishment, where there are none, of strong mass organisations of the peasant population as well as to strengthen the existing ones under the guidance of the national movement. Special attention should be paid to the organising of rural African workers on European farms. In this connection, conference recommends close co-operation with other organisations working in this field, such as the Trade Unions.

— 2 —

Conference utterly condemns the terroristic methods of rule now being used on an increasing scale against the African people and all freedom-loving people as well as the leaders of the national movement.

Conference expresses its solidarity with all freedom fighters who have been subjected to house arrests, imprisonment, tortures and numerous other forms of intimidation. Conference, in particular, vehemently condemns the "Sabotage" Act whose intention is to suppress all forms of legal opposition to the Government. In this connection, conference places the responsibility fully on the shoulders of the Government for any acts of illegality and violence which arise as a result of the

denial of the oppressed people of their legitimate rights.

— 3 —

This conference rejects the policy of creating Bantustans or "Home Lands" in our country. Conference in particular denounces the intended granting of so-called self-government for the Transkei and the setting up of tribal authorities in other rural areas as being fraudulent schemes clearly designed to strengthen and perpetuate White minority rule and authority in South Africa.

Conference notes that the mirage of Transkei "independence" is being utilised to divert the attention of the world from the ugly realities both in the Transkei and elsewhere — the reality of the notorious Proclamation 400 in terms of which a State of Emergency still exists throughout the Transkei; the ban on meetings of more than ten persons throughout the rural areas; the use of thugery by so-called home-guards to terrorise the people; the enormous and crushing burden of taxes; the forced recruitment of female labour and the housing of unmarried women with men in the farm labour compounds where they live under humiliating and intolerable conditions.

Conference further deplores the chronic shortage of land for the African peasants; the imposition of rehabilitation schemes; forced removals of people from their homes; and the famine and starvation which has become endemic. Conference therefore urges that the African peasants be further organised and their struggles fully supported and integrated into the united struggle of the Afri-

can people for transfer of power to the people, so as to ensure the creation of a free democratic South Africa as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

— 4 —

Conference is alarmed at the magnitude of the crisis in the education of our people, and directs the National Executive to prepare a comprehensive report on the working and effects of Bantu Education since its introduction in 1955, and to evolve a scheme for the defeat and eradication of the Bantu Education system.

— 5 —

Conference urges that a national and international campaign be launched, demanding, inter alia :

- (a) The lifting of the ban on the African National Congress and other outlawed organisations;
- (b) The lifting of the State of Emergency in the Transkei;
- (c) The release of all political leaders and Freedom Fighters imprisoned, banned, banished or otherwise subjected to restrictions for political reasons.

— 6 —

Conference fully endorses the organisational report and instructs all organs and units of our organisation, as a matter of urgency :

- (a) to inculcate among the people a spirit of sacrifice and loyalty to the cause of freedom;
- (b) to raise the organisation of the freedom volunteers to full strength in all areas;
- (c) to enforce strict discipline; ensure observance of the security rules by our members and take steps to discourage loose talk, gossip-mongering and unnecessary curiosity among our people;

(d) In the organisation of the youth to pay particular attention to their demands for cultural facilities and to the special needs of rural youth.

(e) to make punctuality and efficiency the hall mark of their work;

(f) to carry out the national programme of political education for our members and people to ensure a high standard of political consciousness and understanding;

(g) to ensure the full implementation of the "M" Plan and its rapid extension to every area in South Africa; for this purpose, to appoint special organisers to guide and supervise its operation.

— 7 —

Being aware of the pro-apartheid propaganda issued by the South African Government and the South African Foundation, whereby a false and misleading picture of South African conditions is presented, and the aspirations of the African people subjected to persistent attack, conference calls upon the National Executive to set up machinery for the collections and dissemination of facts and information showing the brutal nature of the policy of apartheid and exposing the fraudulent role of the South African Foundation.

Conference further calls upon the National Executive to publish material that will destroy, once and for all, the historical myth that there were no indigenous inhabitants of South Africa when the European arrived in the country. Conference notes that this myth is the ideological basis for the Bantustan policy which the African people wholly reject.

— 8 —

Conference is horrified to note that while the South African Government and its agencies, including the South African Foundation, are boasting of the wealth and prosperity of South Africa, Africans in the

country are dying in their thousands as a result of famine and starvation directly caused by the policies of ruthless exploitation and oppression practised by the White minority in South Africa. Conference recommends that immediate steps be taken to launch an international appeal to bring relief to our people.

— 9 —

Conference takes a most serious view of the proposed mass removal of the African people from the Western Cape and urges the National Executive to consider an effective means of dealing with this iniquitous scheme.

— 10 —

Conference calls upon the National Executive to review and make fresh recommendations on the use of the economic boycott as a weapon in the struggle in South Africa.

— 11 —

Conference notes with deep appreciation the informative report submitted by the Trade Unions on the Trade Union situation in South Africa and throughout Africa. Conference further calls for renewed efforts to defeat those forces which seek to prevent the achievement of all-African Trade Union unity.

— 12 —

Conference salutes the victorious march of Africa to freedom and independence as evidenced by the fact that some thirty-two flags of independence are now flying over Africa. Conference further pledges its solidarity with the Independent States in their struggle to consolidate independence and oppose neo-colonialism. Conference pays high tribute to the gallant sons and daughters of Algeria who have achieved victory after a seven-year war of liberation.

Conference salutes the youngest independent state of Uganda, which achieved its independence on October 9, 1962, Conference further resolves :

- (a) to pledge its full and unqualified solidarity with those countries in Africa which are still groaning under the colonial yoke such as Angola, Mozambique, Kenya, Portuguese Guinea, Zanzibar, Sao Tome, Cape Verde Islands, Spanish Morocco, Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, and the three High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland:
- (b) Conference deplores the formation of an unholy alliance among the Governments of South Africa, Portugal, and the Central African Federation. Conference calls upon the liberation forces in this area to rise to the occasion and take appropriate steps to launch a united resistance against these forces;
- (c) Conference calls for the lifting of the ban on the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the lifting of restrictions on Mr. Nkomo and the other leaders and for the granting of their demand for independence;
- (d) Conference expresses its support for the United National Independence Party in its historic fight for political power in Northern Rhodesia.
- (e) Conference records its profound appreciation of the support, for the cause of liberation in South Africa, given by the heads of African Independent States and by other freedom-loving governments, organisations and peoples throughout the world.

Conference reiterates its appeal for economic and other sanctions against South Africa.

# 1962-1963 Budget of the Federal Republic of the KAMERUN

(From Our Correspondent)

On May 26, 1962, the "National Assembly" of the Kamerun ratified for the 1962-1963 exercise, its first federal budget which really reflected an anti-national and criminal policy. Functional expenses were nothing but 1,20 milliard CFA. On the other hand, private returns reached in all and for all 14,800 milliards.

This unequal budget was only made known to us by the organs of the imperialist press. However, the indications we have shown, are enough to permit us to alert the people, and already public opinion is against the budget which betrayed, with a rare cynicism a policy set to bring about national resignation, economic regression, misery for the popular masses and an extermination war.

## **I. The 1962/1963 Federal Budget is a budget based on begging, political dependence and national dishonour.**

Such is the evident verification, as expenses exceeded revenues by 1,850 milliard CFA. Without any sense of shame, the rapporteur has specified and the Assembly had ratified — that this deficit will be covered by soliciting once more the financial aid of the friendly foreign countries in the form of balancing subsidies.

We, in the U.P.C. are well aware that a newly-independent country can run into financial difficulties. But we know as well that, everything must be done to evade these difficulties: if in spite of everything, they rise, two paths are open to their solution; the first — the good one, — consists on counting first on ourselves and never calling for aid except in extreme cases. These calls for aid must be requests for loans which safeguard our sovereignty to be reimbursed as soon as possible. This is the only dignified path for a people like ours: intelligent, active

animated with spirit of national pride, in addition, extremely rich.

However this is not the path of the puppets; their path is contrary, that of international licensed beggars who have no shame to continue begging to balance a simple functional budget.

They dare to pretend that the increase of numerous expenses is due to reunification. Poor people! The imperialists and their agents are more stubborn today in wanting to convince you that Reunification is a bad thing. Fortunately, everyone knows that the bad thing, the crime, resides in the fact that the Ahidjo government is opposed to total independence and the formation of a unitary government, strongly centralised and democratic, which nevertheless leaves large autonomy to every province of the reunified Kamerun. In place of this just solution, the only one conforming to the aspirations of the people, the imperialists have adopted through their agents, a neo-colonialist regime, of the federal type which imposed on our country a subordinate status and a state machinery, very heavy and very costly: to the federal budget add two other budgets: those of the federated states.

The three of them finance before anything else the excessive functional expenses.

## **II. The 1962/1963 Federal Budget is a Budget of Economic Regression.**

This second truth is a natural consequence of the first, but it deserves special attention, as it is absolutely certain that the puppet Yaounde government cannot under any circumstances promote economic, social and cultural progress, which is the ultimate objective of all popular revolutions.

In fact, Mr. Ahidjo and most of his accomplices today have ever since 1957-1958, been thumping their drums to announce to the world the economic development plan they have drawn and which is expected to double up in 20 years the annual income of every Kamerunian.

At that time, national revenue of East Kamerun was estimated at 80 milliards CFA, and the annual census of natural increase in the population ranged between 1 and 1.5 per cent, even as much as 2 per cent.

If Mr. Ahidjo and his gang want sincerely to double in 20 years the national income, they should have taken a long time ago the necessary measures to raise the annual investments at least to 20 milliards CFA, more so if the necessity of overcoming differences in economic standards of the East and West Kamerun, was taken into consideration.

But instead of increasing investments, instead of maintaining the modest budget for equipments, announced amidst the drum-beating for the Third Four-Year plan, for East Kamerun, Mr. Ahidjo and his accomplices only allocated 1200 million CFA for industrialisation of the whole of the "Re-unified Kamerun", that is, 7.2 per cent of the total budget, and certainly less than 2 per cent of the national income. At the same time, there was no provisions for the maintenance of the existing equipment.

This bespeaks the fact that the puppet government is leading the country to an economic catastrophe, as not only has it not realised national unity and promoted economic development, but furthermore it has refused to maintain and renew the existing equipment; thus increasing lack of investments following the destruction of the colonialist war of reconquest, following the closure of investments, which was imposed by the lack of economic security, as well as economic chaos brought on some businessmen such as "The Society of Kamerun Forests".

### III. The 1962/1963 Federal Budget is one entailing misery for the popular masses.

In order to judge the social significance of a budget, the two following questions must be answered :

1. Who pays the taxes.
2. Who benefits from the taxes?

Commenting on the Federal Budget of the Kamerun for the year 1962-1963, the "Tropical Markets" (paper) in its issue of 2/6/1962, textually wrote : "Revenues are essentially composed of indirect taxes, investment and service returns, whereas revenue of direct taxes should go to the Budget of the two federal states. 2.5 milliards are expected to be obtained as a result of amended tariff decrees, and the custome dues on imported and exported materials".

Under the trusteeship regime, indirect taxes furnished the highest percentage of the Budget revenues : 61.7 per cent, in 1950: 65.6 per cent in 1956; and 62 per cent in 1958.

In conformity with the first statements made by the "Tropical Markets", and the "Kamerun Press", a colonialist organ which continued to exist under the Republican regime, the Federal Republic of the Kamerun preserved intact the budgetary structures of the colonised Kamerun.

Consequently, things continued the same as previously, with the poor Kamerun masses, paying the greater part of the taxes. In fact, when the government imposed a 10 — franc tax, for ex. on a metre of material, or on a bottle of beer, wholesalers added this tax to the selling price, just as they add to this price, cost price and the expected profits.

In the final analysis, it is the masses of consumers who bear all the indirect taxes, who are obliged to bear them, as they partly have to buy out of necessity these taxed merchandise and partly, because they do not have

the possibility of making up for them by including the amount of these taxes in the selling price of their own merchandise.

In fact, what kind of merchandise does the majority of Kamerunians sell? It is either their potentialities to work or their agricultural products. It is known that the salaries and the prices of agricultural products are almost always imposed by the capitalist employers, by the big commercial institutions and by the state, which is under their control.

Thus, in a country where private ownership of the principal means of production and exchange dominates a budget mainly fed by indirect taxes, things bears down on almost only the broad popular masses.

In the case of the Kamerun specially, such a budget could only lead to the extreme impoverisation of the majority of the people. On one hand, income of the population, already low, decreases, and in 1961 it was decided that the employers deduce a 2.2 per cent tax from the salaries of the workers. Moreover, since 1960 the main agricultural products for export, (cocoa, coffee, bananas etc...) suffered a slump which was aggravated with regards to the most important of these products, cocoa, as a result of the depression of stock exchanges in the New York Market.

Consequently, there is a trend to decrease the originally meagre incomes realised by the popular masses. On the other hand, financial obligations of these masses increase, as a result of the 3 budgets of the government, adding to which is the extortion of compulsory subscriptions from numerous functionaries and militarists by Mr. Ahidjo, and the various feudal taxes or dues which our compatriots pay in North Kamerun.

Aggravation of the miserable state of the popular masses is manifestly due to the new measures stipulated in the 1962-1963 Federal Budget. According to the official text, we

particularly mention: "medical consultation fees as well as hospitalisation fees are to be paid by the Kamerunians, regardless of how meagre are their incomes".

Kamerun authorities very inhumanly discriminate between the patients who pay for their treatment and those who don't. Accordingly, this new measure will undoubtedly lead to the deprivation of an increasing number of miserable people from any medical care.

Mr. Ahidjo and his gang declare that their budget is drawn on an austere basis. Austerity for whom? For everybody, as they allege, under the pretext that the salaries of the deputies have decreased to 150,000 CFA. per month? Let us waste no time in refuting this lie, obviously interesting.

It is enough to mention that one of these deputies fakedly elected, still earns every month more than 15 times the annual income of his electors.

We will not talk of the fabulous salaries of the "ministers" and the numerous privileges they accord themselves at the expense of the people: car with a chauffeur, state-paid servants, free lodgings and furniture, etc...

Briefly, the crushing majority of the citizens groan under the yoke of taxes, and exploitation to the profit of a slight minority.

#### **IV. The 1962-1963 Federal Budget is a Budget for counter-revolutionary war.**

When the people revolted against the policy of dependence, and of national dishonour, economic regression and misery, the imperialists and their valets, let loose the scarecrow of communism: they mobilised the French army, the legionaries of West Germany and African mercenaries, equipped them with American arms to lead a war of colonial re-conquest against the valiant Kamerun people. Expenses of this war were to be paid

by the people themselves. The 1962-1963 Federal Budget appropriated 25 per cent of expenses for the function of the armed forces. Without any doubt, these are direct military expenses, paid unguisedly. In many ministerial declarations, figures mentioned exceed far more these mentioned in the last Federal Budget.

The "Tropical Markets" paper mentioned in its issue of October 14, 1961, No. 2484 that Mr. Assale, Premier had declared in the course of the tour he had made in East Kamerun in September 1961, the following :

"This year, it is more than five milliards CFA the Kamerun is spending on security forces". The newspaper adds: "This amount represents one-third of the Kamerun's budget". On a broadcast by Radio Yaounde, Mr. Okala Charles, once minister of foreign affairs and today prisoner of Mr. Ahidjo, deplored on August 23 that war absorbs more than 6 milliards CFA which is almost 40% of administrative expenses.

It is only the great powers of the aggressive NATO bloc that have such tremendous military expenses. In Africa, these expenses are generally much more limited even in those countries confronting imperialist aggressive plots such as Guinea or struggling for the liberation of a part of their national territory such as Bizerte in Tunisia.

Thus, in the frame of this year's budget, security forces (army, gendarmerie and police) absorb 22,2% of the administrative expenses of Guinea, 17,7% in Gabon, and in Tunisia, 11,65% of the total expenses of different ministries.

It will be useless to insist on that point, as Yaounde authorities have, themselves, effected the comparison in a speech delivered in Edea on April 14, 1962 and reproduced by the Kamerun Press, No. 3397 of April 17, 1962, in which the Minister of Armed Forces states the comparison as follows :

"No other African state does much to its military men as the Kamerun".

Why ? Is it because the puppet government similarly to NATO powers, nourished aggressive plans against other countries ? Certainly not. Is it because the Kamerun is menaced by an external aggression or is already leading a war against another power ? Another no.

According to the admittance of puppets themselves, the Kamerun is not menaced from the exterior. In his speech of January 19, 1962, the so-called minister of armed forces told his troops :

"Actually the menaces that threaten your young country are mainly coming from the interior though directed and framed from the exterior. You should know that while struggling to keep order, you struggle for the independence and liberty of the Kamerun. In order to defeat the terrorists endangering this independence and this liberty, our armies must possess technical abilities and moral qualities". Ref: "the Kamerun Press" Issues of January 20 and 21, 1962.

These huge military expenditures and official declarations are they not a preliminary response to those who wonder if armed struggle is still going on in the Kamerun ? Why does Mr. Ahidjo and his accomplices spend such big amounts if they do not consider it necessary to equip and maintain foreign troops against their own people ? And if his regime is really popular and democratic, why does he have to count upon foreign troops of extermination ?

In the light of these observations, anybody can easily reach the conclusion that the first budget of the Federal Republic for 1962/1963 shows a deplorable and grave situation in this part of the African continent: a policy of dependence, economic regression, social misery and extermination of the people by foreign troops. Is this liberty and welfare ? Is this the march towards African unity for which the Kamerunian people are struggling for fourteen years now, under the leadership of the U.P.C. ? This definitely must change and it will for sure, as the people want it to.

# UGANDA BECOMES A NATION

By SALIM AHMED

October the Ninth 1962, will go down in the annals of the history of Uganda as the most memorable date in the country's long struggle against colonialism. For at last, after over sixty years of ruthless and merciless subjugation of the British colonialists, Uganda achieved its national independence and joined the ranks of the Free Independent African States.

The independence of Uganda is a great victory, not only to the people of Uganda, but to the entire African people, and, indeed it is a victory to all the peace and freedom loving peoples the world over. In the same way as the struggle for the national liberation of Uganda was not fought by the Uganda people alone, but by the entire progressive humanity, most notably the peoples of Africa and Asia, all those who cherish the ideals of freedom, equality and world peace rejoiced and celebrated the occasion. The imperialists and their agents no doubt mourned the occasion. This is so because whenever any country which has fallen victim of imperialist domination, attains its freedom and independence, it is a step forward, it is a victory for the forces of peace and progress, and a blow to the forces of war and reaction as represented by the imperialist states, with the U.S. taking the lead.

Those who have followed the trends of political development in Uganda will not fail to realise that the Uganda people have attained their freedom only after a bitter and relentless struggle, which necessitated a lot of suffering, courage and cost them great sacrifices.

It is typical of colonialism, and particularly British colonialism, to divide the people they colonize so as to facilitate their way in perpetuating their outmoded and shameful colonial rule. The people of Uganda were no

exception to the rule. The presence of numerous tribes with different traditional outlooks created conditions favourable for the British imperialists' sinister design to create division among these tribes. By setting one tribe against another, the imperialists did manage to win temporary victories in the country. However, thanks to the militancy and vigilance of the people, in spite of all the imperialist machinations, Uganda at last emancipated herself. Much credit goes to the political parties and leaders, most notably the Uganda People's Congress and the Kabaka Yekka which united the people and rallied them under the banner of national unity and national independence. Here, great tribute must be paid to one of Uganda's best sons, the late John Kale, who during his lifetime dedicated his whole life for the liberation of his motherland and people and who died while carrying on this noble cause.

To the people of East Africa and particularly the people of Zanzibar and Kenya, the independence of Uganda has a special significance in as much as the independence of the first East African country, namely, Tanganyika. They see in it the realisation of their own cherished hopes and aspirations. The desire is to liberate their respective countries and form the East African Federation as a step towards genuine African unity. For there is no doubt that the sooner the East African countries regain their independence, the quicker will the idea of an East African Federation become a reality.

To the people of Central and Southern Africa, they pin their hopes that the independence of Uganda will serve as an important platform to combat the fascist white minorities in their respective territories and establish genuine democratic governments in the interests of the entire population of these

countries. This is so because it is quite natural that the people and government of New Uganda will not remain aloof in the bitter and most inhuman exploitation perpetrated against their African brothers in Central and Southern African by fascist dictatorships which are being actively supported by the aggressive NATO powers, and more particularly by Anglo-American imperialism. Indeed, it can rightly be said that if the independence of Tanganyika and Uganda prepared the coffins for Welensky, Whitehead, Verwoerd and their likes, the freedom of Kenya and Zanzibar will escort these die-hard fascists to their graves.

New Uganda, like many other young independent African States, is confronted with many problems. Most fundamental of these problems, is the consolidation of the country's hard-won national independence and safeguarding it from the menace of neo-colonialism. Only when this condition obtains can Uganda successfully embark on national reconstruction.

These two problems can only be overcome by the strengthening of national unity of the people, particularly the toiling masses, and through the united efforts of the Uganda people themselves. And this is the main task of the Uganda leaders today. For, without firm genuine national unity, the country cannot successfully undergo its national reconstruction and thereby eradicate the evil remnants of the former colonial regime, and without which there cannot be economic stability in the country. It goes without saying that without economic stability, the independence of a country is always threatened by the neo-colonialists who would immediately seize the opportunity and attempt to reconquer the country.

Hence consolidating and safeguarding national unity is one of the vital issues confronting Uganda today. Happily, the majority of the people of Uganda are well aware of this as they are aware of the dangers of disunity, and under the wise leadership of their elected Government, headed by Premier Milton Obote, they are striving to maintain this unity and carry on the second phase of their struggle. Indeed, the very birth of Uganda as a Nation has proved how the imperialists and those who side with them have been utterly wrong and misguided to think that they could indefinitely delay the independence of Uganda by utilising their corrupted "divide and rule" tactics.

Uganda is now free and shall remain free. What is more, though admittedly, there are various obstacles facing this young independent African state, these shall eventually be overcome by the unflinching determination of the people themselves and by their joint efforts.

The wind of change is blowing hard through out East Africa. With Tanganyika and Uganda now independent, the struggle for independence of Zanzibar and Kenya shall surely be expedited. Imperialism is rapidly being liquidated in this part of Africa, much to the terror of the colonialists, neo-colonialists and their lackeys. The militant and patriotic people of Uganda deserve heartfelt congratulations from the entire progressive mankind.

Long Live Independent Uganda!

Long Live the People of Uganda!

Long Live African Unity and Freedom!

# The Ugly Ghost Called "Multi-racial Partnership"

Britain has deliberately sought to give a rosy, false picture of the situation in Southern Rhodesia by gloating over Whitehead's irrelevant gesture with regards the removal of the racial discriminatory laws of the Colony. Whitehead "proposes" to remove his racial legislations in the near future "to allow the African participation in the Country's management". This is utter nonsense. And yet, Britain thinks this is remarkable progress toward reaching a "non-racial solution" to the problems of Southern Rhodesia.

It has become Britain's habit to depict Whitehead's seemingly friendly noisy harangues as "reconciliation" between black and white. It is argued that the removal of colour bars will help Africans to prepare for an eventual takeover of the administrative machinery of the country, but such wild theories, are only designed to suit colonialist political motives and convenience and Britain is not in the least excluded from such adroit adventures.

The essential point is that power must be transformed to the African of S. Rhodesia without delay. Talking of removing racial legislations, expecting that the Africans will accept this as a favourable deal, is as mad as attempting to turn desert sand into lumps of gold. The policy of the British Government in S. Rhodesia and the laws that protect this policy are discussed in the article below by EDWARD NDLOVU :

What the African in Southern Rhodesia demands is his right to govern himself and a complete change of government and this can be brought about only by a complete change of the Constitution of the Colony, entailing a Universal Franchise system as the basis of government.

## LONG TERM IMPRISONMENT

But, in its determination to secure the citadel of White Supremacy, White privileges and "government in civilized hands", the settler regime in Southern Rhodesia has enacted numerous spiteful race discriminatory measures to suppress the legitimate rights of the African people. Thus, for instance, in terms of the Preventive Detention Act 1959, Africans can be summarily arrested and detained without recourse to the normal courts of law.

Under the Unlawful Organisations Act 1959, African political Organisations have been banned and the leaders are frequently arrested even at public political platforms.

In order to liquidate African opposition, the settler minority regime has even made it an offense in terms of the Native Affairs Act for Africans to criticise Officials of the settler government -- as if criticism as such were treason. Furthermore, in terms of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act 1960, over 1,500 Africans including 800 women were arrested during the course of 1961 for opposing a white-imposed Constitution and were each sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging up to twenty years.

In fact, race discrimination covers practically every aspect of life in Southern Rhodesia. All the laws are tightly patterned on those of the Apartheid Republic of South Africa. And as in South Africa, the 200,000 Rhodesian white settlers allotted to themselves 48,000,000 acres of the best portions of the land and allotted only 42,000,000 acres of poor soil texture, low rainfall and disease infested land to over 3,000,000 Africans. This is done in terms of the vicious Land Apportionment Act and the Native Husbandry Act.

## STUPID ARGUMENT

It is maintained by the British Government that the settler government of Southern Rhodesia is liberal in that it is considering to remove discriminatory racial laws in all fields. This stupid argument was used and upheld by the British Delegates, even at the United Nations, in their attempt to defend the indefensible way of life which is practised by the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. And, the settler Prime Minister Edgar Whitehead sensitively and excitedly, like an auxiliary machine quickly echoed the stand taken by the British Delegates at the United Nations.

These slyish gestures by the British Government and Whitehead can no longer be entertained by the African people because the African struggle in Southern Rhodesia has never been based on the demand for the removal of those things that are known as the colour bars.

The African people of Southern Rhodesia will never beg for concessions from a settler minority government or from a British Government that is intoxicated with bias and prejudice against the African people.

## DEEP INTO THE SAND

The Africans of Southern Rhodesia will not step the settler regime and its British Government from digging their thick heads deep into the sand enacting vicious and spiteful laws.

The settler regime in Southern Rhodesia and its British Government want to appear liberal. They want to extend "certain" rights to the African people. What cheap mockery! They talk of being prepared "now" to accept the African people. This is clowning.

## POLITICAL PRISONERS

But they forget that as they talk, a number of African leaders are languishing in prisons and in detention camps. These men were

arrested, not because they are criminals, but because they had demanded that they, as sons of the soil of Zimbabwe, be given the rights that are due to them.

Has the settler regime and the British Government forgotten or are they pretending to forget that Robert Chikerema, George Nyandoro, Enos Nkala and several others are in detention camps and restricted for now over three years? These men have been imprisoned without trial — and yet, in accordance with what is called "British Justice" every person is assumed innocent until he has been brought to the normal courts of law. British Justice as practised in Southern Rhodesia does not require an accused African political leader to appear in court. A swindle of justice! What type of liberalism are they talking about?

The British Government goes further and approves the allegation by the Rhodesian settlers that the African will "misuse" the vote if the Colony is granted a Universal Franchise system.

## WHAT EVIL ?

If the British Government can grant the vote to her sexual maniacs who run the ring of the men and women patronisers of those orrdels and brothels in Soho and East End of London -- What evil is there in granting the vote to the Africans. In Southern Rhodesia there are no Sohos or East Ends.

On Southern Rhodesia, the British Government has got to decide now or never — on whether to heed the word of the majority, or to remain decidedly stubborn against the view of the African people and thus alienate any friendly feelings by the entire continent of Africa. For, the Africans of Southern Rhodesia are the indigenous people with indigenous rights. They are not there by the settlers' choice — they are there by God's own creation. And therefore, they cannot, in the circumstances, sit and expect to be governed by an ethnic minority group.

# The Struggle For National Independence In Zanzibar

## **POLITICAL BACKGROUND :**

The struggle for the political and economical emancipation of our beloved African continent is now at its climax. Zanzibar is no exception. The people of Zanzibar are fighting unceasingly for the complete liberation of their country.

The struggle started in 1955 with the formation of the ZNP. For decades before this, the people of Zanzibar were divided into different and hostile racial and traditional groupings in the interests of the British Colonialists who instigated and utilised this division to perpetuate colonialist rule in Zanzibar. The main objective of the ZNP was the achievement of immediate and complete independence for Zanzibar. The British colonialist government, in opposition to the just and legitimate demands of the people of Zanzibar as voiced by the ZNP, encouraged certain reactionaries in the islands with semi-fascist and semi-racist ideas.

## **CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS :**

In 1957, following the demands of the ZNP, the First Common Roll Election in East, Central and South Africa was held in Zanzibar. This, however, was only for six out of twenty-five seats in the Legislative Council and with a very limited franchise for men only.

## **THE BLOOD CONSTITUTION :**

In 1960 a Constitutional Commissioner, Sir Hillary Blood, was sent by the British Government to Zanzibar to recommend further constitutional changes following the demands of the Zanzibar people led by the ZNP. The ZNP and the ZPPP separately sub-

mitted memoranda demanding immediate independence for Zanzibar. The ASP advocated gradual constitutional changes.

The Commissioner fell short of the demands of the majority of the people of Zanzibar as represented by the ZNP and ZPPP and recommended a constitution giving Zanzibar a "Responsible Government" which retained British colonialist officials in the Legislative Council (Cabinet) while introducing a partial ministerial system.

The ZNP as well as the ZPPP outrightly rejected this constitution. However, seeing that the British Government paid no heed to the demands of the ZNP and ZPPP for immediate independence, the ZNP decided to contest the election in order to obtain the mandate of the people to seek independence. Here it must be emphasized that the ZNP ONLY AGREED TO ENTER THE ELECTION ON CONDITION THAT ONCE IT IS VOTED INTO POWER, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD IMMEDIATELY GRANT THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION TO THE PEOPLE OF ZANZIBAR.

The General Election held in January, 1961, resulted in ZNP obtaining 9 seats, ASP 10 seats and the ZNPP 3 seats. The ZPPP decided to form a coalition government with the ZNP but one of their three successful members went over to ASP causing a constitutional stalemate with two groupings having 11 seats each. The ASP, by rejecting a proposal for the formation of a National Coalition Government necessitated the holding of another General Election. Telegrams received from the Secretariat of Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) urging for the formation of

National Government, failed to achieve its objective. Fresh Election for twenty-three constituencies was therefore scheduled to be held in June, 1961.

### **THE JUNE ELECTION :**

The ZNP and the ZPPP entered into an electorate Alliance for the purpose of contesting the election. Seeing that a victory on the part of the ZNP/ZPPP Alliance was a forgone conclusion, the colonialists and imperialists instigated serious riots during the election and which resulted in the murder of 68 people, all members of the ZNP and ZPPP, 300 injured (some very seriously) and 6,000 rendered homeless. In spite of this intimidation, the ZNP/ZPPP Alliance won 13 seats and the ASP achieved 10. The ZNP/ZPPP formed the first Responsible Government which is running the country at present moment, but whose powers are heavily curtailed by the presence of 3 Ex-officio British officials in the Cabinet with the British Resident as Chairman.

Soon after its formation, the ZNP/ZPPP Responsible Government demanded immediate independence. The British Government refused to grant independence unless the two sides agreed on the question of the election.

The ZNP/ZPPP Alliance refused to agree to hold a third election within ONE YEAR because the present Government had already obtained the mandate of the people to demand immediate independence, and also it was quite clear that a fresh election was being advocated in order to precipitate another disturbance in the country which will give the British imperialists an excuse to remain in Zanzibar and to delay the granting of independence for this country.

### **THE LONDON CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS :**

The ZNP/ZPPP Alliance in their desire

to achieve immediate independence and to bring national unity, invited the opposition to hold discussions in order to seek agreement. Although twelve meetings in all were held, the Opposition were firm on the question of another election, and rejected proposals for the formation of a National Government.

"In March, 1962, talks were held in London between the ZNP/ZPPP Government, the ASP Opposition and the British Government. These talks failed to achieve the desired objective of the ZNP/ZPPP Alliance for immediate independence.

The ZNP/ZPPP Alliance, putting the interests of the Nation foremost and in an effort to bring about unity, offered the ASP Opposition 3 ministries in a Cabinet of 8 and even gave them the right of veto in the Cabinet, i.e. all Cabinet decisions had to obtain the consent of the three Parties in the Cabinet. The ASP agreed that the offers were very reasonable but could not accept them and insisted on another election.

### **THE UNITED NATIONS :**

The leader of the ZNP, who is also the present Minister of Education, petitioned and obtained a hearing before the United Nations Committee of Seventeen on colonialism at Tangier, Morocco on 22nd May, 1962, to present Zanzibar case for immediate independence. Presentation to the Committee were also made by the ZNP/ZPPP Alliance at Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika when the Committee convened at this place to hear evidence from petitioners of dependent countries.

Later in July this year, the question of Zanzibar was discussed by the Committee in New York. The Leader of the ZNP was present at this discussion; so were two the leaders of the ASP.

Efforts by the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations Committee of Seventeen to

urge the Opposition to agree to the formation of a National Government failed.

In September this year the U.N. Committee of 17 passed a Resolution demanding from the British Government to grant immediate independence to Zanzibar and to make preparations for the holding of election on a universal adult suffrage.

### **THE PRESENT STAND OF THE ZNP/ZPPP ALLIANCE :**

The ZNP/ZPPP Alliance seeing that the British Colonialists are utilising the question as another pretext to delay the independence of Zanzibar, has decided to agree to the holding of a fresh election with full adult suffrage, preferably under the supervision of the United Nations, provided that the British Government agree to grant immediate internal self-government to the present legally and constitutionally elected Responsible Government of the ZNP/ZPPP and also to agree to fix the date of independence before the holding of such an election.

The ZNP/ZPPP Alliance insists on immediate internal self-government in order to avoid further delays, as it is clear that the British Government will not agree to independence without passing through a stage of internal self-government, also as election cannot be held until preparation for it are finalised in the way of redrawing electoral constituencies and re-registration of voters under the new franchise.

The fixing of the date of independence is regarded by the ZNP/ZPPP Alliance as most imperative in order to avoid further complications and colonialist intrigues for the purpose of delaying independence.

### **THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE IMPRISONMENT OF NATIONALISTS :**

During the June imperialist instigated disturbances in 1961, the British Resident

(Chief Representative of the British Colonialist Government in Zanzibar) imposed a State of Emergency and sent in British Troops. Although the security situation in the country has long returned to normal, the State of Emergency and the British Troops are still being retained for the sole purpose of intimidating and suppressing the people and stifling the voice of the genuine nationalists who are demanding freedom for their country. The General Secretary of the ZNP Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu, with fourteen other staunch and militant Nationalists who include the President and the Vice-President of the Youths Own Union (Youths section of the ZNP), two Members of the National Executive of the ZNP and five Secretaries of the ZNP Branch Committees, were detained under the Emergency Regulations.

Earlier two Members of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions (A Federation of militant workers which fully supports the ZNP) were also detained under the same regulations. Later, after exerting pressure on the British Resident, all detainees, except the General Secretary of the ZNP, were released with severe restrictions to their freedom of speech and movement. While in detention, the General Secretary (who is also the Publisher of News bulletin — Zanzibar NEWS SERVICE) was taken to Court on a charge of "sedition" based on articles which he wrote before his detention rightly criticising the colonialist methods and condemning the day to day atrocities perpetrated by the colonial government. He was convicted by a colonial judge to fifteen months imprisonment. He is still languishing in prison.

### **CONCLUSIONS :**

The above paragraphs have in brief outlined the political background and the situation now prevailing in Zanzibar. It is evident that the British colonial government, utilising certain reactionary elements inside the country, is placing all kinds of obstacles to hinder

the legitimate demands of the people of Zanzibar for National independence. The people of Zanzibar, under the leadership of the ZNP/ZPPP Alliance, appeal to all freedom loving Nations and organisations to support their just cause. They appeal to all freedom and peace loving peoples to urge and press the British Government to :

a) Grant immediate internal self-government, followed by a General Election and immediate independence. ,

- b) Immediately lift the State of Emergency in Zanzibar.
- c) Immediately remove all foreign troops from the country.
- d) Release immediately Comrade Babu, the General Secretary of the ZNP, and Publisher of ZANEWS.
- e) Remove all restrictions imposed on former detainees.

# Practical Resolutions of Afro-Asian Writers

By MURSI SAADEDDIN

Many Conferences have been held and even more resolutions were adopted but they often remained unimplemented merely reflecting aspirations and hopes.

Afro-Asian Writers met first in Tashkent. Then they met again in Cairo. During these conferences important resolutions were unanimously adopted most of which unfortunately never materialized as they were initiated more by enthusiasm than practical study.

The first surprise awaiting the members of the Permanent Office of the Afro-Asian Writers on arriving to Colombo, seat of the said Office, was to find that our brethren in Ceylon had built a special headquarters to enable the office to carry on its activities.

This Session of the Permanent Bureau was attended by delegates from Japan, China, Indonesia, India, Ceylon, the Soviet Union, Ghana, Sudan and the U.A.R. which I had the honor to represent. A poet from Pakistan, Mr. Faiz Ahmed Faiz, who, attended as an observer, as his country is not among the permanent members of the Bureau. What particularly helped easing our work was the practical nature of the agenda we had to go through. Sessions started with the usual enthusiasm and wonderful proposals — too difficult to implement for the time-being — were put forward. Among these was a proposal to publish ten books every year translated from Afro-Asian literature. Such a proposal is in itself an excellent idea. However after the members of the Office examined it thoroughly, reason triumphed over enthusiasm and it was agreed to publish every year a collection of stories and poems from Asia and Africa in the three languages, French, Arabic and English.

The debates were characterised by moderation and each proposal was studied concretely for practical implementation. The result was a set of constructive resolutions and the year 1963 was fixed for putting them to effect.

The first resolution was that the Office should continue issuing its monthly magazine — the Call — in English, as such a publication is intended to further the exchange of information on literary, cultural and social activities in Africa and Asia.

The second decision was to set up a committee for translation whose task would be to collect information on literary publications in the two continents and to exchange this information with the various branches of the office. The Committee is to ask regional committees and other organisations to supply it with summaries of the books published in their countries and which were appropriate for translation. It will study these various summaries and select from them those to be sent to the various countries for translation. Thus, the Committee's task is that of the guide and counsellor, until the time comes when it will be in a position to publish its own translations. As a preliminary step in this field, the Committee will gather a selected collection of literary works — short stories, poems and articles — from Asia and Africa and publish them in a booklet in English during 1963.

The Meeting also decided that the Office, early in 1963, would send a delegation composed of its members to tour some African countries. The 1963 tour will include Mali, Guinea, Nigeria and Ghana.

This delegation will have to establish contacts with the writers in these countries

and accordingly elaborate a common plan for cultural exchange between them and the office. A number of African writers will be invited by the Office to visit African and Asian countries for the same purpose.

The Bureau decided to hold next year a meeting of its 26 member-nations Executive Committee in Jakarta where the Third Afro-

Asian Writers Conference is scheduled to convene in 1964.

The members welcomed with great enthusiasm the proposal of Mr. Zoheir, the Indian delegate and progressive poet, aiming at holding poet forums in the capitals of Africa and Asia. It was decided that the first of these forums will be held in Algeria in 1963.

# The struggle continues in Mozambique

By **DAVID MABUNDA**

Secretary General,  
Mozambique Liberation Front

Mozambique has an area of 783,000 square kilometres, and an African population of over 6,500,000. A colony since the latter half of the 19th century, this part of Africa, where the power is concentrated in the hands of the white Portuguese settlers who are slightly over 100,000 in number, is as the Salazar regime prefers to call it, not a colony but, an overseas province of Portugal. The basis of the economy of Mozambique is agriculture producing, sugar-cane, sisal, cotton, tea and groundnuts. Industry is not developed though, the country has coal, bauxites, uranium ores, beryllium and gold.

In the fertile areas of the Limpopo and the Zambezi rivers, the Africans who for ages have been occupying those areas are being unceremoniously removed, their land and properties becoming those of the Portuguese settlers from Portugal and the Madeira Islands who are pouring into the country daily.

The wealth in the country is controlled by foreign companies e.g. the Sena Sugar Estates, the biggest in the country are British owned, The Moatize Coal mines are Belgian owned and many others which are owned by the U.S.A., Western Germany and other western firms.

Forced labour still prevails under the guidance of contract labour. Corporal punishment still remains as the remedy for keeping the Africans in a condition of servitude and docility and 99% of the population is still illiterate.

The colony as stated above, is directly ruled from Portugal through a governor general and a legislative council of 24 mem-

bers 22 of whom are Portuguese or colonial born Portuguese and 2 African chiefs who are hand picked at the pleasure of the colonial administrators so as to sing the "YES SIR" melody when ever their white masters command. Out of than 140 deputies in the National Assembly in Portugal, 7 white deputies are the so-called representatives of Mozambique.

With more than 467 years of Portuguese colonial rule over Mozambique, sleeping sickness, yellow fever, small pox, to mention a few, are still rampant and there are some 25,000 lepers. Child death has ever since increased and today, every second newly born child dies, through malnutrition and the lack of proper medical attention both during the stage of pregnancy and child birth.

Though the average wages for the Africans are below the bread line, he no longer enjoys the free medical attention he used to enjoy 2 years ago. Today he has to pay the for treatments in the few government hospitals that are in the country and his annual tax is being increased yearly. That is Salazar's sense of equality.

The situation in Mozambique is reminiscent of the situation in other colonies under Portuguese administration. The Africans are busy rallying their forces, there have been several strikes during the past years and clashes with the troops in the country. So far, how ever, these cases are isolated in reply to Portuguese tyranny.

The Salazar regime, is trying to stop the inexorable march of events. While talking of reforms, they have posted more than 40,000

troops into the country who with the help of the P.I.D.E. "Portuguese Gestapo" are engaged in the indiscriminate massacre of the innocent Africans, whose crime is said to be that of demanding freedom.

The Africans of Mozambique have long realised that Unity is the main prerequisite for victory in any struggle. It is more necessary for patriots fighting colonialists who are supported from without, as it is the case with Portugal. She is strongly assisted by her N.A.T.O. partners, Britain, and West Germany and her fellow members from the "Unholy Alliance" Wellensky and Verwoerd. It is notable that in the year 1962 alone, Portugal has received from the imperialist U.S.A. loans amounting to 100 millions american dollars as well as a great quantity of arms from Israel.

Portugal has not complied in any respect with the recommendations of the United Nations resolutions concerning the right of self-determination of the peoples under their administration. The Portuguese fascist regime has constantly refused to permit the people of Mozambique the right of assembly whether for political, social or trade union purposes. To the contrary, the Portuguese boast that there is complete racial harmony in Mozambique, and yet, at the same time she has increased repression and persecution of the people of Mozambique.

Confronted with this situation, the peoples of Mozambique, crushed the idea of forming small political parties which the imperialists could easily use to undermine the liberation movement. It is this influence that brought about the rapprochement of the national organisation in Mozambique "though operating in exile".

The Mozambique African National Union "MANU" and the National Democratic Union

of Mozambique "UDENAMO" merged on the 25th JUNE 1962, to form one National movement, the MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT "FRELIMO" which is being led by Dr. Eduardo Mondlane.

The FRELIMO, has come to the conclusion that we must reinforce our ties with our brothers in South Africa, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland and this is dictated by the common interests of our peoples in view of the Devils alliance which exists between Salazar/Wellensky/Verwoerd.

Now that the first essential step "UNITY" has been achieved in our struggle, now that the peoples of Mozambique are solidly behind and united in support of FRELIMO, the FRELIMO is ever much more determined to achieve independence of Mozambique through all possible means.

It has become clear and vivid, that the attainment of complete independence of the Mozambique people, can only be through joining hands with our Angolan brothers in an armed revolution against the Portuguese colonialists and imperialists.

The FRELIMO has always wished to liberate Mozambique through peaceful means but, the obstinate and stubborn nature of the Portuguese dictatorship makes it impossible.

The FRELIMO, in its bitter struggle for the immediate liberation of Mozambique from the yoke of Portuguese foreign domination, will need to obtain the support of our Afro-Asian brothers as well as that of all the peace loving countries the world over.

The struggle of the peoples of Mozambique continues with re-doubled efforts it will be long and difficult, but, finally the forces of colonialism and imperialism will be crushed for ever. FRELIMO is the pilot.

# Two Years of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front For Liberation

Two years ago, on December 20, 1960, a great historic event took place in South Vietnam: the appearance of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation on the political arena. Like a torch amidst darkness, it blazed the way for the South Vietnamese people in their struggle against Ngo Dinh Diem's cruel dictatorial rule and U.S. armed aggression, for independence and democracy, enough food and clothing and peaceful reunification of the country.

Ever since then the Front never ceased to grow alongside the continuous development of the South Vietnamese people's struggle.

It consists at present of over 20 major political organisations, 3 patriotic religious organisations, 3 major political parties, of intellectuals (the Radical Socialist party), national bourgeois (the Democratic Party), and those who believe in Marxism-Leninism (the People's Revolutionary party). Also members of the Front are the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee, the World Peace Committee, the Democratic Lawyers' Association of South Vietnam, etc... Altogether, nearly 7 million people are members of organisations which participate in, or sympathise with, the Front.

A Central Committee was elected at the Front's first congress, with a President, Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, 5 Vice-Presidents and 30 members.

Branches of the Front were set up in 38 out of 41 zones and provinces, and in almost all the districts and villages.

The Central Committee has its own News Agency, a radio station organ and delegations abroad.

Under the leadership of the Front for Liberation, the political struggle which started long before the Front's appearance, has made a great upsurge, involving about 50 million participants in tens of thousands of demonstrations, some of which including as many as 30,000 people.

Over the past two years, peasants in the liberated zones of South Vietnam have received 650,000 hectares of land confiscated from the landlords collaborators of Ngo Dinh Diem. Meanwhile, reduction of land rent was largely effected.

For nearly two years after the foundation of the Front, the armed struggle of the South Vietnamese people has greatly developed and scored numerous successes. From the beginning of 1961 until the end of September 1962, the people's self-defence armed forces wiped out, wounded and detained nearly 37,000 enemy troops, including hundreds of American soldiers and officers, and seized tens of thousand weapons of various kinds and calibres. 100 military planes and helicopters, tens of military convoys and ships, hundred of armoured cars and posts were destroyed.

In response to the call of the Front, 22,000 enemy troops crossed over to the people's side along with their arms, among which some 100 cases of collective mutiny.

The Front is now controlling three-quarters of South Vietnam's countryside, with 7 million inhabitants, that is half of South Vietnam's population.

World public opinion recognises the fact that there is a broad popular movement against the U.S. and Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam, a legal one and accords to it its greater and greater support.

That the Front is leading the people in an armed resistance for self-defence is forced upon by the U.S. and Ngo Dinh Diem themselves.

That is exactly what peoples are doing in countries still suffering from dictatorial and fascist regimes. The policy, means, strategy and slogans put forth by the Front are exactly the same as those of the national liberation movements of many nations in the world.

In the eyes of the world people, the South Vietnamese people's heroic struggle under the leadership of the liberation Front represents a vanguard force of the world national liberation and peace movements. It is a very resolute struggle of a people who have for the past 20 years taken up arms to oppose three strongest imperialists, the Japanese, French and American. The world people highly appreciate the South Vietnamese people's struggle not only because they are resolutely opposing the strongest gendarme of imperialism, but also because they have proved by their own experiences that, with unity and struggle, a correct policy and justice, a small people can defeat U.S. imperialists' aggression. They also highly appreciate the South Vietnamese people's struggle because the National Front for Liberation has clearly defined its progressive policy and actively supported national liberation and peace movements.

The Front strongly condemned the imperialists' acts in Congo and their murder of Congo's hero, P. Lumumba. It supported the Algerian people's heroic resistance and hailed their victory as if it was its own. Recently, in spite of its difficulties, the Front offered a pecuniary gift to help the Algerian people in their national reconstruction. It sided with the Indonesian people in their struggle to liberate West Irian, the Indian people to free Goa, the Laotian people to oppose American imperialists' intervention, the Cuban to fight U.S. aggression, and all other oppressed and exploited peoples to overthrow oppression and exploitation.

The Front and its organisations are members of many international bodies, first of all the World Peace Committee, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, the International Journalists' Association, the World Youth Association, and many others.

Wherever they are, in the Socialist countries, in Indonesia, Algeria, Guinea, Cuba, Ceylon, or at international conferences, delegations of the South Vietnam National Front for liberation are most heartfully welcomed. President Sukarno of Indonesia received the representatives of the fighting people of South Vietnam with these words: "Yours is a just struggle, and as such it will certainly win victory".

A delegation of the Front was invited to attend Algeria's recent National day celebrations and was received by Algerian leaders Ben Bella, F. Abbas and Ben Khidder. The Algerian Premier declared that the Algerian people deeply sympathised with and fully supported the just struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam under the banner of solidarity of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

In Colombo the delegation was welcomed by Ceylon's Premier Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike. A standing mission was established in Havana so as to keep permanent contact with the heroic Cuban people. These are but a few examples to prove the growing sympathy and support of world public opinion for which the people of South Vietnam as well as of the whole of Vietnam are immensely grateful.

Last but not least, the South Vietnamese people's struggle has always received warm support from Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation of which the South Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee is a member. On the occasion of the "Vietnam Day", last July 20, the Permanent Secretariat of the organisation has issued a statement in which it "hails and fully support the just struggle

of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation which certainly will win over aggression and oppression”.

Once again, the South Vietnam express their high gratitude towards the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and all over the world.

The struggle being waged by the South Vietnamese people against the strongest and most aggressive imperialists, the U.S., to overthrow the most reactionary and sanguinary regime in South Vietnam, is an extremely difficult, longdrawn, but certainly victorious struggle.

The only solution to the problem is the one already pointed out by the Front, that is, to end the U.S. imperialists' armed intervention, to withdraw all U.S. military personnel and arms from South Vietnam, to end the war and observe the Geneva Agreements, to let the Vietnamese people solve their affairs, to put an end to repression, to abolish concentration camps, to hold free general elec-

tions in South Vietnam so as to establish a national democratic coalition government, realise independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, as a first step to achieve peaceful reunification of the country.

The facts in the war and the struggle to oppose war, the facts in the military aggression and the armed resistance to aggression between the U.S. and Ngo Dinh Diem on one hand and the South Vietnamese people on the other, have proved the correctness of the manifesto, policy, programme of action of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

Whatever turn the situation in South Vietnam may take, whatsoever manoeuvre the U.S. and Ngo Dinh Diem may resort to, victory will certainly belong to the people of South Vietnam, to the National Front for Liberation, to the whole people of Vietnam.

That is the firm confidence of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, of the whole world and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, too.

# "Okinawa – Sacred soil of Japan"

In seventeen years after the termination of World War II, during which many of Afro-Asian countries have been liberated from the colonial yoke of imperialism, a new "colony" was set up with the aim of preparing a new aggressive war, in a part of Japan, that is, Okinawa which is under the direct and complete military domination by the U.S. imperialism.

The islands of Okinawa are inhabited by about 900,000 Japanese and situated at the South end of the Japanese chain of islands. About 12.7 per cent of the whole areas of Okinawa are now used by the U.S. armed forces as their military bases.

The Okinawan inhabitants have risen up on many occasions against the rule by the U.S., but everytime their resistance was put down mercilessly by the U.S. Okinawa is still occupied by the United States solely for its military purposes. In spite of ardent desire of the inhabitants for the reversion of their islands to Japan, the islands still remains separated from the mainland and their inhabitants subject to cruel colonial rule to which they had never given agreement.

The Okinawan inhabitants deprived of their political freedom and basic human rights, wish that powerful support may be given by Afro-Asian peoples to the 900,000 Japanese in Okinawa fighting for their liberation and unification to their motherland.

In Okinawa, the rights of legislature, administration and judicature belong to the United States. The islands are controlled directly by the U.S. Defense Department. The U.S. High Commissioner, who is a military service man and the Commander of U.S. Forces in Okinawa concurrently, is exercising these basic powers arbitrarily to reign the Japanese inhabitants. The High Commissioner can proclaim decrees by himself, without con-

sulting any representative organisation. He also can revise or cancel decisions by the Okinawa Court. He has the omnipotent power of exercising the administration over the islands. Laws and decrees proclaimed by the High Commissioner are stronger than any laws or decrees issued by other authorities in Okinawa.

Apart from the High Commissioners office, there is a quasi-parliamentary organisation called the Okinawan Legislative Assembly, whose members are elected by the inhabitants. This organ can formulate laws, but the High Commissioners has the veto against this assembly. The veto has been actually invoked on many occasions. (Since 1952, the U.S. leader used his veto power 338 times to turn down the decisions of the Assembly on a variety of subjects including the Okinawa Chief Executive Election Law and the issues of indemnities for the victims in traffic accidents).

The High Commissioner appoints a Japanese "Chief Executive" from among the Japanese inhabitants. The inhabitants have no say in the choice of the Chief Executive.

Along with U.S. courts, there are Okinawan courts with Japanese as their presiding judges. But they have no right to handle cases involving U.S. personnel. The crimes committed by U.S. personnel fell under the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts ruled by U.S. judges. The High Commissioner thus real omnipotence, probably stronger than any held by past dictators.

The following facts may show that the Japanese in Okinawa are living in humiliated conditions.

(1) Five years ago, Mr. K. Senaga, who is critical of the U.S. occupation of the islands was elected Mayor of Maha, the capital of

Okinawa. Gen. Moore, who was the High Commissioner then, immediately proclaimed a decree to amend the relevant law to purge the Mayor from the post, and to deprive him of his right to be elected. He has never been rehabilitated to his rights up till now.

(2) In Okinawa, any publication must go through censorship and get the permission of the military authorities before it can appear before the public. If documents are printed without this permission, the publisher is strictly punished. The censorship is provided in a decree proclaimed by the High Commissioner. Up till recently, the organ papers of all political parties have been strictly banned. Even newspapers published by school teachers have to fulfil the following conditions: "The contents of the publication should be of strictly educational nature and be limited to those related to the expert of opinion of pedagogists. Under no circumstances can the publication be used to promote or encourage the movement for the reversion of Okinawa to Japan". If these conditions are not fulfilled, the publishers are subject to penalties.

Is it possible for the teachers to educate children properly when the exchange of views among the teachers on their own country is so strictly prohibited?

(3) Some time ago, the Basic Education Law was adopted by the Okinawan Legislative Assembly. But the High Commissioner used his veto power against this law, saying that the expression in the law — "education of children as Japanese citizens" — was inadequate. The Assembly, however, passed the same law twice. The High Commissioner at last yielded to the demand of the inhabitants and refrained from using his veto for the third time. This shows how it is difficult in Okinawa to get a minimum demand of the inhabitants fulfilled by the U.S. authorities.

(4) The U.S. military forces constructed large military bases all over Okinawa im-

mediately after its occupation. For the construction of nuclear-rocket and other bases, the U.S. requisitioned large areas of land from farmers counting for 46% of the fertile arable land in Okinawa Islands. A great number of farmers were expelled from their farms without being paid any compensations. In 1954, Okinawan farmers launched a large-scale campaign demanding compensations. As a result, the U.S. grudgingly increased the rental fees but the farmers' livelihood has not been guaranteed even now. Largely on account of the existence of a vast number of ex-farmers, the living standards of the Okinawans are extremely low.

(5) The United States wants to maintain its rule on Okinawa by obstructing the islanders' communications with the mainland. All communications including voyage between Okinawa and mainland Japan are now controlled strictly by the High Commissioner, who refuses to permit the entry into the islands of any Japanese, critical of the present conditions in the islands.

Particularly when those Okinawan inhabitants who are regarded "unfavorable" by the American Government apply for permission to come to mainland Japan, the U.S. military authorities demand them to fill a special form. If the statement by the applicants is not invalidated, they are penalized. This procedure has close hearings on the "loyalty test" conducted by the U.S.

(6) The "loyalty test" is strictly conducted for trade unionists, particularly those who are employed by the U.S. military forces. The U.S. authorities place a strict ban on any form of struggle by their employes. Some sections of the U.S. force employes are deprived of their right to conduct collective bargaining with their management. To be noted is the fact that the American authorities make it the duty of the Japanese employes to pledge their loyalty to the American Government. In order to examine the validity of their

statement, the U.S. secret agency often uses lie-detecting machines.

(7) In economic field too, the domination by the U.S. imperialists is covering all the parts. First of all, the U.S. grasps in its hand the key economic structure of Okinawa. 51% of the total stocks of the Ryukyu Bank which was established by the U.S. order in 1958, is in the hand of the U.S. The U.S. Water Supply Cooperation is entirely controlling the water supply in the islands. The same thing can be said on the electric supply. According to the 1961 Budget prepared by the U.S. Institute of Civilian Officials under the supervision of the U.S. High Commissioner, the total sum of the U.S. assets in Okinawa amounts to U.S. \$ 42,749,000 and the U.S. has been sharing the profit of U.S. \$ 8,407,000 annually, thus exploiting the Okinawa inhabitants at the rate of nearly 10 dollars per head. It should be noted that the workers employed by the U.S. force in Okinawa have been compelled to work at the extraordinary low wages, their wages being half of those for the workers in mainland of Japan. In order to finalize its overall economic domination in 1958, the U.S. switched over a U.S. dollar system from B-Yen, then the local currency in Okinawa.

Okinawa is nothing but a military colony of the United States under whatever beautiful pretext the U.S. may try to justify. It is a colony as long as there are people deprived of their freedom and controlled by forces by a foreign nation.

The rule is continued for the U.S. military necessity. Okinawa is the biggest nuclear outpost of the U.S. in the Far East, which is functioning as the pivot of its strategy in this area. Since after General Taylor, the U.S. Special Military Adviser of President Kennedy, was sent to South Vietnam on 18th of October 1961, the military exercises named "Warm-Up" have been carried out from that very day in Okinawa. These exercises were aimed at intensifying military intervention against South Vietnam. Okinawa times reported that these exercises meant the training for Guerilla Battle. The number of U.S. military personnels swell up over 42,000. U.S. Air force source in Okinawa published a news that 20 nuclear missile bases had been constructed, including four Mace-B Missile bases which have purely offensive character (The Mainichi, March 6, 1961). The 900,000 Japanese, however, have never agreed with the rule by U.S. imperialism. On the contrary, they have expressed on all available occasions their determination to get the islands reverted to Japan. The Legislative Assembly has also passed resolution, everytime it has met, demanding reversion of the islands to Japan. But the U.S. has been ignoring these resolutions.

It is the wish of all Japanese living in mainland Japan and occupied Okinawa to liberate Okinawa from the political and military control by the U.S. imperialism and to reverse it to Japan:

# Statement Made Before the Afro-Asian Representatives At the 17th Session of the United Nations General Assembly

By **S. K. CHAKELA**

on behalf of The Basutoland Congress Party  
and The Swaziland Progressive Party.

Mr. Chairman and Excellencies,

It is with great pleasure that we appear before your Excellencies, the Asian Representatives in the United Nations, following the request in our joint letter early this month to address you on our problems, which request you have so graciously granted.

Mr. Chairman, the people of Africa and Asia are highly gratified by the tremendous progress recorded in the last decade and reflected in the rapid growth of members from our two continents in this organisation of nations, continents which for years have suffered under the grinding yoke of colonialism and imperialism.

We are here to petition your Excellencies in the Fourth Committee, under item 8 on the Order Paper, (Information on non-self governing territories). We are representatives of the Nationalist Liberation Movements in our respective countries.

Before going on to give your Excellencies in a nutshell what transpires in our countries, we would like to point out that we the people who are being administered by the United Kingdom, have seen conference after conference, held in Lancasters House to decide on the Independence of many countries who are labouring under the same system as we do, break down. We have seen the British successfully delaying unduly the Independence of Kenya, Zanzibar, Malta, British Guiana, and we have seen them withhold from the people of Gambia their right of deciding their

own destiny. Today, we see the British creating in our countries circumstances such as those that delayed the Independence of the above mentioned countries.

First and foremost, we appear before you here :

1. To give your Excellencies the inside story of what is actually pertaining in our countries. The Fourth Committee of the General Assembly has always known about us and our countries from the United Kingdom, which as colonial power, keen to retain the status quo in the Non-self governing territories as the other imperialists, has given information on those aspects of our lives as would give an impression that her presence in our countries is for our own good, while completely on the contrary her presence in our countries is a great hindrance to our progress, politically, economically and socially.
2. We have come here to let your Excellencies know the extent to which Britain's supply of arms to the settler republic of South Africa is one of the greatest and immediate threats to our security and the general peace of the world at large. Your Excellencies have heard quotations from numerous papers of statements by the cabinet ministers of the Republic of South Africa who have made it no secret that they are arming and preparing themselves against a possible Afro-Asian invasion. This, your Excellencies, is one of the bogies

used by the Fascists at whose mercy the United Kingdom has placed us, as we shall now show when come before the Fourth Committee. The infamous Prime Minister of the Settler Government of South Africa Dr. H. Verwoerd, addressing a Party Rally in Bloemfontein last year, mentioned that the emergence of three black independent states in and around South Africa is a threat to South Africa's security. This means that Dr. Verwoerd is being armed by Britain for aggressive purposes against us, the people of the three protectorates, indeed the very people whom Britain professes to be protecting. We would like to make the following quotations, of the discussion held by Britain behind our backs. This is only one of numerous such discussions.

The Round Table Vol. XXV (December, 1934 — September, 1935) P. 320 says "in the first place, since the withdrawal of the Imperial Troops from South Africa in 1914, we have been in a position of relying on the South African Defence Force in the last resort for the maintenance of Order in the Protectorates".

Here Your Excellencies, the cat was let out of the bag. This, therefore, answers the question why Britain is continuing to supply arms to South Africa.

3. We the people of the three countries of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, have reached a stage in our political evolution, where we are forced to appeal to the Nations of the world to scrutinize the manoeuvres of Imperial Britain, which are calculated to create out of one or two of our countries a situation such as exists in Southern Rhodesia today.

These moves manifest themselves in many ways in each of our countries, and taking Swaziland as a typical example we shall only enumerate the following :

(a) The British are today flooding this country with immigrants, obviously with the purpose of strengthening the settler minority claim for equal representation based on **race**.

(b) The introduction of a Constitution similar to the 1922 Southern Rhodesia Constitution against the will of the Indigenous peoples, and thereafter grant Self-Government to a Settler dominated legislature, with the dire consequences as those we all witness in Southern Rhodesia.

As this point, we feel that, we have to acquaint Your Excellencies with the fact that 75% of the settler population of approximately 11,000 in Swaziland come from the Republic of South Africa, and that the same is the case with Bechuanaland and Basutoland. The Civil Service in our countries is flooded with these advocates of Apartheid, who bring this filthy system with them and practice it in our countries. The United Kingdom has turned a cold shoulder to the protestations of our peoples against these practices.

4. We further would like to let Your Excellencies know that the question of Incorporation of our countries into South Africa, has not died with the declarations by the United Kingdom that such a thing was impracticable.

The United Kingdom in the last 40 years has been silently paving the way for our incorporation. The economy of our countries is so interlocked with that of South Africa to the extent that there is one currency, one railway system, one Department of Posts and Telegraphs, one Banking system, in all but name, our countries have always been what Dr. Verwoerd wants to create in South Africa, "Bantustans" by agreement with South Africa, no industrial development was to be undertaken in our countries, so that, they should always be reservoirs of cheap labour for South African Industries.

5. To crown it all, the United Kingdom has pawned our mineral resources to the

mining magnates of South Africa, who handle the Anglo-American Investments in South and Central Africa :

- a) The rich Diamond deposits of Basutoland have been handed to the General Mining and Finance Corporation of Johannesburg, through Colonel Jacob Scoot — a director of the same mining concern. In his operations, he has with him the De Beers consolidated, of the Anglo-American Corporation, headed by H. Oppenheimer.
  - b) The rich Iron Ore deposits of Swaziland have been placed exclusively in the hands of the Anglo-American Corporation, which in turn has signed a ten year contract with Japan for the shipping of all the iron ore to Japan, where it will be processed and find its way with the metropolises of London and Washington.
  - c) In Bechuanaland, concessions are being given to South African Settlers and all these without any reference to the indigenous peoples. Not only this even our land has been pawned for good-will by Britain to South Africa.
6. Last but not least of the considerations we would like to put emphasis on, is that of the alarming suppressive activities of the United Kingdom Officials in the Protectorates. Prosecutions, one after another are being carried out in an effort to retard the progress of the people, by instilling fear in their minds to discourage them from demanding their rights.

On the 15th March this year prison sentences were imposed on Senior Executive Members of the Basutoland Congress Party with terms ranging from 4 years to 10 years for alleged incitement. These sentences were

reduced to 7 years by the Appellate Division in September. The British have entrusted even this important wing of Government — Justice — in the hands of the people coming from the Settler Republic of South Africa.

The problems of these three countries are therefore identical. It has been as a result of our identical fate that we decided to come here jointly, even though our colleagues from Bechuanaland have failed to arrive. We humbly solicit Your Excellencies' consideration of our cases at the earliest practicable time as we are fighters and therefore have to get back to the battlefield where we belong.

This indeed is the purpose of our appearance before Your Excellencies today. We have not requested to meet you to solicit your support of our struggle, because we know that our struggle is your struggle, and we know that the Afro-Asian Nations have indeed successfully prosecuted war on colonialism in the 15th Session of the General Assembly with the consequent passing of Resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960 by the Assembly. We come before Your Excellencies therefore with the confidence of our comradeship in this titanic struggle.

Finally, we would like to express our sincere gratitude for the precious time you have devoted to hearing us today.

#### BASUTOLAND

**G. M. KOLISAND**  
Secretary General B.C.P.  
**K. S. CHAKELA**  
DEPUTY PRESIDENT  
B.C.P.

#### SWAZILAND

**A. EXUMALO**  
Secretary General S.P.P.  
**J. J. NQUKU**  
PRESIDENT S.P.P.

# Sketches Of Vietnamese Leaders

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## LAWYER NGUYEN HUU THO

**President of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.**



**Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, a patriotic intellectual, who, together with the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, is leading the people in the heroic anti-imperialist resistance.**

— Born in 1910 in Cholon (South Vietnam). Studied and obtained "Licence en Droits" in France.

— During resistance war, took part in struggle in enemy-occupied areas. From 1947-1949, took part in movement demanding French colonialists to negotiate with Viet-

nam's resistance government to reestablish peace on the basis of recognition of Vietnam's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

— From 1949, led a legal movement of students, workers, public servants and intellectuals in Saigon Cholon against repression and persecution, for freedom, democracy and improvement of people's living conditions.

— One of the leaders of the historic demonstration of Saigon Cholon people in March 19, 1950, demanding withdrawal of American interventionists' warships and aircraft from Saigon.

— Following this demonstration, was deported by French colonialists until 1952.

— 1954 took part in peace movement and elected Vice Chairman of this movement. Arrested and deported again until 1961, when with the help of the people, escaped from jail and joined the people's patriotic movement in South Vietnam.

— Elected President of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation at the first Congress of the Front in 1962.



**PROFESSOR NGUYEN VAN HIEU**  
**Secretary General of the South Vietnam**  
**National Front Liberation,**  
**Vice President of the South Vietnam**  
**Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.**

— A patriotic intellectual born at Ca-Mau (South Vietnam) in 1922.

— Studied agriculture at Hanoi University and Law in Saigon.

— August 1945, took part in insurrection in Ca-Mau. During resistance war (1945-54), carried out propaganda work in Saigon-Cholon area.

— Since 1954, worked among press, cultural and art circles in anti-U.S. and Diem movement in South Vietnam.

— Secretary General of the South Vietnam Radical Socialist Party and Peace Committee, Vice Chairman of the South Vietnam Committee for Asian African Solidarity, Vice President of the South Vietnam Patriotic and Democratic Journalists Association .

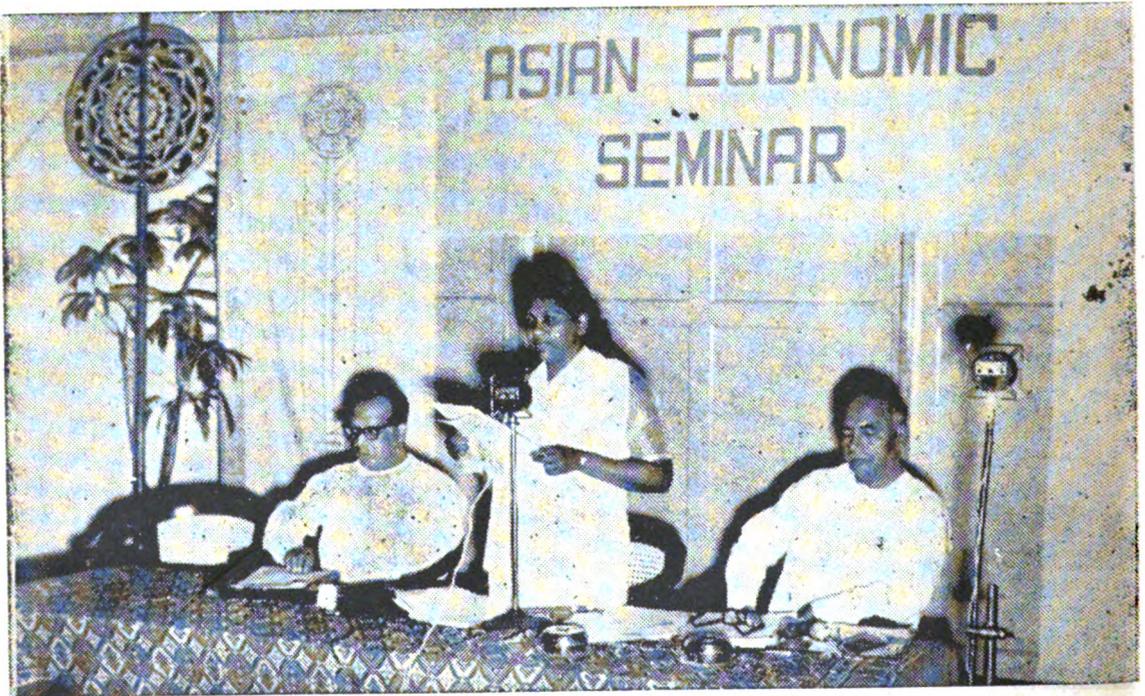
— Unanimously elected Secretary General of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation at the Front's first Congress in

## Colombo Declaration Of The Asian Economic Seminar

### ON THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ECONOMIES AND ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION

The Asian Economic Seminar, meeting at a time when the peoples are faced with the need of broader concerted action in the economic sphere, declares that the struggle for full economic independence is the major task of all those countries which have won political independence. The Seminar opposes imperialist plunder and the new and subtle forms of economic stranglehold and aggression, and also international economic compacts which are inter-state monopoly combines, which interlinked as these are with imperialist policies, seek strategic advantages. It holds that in the present capitalist structure the smoke-screen of economic "aid" restricts free economic development and that military "aid"

facilitates interference in the internal affairs of the recipient nation. U.S. imperialism above all others, has given the lead in forming and using methods that subvert the political and economic independence and the national sovereignty of peoples. The disintegration of the colonial system, under the impact of the people's movements, in one of the most momentous developments of our times and this Seminar calls for the continued efforts of peoples to stamp out its lingering remnants as a vital condition for consolidating their hard-won political independence which is inter-related with and inseparable from economic independence. Striving for economic co-



**Ceylon's Premier Mrs. Bandranaika inaugurating the Asian Economic Seminar held in Colombo October 25 to November 1.**

operation for mutual benefit is our major task now.

The Seminar condemns all the aggressive acts of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, particularly in South Vietnam, South Korea, Japan and Indonesia. The Seminar supports the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and Korea for complete independence and for the unification of their countries by withdrawing the American forces.

The Seminar denounces all discriminating trade measures and condemns the embargo and blockade policy enforced against Cuba, where a crisis of U.S. imperialism, which has exploited Latin America's economic, is taking place. Cuba at this moment needs the uncompromising solidarity of the whole world.

The Seminar views with concern the continuing deterioration in the terms of trade of the primary exports of the developing Asian countries. The prices of the raw material exports of these countries are continuing to de-

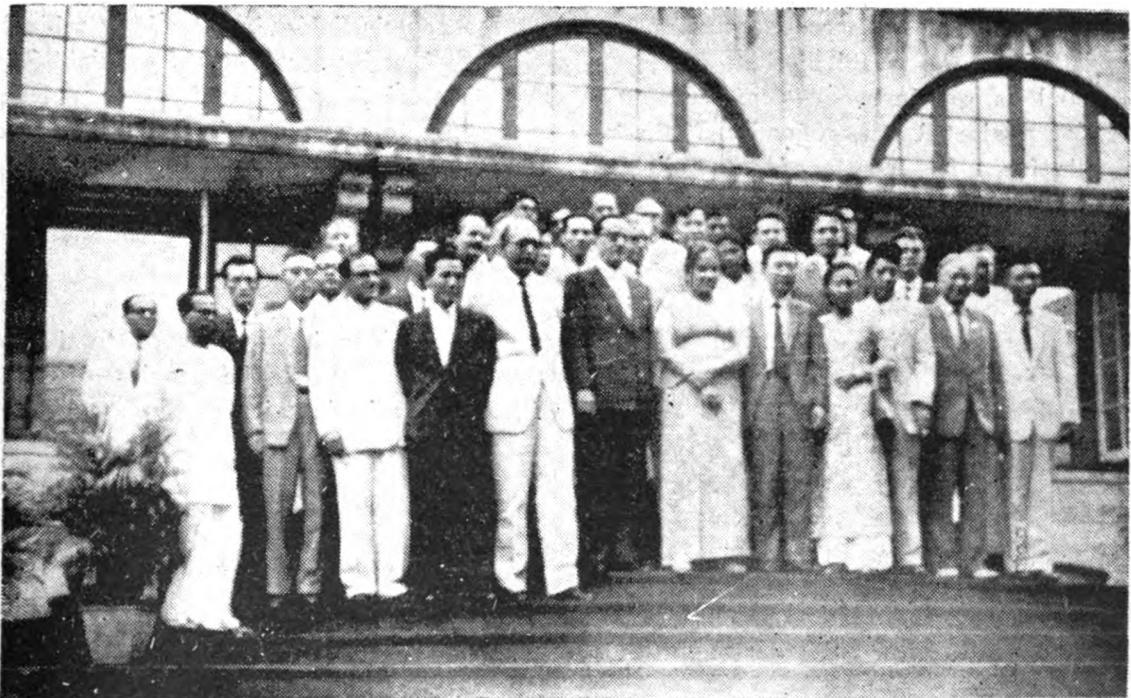
cline while the prices of import products have on the other hand, a tendency to rise.

The Seminar recommends economic co-operation between Asian countries and emphasises the need for special studies on possibilities of furthering economic co-operation.

The Seminar holds that developments of the national economies through self-reliance and the gradual extension of economic co-operation between Asian countries, are principles which are complementary, and mutually promoting and not mutually exclusive.

The Seminar emphasises that co-operation between Asian countries should be on the basis of the fundamental principles of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs, principles which were laid down at Bandung at the First Afro-Asian Conference in 1955.

The Seminar points out that economic co-operation between Afro-Asian countries



**Premier Mrs. Bandranaike with participants in the Asian Economic Seminar (Colombo, Oct. 25-Nov.1).**

should increase the possibilities for the countries concerned to develop trade with any other country on the basis of mutual benefit and equality.

The Seminar believes that at the present stage, certain forms of economic co-operation, as proposed by the Delegation of Ceylon and other Delegations, can be adopted and tried, for example, such forms as long-term trade agreements, co-operation on shipping and communication, stabilization of the prices of export products and co-operation in science and technical skills. The Seminar considers it necessary to further explore the concrete steps and details of economic co-operation at some appropriate date in the future, in some suitable way and with the assistance of experts, with the aim of submitting proposals to the governments of various countries concerned.

The Seminar considers that the European Common Market, integrated with the foreign and military policies of its constituent members, is a threat to Afro-Asian solidarity, creates serious competition between less-developed countries, leads to over-production of foodstuffs in the world market, depresses prices and is an instrument of economic aggression against Asian economies. It therefore calls for a faster rate of economic development and diversification in economic structure in developing Asian countries, through a policy of self-sufficiency in basic requirements compatible with the necessity of economic co-operation, making diversification possible and promoting inter-regional economic development.

The fight against the European Common Market is a fight against inter-state monopoly combination. To meet this aggressive economic front of the imperialists, the working class should build up an anti-monopolist front. United, the masses are a force capable of compelling the imperialists to retreat and the Seminar urges the mobilization of public opinion to awaken Afro-Asia to the danger of the European Common Market.

The Seminar stresses that the availability of alternate economic resources from socialist countries, which promotes economic development, have forced the imperialists to modify their "aid" policies. The change in the relation of the economic forces of the world connotes also a changing pattern in world trade and holds hope and scope for further co-operation.

The Seminar feels that there is actual need at present for the early convocation of a Second Bandung Conference and fully supports the proposal made in this respect. The Seminar welcomes the emphasis made by the Prime Minister of Ceylon in her inaugural message on an Economic Bandung "to achieve in the economic field what Bandung achieved politically" and urges the Afro-Asian Solidarity Associations and all other peoples' movements to appeal to the governments of the region, that at the Second Bandung Conference due emphasis be given to the need for action in the field of Afro-Asian co-operation.

The Seminar looks forward to the increased solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

# Resolutions of the Asian Economic Seminar

(Colombo, Oct. 25 - Nov. 1)

The plenary session of the Asian Economic Seminar, attended by delegations from Ceylon, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, U.S.S.R., Vietnam Democratic Republic, South Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and in the presence of both representatives of the Permanent Secretariat for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, unanimously passed on November 1st, 1962 the following resolutions :

I. This Asian Economic Seminar resolves that with a view to developing further economic co-operation among Asian nations, it should set up a Committee to implement the proposals and decisions of this Seminar. The Committee should consist of representatives of the following countries : Ceylon, China, India (subject to further confirmation by its Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee), Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, South Vietnam (Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee), U.S.S.R. (subject to further confirmation by its Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee). With the entrance of new members, the Committee will be broadened.

It was decided that the seat of the Committee shall be Colombo and the Chairman of the Committee shall be from Ceylon.

The Seminar considers that one of the main tasks of the Committee is to do everything in its power to include all Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees in Asia and all Asian countries into the scope of its work.

This Committee will report to the forthcoming 3rd Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference the results of its work and any steps that the Committee may decide upon.

II. The delegates to the Asian Economic Seminar appeal for economic co-operation and expanded trade among the countries of the region and urge the formation by the governments of the region of a Permanent Economic Council of Asian nations. Such a Council should be envisaged as a stepping-stone to broader Afro-Asian economic co-operation. This Seminar urges also the necessity of creating a broader Afro-Asian Economic Co-operation Council.

III. The delegates to the Asian Economic Seminar :

(1) Welcome the emphasis in the inaugural message of the Prime Minister of Ceylon on an Economic Bandung "to achieve in the economic field what Bandung achieved politically". and

(2) Urge the Afro-Asian Associations and all people's movements to appeal to the governments of the region that, at the Second Bandung, due emphasis be given to the need for action in the field of Afro-Asian co-operation.

IV. Regarding the common traits in the problems of Asia, Africa and Latin America, this Seminar looks forward to an enlarged sphere of solidarity including the peoples of the three continents.

# Statement of Afro-Asian Peoples strongly supporting the armed uprising of the People of Brunei

Following news on the armed uprising in Brunei against the British colonialist authorities in a full expression of Brunei's popular will for independence and self-determination, Mr. Youssef El Sebai, Secretary General of the Organization for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, issued the following statement on behalf of the Permanent Secretariat :

"The Afro-Asian Peoples hail and strongly support the peoples' armed uprising for complete national independence which broke out recently in Brunei against the British imperialists.

At the present time when the British imperialists and the reactionaries have made up their mind to push through the notorious "MALAYAN FEDERATION" against the wishes and aspirations of these peoples, the peoples of Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo could not do otherwise than oppose it strongly, by any possible means. The British-invented "MALAYAN FEDERATION" is nothing but a neo-colonialist method to continue British subjugation and plunder of the peoples of Brunei, Sarawak, North Borneo, Singapore and Malaya. It is a means to maintain and prop up British stooges in this area.

The Permanent Secretariat, speaking on behalf of the Afro-Asian peoples solidarity movement, emphatically condemns the British actions to suppress and massacre the peoples of Brunei. The British have used their mili-

tary base in Singapore to rush "Gurkha" troops to suppress the people's uprising. By this action they once more carry on their old notorious practice of letting Asians fight Asians. The British have also demonstrated that their military base in Singapore is only to serve their imperialist objectives of suppressing peoples fighting for independence. We also deplore and criticize the action taken by the Malayan authorities to join the British imperialists, by sending police units of Malaya to Brunei, in order to suppress the peoples struggle.

We appeal to Afro-Asian peoples and Governments to support the people's struggle of North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei in general for national independence, self-determination, and against the British-projected "Malayan Federation"; to support the armed uprising of the people of Brunei, in particular, against the British imperialists and the reactionaries.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S UPRISING  
OF BRUNEI !  
LONG LIVE THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES  
SOLIDARITY !  
DOWN WITH THE BRITISH IMPERIAL-  
ISTS AND THE NOTORIOUS "MALAYAN  
FEDERATION" !

**Youssef El Sebai**  
Secretary General

Cairo, 10th December, 1962.

**THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES HAIL AND SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE  
OF THE BRUNEI PEOPLE FOR INDEPENDENCE**



**Inche AZAHARI (extreme right) now leading Brunei's uprising against British imperialism, is also an active member of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement.**



# Address of Mr. Abdel Wahab el Salloum

(Iraqi delegate in the AAPSO)

**At the Afro-Asian Jurists Conference Held in Conakry**

**OCTOBER 15-20, 1962**

**Responsibility of popular organisations in the struggle for the defence of the legitimate rights of the people :**

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Permanent Secretariat for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity to address you and convey to you and to heads and members of friendly delegations, honourable jurists, sincere greetings of your brothers-in-struggle against imperialism for the winning and safeguarding of national independence, realisation of equality, for the elimination of oppression, the respect of the peoples right and for world peace.

May I, on behalf of the Permanent Secretariat, express deep thanks and gratitude to President S. Toure, and the amiable Guinean people, in the vanguard of the free and independent Afro-Asian peoples, for affording us this good opportunity by sponsoring this meeting and inviting us to stay in this beautiful country, which was, is and will continue to be cradle of the Afro-Asian movement, after Bandung and Cairo, as well as convey wishes of success for the conference.

The Second Afro-Asian Jurists Conference is held in a situation where an intensified struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national independence and world peace is gaining momentum.

For us Afro-Asian peoples who are struggling against imperialism and colonialism, for complete national independence, the existence of colonialism and neo-colonialism and all actions of imperialism which oppose or sabotage the national liberation movement, constitute the biggest illegality in the world. And we proclaim that all struggles carried by peoples for their complete national independence including armed struggle is entirely legal. This is the highest principle of law for Afro-Asian people.

The legitimacy of sacred defence of peoples is a natural and inalienable right written down in this historical document, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights made known to the world in January 1948, guaranteeing to individuals the freedom and right of life, thought, belief and expression, the freedom and right of association, movement and stay. It guaranteed as well to peoples their rights to freedom and independence, self-determination and choice of regime, without direct or indirect interference, without foreign influence. Since the historical Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955 these principles have been elaborated and adopted by the Afro-Asian peoples as the basis of international relations. These legitimate rights and principles of the oppressed peoples are being denied by the imperialists.

Colonialism in the Afro-Asian countries

resorted to stifling the people's will, to the extent of counterfeiting constitutions and faked elections, repressing any opposition, persecuting peoples and leaders, opening the way for the domination of its stooges and agents and the false rule of law. We take great care that the Declaration of Human Rights be safeguarded, that it be a promoter for the organisation of individual and community relations on the basis of equality, dignity and justice. Thus it would accomplish its great historical role in serving towards the realisation of human progress, consolidation of a social stability that is derived from satisfaction and security, not a security imposed by fear and terror. Obviously this also guarantees and sees to the provision of the Afro-Asian peoples' needs, their legitimate interests; an implementation of the democratic theory of law which pre-supposes that it is an expression of the people's will, an explanation of their aspirations, a realisation of their true and free needs, for the choice of kind of life and nature of rule.

Mr. Chairman, friends,

Indeed, many Afro-Asian countries have succeeded in obtaining their rights, freedom and sovereignty as a result of their persistent struggle. In the recent past, the heroic Algerian people, after a long national liberation war, have won a great victory and the peoples of Ruanda, Burundi and Uganda also proclaimed their independence. We also witnessed the victory of our Laotian brothers over the U.S. interventionists and of the people of Indonesia over the Dutch colonialists on the question of West Irian. Greeting them, we wish them at the same time unification, progress and development. We also greet the Yemeni people who freed themselves from

feudal oppression. We condemn the imperialist's plot to intervene in the internal affairs of Yemen. The great national liberation movements have greatly weakened the forces of imperialism and shaken its foundation, and thus makes important, real and effective contribution to the cause of world peace and general disarmament. Yet, in spite of these victories, the Afro-Asian peoples must maintain vigilance and continue to struggle, for we have before us a long road rampant with danger, taking into consideration that the imperialists and colonialists are undesirous of stopping their subsequent plots, committing the most brutal and base crimes, clinging by all means to the maintenance of their usurpation, plunder and exploitation.

Imperialism proved to be the worst enemy of the peoples. It committed the biggest crime in the world against the peoples, as we witnessed in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, South West Africa, Basutoland, Kenya, Angola, Congo, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Kamerun, Zanzibar and other dependent territories in Africa; also in South Vietnam, South Korea, Laos, Okinawa, the Chinese territory of Taiwan, 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 in the newly independent countries. They propagate the so-called "rule of law in the interest of peace". It is clear that this is a mean of neo-colonialism. In the Congo, the imperialists, first of all the U.S. imperialists under the cover of the UNO, dominate this country, imprisoned many patriots and murdered the legal prime minister and great national hero of Africa,

Patrice Lumumba ; they persecuted Vice-Premier A. Gizenga, at the same time letting free imperialist agents and murderers. The same thing happened with F. R. Moumie, one of the leaders of the Afro-Asian Liberation Solidarity Movement. Indeed, in spite of resolute action taken by the socialist countries, and non-aligned countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the UNO, which obtained certain useful decisions, such as the UNO resolution of liquidation of colonialism, which nevertheless is continuously sabotaged by the Imperialists, we must remain vigilant as long as the UNO in its present structure and composition is often incapable of fulfilling its responsibility, and is often used by imperialists to serve their interest. We condemn the U.S. imperialists for manipulating the United Nations to violate the rights of the Afro-Asian peoples, the outstanding example of which is the deprivation, up till now, of the Chinese peoples' legitimate right of representation in the U.N.O. We must constantly denounce these crimes and struggle against them. These actions of the imperialists constitute a crime against the peoples.

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 Dinh Diem clique and the U.S. imperialists. We call upon you to resist and condemn U.S. intervention and aggression in South Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists are still occupying the Chinese territory of Taiwan by force, and violating constantly the air space and the territorial waters of China. Recently American U-2 planes, intruded in the Chinese mainland, thus threatening peace in the Far East.

We call upon you to support the national liberation movement of the people of Southern and Northern Rhodesia, who are daily fighting against the British colonialists and settlers. There is danger of a repetition of Congolese tragedy in Rhodesia and a second Algeria with its OAS terror.

We call upon you to support the liberation struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea against the Portuguese colonialists, and all African peoples' struggle against colonialism in all its manifestations, against imperialism and for real national independence.

We call upon you 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 in their struggle for reunification and independence against U.S. occupation.

We call upon you to support the heroic Cuban people against the threat of another invasion from the U.S. imperialists. Not long ago the Cuban people succeeded in foiling and defeating the aggression on Giron Beach, organised 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 are attempting another move through the Organisation of American States. But Cuba is not alone. The Latin American peoples and all the peoples of the world strongly support the Cuban people.

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, with the U.S. at their head. 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 movement.

The situation in Central and South Africa especially illustrates all the odiousness of colonialist oppression and domination. all its brutality, persecution and implementation of laws and statutes that violate the rights and dignity of the people, wounding humanity, deficient of the simplest rules of truth and justice.

Of this brand of laws, is the Sabotage Bill in South Africa which considers any activity against the colonialist governments, against racial discrimination — at present taking dangerous forms — a crime, punished by execution. Actually what is meant by sabotage is not sabotage propre, but demonstrations and rallies permitted by all world laws as being a natural right and a means of expression. Nobody escapes those brutal punishments, not even children and lately thrown into prison on the same charge, was Mr. Mandella, member of the African National Congress Party. We condemn the Sabotage Bill which violates the rights of the people and the originator of this criminal law.

It is worthwhile noting that Africa today confronts mainly the problems of its struggle for political and economic independence. And it is in preparation for its invasion once again that colonialism introduced new dangerous weapons — partition constituting but one of them — in addition to continuing to use the old ones — significant among which is Zionist — Israeli economic infiltration. I do not want to broach the old means, for we all know well their falsification and deceit, such as military treaties and collective aggressive blocs, military bases, the unequal alliances of which most of the Asian and African countries suffered and still are. These methods, in addition to others, were condemned by laws, denied by legislation, in spite of being guised by a seeming legislation. I particularly mention colonialist continuation in well-ground-

ing its aggressive bases and expanding its military projects in the Arab South, unrightfully so, and with the aim of doing away with the national movement.

In particular also do I mention the problem of the Palestinian refugees, an inseparable part of the cause of Palestine — this part colonialism unjustly severed from the Arab homeland to set up Israel as a colonialist prop in the East, an event unheard of before in history! A people dispersed, its rights usurped, its property confiscated and illegally at that!

However the time is past when the Afro-Asian peoples stood helpless. Now, the Afro-Asian peoples are rising up and want to be masters of their own destiny. In this heroic fight for freedom and independence, the Afro-Asian peoples are united, because they know by their own experience that their strength lies in their unity. We must point out that the subversive activities carried out by the imperialists and the reactionary forces against the independent and sovereign states and the patriotic organisations in Asia and Africa, are illegal. We condemn these criminal activities.

Very soon the Second Bandung Conference is to be held. This is a good sign. We are confident that Afro-Asian peoples will become more united in their common objective of achieving and consolidating their national independence against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Mr. Chairman,

Before concluding, I would like to refer to this point. Today that most of the Afro-Asian states have achieved their independence and the others are on their way towards liberation, the international group stands in urgent need of a new international law, in whose drafting and establishment of statutes, all the recently independent states and those consolidating their independence, would parti-

cipate so that it would be a law truly expressive of the wishes of all the peoples and a guard for their legitimate rights to achieve and consolidate their national independence.

In our opinion, the Afro-Asian countries and their Organisations that have indeed proved an important international entity in a great many international domain, can greatly contribute to the accomplishment of this important historical mission, — the mission of forming new legislation on the basis of complete equality, mutual respect among all the world states, be they large or small, new or old, developed or backward — thus for the defence of peoples' rights, of seeing to the implementation of these laws, to their non-violation, thus us well to pave the road before the world peoples, for sincere co-operation in serving a free world, in which law, a humanistic civilisation and general peace prevail and reign supreme.

Judging the present situation, we must reaffirm again that the most urgent task of the Afro-Asian peoples is the struggle for national independence, the consolidation of freedom and sovereignty, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, which contributes to world peace.

The Afro-Asian Jurists, in their capacity of guardians of the law, while at the same time a part of their respective people, should do all within their power to contribute to the maximum, to this struggle.

We are very glad to inform you that the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement is going to hold its third Conference in Tanganyika, according to its previous resolution. We call upon all our friends to extend their full support to our Conference.

We wish this Conference success.  
Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

# General Declaration Of The Afro-Asian Jurists Conference

October 15-20, 1962 — Comakry

We, Afro-Asian Jurists, conscious of the common historical background which has determined the destiny of our peoples with similar colonial problems and held together to contribute to solving the economic, political and social problems peculiar to Asia and Africa, reaffirm the necessity of this solidarity to restore the foundation of universal justice, to reconstitute its power of improving society.

The concept of law which is contrary to universal justice, has been used to perpetuate colonialism and imperialism.

Our movement constitutes a just and legitimate reaction against these tragical iniquities which victimized the peoples of Asia and Africa, as well as other peoples of the world for so long a time. Never in the life of mankind was justice more bluntly denied than it was by imperialism and colonialism.

The colonialists have substituted might for right. Law itself was used to promote discrimination and inhuman disqualifications.

Until today, juridical rules are still drawn from the very countries that were sources of injustice and discrimination.

This is a challenge to Afro-Asian jurists. There must be a change. But we must remember that such evolution of law must be brought about by a political struggle.

We reaffirm our faith in the right of self-determination and we request an immediate application of this right without any limitation to all people who are deprived of it; and, we condemn colonialism as a crime;

we further assert that the existence and actions of colonialism and imperialism constitute the biggest illegality in the world today.

On the other hand, all struggles carried on by the peoples for complete national independence, or for restoring their occupied territories or homelands, including the armed struggle, is entirely legal.

The Second Afro-Asian Jurists Conference is held in a situation, where an intensified struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for complete national independence and world peace, is gaining momentum.

In the recent past, the heroic Algerian people after a long national liberation war, won a great victory and the peoples of Ruanda and Burundi and Uganda also proclaimed their independence. The Laotian people have come out victoriously in spite of the intervention of the imperialists.

The great national liberation movement has greatly weakened the forces of imperialism and shaken its foundation, and thus, making a fundamental contribution to the cause of peace, general disarmament and progress.

Yet in spite of these victories, the Afro-Asian peoples must maintain vigilance and persist in the struggle, for the international imperialist front has not changed its nature, and is still committing the most heinous crimes against the peoples.

Imperialism proved to be the worst enemy of the peoples. Imperialism committed biggest crimes in the world against the peoples as we have witnessed in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, South Africa, South West Africa, Basutoland, Kenya, Angola, Congo, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Zanzibar and other dependent territories in Africa; also in Palestine, Aden, Alexandretta and occupied territories of South Arabia, South Vietnam, South Korea, Laos, Okinawa, Chinese territory of Taiwan, West Irian, Cuba and other Latin American territories.

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 directly or indirectly through their stooges, such as Israel. The Afro-Asian peoples are convinced that they possess the potential resources which have not been sufficiently exploited.

In developing their national economy for the consolidation of national independence, the Afro-Asian peoples are determined to be vigilant and to fight against the tactics of the neo-colonialists, who in the name of economic "aid" and "associations", seek to regain their lost domination. The same objective is pursued by the neo-colonialist organisations acting under the mask of the "rule of law in the interest of peace".

The present situation imperatively de-

mands that the peoples of Asia and Africa further unite and wage a continuous struggle against the policies of intervention, aggression, domination and war of imperialism with NATO as their leader.

The imperialists and reactionaries from all countries who have established all kinds of aggressive military pacts and alliances such as SEATO, CENTO, NATO, ANZUS and NEATO, are carrying out criminal activities with ever increasing intensity to oppose the national liberation movement.

Therefore, judging the present situation we reaffirm again that the most urgent task of the Afro-Asian peoples is the struggle for complete national independence.

We, Afro-Asian jurists, fully conscious of being a component part of our peoples, are determined to be persistent in contributing to the maximum to the peoples' struggle for complete national independence and progress, democracy and peace in the framework of the solidarity which unites us. We solemnly reaffirm our fidelity to the principles of peaceful co-existence between peoples as recognised by the Bandung Conference.

We, therefore, appeal to all jurists of both continents of Asia and Africa, as well as the jurists the world over, to unite further and get mobilized in order to play a most decisive role in the establishment of a new and free concept of law and justice which completely reflects the true interests of the peoples.

# MANDELA'S STATEMENT TO COURT

## APPLICATION FOR RECUSATION: FIRST DAY OF TRIAL, JUDGMENT RESERVED TO NOVEMBER 7th 1962

(Mandela has since been sentenced to five years' imprisonment)

I have an application to make. At the outset I wish to make it perfectly clear that the remarks I am now going to make are not in any way directed to Your Worship in his personal capacity, and are certainly not intended to cast any reflection on the integrity of the Court... The point I wish to raise sharply in my argument is not based on personal considerations, but on important questions that go beyond the scope of the present trial.

I might also mention that in the course of this application I am frequently going to refer to the White man and White people. I want at once to make it clear that I am not a racist and I do not support racialism of any kind. I detest it whether it comes from a Black man or from a White man.

I want to apply for the recusal of Your Worship.

I challenge the right of this Court to hear my case on two grounds :

Firstly, I challenge it on the ground that I will not be given a fair and proper trial.

Secondly, I consider myself neither morally nor legally obliged to obey laws made by a Parliament in which I am not represented.

In a political trial such as the present one, which involves a clash of the aspirations of the African people and those of Whites, the country's courts, as presently constituted, cannot be impartial and fair.

In such cases, Whites are interested parties. To have a White Judicial Officer presiding, however high his esteem, and however

strong his sense of fairness and justice is to make Whites judges in their own case.

It is improper and against the elementary principle of justice to entrust Whites with cases involving the denial by them of basic human rights to the African people.

What sort of justice is this that enables the aggrieved to sit in judgment over those against whom they have laid a charge ?

A judiciary controlled entirely by Whites and enforcing laws enacted by a White Parliament in which Africans have no representation — laws which in most cases are passed in the face of unanimous opposition from Africans...

— here the Magistrate interrupted —

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that all men are equal before the law and are entitled, without any discrimination, to equal protection of the law.

In 1951 Dr. D. J. Malan, then Prime Minister, told the Union Parliament that this provision of the Declaration applied in this country. Similar statements have been made on numerous occasions in the past by Whites in this country, including judges and magistrates.

But the real truth is that there is in fact no equality before the Law whatsoever as far as our people are concerned, and statements to the contrary are definitely incorrect and misleading.

It is true that an African, who is charged

in a court of law, enjoys, on the surface, the same rights and privileges as an accused who is White insofar as the conduct of his trial is concerned. He is governed by the same rules of procedure and evidence as apply to a White accused. But it would be grossly inaccurate to conclude from this act that an African consequently enjoys equality before the law.

In its proper meaning equality before the law means the right to participate in the making of the laws by which one is governed; a constitution which guarantees democratic rights to all sections of the population, the right to approach the court for protection or relief for the violation of rights guaranteed in the constitution and the right to take part in the administration of justice as judges, magistrates, attorney-generals, law advisers and similar positions.

In the absence of these safeguards the phrase "equality before the law" insofar as it is intended to apply to us, is meaningless and misleading. All the rights and privileges to which I have referred are monopolised by Whites, and we enjoy none of them.

The White man makes all the laws; he charges us before his Courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgment over us.

It is fit and proper to raise the question sharply; what is this rigid colour-bar in the administration of justice? Why is it that in this courtroom I face a White magistrate, confronted by a White prosecutor, and escorted into the dock by a White orderly? Can anyone honestly and seriously suggest that in this type of atmosphere the scales of justice are evenly balanced?

Why is it that no African in the history of this country has ever had the privilege of being tried by his own kith and kin, by his own flesh and blood?

I will tell your Worship why;

The real purpose of this rigid colour-bar

is to ensure that the justice dispensed by the courts should conform to the policy of the country, however much that policy might be in conflict with the norms of Justice accepted in judiciaries throughout the civilised world.

I feel oppressed by the atmosphere of White domination that lurks all around in this courtroom. Somehow this atmosphere calls to mind the inhuman injustices caused to my people outside the courtroom by this same White domination.

It reminds me that I am voteless because there is a Parliament in this country that is white-controlled. I am without land because the White minority has taken a lion's share of my country and forced me to occupy poverty-stricken reserves, over-populated and over-stocked. We are ravaged by starvation and disease

(interruption by the Magistrate)

How can I be expected to believe that this same race discrimination, which has been the cause of so much injustice and suffering right through the years, should now operate here to give me a fair and proper trial? Is there no danger that an African accused may regard these Courts, not as impartial tribunals dispensing justice without fear or favour, but as instruments used by the white man to furnish these among us who clamour for deliverance from the fiery furnace of white rule?

I have grave fears that this system of justice may enable the guilty to drag the innocent before the courts. It enables the unjust to prosecute and demand vengeance against the just.

This is the first ground of my objection; that I will not be given a fair and proper trial.

The second ground of my objection is that I consider myself neither morally nor legally obliged to obey laws made by a parliament in which I am not represented.

That the will of the people is the basis of the authority of government is a principle universally acknowledged as sacred throughout the civilised world, and constitutes the basic foundation of freedom and justice. It is understandable why citizens, who have the vote as well as the right of direct representation are legally bound by the laws governing the country.

It would be equally understandable why we as Africans should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which we have not made, nor can we be expected to have confidence in courts which enforce such laws.

I am aware that in many cases of this nature in the past South African Courts have upheld the right of the African people to work for democratic changes. Some of our judicial officers have even openly criticized the policy which refuses to acknowledge that all men are born free and equal, and fearlessly condemned the denial of opportunities to our people.

But much exceptions exist in spite of, not because of, the grotesque system of justice that has been built up in this country. These exceptions furnish yet another proof that even among the country's whites there are honest men whose sense of fairness and justice revolts against the cruelty perpetrated by their own White brothers to our people.

The existence of genuine democratic values among some of the country's whites in the judiciary however slender they may be, is welcomed by me. But I have no illusions about the significance of this fact, healthy a sign as it might be. Such honest and upright whites are few and they have certainly not succeeded in convincing the vast majority of the rest of the White population that White Supremacy leads to dangers and disaster.

However, it would be a hopeless commandant who relied for his victories on the few soldiers in the enemy camp who sympathised with his cause. A competent general

pins his faith on the superior striking power he commands and on the justness of his cause which he must pursue uncompromisingly to the bitter end.

I hate race discrimination most intensely and in all its manifestations. I have fought it all during my life; I fight it now, and will do so until the end of my days. Even although I now happen to be tried by one whose opinion I hold in high esteem, I detest most violently the set-up that surrounds me here.

It makes me feel that I am "Black man in a White man's court". This should not be. I should feel perfectly at ease and at home with the assurance that I am being tried by a fellow South African who does not regard me as an inferior, entitled to a special type of justice.

This is not the type of atmosphere most conducive to feelings of security and confidence in the impartiality of a Court.

The court might reply to this part of my argument by assuring me that it will try my case fairly and without fear or favour, that in deciding whether or not I am guilty of the offence charged by the state, the court will not be influenced by the colour of my skin or by any other improper motive.

That might well be so. But such a reply would completely miss the point of my argument.

As already indicated, my objection is not directed to your Worship in his personal capacity, nor is it intended to reflect upon the integrity of the court. My objection is based upon the fact that our courts, as presently constituted, create grave doubts in the minds of an African accused, whether he will receive a fair and proper trial.

This doubt springs from objective facts relating to the practice of unfair discrimination against the Black man in the constitution of the country's courts. Such doubts cannot be allayed by mere verbal assurances from a

presiding officer, however sincere such assurances might be. There is only one way, and one way only, of allaying such doubts, namely, by removing unfair discrimination in judicial appointments. This is my first difficulty.

I have yet another difficulty about similar assurances your Worship might give. Broadly speaking, Africans and Whites in this country have no common standard of fairness, morality and ethics, and it would be very difficult to determine on my part what standard of fairness and justice your Worship had in mind.

In their relationships with us, South African Whites regard it as fair and just to pursue policies which have outraged the conscience of honest and upright men throughout the civilised world. They suppress our aspirations, bar our way to freedom and deny us opportunities to promote our moral and material progress, to secure ourselves from fear and want. All the good things of life are reserved for the Whites and we Blacks are expected to be content to nourish our bodies with such pieces of food that drop from the tables of the men with White skins. This is the white man's standard of justice and fairness. Herein lies his conception of ethics. Whatever he

himself may say in his defence, the White man's moral standards in this country must be judged by the extent to which he has condemned the vast majority of its inhabitants to serfdom and inferiority.

We, on the other hand, regard the struggle against colour discrimination and for the pursuit of freedom and happiness as the highest aspiration of all men. Through bitter experience, we have learnt to regard the white man as a harsh and merciless type of human being whose contempt for our rights, and whose utter indifference to the promotion of our welfare, makes his assurances to us absolutely meaningless and hypocritical.

I have the hope and confidence that Your Worship will not hear this objection lightly nor regard it as frivolous. I have decided to speak frankly and honestly because the injustice I have referred to contains the seeds of an extremely dangerous situation for country and people. I make no threat when I say that unless these wrongs are remedied without delay, we might well find that even plain talk before the country's courts is too timid a method to draw the attention of the country to our political demands.

# Report on the Activities of the Permanent Secretariat

September -- December 1962

## STATEMENTS ON U.S. AGGRESSIVE POLICY

The Permanent Secretariat issued a Press Statement on the September 12th, in which it condemned the provocation of the U.S. imperialists. It called upon all the peoples of Africa and Asia to consolidate their struggle against these provocations which menace world peace, by strengthening their fight for the removal of all foreign military bases.

The Permanent Secretariat also denounced, in a Press Statement on September 28th, the provocative measures taken by the Kennedy Government. The Secretariat addressed its call for organizing popular rallies, to all the solidarity committees and to all the peace-loving peoples of Asia, Africa, and the rest of the World.

## ON THE SITUATION IN S. RHODESIA

The Permanent Secretariat sent a circular letter concerning the present situation in Southern Rhodesia to all national committees and friendly organizations. Enclosed was a letter from M. N. Sithol (exiled leader of ZAPU Party) addressed to the British Government, which contained a complete explanation of the present situation. In its circular letter, the Permanent Secretariat called upon all committees and freedom-loving governments to take positive steps at the current U.N.O. session, towards foiling the imperialist plot. It also declared its resolution to launch a special campaign of aid for the liberation struggle in Southern Rhodesia.

## ON UGANDA'S INDEPENDENCE

The Permanent Secretariat, in the name of the peoples of Africa and Asia, issued a Press Statement on the independence of Uganda after its long struggle. It observed with pride and sorrow, the memory of one of its comrades-in-arms, the late "John K. Kale" who lost his life while fighting for the cause of freedom of his people.

Mr. Youssef El Sebai, Secretary General, in the name of the Permanent Secretariat, sent a cable to the President of Uganda congratulating him and his people on their independence. He expressed the hope that this victory would constitute the prelude to laying the foundations of complete independence and progress and to consolidating the struggle of the rest of the peoples for their liberty and independence.

On that same occasion, the Uganda Office in Cairo held a reception at the Misr Bank Club in which the representative of the Secretariat took part.

## ON THE 13th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

On the occasion of the 13th Anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic, the Permanent Secretariat sent the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity a cable of congratulations, hailing the Chinese people's struggle against imperialism.

## **ON GUINEA'S INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY**

The Permanent Secretariat praised the role of the Guinean people in the struggle against imperialism in a cable of congratulations on Guinea's independence anniversary sent to Mr. Saifullah Diallo, head of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea.

### **WITH THE YEMENI STRUGGLE**

Secretary General. Mr. Youssef El Sebai, in the name of the Permanent Secretariat, sent the following congratulatory cable to Yemeni leader, Abdullah El Sallal : "THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT FOR AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY CONGRATULATES THE YEMENI PEOPLE ON THEIR REVOLUTION OF LIBERATION AND WISHES THEM PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS IN ALL THE PRINCIPLES OF ARAB NATIONALISM, FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY AMONG PEOPLES AND PEACE".

The Permanent Secretariat also issued a Press Statement, on November 7, in which it supported the Yemeni people and their great republic. It declared its support to their just struggle against the forces of evil and reactionary aggression, and it condemned the rulers of Jordan and Saudi Arabia backed by Anglo-American imperialism.

### **ON PALESTINE**

On the occasion of the anniversary of the Sinister Balfour Declaration (November 2nd, 1917), the Secretariat issued a Press Statement on that date, in which it expressed its confidence that the struggle of the Palestinian people will inevitably end in regaining their usurped rights, in returning to their land and in a victory over the Zionist and imperialist usurpers similar to the triumph

of the Algerian, Yemeni and other struggling peoples in the two continents.

### **ON ADEN**

The Permanent Secretariat expressed its indignation at the methods applied by the imperialists in Aden, in a Press Statement it issued on November 29, supporting the people of Aden in their struggle for their freedom, and asserting that the deep national consciousness in Aden and the position of the Sheikh and Sultan lackeys, will make the popular movement in that region a solid force against all designs.

### **CONGRATULATIONS TO PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE OF TANGANYIKA**

The Permanent Secretariat sent Mr. Julius Nyerere, first President of Tanganyika, the following cable : "We sincerely congratulate you on election of your excellency as first President of Tanganyika and wish further success to your party and Tanganyika".

It also sent a similar cable to Mr. Oscar Kambona, Secretary General of TANU Party.

### **PREPARATIONS FOR THE THIRD SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE**

The Permanent Secretariat started its preparations for the convocation of the Solidarity Conference in Tanganyika (January 7-12, 1962), after receiving the confirmation of date from Tanganyika. The following Committees were formed :

- A) COMMITTEE FOR INVITATIONS: including the delegates from the U.A.R., INDONESIA, JAPAN, KAMERUN.
- B) REPORT COMMITTEE: Divided into two groups : The first group formed of the Delegates of U.A.R., CHINA, INDIA, CONGO and JAPAN, assigned the drafting of the Political Report.

The Second Group formed of the Delegates from INDONESIA, IRAQ, KAME-  
RUN, and the U.S.S.R., assigned the  
drafting of the rest of the report. In-  
vitations to all Solidarity Committees  
have been dispatched.

### **ON "QUIT AFRICA DAY"**

On the occasion of "Quit Africa Day", the  
Permanent Secretariat issued a Press State-  
ment in which it expressed its satisfaction at  
the progress achieved by the struggle of the  
African and Asian Peoples. It pointed out  
that the independence achieved by most coun-  
tries was only nominal independence mark-  
ing the beginning of the African revolution,  
that the coming phase was the most critical  
one, requiring awareness and sacrifice.

The Permanent Secretariat called upon  
all the African and Asian peoples to conso-  
lidate their gains, to strengthen their soli-  
darity and to unite their forces against the  
common enemy colonialism and neo-colonial-  
ism.

### **FOR SCHOLARSHIPS TO RUANDA REFUGEES**

The Permanent Secretariat, in a circular  
letter to all national solidarity committees,  
called upon them to exert all possible efforts  
in responding to the call of Ruanda refugees  
for university education opportunities and  
scholarships for which they stood of dire  
need.

### **ON THE CUBAN CRISIS**

On the morning of Sunday, October 28th,  
at the seat of the Permanent Secretariat for  
Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Representatives of  
the Afro-Asian Peoples met representatives  
of the National Council for Peace in Cairo,  
the African Association, and the U.A.R. Com-  
mittee for Afro-Asian Solidarity. They  
discussed the international situation and the  
menace against world peace resulting from

the continuing U.S. Blockade of Cuba in spite  
of all the efforts exerted to lessen the tension  
and to safeguard world peace. They saw that  
the situation demanded the exertion of strong  
pressure to preserve world peace and to fight  
aggression, and thus agreed to call for a po-  
pular rally to be held at the Lawyers' Syn-  
dicate on Wednesday October 31st at 3 p.m.,  
where the representatives of the sponsoring  
organisations and the Cuban Ambassador in  
Cairo, would speak. They hoped that this rally  
would offer the people of the U.A.R. an  
opportunity to express, by attending, their  
support for the Cuban people's struggle and  
for world peace.

The Permanent Secretariat issued a Press  
Statement, calling upon the peoples of Asia,  
Africa and Latin America to mobilize all their  
forces in support of Castro's five-point pro-  
posal.

On the occasion of the campaign launch-  
ed by the National Front in Indonesia in sup-  
port of the five-point proposal of the Cuban  
Premier, the Permanent Secretariat sent the  
National Front a cable supporting the camp-  
aign and condemning the U.S. imperialist  
aggression and the violation of Cuban Air  
Space.

### **ON THE JAPANESE STRUGGLE**

In a cable to Tokyo, the Permanent  
Secretariat expressed its complete support to  
the struggle of the noble Japanese people,  
which bears an important meaning of Afro-  
Asian Solidarity and national liberation. This  
was on the occasion of the popular rally held  
at the end of a month-long campaign against  
military bases, alliances negotiations be-  
tween Japan and South Korea and nuclear  
weapons. The campaign was also for the re-  
trieval of Okinawa and for promoting peace  
in Asia.

# Our Guests

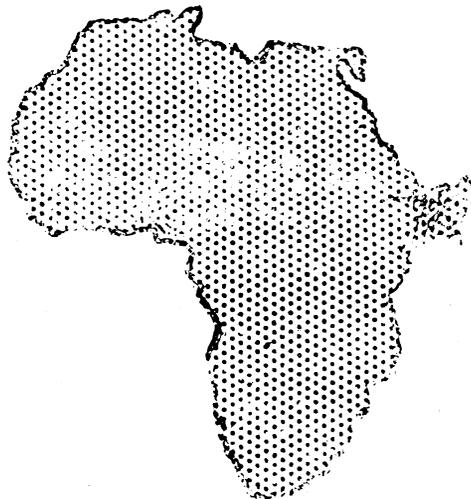
## FROM CUBA

In its meeting on Saturday, October 13th, the Secretariat was host to the following guests from Cuba :

- Mr. Silvino Sorhegin  
— the Ambassador of Cuba,
- Mr. Armando Entralgo  
— Chief of the Dept. of African Affairs  
in Cuba.
- Mr. Wambaldis Valdez

- 1st Secretary of Cuban Embassy.  
Mr. Ose Prieto
- Chancellor of Cuban Minister of  
Foreign relations.

All the members of the Secretariat welcomed them, and the Secretary General assured them that the consolidation of relations between Latin America and the peoples of Africa and Asia is one of the important tasks of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. Mr. Silvino Sorhegin, the Cuban Ambassador, said that the Cuban Revolution was honoured to accept the formal invitation **to attend the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference as an observer.**



## DJAMILA BOUHREID VISITS THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT

On Saturday, October 13th, at 5 p.m., the Permanent Secretariat held a reception to

welcome the two Algerian freedom-fighters: Gamila Bouhreid and Zahra Bouzarit. The reception was attended by Press and News Agency reporters as well as by the members and staff of the Secretariat. Mr. Youssef El



**Djamila with Mme. Diallou, assistant guinean secretary and Mr. Youssef El-Sebai.**

Sebai welcomed them as the symbols of the heroic Algerian People's struggle, and expressed his sentiments as a writer on facing the heroins of the story "Gamila Bouhreid". In the name of Afro-Asian Solidarity, he expressed his pleasure at seeing the heroine re-

sume her struggle for Algeria, her free and fraternal homeland.

At the end of the reception, he presented them with a cheque of L.F. 200 as the contribution of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation to the Algerian New Generation Society.



Djamila and companion Zahra Bouzarif (sitting on her right) surrounded by Secretariat Staff and Secretary General handing her a cheque as the P.S. contribution to the Algerian Association "Nouvelle Generation".

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### THE ASIAN ECONOMIC SEMINAR OCT. 1962

The Permanent Secretariat delegated Mr. Mohammed Kalimullah, Indian Secretary and Mr. Masao Kitazawa, Japanese Secretary, to Colombo, Ceylon, to attend the Asian Economic Seminar which was held on October 25-31, 1962.

The main topic of this seminar was "Eco-

conomic co-operation" which is the vital subject of the day in the light of the changing economic situation as exemplified by the trends of the European Common Market and other movements in Asia (such as the South-East Asia Common Market).

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

## BRUNEI

The Permanent Secretariat has received a press release issued by the Rakayat Party of Burnei, Kalimantan protesting and contesting and condemning the brutal repression of the British authorities and aggressive measures against the people in North Borneo.

## CEYLON SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

The National Solidarity Committee of Ceylon has sent the following cable to the Secretariat on the struggle of the Cuban people against U.S. aggressive designs :

"DUE TO THE SITUATION IN CUBA WE REQUEST THE SECRETARIAT TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO SUPPORT THE CUBAN PEOPLE AGAINST THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE IMPOSED BY THE AMERICAN FLEETS".

## CHINESE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

On the occasion of the 8th anniversary of Algeria's Revolution, a big reception was organized in Peking which was attended by Chinese personalities and diplomatic corps in the Chinese capital. Head of the Algerian Mission in the Peoples' Republic of China addressed the assembled and thanked them for their fraternal feelings and support for his people.

On this same occasion, the Chinese Solidarity Committee sent to the Secretariat a message of congratulations.

The Permanent Secretariat received a letter of thanks from the Chinese solidarity committee in reply to the congratulatory message it sent, on occasion of the 13th anniversary of the Chinese Peoples' Republic.

## FROM THE VIETNAMESE COMMITTEE

Following the visit of Mr. Camara Mamedi, the Secretariat's delegate to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, on the occasion of the 8th Anniversary of the Geneva Agreement, the Vietnamese committee in Hanoi, addressed a letter of thanks in the name of the Vietnamese people to the Permanent Secretariat for the help it extended towards the people struggling against imperialism.

The Vietnamese committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, in participation with the Committee of the Algerian struggle, addressed an appeal to the Vietnamese people to help the Algerian people and the peoples fighting for independence.

The people in Vietnam responded to these campaigns with great enthusiasm and all the organisations and associations came out to offer their aid.



Mass demonstrations in Vietnam demanding reunification by peaceful means.

# NEWS

## Of The Afro-Asian World and Friendly Organisations

### FOR AN AFRO-ASIAN JOURNALISTS CONFERENCE

The Journalists Conference, held in Budapest and attended by delegations from 27 Afro-Asian countries, issued a joint communique concerning the holding of a Conference for Afro-Asian Journalists in Indonesia in 1963.

The Permanent Secretariat cabled Mr. S. Tahsin inviting him to come to Cairo in order to discuss the matter with the Secretariat and with U.A.R. journalists.

### BULGARIAN-AFRICAN FRIENDSHIP

The Permanent Secretariat for Afro-Asian peoples' Solidarity received a cable of support from the Peace Committee of Bulgaria on the occasion of "Quit Africa Day", in which it expressed its sincere greetings to the militant heroes of the African continent, who are working for the total independence of their countries and the liquidation of colonialism.

### CUBAN YOUTH

The Permanent Secretariat received a cable sent by the Cuban Youth asserting their full support to the stand of their valiant leader Prime Minister Fidel Castro. The cable stresses that the Cuban Youth will always back their Leader in the struggle for independence and liberty.

### THE INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC JURISTS FEDERATION (Brussels)

The International Democratic Jurist Federation issued a statement condemning the arbitrary legislations promulgated by the South Rhodesian Government and demanded their immediate abrogation so that the Afri-

can peoples of this territory can exercise their legitimate rights in the various domains. It called on Britain to release the leader of the Zimbabwe Party M. Joshua Nkomo, and to restore the banned Party with implementation of the resolutions of the U.N. Trusteeship Committee concerning the granting of independence to the colonies.

### ON GIZENGA'S CASE

Soviet lawyers in collaboration with the International League of Democratic Lawyers, addressed an appeal to world public opinion, in which they urged all lawyers in the world to come to the defence of Gizenga's life, who is still suffering all sorts of pains in his cell.

### THE INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S FEDERATION

The International Democratic Woman's Federation in the name of 200,000,000 women addressed an appeal to all national organisations throughout the world in request for their solidarity with respect to the painful situation in Venezuela, resulting from the oppressive measures adopted by the authorities there, and imprisonment of the women who demanded democracy.

●

The Women's federation requested as well friendly organisations to send cables to protest to the Venezuela government, as an expression of solidarity with them.

●

It furthermore cabled a protest to the President of the Venezuela Republic in which it demanded the release of Mrs. Eilen San Joan, president of the Venezuela Women

organisation and her militant colleagues, respect of human rights declared by the Charter of the U.N., of which Venezuela is a member.

U.N. to interfere for a decisive solution of this dangerous problem.

The Movement also issued on Sept. 20. a strong protest against the British authorities, measure banning the "Union of the African Peoples" Zimbabwe which advocates democracy and self-determination for Rhodesia. The statement underlines that "the British Government is responsible of the consequences of his acts" especially that it did not give any consideration to the resolution of the U.N. special committee on the Southern Rhodesia question.

### **LIAISON COMMITTEE FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS**

The Permanent Secretariat for Afro-Asian peoples' Solidarity received two cables from the Liaison Committee for the Asian and Pacific regions, concerning the support of Cuba, in which it called on all the countries in the world, the African, Asian and Latin American peoples to consolidate their unity towards concerted efforts in support of Cuba against the U.S. colonialists.

### **MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM (London)**

The Movement for Colonial Freedom (London) addressed on October 1st, a letter, to the Acting Secretary-General of the U.N. on the conditions in Southern Rhodesia, and on what the ruling authorities are doing with regards to the minority of the white settlers against the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia. The letter stresses that such criminal acts are directed against a people asking only for its rights and freedom. Moreover Southern Rhodesia is the main struggle scene in South Africa, against the degenerated parties of Salazar, Welensky and Verwoerd. The struggle in Southern Rhodesia cannot be separated from the struggle for freedom in the Congo, Mozambique, Angola, Northern Rhodesia and the British Protectorates whether in South-West Africa or South Africa. It has been requested of the

The Movement demanded from the British government the release of Mr. Abdulla el Esnag, Secretary-General of Union of Commerce Chambers, after he and his colleagues have been detained, only because they have demanded their rights and freedom of their country from colonialist domination.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom demanded from the British government immediate independence for British Guiana.

### **OMAN**

Delegation of the Omani Imamate, headed by Sheikh Taleb Ben Aly, Ben Shafik arrived in New York, at the beginning of November to submit this peoples' cause before the U.N.O. The Omani cause was inserted in the agenda of the Organisation, in compliance with a previous request of the Arab states submitted to this effect.

Radio Sanaa broadcast that Britain had landed 6,000 soldiers in the Arab Gulf, on the coast of Oman, near the El Masarka Convent,

and observers have confirmed that the stand of Britain at the present time has great connection with the events in Yemen.

Omani representative in Cairo, Mr. Himyar ben Soliman, has expressed his strong protest with regards to the British aggressive acts committed against the Arab South. He asserted that the Omani people are determined more than ever to continue their struggle for independence, regardless of the price.

The Omani Nationalists launched an attack on British concentration areas, South of the city of Rastak. Omani nationalists were arrested and sent to prisons. British authorities arrested a large number of the tribe of Beni Howa, and were sent to prison without trial

Omani nationalist forces lost a certain number of their men who fell on the field of battle during the struggle.

The Permanent Secretariat has received from the Omani Imamate Office in Cairo, news of the death of an Omani martyr in a battle that started between the fighters and the British Forces at El-Aala-Valley, near Al Ghafat. News were also received that a large number of Omanis have been arrested on the charge of helping the nationalists.

### **PORTUGUESE-GUINEA LIBERATION RALLY**

The Permanent Secretariat received a cable from the Portuguese-Guinea Liberation Rally, in Conakry, requesting its participation as observer in the 3rd Afro-Asian peoples Conference.

### **PRESS CONFERENCE FOR ADEN UNIONIST**

A press conference was held in London airport on Tuesday, November 13, upon the arrival of Mr. A. Homstetler, lawyer of the Aden unionists, who had witnessed the torture of the militant sons of Aden. Following this press conference, Mr. Homstetler attended the debates of the House of Commons concerning the Aden issue.

### **SINGAPORE**

The Singapore Union of Commerce Chambers in a statement strongly condemned the instructions given by the British authorities aiming at preventing the tenue of their Conference. It considered such measures as a flagrant challenge to democratic rights and justice.

### **VIETNAMESE MEMORANDUM TO THE 17th U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam forwarded a memorandum to Mr. Mohamed Zafrallah Khan, Chairman of the U.N. General Assembly's 17th session, in which he drew the attention of the governments represented in the session, to the extent of serious situation in his country, as a result of the U.S. persistent policy of inter-



**Vietnamese protesting against the illegal introduction of weapons into South Vietnam.**

vention and aggression in the last eight years, in its endeavour to change South Vietnam into its new colony, which constituted a violation of the fundamental stipulations of the Geneva agreements.

He demanded in the statement the cessation of armed aggression and withdrawal of military units and equipments, calling on the U.N. to exert special endeavours and efforts for the consolidation of world peace and security. The U.N. principles on the Geneva agreements concerning South Vietnam must be respected, so that security in this area and the destiny of its people would be made possible.

### **VIETNAMESE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF WORLD PEACE**

The Vietnamese Committee for the Defence of World Peace issued a statement denouncing the provocative steps taken by America and her agents in South Vietnam. The statement also protested against the arrival of the American General, Taylor, special envoy of the U.S. Defence Department to Saigon, to confer with the rest of the American officers in South Vietnam for the sake of widening the scope of the aggressive war in South Vietnam known as "Undeclared War".



**Reunification is the supreme  
aspiration of the Vietnamese people.**

### **YOUTH COMMITTEE OF THE V.P.C.**

The Youth Committee of the Victorian Peace Council addressed a letter to U Thant, U.N. Secretary General, in which it expressed its strong protest against the ill-treatment of Antoine Gizenga and demanded a decisive end to the shameful situation which endangered the life of this patriotic leader. The committee called on the Secretary General not to allow repetition of the Lumumba tragedy in the Congo and a cessation to the brutal atrocities committed there.



**"Carry on the Anti-Imperialists struggle with  
a pickle in one hand and a rifle in the other".**



