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Africa

In the course of his opening remarks at the Press Conference which he held at the Foreign Ministry on December 30th, Dr. Franco Nogueira, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, surveyed the African situation at the close of 1964.

The Minister justified thus once again dealing with the topic of Africa by pointing out that the nature and the objectives of the struggle in that continent provide one of the principal focuses of World attention. It was now evident that the whole of the extremist faction of the "Third World" was involved and that the socialistic bloc had taken a very grave decision involving the mobilisation of vast financial and military resources. None of this was being undertaken for the good of Africa and of its peoples. On the other hand, if one had the courage to get down to rock bottom and the basic honesty to make known one's conclusions, one would have to say that the story of self-determination, of *coups d'état*, of racialism, and of revolutionary action in Africa follows very closely the chart of the Continent's mineral wealth, almost coincides with the map of Africa's railway network, and takes very much into account the location of the great ports and harbours.

"And yet," said the Minister, "in the politics of Africa care has been taken to proclaim high ideological principles, to show generous disinterestedness in the aid given to Africa. Above all, however, what has been sought has been the spread of influence at the expense of that of others; the control of the sources of raw materials; the securing of strategic positions; and the rendering of the autonomous defence of Europe impossible by means of her encirclement and the turning of her flank. That, in the process, the peoples of Africa are being plunged into misery and chaos and their material and educational progress is being held back are secondary matters of not the slightest concern to those who are responsible for such policies."

Congo Situation the Gravest Problem in Africa

The Minister went on to say that he would lay emphasis on the situation in the Congo (Leopoldville) because it constituted perhaps the gravest problem on the African continent. Portugal was perfectly qualified to express her views in this context since, apart from the private interests of the Portuguese nationals who live and work in the Congo, she had no material, no economic interests at stake there. She was in no way dependent on the Congo and had no wish to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the life of the Congolese people. Her sole objective was that nothing should come from the Congo to affect the peace and security of Northern Angola. "We consider this to be natural requirement of good neighbourliness to which there can be no valid objection. Apart from this, we are open to every sort of legitimate collaboration and ready to render such aid as we can and as may be asked of us."

Basing himself on the fact of this total Portuguese disinterestedness, Dr. Franco Nogueira proceeded to deal with the historical background of the Congolese situation as seen by Portugal for many years now.

"Ever since the Berlin Conference (1884-5)," the Minister observed, "the comity of nations—and Portugal as much as or more than the rest—has been confronted by the problem of the Congo. It had already by then become clear that the Congo was the key to Black Africa and that this area would come under, or would be deeply influenced by, the kind of government, the structure of the institutions, and the political ideology that might take hold in that territory. That this point of view is today still absolutely valid can hardly be doubted. By virtue of its vastness, of its resources, of its geographical position, of the number of countries with which it has common frontiers, the Congo's position in Black Africa, even after due regard is had for all differences in scale, is analogous to that of Brazil in South America, and plays a similar political role. For as it goes with Brazil, so will it go with South America; similarly, as it goes with the Congo, so too will it go with Black Africa.

"Therefore, we have long been conscious of the dangers and the risks. They seemed evident to us when deciding on the course to follow. And I do not think it is indiscreet to reveal that in 1960, when I was Director of Political Affairs at the Foreign Ministry, I asked the then United States Ambassador to come and see me and told him that, in our view, there would arise in the Congo, as the aftermath of independence, a situation of tribal strife and civil war which would forthwith be fomented and exploited from outside, and that it would undoubtedly become necessary to send in foreign troops. This view rested on our appreciation of the problems: our conviction that, because the Congo was the key to Black Africa—an area throughout which the communist bloc was determined to achieve ideological domination—a struggle for control was bound to break out in that country and there would be a war of subversion."

The "Political Solution" Proposed for the Congo Means Chaos for 10 or 20 Years

"But in the West some people, particularly among those with the largest stake in Congolese affairs or with the greatest capacity for action, seem to be impelled by a certain ingenuousness or by an excess of good faith. They therefore put forward, as a solution for the present difficulties in the Congo, what they call a 'political solution' which would apparently consist in bringing about, and even in imposing, the entry into the Congolese Central Government of political figures acceptable to other African Governments. I consider that this position, if persisted in, may well have the direst consequences.

"In the first place, since it is the extremists who are opposed to the present Congolese Government and since it is being sought to appease those extremists, we must conclude that only those approved of by the latter will be able to form the Central Government: that is to say, the Congo will be delivered up to African extremism. In other words, Communist domination. We do not doubt that there will be stability and peace—but the Congo will be lost to the free world. Secondly, in international

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Vietnam

ITEM: From *Newsweek Magazine*, March 1, 1965:

... a Louis Harris survey reported that 83 per cent of Americans firmly support the President's decision to launch retaliatory strikes against North Vietnam, but that they are also gripped with deep concern that the conflict there may escalate into a major war. This concern is reflected in the fact that 75 per cent favour asking for negotiations at this time to end the war. But this last is no indication that there is a "peace-at-any-price" feeling abroad in the country, the Harris survey said. Americans were also asked if they would favour sending large numbers of U.S. troops to fight there if this should be necessary to save South Vietnam from Communism. Forty-eight per cent said they would, while 40 per cent said they would oppose such a move and 12 per cent were not sure.

CORRECTION: Once and for all time the nonsense concerning "polls" and "surveys" should be put to rest. When Louis Harris or George Gallup or some university graduate student conducts a survey or poll by questioning a minute fraction of one per cent of the population, there is absolutely no justification for saying that 83 or 75 or 48 or 40 or 12 per cent of Americans favour or oppose anything—not even apple pie, motherhood, or the flag.

—Correction, Please!, March 5, 1965.

Hungry by Choice

"Nutritionists and politicians frequently tell us of the large proportion of the world's population that is undernourished," says Dr. W. Candler, professor of agricultural economics at Massey University College. "What they frequently fail to tell us is that in many cases, this is by choice.

"The Indian who decides to save to buy a bicycle, the Coolie who saves for a transistor radio; even the man who restricts food consumption to buy shoes—each is making a normal economic decision. A 'give-away' programme in such circumstances could be extremely disruptive of the expansion of commercial demand for protein foods."

—*Bay of Plenty (New Zealand) Times*, January 15, 1965.

The Cecils

The 3rd Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903) strikes the reader as the most significant of all the Cecils described in *The Cecils* by Ewan Butler (Frederick Muller Ltd.). He saw the danger of communism in 1872, saying that it would "thrust what we call politics into the background, in favour of a social conflict the most critical and the most embittered that has yet shaken the fabric of civilisation." It would declare war against the family and against religion. He mistrusted "democracy" as a government of an uneducated rabble, and foresaw that the party of "movement", as he called his political adversaries, "must find some new subject of complaint to sustain its existence" and that the invention and exacerbation of controversies would lead to "place, honour and power".

He also mistrusted Disraeli in his earlier days, and resigned from the Government on the Second Reform Act of 1867, lamenting that it left "the democratical principle triumphant". He foresaw the power of the Trades Unions and feared that in managing the Empire principles were being adopted "which would not be entertained for a moment in any other department of human affairs". He considered that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine would lead to bitterness and war.

But he was no negative politician, for Peace and the Empire interested him above all else. He did not particularly admire the Sultan of Turkey, but "the advance to the Mediterranean of a victorious Russia could not for a moment be tolerated". He and Beaconsfield were credited with bringing "peace with honour" from the Congress of Berlin, in 1878. After the resignation of Lord Salisbury's Government in 1892, the *Quarterly Review* said that the policy he had followed between 1885 and 1892 left Britain "at peace, enjoying the friendship of all the Great Powers, and pursuing the Imperial course with unfettered hands and undiminished lustre".

In his final seven years of office, Salisbury avoided war with Turkey and the United States, he desired the concert of Europe but evaded alliances with the powers, and his threat to the Kaiser on the Transvaal issue had its effect. He failed to avoid the Boer War, which he called "Joe's war", referring to Joseph Chamberlain, but he refused a quadruple alliance with Germany, Italy and Austria. He "sought to retain for his country a free hand in foreign affairs. Hardly had Salisbury died when the Entente Cordiale denied Great Britain liberty of action and led her into the very war which Lord Salisbury always dreaded."

The present Marquess remains true to the family tradition for "he continues to oppose a policy which abandons British interests and the interests of those who have trusted Great Britain in distant territories". His forthright views on Cyprus and Africa are noted. But the book ends, perhaps unconsciously, on a sad note. The present Lord Salisbury and his son, Ewan Butler writes, have virtually severed their official connection with the Conservative Party, "but Lord Cranbourne, now aged 48, has five sons". The writer implies that no one can render any service much to the country outside party politics, which would indeed involve the apotheosis of the second-rate.

—H.S.S.

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AFRICA (continued from page 1)

circles it is now the practice for the rulers of one country to be chosen by the rulers of others, and objections raised by the privileged few against foreign political structures, and even against individuals, are thereby legitimised. Finally, this political solution will be a disaster for the Congo because it means chaos and confusion for ten or twenty years."

Algeria and the U.A.R. Interested in the "Balkanisation" of the Congo

"And at this point, it would be appropriate to start to emphasise an aspect which is still only silently and fearfully mentioned but which is not a secret among interested chanceries. This is the wish of some Arab states, especially Algeria and the United Arab Republic, to see an effectively dismembered and disunited Congo and in keeping it in a state of chaos, and, consequently, weakened. The 'balkanisation' of the Congo, through its division into six separate units, is the unconfessed objective of Messrs. Nasser and Ben Bella, apprehensive as they are of Black Africa, which they at once fear and despise: this is what motivates them notwithstanding that they say and appear to uphold exactly the opposite. This explains a large part of what is happening in the Congo and makes it easier to understand the efforts Algeria and Egypt are making to send food supplies and arms to Congolese territory. We can only hope that the West will see all this before it is too late.

"But recent events in the Congo provide us, the Portuguese, with yet other opportunities for comparison and reflection. However much we may wish to maintain our fastidiousness of spirit and largeness of soul, it seems too much to be asked to forget what we have suffered and to grieve over the ills of others without remembering our own. When in 1961 we stated that terrorists from the Congo were drugged and intoxicated, convinced of their immunity to bullets, the world smiled and did not believe us. But today it is stated that the guerillas of Messrs. Mulele and Soumaliot are drugged and intoxicated and believe themselves immune to bullets, and this is accepted without dispute. When, in 1961, we said that the Congolese terrorists had been submitted to witchcraft, the world smiled and did not believe us. But today, precisely the same thing is being said of the attacking terrorists in the Congo, and this is undisputed. When, about two years ago, Mr. Ben Bella threatened to send thousands of 'volunteers' to fight against Angola, no one was scandalised nor did anyone protest, and perhaps many even thought it was a good thing. But when Mr. Ben Bella, in the performance of the special responsibilities which, it seems, Providence has placed on his shoulders, threatens to send thousands of volunteers to the Congo, throughout the West there sweeps a current of reprobation and protest, and the Algerian President's threat is finally classed as unwarranted and intolerable. When in the Security Council we were insulted and slandered, and accused of the worst crimes, not a voice was raised, and all (with the exception of France) quite calmly supported by their votes the accusations against Portugal in spite of the fact that they knew that these accusations were unfounded.

"Secretly, in their hearts, many may even have thought that we brought on these accusations ourselves—since if our policies had been different we would not have been on trial in the Council. But, when in 1964, in the Security Council, amid expressions of violent anti-white racism, the same insults and slanders were flung at others, there was then a collective protest and a howl of indignation, albeit entirely justified.

"But it is our turn to think, also secretly, in our hearts, that, after all, those who practise a policy opposed to our own, conforming to and supporting the 'winds of history', were also not spared insults and accusations. When, in 1961, in Northern Angola, more than 6,000 Portuguese, of all ages, races and sexes, were murdered, torn to pieces or cut up alive, no voice was raised in condemnation of these crimes, no emotion troubled those who, impassively and with consciences at rest, voted in favour of a shocking resolution, condemning Portugal and calling on her to put an end immediately to what was described as 'repression'. But when, in 1964, a few hundred whites were cynically imprisoned by the Congolese terrorists, and afterwards some of them barbarously murdered, then the West shivered with horror and the howl of indignation was world-wide. We took part in this clamour, and deeply mourn the loss of Belgian, American, and also, once again, Portuguese lives, and those of other nationalities, as well as those of missionaries, and, indeed, we have officially expressed our sympathy; and we equally mourn the thousands of Congolese who, because they were educated in the West, were murdered by the terrorists with their anti-West obsession; and because of all this, we consider the Belgian-American intervention in Stanleyville as perfectly justifiable. It only seems to us that the world could have spared a word of sympathy and shock when about 6,000 Portuguese were slaughtered in 1961."

Tanzania: What the Dar-es-Salaam Government are Preparing, Allow to be Prepared, or are now Powerless to Prevent

Turning in Tanzania, the Minister said that while Portugal had nothing to do with its internal affairs, nor wished to have, he felt he must say a few words about the situation in that country. Much was going on there involving third parties, and since Portugal was among these and, besides, was a neighbour, it seemed to be in order to call attention to what the government of Dar-es-Salaam were preparing, allowed to be prepared, or were now powerless to prevent.

"It is no exaggeration to say," Dr. Franco Nogueira observed, "that Tanganyika has been turned into a base for subversion for the whole of Black Africa. It seems appropriate to mention a few facts among the many we have knowledge of. About 4,000 volunteers have been recruited for service beyond the frontiers. This information is given by the Government newspaper *The Nationalist*, of the 1st October last. About one thousand foreigners are being lured into subversive activities in other countries. The Government of Dar-es-Salaam pays them five shillings a day. The *Sunday Times* of London, of the 15th November last, confirms this information. One hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty terrorists, trained in Algeria, are being concentrated on Bagamoyo, and already in March last the American magazine *Time* had estimated their number as five hundred. Rifles and machine-gun rifles of Russian and Czechoslovakian make have arrived at the camp at Bagamoyo. The Algerians have opened a training camp at Mpuku, five miles from Dar-es-Salaam; the presence of 100 instructors from Algeria may be noted, about fifty of them being put up at the New African Hotel. We have news that on the 23rd October last a Tanganyikan battalion was sent to the Congo to join the forces of Mr. Gbenye. All the unemployed of Dar-es-Salaam have been concentrated near the borders. This fact was also reported in the *Guardian* of London.

"Recently, a cargo of arms arrived from Ghana for use against Southern Rhodesia. On the 11th November last, three Algerian military aircraft unloaded a cargo of arms which was imme-

diately sent to the Congo. A few weeks ago, the Algerian ship *Ibn Khaldoun* arrived, carrying 1,800 rifles, and the disembarking operation was supervised by uniformed Algerians.

"According to the *Sunday Times* of the 8th November, a large depot of Russian arms was discovered in Zanzibar. On the 26th November, three Ethiopian aircraft carrying arms landed at Dar-es-Salaam. Between the 10th and 11th of this month the Russian ship *Beshtau*, from Odessa, discharged a cargo of second-hand arms and 140 tons of munitions at Dar-es-Salaam, this cargo having immediately been despatched to the Congo. A few days ago the Prime Minister of Malawi alleged that an attack against his country was being prepared in Tanganyika. And, according to the American magazine *Newsweek*, in an article by the journalist Peter Webb, hundreds of tons of Russian arms and munitions have recently been unloaded. This whole picture, whose only fault is that it is incomplete, seems to be sufficiently enlightening and needs no comment.

"I think I need only emphasise one or two more points. We know that President Nyerere is under strong internal pressures which are seeking to impose a given policy. We also know that within the Union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika it is the former that politically dominates the latter. But none of this excuses the Government of Dar-es-Salaam from fulfilling its international responsibilities. And faced with the threats from Dar-es-Salaam, it is not surprising that all those who are threatened should take the necessary steps against assaults from Tanganyika, and should adopt, in legitimate defence, the necessary precautions for their own safety and that of their peoples. For our part, as one of the threatened neighbours, we only have this to say—that we are not perturbed nor afraid: and it is well that Tanganyika should be quite clear about this.

"And, on the other hand, we would once again draw the attention of the great Western powers to the general situation in Africa, and emphasise the urgency of abandoning sterile myths, and to concern themselves more with realities than with international debates, to pay more attention to the real forces in the world than to speeches with nothing behind them; to think more of the future than of immediate successes of facile popularity; and to realise that true national interests are more effectively protected by understanding and collaboration with the forces that matter than by votes or resolutions in the United Nations. Certainly, Portugal neither has nor claims to have a monopoly of wisdom; but it seems unjust to impute to us a monopoly of mistakes. The facts belie the disinterested idealism that many proclaim, and fail to prove the mistakes which, according to others, we have not ceased to make."

* * *

At the conclusion of his survey, the Minister invited questions. Some of them, together with the answers, will be given in our next issue.

The Eisenhower Years

ITEM: From a Column by Ralph McGill in the *Buffalo* [N.Y.] *Evening News*, February 22, 1965:

During the Eisenhower years, world affairs were largely static. General de Gaulle came to power in France. The decision was made to go into Viet Nam.

CORRECTION: And Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba; Francois Duvalier in Haiti; Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana; Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt; Sékou Touré in Guinea; Janio Quadros and João Goulart in Brazil; Nikita Khrush-

chev in the Soviet Union; Patrice Lumumba in The Congo; Archbishop Makarios in Cyprus; Modibo Keita in Mali; Romulo Betancourt in Venezuela; Julius Nyerere in Tanganyika; Cheddi Jagan and his wife in British Guiana; and the terroristic FLN in Algeria.

The "largely static" period in world affairs (McGill's description) was also the time when Korean President Rhee was overthrown; anti-Soviet revolutions were crushed in Hungary and Poland; forty-one nations joined the UN; a "truce" was arranged in the Korean War; Tibet was crushed by the genocidal Red Chinese; Communists launched attacks against the Portuguese Overseas Provinces of Mozambique and Angola; a Communist régime in Guatemala was overthrown; Indo-China was partitioned; "summit" conferences began; Peron was overthrown in Argentina; the Suez Canal was seized by Nasser; millions of Chinese were murdered by the Communist régime of Mao Tse-tung; the Communist-bloc signed the Warsaw Pact; Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula; the British, French, Belgian and Dutch Empires were all reduced in size; and among those assassinated were the King, the Crown Prince and Premier of Iraq, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, and the Presidents of Panama, Nicaragua and Guatemala.

—Correction, Please!, March 5, 1965.

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