

EDITORIAL**SALUTE THE F.L.N.**

Perhaps the casual reader may wonder why a paper dedicated to freedom struggle in S.W.A. should salute the F.L.N. What is the F.L.N. and what has it done?

The Front de Liberation Nationale is the organisation which today is leading the Algerian people to freedom and independence. By its unflinching courage and determination, it has forced the French Imperialist Government, for so long living like a vulture on the blood of the oppressed Algerian people, to grant these oppressed certain concessions and certain limited control over their own country. Let us be quite clear on this: the Algerian people have fought many heroic battles and faced daily torture, murder, arrest, confinement and inconceivable brutality to wring these concessions from the French vultures. Altogether, nearly one million (yes, one million) persons, mainly civilians have had to die in this struggle to be free. We salute the courage, strength and heroism of the Algerian people.

We have much to learn from the Algerians. We learn firstly that freedom and independence have to be wrenched from the Imperialist powers, at a very heavy cost indeed. Not one gain has been made without a great loss of blood and life. There are far too many in our country who still believe that the Government will grant us freedom if only we ask long enough and loudly enough; or if we offer to co-operate and be "nice" to the white-man. These, (e.g. those on the Coloured Advisory Council) have a bitter lesson to learn.

We also note that sacrifice on a vast scale will be required. The Algerians have offered money to the organisations of liberation on a magnificent scale. The annual tribute from the Algerians in France alone amount to Ten Million Rand. This is indeed a shock for those who give a cent now and then and feel that they have done their bit.

We learn thirdly, that the people require a programme around which to rally. Otherwise, they are lost. A firm principled programme enabled all in Algeria to judge the extent of the freedom they had gained. All may now see what has been achieved and what is still to be fought for. In the process of the struggle, those who spoke against or deviated from the programme, were instantly recognised as traitors to the liberatory struggle. We need a programme recognised by all the oppressed in S.W.A. to raise as a banner so that all may follow in its wake.

Of the numerous other lessons to learn from the epic struggle of the Algerian oppressed, we mention only one more. And this is important. The Algerians have been well organised. No person or persons can lead and wage a struggle for liberty. Only an organisation can. The F.L.N. represents all in Algeria, oppressed and exploited by the French and the White settlers. This is an essential requirement for us as well. We have such an organisation; all that is needed, is that we support it. No one who can still remain outside the progressive organisations of our people, can claim that he has learnt anything from Algeria.

Let us all salute the heroic Algerian people, learn from them, and march to freedom!

SEKONDJO LYETU

Omabula gubale skua ililo: "Omuhaneua ihoshi ni pekapaia ka yela" Natesa uo ngashingeyi etu shi uete kutja oshili. Sekondjo lyetu mboka tatu kondjela unanusu unantu netu ayehe; ta shi ti emanguluko lyaantu eyeke mboka yeli muupika unantiligana etatu monithua ihuna anua tunusua tana popya notuaa lunga cha. Yanua etaa pula kutya emoluashike ta na okusana ihuna shetatu kondjela emanguluko. Eyasukulo oiyu adikai. Kapena emutu e li pomagadi ege naleia akuano.

Tala ashike atondi yamboka tee kondjela emanguluko. Eetu tamoko tanga omalanga ncaleni yalus. Omalanga naapangali yanua etaa ti emantiligana nakale emantiligana epe e kale tatu longele sige aluha, ye kaa akha. Muuyuni wongashingeyi shika hashi kutha ko emuntu osho imalilus, imalilus efo yi mone ngele telongo lilanga mbjeka yina efuto zabuunana. Omupika ihafutua ngaashi emutu ngeke emanguluko. Omupika imalanga epeka e hala iba kala mpeka e hala. Aluha oku na sku lombulua shaka e na okuninga. Omalashi go ashife shika niipule nee ngele tee yonshigwana shetu etu li tun manguluka nenge etu li muupika. Omalungu kehe hai kuushiba ohe enda ngini? Wai shi oshalate tun e na okuya? Oshalate ashike nee mbela ngele kaishi muupika no uona? Muuyuni ahe kamua omuhoko gaa mone ihuna guafa guomusha.

Oiyu tetu hepeke? Shetanga antiligana mboka tee pangula J.W.A. yo oyo tatu longele. Oshitiyali omalanga naana. Oshaka oyo tee kondje neenkonde sentu yetu eyeke ya lunga shika kodhalate. Openi etu na avile elanga nenge omusua Tati oshalate hayi takapo, nenge tati etu sentu yetu namona ofuta yagwana miallenga yetu. Tala ashike kutya aana omalanga ngele tanga ka pashiona muushiba etaa pula halomanda e kuete kehe omuambo kee li kodhalate aha "othondolo"! Yo sho tee pashiona oya hala nгаа oku pena imalilus kaantu, yo oamagumbo ghausha yombuuti taa lala. Nashili yoyene kehe tun emuntu ti ithana omuambo eli muushiba shika othondolo. Tee mboka tatu kondjela emanguluko etu shishi ashike kutja kehe emuntu omuludhe okus ereha e lunga mpeka e hala nokukala mpeka e hala. Omagoya ogo ageke tanga vula oku ithana emuntu ta kongo elike lje "othondolo".

Sho ohe tun kapena eyoloko pakati kombuuti nogokodhalate. Ayehe ashitua ya kalunga. Kalunga ina shita sentu ya hepekathane, okus ya shite ayehe yanua. Oonakupikua naa teko le yoyene ngele taa kala muupika unantu akunuu nigo taa silimo, nunona unuu ngele tau ya landula muupika ishena. Aludhe akunetu miallenga oyindji mu Afrika oyo kondjo sige taa manguluka, tee otse nгаа nee mbela akatalume yoku kala tuli koki yas luventu akunetu sige aluhe? Shampa ashike tatu naba imalilus miiketha anua oyo shigwana yi longithue ashike kaa na nokomalanga? Go inaa ga hala tu lunga mpeka tun hala notu mone undjashi yagwana? Shisue ashike aana omalanga hayo ayeke inaa hala emanguluko. Mngundu yanu omuna uo naa mbaka ya longua noya guana okupala ya shi nana shoka shi li muuyuni uonga shingeyi; ngashi salongi yomobeleua.

Esalongi yookola nansita yanua yomagangalo. Pakutala kuuho anua etaa hupu nana, naye uo aaposi kaa uete ko kutya oyo li memilema nomoluhope olunene inaa li monika palua shi.

Omiallenga shomukondjeli gumanguluko hakutonda, sho osho nee sekondjeli manguluko inaa tonda yo inaa kondjitha omalanga nenga yalus.

Oshikaha sha kalunga shoka hashi ulike oshitori muuyuni oshili kombinga yetu. Tee okeemanguluko tau ka, etatu ka sindana.

OVAMBOLAND PLEDGES SUPPORT FOR SWAPOOFFICIAL TOUR HUGE SUCCESS

Following on the reports that many chiefs including Mr. Ushona Shiimi are advising their people to support the S.A. Government in its opposition to UNO, SWAPO decided to assess the true feelings of the people.

Mr. S.S.K., Chairman of SWAPO Ovamboland Branches has recently undertaken a tour; he has sent us the joyful news that "The people of Ovamboland are solidly behind SWAPO in its drive against the S.A. intruder - regime!"

Mr. S.S.K. visited OKALONGO, UKUKAMBHI, UKUKANYANA, ONGANDJERA, ONBARANTU and ONDONGA, and, together with his officials spent a month on the road. Huge meetings were held at all these places. Here are further extracts from Mr. S.S.K.'s report:

"The people made it clear that they have nothing to do with Ushona Shiimi and chiefs and headmen who support him.

"They agree with Mr. Leopold Hanhona ("Die Suidwester" of 17/2/62) - the traitor-chiefs and headmen will suffer the same fate as their masters.

"Many SWAPO members have been forced to join the "Anti-UNO Army", but their allegiance to SWAPO has remained as strong as ever. They will never betray their people!

Mr. S.S.K. ends his report with these words: "SWAPO wants real freedom for all in S.W.A. Those whites who will accept equality for all will be allowed to remain as full citizens. We do not want traitors like Tshombe of Katanga who allows his people to be involved in bloody wars for the interests of the whites and the Imperialists." We should like to add that what we do want, is a full franchise and equal opportunity for all.

SWAPO AT PAFNECA

PAFNECA - (Pan-African Movement of East and Central Africa) an off-shoot of the All-African People's Conference held a Conference at Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) from February 2nd to 10th, 1962.

Delegates from S.A.; the Central African Federation, Kenya, S.W.A. and other neighbouring states viciously attacked the system of colonialism and imperialism and demanded self-rule and independence for all of Africa.

We reprint the address given by the SWAPO delegate (Mr. S. Mifima) to the Conference.

"Africa is today a continent in transition. It is the land in which great social revolution is taking place. You can hear the deep rumbling from the North to South and from East to West, that Africans are united to end the exploitation of their lives and to have full share in their own future. But despite all that is happening, in the continent of Africa, there are still areas whose problems are little known to other people. Such as my own Country, South West Africa. Since the 17th December, 1920, when the Government of South Africa was entrusted with Mandate for South West Africa the indigenous people of the Territory have no right to vote. They have no representative in all the Organs of the State, they are being represented by self-appointed white settlers who are doing their best to retard the progress of the African people. Educationally, Economically, Politically and other wise. The white settlers Government has imposed upon the Africans a

policy of racial discrimination known as apartheid, a policy which refuses the Africans all fundamental rights of Free Movement, Association, freedom of speech and freedom of Public Opinion.

I would like to point out that the South African police force is raiding houses of the Africans, arresting, beating and imprisoning our leaders. With an agreement from the South African Government and the Portuguese Government in Angola, some of our political leaders are deported to Angola.

On the 24th December, 1961, many of our people were arrested in the Luderitz and Walvis Bay areas. In South West Africa, if a person shouts "Freedom", he is sent to prison without any trial whatsoever. The Government of the Republic of South Africa in our country is a stain on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We, the Africans of South West Africa, condemn such brutal action taken against us and we consider that such action is a threat to peace and security.

- (a) We urge this conference to call upon the United Nations to terminate the mandate immediately and to declare independence to South West Africa as soon as possible.
- (b) That the United Nations Commission arrange as early as possible free general election in the country based on the principle of one man, one vote irrespective of race, colour and ethnic origin.
- (c) We condemn the Portuguese Government over Angola and Mozambique, and we appeal to this conference to call upon the Portuguese Government to declare independence to these territories.
- (d) We appeal once again to the conference to call upon the British Government to give independence to our Brothers in Southern and Northern Rhodesia and to other Territories which are still under the British Government.

BRIEF COMMENT:

Having studied the discussions and resolutions of the PAPRECA Conference we are not all enthusiastic over what transpired. Most of the delegates are far more friendly to the Imperialists than to their own oppressed people; no one would call Haile Selassie (Host to PAPRECA) a revolutionary Leader. Very ominous was the stated intention to form an East African Common Market later in this year. Far from raising the living standards of the people, these "Common Markets" serve to intensify the Imperialist exploitation of the colonial people!

"The Advertiser" PROVOKES GOVERNMENT

In more than one editorial recently, "The Advertiser", a Windhoek newspaper has attempted to incite the government against African leaders, especially Chief Hesea Kutako.

We agree that no person should make wild and unjust claims about persons handed over to the Portuguese to be dealt with. But there have been rumours of many unpleasant occurrences on the Angola border which merit public attention. If the government is loathe to expose this sorry state of affairs then chief Kutako is fully justified in bringing it to the notice of the world. He should be commended for his public-spirited action and not threatened with a libel-suit as "The Advertiser" persists in doing.

We recommend that "The Advertiser" devote its editorial space to campaigning for full democratic rights including the full and unqualified franchise for all. In a country with its own democratic parliament there would be no need for Chief Kutako to send his grievances overseas!

"PEACE" DECLARED IN ALGERIA

DOES THIS MEAN FREEDOM?

On March 19th, after 7 years of active civil war, a cease-fire agreement between the oppressed Algerian people and the colonialist French Government came into force.

This cease-fire was the result of many months of negotiation between the French and the Federation Liberation Nationale (F.L.N.)¹ the organisation representing the Algerian people at Evian on the Swiss-French border. In addition to the cease-fire, the agreement also allows for the formation of a 12-man Committee which will take over the reins of government until democratic elections can be held, the withdrawal of French troops; the guarantee that the Algerians will have a 40% control over the Sahara oils; and the recognition of the right of the White Settlers to choose between French or Algerian citizenship.

This article, specially written for "The Commenter" by Mr. R. Owen Wright, discusses the implications of the cease-fire agreement and the chances of a real peace ensuing.

Many people heaved a sigh of relief when they heard that the war between France and Algeria, which had begun on 1st November, 1954, was at an end. However, even a cursory glance at the history of the Algerian revolution shows that the settlement of Evian can never be the last word in the subject of Algerian liberation. Considerations of space do not allow us to give any lengthy analysis of the situation in Algeria. Consequently we can only draw the attention to our readers to the basic problems of the country and spotlight some of the significant developments in the history of the struggle of the people there.

CAPITAL

The structure of Algerian society was destroyed by the French conquest in 1830. Direct colonial exploitation made the development of an Arab middle class impossible, in contrast to Tunis, which was conquered only in 1881. Arable land in Algeria therefore belongs almost exclusively to French financiers. This is also true of the little industry which does exist. The majority of the population consists of landless peasant labourers who live under incredible conditions. Of a total Algerian population of approximately 9½ million, 1½ million were unemployed in 1959. This is not extraordinary at all, i.e. unemployment was not caused by the war.

TRIBALISM AND FEUDALISM

The relatively early conquest of the country by France also robbed the feudal-tribal elements of all real power, in contrast to Morocco for instance, which was only conquered at the beginning of this century after stubborn resistance. Such feudalism or even tribalism as there is in Algeria, exists only as a result of French imperialist support. The "Kaids" (who are normally automatic justices of the peace and commissioners of oaths) are tools of the French administration and have the doubtful distinction of being the most hated men among the peasants and workers of Algeria. They would not remain in office for one minute if the army of occupation were to leave the country.

POPULATION

Approximately 9 million Algerians with an average annual income of £28 and 1 million Whites with an income of £410 p.a. are the actors in the Algerian drama. It will be noticed that although the income of the Algerians is incredibly low, that of the Europeans is not high at all (by South African Herrenvolk standards). This is explained by the fact that only a very small minority of landlords and industrialists has concentrated the economic riches in its hands. The others are the "petty whites". They have been incited and blinded by the big settlers, so that they do not realise that they have common

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interests with their Algerian brothers. Many of them are beginning to realize this basic fact, however, and the Algerian Liberatory Movement has never yet maintained that it is their intention to drive all whites out of the country. This, in spite of the cruel and unscrupulous terrorist bomb attacks engineered by the Fascist OAS (Secret Army Organisation).

ORGANISATIONS

The social structure is reflected in the history of the Liberatory movement.

In 1926 the "father of Algerian Nationalism", Messali Hadj, founded the NTLD (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties). It demanded independence, equality and re-organisation of the economy on socialist lines. This movement soon became reactionary and conservative, however. The "Union of the Algerian Manifesto" UDMA was a reformist organisation founded by Fehrat Abbas. It wanted concessions within the framework of the colonial regime and was supported almost exclusively by intellectuals. Shortly before the outbreak of the revolution the NTLD of Messali Hadj split. Collaborators were expelled but the policy became more moderate. The youth wing broke away under the leadership of men like Ben Bella and Krim Belkassen and formed the FLN (National Liberation Front). UDMA lost all significance as a result of the revolution. Its policy of concessions became ridiculous under the circumstances. Later Abbas joined the FLN. He had been a very vocal supporter of the policy of "Assimilation" - Hence his resignation from the post of President of the FLN when the negotiations with France started.

FLN

The FLN took to the hills and formed groups of guerilla fighters everywhere in the countryside. This army (maquis) grew fast and became known as the "Army of Liberation" (ALN). The ALN actually liberated some areas, more especially the border areas between Morocco and Algeria. However, the presence of more than 700,000 French soldiers in Algeria made an all-out war impossible. The ALN confined itself to ambushes, sabotage and political education of the peasants. In the cities the FLN had formed the UGTA (General Union of Algerian Workers) which was naturally banned very soon. This band of workers had become one of the main pillars of FLN support. On their programme were written all the demands of the FLN, chief of which were: Complete and Unconditional Independence, Equal Opportunities for all, Democratic Franchise, Land Reform, Education, Unity of Algeria, including the Sahara.

THE WAR

French imperialism reacted violently to the revolution. Apart from the actual war, the normal political banning and banishment, imprisonment etc. the administration started an incredible scheme. France had learnt a lesson in Indo-China. So-called "Camp de Regroupement" (i.e. concentration camps were created). More than 2 million people were "resettled" in order to cut the link between the F.L.N. and the masses. In no other French imperialist war has the criminal method of Torture been used so often and so ruthlessly as in Algeria. Political suspects have been subjected to the most vicious punishments and indignities in a systematic manner. All this stealed the Algerian masses and united them solidly against French imperialism. A revolutionary underground movement unparalleled in the history of the colonial struggle was organised. Women and students took to arms. An Algerian Red Cross was organised and military bases were set up in Tunisia and Morocco. Most Algerians, even the collaborators who are forced to do so, pay a "tax" to the FLN. Every facet of the life of the people and of the war was linked directly with the Algerian "Government in Exile" in Tunis, Rabat and Cairo. The ALN organised schools and even farmers' co-operatives. In 1960 the Algerian cities i.e. the working class, began to support the revolution openly. Suicidal demonstrations were held all over Algeria in answer to de Gaulle's mock "referendum".

None of the political "solutions" of French imperialism, whether they were initiated by "Socialists" like Mollat, Liberals like Maudou France or by De Gaulle, has been able to stop the war or split the Algerian Movement. De Gaulle has systematically attempted to split the FLN, to find a "Third Camp" of collaborators, who have the ear of the masses. Apart from the historical and petty interests of France in Algeria, the oil of the Sahara (Algeria's Gold) is the main reason for the stubbornness of French imperialism in Algeria. Two large oil-fields went into production in 1957; around Edjele and around Hassi Messaoud. In 1960 about 200 oil wells were productive. Oil pipelines from Edjele to Skirra (Tunisia) and from Hassi Messaoud to Bougie, and a gas pipeline from Hassi Messaoud via Hassi B'Nel to Mostaganem-Oran-Algiers have been completed. France intends to build a pipeline under the Mediterranean to Marseilles. Such are the ways of Imperialism. Algeria's riches have to be pumped to France!

The war has ruined France's economy. In fact France could not have fought this war without assistance from the western military alliance NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) and the western economic alliance EEC (European Economic Community - Common Market). A truly independent Algeria must of necessity lead to a truly independent France! So De Gaulle is frantically looking for a way out of the oil de sac. The OAS (Secret Army Organisation), the fascist army financed by Algerian and French Big Business, trained and led by French Army Generals and supported by the vast majority of the "petty Whites" see their Dorado threatened and refuse to play ball. These fascists, who are sadistic enough as to sing that glorious song of Liberation, inspired by the French Revolution almost 200 years ago, "the Marseillaise" when they go on their vandalistic spree, these gangsters have not only pushed De Gaulle into a corner and ruined his schemes, but have also made it impossible for the leadership of the FLN to forget their pledge to the people of Algeria and to the cause of freedom. Such are the ways of the Revolution. The reactionaries and the Fascists serve the cause of freedom by making it impossible for the revolutionary leadership to sell-out!

Thus we see that the settlement of Brian does not yet mean Freedom for Algeria. It has not even brought to Algeria what it set out to do, i.e. Peace. It is pertinent to ask seriously: What would happen to the plans of the French monopolies to get for themselves economic control over Europe by means of the Sahara oil wells (which produced 10 million tons of oil in 1961) if they did not have unlimited control over Algeria?

For as long as the Landlords, Monopolists, the "petty Whites" and the Fascists shout, "Algerie Francaise", so long will the Algerian workers and peasants shout "Algerie Algerienne".

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