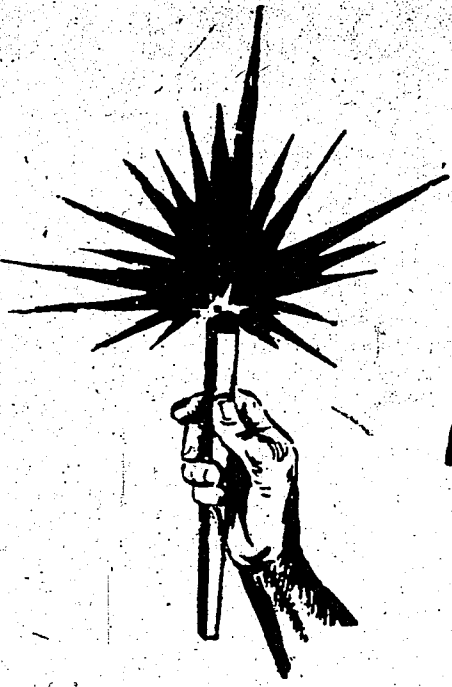


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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1963

EDITORIAL

LOOKING AHEAD

WE are one year old. Our readers will remember that our first issue came out on 15th December last year. This week we look briefly along the road we have travelled and brace ourselves for the struggle ahead.

Our first twelve months existence has been a period of struggle. Making our humble contributions to the socialist revolution in Africa, we have been compelled to focus our attention on the urgent problems of the day as they arose. Accordingly, the exposure of neo-colonialism has been our central theme.

This battle has been conducted on several fronts. We have fought neo-colonialism in its attempts to strengthen its grip on independent African states, in its surreptitious efforts to stage a come-back in those African states where its influence has been broken, though not finally eliminated, and in the realm of inter-African relations.

We have conducted a ceaseless struggle against neo-colonialist manoeuvres in the ideological sphere. For it is now clear that neo-colonialism seeks to cast its spell over African minds through the dissemination of spurious versions of socialism.

In addition, we have conducted a struggle against all attempts by imperialism to invade,

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NIAMEY POINTS WAY TO POLITICAL UNION

THE four-day meeting of the Economic and Social Commission of the Organisation of African Unity just ended in Niamey, Niger Republic, has recorded a big triumph for the concept of African economic development through the united action of the African states themselves. When independent African States reach the unanimous conclusion that the bedrock of their economic progress must be their joint effort on a continental scale, there can be no doubt that an important revolution is taking place in our attitude to Africa's burning problems.

The proposals of the Economic and Social Commission, set up under Article 20 of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, are of great importance coming as they do after a series of unsettling events. Even before last May's Summit of African Leaders at Addis Ababa, the strains of economic development were nearing crisis point in many African countries. Sylvanus Olympio and President Felix Houphouët Boigny tried to evolve a formula that would accommodate both French and U.S. capital. Olympio paid with his life. An attempted coup was foiled in Abidjan. And since Addis Ababa, Congo (Brazzaville) and Dahomey have been rocked by essentially the same crisis.

A new agreement on associate status within the European Common Market for the French-speaking African states was drawn up early in the year. This was due to be signed in April to replace the first agreement which came to an end, 31st December, 1962. The difficulties connected with drawing up and signing the new agreement on associate status reveal that the African states affected are not entirely happy with the relationships existing under the agreement.

English-speaking African states also have their economic problems. Most of those that depend on Britain and U.S.A. for development capital have come to discover firstly that the volume and rate of foreign investment (especially in the

public sector of the national economy) were below expectation, and secondly that private foreign capital tended to enter certain fields and under such conditions that in no way reduced their economic dependence.

CONCRETE RESULTS

On the other hand, a few countries, Ghana being the most outstanding, chose to recast their links with the former masters, bring foreign capital under firm control and open the door to economic assistance from both the Eastern and Western countries. And Ghana had concrete results to show!

This was the state of affairs before the Addis Ababa Conference held in May. And it explains to some extent why the African leaders there gathered paid considerable attention

to the problems of economic reconstruction. The result was the creation of the Economic and Social Commission. And it is significant that this is the first Commission set up under the Organisation of African Unity Charter.

It is natural that the various doctrines about economic reconstruction should come to grips at the first meeting of the Economic and Social Commission.

by
Julius Sago

The Niger Republic played host. The rival doctrines on this most important matter—the heart of the African problem today and for decades to come—are:

1. That independent African states should base their economic development on a partnership between them and the former colonial power;

2. That independent African states should make a tripartite partnership between themselves, the former colonial power and newly-arrived U.S. finance capital the bedrock of their strategy for economic development; and

3. That independent African states should base their economic policies on a united action by all African states with favourable economic links with both the socialist, East and the capitalist West.

The first doctrine is in vogue in the French-speaking states and takes concrete form in the associate status with the European Common Market.

The second doctrine is preached by the U.S.A. and is generally accepted in the ruling circles of most English-speaking African states.

The third doctrine is the special creation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

Looked at against this background, the Economic and Social Commission's view that Africa's economy must be developed through united action of African states is a great triumph for the patient efforts of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

We can now turn to the main proposals of the Niamey meeting. There are:—

1. An African Free Trade Area created by the erection of a common external tariff to protect young industries;
2. A common fund for stabilisation of the prices of African agricultural produce;
3. An African Monetary Zone;
4. The harmonisation of national development plans; and
5. The setting up of inter-African road, sea and air services.

THE THREE DOCTRINES

These are proposals of far-reaching significance. They necessarily involve a recast—a fundamental recast—of existing economic and financial relations with non-African powers. They necessarily involve a change in our attitude to the operation of foreign companies, banks, airlines, shipping lines, etc. And they involve a radical transformation in the present system of financing economic development in our various countries.

Because of all this, the proposals will require very patient and expert handling before they could be put into effect. For at every turn it will be necessary to hack through existing economic links with the former colonial power. And no one who has any experience of imperialist reactions to such an exercise can expect a smooth passage.

The main stumbling block in the way of implementing these decisions will be imperialism in the form of existing colonial relationships in our systems of production, distribution and exchange.

And sooner or later, it will be realised that the only

answer to this neo-colonialist resistance is to take political measures in support of economic programmes within each state and outside, to forge a higher degree of unity among African states.

It is useful to examine some of the problems in the way of implementing the Niamey proposals.

First, the proposal for a common external tariff for all African states to protect infant industries is directly contradicted by a clause of the associate status agreement with the European Common Market. Under this clause, tariff must not be imposed for any other purpose than raising revenue and the views of the six countries of the E.E.C. (France, West Germany

Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg) must be sought.

Furthermore, to protect young African industries also demands that the establishment of industries in African countries by foreign investors must be closely scrutinised. Here again the associate status argument is inimical to Africa's interests because under its provisions investors from the six Common Market countries are made to enjoy the same rights with local investors.

The point here is that the Niamey proposals demand a recast of Africa's relations with the European Common Market. And any such fundamental

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AFRICAN UNITY

By **Jomo Kenyatta**

(Culled from 'Labour Monthly')

JOMO Kenyatta, now Prime Minister of Kenya, after a long imprisonment by the British Government, has been a friend of Labour Monthly since its earliest days and a contributor since 1933, when, as General Secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association, he wrote 'The Gold Rush in Kenya', (Vol. 15, p. 691).

If one compares the resolutions passed at the first and the second Conference of Independent African States with the decisions taken at the third conference (of African and Malagasy States and Governments) held in Addis Ababa in May this year, one cannot escape the conclusion that the African giant is now fully awake and is taking strides.

It is a far cry from the days when we used to meet in one place or another in Europe and discuss Africa's tribulations and picture, in our exasperated minds, the sort of Africa we wanted to create. Pan-Africanism was the subject which occupied our minds then and which has occupied the minds of the leaders of public opinion throughout Africa since.

The first Conference of Independent African States in Accra in 1958 was largely occupied with discussions which centred round the principles of the Bandung Conference, the

United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Problems of Africa were discussed in the light of these principles. Racialism was condemned and its eradication recommended by 'vigorous measures' (resolution IV). Co-operation among the various countries of Africa was advocated in the matters of economic research (resolution VIII) and cultural relations (resolution IX). Informal permanent machinery for 'Consultation and Co-operation' was set up composed of the Permanent Representatives of the Participating Governments at the United Nations (resolution XIII). This was the beginning. Only eight independent states then existed and all attended.

Two years later came the second Conference and this was held in Addis Ababa. Thirteen governments participated and nationalist leaders from eleven African countries attended as 'observers'. Kenya was re-

(Continued on page 7)

Under-developed Economy' —

A neo-colonialist "Theory" by Huang Chan-Peng

SINCE the end of World War II, the question of economic development in the so-called under-development countries has been a favourite subject among many bourgeois economists; they regard economic underdevelopment as an independent branch of research, terming it "under-developed economy."

These bourgeois economists, while "tracing" the causes of poverty and backwardness in the under-developed countries, have worked out "theories" and proposed "ways" of getting rid of them. Almost all harp on the following theme: the underdeveloped countries need economic assistance from the developed countries. By rendering economic assistance, the developed countries have given up exploitation and plunder, and propose to help underdeveloped countries achieve independence.

In the opinion of the "experts" on "underdeveloped economy", the underdeveloped countries, being poor and backward, need the aid of the developed countries. The following causes of poverty and backwardness are given by them: a rapid rate of population growth; underdeveloped external economies (limited markets); insufficient spirit of economic expansion; absence of the basic prerequisites for economic development and so forth. Most bourgeois economists, however, hold that lack of capital is the main cause of this underdevelopment.

In his book 'Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries' the U.S. economist Ragnar Nurkse, a representative figure in the field of "underdeveloped economy", advanced his theory of "vicious circle of poverty". He urged that in such countries "there is the small capacity to save, resulting from the low level of real income. The low real income is due largely to the lack of capital. The lack of capital is a result of the small capacity to save, and so the circle is complete."

VICIOUS CIRCLE OF POVERTY

This peculiar term "vicious circle of poverty" is, however, not unintelligible in plain language. It means that the productive forces of the underdeveloped countries are low because they lack capital and it is impossible for the underdeveloped countries to solve their lack of capital problem on their own because of their "zero rate of economic growth." In the eyes of the bourgeois economists, the underdeveloped countries cannot possibly get rid of poverty and backwardness unless they can break out of this "vicious circle" with outside help. This is how they have put it—"aid" by the developed countries to underdeveloped countries "becomes not only friendly help but is economic necessity." When speaking of the developed countries, the bourgeois economists are of course referring to the imperialist countries.

Since bourgeois economists suggest economic "assistance" from developed countries as a panacea for poverty and backwardness in the underdeveloped countries, we might as well

scrutinize this much vaunted theory. Take Chile for instance.

As was announced by the U.S. Embassy in that country in 1962, the United States in the last 17 years provided Chile with "aid" amounting to \$650 million, of which \$100 million are "grants" and the rest are loans. Chilean Finance Minister, Senor Luis Mackenna, disclosed that 30 per cent of his country's financial expenditures for 1962 would be covered by U.S. loans.

According to the theory of "underdeveloped economy", once an underdeveloped country receives economic "aid" from imperialism, it will be able to break through the "vicious circle of poverty". Now that Chile has received huge amounts of money from the United States, can it be said it has been transformed into an economically developed country or that it has shown market advance on the road to economic development? To this question, the most authoritative answer must come from the actual economic situation in that country.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

Since Chile became a recipient of U.S. "aid", particularly after the pro-Washington Alessandri regime came to power in 1958, the country has been carrying out an "economic stabilization programme" imposed on it by the U.S.—controlled International Monetary Fund. Under this programme, it adopted such measures as freezing wages, reducing employment, monetary devaluation, and slashing domestic credit and loans. Carried out ostensibly to stimulate Chile's economic development, the programme actually has caused an industrial and agricultural production decline.

With the country inundated by U.S. goods, in 1962 Chilean industrial enterprises owned by domestic capital operated at only 50 per cent of capacity. Moreover, an agricultural recession has forced Chile to spend more than \$100 million annually on food imports. Recession in both industrial and agricultural production has made many people jobless; the number of unemployed in a country of only two million industrial and office workers is as high as 200,000. Prices have been skyrocketing; in 1961 prices were up by 60 per cent compared with 1958. The people on the whole live a life of great want.

SELF-RELIANCE IS THE WORD

So, instead of helping break through the "vicious circle of poverty" in Chile and far from delivering it from poverty and backwardness, U.S. imperial-

ism by providing a huge amount of "aid", has plunged it deeper into economic bankruptcy and brought upon its people greater misery and impoverishment.

The fact is that the so-called under-developed countries are economically backward, a result of prolonged, ruthless oppression and exploitation by imperialism and the domestic reactionary ruling classes. Once the people have attained national independence, in order to develop their national economy as quickly as possible, they should adopt mainly a policy of regenerating through their own efforts. It is also necessary for them to try and obtain some economic assistance from outside. But such aid must be based on complete equality and mutual benefit, without any strings attached to it; only then can aid really benefit economic development.

U.S. "AID"—WHO REAPS THE PROFIT?

To free the people in the underdeveloped countries from doubts and misgivings about "Aid" from developed countries, the bourgeois scholars are propagating the idea that there is no more exploitation and profit-making in imperialist "aid". They claim that the developed countries have ceased exploiting the backward areas and, instead, have the policy goal of raising living standards there. They say that Western countries are ready to "return to Africa what they have taken away from it in the last one and a half centuries," that after World War II, for the first time in history, the rich countries are "helping" the poor countries with considerable sums of money and these expenditures have the clear-cut aim of "development." It is contended that the funds provided under the U.S. foreign aid programme "must be distinguished from the imperialist investments of the private enterprises which aim at profits."

It is all very well for such economists to talk glibly about the merits of the "economic assistance" given by the developed countries, but it is also a hard fact that U.S. dollars are being continuously pumped from the underdeveloped countries into the colonialists' pockets. The high profits grabbed from Latin America by the United States will suffice to prove it. According to an article published by the U.S. economist, Victor Perlo, last year, the Latin American countries in the last two years received loans totalling \$603 million from the U.S. Government. At the same time, these countries paid back debts amounting to \$350 million and another \$142 million as interest and commissions. Thus, in actuality, these countries only received "aid" to the tune of \$111 million. During this period, U.S. firms made a profit of \$1,600 million out of their investments in Latin American countries. In other words, in these two years the United States took away from these countries a sum 14 times greater than the "aid" these countries had received from it.

Let us also see how U.S. imperialism has robbed Africa of its natural resources. Statistics show that in 14 post-war years, the United States took out of Africa raw materials valued at more than \$7,000 million, or five times as much as it did in the 14 pre-war years. Today, the United States is annually importing raw materials worth \$500 million to \$600 million from Africa.

AFRICA—SUPPLIER OF RAW MATERIALS

It now regards Africa as a supplier of strategic and raw materials. In his book "The Future of Underdeveloped Countries", Eugene Staley, who is an "expert" on problems of underdeveloped countries, declared that "the free world cannot afford to lose the crucial materials of the underdeveloped countries." In 1956, the United States obtained from Africa 79 per cent of its total tantalum imports, 78 of its columbium, 76 per cent of its cobalt and 42 per cent of its manganese.

All these give the lie to the theories of "underdeveloped economy" which allege that imperialism has "ceased its exploitation of the backward areas" and stopped going after profits. Facts also prove that to exploit is the nature of imperialism, which has not changed and cannot be changed.

Bourgeois economists have also puffed the idea that "economic aid" given by the developed countries is aimed at "helping the underdeveloped countries achieve independence." Last year, Fowler Hamilton, former director of the U.S. Agency for International Development, said that the goal of its aid programme was to improve the living standards and technology of the peoples of the developing countries, so that they could maintain their independence.

IMPERIALIST CONTROL

If by this is meant economic independence, it is obviously a fraud. As a matter of fact, it is exactly through the channels of "economic aid" that the imperialist countries have penetrated vital branches of the underdeveloped countries' economies, controlling their economic life-lines and making them an appendage of imperialist capital. El Salvador provides an example of this. The result of U.S. "aid" is control over the important sections of the country's economy such as power, fuel, harbours and railways as well as its foreign trade. As the Costa Rican newspaper "Adelante" of April 1, 1962, put it, El Salvador's "national sovereignty has been mortgaged for loans obtained from the U.S. Government and the subsidiary bodies of Wall Street on the severest terms."

Since the imperialist countries are bent on exploiting and controlling the underdeveloped countries economically, they can certainly give no help in achieving political independence. On the contrary, they are bound to interfere in these countries' internal affairs, enslave and oppress their peoples. The U.S. Government, for instance, has laid down many harsh

terms for its foreign "aid". In November 1961, in an open letter to Hamilton when he became the new chief of the Agency for International Development John Fisher, editor of Harper's magazine, wrote: "I know you realize that everything America does (or doesn't do) in foreign aid is going to interfere with somebody's internal affairs. So I trust you will tie a chain on every dime and yank hard if it isn't spent in the clearly defined interests of the United States."

In his "foreign aid" message of April 2 this year, Kennedy declared that the aim of the "aid programme" was "to preserve freedom and hope, and to prevent tyranny and subversion" (meaning to suppress the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations and peoples—Ed.) in dozens of key nations all over the world, and thus meet the national interests of the United States. The present Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development Bell stated more bluntly that the United States has always "argued strongly" that assistance must be accompanied by appropriate internal reforms.

INTERNAL REFORMS

What sort of "internal reforms" are to be carried out? John K. Galbraith, a bourgeois economist and former U.S. Ambassador to India, said that the recipient countries should establish "a reliable apparatus of government and public administration," which actually means the establishment of a reactionary government and public administration loyal to the United States and engaging in suppression of the national democratic revolutionary struggle.

Iran is a case in point. In 1952, Washington threatened the former Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh, with the stoppage of "aid" in the face of his implementation of the policy of oil nationalization, and plotted to subvert his government. After it was overthrown, the United States used its "aid" to help the pro-U.S. Zahedi to power.

U.S. imperialism has always used "aid" as a bait to get the reactionaries in certain countries to serve as its faithful flunkies in enslaving, plundering and exploiting their peoples. It is with the help of American dollars and arms that the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in South Viet Nam and the Pak Jung Heui gang in South Korea have been able to maintain their tottering reactionary regimes. Since U.S. "aid" is used to oppose and subvert governments which "do not suit the needs of U.S. national interests" while propping up reactionary regimes which suit these needs, how can it be described as helping the underdeveloped countries gain political independence?

ECONOMIC PLUNDER

Imperialist economic plunder has brought about poverty and backwardness in colonies and dependencies. As a result of imperialist "economic aid," those countries which have initially acquired independence have lost it again, while the economies of the already economically back-

ward countries have further deteriorated and their people have become poorer. In the face of these clear facts, bourgeois economists have done their utmost to apologize for the evil consequences of such "economic aid"; they assert that imperialist financial and technical "aid" has failed to produce the desired results mainly because certain necessary conditions are lacking in the recipient countries.

As John K. Galbraith sees it, among these conditions, apart from "a reliable apparatus of government," there also should be "a clear and purposeful view of what development involves;" "a substantial measure of social justice" and "an educated elite of substantial size." To read between the lines, Galbraith was actually suggesting that there was the need to know the wishes of imperialism and act accordingly and the need for measures to facilitate imperialist economic penetration. What these bourgeois economists really mean is that the masses of people in the underdeveloped countries who have suffered greatly from such "economic aid" should not free themselves from imperialist enslavement and exploitation; instead they should meet the needs of the imperialist countries and serve more submissively as slaves.

AN APOLOGY FOR U.S. NEO-COLONIALISM

From what has been discussed above it is not difficult to see the bourgeois economists' ulterior motive under the "academic" cloak of "underdeveloped economy." It is an apology for imperialism, particularly U.S. neo-colonialism. According to the theory of "underdeveloped econo-

my," the contradictions between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations and peoples are described as those between the developed and underdeveloped, and between the rich and poor areas. In this way, the contradictions of class antagonisms are written off.

The theory of "underdeveloped economy" also asserts that the developed and rich areas no longer enslave, plunder and exploit the underdeveloped and poor areas; relations between them are those of cooperation between the givers and recipients of "aid." By this propaganda, it tries to spread among the oppressed nations and people illusions towards imperialism, thus to benumb their revolutionary will and check their mounting national democratic revolutionary struggle so that they will continue to serve as, or again become, the victims of imperialist robbery. "Underdeveloped economy" is in essence a neo-colonialist economic theory, and an instrument of propaganda by which the imperialist countries are pushing ahead with their colonialist policy. Those who spread this theory, as Lenin put it, "are nothing but learned salesmen of the capitalist class."

By their own crimes of plunder and exploitation, the imperialist countries have become a teacher by negative example for the oppressed nations and peoples' they have aroused a new awakening among the people, enabling them to see more clearly the true face of imperialism and make out the reactionary nature of the various kinds of neo-colonialist theories such as "underdeveloped economy" and the like. And this has helped the flames of the national democratic revolutionary struggle to burn more fiercely.

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Accra Treason Trial and After

By X'ray

EXACTLY a week ago judgement was delivered here in Accra in the case of treason and conspiracy to commit treason involving five persons—Robert Benjamin Otchere, Yaw Manu, Tawia Adamafo, Ako Adjei and Cofie-Crabbe. The judgement has sparked off a chain reaction which is full of meaning for our constitutional progress, and our socialist revolution. Furthermore, the events of the past week which centre on the judgement and reactions to it constitute an important chapter in the story of the African Revolution. It is therefore of the greatest importance that we understand what exactly is happening in order not to be blinded by minor matters to the extent of losing sight of the major issues.

What are the happenings? On Monday, judgement was given. Robert Benjamin Otchere and Yaw Manu were convicted on the evidence of Adotei

Addo and Malam Mama Tula whom the court described as truthful witnesses. Adamafo, Ako Adjei and Cofie-Crabbe were acquitted and discharged because the same court found Adotei Addo and Malam Tula to be untruthful witnesses.

On Tuesday the Attorney General held a press conference here in Accra and severely criticised the judgement which he described as savouring of discrimination. His argument was that it is wrong to regard Adotei Addo and Malam Tula in one and the same breath as both truthful and untruthful witnesses.

forehand. This enabled the Western House of Assembly to sit at Ibadan on the very morning that the Privy Council judgement was given in London. It passed an amendment to the constitution legalising the position of the de facto premier of Western Nigeria.

MAINTENANCE OF LAW

Several other instances could be cited. But the principle is quite clear. The Government is charged with the maintenance of law and order; and any judgement by the judiciary which could affect public safety and state security must be notified to the Government beforehand in order that adequate precautionary measures might be taken. This the three judges failed to do and herein lies their gross misbehaviour.

A point of information could be cleared at this stage. Some of us, largely due to a mistaken notion about British practice and the independence of the judiciary, wonder whether the Attorney-General was in order to criticise the judgement. In Britain, any court verdict could be criticised in the newspapers

and in law journals. This is done regularly by both jurists, eminent lawyers and benchers of the various Inns of Court. The important consideration, however, is that such criticism should come only where the case is no longer sub judice.

This is precisely what has happened here. The verdict of the Special Court is final and there is no appeal. This means that as soon as the judgement was delivered on the 9th, the case could no longer be sub judice. The Attorney-General, who spoke twenty four hours later, was therefore entirely within his rights to act as he did.

JUDICIARY AND EXECUTIVE

Let us now turn to a more important question: What is the usual practice when a clash develops between the judiciary and the executive, in other words, between the courts and the government? Here the experience of the United States of America is helpful. The techniques has been for the President to proceed to change the Federal Supreme Court judges to the extent that he gets a majority on the Supreme Court to carry

through his policies. And history has shown that such a tussle is usually unavoidable when a new order is being built to take the place of the old order.

The judges are usually the conscious or unconscious defenders of the old order; and action has to be taken to bring in new judges who share the vision of the new social order. This was what Abraham Lincoln did when he abolished slavery which plunged America into civil war. This is what Franklin Delano Roosevelt did in the early thirties when he was trying to establish his New Deal programme. Both Presidents were bitterly resisted by the forces of reaction. President Lincoln was even assassinated. Yet history has put down these two men as the greatest presidents in the history of the United States of America.

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

The situation in Ghana today is very similar to the early thirties in the U.S.A. The old colonial economic and social structure can no longer serve the pressing needs of Ghana. A new social order is therefore being built—a social order

much more meaningful to the common people than the aristocratic exploitative system of yester years. Naturally, the small aristocratic elite—the creation of the colonial era—is antagonistic to the new experiment. At worst they fight the new regime. At best they are septic and scornful.

How do they conduct their struggle against the new order? Knowing that they cannot count on mass support, they use the state machinery and the judiciary, the control of which organs had fallen into their hands through fortuitous circumstances in the old colonial regime. And it is precisely these organs of state power—infested as they are by the backward-looking intellectual elite—that must be made to understand the mission of the new social order.

GOVT. BY THE PEOPLE

The big lesson of the treason judgement is that Ghana's advance to socialism demands a state apparatus manned and run by people who fully share the objectives of the revolution through which the nation is passing. Any other arrangement will lead to chaos. And chaos in Ghana can only mean severe setback to the African Revolution. Our President is facing a situation similar to what Roosevelt of America has to deal with in the early thirties.

And the way he solves this problem will be a great lesson not only to Ghana, but also to all countries on the African continent.

Zanzibar —A New Nation

THE island of Zanzibar has been referred to in many different names ranging from the contemptuous and spiteful right up to the most praiseworthy and romantic.

One journalist described it as a "fairy-tale pantomime caricature of a colony, with an Arab Sultan to provide the pomp and pageantry, and a British Resident to wield all the power."

It is said that Zanzibar has a long historical association with India and the countries of the Persian Gulf. It is associated with India because of the monsoon winds which used to blow the ancient ships of barter trade between Zanzibar and India at very regular and precise intervals. The island is associated with the Persian Gulf countries as a result of what happened during the 11th century, when Zanzibar was first mentioned and when a Persian ruler called Kilwa fled to the island.

HISTORICAL REFERENCE

Another historical reference to Zanzibar dates as far back as the 8th century when there was the rise of Islam, this being a clear indication that the association between the island and S. Arabia and the Persian Gulf countries began ages before the Christian era. There is a possibility that the island of *Menutias* in the Greek treatise of Periplus is Zanzibar.

The fact that Kilwa fled to Zanzibar is substantiated by ancient inscriptions in Kizimkazi in Southern Zanzibar, and an indication that a mosque was built here round about 1107 A.D.

One of the early 13th century Arab writers by the name of Yukat, records that during his days, the people of Ungaja (Swahili name for Zanzibar) took refuge from their enemies on Tumbatu which was then inhabited mostly by Moslems.

Towards the end of the 15th century, Sultans ruling Zanzibar were involved in a series of interventions on disputes which centred around the succession to the Kilwa Sultanate.

The year 1500 saw the invasion of Zanzibar by the Portuguese who subjected the island to colonial domination till about 1528, and this brief period of co-

lonisation was followed by "an alliance" between the Portuguese and some Zanzibar rulers who are reported to have even assisted the Portuguese on their raids on Mombasa.

In 1571, the "King" of Zanzibar donated the island to the Portuguese for having assisted him in repelling African invaders, but this "donation" was never implemented.

During this time too, Portuguese traders even established a small factory in Southern Zanzibar, and also founded the Augustinian Mission where the city now stands. They pursued the benefits of agriculture to a limited extent until about 1698 when Mombasa was captured by Arabs which resulted in the abandonment of Portuguese settlements, and the island fell under the rulers of Oman.

BRITISH PROTECTORATE

The first Resident Sultan of Zanzibar was installed in 1828. This love island was proclaimed a British Protectorate in 1890 as a result of some peculiar agreement between Germany, France, and England affecting the East African territories of Tanganyika, Madagascar and Zanzibar respectively. In 1913, control of this island passed from the British Foreign Office to the Colonial office.

This island has had the misfortune of having been once a steaming port of slavery where Arabs subjected the indigenous people to humiliating slave conditions.

The scented island of Zanzibar has a total population of 304,000 with Africans constituting about three-quarters of the population and consists mostly of Shirazi people which is a name derived from ancient times when the island was conquered by Persians from Shirazi in the 8th century A.D.

On Wednesday, the President revoked the appointment of Sir Arku Korsah as the Chief Justice of Ghana.

And since Wednesday, the people have gone into action all over the country. In protest messages and in mass demonstrations, the people have expressed total dissatisfaction with the court verdict and have demanded strict disciplinary action against the judges. On the other hand, Western imperialist press and pro-imperialist agencies like the International Committee of Jurists in Geneva have supported the judges against the Government and people of Ghana.

This briefly has been the sequence of events.

APPOINTMENT REVOKED

The President's action in revoking the appointment of Sir Arku Korsah as Chief Justice is in accordance with powers vested in him by Article 44 (3) of the Constitution of Ghana. It is to be noted that the Constitution does not ask the President to state any reasons for revoking the appointment of a Chief Justice.

It is however clear to all by now that the foundation of the Executives case against the judges is not the verdict arrived at by the courts but the fact that the Government was not notified of the timing and the nature of the judgement. These, of course, are crucial matters particularly in treason cases where the deep emotions of the population have been stirred. The Government must know what the judgement will be, even though they cannot alter it, in order to take adequate measures to safeguard life and property. Failure to notify the Government is therefore tantamount to criminal negligence bordering on a conspiracy against law and order and against the security of the state.

Here it must be pointed out that the established practice in Britain, where the three judges were trained and whose judicial processes our lawyers tend to emulate, is that the Government must be informed. A good recent example was the Privy Council decision on the premiership in Western Nigeria. Because the Privy Council found the de facto premier to be illegal, the U.K. Government was able to inform the Nigerian Government be-

Rumania-Ghana Trade Relations

CONSISTENTLY pursuing a foreign policy based on the principles of full equality and mutual benefit, Rumania is, particularly interested in extending her commercial relations with the newly emergent nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Out of over 80 countries with which Rumania is trading, 50 are states that have recently achieved their independence and are today building up their own economies by turning to account the resources of their soil and subsoil. With most of these countries trade is conducted according to agreements and conventions. And in the last three years this trade turn-over has increased more than twofold.

This is the background against which trade relations with Ghana are unfolding.

The visit of President Nkrumah to Rumania in the summer of 1961 and the joint Rumania-Ghana statement signed on the occasion have raised the relations between the two countries to a higher level. Shortly after, a government delegation of the Republic of Ghana, visited Bucharest. Negotiations were conducted in a friendly atmosphere of mutual understanding and ended with the signing on September 30, 1961, of a five-year trade and payments agreement. In addition, an agreement for technical-scientific co-operation covering the same period was

signed. Simultaneously, a five-year cultural co-operation agreement and a programme concerning 1962 exchanges in the field of culture, science and education and an agreement on the air service between the two countries were signed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

TRADE AGREEMENTS

Rumanian goods to be exported under the trade agreement signed in Bucharest include power stations, factories, machine tools, agricultural machines and tractors, rolling stock, electric motors, oil-field equipment, building materials, textile fabrics, garments, footwear, sugar, sunflower seed oil, chemicals, etc.,

Ghana's export goods to Rumania include cocoa beans, cotton, rubber, raw hides, bananas, industrial diamonds, etc.

The technical-scientific co-operation agreement provides for Rumania sending to Ghana teams of specialists and advisers in various economic, technical and scientific fields. An exchange of cadres is moreover to be made for specialization in different fields and different specialists are to be sent over by both countries to round off their knowledge by studies and practice and to come into touch with technical-scientific achievements.

The first team of Rumanian specialists in petroleum prospecting visited Ghana in 1960.

In the two-year record since the signing of the agreements, trade between the two countries' economic potentialities.

Rumania possesses a mighty engineering industry which can supply the needs of Ghana's seven year economic plan for oil drilling

and oil extraction equipment, crude refineries, cement mills, thermo-power stations, road making and building equipment, electrical engineering equipment, tractors and agricultural machines. Moreover, Rumania can put at the disposal of Ghanaian importers a great variety of chemicals, pharmaceuticals, glassware, fabrics and garments, agricultural produce and food-stuffs, household utensils, etc.

GHANA'S EXPORTS

On her part, Ghana can supply the Rumanian market with larger quantities of cocoa, cotton, rubber, industrial minerals etc.

A fuller study of the economic potentialities of both countries would undoubtedly lead to an increase in Rumania-Ghana trade and contribute to an even more fruitful co-operation. This fact has greatly stimulated the Rumanian initiative to organise a permanent industrial exhibition in Accra, Ghana's capital. The exhibition should strengthen the economic and friendly ties between the two countries.

THE MAN JOMO

by
Peter
Raboroko

WHO is this Jomo Kenyatta who shook the very foundations of Kenya settler society and whose very personality ripped the mask off the faces of colonialist tribunals so that their true role could be seen in its proper perspective?

Jomo Kenyatta is a Kenya African, born about 64 years ago in a colonialist environment. At his trial nine years ago he told the court he was over fifty years of age.

Kamau, son of Ngengi, for such is his real name, fled from cattle herding to school at the age of ten. He went to a Church of Scotland Mission School at the village of Kikuyu. Here he soon assumed the Christian name of Johnstone and became known as Johnstone Kamau.

It is a truth universally acknowledged that whenever most people change their names they invariably retain their initials. Johnstone Kamau was no exception to this rule. He later became Jomo Kenyatta. And it is by that name that the world knows him today.

A CLASS BY HIMSELF

At school Jomo's teachers did not find him to be a brilliant pupil with exceptional scholastic achievements to write home about. That may have been their fault for at his trial years later even the prosecution described him as an exceptionally widely-travelled and educated African who had had the advantage of contact with a great many people of standing in Kenya and in Europe... and had added that "perhaps the shortest and best description of Jomo Kenyatta is that he is a class by himself."

Immediately after the First World War, Jomo ran away from school and went to Nairobi, the Mecca of the young educated Kenya Africans.

THE MYSTERIES OF POLITICS

While at school Jomo had worked as a kitchen hand and in Nairobi he became a clerk under the Public Works Department.

It was in Nairobi that Jomo became initiated into the mysteries of politics first as a sympathiser of the East Africa Association whose main platform of agitation were the pass laws, the colonialist instrument of forced labour, and later as a member of the Kikuyu Central Association founded in 1923, whose main platform shifted to the land issue. In 1928, Jomo became Secretary of that body.

THE INTRICACIES OF JUNGLE LAW

Ever since the war the land agitation had been on. From 1922 onwards one Royal Commission after another looked into the matter.

Jomo's opinion of Royal Commissions and other colonialist judicial institutions is to be founded in his story of "The Man And The Elephant."

His attack on the usual personnel of such institutions is classic.

"On seeing the personnel" Jomo says, after the Rt. Hon. Mr. Fox (chair-

man), Mr. Leopard (Secretary), Mr. Rhinoceros, Mr. Buffalo and Mr. Alligator had all been duly appointed to serve on the Royal Commission investigating the dispute between the man and the elephant centring upon the rights of penetration, "the man protested and asked if it was not necessary to include in this commission a member from his side.

"But he was told that it was impossible, since no one from his side was well enough educated to understand the intricacies of jungle law

IMPARTIALITY IN JUSTICE

"Further he was told that there was nothing to fear for the members of the commission were all men of repute for their impartiality in justice, and as they were gentlemen chosen by God to look after the interests of races less adequately endowed with teeth and claws, he might rest assured that they would investigate the matter with the greatest care and report impartially."

In passing, it may be pointed out that Jomo's biting satire upon the personnel of these tribunals applies with equal force to the four tribunals that head his case, from the magistrate's court to the Privy Council.

THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

Be that as it may, it was immediately after the 1929 sessions of the Hilton Young Commission in Kenya that Kenyatta was mandated to represent his people in England.

He went there to discuss three issues: land, female circumcision and independent schools. In Kenya, land was a perennial question, refusal of missionaries of the Church of Scotland to admit circumcized girls in their schools, rendered the need for schools independent of missionaries control a burning issue. Jomo gained an important concession. If the Kikuyu build the schools and trained the staffs the Colonial Office was prepared to allow their schools independent missionary control. This concession resolved the dispute and paved the way for the elimination of settler orientation in Kenya schools and provided the basis for a nationalist orientation.

Later these schools were to be dubbed the hot-beds of Mau Mauism.

In 1931, Jomo went back to England and this time, gave evidence before the Carter Commission on Kenya Lands (1932) he did not return to England until 1946.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STOCK EXCHANGE

Jomo spent the fifteen years of his self-imposed exile preparing for the role of leadership not only in the educational but also in the political field.

In 1933, he went to Moscow and spent four months there.

inary" of the K.C.A., Jomo used to receive some financial allowance from home. With the imposition of the ban that source dried up and Jomo had difficulty in making ends meet.

UNWILLING TO STARVE

In 1943, Jomo married an English woman Miss Edna Grace Clark, by whom he has a son named Peter. Jomo made it clear to his wife that if ever he had to choose between Kenya and herself, he would choose Kenya.

Immediately after the war, Jomo became once more politically active. He drugged and slaved together with Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and T. R. Makonnen in preparation for the Fifth Conference of the Pan-African Congress which was held from the 13th to the 21st October 1945 at Manches-



Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Independent Kenya.

In Britain, Jomo found himself forced to learn all about the different ideologies that were to be found on the ideological stock exchange market. He combined this with agitational work on conditions in Kenya.

His most fruitful years were perhaps those spent at the London School of Economics where he studied under Professor B. Malinowski. He wrote and published "Facing Mount Kenya" (1938).

THE INNER CIRCLES

Professor B. Malinowski considered that book to be a first hand account of a representative African culture, an invaluable document in the principles underlying culture-contact, and a personal statement of the new outlook of a progressive African.

With the publication of Facing Mount Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta entered the inner circles of the intellectuals in his own right.

In 1939, the Second World War broke out. During this war the Kenya Government banned the Kikuyu Central Association. As Politician Ordinary and Agitator Extraordi-

ter, Jomo attended the conference as General Secretary of the banned Kikuyu Central Association.

The conference defiantly announced to the world that "We are unwilling to starve any longer while doing, the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance, a false aristocracy and a discredited imperialism. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic."

APPARENTLY INFLEXIBLE

The Labour Party was at this time in power in England and African nationalists expected significant change in colonial policy. When it forthcoming Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah launched a vicious attack upon Arthur Creech Jones, the Labour spokesman on Colonial Affairs in February 1946.

They had become convinced that only mass pressure emanating from massive popular organisations could change the apparently inflexible colonial policy. And thereby hangs a tale.

In September 1946, Jomo sailed for Mombasa. The bleak prospect which lay before the young Kenya African in 1946, George

Delf tells us, was "to be introduced to the mysteries of modern education and then to be told that if he tried hard he might earn the dignity due to a full adult in fifty or a hundred years." The myth of White domination had set like concrete in Kenya.

POLICY AND PROGRAMME

On June 1, 1947, Jomo Kenyatta was elected President of the Kenya African Union and from that time onward KAU became the predominant force and Kenyatta the dominant personality in Kenya Politics.

The principles, policy and programme of the KAU were:

- * To unite the African people of Kenya.
- * To prepare the way for the introduction of democracy in Kenya.
- * To defend and promote the interests of the Afri-

alarm. In 1948, the settlers' organisation demanded the deportation of Kenyatta and in 1950 a general strike paralysed Nairobi.

Jomo Kenyatta was soon addressing audiences 30,000 to 50,000 strong. The KAU was soon gaining recruits at the rate of 4,000 at one meeting. The subscription fee was five shillings a year. And since Government-employed clerks were earning £2 to £5 a month, the payment of that subscription fee meant much sacrifice from the masses themselves. Despite that fact, by 1952 KAU had 100,000 paid-up members.

In August 1950, the Government had banned the Mau Mau society following the brutal murder of a few settlers.

In September 1952, the Chief Native Commissioner said: "There has been a certain amount of trouble but it is confined to a small area and is not as serious as newspaper reports make out."

NO PROOF AND NO EVIDENCE

On August 17, 1952, the Acting Governor of Kenya had in the course of a confidential letter described Mau Mau as the "covert organisation" behind KAU. He had, however, added that "there is proof that he (Kenyatta) controls this revolutionary organisation".

On October 4, the Chief Native Commissioner had in a report to the new Governor written: "although there is no direct evidence to prove Kenyatta's connection with Mau Mau, a number of factors point to his close association with this society."

A VERITABLE REIGN OF TERROR

At 5 p.m. on October 20, 1952, the Governor signed the proclamation declaring a state of emergency. Immediately 183 African leaders were detained. Jomo Kenyatta was one of them.

In the second and third waves of arrests, 50,000 Africans were arrested for screening and sent to concentration camps.

The colonialists authorities began a veritable reign of terror. Africans gain stores, cattle, sheep, goats and money savings were confiscated. All the independent schools were closed down.

It was only after the arrest of Jomo and the other leaders that there was increase in the number of settler murders. Even then over the four years of bitter fighting only 32 settler civilians and 63 settler soldiers were killed. By contrast British and settler soldiers and police killed 11,503 Africans on the score that they were Mau Mau! Throughout that campaign the atrocities perpetrated by the colonialists were far worse than those committed by the Mau Mau.

MISERABLE CONDITIONS

A familiar stunt of colonialist governments is to grant themselves exceptional powers over persons and properties whenever they

have ordered "a state of emergency."

As Jack Woddis so ably points out, "such declarations are made not in circumstances which would be regarded in any country as a national emergency but on each and every occasion when the African people show any degree of challenge to their miserable conditions of life."

OFFICIAL SOURCES

The 'state of emergency' declared by the Governor of Kenya was a machiavellian device designed to allow the settlers to terrorise and intimidate the African people into submission so as to deflect them from their objective of freedom. It was particularly intended to crush the massive popular organisation that the Kenya Africans had built.

The detention, arrest, conviction, imprisonment and restriction of Jomo Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Richard Ochieng, Oneke, Bildad, Kaggia, Kungu Karumba and Paul Ngei were designed to 'strangulate' the Kenya African Union and crush the African national liberation movement.

On the eve of Jomo's conviction, colonialist official sources themselves confessed that there was 'no proof' and 'no direct evidence' that Jomo had his fingers in the Mau Mau pie. At his trial no proof and no direct evidence were produced.

"UHURU NA KENYATTA"

Ever since the arrest and detention of Jomo Kenyatta, African nationalists and other anti-colonialists have sung a calculated hymn of 'Uhuru na Kenyatta': 'Freedom for Kenyatta.' If Jomo Kenyatta was a criminal his only "crime" was that of being consistently anti-colonialist and of demanding freedom for the African people. And it is for that "crime" that the colonialist and settlers have sought to crucify him.

In Kenya the mere cry of Uhuru na Kenyatta was in itself sufficient to prove that whoever uttered it was 'Mau Mau'. In June 1958, the redoubtable Oginga Odinga demanded Kenyatta's release in the Kenya Legislative Council. He was shouted down.

KENYA WITHOUT KENYATTA

During the elections in Kenya at the beginning of 1961, any candidate who did not demand Kenyatta's immediate and unconditional release was shouted down.

Today, Kenyatta is the first Prime Minister of an independent Kenya.

Jomo Kenyatta spoke for the entire African leadership when he told his accusers—who were also his judges—that:

"We look forward to the day when peace shall come to this land and the truth shall be known that we, as African leaders have stood for peace."

For Kenya that day is dawn. Kenya and Kenyatta have taken their rightful place in the comity of nations.

As China Sees Africa:

CLOSER LINKS FOR FRIENDSHIP, SOLIDARITY AND PEACE

PREMIER Chou En-Lai left China for Africa yesterday on a goodwill visit to the United Arab Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, the Kingdom of Morocco and those West African countries that have diplomatic relations with China, at the invitation of the governments of these countries. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi will accompany the Premier on the tour from Kenya where he attended the independence celebrations.

This is the first time that Chinese state leaders are touring African countries on an official goodwill visit. It has a vital significance in advancing China's friendship with the African countries, strengthening solidarity and consolidating world peace.

Despite the long distance that separates China from Africa, the friendly contacts and economic and cultural interflow between the Chinese and African peoples date back to ancient times. According to historical re-

ports, China had trade relations with Egypt as early as the second century. The famous Chinese scholar Chao Ju-shih in his "a record of foreign nations," written in 1225 gave fairly detailed accounts of Egypt and what is now Somalia, Zanzibar and Malagasy. On his well-known expeditions at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Cheng Ho, representing the Chinese Monarch, paid visits to some East African countries which had also sent envoys to visit China.

These visits had carried

forward the friendly relations and economic and cultural interflow between China and Africa. The friendly contacts were not broken off until after the sixteenth century as western colonialists forced their way into Africa and China.

NEW MOVEMENTS

The conflagration of the national liberation movement is destroying the criminal colonial system, while bringing new life to the age-old friendship between the Chinese and African peoples. Having cleared their country of imperialists, the Chinese people proclaimed the People's Republic of China.

Thirty-four of the fifty-nine countries and territories in Africa have attained independence. The imperialists and colonialists can no longer prevent friendly contacts between the Chinese and Afri-

can peoples. Feelings of brotherhood and kinship between the Chinese and African peoples have grown and flourished from their common lot as victims of imperialist aggression. These close ties are being continuously strengthened by the common cause of fighting old and new colonialism and striving for or preserving and consolidating their independence.

Since the 1955 Bandung Conference, the friendly relations between China and African countries have developed daily on the basis of the ten Bandung principles and the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

China has established diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Sudan, Algeria, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Somalia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar and Kenya

and maintained trade relations with other African countries. China has concluded treaties of friendship with Guinea and Ghana and signed agreements with many African countries for economic and technical co-operation, for cultural co-operation, and on trade and payments, which have helped promote economic and cultural interflow.

GOODWILL VISITS

Frequent goodwill visits of state and government leaders and trade, cultural, scientific, press and religious delegates have been exchanged between China and many African countries. These visits have immensely enhanced mutual understanding, sympathy and friendship between the peoples of China and Africa.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's goodwill visit to the African

countries will not only reciprocate similar visits made to China by many state and government leaders of Africa but will also bring the profound sentiments of the six hundred fifty million Chinese people to the African peoples. There is no doubt that through this visit, the friendship between the peoples of China and Africa will consolidate and grow on a new basis.

As the Chinese poet of Tang dynasty, Wang Po put it:

"Bosom friends afar,
Bring distant lands near."

The Chinese and African peoples are bosom friends indeed. Prolonged imperialist aggression and plunder have reduced the Asian and African countries into poverty and backwardness. We are friends in need, all anxious to develop our national economies after driv-

ing out imperialism-colonialism, so as to throw off our poverty and backwardness. This makes it necessary for us to rely wholeheartedly on the strength of our own people, fully utilise our own national resources and, on the basis of self-reliance, support each other, supply each other with such aid as can be supplied, and exchange experiences in economic construction.

STRONG SUPPORT

Every step forward made by the African peoples on the path of opposing imperialism-colonialism and building their own countries is a tremendous support to China's socialist construction. At the same time, the Chinese people have done everything in their power to support their African friends. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's goodwill visit to the African countries will provide more opportunities for better mutual understanding and exchange of experience, thereby opening a still broader path for the development of solidarity and friendly co-operation, between the Chinese and African peoples.

In the fourteen years since its founding, the People's Republic of China has consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy.

Guided by the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the ten principles of the Bandung conference, China had actively promoted unity and co-operation with other Asian and African countries. China has always advocated that all countries, big or small, and irrespective of their different social systems should live together on an equal footing and in friendship. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's goodwill visit to Africa is further proof that the Chinese Government and people highly treasure the friendship and unity of the Asian and African countries and steadfastly promote friendly co-operation.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

Afro-Asian solidarity is vital to the defence of world peace. The continued fortification of the unity and co-operation between China and the African countries and between all Asian and African countries will surely be a greater contribution to safeguarding world peace.

At the outset of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's goodwill visit to the African countries, we sincerely wish the African people and all newly independent countries in Africa still greater successes in the struggle to combat imperialism and old and new colonialism, consolidate national independence and develop national economy. May all people fighting for independence in Africa achieve one victory after another so as to realise the complete emancipation of the African continent.

Long live the friendship between the Chinese and African peoples!

(Editorial in "People's Daily" of 14/12/63).

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BRITAIN'S GUILT FOR APARTHEID

ON August 7, 1963, the United Nations Security Council called upon all States to 'cease forthwith' the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa. Of the eleven members, nine voted in favour of the resolution and none against. Two, Britain and France, abstained. The resolution also deprecated South Africa's race policies and called for the release of all people imprisoned under them.

The British representative, Sir Patrick Dean, made it clear that the United Kingdom had no intention of observing the resolution of the Security Council and would continue to supply arms to Verwoerd. The original draft of the resolution, submitted by the Afro-Asian States, called for a boycott of South African goods and a total embargo of the export of strategic materials to that country. It was watered down to its final form on the insistence of the United States, Britain and other imperialist or imperialist-inclined countries.

Even if it were honoured by Britain, France and other major arms-suppliers to Verwoerd's armed forces, the Security Council resolution is completely inadequate to meet the South African situation as it has developed now in 1963. Had such measures been adopted a decade ago, when the United Nations first began discussing the outrageous racial structure of our country, they might have been effective in preventing the vast military build-up which has resulted in the Republic of South Africa becoming what it is today—a Hitler-style police state, armed to the teeth, a vast prison camp for its people, an aggressive militarist dictatorship threatening the security of its neighbours and the peace of Africa and the world.

RESISTANCE AGAINST NAZISM

For there can be no doubt that—although every step along the Nazi road has been stubbornly and heroically resisted by the masses of South Africans, led by organisations such as the Communist Party and the African National Congress—civil rights and the rule of law have now been totally destroyed. In the streets and the factories, the workers of our country year after year conducted a remarkable series of demonstrations and nation-wide general strikes. In the courts bril-

liant and courageous South African lawyers fought and won many a battle for civil rights, of which the marathonic Treason Trial of 1956-61, ending in the acquittal of all the accused, was the most famous example. When the fighting weekly, *The Guardian*, was banned in 1956, its editor, Brian Bunting, aided by a team of remarkable journalists such as Ruth First, Govan Mbeki, Fred Carneson, M. P. Naicker, and the late Lionel Forman, succeeded in bringing out a 'new' paper with a new name the following week, and so on, with repeated bannings without missing a week until April 1963, when the last metamorphosis *The Spark*, was compelled to cease—or rather, to suspend publication.

But this year, the Nazi Minister of Justice, Balthazar Vorster (he was interned during the war for directing sabotage aimed to help Hitler's cause) has thrown all pretences of democratic legal procedures to the winds. The struggle has entered a new, a grim and decisive phase. The Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship has determined that nothing short of violent insurrection will shift them. With such crude instruments as the General Law Amendment Acts of 1962 and 1963, rushed through a panic-stricken white parliament with indecent haste, Vorster has abandoned

even the pretence of a law-governed state and created a naked military dictatorship. The entire white population is being conditioned, armed and trained for civil war. The press has been thoroughly gagged and the bourgeois 'opposition' politicians and parties terrified into silence.

SABOTAGE ACT

In terms of the 1962 General Law Amendment Act (the so-called 'Sabotage Act') an enormous number of political offences—ranging from strikes to painting slogans on walls—are defined as 'sabotage' and subjected to penalties from a minimum of five years' imprisonment, to death. The onus of proving his innocence is placed on the accused—and he has also to prove that he did not intend 'to further or encourage the achievement of any political aim.' In terms of the 1963 General Law Amendment Act, 'any commissioned officer may arrest or cause to be arrested any person whom he suspects of intending to commit any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act, or even to be in possession of any information about such intended offence. Having been thus arrested the person can be held in solitary confinement for repeated periods of ninety days, 'no person shall have any access to him' (not even a legal adviser) and 'no Court shall have jurisdiction to order his release.'

The meaning of such laws is perfectly plain to the oppressed people of South Africa and their leaders. Either they must submit to the intolerable oppression, humiliation and exploitation of apartheid—or they must prepare to fight it out against the regime of white domination, with its formidable state machinery, army and police

force, massively armed and equipped by Britain and other NATO powers, and backed by Western and Japanese imperialist capital. The time for 'non-violent' struggles and legal victories is past: only one road to change has been left by the Nationalist government, that of mass insurrection. The Nationalist government must bear the full responsibility for the consequences.

Already the elements of civil war are fully present in the South African situation. Guerilla activities have flared up with increasing frequency in the Transkei and other rural areas.

by
A. Lerumo

The 'Poqo' riots, which broke out in Paarl and other Cape areas at the end of last year, bore the character of desperate, unplanned and indiscriminate acts of revenge against the white population as such; though they also reflected the courage and determination of nien provoked beyond endurance. Far more serious and dangerous to the apartheid regime are the activities of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), the military-type organisation which owes allegiance to the African National Congress. Beginning with planned and purposeful sabotage attacks against state installations, the *Umkhonto* is purposefully developing its plan of training and strategy for the South African revolution.

The position was lucidly analysed in the statement of the Central Committee of the underground South African Communist Party, 'The Revolutionary Way Out'. In this statement, the

Party unhesitatingly aligns itself with the policy of militant mass struggles against oppression, merging into a mighty stream of people's insurrection for the overthrow of the white minority rule and the winning of a Free South Africa. Clearly, in taking the weighty decision to fight rather than submit, and to retaliate against state violence, the experienced and responsible leaders of the South African masses were keenly aware that it would call for heavy sacrifices both from the people and the leaders.

FURY THAT KNOWS NO BOUNDS

Faced with a serious challenge to their domination, their privileges and their profits, the fury of the ruling classes knows no bounds. Vorster, Verwoerd's strong-arm man, has gone berserk. More than five thousand political prisoners cram the jails, subjected to ill-treatment and torture. Following detailed reports from the Republic itself, the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) charged that:

South Africa's Gestapo have committed and are daily committing acts of brutal torture against these detainees. The purpose is to force them to confess or turn informer. The methods used include electric shock treatment, wet bag confinement, solitary confinement, hosepipe beatings and other forms of assaults, inadequate medical treatment and lack of protection against cold.

Such brutal and lawless methods of rule are intended to quell the increasing rebelliousness of the population. But they are not succeeding in this object,

and they cannot succeed, because the very measures taken by the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship can only add further to the anger, desperation and turbulence within the country.

The special branch of the South African police hope to strike terror and despair into the hearts of the forces fighting for freedom by the growing fascist 'efficiency' of their methods. Last year, they captured the underground ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and on July 11, 1963, they brought off a further coup when Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Rusty Bernstein, Kathy Kathrada and other well-known resistance leaders were arrested.

THE FIGHTS GO ON

Exulting at this 'success' Vorster and his police chiefs proudly announced that 'all internal subversion has now been smashed'. Within a few weeks they were given the lie by an illegal leaflet circulated throughout the country—'The A.N.C. is Alive!'. 'Umkhonto we Sizwe Fights On!' Within a few weeks these brave words were translated into action; a new wave of sabotage is sweeping the country, including such actions as the burning of the Alexandra pass office (Johannesburg) to the ground with all its records, and well-planned disruption of Cape Town's suburban railway system bringing the activities of South Africa's second-largest city to a halt for hours.

The A.N.C. leaflets concluded: with the stirring Congress slogan *Amandla Ngawethu!* (The Power is Ours!). And indeed the power is the people's for the whole of current history shows that—like colonialism throughout the world—the special type of colonia-

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WHAT NEXT IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA?

by Jack Woddis

ary 16, 1963). For this reason the British Government has allocated Southern Rhodesia the bulk of the Federal armed forces and equipment which will become available with the winding up of the Federation. Southern Rhodesia will receive seven European-manned Air Force Squadrons as well as four Army Battalions of white troops and an armoured car squadron also manned by Europeans.

ANOTHER REASON.

After the decision to end the Federation, the British Government announced that the major share of these Federal forces would go to the white settler Government in Southern Rhodesia. Stressing the importance of this decision for British imperialism, the "Daily Telegraph" (November 7, 1963) wrote:

"There must remain a disciplined defence force in Central Africa... The Federal Army of some twelve battalions and the Royal Rhodesian Air Force represent the ultimate stability of this immense and wealthy area" ("Daily Telegraph", Janu-

THIS month, after ten years of bitter resistance by the African people, the imperialist imposed Central African Federation comes to an end. The Federal Constitution will cease to have any validity; that old reactionary blusterer, Sir Roy Welensky, will have to find himself another occupation; and the Federal state apparatus will begin to be dismantled, although the final winding up might yet take some time.

Two of the component parts of the former Federation—Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—are rapidly advancing to independent status under African majority rule. Nyasaland will become independent in July 1964, and will probably be renamed "Malawi".

Northern Rhodesia will have new elections in January 1964 under its new constitution based on universal adult franchise.

Although an advance over the previous one, the new constitution is not yet a fully democratic one since it still reserves no less than ten seats to Europeans out of a total Legislative Assembly of seventy-five, and yet the European population is only some 70,000 as against about 2½ million Africans.

Nevertheless, the elections in January will enable the United National Independence Party, led by Kenneth Kaunda, to win a sweeping victory and to press for a new constitution, with a date for independence in 1964. Once independent, Northern Rhodesia will probably be named "Zambia".

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

For Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia the winning of political independence will be only the first step. Both territories will be faced with tremendous economic problems. Nyasaland has been terribly neglected and has practically no industry. Consequently, half of her adult male workers have had to migrate beyond the frontiers of Nyasaland—to South Africa, to Northern and Southern Rhodesia in order to seek work, often in the European-owned mines.

Northern Rhodesia has a more developed economy, but its main wealth, the rich copper, is entirely owned by British, American and South African monopolies. Northern Rhodesia is now producing about £120 million worth of copper a year—but about a third of that is taken in profits by the copper companies.

Thus both these two territories are faced with the battle for economic independence and economic reconstruction. Once politically independent, they will be in a better position to combine their efforts and to associate with other independent African States for these economic objectives; but the continued retention of economic strongholds in the hands of the foreign monopolies—and especially that of the copper companies—remains a major obstacle to economic progress and higher standards for the people.

It is in the third territory, Southern Rhodesia, how-

ever, that the most immediately pressing problem remains. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that Southern Rhodesia is one of the most dangerous explosion points in Africa.

END TYRANNY

The thirty-two independent African states which met in May at Addis Ababa recently regard it as such, and have accordingly put it high on their list of issues around which they will mobilise African and world opinion in order to bring to an end the tyranny of white settler rule.

Southern Rhodesia has one of the largest concentrations of European settlers of all the African territories still under white rule. There are 234,000 Europeans, as against 3½ million Africans. Of significance, too, about half the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia come from South Africa, and are heavily influenced by the most racist conceptions.

The Tories will not easily give up their power and riches in this part of Africa. They regard Southern Rhodesia as a key military and political base defending the southern half of Africa from the tide of African liberation which has swept south and is now lapping at the doors of the last imperialist strongholds—Angola, Mozambique, the High Commission Territories, South West Africa and the Republic of South Africa.

Southern Rhodesia is also a base for imperialist pressure against Northern Rhodesia (with its rich copper belt), as well as of strategic importance in relation to the Congo.

Further, it is one of the key areas of British investment in Africa, and possesses valuable resources—gold, chrome, asbestos, coal, tobacco and other commodities.

EUROPEAN DOMINATION

The British Government, and particularly the two men most directly concerned—Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Duncan Sandys—have a natural sympathy for Mr. Winston Field and his white settler government in Southern Rhodesia, and are anxious to retain European domination in Southern Rhodesia for as long as possible.

Old Wine Under New Label

THE labels on Algeria's most famous wine—exported all over the world—will soon be changed. Instead of "Domaine la Trappe", it will be "Domaine Amar Bauchaoui". Nothing could better symbolise the changes sweeping over this country. These changes not only involve an Algerianisation of life here, but give it a new social content.

Amar Bauchaoui was the first young Algerian worker from the vineyards of Henri Borgeaud, owner of la Trappe, to join the resistance movement. In 1956, he killed two French "paras", persuaded six Algerian soldiers to desert with their arms, and together with them, left to join the National Liberation Front (F.L.N.) forces.

He was killed in battle in 1959. It was his sacrifice and that of more than a million other Algerians that made possible the events at Domaine la Trappe last March 30th.

MOST POWERFUL 'COLON'

When Henri Borgeaud, French senator and the most powerful French colon in Algeria, woke up that morning, he found his 108-room chateau and vineyard installations surrounded by troops of the Algerian Liberation Army (A.L.N.).

Not too long ago, it was French "paras" that Borgeaud saw when he peered out his windows. Four units of them were permanently stationed on his estates with their own prisons, torture rooms and death cells.

As it was, even a year after the Evian Agreements which ended the war in Algeria and six months after establishment of the Republican Government only eleven miles away in Algiers, Borgeaud still had a couple of hundred Frenchmen on the estate to whom he paid extra "danger money" to ensure that la Trappe remained French.

But there it was. Outside those solid grey walls, built by Trappist monks a century or so ago, were A.L.N. soldiers.

The walls enclosed the original Domaine of the Trappists, which Henri's

father, Julian Borgeaud, took over at the turn of the century.

The estate had overflowed those walls during Henri's reign and now included 4,500 acres of the most fertile land in Algeria. It was the most important of five Borgeaud estates.

REIGN FINISHED

But March 30th, a soldier delegation marched in through the spiked iron gate and explained the reign of the Borgeauds was finished. Borgeaud left within seven minutes, to fume in Algiers a day or two before flying back to Paris.

His son, Jean-Pierre Borgeaud, stayed on the estate for a few days to ensure that nothing was overlooked in the inventory, taken by a workers' committee, which was presented to the French government later for compensation.

Then the son left, too, with all but two of the 200 French administrative and technical personnel.

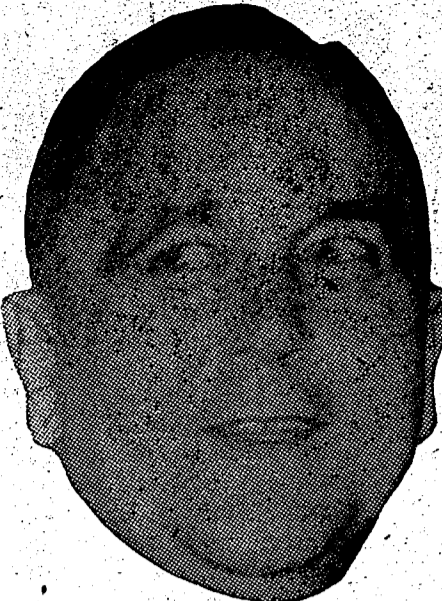
"Had there been much sabotage?" I asked thirty-two-year-old Djellali Ouali, president of the Workers' Management Committee. "No", he replied with a smile. "For months before we had our F.L.N. members here alerted."

"We had one Algerian constantly alongside each French technician to watch like a hawk that there was no funny business. The machinery was in good condition."

WORKERS' COUNCIL

Ouali had been conscripted for France's "dirty war" in Indo-China. He deserted almost as soon as he reached Saigon; was severely wounded in a gun fight with French soldiers who recaptured him.

He spent five years in French prisons, then re-



Roy Welensky... the doomed Premier



"... it is likely that in future military security duties affecting the three British High Commission territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland will be more conveniently managed from Southern Rhodesia."

The special 50,000 word Memorandum on Southern Rhodesia, submitted on August 2nd, 1963, to the U.N. Security Council by the Ghana Government, has warned:

"The transfer of these forces would constitute a most serious threat to the security of the African Continent and might well involve a threat to world peace." (Para. 17, p. 8)

It was recognition of this danger, as well as a desire to end repression in Southern Rhodesia and help liberate their African brothers that led the Governments of Ghana and Morocco to submit a special resolution to the U.N. Security

Council in September 1963, opposing the transfer of sovereign rights to Southern Rhodesia as long as she remained under settler domination. The British representative used his veto to block a decision.

BRITAIN REFUSES

The resolution then came before the General Assembly on November 6th, where it was carried by

Continued on page 7

turned to Algeria to take part in the liberation struggle in the area of la Trappe.

Six weeks after the takeover from Borgeaud, the 488 Algerian workers on the estate who constitute the Workers' Assembly elected a thirty-three-worker council which elected a nine-member management committee, which in turn chose Ouali as its president.

This election, held by the Workers' Management Committee on May 15th, was historic.

It set the seal on the overthrow of the man who symbolised French colonialism in Algeria and whose



continued presence, long after 850,000 of his colon compatriots had left, symbolised French hopes for a neo-colonialist comeback.

Ben Bella attended the final proceedings and embraced each of the nine members of the management committee as the results were announced.

Among those elected were Bauchaoui's father and another sign of the changes sweeping the country—two women.

DECISIONS FINAL

Together with a manager, appointed by the National Land Reform Office to represent the state and handle finances, the Management Committee now directs the affairs of Domaine Amar Bauchaoui.

The decisions of the committee are final, the state-appointed manager having liaison and advisory functions.

By Mid-June 1963, about nine months after the government of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria was established, a large—but as yet far from decisive—part of agricultural and industrial enterprises in the country was being run by management committees set up by workers.

If the former property of Borgeaud was typical, then they were doing well.

The vineyards and orange groves seemed in excellent condition; a splendid crop of early tomatoes was being harvested; fields of oats, potatoes, carrots and other vegetables on the 2,750 acres under cultivation this year were all flourishing.

"Everybody works with enthusiasm", said Ouali as he showed us over the estate, "because they know the profits are not going into old Borgeaud's pockets, but to build up the country as a whole."

He showed us the remnants of the "gorbi" (shanty) settlements where the Algerians formerly lived. Miserable square mud boxes, barely high enough for a man to stand up in, a single room with packed earth floor for each family.

Leaving their villas the French had smashed everything they could—doors, windows, electric fittings, etc. These were now being repaired.

There was no chance for any sabotage at the chateau. With the A.L.N. on hand, it was taken over intact and is being kept that way as a museum—for the time at least. Later it will become a tourist resort.

Ouali explained that in one corner of the estate—where Algerians were now grading and packing tomatoes into boxes for the Algiers market—there had been a headquarters for a whole battalion of "paras". He took us to see the elaborate concrete pigsties,

converted into a prison by the "paras". Each sty was enclosed with wire netting, and a heavy steel door had replaced the opening for the pigs. A man could lie or crouch here, but never stand.

At the end of the sties were the slaughter pens—still swathed in barbed wire—because it was Algerians, not pigs, who were strung up here to be tortured and slaughtered.

For the time being wages are based on those paid by the French, except that persons doing the same work as the former French specialists now get the same pay as the latter, instead of the one-third or a quarter paid them in the past by Borgeaud.

Ouali expected the basic pay to be substantially raised at the end of the first year, as part of the profits were to be distributed as bonuses, under the principle adopted on state farms.

'LET HIM GET OUT!'

Even now, apart from having moved from hovels into decent housing, workers have enormously improved conditions. A tractor makes its rounds every morning, drawing a trailer heaped with vegetables and fruit—a free supplement to the daily wages for every family.

Answering French critics recently, Bella said: "They say that taking back Borgeaud's land is contrary to the Evian Agreements. Well, if we violate the Evian Agreements by this decision—so much the worse for the Evian Agreements."

He went on to recall that Borgeaud controlled fifty-five votes in the French National Assembly—"fifty-five voices demanding my death when I was in prison. That's Borgeaud for you! We don't need him any more. Let him get out!"



BRITAIN'S GUILT FOR APARTHEID

4th December, Wednesday:
DAHOMEY: Two former leading Ministers, Messrs Paul Darboux and Marcel Tokpanou of ex-President Maga's Government have been arrested and locked up for alleged misappropriation of public funds following a report submitted by a seven-man commission appointed by Colonel Soglo.

Mrs. Maga was also arrested with bag full of new Franc currency notes on her way towards Northern Dahomey.

TANGANYIKA: Opening the second meeting of the African Liberation Committee in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika's External Minister, Oscar Kambona, says the African Liberation Committee is dealing with a very important assignment because the imperialists are heavily armed and prepared to counteract any moves towards African Liberation struggle.

GHANA: The Ministry of Trade categorically denies a statement attributed to Pretoria regime's Foreign Minister, Eric Louw, that Ghana is trading with South Africa. An official of the Ministry of Trade says that since the Ghana Government imposed a ban on South African goods in June 1961, Ghana has had no trade whatsoever with the Pretoria regime.

DAHOMEY: Mr. Hubert Maga, former President of Dahomey, has arrived at Bohicon, about 90 miles north-west of Cotonou, where he has been under house arrest.

MOROCCO: A census of all lands belonging to aliens is to be held soon.

ALGERIA: The World Bank grants a big loan to Algeria for financing the building of a gas factory.

GHANA: The Ministry of Trade strongly protests against anti-Ghana slanders launched by the South Africa's racist Foreign Minister Louw.

* The Minister of Agriculture, Krobo Edusel, has been received by the Pope and by the President of Italian Republic.

DAHOMEY: Cabinet reshuffle takes place following Maga's resignation. Mr. Chabi Mama is now Minister of Foreign Affairs.

NIGER: Some incidents are reported to have been occurred in a company of the 1st Infantry Battalion.

CHAD: The French Chief of Staff of Senegal, General Ailleret, is in Fort Lamy for inspection. He leaves in the evening for Dakar, where he is expected to inspect the Dakar Army. Elections campaign for polling scheduled to take place on the 22nd December has started.

CONGO (Brazzaville): The Congolese soldiers have detained for a few hours the Chief of General Staff, Major Mounsa. He has been later released, after the soldiers have received their pay.

CONGO (Leopoldville): President Kasavubu is in Israel where previously Mobutu's paratroopers have been trained.

* Traitor Tshombe is in Brussels for the wedding of his daughter.

SOUTH AFRICA: At the UNO's Security Council, during the debate on apartheid, Soviet Union supports the proposal of an oil embargo against the Pretoria racist government.

* The Security Council adopts a Norwegian resolution calling for no more arms for Pretoria.

U.A.R.: It is reported that Khrushchev may visit U.A.R. in January of May 1964.

5th December, Thursday:
GHANA: Ghana's seven-year development plan is expected to be launched soon by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. An amount of £340 million is expected to be spent during the period.

Agriculture and Industry which is given priority will receive 36.8 per cent of the total amount to be spent.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, rejects a proposal in the House of Commons that he shall call a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference to discuss Southern Rhodesia.

The Prime Minister continues to say that it is for all the Commonwealth Prime Ministers to decide on the timing of such a conference.

IVORY COAST: The Organisation of African Unity Arbitration Commission ends its work today in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, by setting up an executive committee in Bamako, Mali, and asking Algeria and Morocco to submit their border dispute cases to it within three weeks.

ALGERIA: President Charles de Gaulle of France will pay an official visit to Algeria, in May next year.

CONGO (Brazzaville): Nigerians in the Congo have petitioned Federal Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, for protection in the Republic.

The petitioners claimed that their properties worth about £52,500 were damaged during riots in September last year when the Congo lost 3-1 in a football match to Gabon.

IVORY COAST: Mr. Leopold Sedar Senghor is expected to be proclaimed President of Senegal today following last Sunday's elections.

ALGERIA: President Ben Bella declares in an interview that the coming F.L.N. Congress will go even further in the ideological field than the Tripoli programme.

IVORY COAST: In Abidjan, the Committee of Nine set up by the O.A.U. to investigate and settle Algerian-Moroccan border dispute has decided to set up a Committee of Four, to start work in Bamako.

SENEGAL: Burial of the victims of last Sunday repression takes place today. Meanwhile, police are rounding up Dakar and arresting more people.

* Senghor has been officially proclaimed President of the Republic.

GHANA: It is learnt that judgement in the treason trial against 5 accused persons alleged to have been involved in the Kulungugu outrage last year is to be given on Monday 9th December.

IVORY COAST: Mr. Henri Rochereau, a French prominent member of E.C.M. Commissioner is in Abidjan for Common Market talks. He is due in Upper Volta on Monday.

(Continued from page 5)

ism embodied in the structure of apartheid. South Africa must soon go down to defeat at the hands of an oppressed people determined to win freedom and independence from white domination. The South African democratic revolution of national liberation has already begun—it will end in victory whatever the cost. The cost of that victory, however, in terms of human lives, sacrifice and suffering, would be far less, and the struggle itself greatly shortened, were it not for the powerful support which the Verwoerd regime still receives from its open and concealed backers in Britain, the United States and other imperialist countries.

MERITS OF APARTHEID

The merits of apartheid are no longer a subject of debate at the United Nations and other international gatherings. Like 'sin' at religious synods, everyone is against it—or says so. British and United States delegates virtuously denounce the wickedness of the Verwoerd regime, and then look for ingenious

arguments to oppose, hamstring or emasculate every practical move to help the South Africans to emancipate themselves.

The truth is that British, United States, Japanese and other imperialist interests are deeply involved in the maintenance of the apartheid regime, whose principal object is and always has been the production of superprofits from the exploitation of cheap African labour. The imperialist share handsomely in these profits; they curse Verwoerd in public, but they know and he knows that he is doing the dirty work on their behalf as well as the local white capitalist interests.

The point was well put by Mr. M. D. Banghart, Vice-President of the Newmont Mining Corporation, a United States concern with major interests in South and South West Africa. Addressing the 1962 Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers, he said:

We know the people and the government (of South Africa) and we

back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars.

American firms doing business in South Africa, he pointed out, made an average profit of twenty-seven per cent: that is the fruit of apartheid. That is exactly what Sir Patrick Dean had in mind when he told the Security Council (August 7, 1963) that Britain would not support sanctions against South Africa because—*together with other, far less convincing, reasons:*

We have a considerable trade with and a considerable investment in South Africa.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

The arguments of the British and other imperialists about their trade and investments in South Africa are no more convincing than those of the men who once opposed the abolition of slavery on the grounds that they had a profitable traffic and investment in slaves. Such arguments can only arouse passionate indignation among the whole of the people of Africa, im-

patient to see the slave South join the mainland of Free Africa, and among the millions of friends of South African freedom in every corner of the world.

Apartheid cannot survive without the support it receives from abroad. And the chief supplier of such support has always been and still remains the United Kingdom. With over £1,000 million investments, Britain remains the main investor in South Africa (although the United States is fast catching up). She is the main supplier of arms, military aircraft and all kinds of other war material to Verwoerd, and is openly defying the Security Council resolution to stop arming the apartheid regime. In the neighbouring High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, the British authorities are leaning over backwards to appease Verwoerd's republic.

They deny independence and self-government to their people; they perpetuate the backwardness which makes the territories economically dependent on the Republic; they hound

and persecute South African political refugees while giving Verwoerd's agents a free hand to come and go as they like, to kidnap people under British protection, and to commit acts of terror and sabotage. Britain is neither prepared nor able to protect the Basuto, Swazi and Bechuanan people from Verwoerd's aggression, nor is she willing to grant them the freedom which they need to prepare themselves and make the necessary alliances for defence.

AN APPEAL

The oppressed people of South Africa are not asking for foreign intervention in their struggle against Verwoerd and his criminal accomplices. But we are appealing, and in particular, to the British people and the British labour movement, who have shown so many signs of goodwill and understanding towards our cause, that Britain should stop intervening on the side of Verwoerd. Until that is done expressions of 'repugnance' towards apartheid must fall on increasingly bitter and cynical ears in our country and throughout Africa.

AFRICAN UNITY

(Continued from page 1)

presented by a team of ten observers headed by Mr. Mbiu Koinage (at present, Minister of State for Pan-African Affairs). It was decided to continue the 'Informal Permanent Machinery' for the time being. The 'eradication of Colonial rule from Africa' formed the subject matter of the eighth resolution which enjoined upon the Independent African States to 'continue to exert concerted action to achieve through all possible peaceful means' the complete liquidation of colonial rule. An 'Africa Freedom Fund' was agreed to be started and governments were asked to give 'assistance' and 'facilities' to 'genuine political refugees'. This resolution undoubtedly went one step further but the remaining resolutions followed more or less the 1958 line with the scope widened a little here and there.

CONFERENCE TO BREAK NEW GROUND

It was left to the 1963 Conference to break new ground. The number of participating governments increased to thirty. This in itself was an indicator of the increased importance and authority of the Conference. Kenya was again represented by a team of observers under the leadership of Mr. A. Oginga Odinga, the Vice-President of the Kenya African National Union and, at present, Minister for Home Affairs. This Conference was not only called a landmark in African history—it was one. The greatest achievement of it was the establishment of a permanent organ of the Independent States of Africa in the form of the Organisation of African Unity and the adoption of a Charter to govern the functioning of it.

The Charter records in the preamble that the Heads of African and Malagasy States are 'convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny',

that they are 'conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples', and that they are 'persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights... provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive co-operation among states'. The Independent African States will now have a central secretariat working to produce 'unity' in Africa on the basis of the principles laid down by U.N.O. and accepted by the entire world. The desire of the African peoples to create and maintain friendly and just relations among themselves and between them and the other peoples of the world has been given a permanent place in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity.

The second achievement of the Conference is the positive decision on 'decolonisation'. This represents the next logical step, about which there has never been any doubt in the minds of African leaders. Appeals to reason having fallen on deaf ears and 'peaceful means' having failed, the need for some action is admitted on all 'invites' the colonial powers to co-operate in achieving what is the insistent and rational demands of the peoples of Africa. The resolution calls upon the Independent States of Africa to give the nationalists fighting against the colonialist regimes 'moral and practical support' such as facilities for 'training in all sectors'. A 'co-ordinating committee' has been set up and 'a special fund' has been opened.

Thus, a sentence of death has been passed on colonialism and means for executing it have been devised. A greater part of Africa is already free: the Addis Ababa Conference has decreed that the whole of it shall be free.

Niamey Points Way To Political Union

(Continued from page 1)

changes in relation with E.E.C. necessarily involves far-reaching political changes in the African states concerned.

Secondly, a common price stabilisation fund for Africa's produce presupposes a common marketing policy for these commodities. Here again existing trade agreements with Common Market countries or preferential trade arrangements with some powers will have to be critically re-assessed.

Thirdly, on African Monetary Zone will demand perhaps the greatest departure from the status quo.

For example, it will involve complete control by us of our currencies and own banks of issue. Unfortunately, this is not the case at the moment. The hard fact is that most French-speaking African States have no central bank of their own and are on currencies wholly manipulated from Paris.

MONETARY CO-OPERATION

Again, an African monetary zone requires a very high degree of financial co-operation between African states. And this degree of co-operation is simply impossible without basic agreement on political objectives.

Fourthly, the harmonisation of national development plans. Here the need for political agreement is most compelling. For as we know, every national development plan is based on a clear-cut political assumptions. How then can plans which arise from varying (often conflicting!) political categories be harmonised without a corresponding harmonisation in political objectives?

Only one example need be cited here. One country has drawn up its development plan on the basis of giving a free hand to foreign private investors. The second country takes the road of keeping foreign investors under strict control and depending primarily on direct state activity in the economic domain. To what extent can the development plans of these two states be harmonised? The contention here is that such harmonisation, if it means anything more than normal trade relations between two countries, is possible only if the two countries attain a high degree of agreement on political criteria.

The realisation of this fact will help us to see the work of the Economic and Social Commission as a significant milestone in the African Revolution. If there is no such realisation, then the Niamey exercise is but a flash in the pan.

At Niamey we have agreed to take the path of economic unity and of reliance upon ourselves in the first instance. But in the process of giving effect to our stand, we will come to realise that success is possible only if we proceed further—in the direction of political unity. It will increasingly dawn on us all that meaningful economic unity between states demands political agreement and even unified political direction.

If this lesson is learnt, then the Niamey recommendation on economic unity could pave the way for the political union of Africa.

What Next in Southern Rhodesia?

(Continued from page 6)

seventy-three votes to two (Portugal and South Africa) with nineteen abstentions (mainly Western European powers, together with the U.S. and Japan). On this occasion, the British representative refused to participate in the voting.

The resolution adopted by the General Assembly also invited Britain 'to hold without delay a constitutional conference in which representatives of all political parties in Southern Rhodesia will take part with a view to making constitutional arrangements for independence on the basis of universal adult suffrage, including the fixing of the earliest date for independence.'

The British Government refuses to do this, taking refuge in its falsely claimed lack of constitutional power to call such a conference, and at the same time pretending that the intransigence of the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia represents an insuperable obstacle.

The very fact of handing over powerful Federal armed forces to bolster up

Winston Field's government makes nonsense of the British Government's pretences. It could easily reverse this decision—and block all further supplies of arms to Southern Rhodesia. It could back this up with diplomatic and economic moves which could compel the Winston Field government to retreat.

REAP THE WHIRLWIND

But the British imperialists, while they might try to persuade the settlers to make some small token concession to African demands in the hope of placating African and Asian opinion and quietening opposition at home, nevertheless, have no intention of co-operating with progressive opinion to end white domination in Southern Rhodesia.

This they will only do if compelled by the pressure of the people—at the United Nations, in Africa, and in Britain. It is time that the British people spoke out on this issue.

The African people will not tolerate this blot on their continent much longer. The British Government may not be willing to "go quietly", but if it does not, it will reap the whirlwind.

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

corrupt and control the state machinery here in Ghana as part of its grand strategy for paralyzing the African Revolution through the destruction from within of one its most powerful bases.

The past twelve months have given us a rich harvest of the techniques and stratagems of imperialism whether in the form of colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism or simply in the supply of technical assistance including peace corp tutors and experts generally. And we are aware that the next twelve months will demand of us even greater exertion and vigilance.

The big lesson of our first year is that imperialism has made a complete change in its plans of operation on the African continent. With its eyes still fixed determinedly on the continued exploitation of this continent, this perennial enemy has found it necessary to adopt new tactics and employ new forms of struggle.

Summarily put, imperialism has decided to fight from the inside. In those African states where the people have taken the path of radicalism and socialism, the tactic of imperialism is to fight from within the ranks of the ruling political party. It seeks for, establishes contacts with and subsidises those elements whose reactionary class interests make them willing agents in the drive to paralyse the advance to socialism from within. The only answer for this manoeuvre is for the leaders of the socialist revolution to ferret out these reactionary elements from the hierarchy of the ruling political parties and from important state organs like the civil service, the police, the army and the judiciary not forgetting the colleges and universities.

In the African states of neo-colonialism, an important aspect of im-

perialist tactics is to infiltrate progressive organisations, organise splits within them, engineer provocations, and generally pave the way for the destruction of all organisations of militants. Often self-styled socialists who spring up overnight like mushrooms are used in this dirty game.

In the realm of inter-

African relations, imperialism's new line is to pay lip service to African unity while busily organising a few client states as the trojan horse through which to foist its own concept of unity upon our continent. For this purpose, some neo-colonialist client states and political agents have been specially selected, care-

fully groomed and gratuitously financed.

In the ideological field, the new technique reveals itself in a frantic attempt to concoct and disseminate the confusing doctrine of "African Socialism" which is neither African nor socialist. Ofcourse, under this general label must be included other slab dash socialisms like Arab so-

cialism, democratic socialism, pragmatic socialism and what not!

*

The fundamental element in the new situation progressive Africa has to face in the months and years ahead is that the enemy will operate increasingly from the inside. This

changed tactic must not deceive our people into believing that the enemy has been routed. For such an atmosphere of deceptive outward calm is a convenient cover for imperialism and its agents to cajole, seduce and strike when the people are off-guard.

Rather, we must improve our vigilance. We must track down the

enemy no matter what disguises he decides to put on. We must recognise him and do battle with him whether he carries a grenade, disburse a limitless purse or brandishes an olive branch. We have no alternative. This is the duty we owe the socialist revolution in Africa in the months and years ahead.

The collage features multiple overlapping issues of 'THE SPARK' newspaper. Key headlines and mastheads visible include:

- THE SPARK** (Masthead, repeated multiple times)
- THE FUTURE IS BRIGHT** (Main headline, dated Friday, March 22, 1963)
- THE IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE IN AFRICA** (Main headline, dated Friday, March 1, 1963)
- AFRICA LOOKS AT WORLD SOCIALIST UNITY** (Main headline, dated Friday, March 15, 1963)
- AFRICA CANNOT CO-EXIST WITH IMPERIALISM** (Main headline, dated Friday, April 26, 1963)
- PEOPLES OF AFRICA, UNITE AGAINST IMPERIALISM!** (Main headline, dated Friday, April 26, 1963)
- THE SECRET WAR OF THE C.I.A.** (Section headline, dated Friday, March 15, 1963)
- THE KILLER AT YOUR DOOR** (Section headline, dated Friday, March 15, 1963)
- DARK CLOUDS OVER AFRICA** (Section headline, dated Friday, April 26, 1963)
- MILITARY PLANS ENDANGER AFRICA'S INDEPENDENCE** (Section headline, dated Friday, April 26, 1963)
- ANTHROPOLOGICAL SUMMIT** (Section headline, dated Friday, May 17, 1963)
- UNITED AFRICA IS THE GOAL** (Section headline, dated Friday, March 22, 1963)

Other visible text includes sub-headlines like 'Ghana has taken to the road of Scientific Socialism', 'Africa Looks at World Socialist Unity', and 'The Secret War of the C.I.A.' along with various 'IN THIS ISSUE' boxes listing topics like 'Imperialist Contradictions', 'The Meaning of Nuclear War', and 'The Struggle for Africa's Independence'.