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**EDITORIAL**

**ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE**

THE 10 per cent increase in freight rates announced by foreign shipping companies operating on the West Africa run underlines the urgent need for unity of the developing countries in the face of the economic offensive being waged by the foreign monopolies.

This is not a matter for Ghana alone, or even for the countries of West Africa alone. It is a matter that affects every newly independent state in Africa—indeed, every developing country throughout the world.

One of the consequences of years of colonialist domination is that most developing countries are largely dependent on a small number of shipping lines owned by their former imperialist rulers for the shipment of their exports and imports.

These shipping lines, united in their trade associations which fix rates and other conditions, enjoy what amounts in practice to a virtual monopoly.

Their decisions can affect the economic prosperity of whole nations, the jobs and living standards of thousands who may never even see their ships.

Increased freight rates mean an increased drain on the already scarce foreign currency reserves. They mean new increases in the prices of the goods which the developing countries import—the machinery for economic development, the consumer goods needed by the people.

The increase comes, furthermore at a time when the developing countries are already facing serious foreign trade difficulties.

On the one hand, the world prices of the primary products upon the export of which they mainly depend to earn the foreign currency they need have slumped to an all-time low.

On the other hand, the prices of the machinery and other commodities which they must buy from the industrial countries have risen to an all-time high.

The picture is a familiar one: the imperialist countries buy cheap and sell dear.

The Western capitalist countries talk much about the economic "aid" which they are giving the developing countries.

The first point is that most of it is not given but lent—and lent at high rates of interest.

The second and perhaps more important point is that this "aid" is as nothing compared with the vast sums the imperialist monopolies extract year after year from the developing countries through unequal trade and interest on their investments.

Spokesmen for the developing countries have more than once declared that they could well do without the handouts of monopoly capitalism if monopoly capitalism would agree to trade on fair terms and stop draining the wealth of the developing countries in the form of interest and profit.

Now the capitalist shipping companies want to tighten their stranglehold on the foreign trade of the West African countries.

There were those who described the establishment of Ghana's Black Star Line as a "needless extravagance", and as a "prestige project". Events have now underlined how important it is to break the monopoly of the foreign shipping companies by the establishment of such national shipping lines.

It is in this light that we in Ghana should see the Black Star Line's current "Fill Your Ships" campaign, and its drive to expand its services.

In the words of "Economic Survey 1963": "The cost in foreign currency, which is of high value to Ghana, in respect of freight charges is very large and it is one of the items on which it is expected that the increasing activities of the national Shipping Line will effect some saving on so as to contribute to the abatement of the strain on the balance of payments."

It is only in this way, and also through the closest economic co-operation with each other and with the socialist world which is not subject to capitalism's jungle law that the developing countries can safeguard and strengthen their economic independence.

EVERY day brings news of fresh massive U.S. air attacks against the people of North and South Vietnam. Men, women and children are being burned alive by napalm bombs; they are being blown to pieces by high explosive; they are being sliced into fragments by steel darts from "Lazy Dog" bombs; they are being incapacitated by nerve gases.

The weapons which cause these horrors are American. The planes from which they are dropped are American. The pilots are American or American trained. The men who give the orders are Americans or American-trained and American-paid.

**THE MYTH**

President Johnson claims to be "defending" the Vietnamese people against aggression—but the only aggression in Vietnam is that instigated and implemented by the American rulers. The Vietnamese are in their own country—the Americans are thousands of miles from theirs.

All these horrors are inflicted upon the people of Vietnam and the world brought nearer to the brink of devastating nuclear war (for the U.S. Ambassador in South Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell Taylor has made clear that "there are no limits set to escalation") for the sake of a myth.

The myth that has already brought death and suffering to untold thousands is the State Department myth that what is happening in South Vietnam is not a popular uprising against the Americans and their successive Saigon puppets but "aggression" by North Vietnam.

As the London Times acknowledged editorially last November:

"One of the fallacies of the past five years in Vietnam has been the assumption that the guerillas in the South were a creation of the north and not a genuine revolt against misgovernment" (24.11.64).

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front which leads the South Vietnamese people's fight against the Americans and their Saigon puppets unites patriots of widely differing political and religious views.

**POLITICAL FORCE**

It has already liberated more than two-thirds of South Vietnam and, in the words of the British Labour M.P., Mr. William Warbey, who recently visited Vietnam, it is

"a highly organised political and military force, which enjoys more popular support in South Vietnam than any Government which can now be set up in Saigon under American influence." (Guardian (9.2.65))

It is now three years since sixteen prominent U.S. scholars, among them Nobel Prize winner Linus Pauling, alarmed by the course events in Vietnam were taking, asked the late President Kennedy:

"Are we running the risk of becoming embroiled in another large-scale conflict such as the Korean War, Mr. President, or even in a nuclear-bomb war?"

What was taking place in South Vietnam, they declared, was "real though undeclared war". United States intervention in Vietnam, they charged, was "in specific violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements".

These agreements, ended the war which France had waged for more than ten years against the Indo-Chinese liberation movement.

**U.S. VIOLATIONS**

Although not a party to these agreements, adopted at a conference of which Britain and the Soviet Union were co-chairmen, the United States issued a unilateral declaration pledging that:

"It will refrain from the threat or use of force to disturb them."

The sixteen U.S. scholars reminded President Kennedy that these agreements

"prohibited foreign troops and foreign military bases in Vietnam, limited military advisers to 685, banned fresh military supplies except for replacements, and provided for national elections in 1956 to establish a single, unified government for both North and South Vietnam."

"The American government through its intervention has clearly violated all the military prohibitions of the Geneva pacts; and it supported President Diem in his illegal refusal to go through with the promised plebiscite."

The sixteen scholars went on to recall a speech made by the late President on April 6th, 1954, while he was still a Senator:

"To pour money, material, and men into the jungles of Indo-China without at least a remote prospect of victory would be dangerously futile and self-destructive...."

"I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American military assistance in Indo-China can conquer an enemy which is everywhere and at the same time nowhere, an enemy of the people" which

has the sympathy and covert support of the people."

But the warning of the sixteen scholars went unheeded. The Senator-become-President forgot his own admonitions of eight years before. Under Kennedy U.S. involvement in the war against the people of Vietnam steadily increased.

During that same Congress debate eleven years ago another U.S. Senator declared that:

"I am against sending American G.I.s into the mud and muck of Indo-China on a blood-letting spree to perpetuate colonia-

lism and white man's exploitation in Asia."

The speaker was Senator Lyndon B. Johnson—the same Lyndon B. Johnson who now, as President of the United States is sending U.S. bombers on "blood-letting sprees" to perpetuate U.S. new-style colonialism in Vietnam.

**SMOKESCREEN**

Today there are over 23,000 U.S. servicemen in Vietnam, including more than a quarter of the U.S. Army's officers. Washington is pledged to

spend 520 million dollars—over 10 million dollars every week—on "aid" to its South Vietnam puppets this year.

Despite all the smooth talk by American diplomats and the propaganda smokescreen of Voice of America and the U.S. Information Services, America's real aims have been bluntly summed up by the rightist U.S. News and World Report (11.1.65):

"To maintain U.S. position of power in Asia... to preserve credibility of U.S. as protector of anti-Communist nations."

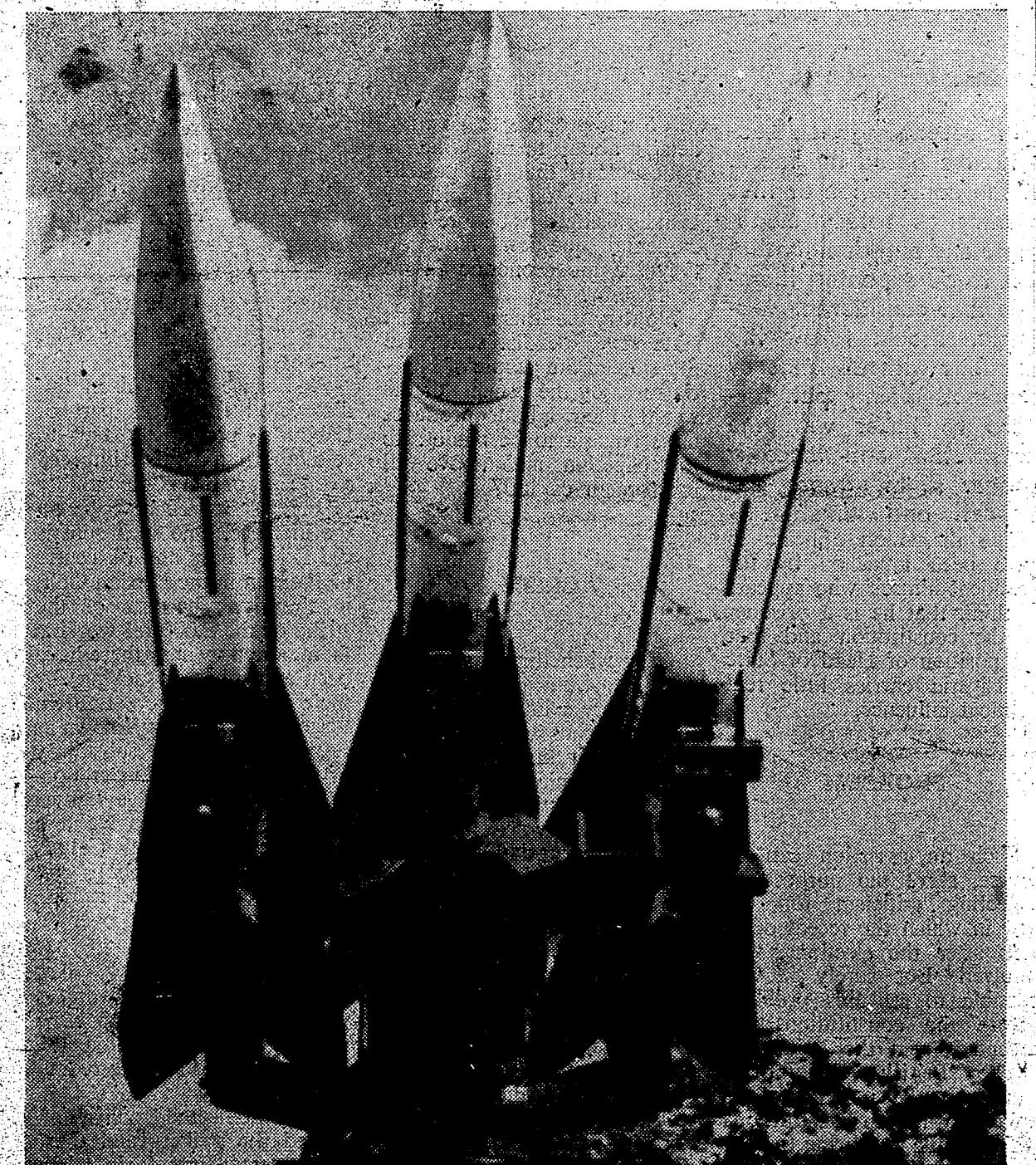
Washington tried to justify its first moves to extend the war by claiming that its air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the North were "reprisals" for attacks on U.S. installations in

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# STOP U.S. WAR IN VIETNAM

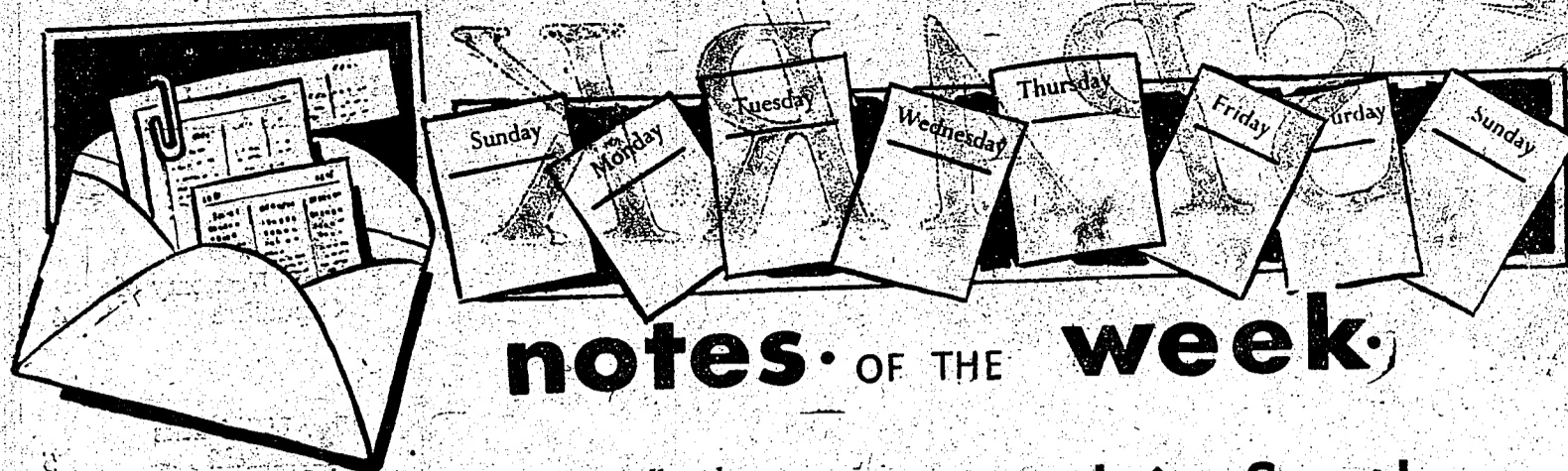
## Neutral Nations Point Way

by A Spark Correspondent



**MISSILES THAT MENACE PEACE**

U.S. missiles in South Vietnam. There are already more than 23,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam, and reports from Washington speak of plans to send more. The Pentagon has also secured the dispatch of troops from one of its other Asian puppets, South Korea in direct contravention of the Geneva Agreements.



PROGRESSIVE world opinion frequently finds it difficult to cope with more than one crisis at a time and while protests are mounting at the dangers of U.S. aggression in Viet Nam, its machinations and those of the other imperialist powers in the Congo are perhaps being pushed into the background.

There is the acute danger that this breathing space is what Tshombe hopes for in order to try to complete his phoney elections. They have been called off in Leopoldville but they continue throughout the provinces.

Tshombe's threats to the security of other African states are still developing, with his use of mercenaries against Uganda and the Sudan and with the publicity given to the political asylum granted to Youlou.

#### SUBVERSION

Clearly Youlou will be assisted and encouraged by Tshombe and his imperialist masters to plot subversion and sabotage against Congo (Brazzaville) whose Government now represents an important and vital addition of strength to the anti-imperialist movement in Africa.

For this reason the declaration made by Kwame Nkrumah that Ghana will go to the defence of Congo (Brazzaville) is very significant and should not be underestimated by anyone wanting to use the present crisis in the Congo to extend their meddling into the internal affairs of the neighbouring state.

From within the Congo has come the very encouraging an-

nouncement that all the nationalist groups at present fighting against Tshombe's illegal and terrorist regime will be coming together in Cairo to discuss joint aims and to coordinate their struggles.

The development of internal unity will advance the fight against Tshombe and make it yet more difficult for him to carry off his war against the Congolese people.

The coming together of the South Congo group led by Pierre Mulele and the Brazzaville Group led by Davidson Bauchelet, with the other groups will lead to a qualitative change in the level of the struggle.

#### SUPPORT

Christopher Gbenye, President of the Revolutionary Government of the Congo, is already in Cairo to arrange this important get-together to which we wish every success. As the unity grows, the support from the Organisation of African Unity can in turn become increasingly effective.

These internal developments and the influence of the Organisation of African Unity, which now gives its unstinted support to the anti-Tshombe forces, can lead to the rapid downfall of the Tshombe regime.

What a triumph we could celebrate at the forthcoming Summit meeting of the O.A.U. in September if the Congo could be represented by a real Government of National Liberation speaking on behalf of a Congo freed from Tshombe imperialist masters.

This is one of our urgent tasks in Africa made doubly urgent by our experiences of what U.S. intervention has achieved in Vietnam.

## Betrayal in Southern Rhodesia

MR. Harold Wilson's letter to Ian Smith, racist Premier of Southern Rhodesia, has precipitated the calling of a so-called General Election in that country. It is a tragedy that the first Southern Rhodesian general election in the present lifetime of the British Labour Government could be called by the racists themselves and still under the old Constitution.

#### ONE MAN ONE VOTE

There were many people who believed that the next election in Southern Rhodesia, would, under the guidance of a British Labour Government, be held on the principle of 'One Man, One Vote' and that it would usher in a Government expressing the will of the majority of the population.

Mr. Bottomley's recent visit to Southern Rhodesia has made no contribution whatever to the advance of the Africans towards any kind of equality or political rights. His somewhat curious statement that "the British Government cannot impose majority rule in Southern Rhodesia" can only be taken as support for Smith's regime.

The Labour Government, it is true, also apparently find it difficult to impose majority rule in British Guiana. They should therefore drop their oft vaunted claims to being democrats. Reality exposes its hollowness.

In the course of the next few weeks the British Press will move in to try and prove how it is perfectly possible for the Africans if they really want independence to get an African Government now.

The 1961 Constitution was specifically designed to prevent that possibility. The African population will be perfectly justified in boycotting the elections. Smith will no doubt refuse to release political detainees to participate in the campaign even if they decided they wished to do so.

#### AVERAGE WAGE

The 1961 Constitution enfranchises only those who have an income of £300 per annum combined with four years secondary education. The annual average wage for Africans in industry is about £114 and in agriculture about £67; few Africans are able to obtain a secondary education anyhow.

The Labour Government cannot be unaware that if Smith gets his two-thirds majority he will declare indepen-

dence. Then we shall see a terrible and tragic repetition of South Africa, with whom Smith has already made secret agreements. He has also agreements with the Portuguese fascists.

This week the Special Committee on Colonialism set up by the United Nations General Assembly meets with Southern Rhodesia as the first item on its agenda. As the elections are on May 7th it is timely.

It should immediately call on the Labour Government to grant a new constitution which will embody the principle of 'One Man One Vote' before any further elections are held and demand the immediate release of all political detainees so that they can begin to launch the first real general election ever to be held in that country.

If Mr. Wilson wants his coming Commonwealth Conference to be a success he must remember that many of the African states invited to it will feel considerably less enthusiasm for it if Ian Smith is by then the self-appointed Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia taking steps to proclaim independence for his racist state.

#### REPUTATION

The Organisation of African African Unity has reacted quickly to the announcement of the General Election. The Assistant Secretary General has described the step as 'one of the most desperate and dangerous moves made so far by Ian Smith and his misguided racists'.

The reputation of the Labour Government is already tarnished. If they hope to retain the least bit of credit and influence in the African Continent, if they hope to keep the Commonwealth together they will have to reverse their Southern Rhodesian policy now, stop the elections, suspend the constitution and lay the basis for an immediate free and independent state ruled by the willing consent of the majority.

## Propped up by British Bayonets

by Sam Russell

### Nigerian Constitution

THE recent Nigerian elections exposed the fabric of the constitution of that country as totally inadequate and anti-democratic. It is to be expected therefore that considerable discussion should follow the elections with all kinds of proposals being put forward to tinker with the constitution and make it appear slightly more democratic and workable.

The discussion appears to have been launched by the President himself who appears to think that he is a prisoner of the constitution and that the position of Head of State in Nigeria carries little real political influence.

#### PROBLEM

Such an assertion can of course, serve the purpose of deflecting criticism for the way in which the recent deallock after the elections was resolved. But surely it was possible to see this problem before the constitution was accepted from the British?

The British Government has always been noted for its ability to impose constitutions which, while appearing to confer independence, usually laid the basis for future chaos and confusion, internal strife and disunity.

President Azikiwe is not the only one making suggestions in the current discussion but

we do not propose to go into details about them. What is noticeable is that the participants in the debate carefully avoid raising a yet more fundamental question. How do they see the economic future of Nigeria?

Do they see it as a capitalist state or a socialist state? Do they intend the people of Nigeria to enjoy the benefits of the wealth their labour produces or is Nigeria to be made safe for Nigerian and above all for foreign capital?

#### CRISIS

Only when that basic question has been answered can satisfactory solutions be found to the constitutional crisis there which threatens to become a chronic crisis.

It is interesting to see that at least one voice has been raised in recent days. On April 5th one member of Parliament raised the question of socialism, calling for the nationalisation, at least, of one or two basic industries. He was rebuked by the Minister for daring to raise the very idea.

However, many Nigerians will feel that their opinion has been expressed, that Socialism would be the most useful solution to Nigeria's problems, political, economic, social as well as constitutional. Until the long-term question for Nigeria has been settled—socialism or capitalism—all constitutional discussions are mere academic exercises.

HOW often have we been assured that colonialism has ended as far as Britain is concerned? How often, too, have we discovered, despite these assurances, that colonialism still exists in some faraway spot of the old British Empire?

And since Mr. Wilson has discovered that it is part of Labour's policy to try to re-establish a British imperial role "East of Suez" the number of these spots seems to be on the increase. One such spot is the British base and oil centre of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf, in the news because of the strike of the 5,000 oil workers there, among whom there have been a number of sackings by their bosses, the Bahrain Petroleum Company, known as Bapco, which is a subsidiary of the U.S. Caltex Corporation.

You may not have known it, but just to keep Bahrain safe for Bapco and Caltex, some 3,000 British troops and sailors are kept in and around Bahrain at a cost of over £5 million a year.

It was on March 13 that the 5,000 Bahrain oil workers went on strike to demand the reinstatement of the first 185 oil workers declared redundant.

British-officered police attacked the strikers and those who demonstrated in their support, and the latest information is that 15 people have been killed.

The demands put forward by the Bahraini people were certainly not exorbitant, as a

look at them will show:

- 1 To set up a committee to look into the grievances of the workers elected by the workers themselves.
- 2 Legislation of trade unions.
- 3 Reinstatement of all workers dismissed by the oil company.
- 4 A committee of workers and students to investigate the shooting of demonstrators and punishment of those responsible.
- 5 Immediate lifting of martial law imposed in 1956.
- 6 Removal of British personnel from the police.
- 7 Immediate release of all political prisoners.

Bahrain last hit the headlines in 1956 when there were also demonstrations against the feudal regime of the Sheik, supported as he is by British arms. The leaders were then exiled to St. Helena.

#### REGIME

Nearly ten years after, while most of the former colonies of Africa have gained their freedom, Bahrain still languishes under a feudal regime, martial law, fierce repression, all propped up by British bayonets and bombers.

Of the 13 million dollars a year paid by the oil company in royalties, about a third goes into the pocket of the feudal ruler, one third is deposited in Britain and one third goes to the Government of Bahrain and of that one third goes for the police.

Bahrain, with its 180,000 population, is supposed to be an independent state under

British protection"

This protection is given to the oil company and to the ruler Sheik Isa with another brother Sheik Mohammed, in charge of police and various other relatives in various other posts, runs the show.

But the man who really decides what happens in the British political Resident, Sir William Luce.

#### COLONIALISM

He comes under the Foreign Secretary, who shares Cabinet responsibility for the Persian Gulf and Red Sea area with the Colonial Secretary Mr. Anthony Greenwood.

Who would have thought that this former supporter of the Movement for colonial freedom would one day be perpetuating colonialism in Bahrain as well as Aden? But that's what is happening.

Commenting on the Bahrain situation the other day, the *Financial Times* said: "British Students of recent history East of Suez must hope that, whatever happens, Bahrain does not go the way of that other island paradise Zanzibar."

But British democrats and Socialists can only hope that the Labour Government will be made to realise that it is not part of its job to perpetuate colonialism and that Bahrain has the chance that Zanzibar took, to get rid of it.

Meanwhile it's the job of the British Labour Movement to see to it that British troops and British-officered police are no longer used to prop up a feudal regime.



31st MARCH: GHANA: Union Government of Africa would close forever the chapter of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. Mr. Kwesi Armah Ghana's High Commissioner to United Kingdom declared to-day when addressing students of University of Ghana, Accra.  
\* Ghana's Ambassador to United States of America, Mr. M. A. Ribeiro in a statement to press has shown deep concern of "the unwarranted attacks and false statements which Mr. Maurice Yameogo, President of the Republic of Upper Volta has been making on Ghana's President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in America."

CONGO (Brazzaville): Congo and the Vietnam Democratic Republic have signed a cultural agreement which has been initiated by Mr. Gregoire Boukoulou, Minister of Education and Nguyen Van Huyen, Vietnamese Minister of Education.

SUDAN: A conference of Northern and Southern Sudanese Political leaders has been successful. An agreement to form a 12-man commission representing both Regions for a period of three months, so as to enable Sudanese Government to find solution for Southern problem, has been reached, Sir El-Khalifa, Sudanese Prime Minister has announced.

TANZANIA: The National Union Congress of Tanganyika Workers, in proposals submitted by the Finance Committee to the Congress which opened in Dar-es-Salaam last week, has urged stricter Government control over prices of imported goods in Tanzania.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Mr. Evariste, leader of Katanga-based Balu Bakat Party, has vehemently protested against the general elections held in Katanga Province. He has declared that the elections were a farce, in that, during the two days of voting, some party symbols and ballot boxes were removed.

NIGERIA: Nigerian Federal Constitution is to be reviewed as soon as necessary processes are completed, Dr. Abubakar Issandu, Parliamentary Secretary to the Federal Prime Minister revealed this in Nigerian Parliament.

1st APRIL, THURSDAY: SOUTH AFRICA: John Frederick Harris, a 27-year-old African teacher in the racist Republic of South Africa has been hanged to-day for unproved charges of murder and sabotage.

GHANA: A spokesman of the African Affairs Secretariat has said in Accra to-day that Ghana Government, has turned down an invitation from Congolese (Leopoldville) Prime Minister, Moise Kapenda Tshombe, to send observers to the Congo in connection with the current Congolese general elections, because it was not sent through the Organisation of African Unity.

ALGERIA: The Second National Congress of the General Union of Algeria Workers has decided to withdraw from the International Confederation of Free Trades Union (I.C.F.T.U).

NIGERIA: Nigerian High Commissioner to Ghana has stressed that Ghana and Nigeria are fighting towards one goal—African Unity—even though there might be differences in the methods of approach.

\* Jaja Wachuku Nigerian former Foreign Minister now becomes Minister of Aviation, it has been announced by Alhaji Sir Tafawa Balewa, Nigerian Prime Minister.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The current general elections in the Leopoldville Province have been postponed indefinitely, because electoral machinery has broken down, due to sabotage of certain political parties, a statement released by Tshombe regime announced.

\* The Congo Stanleyville nationalist leader, Mr. Christopher

Gbenye has said that a conference would be held in Cairo in the near future to be attended by the representatives of all the combatant forces of the Congo revolution to co-ordinate Political and Military action.

U.A.R.: Chou En-Lai, Chinese Prime Minister has arrived in Cairo to have talks with President Nasser and Prime Minister Aly Sabry on the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference to be held in Algiers.

SWAZILAND: Dr. A. P. Swane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Party of Swaziland, has in a memorandum to the British Government, called for a Constitutional Conference and immediate withdrawal of British troops from Swaziland.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Commonwealth Relations Office spokesman has said that the Southern Rhodesian racist Prime Minister Ian Smith's decision to dissolve Parliament has taken British Government by surprise.

2nd APRIL, FRIDAY: UGANDA: Three-man Norwegian Parliamentary delegation has arrived in Kampala to begin a ten-day visit to Uganda to evaluate the effectiveness of Norway's first corps project in Uganda.

KENYA: Tun Abdul Razak, Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister has said in Nairobi that Kenya's leaders support his country's participation in the forthcoming Afro-Asian Summit Conference in Algeria.

SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. Stephen Dhlamini, former President of the South African Congress of Trade Union is to be brought from Robben Island where he is serving a four-year jail sentence for belonging to South African Trade Union to face new charges under the Suppression of Communism Act on April 12, at Durban, South Africa, has stated.

3rd APRIL, SATURDAY: SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Rhodesian Nationalist leader now in restriction, has stressed in an interview at Gonakudzingwa that Africans in Southern Rhodesia would not participate in the White Minority Government general elections next May on the fraudulent Constitution of 1961.

DAHOMEY: Mr. Gustave Goudjo, Dahomey Charge de Affairs in Ghana, has appealed to all Dahomeians resident in Ghana to make effective contribution towards Ghana's Seven-Year Development Plan.

GHANA: Minister of Education, Mr. Kwaku Boateng has opened the fifth West African Languages Congress at Legon, Accra on Tuesday April 6, a press release by the University of Ghana has stated:

ETHIOPIA: Ethiopia has sent a note accepting the request of the joint Military Commission, established under the Khartoum agreement last year. But she rejected the charges against her submitted to O.A.U.

SENEGAL: Mr. David Jawara, Prime Minister of Gambia, and his Minister of External Affairs, Alhaji A. B. Njie, arrived in Dakar, Senegal to participate in the fifth anniversary of the Senegal's Independence.

TANZANIA: Over 19 privately-owned factories have been taken over by the Zanzibar Government under Confiscation Orders signed by the Minister of State, Mr. Abio Umbe, said statement issued in Dar-es-Salaam by Finance Minister, Mr. A. A. Twala.

MALAGASY: President Philibert who has been re-elected President of Malagasy Republic will be sworn in on May 1st; it has been officially announced in Tananarive.

SOUTH AFRICA: 12 of the 13 people on trial in Johannesburg on being members of the outlawed South African Communist Party have been found guilty on all counts by the apartheid court of South Africa.

# HOW U.S. BACKS APARTHEID

THE United States has been vocal in its condemnation of Verwoerd's racist regime, but so far it has failed to back up its words with deeds. It has opposed economic sanctions to force a change of heart, despite numerous U.N. resolutions calling for action.

In November, 1963 the United Nations voted for an oil embargo to force South Africa to abandon her racist policies. The United States, self-styled champion of the "Free World", voted against, together with Britain, Spain, France and Portugal.

## NO RIGHT TO VOTE

The United States is already the second-largest investor in South Africa. She is second only to Britain. United States businessmen will continue to invest in South Africa. Why? Because that country's apartheid policy offers the best of both worlds—a modern, developed industrial community with 3 million prosperous white customers, and a cheap labour supply of 11 million Africans prohibited by law to organise unions to bargain collectively, to strike in support of their rights, to move without permission and denied the right to vote.

The average African miner in South Africa earned less than one dollar a day in 1962,

as compared with almost three dollars a day for his counterpart in neighbouring Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia).

In the same year, American companies in South Africa earned over 70 million dollars. Their rate of profit in South Africa is almost double the 11.8 per cent average on United States investments in all foreign countries, according to the *United States Department of Commerce Survey of Current Business* of August, 1963.

It is therefore not surprising that American companies have flocked to South Africa.

In 1960 eighty five companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange had operating plants and subsidiaries in South Africa.

Today there are 165 American companies in South Africa, representing an investment of nearly 500 million dollars.

In 1963, new investments announced by the U.S. motor industry alone were:

there by 80 per cent, at an unstated cost.

It has now become apparent that Americans have also now become deeply involved in the administration of apartheid itself. U.S. nationals serve as directors of semi-official bodies such as the South African Chamber of Mines, which decrees the wages and living conditions of African employers.

## ENGELHARD

Consider the case of U.S. businessman Charles W. Engelhard who lives in New Jersey (U.S.A.), has a town house in Johannesburg (S.A.) and is a heavy contributor to U.S. State and National political campaigns. He was one of four Americans who represented the U.S. Government at the coronation of Pope Paul VI.

When the United Nations General Assembly was con-

General Motors	\$ 30 million to make engines and accessories
Ford	\$ 11 million to make engines
Firestone	\$ 7 million to make tyres.
Goodyear	\$ 3 million expansion programme.

The Chrysler motor company has increased production demning apartheid in 1957 (the United States abstained)

## by Max Addo

Mr. Engelhard acquired control of the Rand Mines Group, a group of South African financial and mining companies. This employs nearly 100,000 people to produce coal, cement, uranium, chrome, iron pipes and about 17 per cent of South Africa's gold.

Again, in 1958, when the U.N. was voting to condemn South Africa's policy of apartheid, Engelhard organised the American-controlled South African Investment Company, which succeeded in raising \$30 million in the United States to be invested in South Africa.

## HIS ACTIVITIES

In all these ventures Engelhard's investment banker was Dillon Read and Co., which is also the "traditional" investment banker for the South African Government. The chairman of Dillon Read & Co. is a director of Engelhard's South African Investment Advisor, Ltd.

A former chairman Mr. C. Douglas Dillon, left in 1953 to become U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and is currently Secretary of the Treasury.

Let us go further into Engelhard's business activities in South Africa. The *South African Financial Year book for 1962* listed him as a director of two local organisations which recruit African labour for South Africa's gold mines—the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and the Native Recruiting Corporation.

## INHUMAN CONDITIONS

These companies recruit hundreds of thousands of

Africans from South, West Africa, Nvasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique to work in South African gold mines under inhuman conditions.

A director of the controlling company of the financier Harry Oppenheimer's famous South African mineral and diamond empire (gross profits estimated at a third of a billion dollars) Charles W. Engelhard is either chairman or director of more than twenty-three U.S.-backed South African companies.

Although one of the most successful and influential, he is only one of many Americans who profit as much as South African whites from the cheap African labour made possible by apartheid.

The plight of Africans today is no small measure the direct result of U.S. policy in South Africa which encourages exploitation and backs apartheid, because the high profits earned by U.S. investments in South Africa depend upon the low wages made possible by apartheid.

# Thirteen who need your support

SEVEN men and six women have been on trial in Johannesburg in a political case which has lasted for nearly five months. This trial of Abram Fischer and 13 others has aroused particular interest even in a South Africa where—with 2,500 already jailed on such charges—political trials have become a commonplace.

## THEY WERE VETERANS

It is the first major trial in which people have been accused of membership or support of the Communist Party illegal since 1950.

The Number One accused, Abram Fischer, Q.C., forfeited his bail to work in the underground resistance movement, but that didn't stop the case against him continuing in his absence.

The other accused are Eli Weinberg, Ivan Schermbrucker, Hymie and Esther Barsel, Dr. Costa Gazides, Lewis Baker, Norman Levy, Jean Middleton, Paul Trewhela, Anne Nicholson, Molly Doyle, Florence Duncan and Sylvia Neame.

Some are veterans of the progressive movement. Eli Weinberg, 56 years old, was a leading trade union official 15 years ago. Driven from the movement, and from his job, by arbitrary banning orders (like hundreds of other trade unionists) he turned his hobby of photography into a new and successful profession.

## THE PRICE

Ex-Serviceman Ivan Schermbrucker, has since 1946 been Johannesburg business manager of *The Guardian* (and its numerous successors).

Hymie Barsel had been an official of the Society for Friendship with the Soviet Union since its heyday, in the Second World War, when the society counted Cabinet Ministers among its patrons.

Lewis Baker Benoni, attorney, has been defending cases of political or racial persecu-

tion on the East Rand since before the neo-Nazi National Party came to power in 1948, and has continued to do so ever since.

Others in the dock are young people who have been drawn into the anti-apartheid struggle over the past few years.

Flo Duncan, Molly Doyle, Sylvia Neame, Paul Trewhela and Costa Gazides are all in their twenties, but they already have ample experience of the price to be paid by a white South African fully committed to the cause of African emancipation.

Research student Sylvia Neame, an attractive, sensitive girl, has in addition to three convictions for taking part in poster demonstrations and leaflet distribution done two stretches, one of 45 days and then 54 days in solitary confinement under the 90-day no-trial law.

## INHUMANITY

She was sentenced to two months last October for escaping from custody. Jail hasn't changed her views about Government policy and the men who enforce it.

"I saw at close quarters the inhumanity, the brutality, the dishonesty and the fear of these men," she told the court.

When after the banning of the Congress of Democrats, she was invited to join the Communist Party, "I saw no alternative but to join" she said.

The two main police witnesses were Gerard Ludi, the police agent who penetrated a Communist Party group, and former Congress of Democrats leader Petrus Beyleveld, who broke down under police interrogation.

Defence counsel pointed out that Ludi was an unreliable witness and a provocateur who had proposed a number of illegal activities to the group

## by Michael Harmel

which they would not otherwise have undertaken.

Several of the accused, giving evidence, flatly denied Beyleveld's evidence. "He came here and told a pack of lies", said Eli Weinberg.

## SPECIAL BRANCH

When Ivan Schermbrucker made the same allegation, prosecutor Liebenberg slipped up badly. He asked Schermbrucker why he thought Beyleveld had lied about him.

"I'm convinced," he replied, "the Special Branch put my name to him as they put names

to me. When I was under interrogation I was kept standing on my feet for 28 hours.

"The police put names to me; they threatened to smash me to pieces physically and mentally I'd already been in solitary confinement and went back to solitary afterwards."

The real issue is not whether the accused were members or supporters of the Communist Party. Some, in fact, have admitted to membership.

What is important is that these brave men and women who have challenged an odious racial dictatorship, need and deserve the support and sympathy of all opponents of apartheid everywhere.

### U.S.S.R. MAINTAINS TRADE BAN WITH SOUTH AFRICA

THE Soviet Union is strictly maintaining its ban on trade with The Republic of South Africa, Soviet officials made clear in Moscow last week.

Denying Nigerian newspaper reports that the Soviet Union was trading with South Africa and Portugal, Yevgeni Karamzin, of the Ministry of the Merchant Navy said:

"The Soviet Union is not sending its merchant ships to South Africa. In the past ten years Soviet seamen have not unloaded or taken on board a single ton of freight there."

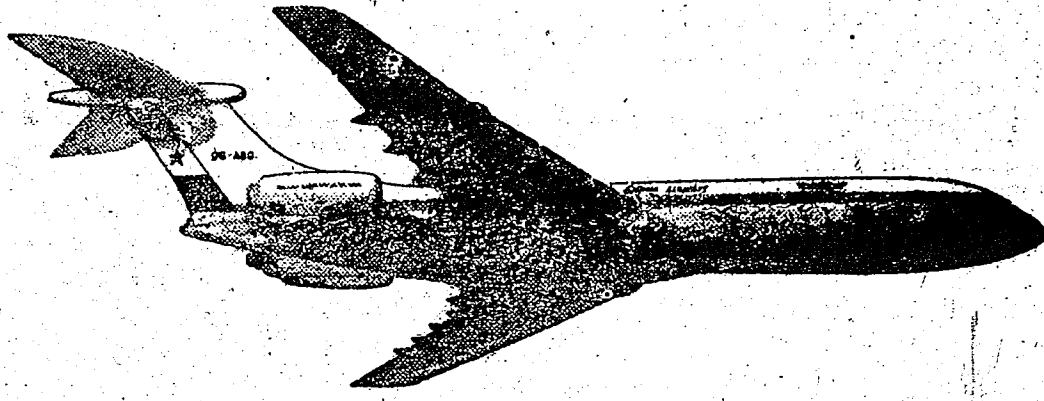
The only exceptions were one fishing vessel and a whaling ship which was obliged to put into Capetown after a break-down off the South African coast, and the Ob Antarctic expedition ships which had on one occasion taken on water and provisions.

Soviet officials described reports in the same newspaper that the Soviet Union had bought cocoa beans from West Africa for resale to Western Europe as a "wicked invention." The Soviet Union, they declared, had bought the cocoa beans for its own use.

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	DEP.		18.15	
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# The U.S. 'Reprisal Raids' in Vietnam

Continued from page 1

the South allegedly planned and directed from the North. Even if true, this would still not justify reprisal raids. Reprisal raids are prohibited by International Law and were condemned by the United Nations in April, 1964.

At that time the U.S. representative in the U.N., Mr. Adlai Stevenson, pointed out that the U.S. had "repeatedly expressed" its emphatic disapproval of "retaliatory raids, wherever they occur and by whomever they are committed."

He called on U.N. members to join in expressing "our disapproval of the use of force by either side as a means of solving disputes, a principle that is enshrined in the Charter". They should do so especially, he said, when such "attacks across borders" could quickly escalate into full-scale wars.

On that occasion the reprisals discussed were those launched by Britain's Royal Air Force against the Yemeni fort of Harib, near the border with Aden, which the British colonial authorities alleged had been used as a base for "subversion" and "infiltration".

But what the U.S. condemned when done by Britain she zealously justified when perpetrated on a far more deadly scale by herself.

## PART OF PLAN

In fact, far from being "reprisals", the raids were part of a long-term plan to destroy industrial centres and ports built up with such effort and self-sacrifice by the people of North Vietnam.

Now the "reprisal" plea has been abandoned. A new State Department *White Paper* designed to inject new life into the myth that what is happening in South Vietnam is no a popular uprising but aggression by North Vietnam.

This contains a list (Appendix D) of weapons captured from the South Vietnamese guerillas between June 1962 and January 1964, which were of allegedly Chinese, Soviet, Czech and North Vietnamese origin.

It claims that the figures are "incontrovertible evidence of Hanoi's elaborate programme to supply its forces in the South with weapons, ammunition and other supplies."

But what in fact does Appendix D show? It claims that 179 weapons from Communist countries have been captured by the Americans and their puppets during the eighteen months June 1962—January 1964.

To put these figures into perspective, the well-known in-

dependent U.S. journalist and news analyst Mr. I. F. Stone called the Pentagon Press Office and obtained the number of weapons captured from guerillas and the number lost to them in recent years.

These figures showed that in the three years 1962, 1963 and 1964 a total of 15,000 weapons were captured from the gue-

weapons every eighteen months during the last three years, only 179 from Socialist countries have been found that is, less than two and half per cent.

As for North Vietnamese supposed to have been sent South, the *U.S. White Paper* can only cite a handful, which is strange after five years of fighting.

of South Vietnam against the brutal dictatorship of American-appointed puppets who wouldn't last five minutes if the Americans left.

The people of Vietnam, both North and South, are entitled to live their lives free of foreign invaders. They have the right to decide their own destinies.

## U.S. Violates Her Pledge

THE United States was not a party to the 1954 Agreement on Indo-China. But it issued a unilateral declaration taking note of the agreements and pledging:

*"It will refrain from the threat or use of force to disturb them, in accordance with Article 2 (4) of the U.N. Charter dealing with the obligation of members to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force."*

The United States has broken this pledge since the very first day it was made.

illas, who captured 27,400 from the U.S. and its puppet forces. So the guerillas captured 12,300 more than they lost.

Mr. Stone points out that if U.S. claims that the guerillas are overwhelming supplied by the North were true, one would expect the weapons captured by the U.S. to include a large number from the Socialist countries.

In fact, while the U.S. has captured an average of 7,500

"None of this is discussed frankly in the *White Paper*", Mr. Stone sums up. "To do so would be to bring the war into focus as a rebellion in the South, which may owe some men and material to the North, but is largely dependent on popular indigenous support for its manpower, as it is on captured U.S. weapons for its supply."

The war in South Vietnam was and remains a war of liberation waged by the people

To see that they do so is the responsibility of the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference—Britain and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has proposed fulfilling that responsibility by condemning U.S. aggression. Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin has expressed his support for "the convening of a new international conference on Indo-China with the aim of bringing about a peaceful settlement of the problems that have arisen there."

But Britain's Labour Government refuses to condemn U.S. aggression—no doubt because it hopes for U.S. backing in its own colonial war in Malaysia, and also because continued much-needed American financial aid to Britain depends on Britain's acquies-



## ON GUARD FOR FREEDOM

Soldiers of the Vietnam Democratic Republic's People's Army are ready to defend their country against any new imperialist incursion.

cent role as America's partner in crime.

India, France and Yugoslavia have called for talks to achieve a peaceful solution and an end to the war.

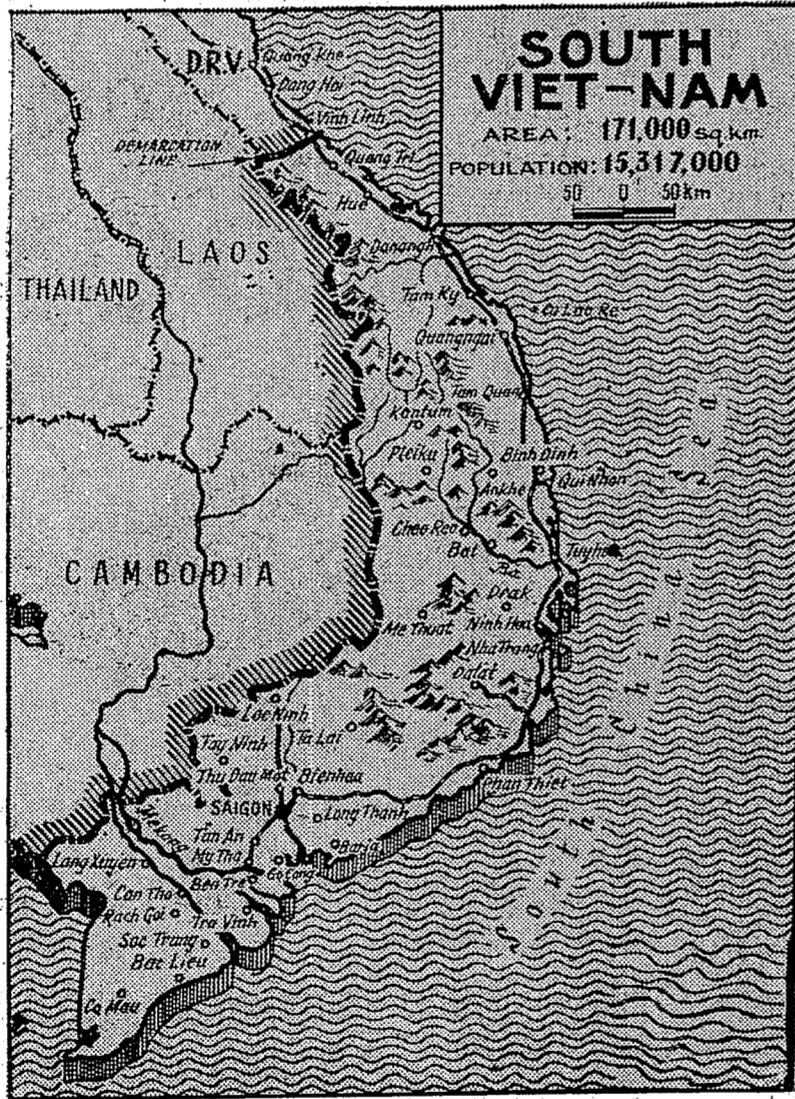
Now seventeen non-aligned nations, including Ghana, have sent a joint appeal to those involved in the Vietnam con-

flict to seek a peaceful solution through negotiations.

The seventeen express the view that recourse to force and pressure in various forms was contrary to the right of the people of Vietnam to peace, freedom and independence and could only lead to the aggravation of the conflict in that area

and to its transformation into a more generalised war with catastrophic consequences.

There can be no doubt of the correctness and timeliness of this appeal. It points the way—the only way—to a solution of a crisis that threatens to drag the world into the abyss of war.

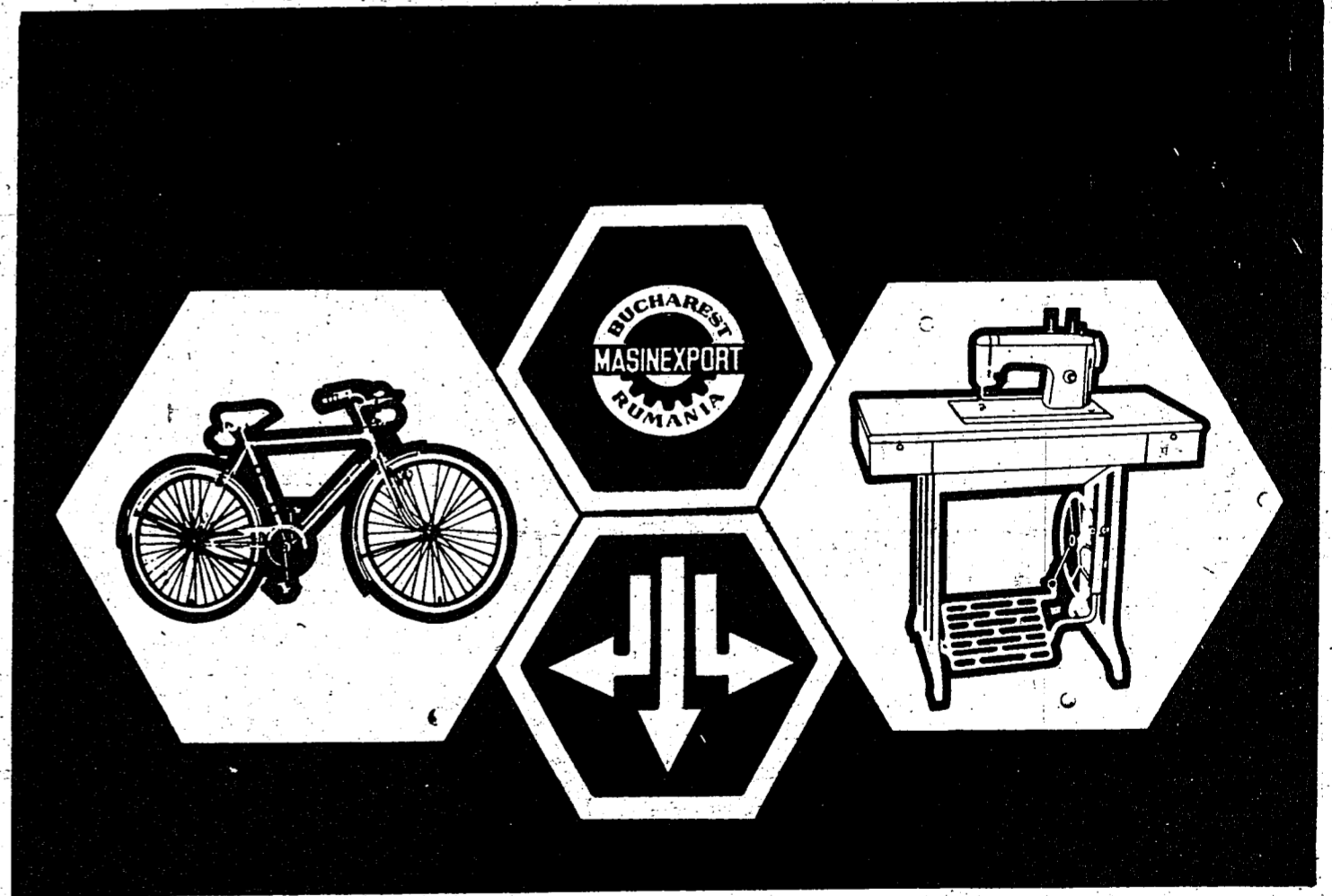


## U.S. Imperialism fails In Vietnam

"THE policy of what we called helping the Government of South Vietnam control a Communist-inspired rebellion has totally failed. Each year shows more gains by the rebels despite the steady increases in American aid and participation in the war. I do not foresee a time when any Government in South Vietnam that is dependent upon the United States for its existence will be a stable or popular one. The only way the fighting there can ever be ended is through a political settlement among the interested parties, guaranteed by an international agency.

"Don't forget that the 1954 Geneva Accord provided that the single country of Vietnam should be temporarily divided only until nation-wide elections could be held in 1956. It was South Vietnam that refused to allow the elections to proceed, thereby frustrating the objective of the Accord. In fact, neither South Vietnam nor the United States signed the Geneva Accord at all. We should be seeking some kind of settlement that will carry out the 1954 objective of removing foreign domination from the old Indo-China, but this time with an effective guarantee of international enforcement."

Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat, Oregon.



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