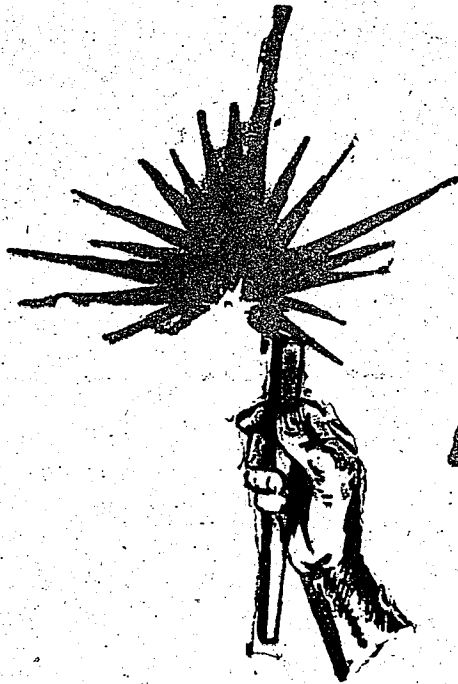


THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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TOWARDS CAIRO

EDITORIAL

A.A.T.U.F.

REPRESENTATIVES of trade unions in thirty-three African countries have signed a Charter to strengthen the All-African Trade Union Federation. This decision is of profound significance. It brings to immediate focus a vital force in the African Revolution.

The struggle for unity and co-operation of All-African trade unions has long been the cherished dream of workers' leaders in many parts of the African continent.

It was nearly realised when the World Federation of Trade Unions convened a regional conference in Dakar soon after the Second World War. But the split in the international labour front which was reflected in Africa impeded the growth of a veritable African labour movement.

The effort of the African labour leaders who launched the General Union of Workers of Black Africa (UGTAN) in January 1957 and its first Congress two years later, should be counted as a significant milestone in the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement in Africa.

One of the results of the first Conference of Independent African States held in Accra in 1958, was the birth of the All-African Trade Union Federation (A.A.T.U.F.).

Its purpose, from its very inception, has been to weld all trade unions on the continent of Africa into one powerful body with an African leadership free from all encumbrances from outside Africa and dedicated to the struggle for the total liberation, complete independence and genuine unity of Africa.

By adhering to this principle the trade union leaders of the thirty-three countries who met at Bamako have firmly declared their determination to play their rightful role in the vanguard of the African Revolution.

The present situation, however, brings forward a harsh truth. United labour action in Africa is as yet small in scale and often transient. As the imperialist offensive unfolds on our continent, so the opportunities should increase for united action on a wider scale and of a more informed and permanent character. This calls for a united effort of all African trade unionists. It will help to develop and strengthen united action and ensure that out of the experiences of action there will emerge a strong and veritable A.A.T.U.F.

The problems facing A.A.T.U.F. are numerous:

- * how can it get rid of the tendency among trade union leaders to defend the principle that only trade union pluralism is a guarantee of democracy?
- * how can it help to solidly establish trade union organisations and structures in emerging African countries?
- * how can it regularise relations between political organisations and trade unions in Africa?
- * how can it expose and fight intrigues by non-African interests using African trade union leaders to impede its development.

One of the many forces militating against the struggles of A.A.T.U.F. is the I.C.F.T.U. Through many subtle ways, this scab international, backed by the monopoly sharks of the Western world, has been undermining working class unity in Africa. By refusing to pack out of Africa to enable an independent African labour front, riddled by the requirements of the cold war to grow, the

IN LESS than a month, African Heads of State and Government will meet in Cairo. It will be the first such meeting since the Organisation of African Unity was set up last year at Addis Ababa. It will provide Africa with another chance to decide the path along which O.A.U. should evolve. And the struggle will rage around one central issue—shall the O.A.U. serve as an instrument for promoting or for containing the African Revolution?

The thirteen months since Addis Ababa have been packed with events of great significance for the African Revolution. It is important to assess these events passionately in order to discover the forces at work and the trends they portend.

The first set of facts relates to the political stability of African governments. Fulbert Youlou of Congo Brazzaville was swept from office by popular agitation. Hubert Maga of Dahomey had to give place to a more popular coalition but not before he had tried his hands at tribal insurrection. In these two countries the new regimes are now face to face with the problem of building national security without reliance on French colonial troops.

RELIANCE ON THE MASSES

In Algeria and Ghana, neo-colonialism struck at popular regimes but failed. This is reflected respectively in the rebellion in the Kabyle and in the incident involving police constable Ametewee. The reactions of the popular regimes in both cases are significant. In Algeria, reliance was placed on mobilising the masses against the armed counter-revolutionaries entrenched in the Kabyle mountains. In Ghana the people were called upon in a national referendum to approve constitutional changes which gave the regime an even more popular content.

In other words, both in Algeria and in Ghana the plots of neo-colonialism were foiled through greater reliance on the masses.

In Gabon and in East Africa, existing regimes were threatened by popular protests that centred around living standards. In Gabon, the government was saved by the French Army. In Tanganyika, the authorities had to invite British commandos who disarmed the Tanganyika Rifles killing a few persons in the process.

The chain of events in Algeria and in Ghana on the one hand contrasts sharply with the chain of

events in Gabon and Tanganyika. In the former case, the governments called upon the people. In the latter case, the leaders sought security by falling back on the armed might of imperialist powers. This contrast in styles is of the greatest

by
Julius Sago

historical significance for Africa. For it reveals a point of departure in the world outlook of African leaders. And no student of African affairs can ignore this.

The twists and turns in Tanganyika are particularly educative. The whole episode started as an army mutiny. A truce was patched up between the authorities and the mutineers. Then British commandos made a surprise landing, disarmed the Tanganyikan troops killing a few persons in the process. It was claimed by the U.K. Government that the invading troops were acting on orders from the Tanganyikan authorities. A battalion of Tanganyikan troops (half of the entire army) was disbanded and workers' leaders (report put this at 200) were detained. A hurried meeting of O.A.U. Defence and Foreign Ministers was summoned with the result that a battalion of Nigerian soldiers was sent to Dar-es-Salaam.

Between the hurried O.A.U. meeting and the arrival of Nigerian troops in Dar-es-Salaam, both Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the British Prime Minister, and Mr. Duncan Sandys the U.K. Commonwealth Relations Minister had visited Lagos.

IMPERIALIST MANOEUVRES

Mr. Duncan Sandys' presence in Lagos miraculously coincided with Tanganyika Foreign and Defence Minister Oscar Kambona's visit to Lagos.

Shorn of all diplomatic niceties, the special O.A.U. meeting of Defence and Foreign Ministers at Dar-es-Salaam provided the veneer of African approval for the presence of British troops in Tanganyika. It also created the impression that Nigerian troops taking over from British commandos was an all African decision.

It is a pity that Premier Milton Obote's comment at



Presidents Nkrumah and Nasser.

the time of the special O.A.U. meeting at Dar-es-Salaam to the effect that the meeting was unnecessary since the Tanganyikan Government could directly request troops from a few African countries was not given the full study it deserved. The danger here is that imperialist manoeuvres could be carried through under the cover of the O.A.U. It is impossible to imagine a situation more dangerous than this. For this is precisely what the imperialist strategists want. They need a situation in which they can manoeuvre

unexposed to the full view of the African masses, a situation in which imperialist designs could be passed off as all African decisions.

The other event of significance since Addis Ababa is the Zanzibar revolution. Its suddenness, its totality, its majestic sweep testify to the mighty force that the African masses represent. But its fate in the past few weeks—to be precise since the equally sudden Tanganyika-Zanzibar union—is an object lesson on the methods of imperialism.

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President M'ba

I.C.F.T.U. has constantly set itself against the African Revolution.

It is natural that the I.C.F.T.U. and the A.A.T.U.F. should clash. And this tussle has been going on for some years now. The I.C.F.T.U. has used its close relations with business houses in Africa—most of which incidentally are run by nationals of the Western countries that make up the I.C.F.T.U. to plant so-called moderate leaders on African trade unions. Their view is that workers should seek rising standards of living within the existing economic system. A situation thus arises in which African workers—the vanguard of the African Revolution—are turned into the defenders of the status quo.

This unhealthy situation is the handwork of the I.C.F.T.U. And that is why this imperialist inspired organisation is rightly seen as a menace to the African Revolution.

The conflict between the I.C.F.T.U. and A.A.T.U.F. is a fundamental one.

A.A.T.U.F. needs every support from the O.A.U. At the forthcoming conference of Heads of State in Cairo, we hope the O.A.U. will give full recognition to A.A.T.U.F. and evolve a formula to aid it in its fight against the I.C.F.T.U.

"The Spark" is optimistic that, apart from the sententious proclamations at Bamako, the A.A.T.U.F. will increase its daily action of elaborating its work throughout Africa.



President Nyerere

DARK CLOUDS OVER SOUTH AFRICA

RIVONIA rings round the world, a name on the lips of millions who pay tribute to the eight courageous representatives of the South African people fighting for elementary freedom and human rights. The vicious persecution of Mandela, Sisulu and the others now sentenced to life imprisonment, will mark not the breaking of the Movement as Verwoerd's fascists seem to think, but the opening of a new stage of resistance inside the country, and new pressure from outside; a combination, which with all the trials still ahead, with all the suffering and persecution which the nationalist race maniacs may inflict, will ensure the final victory over one of the most hideous regimes of human history.

Verwoerd wanted death for the Rivonia defendants; world wide protests added to the heroic struggle of the people made it impossible. Now we must work for their release. In the words of Betty Ambatielos, wife of Tony, released this year after 16 years imprisonment by Greek Fascism, 'we are not going to wait 16 or 18 years before Mrs. Mandela can embrace her husband'. A pledge we all repeat.

The struggle of the people of South Africa has been one of the longest fought in the history of the liberation struggles of the African continent. To understand why its successful outcome has been long delayed one needs to understand the history, the economic conditions, the roles of the political parties, the character of the problems, the ideology of the ruling power of South Africa.

The Rise of The South African Reich by Brian Bunting provides just this necessary background to an understanding of the present stage of the South Africans' fight for freedom.

The title has been quite deliberately chosen. Bunting sees the history of the rise to power of the Nationalist Party, its ideology, its aims and methods, as identical with the same techniques of Nazi Germany. He is confident of its defeat but will the same guilty men who allowed Hitler to rape Europe allow the Nationalists to continue their oppressions in South Africa until we pay the same price, in war, millions of dead, and untold suffering?

FRONTIER OF TERROR

In his preface the author expresses the hope that the book 'May help to mobilize public opinion in support of the growing international campaign to end the most vicious regime the world has known since the death of Hitler'

In the words of Ronald Segal, general editor of the Penguin Africa Library Series, 'South Africa' has 'finally crossed the frontier of terror'. Rivonia confirms this and presents new problems.

Quotations from Hitler's notorious *Mein Kampf* introduce some of the chapters, thus underlining the significance of the title.

We trace the rise of the Nationalist Party in 1914, when it was founded by Hertzog, appealing to Afrikaaner nationalism and racial concepts. Its programme of principles stated that the development of the national life should be on

Christian-National lines, a phrase which was to become as significant in South African politics as National Socialism in that of Germany.

This policy has been systematically campaigned for over 50 years, and it is now being ruthlessly and calculatedly applied now that the Nationalists are in office.

The apostles of racialism and brutal oppression, like Malan and Verwoerd, are always glib in their appeal to Christianity.

CHURCH SUPPORT

"We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism" said an Afrikaan leader in 1942, "You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany, German National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism".

It is interesting to note that this assertion was made when millions were dying in the battles to free the world from the horrors of Fascism.

The Dutch Reformed Church has always given its blessing to Apartheid and racialism and when the Nationalist Party was weaker, itself acted as a unifying force for Afrikaaner nationalism. It is well for Christianity that other churches have resisted the demands of the nationalists and among outstanding champions of the anti-apartheid struggle the names of Huddleston, Reeves and Scott are well to the fore.

The D.R.C. has provided theological justification to the 'race and blood' theories of the Nationalists. Theories which echo directly the racial theories of the German Reich which in the name of anti-Semitism corrupted nearly an entire people.

Their racial ideas are thorough going, not confined only to the superiority of black over white but extended to anti-Semitism too. In typical fascist fashion, an elite, secret society was formed 'born from the deep conviction that the Afrikaaner nation

has been planted in this country by God's hand and is destined to remain here as a nation with its own character and its own mission'. The Broederbond permeated all ranks of Afrikaaner life and was encouraged by the Nationalist Party leaders, many of whom were themselves members.

During the Second World War, the Nationalists saw an opportunity to win power and independence for an Afrikaaner Republic. They wooed Hitler until it became clear he was not going to win the war. Hitler type organisations which were formed in the 1930's under the influence of the Nazis, have now re-emerged. Britain's most notorious fascist, Mosley is known to be in touch with the South African Government and from his anti-semitic campaigns of the 1930's has now turned his main attention against immigrants from the West Indies and Africa with a 'Keep Britain White Slogan'. It is believed that Mosley sent a request to the S. African Government asking for money to help them fight the General Election due to be held in Britain in October. Nazi type organisations in other countries look to the Nationalist Government as an important bulwark of their movement; the mantle of Hitler has fallen on Verwoerd. He should recall the fate of the Feuhrer!

Bunting stresses that present Nationalist Government policies are the logical and systematic continuation of the early policies of the founders of the Party, undeviatingly pursued over 50 years. 'Tactics have altered from time to time, but the grand strategy has remained the same'.

THE GRAND STRATEGY

The grand strategy has been to establish an Afrikaaner state, with White Supremacy established, the Black Man driven out from their midst but forced to labour for them. There is a contradiction in this concept which the most systematic repression and use of the state apparatus will never be able to resolve. But the attempt is there and the suffering appalling.

Racial doctrine and the Afrikaaner aim was presented in the 1948 General Election under a new name... "apartheid" and was presented a new theory to ensure the independent development of each race, which could in separate

find its own greatest well-being.

"The policy of our country should encourage total apartheid as the ultimate goal of a natural process of separate development. It is the primary task and calling of the State to seek the welfare of South Africa and to promote the happiness and well being of its citizens, non-Whites as well as Whites. Realising that such a task can best be accomplished by preserving and safeguarding the White race, the Nationalist Party professes this as the fundamental guiding principle of its policy." Thus the election programme.

APARTHEID LAWS

From their election in 1948 onwards the Nationalists have passed a series of measures designed to realise the aim of apartheid. Their concern for the well-being of the African peoples is easily exposed as the vilest hypocrisy; facts are eloquent and stubborn things. A few facts will suffice. In 1960 the average income of nearly 6 million Africans engaged in modern occupations was little over £50 per head per year, the average for those occupied in reserves was between £7 and £13 per annum. A series of statistics presented by the Minister of Finance gave the following: Average per capita income per year of Whites £410; of Asians £80; of Coloured £58 and of Africans £46.

African Trade Unions, forced on the Trade Union Movement by the Apartheid Laws, are not recognised by the Government as eligible to take part in collective bargaining. This is an attempt to block efforts to improve wages and conditions. Not only are the Unions split, but Africans are excluded from certain trades or from working in designated areas.

The Minister of Labour boasted that this means "the Europeans' economic position in the industrial world could never be lowered by the non-Europeans. It was also a guarantee that he would never be ousted and that intrusion into his field of work could be prevented."

The separation has been established in education and the same poverty afflicts the children of Africans in their schools as in their homes. In 1953 the following figures were given for education in the Union.

	Per Pupil	Per head of Population
Whites	£63 18. 5d.	£13. 9. 5d.
Coloured and Asians	20 4. 3d.	3. 19. 7d.
Africans	8. 19. 11d.	17. 10d.

Expenditure on each African pupil declined from £8.54 1953-54 to £6.15 in 1962. This is in the name of Christian National Education.

The enforcement of the system of apartheid creates terrible strains in South African life. The crime rate rises in spite of the imposition of harsher penalties, employers have problems in finding labour and in the siting of their factories. The cost of repression rises. If for example Apartheid were abandoned the Johannesburg municipal transport department would make a profit on its bus and tram services of £500,000 instead of a loss as at present.

The declaration of the Emergency to try and smash all opposition resulted in loss of confidence; a drain on gold and foreign exchange reserves and a flow of capital from the country which had to be stopped by special Government measures. Vast quantities of money are spent on arms and 'defence' which place a tremendously heavy burden on the economy of the country. In 1961 government expenditure on defence rose by £14 million to £35,750,000; the 1962 budget brought a further increase to £60 million, more than the highest wartime expenditure on the South African forces. In 1963 this phenomenal figure was pushed even further by £5 million to £65 million.

As the apparatus of force is strengthened, it is timely to remember that arms and planes and tanks are being supplied to this Government by Britain, France and Belgium. Nationalist leaders try to intimidate other African states with the threat of the atom bomb. They control all media of propaganda and expression of views. The namesake of this paper with its proud record in the struggle against apartheid was banned by the Nationalists.

WHAT IS THE WAY TO FIGHT BACK?

Bunting is quite clear that Parliamentary struggle no longer has any significance in a system where even a limited franchise extended to Africans has been withdrawn. The other political parties, the United Party, the Progressive Party and the Labour Party are imprisoned within the Parliamentary system which represents only whites and their refusal to break out of it and resolutely fight for racial equality has doomed them to ineffectiveness.

The struggle goes on in other forms through the

African National Congress led by Mandela and Sisulu, through the Pan African Congress and Pogo. The South African Communist Party is banned and 'ope-



NELSON MANDELA

rates underground. Bunting wisely refrains from discussing the differences which may separate these organisations and emphasises the possibilities of unity and the need for it, the necessity of all types of struggle and the need to combine inside activity with outside help, which again will take many forms.

The pressure of the African States is decisive in speeding up the day of defeat for the Verwoerd gang. Ghana has a proud record in giving a lead on numerous issues in the United Nations, in the Commonwealth Conference and in many other ways in assisting the fight of the South African peoples for Freedom. They will be looking in their millions to the forthcoming Summit meeting of the African States for renewed assistance and encouragement. Ghana will give the necessary lead there. Nobody can afford to be complacent about this struggle. There are many Africans who, perhaps tend to concentrate on their own problems thinking that South Africa is far away. If Bunting says anything he says that no one can ignore the terrible menace to peace, to the peace of the African

continent and the whole world which the present South African regime presents to us.

"The cult of difference leads to the cult of violence and death". Thousands of deaths, and the suffering of millions of non-whites are lying at Verwoerd's door. The British and American investors who send their capital into South Africa draw dividends stained with the blood of the African people.

ARMS AND TRADE BAN

One of the most serious challenges facing the British Labour Party when it is returned to office in October will be not only the fulfilment of its pledge to stop all arms supplies to South Africa but to put an end to all trade and force the British Capitalist class to withdraw their capital from these shameful sources of their profits. The Labour Movements of Western countries too must face the challenge and play a more active part in the trade boycott; their sacrifices would be as nothing to those of Mandela and the heroes of Rivonia and of all those fighting this bestial form of rule.

Continued on page 4

Change . . .

It's a changing world, with new processes, new raw materials, new nations even—

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LAOS

By
HILDA VERNON

THE value of Laos in Western eyes is in its strategic position. The issue at stake over years has been whether Laos shall become an independent, sovereign, truly neutral country or be a pawn in imperialist adventures.

The agreements of 1962 reaffirmed the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of Laos, demanded an end of foreign intervention and called for the establishment of a government of national union of all three sections—the right wing; the forces directly represented by Souvanna Phouma, known as the

"neutral faction"; and the Pathet Lao, representing the People's Resistance movement. By a process of negotiation and unanimity, integration of administration and armed forces was to be achieved.

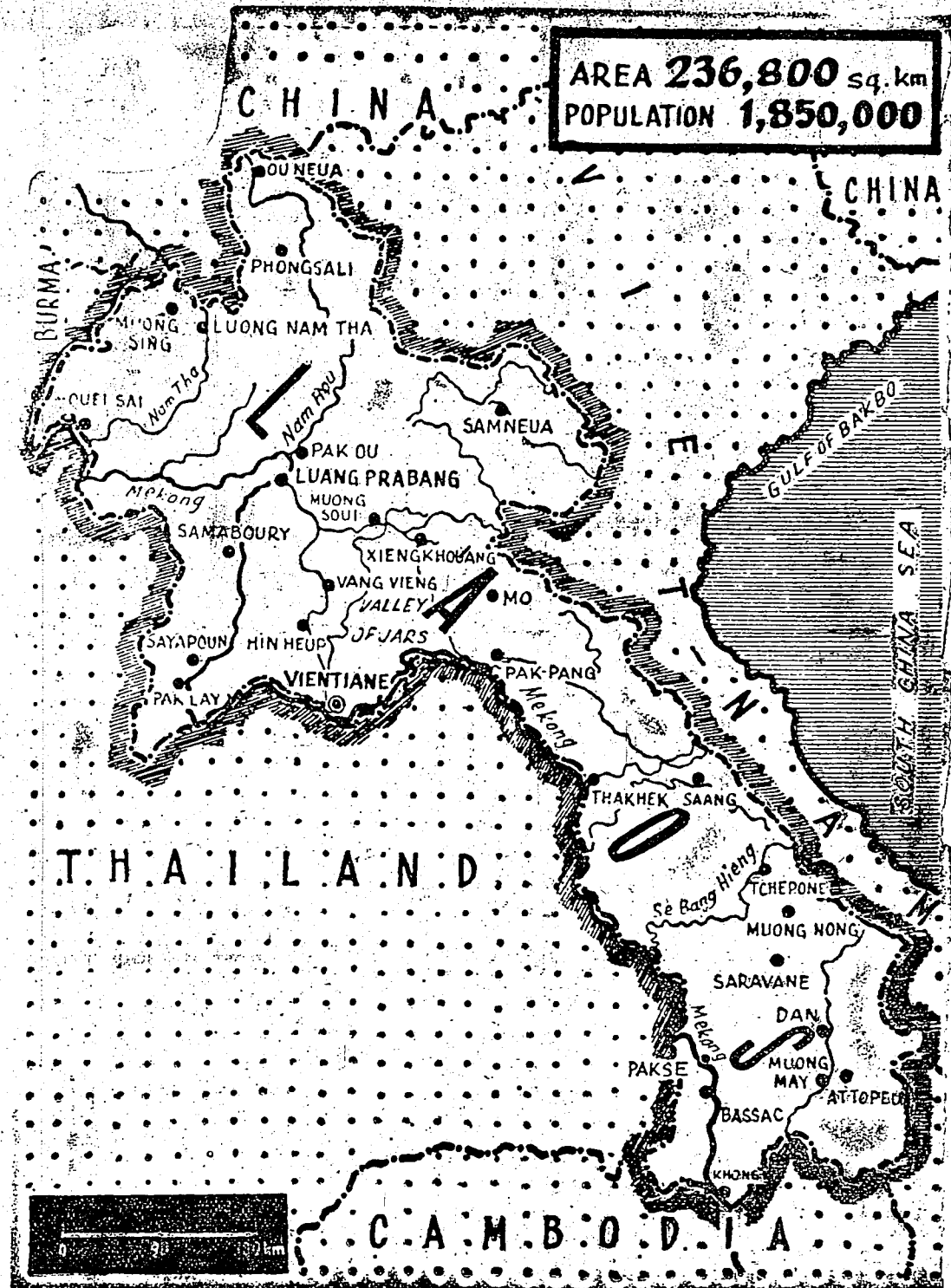
This reconvening of the 1954 Geneva Conference Powers became necessary after the popular neutralist

revolt of 1960 was attacked with the utmost violence by the reactionaries who had consistently been in collusion with U.S. missions long established in Laos and had received much dollar and other "aid".

U.S. MACHINATIONS

The present crisis in Laos is entirely the responsibility of U.S. imperialism, which is making use of its puppets in Laos in order to establish a reactionary government subservient to the U.S.

State Department. If one reads the British press, however, one would get the impression that the problem arose from the alleged refusal of the Pathet Lao to adhere to previous agreements. Nothing could be further from the truth. Pathet Lao and its leaders have repeatedly stressed that they stand by the 1962 agreements. As recently as May 21st Prince Souphanouvong, Pathet Lao leader and Vice-Premier of the National Union Government of Laos, in a state-



Letter to the Editor:

A REPLY TO BRIAN BUNTING

THE article by Mr. Brian Bunting on "BASUTOLAND" which appeared in the COMMENT and reproduced in "The Spark" of May 29th, is a malicious distortion calculated to undermine the integrity of the dynamic and indefatigable Basutoland Congress Party (B.C.P.).

Bunting has been prompted by his hatred of the B.C.P. that he made such a statement about the history of the Political Parties in Basutoland, particularly the B.C.P. Not going off at a tangent, I wish to refute Bunting's statement on the following points:

1. He says, "The pioneer Basuto organisation is the LEKHOTLA LA BAFO, founded after the first World War by its President, Josiele Lefela." This is absolutely an incorrect statement. The first Political Organisation in Basutoland is Basutoland Progressive Association formed in 1912, by a group of intellectuals. Though militant it was, it however lacked political acumen and orientation and it soon collapsed.

The second political organisation was the "LEKHOTLA LA BAFO", formed in 1918 and led by the politically defunct Josiele Lefela. This party though clear about the national aspirations, retreated from the true political trend in the sense that it feared to attack the corruption of the Chiefs, who collaborated with the British imperialists in the oppression and exploitation of the masses. In a nutshell, these two organisations were far below the required standard to lead the people to political emancipation.

ADVENT OF POLITICAL GIANT

The year 1952, saw the birth of a dynamic Political Party, the Basutoland African Congress (B.A.C.) under the leadership of the militant Pan-Africanist, Ntsu Mokhehle. The B.A.C. later assumed the name of the B.C.P. (Basutoland Congress Party), which name it still maintains up to this day.

2. The second statement which Bunting makes is that "The Basutoland Congress Party was formed under the inspiration and guidance of the African National Congress of South Africa". To show how false this statement is, the B.C.P. policy since its inception has always been diametrically opposed to that of the A.N.C. of South Africa.

Firstly, the B.C.P. has never preached multi-racialism in Basutoland. However, this does not necessarily mean that it is a racialist party. Whereas the A.N.C. from which B.C.P. is said to have drawn the inspiration, according to Bunting's misleading statement, preaches multi-racialism at its highest intensity. And A.N.C. manifesto declares, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it". It may be, this is what consolidates the tenacious claim of the Afrikaaners in South Africa that South Africa is their eternal home and they know no other country. This of course astounds the Nationalists as to whether when these fascists came there, they only found wild game and not human beings.

It must be clear, however, that even though we differ with the A.N.C. of South Africa in political and ideological outlook, we have nothing against it as a fraternal organisation. But what we disagree to, is when Mr. Bunting says that B.C.P. has now, of late, formulated its own policy different from that of the A.N.C. The B.C.P. and the A.N.C. never had one policy perhaps Bunting is not properly informed in this respect.

A CLIQUE OF REBELS

In any political organisation there is always a Judas Iscariot and his clique. So the B.C.P. being a popular national movement could not escape the betrayal of Judas Iscariot, though fortunately our political Judas did not succeed in his despicable plan.

3. The third inaccurate statement which Bunting has given to the public; is in connection with Mr. Makalo Khaketla and his ilk. The truth is that, after Mr.

Khaketla had been voted into the Executive Council, he completely deviated from the national struggle, and made a public statement to the effect that he had been sworn into secrecy by the British Colonial government and therefore he could never disclose the deliberations of the discussions between him and the Colonial Officers. The people who elected him to that office became indignant as Mr. Khaketla was now no more answerable to the people who elected him but directly to the imperialists who bribed him. He further went on to say, that political meetings were interfering with his church-going as he was a Conductor of a Church Choir. Mr. Khaketla therefore tended his resignation, because he was aware that he had betrayed the course of struggle, and that he no more had the support of the masses. There was, however, a clique of political opportunists and careerists, who wanted to use the party for their own selfish ends. Due to their fragile political backbone, they fell hard on their own.

REACTIONARY GROUPS

Neither Basutoland National Party, led by Chief Lebua Jonathan, nor Marema-tlou-freedom Party, whose leadership is competed for by Dr. Makotoko and Chief S. S. Matete is nationalist in origin and outlook. These two reactionary parties were mainly formed through the influence of the British Colonial government in order to impede the national liberation under the banner of the militant Basutoland Congress Party. These are imperialist-inspired and sponsored parties. These parties are young and narrow in political outlook.

The Basutoland National Party of Lebua Jonathan formerly had a strong support of the Roman Catholic Missionaries, the Chiefs and white traders. Due to its lack of following and dynamism in opposing the B.C.P. it soon came into disfavour of its sponsors and supporters. And Lebua in desperation surreptitiously sought financial assistance from the notorious De Wet Nel, the Minister of Bantu Affairs in the fascist settler Republic of South Africa. This caused considerable resentment amongst a handful of supporters and sympathisers. And now Lebua can hardly be spoken of as having any following at all.

Another reactionary group is that of Marema-tlou-freedom Party, which has a strong support of the government officers, Roman Catholic church missionaries and the Paramount Chief and a clique of reactionary chiefs. It is needless to analyse the components of the supporters of this party, because the elements constituting this party are all reactionary forces. It is obsessed with the idea of feudalism, colonialism and "churchism" according to the different elements composing it.

It does not at all represent the "aspirations of the people. It strongly adheres to bribery as the means by which the masses can be won. It has no political orientation at all and it draws much inspiration from foreign ideologies which fewer supporters are beginning to resent and eye with great suspicion. So, these two parties collectively do not even constitute one branch of the B.C.P. in a small village.

Therefore, Bunting's statement that in the forthcoming elections "it remains to be seen whether the Marema-tlou-freedom Party will succeed in displacing the B.C.P." is altogether a blind comparison.

For your information, Mr. Brian Bunting and those who are unfortunately misinformed like you, in the May by-elections held at Dr. Makotoko's home village in Basutoland and the so-called stronghold of the Marema-tlou-freedom Party, the B.C.P. had 249 votes, M.F.P. 96 votes and B.N.P. 32 votes.

If Makotoko could be so terribly defeated at his own home, how much more now in other areas? I would kindly advise Mr. Bunting to familiarise himself with the truth and not rely excessively on misguidance, for this raises some doubts in our minds as to his focus on political developments in Basutoland.

Bishop Mpeta

B.C.P. Representative, Accra.

ment holding U.S. imperialism responsible for the tension in Laos, emphasised the need to "jointly maintain the National Union Government of the three parties and save the country from the present situation".

From the start all attempts to implement the 1962 agreements were sabotaged. The U.S. remained active in its support of the reactionary faction; attacks were mounted against the Pathet Lao forces; raids were conducted against centres of the population supporting national unity; leading nationalist and Pathet Lao members were assassinated; negotiations broken off by the representatives of the pro-U.S. faction.

BACKGROUND TO COUP

Such is the background to the military coup in Vientiane of April 19th this year, when troops occupied the airport, broadcasting station and ministries, arrested Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister, and other neutralist Ministers who were in the town. A "revolutionary committee" was set up which demanded the organisation of the tripartite coalition government so that neutralist and Pathet Lao Ministers should be replaced by additional right-wing members. The demanded that the neutralist armed forces be amalgamated with the right-wing forces, which means they

hoped to be able to annihilate the Pathet Lao. Whilst at first Souvanna Phouma resisted these demands, it seems now, that he is succumbing to this pressure. Realising the danger of being swallowed up by the right wing, important sections of the neutralist army are in revolt and have declared their solidarity with the Pathet Lao.

The timing of the coup is significant. It took place the day after General Nosavan (the right-wing representative) had torpedoed the joint talks which looked like making progress towards a normal functioning of government. It followed the Manila session of the SEATO bloc which had discussed Laos, although this country is not a member, and after the Seventh U.S. Fleet had sailed into the Indian Ocean.

IN SEARCH OF A SCAPEGOAT

Further, it must be seen against the background of the disastrous defeats suffered by the U.S. in South Vietnam; also of the consolidation of neighbouring Cambodia's position of neutrality, its rejection of U.S. intervention disguised as "aid" and its stern reaction to military intrusions by the U.S. South Vietnam puppet armed forces. Nor can it be a coincidence that the coup followed swiftly on the growth of good-neighbourly relations between the Laotian government and China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, following official visits to these countries and the publication of joint communiques.

At first, official public reaction to the coup in the West, including the U.S.A. was cool. Indeed, the British government actually acted in concert with the Soviet Union to condemn the coup and reaffirm the need for strict observance of the Geneva agreements. But as the days passed, the tone changed. Instead of condemning the hostile and provocative acts against the Pathet Lao in particular and the Geneva agreements in general, voices all over the West were raised to put the blame firstly on the Pathet Lao, and then on to China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. These voices have now become such a clamour that

the real issues are being clouded.

Such accusations are not new, but their baselessness has always been exposed. Suffice it only to recall the U.N. Fact-Finding Committee sent to Laos in late 1959, whose report gave so little substance to the allegations that it had to be killed by silence. Or a later instance when the same reactionary clique now in Vientiane told pressmen who complained they had not been able to find the alleged North Vietnamese intruders "We must have an outside enemy so that our soldiers are willing to fight".

TOOL FOR U.S.

The motive for diverting attention from the real culprits who are seeking to plunge Laos once more into civil war and make it into a tool for U.S. aggressive plans in Asia is plain. For these plans are in danger of collapsing. Faced with the prospects of defeat in South Vietnam, their failure to turn Cambodia into their lackey state, the reluctance of their Western allies to give much real assistance in the war in South Vietnam, the stage is being set for a new act in the drama.

The violations committed by South Vietnam against Cambodia are before the United Nations. Arising from this, Adlai Stevenson, U.S. representative to U.N. thinks there is "much merit in the idea" of a United Nations force going there to act as arbiter in this dispute. And from that there flows, according to the *The Times* (May 22nd), a new possibility. An official source close to Mr. Stevenson asked if the idea was limited only to the border area or whether it might be broadened to bring the United Nations into South Vietnam in a much bigger way, said there were possibilities that such an operation if accepted might grow. Mr. Stevenson's remarks had opened the door to such United Nations involvement.

There is only one way out of the present dangerous situation—an end to imperialist intervention, leaving the peoples of Indo-China free to solve their own problems.

—COMMENT

NOTE:

We have allowed Mr. Bishop Mpeta his say unedited. We must make it clear that we do not necessarily share all his conclusions.

—Editor



THE FUTURE FOR ZAMBIA

by Idris Cox



Dr. Kaunda—the problem of stopping the outflow of Zambia's wealth and achieving real independence.

ALREADY, before independence, the names of new states are familiar in Central Africa. Nyasaland has become Malawi, and achieves its independence on July 6th. Northern Rhodesia has become Zambia, but does not reach independent status until October 24th. By then there will be thirty-six independent African states.

Before the dissolution of the old Federal system Nyasaland was exploited as a source of cheap labour, and Northern Rhodesia for its copper, mainly for the benefit of Southern Rhodesia—and, of course, the copper trusts and foreign monopolies.

The change of name is symbolic, but what counts is whether this will lead to a real change in the grip of foreign capital on the rich resources of Zambia, and to the raising of the level of economic development in Malawi.

After talks in London lasting only two weeks, full agreement was reached on the constitutional framework which brings into being on October 24th the new Republic of Zambia. With a total of three-and-a-half million (which includes 72,000 Europeans) the National Assembly will have seventy-five members, with five seats reserved for Europeans.

For the first time, a former British colony becomes a Republic at the same time as it achieves its independence. In all other

cases there have been intervals ranging from one to four years, except with Zanzibar which became a Republic two months after independence.

However, Zanzibar became a Republic by means of revolution, and Zambia by constitutional means. Zanzibar has nationalised the land, taken over buildings and properties, and entered into friendly relations with the socialist countries.

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

What is the likely course to be taken in Zambia? It will no doubt strengthen the drive towards all-African unity, and provide a basis for African nationalist fighters in exile from South Africa, Angola and Mozambique. It will also

serve to sharpen the fight for liberation in Southern Rhodesia.

The economic prospects after independence are more favourable for Zambia than any former African colony which has won independence. This does not mean that the economic situation and living standards will change overnight. But if decisive steps are taken by the new Republic to harness the existing rich resources, there could be a rapid change.

The big question-mark is whether Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and the ruling party, the United National Independence Party (U.N.I.P.) is prepared to challenge the vested interests of the big copper trusts, the British South Africa Company (known as the Charter Company), and other monopoly firms which have drained away the wealth of the country for decades, and will go on doing so unless decisive steps are taken against them.

The four big copper trusts—Mufilira, Roan Antelope, Rhokana Corporation and Nchanga Consolidated—with a capital of £50 million, made a profit of £119 million in the two years 1956 and 1957. Though copper prices went down later, their total profit in the two years 1959 and 1960 was still over £90 million.

DRAIN OF WEALTH

Latest reports reveal that the combined profits of Mufilira and Roan Antelope for the nine months ending March 1964 were £12 million (equal to £16 million for the whole year); and dividends for the previous year were at the rate of 32 per cent.

The "Charter Company" shares in this vast exploitation by grabbing royalties on every ton of copper produced, amounting to an average of £12 million a year. This is only part of its loot. In 1961 it had investments of over £53 million, including those in the de Beers Investment Trust, Rand Selection Corporation, and the Union Corporation Limited—all in South Africa. It owned 99 per cent of the shares in

the Rhodesia Railway Trust, mineral rights on 16,000 square miles in Malawi, and vast estates in Southern Rhodesia.

Created by Cecil Rhodes, the B.S.A.C. got its "Charter" from Queen Victoria in October 1889. By lies and deceit, it tricked King Lobengula into signing over huge tracts of land in Southern Rhodesia, and got a signed agreement from King Lewanika of Barotseland in 1891, by which the Charter Company got 200,000 square miles.

It ruled Southern Rhodesia until 1923 (when it became a "self-governing colony" for the white minority) and Northern Rhodesia until it became a British Protectorate in 1924. But the B.S.A.C. is still entitled to copper royalties until the year 1986.

How long will this situation last? Dr. Kaunda has already given a pledge not to nationalise the copper mines. There are persistent reports that the plan is to buy out the charter royalty rights for £50 or £60 million. If this happens it will mean bigger financial burdens on the new state.

Instead of handing over more money for royalties one would have thought the time had now come to end this robbery. Stopping the huge drain of wealth

out of the country and into the coffers of the big monopoly firms is an essential measure to transform political independence into a reality, build a balanced economy, and to raise living standards.

Recently the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa prepared a draft report on Zambia. In usually well-informed circles it is stated that this report is most forthright on the existing poverty, disease and poor facilities for African education. It condemns Zambia's one-sided economy, but stresses that copper to the value of £100 million is produced every year, and points out that copper profits and royalties amount to one-third the value of exports.

POVERTY LINE

In face of the enormous wealth going out of the country the majority of Africans live on the poverty line. Employment has declined in recent years, the number of workers has grown, and it is the youth who suffer most. Earlier this year a provisional £3 million vocational training plan for 50,000 unemployed youth was put forward. This was combined with a £5 million emergency sixteen-month plan to provide work. But it will take time for these measures to

have any real effect.

The average national income for Africans in 1962 was £146 per annum (£2. 16s. a week), but that of African copper miners was £289 per annum (£5. 10s. a week). This was in contrast to an average European annual income of £1,563 or £30 a week. It is obvious that economic advance for Africans also means ending this privileged position for Europeans.

Zambia can overcome these problems. It has vast resources. But the situation can be changed only if these resources are taken out of the hands of the copper trusts, Charter Company and monopoly firms, and used for carrying through an economic plan which is based on the interests of the Zambia people and not to put huge profits into the pockets of a few exploiters.

If Dr. Kaunda and the U.N.I.P. leaders do not take effective measures to satisfy the urgent needs of Zambia's Africans and take them out of mass poverty there is sure to be growing dissatisfaction. There is no static situation in any part of Africa. Changes are taking place rapidly. And if the existing African leaders won't move with the times, then new pressures and movements will arise to replace them.

Towards Cairo

Continued from page 1-

Imperialism did not care to hide its abhorrence for and hostility to the Zanzibar revolution. British and U.S. warships infested Zanzibar waters. The Sultan and his entourage were housed in Britain after leaving Zanzibar via Tanganyika. Then dramatically Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged into a new state and British newspapers openly speculated on how the condition had become ripe for the containment and defeat of the Zanzibar revolution.

The lesson for the student of African affairs lies in the way imperialism has tackled the Zanzibar problem not directly but indirectly via another African state.

IMPERIALIST TACTICS

What the British have done in Zanzibar, the French also tried in Dahomey and Algeria. In Dahomey, the revolt of Maga's men in the northern districts coincided with a flare-up in border disputes between Dahomey and Niger. In Algeria, the counter-revolution in the Kabylie showed an embarrassing coincidence with the Algeria-Morocco frontier fighting.

Two more examples will serve to drive home my point. Imperialist machinations in Congo Leopoldville have counted heavily on the supply of police forces and other types of technical assistance from Nigeria. And a major factor in the Angolan situation today is the use of the pro-U.S. Congo government in the recognition of the provisional government of Ro-

berto Holden thus facing all Africa with a fait accompli.

We may now state our conclusions. Imperialism now seems to pursue its objectives in Africa by working through chosen African states. These African states playing the game of imperialism prefer to get an all African cover for their actions. And the ideal all African cover is the approval—real or apparent—of the O.A.U. In short, by manipulating some African governments, imperialism hopes to push its interests in Africa even within the framework of the O.A.U.

The other major experience of Africa since Addis Ababa has been in the economic field. The protests and rebellions in Dahomey, Gabon, Congo Brazzaville, and the mutiny in Tanganyika and the revolution in Zanzibar all have a common denominator. This is economic unrest. The people have risen against unemployment, poor pay, bad living conditions, etc. And no one can fail to see that these upheavals are a direct result of the failure of the regimes to grapple effectively with pressing economic problems.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

This fact brings out the vital place of the economic factor in the present African situation. It poses the problem of the path of development in all its harshness and urgency.

Since Addis Ababa, Africa has learnt a few lessons about economic development. We now know, if we did not know—that foreign

assistance, particularly aid from the imperialist countries, is nowhere coming forth in the volume and at the rate desired by the receiving countries. We are becoming the wiser on the point that this aid is invariably tied. And tied in the long-run to conditions that secure the economic advantage of the donor country.

Furthermore, Africa has learnt from the Geneva Conference on World Trade just epd that the advanced economies of Western Europe and North America would not willingly accept the view that developing countries should seek economic reconstruction along the road of improved terms of trade for their agricultural and mineral products. The advanced countries have demonstrated once again that economic matters have little to do with philanthropy.

O.A.U.'S PROBLEMS

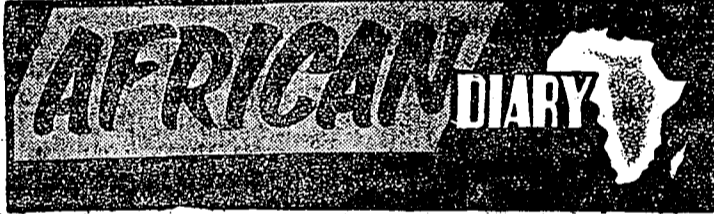
The consequence of all this for Africa is great. We can no longer rely on assistance from outside. Nor can we hope to advance by leaving our economy at the mercy of foreign investors. Africa has got to depend on herself. And it has become even clearer in the past year that self-reliance, in terms of Africa today, can mean only one thing—the pooling of all our resources on a continental scale.

At Cairo the African leaders will have to make up their mind on the path along which Africa's future is to proceed. Broadly, they must tell all Africa whether O.A.U. will help rid Africa of all imperialist encum-

brances or meekly serve as a convenient cover for promoting imperialist interests. Specifically, the Cairo summit must find clear cut answers to three main problems:—

1. will O.A.U. help liberate the rest of Africa on a formula of a revolutionary overthrow of imperialism or is it to succumb to intrigues aimed at replacing colonialism with neo-colonialism in the dependent territories?
2. will O.A.U. pursue security for African states on the basis of complete independence from foreign powers or within the framework of imperialist defence systems?
3. will O.A.U. seek Africa's economic reconstruction along the path of total integration and unified direction of Africa's economy or along the path of unequal partnerships with the imperialist powers?

The African leaders must find answers to these fundamental questions when they meet at Cairo. The O.A.U. must take on a shape that will enable Africa move forward. And in the last analysis, our lears have got to decide how to move forward—in partnership with the African masses or in partnership with imperialism. It will serve no useful purpose either to mark time or to seek refuge in self-defeating hybrid resolutions and threadbare declarations.



16th JUNE, TUESDAY:

GHANA: Osagyefo the President today entertained more than sixty African Trade Union delegates returning from the Second All-African Trade Union Conference in Bamako, Mali, at Flagstaff House. He advised the delegates to "be firm and united for the battle is not ended." He continued: "it is only in unity and under a Union Government planning and working for the progress of Africa, that the continent could be saved."

U.A.R.: The United Arab Republic is to invite tenders from foreign firms for an atomic reactor to produce electricity.

SWANZILAND: About 3,000 white settlers were going to the polls to vote for Swanziland's new 28-member Legislative Council.

Under the new constitution, four seats in the legislature are reserved for whites, another four seats are also to be filled by Government nominees.

There are only 12 seats for which Africans are allowed to contest with white settlers.

MALI: President Modibo Keita of Mali is expected to pay a six-day visit to Algeria beginning July 1.

* The second congress of All-African Trade Union Federation which has just ended in Bamako, Mali, has called on all African States to celebrate May 1 every year as an international day of solidarity and fraternity. * The second conference of

the All-African Trade Union Federation has dispatched a telegram to Premier Hendrik Verwoerd of South Africa, demanding the release of Mandela and his colleagues and also the release of all imprisoned nationalists.

The AATUF telegram also demanded the revocation of the 90-day Detention Act now under review in the House of Assembly.

TANGANYIKA: Citizens of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Republic would pay about £2,500,000 more in new or

increased taxes under Budget proposals announced in Dar-es-Salaam by Mr. Paul Boman, Finance Minister.

NIGERIA: Strikers of Government and private establishments in Eastern Nigeria have resumed work 48 hours after work in other parts of the Federation had started. The 13-day old strike was officially called off last Saturday but the Eastern Region workers refused to work until they could verify the matter from union leaders.

ZANZIBAR: The Chinese Ambassador in Zanzibar, Mr. Meng Ying, met first Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Sheikh Abeid Karume at State House and ratified an agreement for a Chinese free loan of £5 million.

Dark Clouds Over Africa

Continued from page 2

Bunting quotes from the Freedom Charter and its humanity, tolerance and dignity shine out like a beacon in a society dominated by the violence, hatred and greed of the Nationalists.

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty, and peace by a form of government founded on

injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; and therefore, we, the people of South Africa, Black and White together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.