

Northwestern University Library
JUL 6 1965

IN THIS ISSUE
KWAME
NKRUMAH
ADDRESSES
COMMONWEALTH
LEADERS ON
RHODESIA ISSUE
(see page 3)

THE SPARK



Notes of the Week 2
Imperialist counter-offensive in Africa 3
Story U.S. Pressmen won't seek 4
Peoples of Freedom Fighters 6

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 132 2d

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 1965

EDITORIAL

SMITH MUST GO

KWAME Nkrumah has served warning on Britain's Labour Government that continued prevarication on the Southern Rhodesian issue can imperil the Commonwealth.

"The essence of the Southern Rhodesian problem is... that there exists under the British flag in a British colony a regime which does not differ in essence from the vicious and brutal regime which exists in South Africa", he told the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

It is, he declared, the ending of this racist regime and not the prevention of a unilateral declaration of independence which is the task of the Conference.

As we go to press, the outcome of the Commonwealth leaders' discussion of the Southern Rhodesia problem is not known.

But one thing can and must be made clear: there must be no more stalling by Britain.

The last Commonwealth Conference took decisions on Southern Rhodesia; they remained worthless pieces of paper.

Mr. Wilson has at regular intervals told us that if racist Prime Minister Ian Smith declares independence unilaterally the British Government will do this, that and the other.

But Ian Smith has gone on holding his sham elections and consolidating his power.

Why should Britain wait till Smith declares unilateral independence to take action? Why cannot it act to stop racist dictatorship now?

Why cannot Britain use all possible political, diplomatic, economic and other pressures to compel Smith to release his political prisoners, end white domination and allow the African people of Southern Rhodesia to take the necessary decisions for their own country?

The British Government could suspend the sham Rhodesian Constitution tomorrow if it really wanted to, and call a conference of all the main parties in Rhodesia to arrange for the handing over of power to the people on the basis of democracy and one man, one vote.

By its refusal to act, the British Labour Government is betraying all its pre-election pledges and helping Smith and the settlers to maintain the present appalling situation.

By its passivity it is conniving at the creation of a "belt of steel" across the African continent linking Southern Rhodesia with South Africa and the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and Mozambique in a new move designed to check the advance of the national liberation movement in Africa.

Its prevarication regarding Ian Smith's settler regime in Southern Rhodesia contrasts sharply—and revealingly—with the celerity with which it rigged elections and ousted governments when it was a question of getting rid of the anti-colonialist Dr. Jagan in British Guiana.

Now we have had enough. Smith must go.

Kwame Nkrumah has made it clear that if Britain grants independence to Southern Rhodesia on any other basis than one man, one vote Ghana will oppose its entry into the Commonwealth, the United Nations and any other international body.

Ghana, he declared, would support and recognise any Zimbabwe Government-in-Exile representing the African majority.

In this she will be joined by all the freedom-loving states of the new Africa.

This will make new demands upon the unity and solidarity of the African states. They will not be able to act alone in the face of the armed strength of Smith's settler regime.

It will be necessary, for example, for Rhodesia's neighbours—Zambia, Tanzania and Malawi—to enter into common defence arrangements with all African countries that intend to recognise the Zimbabwe Government-in-Exile.

Smith's racist regime must go. There must be no more dilly-dallying.

It Must be a REAL Peace Mission

by a Spark Correspondent

THE welcome given to the election of Kwame Nkrumah to serve on the five-nation Commonwealth committee to explore the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam crisis on the one hand and the reservations which greeted the news that Britain's Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, was to serve as its chairman on the other are not the least significant aspects of this new development.

The welcome given to the election of Kwame Nkrumah is a recognition of Ghana's policy of positive non-alignment, and of her efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of international problems. It is a tribute, too, to the personal role played by Kwame Nkrumah himself.

Had he come out firmly against U.S. policy as Britain's responsibilities and the interests of world peace demanded that he should, Washington would have had to think twice before bringing the world to the brink of third world war.

But he did not. He made common cause with U.S. imperialism in its onslaught on the national liberation movement in South-East Asia.

He did so because Britain depends on the goodwill of the Washington bankers to maintain the stability of sterling, and because he too is waging his own wars against the national liberation movement East of Suez (until recently Britain had more troops in South-East Asia than even America).

But Mr. Wilson made common cause with U.S. imperialism for other, deeper reasons.

Government which waged colonial wars in Africa and Malaya.

We in Ghana very well remember that it was under a Labour Government of "Democratic" Socialists of the Wilson type that ex-servicemen demonstrating for their rights were shot down in Accra and Kwame Nkrumah jailed.

Mr. Wilson has during his brief term of office aided the U.S.-Belgian operation against Stanleyville, rigged elections in British Guiana to secure the ousting of Dr. Jagan despite the fact that his P.P.P. remains the largest single party in the colony; by his inaction encouraged the pretensions of Ian Smith, Southern Rhodesia's white supremacist Premier, and waged war against the national liberation movement in Southern Arabia and in Borneo.

RESERVATIONS

The reservations which have greeted Mr. Wilson's chairmanship are prompted by the role that the Labour Government, and Mr. Wilson personally, have so far played in the Vietnam crisis.

The uncommitted nations called for peace; France and Canada spoke out against U.S. policy; other Western leaders maintained a significant silence—but Mr. Wilson has been the Number One apologist for each successive U.S. step towards a wider war.

Despite Britain's special responsibility as co-chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference for ensuring a peaceful settlement, Mr. Wilson has connived at every fresh U.S. violation

PROUD TRADITION

While the rank and file and the militant sections of Britain's Labour Movement have a proud tradition of solidarity with their brothers in Asia and Africa, the Right-Wing Labour leaders have traditionally made common cause with Britain's imperialists.

It was the post-war Labour

NEW STRATEGY

So what more natural than that, having made common cause with his "own" imperialists, he should also make common cause with American imperialism against the national liberation movement in Vietnam?

For Mr. Wilson realises that what happens in Vietnam will decisively affect the national liberation movement throughout the world during the coming years. Vietnam has become the testing-ground not only for Washington's new weapons, but also for imperialism's entire new anti-national liberation movement strategy.



This is the face of war—The war Washington is waging against the people of Vietnam. There can be no peace talks while U.S. aggression continues.

tegy. If this strategy works in Vietnam, Africa will be the next victim.

Why, then, did Mr. Wilson suddenly come up with his proposal for a Commonwealth peace mission?

To re-furbish his own much-tarnished peacemaker image in Britain, where his Vietnam policy has alienated the majority of his party's most devoted rank-and-file members not to mention wide sections of the general public?

To get his American allies and their Saigon puppets off the hook, to extricate Washington from a war it cannot win?

As Kwame Nkrumah made clear, there are four conditions which must be satisfied before any Commonwealth peace mission can succeed:

- 1 Australia must withdraw the troops it has sent to Vietnam to help the American forces;
- 2 New Zealand must drop its plan to send troops to Vietnam;
- 3 There must be a united Commonwealth call to Washington to stop the bombing;
- 4 The South Vietnam National Liberation Front which has already freed four-fifths of South Vietnam must take part in any consultations.

FOUR CONDITIONS

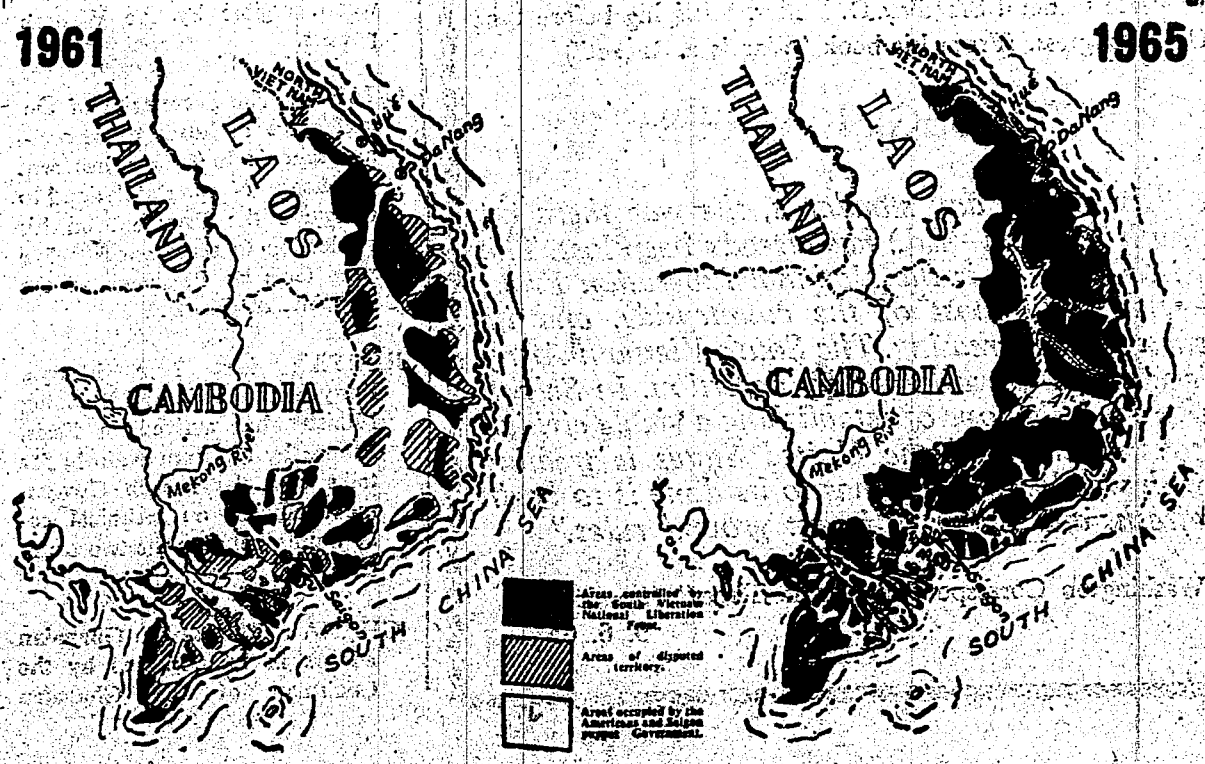
Ghana welcomes any genuine move to bring about an end to the bloodshed in Vietnam—but it will not be a party to sham "peace missions" designed to pull Mr. Wilson's—or President Johnson's—chestnuts out of the fire.

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 guerrillas in the

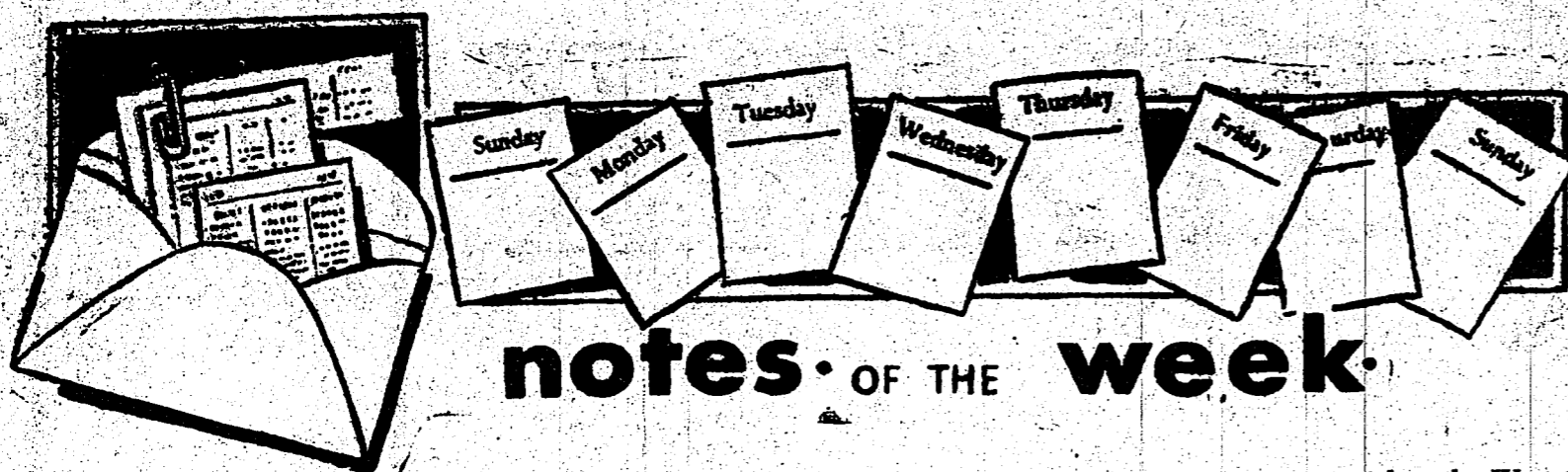
Continued on page 6

People's Advance in Last Four Years of Struggle



Ministry of Civil Defence

The creation of the Ministry of Civil Defence in no way affects the status and conditions of service of the Ghana Armed Forces.



THE Soviet Union is now helping twenty-eight Afro-Asian states to achieve economic independence according to Pavel Grigoryev, an official of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries.

The Soviet Union has signed technical co-operation agreements on the construction of some 600 industrial plants and other projects.

* * *

The undertakings which the Soviet Union is helping to build include more than twenty power stations, thirty metallurgical plants, more than twenty chemical plants and oil refineries and forty-five engineering plants.

All will be fully owned by the developing countries. There is no Soviet claim to ownership, or part-ownership control or part-control nor to any share in the profits.

When concluding agreements on technical and financial co-operation, the Soviet Union does not attach any political strings, nor does it, unlike some Western countries and certain international bodies, make demands for information about the national economy or attempt to lay down any conditions for the development of the national

economy of its partner. Soviet loans are usually subject to an interest rate of only 2 1/2 per cent repayable over twelve years.

They are usually repaid by the supply of traditional exports to the Soviet Union, or in the developing country's own currency which is then used for Soviet purchases in the country itself or by the products of the new undertaking which has been built with Soviet help.

In other words, the developing country concerned pays for the import of Soviet goods and services—machinery, plant and experts—by the export of its own goods. It does not have to find any foreign currency, nor, indeed, does it export money in any form.

The agreements also usually provide for the training by Soviet specialists of technicians and experts of the country concerned who are then able to take over the operation of the undertakings white supremacist Rhodesia leave.

* * *

The advantages of such agreements to the developing countries are obvious: not least is the fact that "charity" is not involved. The Soviet Union also gains by what amounts to an increase in its foreign trade.

That is why, in the Soviet Union, the term "co-operation" is preferred to "aid".

ported from Johannesburg that South Africa has "large quantities of military weapons".

The Minister could not deny that West Germany is trading with South Africa—he in fact defended this trade on the grounds that "the Federal Republic of Germany adheres to the principle of free trade everywhere in the world" and went on to claim that "the Republic had no power to interfere in the relations between West Germany and South African firms.

Again, the Minister was in-

genuous: when the West German Government really wants to, it can and does interfere, as it did in the case of West German firms which wanted to sell large-diameter pipes to the Soviet Union, for example.

Introducing *The Bridge*, West German Ambassador Stelzer asks for "frank criticism". We can only say that while his government supports Verwoerd and also the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and Mozambique, it will be difficult for him to build any bridge to Africa.

NEW BANK

PLANS have been announced in Pretoria for the establishment of a joint Portuguese-South African commercial bank to operate in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese-held territories of Angola and Mozambique.

The new bank represents an economic expression of the increasing co-operation in all fields between Verwoerd's apartheid republic, Ian Smith's white supremacist Rhodesia regime and the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and Mozambique.

To be known as the Bank of South Africa and Lisbon Ltd., the new bank will be a joint operation by the South African General Mining and Finance Corporation in conjunc-

tion with three Portuguese banking houses.

It will have headquarters in Pretoria and branches in Johannesburg and other major South African cities, as well in Salisbury, capital of Rhodesia.

Mr. Ian Forbes, the bank's general manager, is the chairman of the South African-Portuguese Economic Institute.

One of the major aims of the bank was, he said, to promote a "Common Market" between South Africa, the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia.

But while bankers may make their plans for the exploitation of Africa's wealth, it will be the people of Africa who will in the end decide.

THE BRIDGE

WE this week received a copy of a journal called "The Bridge", which describes itself as the "Bulletin of the German Embassy, Accra".

The first point is that there is no such thing as the "German Embassy" in Accra—or anywhere else, for that matter.

There is the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, representing the Western part of Germany, and there is the Economic and Trade Mission of the German Democratic Republic.

Were this just a matter of words, it would be unworthy to mention. Unfortunately, it is not. By describing itself as the "German Embassy" the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany seeks to arrogate to itself the right to speak for the whole of Germany.

* * *

But whether Bonn and the Embassy of the Federal Republic like it or not, there are now two German states—the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

This arrogance is typical of West German diplomacy; for years it threatened to sever relations with any state which establishes diplomatic relations with the G.D.R.—and as a result suffered a resounding diplomatic defeat in the Middle East following the visit of the G.D.R.'s Walter Ulbricht to the United Arab Republic.

West Germany is the only European state which demands a revision of Europe's post-war frontiers, refusing to recognise the frontiers of Germany as laid down by the post-war agreements.

the days of Hitler, showing parts of Poland and the Soviet Union as German territory.

This desire unilaterally to amend the post-war agreements likewise manifests itself in an item headed "Jets over Berlin" published in *The Bridge* and describing in true cold-war style the recent session of the West German Parliament held in the Western sector of Berlin.

Nowhere does the item mention the most important fact of all that under the terms of the post-war agreements West Berlin is not part of the Federal Republic.

The West German Parliament has no more right to meet there than say, the British Parliament has to meet in Paris.

The *Bridge's* reference to the "firm support" given by the Western Powers to Bonn's provocative decision to transport its Parliament to West Berlin is at best ingenuous; the Western Powers have many times made clear their view that West Berlin is not part of the Federal Republic.

* * *

The bulletin gives prominence to the claim voiced by the West German Minister of Housing, Herr Paul Luecke, during his recent visit to Ghana that "there was no co-operation in military fields whatever" between West Germany and Verwoerd's apartheid Republic of South Africa.

We do not know what the Minister means by "military fields"—but there is certainly co-operation between West Germany and South Africa in the atomic field and in the field of rocket research. Likewise the U.S. news agency U.P.I. on October 6th 1963 re-

"RACKETEER FOR CAPITALISM"

"I spent thirty-three years and four months of active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from a Second Lieutenant to Major General. And during the period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. I was a racketeer for capitalism..."

"Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in... I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Bros. in 1909-1912.

"I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies in 1903. In 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested..."

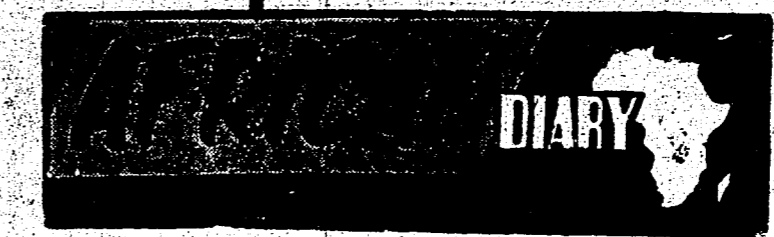
"Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operated on three continents."

The late General Smedley D. Butler, testifying before the U.S. Congress. (From his book "War is a Racket")

"TO BEGIN AFRESH" ?

"By almost any standards, the war there (in South Vietnam—Ed.) has already been lost. The Vietcong (that is the National Liberation Front—Ed.) hold most of the countryside, and its strength is increasing. The South Vietnam Army is weary and weakened by desertion. In Saigon there is little hope of establishing a viable civilian government, and the United States is treating with war lords. What has to be done is to begin afresh, and under different ground rules."

Washington Correspondent, "The Times" (London) 9. 6. 65



16th JUNE : U.A.R. : President Ayub Khan of Pakistan left Cairo today for London for the Commonwealth Leaders Conference after a two-day visit to the country.

GHANA : The Director of Institute of Public Education Mr. Kobina Hagan, has left Accra to-day by air for Copenhagen, Denmark to attend the first-world Conference on education, the one-week conference beginning on June 20 will be attended by representatives from universities all over the world.

* Major Seth Anthony, Ghana's High Commissioner in India has arrived in Accra today on a few weeks leave. He was met at the airport by Mr. H. Sekyi, Principal Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

DAHOMEY : Dahomey and Niger have now settled their border dispute, Premier Justin Ahomadegbe of Dahomey said in Cotonou today after his return from a meeting with President Hamani Diori of Niger on the Dahomey-Niger border town of Goya.

GUINEA : Guinea and the German Democratic Republic have signed an agreement today for cultural and scientific co-operation for 1965.

CONGO (Brazzaville) : The Congo Brazzaville People's Tribunal today sentenced former police chief Eugene Goma to five years imprisonment for complicity in the treason, in which former President Youlou was involved and has been sentenced to death in absentia.

U.A.R. : The United Arab Republic and India have signed a trade agreement in Cairo under which U.A.R. will export television sets, chemicals, cotton yarn and oil chemical products to India in exchange for India motor car tyres, steel materials and tubes.

CAMEROUN : Following the resignation of President Assale, Eastern Cameroun's new Legislative Assembly has opened its first session in Yaounde to discuss the formation of new Government and procedure for the Legislative Assembly.

NIGERIA : Five Lagos University professors have been sacked for flouting the University's authority, an official announcement said in Lagos today that the expatriate professors had been dismissed for breaking the authority of the University's Provisional Council in refusing to recognise the appointment of the new Vice-Chancellor Dr. S. O. Biobaku instead of Dr. Eni Njoku, and refusing to fulfil their duties to the University.

TANZANIA : A Polish delegate to the United Nations Committee on Colonialism has suggested to the Committee to adopt a resolution demanding recognition of the right of the people of South-West Africa to self-determination and condemning all support for the fascist Verwoerd regime by the Western powers.

GHANA : The Secretariat of the conference of heads of secondary schools in Ghana has sent a message of congratulations to Osagyefo the President on his re-election to serve another five year term as President of the Republic of Ghana.

KENYA : Mr. Tom Mboya, Kenya's Economic and Planning Minister has arrived in Paris, France by air from Nairobi for talks with the French Government officials on technical co-operation between the two countries.

GHANA : The seven Ghanaian editors in London, led by the Chairman of the Ghanaian

Journalists and Writers Association, Mr Cecil Forde, have called on the Editor of the Daily Express in London to protest against the fabricated publication of the treatment of prisoners in Ghanaian prison which appeared in March 17, 1965, issue of the paper.

18th JUNE :

NIGERIA : More than 30 members of staff of the Lagos University have resigned in protest against the dismissal of five senior professors who refused to recognise the new Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. S. O. Biobaku.

GHANA : The Malian Minister of Justice Mr. Madesia Keita, now in the country accompanied by Mr. Gourdo Sow, former Mali Ambassador to United Kingdom has visited the Volta Dam at Akosombo and has been shown round the dam by Mr. Apegyei, publicity officer of the Volta River Authority.

* Ghana is among the African countries participating in a telecommunication seminar being held in Tokyo, Japan. Other African countries attending the seminar are Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya and Sudan. The seminar which will last 25 days has been organised by the Japanese Government.

* A Japanese firm now surveying Ghana railway system has presented £5,000 to the Ghana Railways Administration. * The Accra Assembly "The World Without the Bomb", according to official announcement, will celebrate its third anniversary on Monday, 28th June.

ALGERIA : A revolutionary council headed by Colonel Bourdieme, chief army Officer has taken over the administration of Algerian Government, Algiers Radio has announced.

SUDAN : Mr. Sayad Ismain El Azhar, Minister of Defence has been sworn in as Prime Minister of Sudan to replace former head, Khatim El Khalifa.

19th JUNE :

CAMEROUN : Mr. Louis Kemayou Happy, President of the Assembly has announced in the Eastern Cameroun Legislative Assembly in Yaounde that Cameroun will attend the September Summit of the O.A.U. in Accra.

UPPER VOLTA : President Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta has expressed the hope that Ghana would do all she could to make the September O.A.U. Summit a success.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA : Nationalist forces are controlling about 40 per cent of the so-called Portuguese Guinea despite the increase of Portuguese troops to 20,000 by fascist Salazar.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA : A Bulawayo high court judge, Mr. Justice Denny Young, today refused an application by the Southern Rhodesian African Nationalist Leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo and other nationalist leaders against restriction orders served on them by Ian Smith the White racist leader.

CHAD : Sudanese shopkeepers in Fort Lamy are selling off their stocks as fast as they can to beat a three-week expulsion deadline given them by the Chad Government.

MAURITANIA : President Modibo Keita of Mali will hold talks with President Mockerar Ould Daddah of Mauritania next Saturday at Nema, Mauritania, it has been announced in Nouakchott.

SOUTH AFRICA : A mass protest demonstration has been held at Cape Town, South Africa

against apartheid bills giving new sweeping powers to the fascist South Africa's Minister of Justice, Mr. Balthazaar Vorsters.

CONGO (Leopoldville) : The Congo Court of Appeal has nullified provincial and national elections held in the Central Basin and Kwilu Provinces of Congo.

CONGO (Brazzaville) : Two men have been sentenced to death by the People's Tribunal for smuggling arms into the Congo Brazzaville and conspiring against the state.

ZAMBIA : Three Cabinet Ministers of Zambia have left Lusaka for the Northern province to make an on-the-spot examination of the rehabilitation of former supporters of "prophetess" Alice Lenshina, who are now being kept at the expense of the Government in rehabilitation Camps.

GHANA : Ghana will be represented by a delegation of five, led by Mr. E. R. K. Dwemoh, Director of Civil Aviation, at the 15th Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organisation to be held in Montreal, Canada, from June 22 to July 19.

* A three man delegation of the AATUF led by the Secretary General Mr. J. K. Tettegah has returned to Accra after attending the I.L.O. Conference in Switzerland.

* The Ghana Railway and Harbours Administration has made a net profit of £2,017,297 for the year ending September 1964 according to the Auditor General's report just published in Accra.

21st JUNE :

GHANA : A total of £6,615,434 was collected by the Ghana Customs and Excise last month as compared with £4,956,010 for the same period last year, an official announcement has said.

22nd JUNE :

SUDAN : The Sudanese new Prime Minister Mr. Mohammed Ahmed Mahgond, has denied allegations by President Francis Tombalbaye of Chad Republic that there is "Chad Government in exile" in the Sudan.

SENEGAL : T Mr. Mongi Slim personal envoy of President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, who was on a two-day official visit to Senegal, has left Dakar for home.

TANZANIA : The Defence Subcommittee of the O.A.U. has begun its three-day Session in Dar-es-Salaam to-day to deal with the dangerous situations in Southern Rhodesia.

* An official Japanese mission has arrived in Dar-es-Salaam for five day talks with the Tanzanian officials aimed at improving trade relations between the two Countries.

A Conference of representatives of the organisation of freedom fighters in the so-called Portuguese Colonies will be held in Dar-es-Salaam from 18th-22nd July.

GHANA : The President of Dahomey National Assembly, Mr. Congaon Tahirou has praised the unique contribution being made by Ghana in the noble cause of African Unity.

KENYA : A Kenyan Journalist has decared in Nairobi that the current anti-Ghana campaigns are directed by the imperialists with the new to distracting the worlds attention from Ghana's massive progress.

GHANA : About 2,000 national and international organisations have affiliated with the Accra Assembly for the "World Without the Bomb," a spokesman of the Assembly has announced in Accra today.

END THIS RACIST REGIME NOW

LAST week we agreed to attempt to settle a problem affecting some of the powerful countries of the world. If the Commonwealth has the ability to secure a solution in Vietnam it is absurd and ridiculous to suggest it cannot secure a solution to the Southern Rhodesian problem.

Failure of our mission in regard to Vietnam might not be disastrous for Commonwealth prestige but failure at this Conference to settle the Rhodesian question will undoubtedly imperil the Commonwealth. Our association is in real danger of breaking up over this issue.

The Southern Rhodesian question is not primarily that of the danger of unilateral independence. The essence of the Southern Rhodesian problem is, as the British Chancellor of the Exchequer put in the British Parliament during the debates on the 1961 Constitution, that there exists under the British flag in a British colony a regime which does not differ in essence from the vicious and brutal regime which exists in South Africa. It is the ending of this racist regime and not the prevention of a unilateral declaration of independence which is the task of this Conference.

PROPOSAL

In order that we may have a united approach to this problem I make this proposal:

That in the same way as we issued a special communiqué in regard to our Vietnam mission, we should authorise the issue here and now of a communiqué indicating the position from which we all unanimously approach the Southern Rhodesian question. The wording for this communiqué which I propose is based on the amendment to the Southern Rhodesian bill moved in the British House of Commons on the 8th November, 1961 by the British Labour Party.

That amendment read:—
"This House cannot assent to a bill which is intended to implement constitutional proposals which fail to pro-

Kwame Nkrumah addresses Commonwealth Conference on Southern Rhodesia issue.

vide for the African people of Southern Rhodesia either adequate safeguards against discrimination or adequate representation in the legislature."

Basing ourselves on this formulation, I propose that we issue today after this morning's meeting the following communiqué which will make it clear to the people of Southern Rhodesia and to the world that on this matter the Commonwealth Conference means business:—

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

"The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at its meeting this morning unanimously agreed that the present Constitution of Southern Rhodesia has failed to provide adequate safeguards against discrimination or adequate representation in the legislature for the African people of the territory. In the light of this decision the Conference is now discussing the appropriate steps which must be taken to remedy this state affairs."

I suggest that it would be a fruitless waste of time to examine in detail the evils of the present Constitution. Anyone who is in doubt as to the brutal and vicious nature of the present settler regime has only to read the debates in the British Parliament on the 1961 Constitution.

The speeches made on that occasion by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the present Home Secretary, the present Minister for Overseas Development and the present Attorney General predicted in every detail the tyranny and oppression which would result from the imposition on the people of Southern Rhodesia of this Constitution. It would be quite fruitless to discuss amending it or revising it, it must be revoked in its entirety.

In order that the present settler regime should understand clearly what they are up

against, I propose that we make it clear that no progressive State in the world would recognise an independent Southern Rhodesia State based on settler rule irrespective of whether this State came into existence through a unilateral declaration of independence or through agreement with the



Mr. Nkomo and all other political prisoners and detainees must be freed.

United Kingdom Government. So far as Ghana is concerned, I want to make it absolutely clear that if Britain grants independence to Southern Rhodesia on any other basis than one man one vote we shall oppose the entry of Southern Rhodesia into the Commonwealth and into the United Nations.

We shall do everything in our power to prevent it having membership of any international organisation. Ghana would support and recognise any Government in exile representing the African majority in Southern Rhodesia.

Nothing whatever has been done since the last Commonwealth Conference to implement the proposals which the British Government undertook to examine. For example, the great majority of Commonwealth members at the last Commonwealth Conference called for a Constitutional Conference of leaders of all parties.

WASTE NO TIME

The Secretary for Commonwealth Relations has since said it would be unrealistic to call such a Conference if the settlers represented by Ian Smith refused to attend. Would the British Labour Party consider it unrealistic to hold their Conference if some organisation representing less than five per cent of the total membership refused to attend?

In my view it is the duty of all Commonwealth members to insist that this Conference is held forthwith. Whether Mr. Smith attends or not is a matter for him. The Conference can work out a Constitution for Southern Rhodesia without his assistance.

At our last Conference all Commonwealth Heads of Government, including the then United Kingdom Prime Minister, agreed that the responsibility for dealing with Southern Rhodesia was that of the British Government.

From this it follows that it is the United Kingdom Government which has power to deal with the Southern Rhodesia situation. Again we should waste no time arguing about the legal technicalities. Nobody doubts that the

British Parliament has power to revoke the Southern Rhodesia Constitution.

The present British Government when in opposition voted against the 1961 Constitution. All that we are asking them to do is now that they are in office to carry out what they unsuccessfully attempted when they were in opposition.

TREASON

It is said that if the British Government suspended the present Southern Rhodesian Constitution the settler regime would not accept the transitional government which Britain might impose until such time as the Constitutional Conference had met and agreed on a new Constitution and a Government had been elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

If the settlers did attempt to defy the new Government then their action would be treason. They would be in revolt against Britain and they should be treated as rebels.

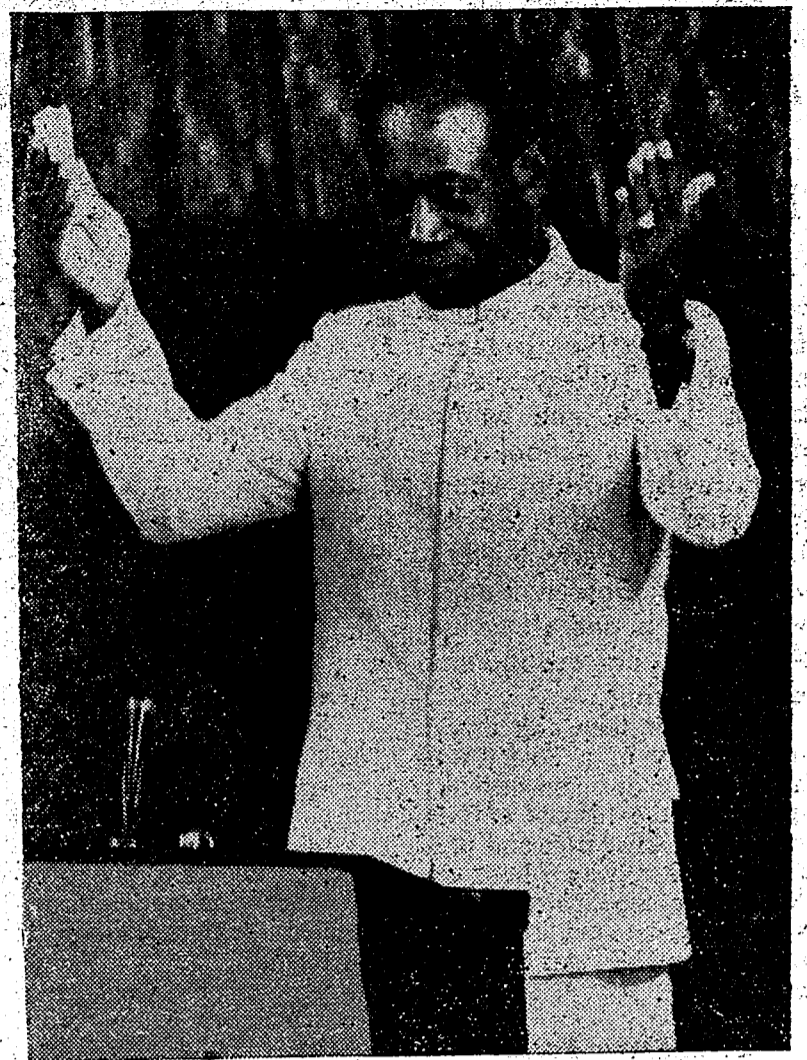
It is said that politically the United Kingdom Government could not commit British troops to suppress a rebellion in Southern Rhodesia though

they could use British troops for similar purposes in Aden or British Guiana.

I do not propose to argue about this. I am sure that other Commonwealth countries will be in a position to assist Britain if there is need for a Peace force to ensure harmonious transfer of power to the majority.

I propose that we seek the agreement of the British Government to the carrying out by Britain of the decision of the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in the following manner:—

- (a) Britain should summon a Constitutional Conference of all political leaders from Southern Rhodesia and the Smith regime should be told that all political detainees and political prisoners must be released so that they can hold consultations with their followers in Southern Rhodesia and attend the Conference;
- (b) This Constitutional Conference should be announced at once and the Smith regime should be given a time limit in which to state whether or not they were prepared to release the prisoners and detainees;
- (c) Unless the Smith regime agrees within say two weeks from the close of our Conference to the release of the detainees and the holding of the Constitutional Conference, the United Kingdom Government should introduce legislation suspending the Rhodesian



"We should waste no time arguing about the legal technicalities", Kwame Nkrumah told the Conference.

Constitution and appointing an interim Government;

- (d) It will be the duty of this interim Government to repeal all oppressive and discriminatory laws and to prepare the way for the holding of elections;
- (e) After agreement has been reached at the Constitutional Conference on the form of the Constitution, a general election should be held on the basis of one man one vote;
- (f) Southern Rhodesia should be granted independence as soon as possible after the election of this Government.

It is essential to emphasise the seriousness of the threat to Africa which could arise through a military union between South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. The formation of any such alliance and its direct or indirect support by NATO Powers or any Western European Powers would involve a threat to world peace.

It is important to emphasise the seriousness of the resolutions passed by the Organisation of African Unity to the effect that African Commonwealth countries would have to reconsider their attitude to the Commonwealth if Britain once again failed to deal with the Southern Rhodesia problem.

Imperialist Counter - Offensive in Africa

by Jack Woddis

EVENTS in Africa over the past six months have demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that U.S. imperialism, shabbily aided and abetted by its partners-in-crime, especially Britain and West Germany, has passed over to a new counter-offensive in Africa. The attack on Stanleyville on November 22, 1964, was only the opening shot in a new imperialist move which now threatens the entire continent of Africa.

Intensified U.S. aggression in Vietnam, U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, U.S. counter-offensive in Africa—all are part of a single imperialist pattern. Each action is a desperate American counter-thrust to the further advance of the people.

STRIDES MADE

For, make no mistake about it, the people are advancing. The American actions are but a counter-offensive to stop the people's march.

Just consider the significant strides made by the African people in 1963 and 1964. In August 1963 the puppet government of Fulbert Youlou was overthrown in Congo (Brazzaville) by the mass action of the people, and a new popular government came to power.

In October 1963 a widespread movement of the people removed the reactionary government in Dahomey. A similar move in Gabon was only thwarted when French paratroops reinstated the unseated government.

In January, 1964 a people's armed uprising overthrew the government of Zanzibar, only a couple of weeks after independence had been won. And in October 1964 the military

regime of Aboudou was overthrown by a general strike and other mass actions by the people of Sudan.

Thus, in little more than twelve months, five unpopular governments had been overthrown—in one case by armed action, in three by a general strike backed by mass demonstrations.

Only in one case, that of Gabon, which had been more in the nature of a coup at the top than a wide movement of the people, had the imperialists been able to stage a comeback.

But that was not all. There had been a significant general strike in Nigeria, embracing nearly a million workers, followed a few months later by a general crisis in connection with the general elections.

Huge demonstrations had shaken Senegal.

The Liberation Army in Portuguese Guinea, led by Amilcar Cabral, had made important gains, liberating nearly two-fifths of the territory, and winning international acclaim.

ARMED STRUGGLE

In Angola, the Movement of the People for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.) headed by Agostinho Neto, had regrouped its forces, launched a new offensive, and won a measure of recognition and support from the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.).

Armed struggle was openly launched in Mozambique by the liberation forces connected with the national movement, FRELIMO, in September 1964; and, a week later, the Sawaba Party announced the opening of armed struggle against the government in Niger.

Of equal significance had

been the deep-going economic and social changes made in 1963 and 1964 in Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Mali, and other African countries.

What was clearly taking shape was the emergence of a group of six or seven African states which were beginning to cut themselves adrift from imperialism, to restrict the growth of indigenous capitalist forces, and so make possible a march towards socialism which would avoid the stage of full capitalist development.

In addition, many states, including those in East Africa, had established economic and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

ACHIEVEMENTS

These historic achievements of the African people had resulted in a further heightening of the people's understanding, and a growing opposition to imperialism and its neo-colonialist intrigues.

These developments filled the imperialists with alarm. It was to halt these advances that the latest imperialist counter-offensive have been launched.

Central to these intrigues has been the installing of Tshombe in Leopoldville, and the assault on Stanleyville. On February 19, 1965, the *Tribune des Nations* (France) spilled the beans. The landing of paratroops in Stanleyville, it wrote, was only part of NATO's strategic plan. The aim was a much vaster intervention which would transcend the frontiers of the Congo.

Certainly, the last six months since Stanleyville bear this out. The counter-offensive has taken the following forms:

assassinations of progressive leaders; plots to overthrow popular governments; military action to intimidate such governments; fresh attempts to divide the people by beating the drum of anti-communism; and most consistently anti-imperialist states.

Take first the question of assassinations. On January 15, 1965, Pierre Ngendandumwe, Premier of Burundi, was assassinated—and the assassin proved to be a former employee of the U.S. Embassy in that state.

MURDERED

The murder of the Prime Minister was followed by a change of government policy towards the national liberation forces in neighbouring Congo (Leopoldville).

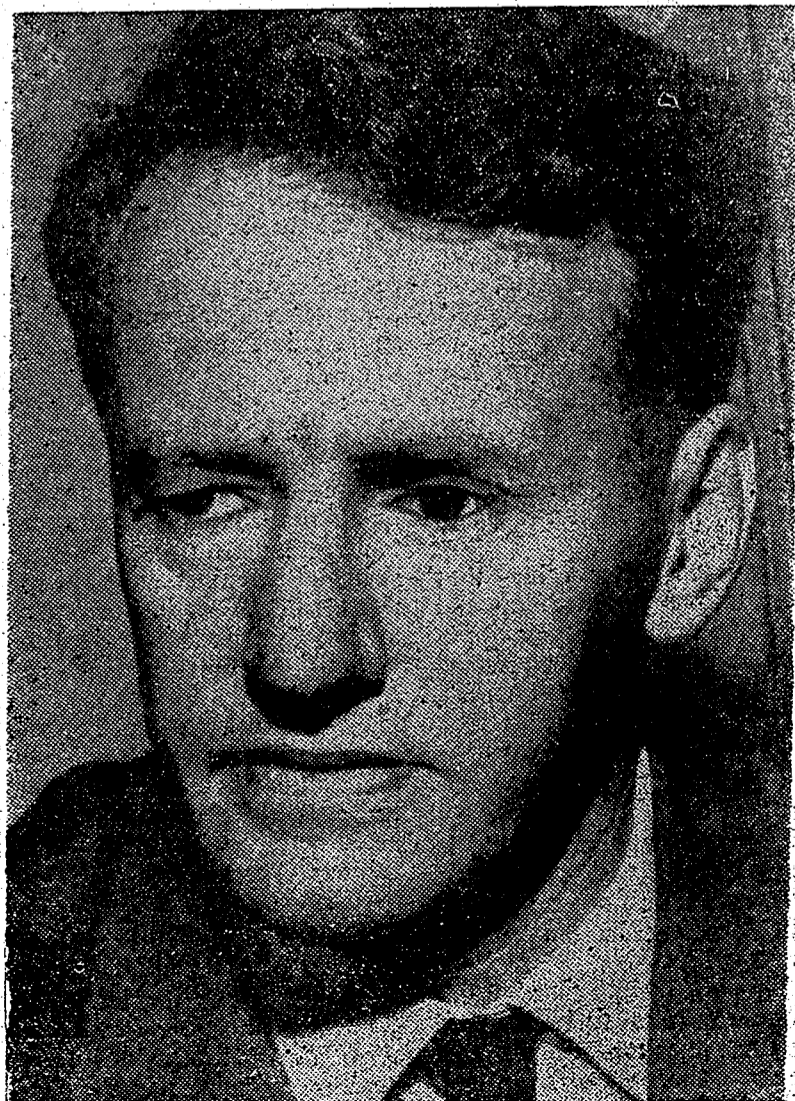
In February 1965 three national leaders in Congo (Brazzaville)—the Chairman of the Supreme Court, the Prosecutor of the Republic, and the Director of the Information Agency—were kidnapped; shortly afterwards their corpses were found, shockingly mutilated.

On February 24, 1965, one of Kenya's outstanding national leaders, Pio Pinto, was assassinated by gunmen outside his home; it is rumoured that others on the gunmen's list included the Vice-President, Oginga Odinga, the Minister of Information and Tourism, Achieng Onko, and another well-known left-winger leader, Bildad Kaggia.

Now look at anti-government plots, and military intimidation. In Tanzania, President Nyerere announced a few months ago the discovery of an anti-government plot in which, it was alleged, U.S. Embassy officials had been involved.

In Congo (Brazzaville), the deposed president, Youlou, was smuggled out of the country to

Continued on page 6



"Whether Mr. Smith attends or not is a matter for him, the Conference can work out a Constitution for Southern Rhodesia without his assistance."

A Story U.S. Pressmen Won't Seek

by William Allan

THE story of Lily Golden Hanga as told to this reporter, by this tall, stately Negro woman whose father was a Negro technician from Tuskegee, Alabama, U.S.A. and whose mother was a school teacher, Jewish, both of whom migrated to the Soviet Union in the early thirties, where Lily Golden Hanga was born, is one story the American correspondents don't seek out.

Lily Hanga in her story show that hundreds of Negroes have come to Russia and that today throughout this Socialist land there are villages and towns where Negroes live and work as Soviet citizens. The story of Lily Golden Hanga will show hitherto unknown facts about Negroes in Russia, both before and after the 1917 October Revolution that overthrew capitalism and established the first Socialist state in the world.

COTTON GROWING

Her father's name was John Oliver Golden. He was a specialist in cotton growing from Tuskegee, Alabama, and when the young Soviet Republic began to develop agriculture it appealed for specialists to help them.

Mostly whites were going (we remember many white tool and die workers from America, also Robert Robinson, a Negro Ford worker, who became famous here), so John Golden decided that Negroes could help and would help the growth of Socialism.

He organized a group of thirteen men and three women, Negroes, and they came to the

Soviet Union to Uzbekistan where they all worked at an experimental station at Tashkent. Cotton was the item experimented with, also sugar beets, peanuts and other items.

After a couple of years John Golden and his wife Bertha, a teacher of English, decided to stay. Lily Golden Hanga was born in 1934. Her father became a deputy in the Soviet government.

But illness plagued him from a beating he had received by the Ku Klux Klan back in the United States, where he had run for his life, had strained his heart, was beaten over the kidneys and it stayed with him.

CHAMPION

Lily Hanga says she had a life like all Soviet children, she loved tennis, became a champion tennis player of the Central Asian part of the Soviet Union. Because of this she travelled widely and was titled a 1st class sports woman.

She said that in years of travel she never suffered any discrimination. In 1952 she came to Moscow University and there she took as her thesis the United States and the Negro.

INSTITUTE

Her studies on the American Negro got her interested in Africa and she met Professor Ivan Potchkin, a world-wide authority on Africa.

In 1960 there was organized the Soviet Union's first African Institute headed by the professor the late Dr. W. E. B. DuBois helped. Lily Hanga began working with the African Institute, on history, economics, culture, ethnography and linguistics.

Today many African leaders visit the Institute and use its facilities. Because of all this she became interested in what Africa gave to the world in culture.

What Africa gave to world culture brought her to what Africa gave to the Soviet Union.

Also she read a book by

Homer Smith, an American Negro who went to the Soviet Union and lived there for fourteen years, the thirties until 1946 as a writer for the Negro wire services. His book, *Black Man in Red Russia*, claimed that the Soviet Union and before that, Russia, never had contact with Africa and never will have and "if they do it now it will be for political reasons."

Lily Hanga declares, "I set out to show, and will in my book, set to appear at the end of the year, that Russia always has contact with Africa and Africans were and are a part of history of this country."

IN GEORGIA

The Caucasus for centuries was a meeting place for the slave and trader markets. There the Arabs came and sold Africans as slaves and they were sold as slaves into Japan and China. Georgians were bought and sold into Africa and other countries.

"Today, you'll find many Africans in Georgia, their forefathers came in the 15th-16th

and 18th century, because the Turks sold slaves to the Georgian princes", she said.

Research has discovered villages of Negroes in South Georgia, who live an ordinary everyday life there. There are some who are doctors, pilots and leaders in agriculture. Lily Hanga is going there this month to take photos.

PUSHKIN

Important figures in the history of Russia who are Negroes, she said include Hannibal who came from Ethiopia and was close to Peter the First. Hannibal with the encouragement of Peter became an engineer. He also helped to bring many Negroes from other parts of the world to Russia, where Peter saw to it that they had a chance to develop and help develop Russia.

Hannibal was also an ancestor of the great Russian 19th century poet Pushkin. Another slave from Africa was Akhil, who came from Guinea and was known by Lermontov, another great Russian poet who painted a portrait of Akhil and wrote a poem about him.

Then there was Tantivi, a Negro from Egypt who became a professor in St. Petersburg and a specialist on Arab history around 1840. He died in 1860.

A SINGER

Next was Koretti Arle, a Negro woman who was born in Mexico, spent her childhood in New York City, and came to Russia before the 1917 Revolution. She was a friend of the great Soviet writer Maxim Gorky. She was a singer who gave many performances. She died in 1952.

The October Revolution, said Lily Hanga, established

the ideas of equality and made the Soviet Union the object of great interest by people from all over the world, who came here and many came from Africa.

Men came like her father and like Robert Robertson, who came from Ford's plant in Dearborn. She tells a story of how some white Americans in a Soviet plant, hired to help in developing the auto industry, discriminated against Robertson and actually attacked him physically. The Soviet government booted them out of the country.

Robert Robertson went on to become a deputy of the Moscow Soviet, a highly skilled technician and a teacher of many Soviet workers from near and far who came to learn from him.

BALLERINA

Then there is George Tynes, a specialist in fish and water fowl breeding. There is a Negro ballerina, Margie Scott, of the Bolshoi Ballet, Ella Ross a singer, James Patterson, a poet.

Said Lily Hanga, "there are more, like Ira Aldridge back in the 19th century, who brought the plays of Shakespeare into Russia in a different form, with all the great flair, beauty, spectacular way they should be done back in 1858."

"The great Negro artist, Paul Robeson says people don't appreciate Ira Aldridge and his portrayal of Shakespeare in his time. Aldridge was a friend of Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet, artist, writer."

"These Negroes have said 'is our native land, Russia, we are proud of it' and today they are helping to build this new land", said Lily Hanga. This is the story she told.

To Lagos and Back

by E. K. MICKSON

SINCE the O.A.U. was formed at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963 to fight for the complete unity of Africa within the framework of a Continental Union Government of Africa, the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists have done their best to disrupt it.

That is why they inspired the formation of O.G.A.M.—the "Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation" whose aim during recent months has been to wreck the forthcoming O.A.U. Summit meeting in Accra.

But, fortunately for Africa, the outcome of the recent emergency Ministerial meeting of the O.A.U. in Lagos was a victory for the cause of African Unity. It clearly demonstrated that awareness of the threat to

African unity is growing fast among Africans and their leaders.

There can be no doubt that the oneness of purpose and the fraternal manner in which the Lagos conference was successfully conducted was a great blow to imperialism.

The Council of Ministers resolved to:

"ask all member-states of the O.A.U. to do everything possible to ensure the success of the Accra conference in conformity with the Addis Ababa Charter and with the decisions reached at the Summit Conferences and at the meetings of the Council of Ministers."

The seventh resolution recommended all member-states:

"effectively to participate in the next meeting of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in accordance with resolution No. AHG/Res. 22 (1) of 21st

June, 1964, adopted in Cairo." As Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's Foreign Minister and Chairman of the Lagos Conference put it, he did not believe that any member of the O.A.U. would like to see the doom of the organisation.

For all the member-states of the O.A.U. as well as the members of the Council of Understanding, who were the cause of the Lagos conference, know too well that—as Kwame Nkrumah always maintains—

"out of African Unity a new Africa will arise, life will be full and abundant; and our culture and the arts, so long suppressed under colonial domination, will blossom again and flourish".

Only a united Africa can obtain capital on favourable terms and technical aid from the industrially advanced countries without undue pressures and restrictive conditions.

Furthermore, a united Africa—the richest continent of the world—would have more than sufficient to meet the needs (be it economic, defence or political stability) of all her member-states.

If the leaders of O.G.A.M. and the Council of Understanding are really sincere in their protestations of support for African unity, then they should now consider doing away with all regional groupings and taking their place alongside their fellow African countries in the fight for the abolition of the main obstacle to African unity—neo-colonialism—and for the establishment of a Continental union Government.

Unity is Africa's greatest need today. It is because of the absence of African unity that the wars in Angola, Mozambique and Congo are still on. It is because of lack of unity that the Stanleyville parachute landing of last November and the subsequent massacres of freedom fighters occurred.

And it was to prevent our unity and to make such hostile operations possible that the imperialists and neo-colonialists engineered the formation of O.G.A.M.

What is needed now is a

more radical approach to the unity question. We have waited too long. We must refuse to wait even a second longer.

The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are the two most powerful nations of the world today—advanced even to the point of walking in space.

But the U.S.A. after the American War of Independence in 1783, started her union with only 13 states. It now has 53. Likewise, what is today the Soviet Union started with only 4 constituent republics in 1922, but today consists of 15 constituent republics.

Africa—the richest and most peaceful continent of the world—can also start to build her union government with a few states. Others will hasten to join when they see its benefits.

Some of these benefits would be, first and foremost the fruits of a unified and overall economic planning, a unified defence strategy and a unified foreign policy.

If rich Africa were united and had a unified economic policy with perhaps a continental development bank, member-states would no longer have to look to the neo-colonialist powers for economic aid.

A united Africa would also create, as matter of urgency, an African High Command with a unified defence strategy to safeguard and protect our sovereignties against any would-be aggressor.

Finally, a united Africa would also be a great source of hope for world peace. With a unified foreign policy, a united Africa, with all her 36 members in the United Nations, could exert a powerful influence in the U.N. on any major issue of world peace.

These are some of the reasons why a more radical approach to the African unity question is now vital.

Perhaps the O.A.U. should consider proscribing regional groupings of any kind and in future refuse to admit any state that belongs to groupings subject to imperialist or neo-colonialist influences.

Certainly, September must see the birth of the much awaited union government of Africa.

What is needed now, to quote Kwame Nkrumah, is "the will, the nerve and deter-

mination of our leaders to make one courageous bid to take the destiny of Africa into their own hands in the forthcoming Conference of the O.A.U. in Accra by taking definitive and concrete steps towards the establishment of a Union Government for all Africa."

Minister Tells U.S. War Against Lepers and Aged

from Alan Winnington

AMERICAN planes have smashed North Vietnam's Central Leprosy Institute, leaving 2,000 lepers without proper facilities for care. They killed eighty-two patients and wounded thirty more in two days' bombing and strafing.

And a home for old people was strafed on June 17th. by American aircraft intruding into North Vietnam. Casualties so far reported are eleven killed, eight wounded and five missing. The home is at Moi in Thanh Hoa Province.

Quynh Lap sanatorium, where the lepers were, is a huge complex of wards, laboratories, research institutes and operating theatres specially designed for leprosy treatment.

U.S. planes blanketed it for two days, Sunday and Monday, June 13 and 14, while patients stuck it out in shelters and slit trenches.

North Vietnam's Minister of Health, Dr. Pham Ngoc Thach, told me that there was no possibility that the U.S. raid was carried out in error.

In the sweltering, moist air under a ceiling fan, he mopped his head and asked: "Who could imagine such barbarity—bombing a leper hospital?"

"At first I didn't believe it. I asked for a re-check. But the reply came that they had bombed—and were still bombing—the hospital."

Eleven years ago the Democratic Republic of Vietnam took over from the French an incidence of leprosy of one case per 1,000 of the population.

Within four years they had set about building this leprosy sanatorium—until the U.S. attack one of the best extant. It is situated on the sea coast, far from other habitation, and has 2,600 beds.

"It is an utter crime that these unhappy patients should be killed and have their hopes of cure dashed or jeopardised by these monstrous people", said Dr. Pham.

SIXTH HOSPITAL

He said that the hospital is being re-built where it stands. "We have no other way at present, and we have shelters", he said.

This is the sixth North Vietnamese hospital to be bombed by the Americans during past weeks. Others were Dong Hoi, Vinh Linh, Hulong Khe, Ngia Dan and Quang Thach. All these hospitals have been newly built by the North Viet-

namese because the French paid scant attention to the health of the "natives".

As a result of this latest American atrocity, Vietnam health workers have issued an appeal to scientists, medical workers, trade unionists and people everywhere "to condemn these savage crimes, and stay the Americans' bloody hands."

ASK SUPPORT

They appeal to all people to strengthen their support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against American aggression. They ask support to end American intervention in South Vietnam and attacks against North Vietnam.

They say that the Americans have to get out and leave the South Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements

* Alan Winnington, correspondent of the London "Daily Worker", is the only British journalist in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. An experienced newsman and a close student of Far Eastern Affairs, he reported the Korean war from the Korean People's Republic.



'ZEBRA'
HIGH QUALITY
PAINTS
LACQUERS AND ENAMELS

in different kinds for all purposes:

- BUILDINGS ● MOTOR CARS ● FURNITURE
- FLOORS ● BLACKBOARDS ● ROADS, ETC

Exported by:

Ciech LTD.
Import/Export of Chemicals
Warsaw, Jasná St 12, Poland

Information in Ghana
TRADE REPRESENTATION OF POLAND,
P.O. BOX 2532, COCOA HOUSE,
ACCRA. PHONE: 64226

Some Profiles of Victims of Apartheid Fascism

by Michael Harmel

THE world knows all too well the pattern of apartheid in South Africa. Here the Verwoerd regime subjects the African people and other non-whites (14 million out of the 17 million population) to blatant national oppression and race discrimination on a scale the world has not known since the days of Hitler—Verwoerd's former hero.

All who dare to resist or protest are persecuted. Some like NELSON MANDELA, WALTER SISULU, and their brave comrades of the notorious Rivonia trial, have been sentenced to life imprisonment on the hell-camp of Robben Island and other jails. Some like our glorious martyrs VUYISILE MINI, WILSON KHAYINGA and ZINAKHELE MKHABA, who were executed on November 6, 1964, have been condemned to death; others, like "LOOK-SMART" NGUDLE and "BABLA" SALOOJEE, took their own lives rather than submit to torture and betray their comrades. Others have been tortured,

subjected to solitary confinement for long months, banished from their homes, placed under house-arrest for years, deprived of all citizenship rights—all without charge or trial, by the arbitrary decision of the Minister of Justice, Vorster, himself a notorious Nazi.

No one knows how many political prisoners there are in South Africa today; no details are released and no one has added the total; certainly there are well over a thousand known to have been convicted for membership of illegal organisations such as the African National Congress.

But yet many people still stand up to resist this abominable tyranny. They include men and women of all the national groups who make up the population—Africans, Indians, people of mixed descent and even whites who are proud to identify themselves with the struggle for freedom and equality. Let me tell you about just a few of these people.

daily to the Marshall Square police station.

Promptly every evening she must be home and stay home. No visitors allowed. She can't even write, except for personal letters—for she is not allowed to write for publication.

How very well she can write is shown by her fine book *If This Be Treason* (Albert Deutsch, London, 1963) a fascinating story of the treason trial, and all the fine men and women in it.

One of her greatest achievements, with Lilian Ngoli, Ruth Mokoane and others, was the organisation in 1956 of the

thrilling march and demonstration of 20,000 women to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, protesting against the extension of pass laws to African women.

I last saw Helen the day I left South Africa—we were both reporting to Marshall Square police station—the daily routine.

We were not allowed to "communicate", so under the nose of the policemen at the desk I could do no more than take one long meaningful look at this indomitable woman, for I knew it would not be soon before I should see her again.

Journalists Trade

M. P. NAICKER—like BRIAN BUNTING and RUTH FIRST (now in exile), GOVAN MBEKI (serving a life sentence in Robben Island), FRED CARNESON and ALEX LAGUMA (both still in Cape Town, but subjected to endless persecution and forbidden to take part in any sort of journalistic activity, or even to enter a newspaper or publishing premises)—was one of the team of brilliant and greathearted journalists who, over a period of many years, kept alive our people's newspaper of many names. (Its first name was *The Guardian*, the last *The Spark*).

As one paper was banned another—with a new name but the same staff—appeared in its place. "M.P." as everyone called him—he has two long and unpronounceable Indian names—was the Durban manager and reporter of this weekly, whose story is an epic in itself.

An enormously energetic and resourceful person, he made newspaper fame when he received a roughly scribbled note (unsigned) smuggled out of a Transkei prison, "M.P." recognised the writing as that of Anderson Ganyile, a South

African political refugee in the British-ruled territory of Basutoland.

He immediately realised that Ganyile has been illegally kidnapped and smuggled across the border by the South African police. His exposure of this outrage led, eventually, to the return of Ganyile and his two comrades to freedom and an abject apology from the South African government.

GOOD FIGHT

Also a treason trialist, "M.P." is, as I am writing, in a Durban prison, on trial for alleged membership of the illegal Communist Party.

But, as I write these few characteristic "profiles" my mind fills with hundreds of pictures of dear friends and colleagues with whom I lived all the years of my adult life and fought the good fight against apartheid. All of them now, Africans, Coloured men, Indians, Whites, have fallen under the harsh of the oppressor, their homes gone, their families scattered.

I think of DENNIS BRUTUS, athlete, poet, tireless fighter against discrimination in sport. Arrested by the Portu-

guese secret police in Mozambique, he was handed over to the S.A. police and shot in the stomach (allegedly while attempting to escape) and is now a political prisoner, "politicals" get the worst treatment of all in the notorious jails of my country.

I think of brave BRAM FISCHER, son of a famous Afrikaner family (his grandfather was the last Prime Minister of the Orange Free State before Union), the great lawyer famous for his defence in the 1956-61 marathon treason trial, the "Rivonia" trial and many another.

The day the Rivonia trial had ended, Bram left for Cape Town by car with his wife Molly; they swerved to avoid a motor cyclist, the car skidded into a river; Molly was drowned.

And Bram, the great defender, himself on trial accused with thirteen others of membership of the Communist Party. When he was released from jail, following the suspension of the infamous 90-Day Detention Law, he went underground.

WHAT ABOUT OTHERS?

I think of WILTON MKWAYI, the big burly trade unionist from the Cape who "disappeared" in the midst of the treason trial in 1960 to become one of the most "wanted" men in the country until his arrest in mid-1964; now serving a life sentence.

On trial and convicted with him, were David Kitson, John Matthews, (both whites) and the Indian youths Lallo Chibbaa and G. R. Maharaj.

The list of those in jail is endless. And what about all the others? The hundreds now far from their homes, like Oliver Tambo, Moses Kotane and Duma Nokwe and many



Nelson Mandela, Prisoner in hell-camp of Robben Island.

others sent into Africa as "Ambassadors" of the African National Congress; Yusuf Dadoo of the South African Indian Congress, now in London and many others now far from their motherland, their homes and their loved ones.

Till Victory

TO think of writing a few "profiles" of the victim of apartheid fascism means that one's mind fills, unbidden, with innumerable pictures of dear colleagues of the freedom struggle in what Chief Lutuli has truly called "a heroic country".

One is sad to think that the course of time has sent some to their death, many indeed to jails and torture chambers, scattered others far and wide

in the world. One is proud to have known and been associated with such splendid human beings. One is confident that their spirit continues, reinforced by innumerable new recruits and replacements from amongst the youth, the working people and the revolutionary intellectuals, that it will grow in strength until victory reunites us in a South Africa freed from the tyranny of white minority domination.

Symbol to All

ALL democratic South Africans love and revere the name of CHIEF ALBERT LUTULI, President General of the African National Congress until it was outlawed in 1960.

Once a teacher, he was elected as Chief of the Abasemakholweni—a Zulu tribe to which he belongs—in 1936, at the age of thirty-eight. He retained this position until 1952, the Government ordered him to choose between his chieftainship and his loyalty to the ANC.

When he chose the latter he was formally deposed, but all of democratic South Africa still refers to him as "Chief". He was subjected, from 1952 onwards, to one arbitrary banning order after another.

He was arrested at dawn in December 1955, with 155 other

South African democrats of all races, and flown to Johannesburg in a military aircraft to face the beginning of the long drawn-out "treason trial" which ended, in 1961, with the acquittal of all the accused.

Since 1959 he had been confined to his small sugar-farm near Groutville in Natal—not allowed, even, to go to Church (he is a former executive member of the Christian Council of South Africa).

In 1961, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize—the only man in Africa ever to have been honoured. Nothing he says or writes may be published in South Africa. Yet he stands firm as a rock, the symbol to all freedom-loving South Africans of courage, wisdom and statesmanship.

Trade Unionist

TOGETHER with Lutuli in the Treason Trial was a young working man from Port Elizabeth, VUYISILE MINI, born in 1920. A staunch trade unionist (formerly secretary of the local African Dock Workers Union) and member of the ANC, Brother Mini devoted his whole life to the emancipation of his people.

When the African National Congress was declared illegal, he continued with underground activities. He was tried together with his colleagues Mka-ba and Khayinga, in 1964, for leading the militant organisation "Umkoto we Sizwe" (Spear of the Nation) and directing acts of sabotage. They were also charged with responsibility for the death of a police spy who had been executed.

They were found guilty and condemned to death. The Verwoerd dictatorship ignored appeals from dockers and other trade unionists all over the world, and from U Thant on behalf of the United Nations.

On November 6th, the men were taken from their prison cells in Preoria and hanged. Before that day a policeman entered Mini's cell and asked him to give evidence in another trial—that of Wilton Mkwai and others.

In a statement smuggled from the death cell, Mini wrote:

"They asked me if I was prepared to give evidence against Nkwai, whom they had arrested, I said: 'No, I was not'. They said there is a good chance for them to save me from gallows if I was prepared to assist them. I refused".

Women's Leader

HELEN JOSEPH was born in England, but it is impossible for one to think of her as anything but a South African, so completely has she identified herself with the cause of the oppressed people of our country.

In the Congress of Democrats and the Federation of South African Women, which unites women of all our various nationalities, and of which she was a founder she has been a tireless and extraordinarily capable worker.

A highly cultured woman, she has been raided time and again by the special branch of the police; arrested and jailed in the treason trial and again in the state of emergency (this for five months, in 1960).

In 1962, she was one of the first to be placed under house arrest—though she was allowed out to go to work during working hours to her office as secretary of the Transvaal clothing industry's medical aid society. Her lunch time is fully occupied, for she has to report



Walter Sisulu, now serving a life sentence.

ULTRAMARINE BLUE

Ciech

MADE IN POLAND

ULTRAMARINE is...

BLUE

High tinting strength;
Excellent fastness to light;
makes your clothes look ...

Exported by:

Ciech LTD.

Import/Export of Chemicals
Warsaw, Jesna St. 12, Poland.

Information in Ghana:
TRADE REPRESENTATION OF POLAND,
P.O. BOX 2552. COCOA HOUSE,
ACCRA. PHONE: 64326

Try Ultramarine Blue today!

Commonwealth Peace Mission

(Continued from page 1)

South were a creation of the North and not a genuine revolt against misgovernment" (24.11.64).

The National Liberation Front unites patriots of widely differing political and religious views.

It is, in the words of Mr. William Warbey, a British Labour M.P. who recently visited Vietnam.

"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)).

Until the United States faces facts and agrees to get round the table with the representatives of the National Liberation Front all talk of peace negotiations is meaningless.

But so far, while talking piously of "unconditional negotiations", President Johnson has made it a condition that his opponent—the only body with whom negotiations can have any meaning shall take no direct part.

LATEST MOVE

This month's decision to employ U.S. troops in an offensive role was the latest move in the step-by-step build-up in U.S. participation that has gone on during recent months in a desperate effort to crush the liberation forces.

At the beginning of this year, it was clear that the South Vietnam Liberation

Front was gaining a clear victory over the corrupt, U.S.-backed South Vietnam Government.

It was then that Johnson ordered the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north, using the pretext of allegedly unprovoked attacks on U.S. warships trailing their coat-tails off the Vietnam Coast.

From 20,000 U.S. "advisers" (there had been 600 at the time of the Geneva Agreements) there are now over 50,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam, with an additional 27,000 sailors on station off the coast plus some 3,000 Central Intelligence Agency and Embassy employees.

What did the Americans achieve with the intensification of the war?

They claim to have boosted morale in South Vietnam and to have brought the Liberation Army near to defeat.

These claims are false.

The Los Angeles Times reports that desertions from the South Vietnamese puppet army have in fact increased:

"In March, 5,000 men deserted, almost three times the monthly average for the previous five months. Before that time, desertions averaged 1,800 a month."

So complete is the National Liberation Front's control of areas outside the major cities that, as the New York Times (20.5.65) admitted, Saigon

"was also gradually being effectively isolated from much of the countryside" and food supplies had to be flown in because they could

no longer get through by road.

Tom Ross, Chicago Sun Times correspondent in Saigon, reported on May 23rd, that

"The Vietcong [the U.S. term for the National Liberation Front—Ed.] have achieved a high degree of immunity. They move freely through most of the country with little fear that the local populace will betray them. In many areas when wounded, they boldly resort to hospitals run by the U.S. aid mission. In the last few weeks they are known to have used Nha Trang, a government-held seashore resort, as a rest and recreation site for whole companies of guerrillas."

Even the much-trumpeted U.S. air offensive against the Democratic Republic in the North has not achieved the results for which the Pentagon had hoped.

According to the authoritative U.S. military commentator Hansen Baldwin writing in the New York Times, U.S. aircraft losses "have been sizeable"

LOSS RATE

He put the loss rate at 2 per cent of the total number missions flown, compared with the U.S. loss rate of 0.9 per cent for the whole of the second world war.

By all the rules known to the Pentagon, the Vietnamese should now be on their knees begging for mercy and acknowledging the superiority of the American way of life. They

have been bombed and their children have been burned by napalm.

But still Washington is not winning—indeed, in the words of the London Times (9.6.65) "By almost any standards, the war has already been lost."

But Washington has ruled that there shall be no more wars of national liberation, and it is this ruling that is now being put to the test in Vietnam.

President Johnson claims to be defending Vietnam against "aggression"—but the only aggression in Vietnam is that being committed by America.

HARD FACTS

Were it not for American intervention, the people of Vietnam would long ago have decided their own future in accordance with the terms of the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

It is American troops, not those of Soviet Union, China or of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which are waging war thousands of miles from their own shores; it is American bombers, not those of the Soviet Union, China or the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which are sowing death and destruction on foreign soil.

These are the hard facts that the Commonwealth Peace Mission must take into account, for there can be no settlement so long as U.S. aggression and interference continues.

As Kwame Nkrumah told the recent Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference "the conflict in Vietnam which daily

threatens to escalate into wider war, has a political origin and can only be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves; therefore, *hands off Vietnam!*

"Any attempt to impose a military solution will be short-sighted and futile. Recently various approaches have been made to create a favourable atmosphere for negotiations to the American way of life. They

resolve the conflict in Vietnam.

"These approaches have not been successful because one essential ingredient has been missing. For any appeal for negotiations to merit consideration, it must be preceded by the withdrawal of foreign military presence.

"With the best will in the world, one finds it extremely difficult to understand the view

held in some quarters that air strikes on North Vietnam are calculated to put the North Vietnam Government into a suitable frame of mind to enter into negotiations.

"The bombing has not led to such a result so far, and it is unlikely to do so. What it is doing is to increase the risk of widening the conflict into a catastrophic war."

Imperialist Counter-Offensive in Africa

(Continued from page 3)

Leopoldville, at the end of March 1965 in preparation for a new plot to restore him to power.

In Malawi, all the progressive ministers were forced out of government or compelled to flee and the country is now openly being run under British officers running the army, police force and intelligence services, and with British officials guiding all the key departments of State.

From their base in Congo (Leopoldville), U.S. planes attached to the Tshombe forces have attacked neighbouring Uganda and violated the frontiers of Sudan.

In a strong statement to the Uganda Parliament, the Prime Minister, Dr. Obote, openly accused the United States of complicity in the attacks; at the same time, a special Cabinet meeting of the Kenya Government felt it serious enough to warn the United States and to declare that the Kenya Government was ready to give "every support to the Uganda Government in defence of her territorial integrity and sovereignty".

In recent weeks, too, Portuguese forces have launched attacks from "Portuguese" Guinea across the frontier of the Republic of Guinea (former French Guinea).

DANGEROUS

So dangerous has the situation become that President Nkrumah in an address to the Ghana Parliament on March 22, 1965, declared:

"The Government of Ghana has unmistakable evidence that plans are in an advanced state of preparation for the overthrow of the progressive government of the Congo (Brazzaville) and other states by certain powers. Ghana will go to the assistance of the government and people of Congo, Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya and others in the event of aggression."

He added that he had held recent discussions with the Presidents of Guinea, Mali and Algeria during which they had agreed to "continue to maintain great vigilance against increasing penetration of imperialists and neo-colonialists in Africa."

A major effort is now being made by the imperialists to disrupt the unity of the African people. Anti-communism has reared its ugly head in Kenya again, and outstanding national leaders such as Odiga, Onoko and Kaggia have been made the subject of virulent attacks because of their steadfast refusal to abandon their championship of the people, or to compromise with imperialism.

Equally serious is the attempt to split the O.A.U. In February of this year, fourteen French-speaking states in Africa met at Nouakchott, and set up a new body, the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (O.C.A.M.)

The formation of such a separate body is, in itself a virtual violation of the O.A.U. Charter. Worse still, since the

formation of O.C.A.M., a number of statements have been made by the states associated with the new body, accusing Ghana of "subversive" activities, and threatening not to attend the O.A.U. Conference due to be held in Accra in September.

A key role in all this diplomatic activity has been played by Tshombe, whose reappearance on the African scene since last year has itself been a lever in the hands of the imperialists to disrupt African unity. Acceptance or non-acceptance of Tshombe has now become a central issue at all O.A.U. gatherings.

WARNING CLEAR

It is significant that Congo-Africa, the pro-Tshombe news bulletin published in London by the E. D. O'Brien Organisation, in hailing the support given to Tshombe by certain African states, has recently written:

"The result has been a revolt from within against the O.A.U. and the revival of something similar to the 'Monrovia' group of nations, which was originally formed to counter the extremism of the 'Casablanca' group. The core of the 'Monrovia' group was the U.A.M. (Union Africaine et Malgache) of fourteen French-speaking nations. This was a political and defensive union of 'moderates', but under pressure from the extremists of the O.A.U. it was wound up over a year ago and replaced by a 'purely economic organisation (U.A.M.C.E.) without any political influence. Now, as a result of the Nouakchott Conference, the

former union has been re-born as the O.C.A.M. (Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache) and its natural allies are the same countries that belonged to the old 'Monrovia' group, such as Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Ethiopia. Their combined votes are sufficient to sway the decisions of the O.A.U. and effectively to block the extremists" (No. 79, March 11, 1965).

The warning is clear enough. With the aid of a number of states whose rulers are ready to play the role of neo-colonialist puppet to their masters in Washington, London and Bonn, the imperialists are preparing new offensives against Africa.

The other part of these moves is the holding of the "Zambesi line"—that is, the retention of Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa, and the formation, official or otherwise, of an alliance of these states to bar the way to further African advance and to launch fresh assaults against those who refuse to play the imperialist game.

MAXIMUM EFFORT

The danger has been well expressed by President Nyerere: "I think that we are at present passing through the stage of a second invasion of Africa."

The maximum effort and understanding will have to be displayed by the African people, and the maximum solidarity expressed by the British people, in the struggle now unfolding to defeat the second invasion of Africa."

Background Facts on Vietnam

What the Geneva Agreements laid down

IN 1945 the people of Vietnam (a former French colony, occupied by Japan during the war) rebelled and defeated the Japanese. On September 2nd a Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed, and in elections held in January, 1946 the Communist, Ho Chi Minh, was made President.

The French came to disarm the Japanese and stay in their old colony. Negotiations at Fontainebleau over independence broke down in 1946 and fighting began to develop between the French and the independence movement known as the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh.

BAO DAI

A Government friendly to the French was set up in Saigon headed by the former Emperor Bao Dai. The war continued with the gradual defeat of the French forces. This led to the Geneva Conference of 1954.

Participants: United Kingdom, United States, Soviet Union, People's Republic of China, Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam, Vietnam, France.

Chairmen: Eden (for the U.K.) and Molotov (for the Soviet Union) alternately.

The Geneva Agreements adopted on July 21st, 1954 by United Kingdom, Soviet Union, People's Republic of China, Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam, Vietnam, Vietnam, France are summarised below.

1. End to hostilities in Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, under international con-

trol and supervision.

4. With the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam the prohibition of "introduction into Vietnam of foreign troops and military personnel as well as all kinds of arms and munitions".

5. In Vietnam "no military base at the disposition of a foreign state may be established in the regrouping zones of the two parties, the latter having the obligation to see that the zones allotted to them shall not constitute part of any military alliance and shall not be utilised for the resumption of hostilities or in the service of any aggressive policy".

6. The "military demarcation line between North and South Vietnam should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary".

7. General elections to be held throughout Vietnam in July 1956 and to be supervised by an International Commission. Discussions on the elections between the two zones should begin in July 1955.

NO REPRISALS

8. Everyone should be free to choose which zone they wanted to live in.

9. There should be no reprisals against persons or property.

12. "In their relations with Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the above-mentioned states and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs".

13. Members of the Conference agree "to consult one another on any questions which may be referred to them by the International Commission for Supervision and Control in order to study such measures as may prove necessary to ensure that the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam are respected."

DECLINED TO SIGN

The U.S. declined to sign this agreement but their envoy (Bedell Smith) accepted all the points except the last and made the following declaration: "It (the U.S.) will refrain from the threat or use of force to disturb them (the agreements) in accordance with Article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter."

2. It would view any renewal of aggression in violation of the agreements with "grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security".

The cease-fire mentioned in the agreement was signed between the Vietminh High Command and Franco-Vietnamese Command, and contained the following points:

1. Withdrawal from 17th parallel, northern zone to be administered by Vietminh and southern zone by Saigon government.
2. All troops to be regrouped in their respective zones within 300 days.
2. Elections to be held in both zones on July 20th, 1956 and to be supervised by India, Poland and Canada.
4. No military reinforcements by either side during armistice.
5. Recognition by Vietminh

of governments of Laos and Cambodia.

6. No foreign bases except those of the French at Savannakhet and Xieng-Ho Houang in Laos.

At the conference Emperor Bao Dai signed the agreement for the Saigon Government, but within months he was overthrown by Ngo Dinh Diem who repudiated it. North Vietnam was governed from Hanoi by the Vietminh. Ho Chi Minh became President of North Vietnam.

ELECTIONS

The North Vietnamese government made several proposals for all-Vietnam elections under the Geneva Agreements (i.e., with international supervision), but these were all rejected by Ngo Dinh Diem.

When a joint letter on behalf of the British and Soviet Governments to the two Vietnamese Governments expressed concern that the provisions of the Geneva agreement had not been carried out, the South Vietnamese Government in its reply reiterated its refusal to renege the Geneva agreements (May 25th 1956).

In 1959 a rebellion broke out against Diem's repression and has been continuing growing more and more fierce, to the present day. To crush the rebellion Diem invited U.S. aid, and their "advisers" there grew from 600 in 1954 to 23,500 in 1964.

Ngo Dinh Diem was assassinated in November 1963, and since then there have been at least nine coups d'etat and changes of government.

ANNOUNCEMENT

All subscribers of "The Spark" wishing to renew their subscriptions for the year 1965, should address their applications to :-

**THE CIRCULATION MANAGER,
THE SPARK PUBLICATIONS,
P.O. BOX M. 171,
ACCRA.**

SUBSCRIPTION RATES :

Weekly by Air (Countries outside Africa)	(per year) £7. 3 -
" (per six months)	3. 11. 6d.
Weekly by Sea or Local	1. 6. -
" " " " " "	(per year) 13. -
" " " " " "	(per six months)