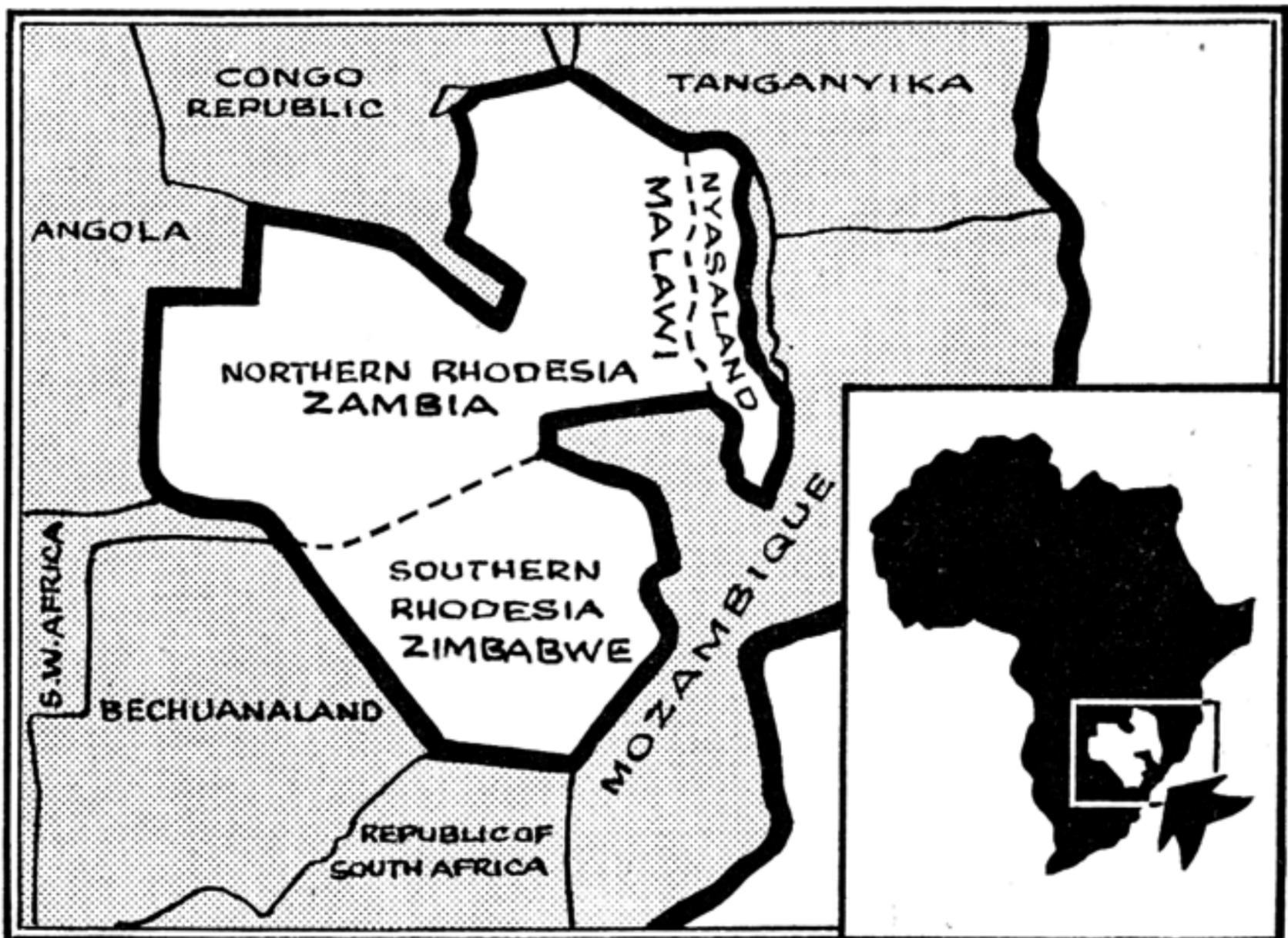


CENTRAL AFRICA AFTER FEDERATION

Joseph W. Musole

THE HISTORY OF THE RHODESIAS right from the days of Cecil John Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, is connected very closely with the attempts of numerous powerful capitalist companies to find the most suitable state form to give them effective control over the human and natural resources of the territories. Southern Rhodesian Whites at one stage clamoured for Dominion Status, others prattled of 'closer association' and 'partnership'. But all these were merely devices to protect and strengthen the influence of the capitalist monopolies. Eventually in 1953 the imperialists and their capitalist partners adopted the idea of Federation as the best means of entrenching White Supremacy in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, maintaining a



perpetual source of cheap African labour by denying the people free access to the land, and delaying the drive of the African people for independence by curtailing the right of self-determination for the indigenous peoples.

Since the end of the second world war, however, colonialism and imperialism throughout the world have been disintegrating at an unprecedented rate, and the schemes imposed on the peoples of the Rhodesias against their will were bound to be of short duration. From the start the Central African Federation was doomed to failure.

The dissolution of the Central African Federation on December 31, 1963, was the climax of a multitude of contradictions which had been created at its inception ten years previously. The main contradiction in the Federation was that between the interests of the White Supremacists and their capitalist backers and the drive of the peoples of the three territories for the right of self-determination. The African revolt against the Federation was stimulated by the strong current of nationalism which was sweeping through the whole continent of Africa, inspired by the example of the peoples of the socialist countries and the East in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism. This spirit swept over Rhodesia and Nyasaland and all the efforts of the people came to be concentrated on the attempt to overthrow colonialism and frustrate the iniquitous schemes calculated to enslave the majority of the peoples of the three territories in perpetual bondage. With the help of the peoples of the world as expressed through the United Nations and other agencies, the grip of the imperialists was loosened. Some degree of democracy and self-government has been achieved in Zambia and Malawi, both destined to achieve independence during the course of 1964. In Southern Rhodesia, however, the White Supremacists are still fighting stubbornly to maintain their grip.

The right of self-determination does not automatically bring in its train full democracy for the majority of the people. In the first instance it merely means political separation from alien national bodies and the formation of independent national states. But these independent states can still be suited to the interests of the capitalist class. Thus, in Southern Rhodesia, people are continuing their struggle for a democratic regime; in Zambia and Malawi the struggle has changed from a fight for formal political independence to one for economic independence, national democracy and non-capitalist development to raise the material and cultural levels of the population.

While the drive for the right of self-determination of the African people was the main cause of the downfall of the Federation, it was not the only one. There were other economic, political and social conflicts which accelerated the dissolution of the Federation. Southern

Rhodesia, for example, had an adverse balance of trade and her financial position was shaky when Federation was imposed in 1953. Northern Rhodesia, on the other hand, was in a much stronger financial position thanks to the wealth of the Copperbelt. Investigations made later into the finances of the Federation revealed that Northern Rhodesia was being ruthlessly milked by the Federal Government.

Again, the denial of the franchise to the majority of the people in the three territories of the Federation meant that political control remained in the hands of the White minority. The system of colour bar and discrimination was common everywhere. Blacks could not enter certain butcheries, cinemas, bars, hotels and various spheres of employment. Higher education was a Federal matter, yet the majority of the people were excluded from its benefits by various means such as the limitation of University scholarship grants, while at the lower level of primary and secondary education the colonial system kept the greater number of children without schooling of any sort.

Vast sums of money flowing into the Federal treasury were devoted to raising and maintaining a Federal Army and Air Force designed to protect the interests of the capitalist investors and neo-colonialism in Africa south of the Equator under the pretext of checking the 'aggressive forces of African nationalism'.

Other contradictions which hastened the end of the Federation were the continued pauperization of the Africans by the Land Apportionment Act in Southern Rhodesia, land robbery and ruthless exploitation by the capitalists and their agents in the three territories, the concentration of new industries in Southern Rhodesia at the expense of other areas.

The attempts of Welensky to protect the empire of Harry Oppenheimer and others who have vested interests in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Angola, Katanga, South Africa and the three Protectorates even extended to the creation of the 'unholy alliance' between him and Verwoerd and Salazar. Bandits and mercenaries from all three territories were training jointly and fighting in Katanga and Angola. South Africa set up military bases in the Caprivi strip near Zambia. Welensky threatened to use this alliance against Britain to prevent the imposition of a constitution which threatened the end of the Federation. All these factors contributed to the growing opposition of the people not only in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland but throughout Africa and the world which eventually brought the Federation crumbling in ruins.

UNEQUAL SHARING OF ASSETS

When the time came for the Federation to be broken up, a big problem

remained over the sharing out of the assets and liabilities of the three territories. Matters such as defence, immigration, communications and transport, European agriculture, higher education, European education, information, income tax, statistics, surveys, etc., were handed back to the territorial legislatures. The fixed and liquid assets and liabilities of the Federation were also shared according to agreed procedure.

One matter which seems to have been settled decidedly against the interests of the African majority governments of Zambia and Malawi was the disposal of the armed forces. The army and air force were left almost entirely in the hands of the racist Field government of Southern Rhodesia, and the equipment of the Federation is at this very moment being used to shoot down our brother freedom fighters in Zimbabwe. This inequitable share-out was based on the advice of the so-called 'experts' of the Federal Army and Air Force who had been seconded to the African-majority governments because they had no experts of their own. Not unnaturally these 'experts' gave advice in the interests of the imperialists and the White Supremacists of Southern Rhodesia, who were bolstered up while the weapons were taken out of the hands of the African governments.

It is difficult to reconcile this surrender of weapons with the obligation of Malawi and Zambia, under the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, to maintain 'absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent'. Our leaders should have remembered that the capitalists and imperialists love a gramme of copper or gold or diamonds much more than they love human life, and that the freedom of our suffering fellow-Africans in Southern Rhodesia was at stake. In fact the people of Malawi and Zambia may still suffer the effects of this surrender of the most powerful weapons to the enemies of African freedom in Salisbury.

In consequence of the dissolution of the Federation, it was found necessary that the Rhodesian Railways and the Kariba Dam should be run jointly by Southern Rhodesia and Zambia as common services. But the fact remains that the Rhodesian Railways is a private company, and any agreement reached can only serve to protect the interests and profits of the company's shareholders and will not benefit the common people of the Rhodesias, whose wealth is being stolen by foreign capitalists in South Africa and abroad. True, the agreement provides that profits and losses must be shared on an equal basis, but with the development of the Zambia-Tanganyika railway project and the progressive lessening of railway traffic through South Africa (and perhaps its entire cessation after our brothers in Southern Rhodesia get their uhuru), the likelihood is that losses will begin to predominate.

Again, it is known that the Zambia-Tanganyika rail project is to be financed by the World Bank, the safety of whose money has been guaranteed by our leaders. It is difficult to see how the Zambia government will be able to honour its two commitments at the same time, since they are in competition with one another, and the success of one rail line will be achieved at the expense of the other.

In Malawi the Nyasaland Railways originally belonged to the Government. With the advent of the Federation the heavy debt which was owing on this railway was taken over by the Federation. This debt was due to be finally repaid in about three years' time. Malawi's share of the Federal debt amounted to nearly £12 million and it is most probable that the debt on the railway system is included in this figure.

The Nyasaland Railway system which runs from Chipoka, a small harbour on Lake Nyasa, to Baraka, Blantyre and onward to Dondo in Portuguese East Africa where branches of the railway to Salisbury and Beira are found, is now a private company. Nyasaland's railway links with neighbouring territories reflect her economic links, which place the Banda government at a serious disadvantage. Nyasaland labour is sent to Verwoerd in South Africa, and Nyasaland is compelled to enter into trade relationships with Salazar and Field, with the latter of whom Dr. Banda is even reported to be on terms of personal friendship.

Dr. Banda had hoped to get out of some of his difficulties by making use of the Mtwara-Nachingwea Railway line, so that a direct link between Mbamba Bay on Lake Nyasa and Nachingwea in Tanganyika would enable Nyasaland's goods to be transported 146 miles by train from Nanchingwea to Port Mtwara at the coast, thus by-passing the White supremacy states altogether. However, the private company that owned this line incurred a deficit of £245,000 and accordingly applied to the Government of Tanganyika (which had granted it rights to operate privately on capitalist lines) for the discontinuation of this railway system. The Tanganyika Government granted this request in 1962—a typical example of the way in which capitalist concerns can dictate terms to governments which allow themselves to be dependent on them. In this case the discontinuation of the line not only inconvenienced Tanganyika but also violated the principles of African Unity and placed the government of Dr. Banda at the mercy of the White Supremacist states through whose territory all rail links with Nyasaland must run.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia is somewhat different. With the dissolution of the Federation, the British Government is under an obligation to enact a democratic constitution for Southern Rhodesia

which would transfer power to the African majority. Her failure to do this means simply that Britain is collaborating with the reactionary Field government to perpetuate White Supremacy in Southern Rhodesia.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

MALAWI

This territory has some problems arising from the difficulty in finding an outlet for her products. However, there is little doubt that this territory of slightly more than 37,000 square miles with a population of just over four million, deriving its subsistence mainly from vast fertile lands with great agricultural potential, could very easily become self-sufficient given correct, progressive leadership.

Malawi has a large potential of able-bodied men and women who are at present unemployed and therefore wasted. With the aid of the recruiting schemes of WENELA (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) and MTANDIZI (Rhodesian Native Supply Corporation—now stopped), about 100,000 workers have migrated to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, with detrimental effects to the country. The trade union movement, which is affiliated to the ICFTU is deliberately discouraged and weakened by the government, so that the working class is left powerless and without influence. Many workers have migrated voluntarily to Zambia, Tanganyika and other neighbouring countries to seek work there. Those left behind who are lucky enough to obtain employment are exploited by private companies and individuals who make enormous profits because they pay miserable wages of between £4 and £6 a month.

The resources of Malawi are at present exploited by such concerns as the millionaire Lonhro group of companies which has branches all over the capitalist world and in Malawi has a grip on the sugar industry, where wages are very low. The same company has bought the Nyasaland Railways, whose revenue goes into the pockets of private investors.

During 1963 the imperialist Commonwealth Development Corporation invested over £5 million in the country. It contributed £1,300,000 (over 59 per cent) to the £2,200,000 Walker's Ferry Water project. In this project the British Government holds over 36 per cent of the assets (£800,000), while the Malawi Government holds only 4.5 per cent (£100,000). In the Nkula Falls hydro-electric scheme on the Shire River which will cost about £2,500,000 the Commonwealth Development Corporation will hold about 60 per cent of the shares (£1,500,000). The other two 'partners', Britain and Malawi, will have about the same

proportion of shares as in the Ferry Water scheme. If this is not neo-colonialism, what is it?

Private individuals and companies hold vast estates and plantations for tobacco, cotton, tea, tung-oil and groundnuts in the northern, central and southern provinces around Mzuzu, Mlanje, Chiradzulu and Lilongwe. These concerns employ between 1,000 and 5,000 labourers at a pittance. A cement factory exists near Blantyre. It is a sister company of a similar factory in Southern Rhodesia and every year drains a lot of money out of the country which goes into the pockets of shareholders residing around Salisbury. This, too, applies to Nyasaland Cold Storage which slaughters nearly 200 cattle a day in Blantyre and deals in a variety of tinned meat for export to Salisbury. This gigantic company operates in Zambia and Southern Rhodesia as well as Malawi, and collects enormous profits every year.

About twenty-five types of mineral such as coal, asbestos, etc., are reported to exist in Malawi, but even if these were to be exploited, the mineral rights belong to the giant British South Africa Company, and the Malawi government would only receive a small amount in royalties.

Subsistence and co-operative food production is carried on at various places and covers such foodstuffs as rice, maize, Irish potatoes and sugar-cane. There is also considerable trade in fish at Lakes Chirwa, Nyasa and Chiuta, while timber is grown in plantations at Visanza in Kotakota and Mzuzu. A Government body known as the Agricultural Producing and Marketing Board serves as the buying and selling agent for most of these products, but the main benefit seems to be derived by Auctions Sales Ltd. based at Limbe which takes over all the crops sold to it by the Government at a certain price plus its own profit.

The retail co-operative movement is very weak in Malawi, as in many other African countries. As a result, numerous shop-keepers make substantial profits, but suffer in competition with chain shops run by capitalist companies under concessions such as Mandala (African Lakes Corporation), London and Blantyre Supply Co. and its affiliate McConell Trading Company.

The people of Malawi are mostly poor and most of them get no benefit from the so-called 'Government services', yet Malawi has one of the highest rates of poll tax. Nearly every year the Malawi Government has a deficit in its Budget—£6 million in 1963 which the British taxpayers will probably shoulder.

For all these reasons there is no doubt that capitalism and colonialism are at the root of the poverty and backwardness of the Malawi people and their economy. There is a great need for the government to take corrective measures in the form of nationalization of industry, the big estates, plantations and chain stores and to substitute for private

enterprise collectives, large-scale co-operatives, communes and state farms. In this way the energy and enthusiasm of the people of the country could be harnessed and living standards considerably enhanced.

ZAMBIA

For thirty-five years up till 1924 the British South Africa Company ruled over the entire territory of Northern Rhodesia. In that year the imperialists transferred political control of the country to the British colonial regime, while the B.S.A. Company concentrated its efforts on opening up avenues for the numerous other companies which rule Zambia today through the Anglo-American of Harry Oppenheimer, Rhodesian Selection Trust of Ronald Praine, W. and H. Hochschild, Bradford, and many others upon the revenue from whose companies the Zambia Government depends for its existence.

Zambia is a country rich in minerals and other resources, although her population is small—only about 3,500,000. The main source of income comes from copper production, at present running at about £120 million a year. Of the gross amount of mineral production the Government is paid 20 per cent in royalties. Company taxation is slightly over 6s. a pound of profits made.

Whilst unemployment is widespread amongst the Africans, the financial groups that dominate the country have been making huge profits. During the financial year 1961-62 the British South Africa Co. earned profits amounting to nearly £11 million, that is, after paying 20 per cent royalties to the government. After providing for taxation of about £5,250,000 (most of which was grabbed by Welensky's Federation), the company paid out nearly £5 million in dividends, about 85 per cent of which was repatriated to England. It is understood that the African Government in Zambia wishes to renegotiate the question of royalties with the British South Africa Co. 'so that some of the profits remain in the country to be ploughed back into industry'. But what the people of the country really need is not to 'renegotiate' the question of some of the profits remaining in the country, but the complete abrogation of the 1950 Agreement and all other treaties which enable the British South Africa Co. to have any claims over the land and minerals of Zambia.

But perhaps the biggest financial tycoon in Zambia is Harry Oppenheimer of Anglo-American, whose empire south of the equator is colossal. He is involved as a chairman or director not only of the British South Africa Company, which has a monopoly of prospecting and mineral rights, but also of Rhodesian Anglo-American, Rhokana Corporation (of which he owns 50 per cent of the shares), Nchanga

Mines (20 per cent holding) as well as Bancroft, Mufulira, Chibuluma and other mines.

At the end of October 1962, addressing a meeting in his honour at a hotel in London, Mr. Oppenheimer said: 'Africans who insisted on the policy of "one man one vote" were consciously or unconsciously demanding a concentration of power in the hands of a single monolithic African Nationalist Party. This is something which no substantial European population will accept or ought to be asked to accept. They would fight and rightly so to maintain their political liberties'.

This is straight talk which leaves no one in doubt as to what is meant. Yet this same Mr. Oppenheimer in one of his reports to the directors of Anglo-American in 1963 showered torrents of praise on the African Nationalist Government of Zambia. Among other things he said that he had confidence in the African Government in Northern Rhodesia and 'our mines have a future . . .' Despite strikes, the mines had made good profits. This is a change in attitude which has surprised many people.

Mufulira, Chibuluma and Roan Antelope copper mines are dominated by American dollar tycoons—The American Metal Company made up of Seltrust Investments and working through Rhodesian Selection Trust. There are many other companies plundering the resources and wealth of Zambia. The Zambezi Saw Mills deals in timber and makes colossal profits out of the hopelessly underpaid labour in the industry. The cutting of timber in Barotseland dates back to certain concessions obtained from a Barotse chief some time between 1889 and 1900.

The Rhodesian Sugar Refineries also drains big sums of money from the country. Recently Mr. John Lyle, the chairman of the company, called on the President of the United National Independence Party 'to confirm his company's interests in developing a primary sugar industry'. This concerned the question of 109,000 acres of land in the Kafue River basin on which a sugar estate project costing nearly £2,500,000 would be undertaken by the company. The leader of the mass political movement in Zambia was reported to have had talks with Rhodesian Selection Trust requesting them to finance the scheme.

Mr. Karl Richter, the 'chairman of 100 new factories to be established', recently offered a directorship in his companies to Mr. Jonathan Chivunga, leader of the trade union movement, and to UNIP. Between December 15, 1962, and March 19, 1963, 'more than sixty-three new companies were registered' by the African government. This was more than twice the number registered during the same period in 1961-62 when the country was under complete colonial domination.

The Central African Road Services holds a monopoly on several

trunk roads in Zambia, with the result that the small transporter and the African road service man is being forced out of business completely. The Rhodesian Railways, Central African Airways and numerous chain stores in the retail and wholesale trade also continue to operate on capitalist lines, whereas it is in the interests of the people of Zambia that such concerns should be nationalized and run for the benefit of society as a whole.

A Lusaka company, O.K. Bazaars, which has links with the Republic of South Africa, applied during the colonial period to put up a chain of shops along the Cairo Road—but they made it a condition that the stock to be sold would consist of colonial goods. The British Colonial authorities would not agree to this provision as it was not known what policy would be followed in this respect by the independent African Government soon to take office. It is now known that this chain of shops is going to be established and it is feared that the original condition will still be attached. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that certain African nationalist leaders have retreated from the socialist principles they once proclaimed.

THE LAND QUESTION

All large aided farms and estates around Mkushi, Chisamba, Shiwan'gandu, Monze and in many parts of the southern province and Zambia as a whole should be nationalized. European agriculture used to be a Federal subject, with the result that most of the aided farms came indirectly under the protection of the Federal Government. Large sums of capital were doled out to individual farmers who held vast acres of fertile lands at the expense of the poverty-stricken masses of Zambia. Labourers who worked on these farms received miserable pay, lived in wretched hovels and were harshly treated by their employers, most of whom were rabid protagonists of Federation. The nationalization of the land of these parasites would enable it to be converted into communes, collectives and State farms run and managed by the workers themselves under the guidance of the state of Zambia. But for this, far greater clarity is needed regarding the nature of socialism.

The socialist policies professed by the Nationalist movements in Zambia and Malawi will remain mere slogans for winning elections so long as their economies are tied to capitalist concerns, for socialism is incompatible with private ownership of the means of production of the type encouraged by the two Governments. If Zambia and Malawi are to put their 'African democratic socialism' into effect they will have to go in for planned production for social use instead of anarchic production for private profit. Can these governments bring about these changes? The answer to this question lies in the develop-

ment of the mass political movements in these two countries and also in Southern Rhodesia.

The main aims of the liberation movement in Malawi, Zambia and Southern Rhodesia has been to establish the right to self-determination of the African people. This boiled down to the immediate need to unite the efforts of all classes comprising the oppressed peoples of these countries to fight the colonialists and expel them from these African countries in order to obtain for the masses the democratic rights which were being withheld from them by the colonialists. The aims of the liberation movement are on the point of being achieved in Malawi and Zambia through the medium of a strong liberation movement in these countries.

But if these were the aims of the liberation movement during the days of colonialism, what are its aims now? Partly it is to ensure democratic rights for the people. The national leaders have gone further than this by declaring that in addition they aim to raise the standard of living of their people, create opportunities for all in education, in employment, in the acquisition of wealth, greater freedom of the individual to develop his qualities and to do what he or she pleases so long as it does not conflict with the freedom of others. But these aims cannot be satisfied within the framework of the present economic and social set-up, which still preserves the main features of colonialism.

The forces for the eradication of colonialism exist. Chief among them (and particularly strong in Zambia) is the revolutionary working class, spearheading the drive of the oppressed peoples for fundamental reforms. This working class is composed of the industrial workers, the general mass of the working people and the farm labourers—all who depend on hiring out their labour power to exist. The aspirations of this class can only be satisfied by the complete elimination of colonialism, true independence and national democracy, and rapid development of the economy, along non-capitalist lines, leading towards socialism and ultimately communism as opposed to the individual ownership of property and capitalism advocated by the representatives of reformist bourgeois democracy.

Reforms in wage structures, in housing, in employment, in agriculture, Africanization in the civil service, etc., are themselves valuable concessions which are appreciated by the masses who were debarred from making progress in these fields under colonialism. But these reforms are certainly not socialism—not even the so-called ‘welfare state’ cherished by many ‘African socialists’ is truly socialist since it presumes the continuation of the capitalist mode of production.

What is needed, then, is a ‘Progressive Alliance’, which stands for

scientific socialism, a class alliance which has nothing to do with racialism and tribalism—the two monsters haunting the liberation movement today in Zambia and Malawi. Given the right leadership, the Progressive Alliance is capable without doubt of liberating the entire working class and Zambia as a whole from the yoke of capitalist slavery which has spread its tentacles like an octopus over the whole country.

FEDERATION OR NOT?

These days there are so many ideas of 'unity' being bandied about that there is a danger of people being rushed into political action without properly considering its implications. For instance it has been suggested that Zambia should join the projected East African Federation. But recent events in East Africa have shown that these countries are still relying on the British to maintain law and order—in the very countries they were kicked out of a few months ago. This shows that these governments cannot resist back-door colonialism at the present moment. The only force capable of defeating neo-colonialism is the development of a militant working-class movement in East Africa, but alas! in all these countries steps have been taken to weaken the working-class movement, and we have the nasty prospect of British bases remaining in East Africa.

Federations are not as easy to achieve as they are to talk about. Even though such countries as Tanganyika, Malawi, Zambia, the Congo, etc., are bound together by Pan-African ideals, yet the rate of political, social and economic development in these countries may be so different that great care should be exercised in determining how far they can be linked together. Enforced unity may lead to the domination of one state by another or may hinder the development of a member state. But the need and aspirations for unity remain and practical steps should not be delayed while constitutions and formulas are being worked out. For a start, there could be links between countries in such matters, for example, as trade, railways, communications, common action to assist refugees and the political struggles of countries still labouring under White or colonial domination and so on. Such co-operation will strengthen the progressive tendency towards all-African unity.

EFFECT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

To what extent will the dissolution of the Central African Federation affect and assist the freedom struggle in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique? It could have been expected that now Malawi and Zambia are on the eve of independence, they would

give greater assistance in the fight against the enemies of Africa in these countries. Of course, no African leader really sympathizes with the Verwoerd, Field or Salazar regimes, but there are grave dangers that, subject to strong economic pressures, African leaders both in Malawi and in Zambia may tend to compromise on these crucial issues. Already, since they have taken office, some African leaders have given evidence of a disturbing change from their former attitude.

For instance Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, then Minister for Agriculture and UNIP Treasurer General, was reported in November 1963 to have addressed an audience of aided farmers (mostly European) in the southern province of Zambia at which he was quoted to have advocated a policy of boycotting South African goods in his private capacity, but to have added that 'as a Minister responsible for over three million lives' he was in a different position. Similarly Dr. Kaunda in January 1964, was quoted as saying that Zambia was prepared to recognize South Africa after independence 'but they will have to assure us that our representatives, possibly thirty, will be treated with respect'. He declared that he would admit refugees from neighbouring territories—Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique, 'but would give no encouragement to armed uprising anywhere'.

It is our fear that it is the strong entrenchment of South African capital in Zambia that has brought about this change of attitude. The Government may also be nervous of the reaction of the 1,500 Whites employed in key jobs on the mines, mostly Afrikaners from South Africa.

In Malawi the attitude of the Government towards refugees is even worse and it seems Dr. Banda is not prepared to receive them at all, possibly fearing that if he gave any encouragement to the nationalist movements in neighbouring territories, Salazar and company could cripple his economy.

There is every reason why liberated African states should take part actively in the task of liberating their brothers in other countries still not free, even to the extent of encouraging armed uprisings. In the case of South Africa, for example, there is no diplomacy which can touch the heart of Verwoerd. The only diplomacy which he and the masses of the African people can understand is that which treats him as a complete enemy who must be fought and defeated by deeds and not by words. If, as has been reported, Zambia is prepared to provide a military base for Britain in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia, then it can be said categorically that it would be far preferable to see the independent African states come to the aid of their oppressed brothers boldly and suffer the consequences of their just struggle like men rather than hand over the

task to the imperialists, whose record shows that they cannot be trusted. The freeing of Africa is a task to be shouldered in the first place by Africans.

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