

AFRICAN UNITY MOVES CLOSER | **The Summit**

BEFORE THE HEADS of our thirty Independent African States met at the Summit Conference at Addis Ababa in May, imperialist 'experts' were freely—and wishfully—predicting that it was headed for failure. Much was made of differences between our leaders and countries on various problems, including the manner, degree and pace at which African Unity should be implemented. No one can deny such differences. But the colonialists reckoned without the central factor—the strength of the will for unity among African people everywhere, which could not but have its effect upon and be expressed by our leaders. It was this factor which succeeded in resolving most of the differences, in the achievement of agreed solutions of all the most important problems facing the Conference, and in making Addis Ababa 1963 a great occasion in the annals of African history.

Addis Ababa 1963 did not, and could not reasonably have been expected to, achieve the immediate proclamation and formation of African Union, if by that we mean the full political and economic integration of our Continent. It could not do so for a number of reasons—chief among which is the fact that a huge area, populated by millions of our people and containing some of our richest assets, is still severed from the body of Mother Africa and forcibly occupied by Portuguese, White South African and Rhodesian, British and other colonialists. So long as these criminal regimes continue, the accomplishment of genuine all-African unity is impossible. That is exactly why, as their foremost task, the sovereign African States addressed themselves to the duty and responsibility of carrying the opening phase of the African Revolution to its fulfilment and completion by assisting the populations of South Africa, 'Rhodesia', Angola, Mozambique and other enslaved countries to win freedom and independence from colonialist rule.

That is what Ben Bella of Algeria meant when he said it was more important at this stage to establish a blood-bank for freedom fighters

than to set up an all-African Development Bank; that is why Emperor Haile Selassie told the delegates: 'Africans in the Rhodesias, Mozambique and Angola as well as in South Africa cry out in anguish for the support and help of the African leaders': and Julius Nyerere said: 'The time for allowing our brethren to struggle unaided is gone'.

Practical effect is being given to these views by decisions to create a fund for concerted financial assistance to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, to step up the African and international movement to isolate the South African and Portuguese regimes, to boycott their trade, their ships and aircraft, their diplomats and their consuls. Ethiopia, Algeria, Uganda, the U.A.R., Tanganyika, Congo (Leopoldville), Guinea, Senegal and Nigeria are to form a special committee with headquarters at Dar-es-Salaam, to harmonise and co-ordinate assistance from African states for our freedom fighters in the remaining unfree areas of our continent.

Another most important contribution of the Addis Ababa summit towards African unity was that it sees the end of conflicting 'blocs' of African states. A permanent machinery has been established to effect closer co-operation and co-ordination between all the independent states, and a number of important practical conclusions were reached in view of 'the imperative necessity for African countries to pool their resources and harmonise their activities in the economic field'.

The resolutions on Africa and the United Nations and demanding 'general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control'—like the whole tone and tenor of the conference—were militant, anti-colonialist, and filled with the spirit of African patriotism.

Addis Ababa, 1963, therefore marked an important and historic milestone on the road to African Unity.

But it also showed that that road still has a long and difficult stretch ahead before we reach our goal—and that the road has to run through Salisbury, Cape Town, Lourenço Marques and Luanda before it is ended.

VICTORY IN EAST AFRICA

Hardly was the Summit Conference over when yet another great landmark was scored up for the cause of African Freedom—the sweeping victory of Jomo Kenyatta and his Kenya African National Union.

Like all patriotic Africans, we of the AFRICAN COMMUNIST rejoice at

this splendid news and extend our heartiest congratulations to Prime Minister Kenyatta, the grand old man of our liberation struggle, who spent so many years of his life in the dungeons of British imperialism. It is typical of his militancy and revolutionary spirit that he immediately appointed Odinga Oginga, the very man whom Whitehall had vetoed for Cabinet rank, as his first Home Minister.

Hardly was the new Cabinet installed than leaders from Tanganyika, Uganda, Somalia and Zanzibar were busy in Nairobi, elaborating practical plans to build a new East African Federation which will soon eliminate the troublesome 'border' problems which imperialism, with its traditional policy of 'divide and rule' had created with the purpose of getting African brothers to fight one another. Here, swiftly and in action, we saw the meaning of the Spirit of Addis Ababa.

How powerfully now, and uninterruptedly, our African Revolution is gaining strength, purpose, direction and impetus!

The scandal of British troops flying from bases in Kenya to suppress the Swazi people was met by a vigorous demand from KANU for immediate independence and the abolition of foreign bases. And Britain will not be able long to withstand this demand.

Africa is coming back. Beware, Welensky! Pas op, Verwoerd!

DISINTEGRATING FEDERATION

The East African Federation is being born, amid the rejoicing of the African people.

With equal rejoicing we greet the death of the 'Central African Federation', that misshapen abortion resulting from the illicit union between Salisbury and Whitehall, and designed to perpetuate White domination in Central Africa under the label of a federation.

As we write these lines the Victoria Falls Conference has commenced, its object being to dismantle Welensky's federal apparatus which has been contemptuously rejected as unwanted by the people of all three areas.

To all intents and purposes, the C.A.F. is already dead. It remains only to bury the corpse, which already stinks most offensively.

All the same, we cannot overlook the fact that some people are extremely anxious to keep at least the ghost of 'Federation' alive, not least Sir Roy himself, who knows that, politically speaking, he will not be able to survive the burial of the sickly child he fathered.

Behind the scenes these people are battling at the Victoria Falls,

manoeuvring and scheming to keep at least some Federal 'Ministries' going on the pretext of 'avoiding dislocation'.

It is obvious that Mr. Kaunda and Dr. Banda will not be taken in by such transparent manoeuvres.

How can you have 'Ministries' without a Government?

As long as a single Department is controlled from Salisbury so long Blantyre and Ndola will not be truly and fully independent.

We saw in the great victory at Ndola when the African people successfully prevented the deportation of South African freedom-fighters to Salisbury—en route for Beit Bridge and the Republic—that the Federation is disintegrating and can no longer stand up to vigorous and united African opposition.

Now, let there be an end to it. A clean break, so that we may go forward to the great tasks ahead without being distracted by ghosts of the past.

APARTHEID—U.S. STYLE

'The price of the liberation of the white people is the liberation of the blacks—the total liberation, in the cities, in the towns, before the law and in the mind.'

—James Baldwin, American Negro author.

THE RECENT MILITANT demonstrations by people of African descent in Birmingham, Alabama, and other areas in the Southern states of the USA has brought home once again to people in this continent the intolerable discrimination to which our brothers and sisters are subjected in this wealthy imperialist country which claims to be the leader of the 'free world'.

White Americans in these states, businessmen, senators, mayors, governors, policemen, farmers and even ordinary workers, behave with a hooligan racial arrogance and determination to preserve white domination and exclusiveness which is only paralleled in Verwoerd's Republic of South Africa.

The theory and practice of apartheid within the United States is a source of serious embarrassment to the American ruling class. They cannot but be acutely conscious of the shattering blow to United States influence and prestige which these incidents and manifestations constitute, not only in Africa but wherever people value human rights and dignity and the charter of the United Nations. It is for this reason that President Kennedy and other statesmen of United States imperial-

ism continue to express high-sounding sentiments about the right of the Negro people to equality of legal rights, and so forth. The administration in Washington has even gone so far as to send federal troops to safeguard the brave Negro children and students who venture their lives by entering Whites-only schools and universities, and to curb some of the worst excesses of white hooliganism condoned and even organised by the governments of the Southern states.

But the United States ruling class continue to take refuge behind the alleged peculiarities of their country's constitution, and the rights to autonomy of the Southern states.

The African people, who at last in most of this great Continent have expelled colonialism and taken their destiny and government into their own strong hands, will no longer continue to tolerate oppression and discrimination of African people anywhere in the world, whether in Johannesburg, South Africa or Birmingham, Alabama—or for that matter in New York.

For, although the Afro-American may not suffer *legal* discrimination in the Northern states as he does in the South, it is a notorious international scandal that everywhere in the United States Negroes suffer discrimination. They do not receive the same opportunities in education and employment as their White fellow-citizens. They do not get any but the hardest and worst paid of jobs, and when there is unemployment they are the first to be hit. Discriminatory practices exist in a score of fields, including residential areas and social facilities, so that our brothers and sisters in New York are in practice confined to slums and locations like Harlem. Although one out of every ten United States citizens is of African descent, hardly any are to be found in the national and state legislatures, in the civil service, the judiciary or the upper ranks of commerce and industry.

Small wonder that the heads of our independent states at their solemn conference at Addis Ababa decided that Free Africa cannot sit back silent in the face of this continuing scandal. The Conference expressed the *'deep concern aroused in all African peoples and governments by the measures of racial discrimination against communities of African origin living outside the continent and particularly in the United States of America'*. The resolution pointed out that *'these intolerable malpractices are likely seriously to deteriorate relations between the African peoples and governments on the one hand and the people and government of the United States of America on the other'*.

The resolution also expressed 'appreciation' for the efforts of the US Federal Government to put an end to these 'intolerable malpractices'. But, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that in the

eyes of the African people such efforts are too few, too slow and too ineffective.

We are not impressed by excuses about the peculiarities of the constitution of the United States. If the rulers of that country were seriously concerned to end Jim Crow practices, they are powerful enough and influential enough to do so. When the big business interests who are the real rulers of the USA are aroused and serious they command a machine of propaganda, pressure and influence which none can afford to ignore, from the national legislature at Washington to the state and municipal rulers in every corner of the country. One only needs to look at the vicious and thorough job these gentlemen have done on the so-called threat of Communism and its gallant and irrepressible defenders in the USA. The most extreme, and unconstitutional, legislation has been passed through the legislature and upheld by the US Supreme Court making Communism a crime punishable by the severest penalties. All the weapons of indoctrination, from television, radio and press to the churches and schools have been harnessed in an all-out drive to spread poisonous lies against Marxism-Leninism. The entire nation has been saturated in this poison, so that it is difficult for a Communist to lead a normal life or find employment in this citadel of the 'free world', and so that it is hard to find an American inside or outside the United States who has not been infected by the madness of obsessive fear and hatred of 'the Reds'.

If America's rulers were really interested it would not be at all difficult for them to harness the same machine of propaganda and pressure to a really worthy cause—the eradication of racialism, that cancer at the heart of the American body politic. The fact that they do not do so shows all too clearly to us Africans that their professions of devotion to the principle of equality and human dignity are sheer hypocrisy. They use the same pious expressions to condemn South Africa and apartheid at the United Nations and elsewhere, and then proceed in their actions to protect Verwoerd and cover up for him.

When Kennedy, President of the United States, gives utterance to high-sounding declarations about his concern with the plight of our African-descended brothers and sisters in his country, but explains that he cannot do anything about it because of the constitution, we cannot help being reminded about a great predecessor in that high office, Abraham Lincoln, who one hundred years ago, in 1863, declared that African slavery was intolerable in the United States and used the full force of the Federal Government to end it—disregarding the whines of the slave-owning Southern gentry about 'states' rights'.

There is no constitution of any country anywhere which entitles people and governments to oppress Africans because their forefathers

came from our continent. That is the highest law—the law of the United Nations. It overrides any constitution, from Cape Town to Alabama. And we the people of Africa are going to see that this law is enforced.

It is not our job to work out or worry about what legal or technical means President Kennedy and his friends will use to implement the United Nations Charter. But until they do so, they will find that Africans in every part of this Continent will react with increasing impatience, indignation and cynicism whenever US representatives, 'peace corps' volunteers, and the hundreds of others who have come here from the United States, attempt, as they never weary of doing, to tell us how we should run our countries and of their own devotion to the principles of democracy, freedom and human brotherhood.

BRITAIN IN SOUTH AFRICA

People tend to forget when speaking of South Africa that the term includes not only Verwoerd's Republic but also the three British High Commission territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. And though British Government representatives at Lake Success and elsewhere are prone to utter high-sounding platitudes about the 'winds of change', and the evils of apartheid, their own practice in these South African colonies differs little in essence from that of their powerful neighbour across the borders. Under British rule economic development in the three territories has languished to such an extent that more than half their men are always absent from home working on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines and elsewhere in the Republic. They do not do this because they are attracted by conditions in Vorster's police state where a black man is treated like a dog, but because their only alternative is starvation.

The British authorities make much of the alleged lack of racial discrimination in the High Commission territories. And it is true that, unlike the Republic, an African may go into a hotel or buy a drink in the bar. But although these more obvious signs of segregation have been removed of recent years in the territories, there is plenty of race discrimination to be found in all of them for those who keep their eyes open. This is particularly true of Bechuanaland and Swaziland where there are fairly substantial white populations—most of them Afrikaners from the Republic—owning the best land and playing a prominent and most unhealthy part in the economic and political life of the territories. Despite much 'constitutional' window-dressing,

British imperialism is strongly resisting the mounting pressure that has developed among the people of the High Commission territories for democratic self-government and independence. The myth assiduously spread by the British Government that they are the benefactors of the African people, helping them along the slow but 'orderly' path to independence has been rudely shattered by recent events in Swaziland. A mass general strike of the Swazi people—beginning over economic demands of the asbestos miners and the sweated labourers in the sugar plantations, but developing into a full-scale political strike for independence—has been ruthlessly suppressed by British troops. These troops were flown in from Kenya, permission to overfly 'their' territories having been first sought and immediately granted by Welensky and Verwoerd respectively. The background to this scandalous action must be sought partly in the recent 'constitutional' talks about Swaziland and her future which were held in London. The British imperial government claimed that it was inviting 'all parties' to these talks. In fact those who were invited were the representatives of the handful of White settlers in Swaziland: most of them, in fact, citizens of the Republic; of the Ngwenyama Chief Sobhuza: whose feudal despotism is more and more unpopular with his people, and hence more and more dependent upon the support of the White settlers and the British Administration; and the representatives of certain Swazi political parties, including the Nququ faction of the Swaziland Democratic Party. Dr. Zwane and Mr. Dhlamini and other representatives of the Swaziland Progressive Party were not invited—the excuse being that the British administration did not consider them 'sufficiently representative'. While the talks were going on in London, however, these leaders showed which was the truly representative organisation by leading the masses of the Swazi nation in the most dynamic and spectacular demonstration that has ever taken place in that country.

And the Swazi gentlemen in London who were posing as the spokesmen of the Swazi people were demonstrating how *unrepresentative* they were by accepting the most outrageous constitutional proposals which are a travesty of democracy and independence. Two-thirds or more of the new legislative council established by this Constitution will be made up of representatives of the White minority and nominees of Chief Sobhuza. The principle of one man—or one woman—one vote has been trampled in the dust.

The workers of the Havelock mine and the White-owned sugar fields of Swaziland have learnt full well that they will never get justice from the British administration or from a settler and British dominated 'Legco' as proposed in the London talks. That is why their strike for

higher wages and better conditions was transformed into a massive political demonstration for true independence. The strike was broken by British troops. But the same action also broke the new constitution and whatever confidence the Swazi people may have had in British goodwill and promises.

The lesson will not be lost either upon the people of Basutoland and Bechuanaland. They do not want British imperialism either as a ruler or as a 'protector'.

British imperialism makes much of its role as the alleged 'protector' of the territories against the threat of aggression and incorporation by Verwoerd's Republic. And indeed, there is such a threat. But Britain is doing nothing to resist it, in fact she is working hand in glove with Verwoerd and if the people of the three countries are to resist aggression from their big and powerfully armed neighbour, they would be ill advised to rely on British imperialism for aid.

What are the consequences of British colonial rule in the High Commission territories in relation to the threat from Pretoria?

Economically all three territories are dependent upon the apartheid regime in Pretoria. They have no industries and are entirely dependent on the export of labour to and the import of manufactures from the Republic. Their agriculture has been allowed to remain so backward that even foodstuffs have to be imported into these entirely agricultural areas. The British have not even constructed a single modern airfield which would enable friends of African freedom in the independent states and the United Nations to fly in supplies and assistance in the event of the Republic declaring a blockade. Britain has done nothing to assist or prepare the people of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland to resist and defend themselves in the event of a military invasion. There are no substantial armed forces and there is no training and defence equipment available to the indigenous people in the face of the alarming and powerful military build-up by their greedy and imperialistic neighbour—the Republic of South Africa.

Independent Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland would quickly repair this dangerous weakness. Instead of relying on the broken reed of British imperialism—itsself deeply involved in the maintenance of the apartheid regime in South Africa—they would be able to look to their own defences and to call on the aid of the rest of Africa and the whole world in resistance to Verwoerd's aggressive plans and actions.

So far from resisting these plans and actions, the British authorities in the High Commission territories are leaning over backwards in their efforts to appease Pretoria. Political refugees from South Africa are subjected to humiliating and arbitrary bans which can only be compared

to those of Vorster himself, they are refused residence rights and even declared prohibited immigrants—for no other reason than that of their unpopularity with the Verwoerd Government. The British are not a help to the defence of the High Commission territories against Pretoria's imperialistic appetites. In fact, they are a hindrance, a menace, and a fifth column of Verwoerdism. The territories cannot defend their independence from the Republic until they have won independence from Britain.

This is an urgent matter which cannot be delayed. Already the Verwoerd regime is making military preparations along the borders. It is clearing away the bush and installing armed units with modern equipment along the frontiers of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. It is mobilising for war, and only the blind can fail to see it.

Only independence now can save the High Commission territories from being swallowed up by the criminal regime of Verwoerd and Vorster. The Basuto, Bechuana and Swazi people cannot afford to wait for interminable constitutional talks in Whitehall, while their countries are in mortal danger of aggression.

Independence has become a matter of life and death, a matter of survival.

THE IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY

'Every step in the decolonialisation of our continent has brought greater resistance in those areas where colonial garrisons are available to colonialism.

'This is the great design of the imperialist interests that buttress colonialism and neo-colonialism, and we would be deceiving ourselves in the most cruel way were we to regard their individual actions as separate and unrelated. When Portugal violates Senegal's border, when Verwoerd allocates one-seventh of South Africa's budget to military and police, when France builds as part of her defence policy an interventionist force that can intervene, more especially in French-speaking Africa, when Welensky talks of Southern Rhodesia joining South Africa, when Britain sends arms to South Africa, it is all part of a carefully calculated pattern working towards a single end: the continued enslavement of our still dependent brothers and an onslaught upon the independence of our sovereign African States.'

—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah—President of Ghana.
In his address to the Conference of Heads of African States, Addis Ababa, May 24th, 1963.