

THE SPARK

A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION
(Registered at the G. P. O. as a newspaper)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1963

55 2d.

WE ARE INSULTED....

by Julius Sago

EDITORIAL

The Battle Ahead

NEXT week we enter the new year. It is not out of place to take a look at the past twelve months. Perhaps if we know where we are and whither we are tending, we can better judge what to do and how to do it.

Twelve months ago, we were only a month old; and quite inarticulate. We were just getting ready to brace the struggle ahead. But we were able to state that 1963 would be a period of intense activity for the socialist movement.

We foresaw a tussle over the concept, the degree and the approach to African unity.

We knew like the leaders of the African revolution that the fight against neo-colonialism would become fiercer as United States imperialism strides to strengthen its position in Africa.

When, during the year, George Lodge, a former official in the U.S. Department of Labour and in the International Labour Organisation published his anti-African labour book **SPEARHEADS FOR DEMOCRACY**, he proved us right. For we had said nine months earlier that there would be increased campaign, directed through the I.C.F.T.U. to detach African trade unions from Africa's struggle for complete independence and socialist reconstruction. We were not wrong when we said twelve months ago that the drive for continued enslavement of the African mind would be stepped up with the arrival of more U.S. Peace Corp Crusaders; a prolific output of books and journals and studies on Africa by self-styled 'experts' and research scholars from Europe and America; and the invention of new forms of socialism.

Obviously enjoying the blessing of policymakers in the State Department and the financial support of U.S. big business, John Johnson of Johnson Publishing Company of Chicago, publishers of **EBONY**, **JET**, **TAN** and **NEGRO DIGEST** is setting out boldly to enslave the mind of Africa with **EBONY AFRICA**, a cheap, dazzling propaganda magazine of the American way of life. He is out to impress on our minds the brighter side of the affluent society—"kitchen made of dazzling porcelain—and—chrome, complete with refrigerators, disposal unit, deep-freeze, automatic washers and drier, electric stove"—where "men decay" and gangsters are nursed.

The Peace Corp has showed its subtlety and cunning. The AAMSAC (Afro-American Society for the Advancement of Culture) is stock in Lagos. The inventors of new forms of socialism have not ceased preaching a hotch-potch of pragmatism-cum-humanism-cum-metaphysics plastered over with idiosyncrasies and passed off as African socialism.

Twelve months ago we said there would be more attempts at the subversion and assassination of our militant leaders by foreign financial interests using intelligence agents, cold-blooded mercenaries and African reactionaries. The treason trials in Ghana have proved us right. The reactionary forces are still showing their teeth.

We are leaving behind a year full of events. The most eventful as far as the African revolution is concerned, is the diverse efforts and attempts to unite Africa. Though there have been divergent views about the concept and the approach to African unity, the touchstone of Addis Ababa was the awareness of the leaders of Africa of their responsibilities and their attitude to joint decisions, pri-

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WE PROTEST

Bonn: Enemy of Africa

WE ARE NOW QUITE ACCUSTOMED TO IT. THROUGH TRAVEL STORIES, BOOKS, THE CINEMA, THE NEWSPAPER AND TELEVISION: THE CAPITALIST WORLD PORTRAYS AFRICA AS THE DARK CONTINENT REPLETE WITH WILD GAME AND PEOPLED BY SUB-HUMANS. THIS WAS A CONCEPT THAT HELPED THE DESIGNS OF COLONIALISM.

But the stirring of the blackman since World War II, the emergence of a few African states of radical nationalism and the arrival on the scene of powerful African political leaders dedicated to the complete elimination of imperialism from Africa have produced a new image of the African continent. The image of slave dungeons, mystic rituals, fabled savagery created by the story of the colonial era has given way to the new image of a civilised and active people taking their rightful place on the world arena. In short, just as the savage African was the distorted mental image of colonialism, so emergent Africa has created a new real image generally referred to as the African personality.

Nevertheless, the struggle between the two concepts is still with us. And from time to time Western newspapers carry so-called eye-witness accounts of

Africa clearly marks out West Germany as a country with neo-colonialist designs on Africa.

In the article the West German newspaper "Die

According to the article, the students and the exhibition came to Africa on May 15, 1963, and the first opening of the exhibition took place in Beira, in Portuguese Mozambique. From there they proceeded through the bush and steppe of Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya showing in countless towns and villages West Germany in a "nutshell" and, of course, the "economic miracle" which had been performed in that country—and pushing forward the idea that such an "economic miracle" might be performed in any African country—provided the African country becomes

nyika they shot one of the biggest leopards there". Reading about the state of communications in these countries, generally described as "bush and steppe", the readers might have started to cherish the idea that the first roads there might be built after these countries have agreed to become the economic appendages to the European Common Market.

The most revealing portion of the article is the conclusion which deals with what it calls "The True Africa". Here are some of the notions put out in this section.

NEW CLASS OF RULERS

Firstly, the students in Tanganyika who describe themselves as the "new class of rulers" are both "arrogant and lazy." The idea is that the new rulers in that country are not the people as such but a small elite.

Secondly, a solitary Tanganyikan student would like to study in West Germany but he just can't do it. Why? He is not a member of the ruling TANU party. And why is he not a member of TANU? The students reply is given as "I've too much of my own opinion." In short the ruling parties in the new Africa are dictatorial organisations that have no room for personal opinions!

Thirdly, in Nyasaland the beloved leader Kamuzu Banda is put down by the 55 students as making "a fanatic speech from a land-rover which reminded them of pictures from Germany's past history". Germany's past history is of course the Hitler epoch. Here again, the notion of dictatorship in the new Africa is being insidiously propagated.

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Das wahre Afrika
In täglichen Umgang mit unfaulen Afrikanern in häufigen Diskussionen mit Gebildeten formten sich die jungen Deutschen ein neues Bild Afrikas. Sie berichten von ihren Eindrücken vor heimischen Studenten, die sich selbst als neue Herrenkinder bezeichnen, arrogant und arbeitsscheu. Sie seien aber auch von einem Studenten aus Tanganyika, der mitfühlend zupackte, die Arroganz seiner Kollegen kritisierte und ständig meinte: "Ich möchte so gerne in Deutschland studieren, aber ich werde nie hinkommen, ich bin nicht bei der Partei" (gemeint ist die Einheitspartei Tanganyikas, TANU), ich habe zuviel eigene Meinung.
Sie berichten ferner von dem Besuch des Premierministers von Nyasaland, Dr. Banda, der in die Ausstellung kam und auf einem Landrover, zum Beispiel, eine fantastische Rede an die Menge hielt, die sie an Bilder deutscher Vergangenheit erinnerte. Sie lobten die Republik der Deutschen, die ihnen die Republik Tanganyika als Vorbild als Freunde rühmte. Manche Studenten meinten, sie wollten das Afrika des Herrn über die Welt, Portugal, annehmen, die verheißene Welt der Deutschen und des Herrn jeder Rassen-diskriminierung, revidiert zu haben. Nach einem langen Nachtgespräch in Nairobi fahre ein Student zusammen: "Wie sind als Idealisten mit romantischen Vorstellungen vom Afrika gekommen, wir haben die Wirklichkeit kennengelernt, wir sind Realisten geworden. Das allein war die Fahrt wert."

THE TRUE AFRICA

IN daily contact with plain Africans and in numerous discussions with the educated ones, the young Germans had formed a new image of Africa. They described their impression on Tanganyikan students who are labelling themselves as the "new class of rulers", arrogant and lazy, but they spoke also about one student of Tanganyika who sternly criticised the arrogance of his colleagues, and sadly remarked "I should like to study in Germany, but I shall never get there, I'm not in the Party (here is meant the United Party of Tanganyika, the TANU). I've too much of my own opinion."

They described the visit of the Prime Minister of Nyasaland, Dr. Banda, who came to the exhibition and swinging a magic staff, he made a fanatic speech from a Landrover to a crowd, which reminded them of pictures from Germany's past history, and they praised the Republic of Rwanda and her diligent people who long for the return of Europeans as their friends.

Some of the students said that they had revised their opinion on Portuguese policy in Portuguese East Africa, observing an appropriate level of public well-being and a lack of any racial discrimination. After a long discussion at a night in Nairobi, one of the students summed up: "We had grown up as idealists with romantic ideas about the Africans; now we have seen the reality, and we have become realists. In this itself is the worth of the tour."



Africa in a way to reveal that the West still sees us as fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the imperialist raj.

NEO-COLONIALIST DESIGNS ON AFRICA

This is the line taken in a recent article captioned "Through Bush and Steppe" and published in the West German newspaper "Die Welt". Photostat copies of the relevant sections of this paper are published herewith. In addition, a literal translation of the concluding portion of the article under the sub-heading "The True Africa" is reproduced for the information of our readers.

This article, based on the reports of a touring group of West German students which spent some six months in Central and East

West" gives its one million readers an account of the adventures of a group of 55 West German university students in East and Central Africa where they spent about six months. They were not just a group of tourists eager to impress their relatives and girlfriends in West Germany with their adventures in Africa. Far from that! They were carefully selected by the Federal Ministry of Economy to accompany a huge mobile exhibition depicting, among other things, West Germany "in a nutshell". This nutshell consisted of 24 special lorries packed with propaganda materials. The estimated cost of this caravan is well above the £250,000 which Imperial Germany realised when she sold her colony Kenya to Great Britain in 1895.

a diligent supplier of cheap raw-materials to the European Common Market.

AFRICAN MENTALITY

We can imagine the protruded eyes of the "Die Welt's" readers learning from the article of how their brave countrymen "impressed the African mentality with West German flags and fireworks everywhere", how "in Uganda they danced with the black daughters of a king" and how "in Tanga-

CONNOR CRUISE O'BRIEN
Who is he?
The Editor writes
- Look out.

imperfect in original

from **THE INSIDE..**

LATIN AMERICA

Cuba • Brazil • Chile • Nicaragua

Latin America is one of the richest regions of the world. It has more cultivable, high yield tropical soil than any other continent. It possesses tremendous potential energy in oil and hydro-electric power, while vast mineral reserves—iron, copper, tin, gold, lead, zinc, almost every known metal—lie buried in Latin America. Chile's copper deposits are known to be larger than in any other part of the world; Venezuela is the world's biggest exporter of oil; Brazil has 25 per cent of the world's iron-ore reserves.

IN the midst of this wealth, the 200 million Latin Americans live in object poverty. More than 100 million people in this region are undernourished and illiterate, owning nothing but their simple clothing and rickety household possessions. In Brazil, half the population goes barefoot; every sixth person has goitre; one in three has intestinal hookworms, and life-span is forty-six years compared with seventy years in the United States.

The United States of America takes 44 per cent of all the raw materials produced in Latin American countries. Latest figures indicate that the U.S. obtains from Latin America as a percentage of her total imports (reckoned by cost), 51 per cent of petroleum and petroleum products; 47 per cent of copper; 48 per cent of lead; 63 per cent of iron-ore; 24 per cent of non-ferrous ores and metals; 79 per cent of coffee; 52 per cent of cocoa; 27 per cent of meat; 20 per cent of unmanufactured wool and 100 per cent of bananas.

PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE

Foreign Policy Bulletin, published in New York stated in its April 1961 issue that: "Most of the countries are heavily dependent on the production and exchange of one or two commodities... (which) provide most of the foreign exchange needed for the purchase of imported industrial goods... It is well recognised that market instability inhabits economic growth... Latin American countries have long, and unsuccessfully tried to interest their customers—that is, the industrial countries—in co-operative efforts to minimise market fluctuations... International commodity agreements to meet the problems of instability have consistently been resisted by the United States."

Under the canopy of the Organisation of American States which is described by Juan Jose Arevalo as "TWENTY SARDINES OVERAWED BY ONE BIG SHARK", the U.S. has successfully kept out the other imperialist interests. The U.S. is the main supplier of imported goods as well as of the "farm surplus". Britain's present share of Latin American imports is only 5½ per cent, while West Germany now sells £100 million worth of goods more than Britain there—mostly motorcars. Over one-third of the foreign investments of the U.S. are in Latin America. The total is 9,000 million dollars. In recent years, Latin American payments of profits, dividends and interest to the United States averaged 482.5 million dollars a year, which is 182.5 million dollars more than Latin American received from U.S. big business in capital. U.S. investments in Venezuela represent 60 per cent of all foreign investments in Latin America. And 85 per cent of these investments are in oil. An examination of Venezuela's

balance of payments during 1953-60 indicates that the profit of the oil companies in this period amounted to 13,286 million bolivares, while capital investments amounted to only 477 million.

For years the U.S. has been boasting about her aid to the under-developed countries of Latin America. But U.S. aid channelled through the so-called "mutual security programme" and distributed by a number of organisations such as the International Co-operation Administration, the Development Loan Fund, Export-Import Bank and agencies that dispose of U.S. "surpluses" in under-developed countries, has military aid as its basic element. The recipients are expected to increase their own expenditure on "defence" to an extent considerably more than what they get from the U.S. The twelve Latin American countries with "mutual aid and defence" agreements with the U.S. spend from 9 to 10 dollars of their own for every "aid" dollar received. Thus, the bulk of the cost—at least 85 cents of every "military aid" dollar—is poured back into the U.S. economy.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Latin America is enveloped in a crisis. SCIENCE AND SOCIETY puts it clearly: "Latin America is currently undergoing its third major crisis of the twentieth century. In general terms, the present disturbance can be attributed to the excessive vulnerability to external factors of an economy dependent on the export of raw materials and import of manufactured goods."

The present crisis, which was intensified by the 1958 recession in the U.S., has now reached unmistakable proportions. The situation is aggravated by three main factors:

1. There are no possibilities for Latin America's "normal" markets. The post-war boom has spent itself; technological changes are affecting the consumption of "traditional markets;" and the European Market is a real threat to Latin America.

2. The general weakening of the world colonial and semi-colonial system has given a new colour to the present crisis in Latin America. There exists not only the need to change the structure in Latin America but the possibility of doing it, as Cuba has shown.

3. Though the Latin American situation is set in motion by external forces, it has been more severe than the "recessions" in the United States and has not followed their "recovery".

The U.S. has offered a remedy for the crisis through the "Alliance for Progress" programme—an offer of 20,000 million dollars in foreign aid over ten years. This is simply an attempt to ward off the new alternative. The Financial Times wrote after the first Punta del Este Conference:

"The U.S. has proposed to the Common Market countries that tariff preferences on all tropical products should be abolished—a suggestion that will not be welcome to the African states associated with the Commonwealth."

INTERNAL REFORMS

"Perhaps more important than this is the need to ensure that the recipient countries carry out internal reforms which would enable them to make effective use of the funds which the U.S. is providing, and also ward off the threat of violent left-wing revolution. How can this be done without giving appearance of interference in internal Latin American affairs? The answer is that the U.S. must choose the political leaders with whom and through whom it is to work in Latin America with Great skill—avoiding association both with the old-style 'strong-arm' dictators like the late Generalisimo Trujillo of the Dominican Republic and with the doctrinaire revolutionaries. Instead, it must throw its

weight behind the moderate reformers, the men who can jerk Latin America into the mid-twentieth century while steering a middle course between reaction and violent revolution. It is by supporting these men that the U.S. can ensure that its huge investment in Latin America pays economically as well as politically. Moreover, by doing so it will help to project the image of the U.S. as a liberal progressive force throughout the world..." (30/8/61).

Fortunately a different situation is developing in Latin America. The maturing of the position of the working class in the revolutionary process, is one of the main reasons why the Cuban revolution has become the turning point, the watershed that divides the national reformist forces in today's Latin America.

Though, today Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay and El Salvador, are utterly servile

to U.S. imperialism; Argentina, Honduras, Peru, Venezuela and Chile, the formal trappings of constitutional democracies are moving generally to the right; and Santa Domingo, Columbia, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico have become subservient to U.S. imperialism, forces are growing towards the direction of full independence.

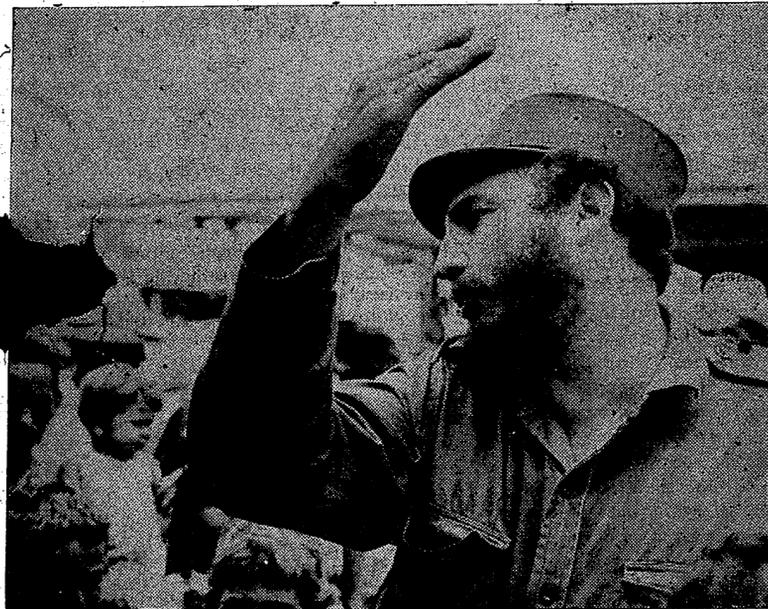
The Spark is of the opinion that Africa must learn the history of Latin America. Despite differences in

language and even in pattern of rule and cultural affirmities, the similarities in the distortion of our economies, the common history of our struggle against colonialism and modern imperialism and our single common enemy today, are enough factors which bring together the mass struggle of our people.

The Spark will focus a search light on incidents in Latin America. —Editor

CUBA—

JANUARY 1st, FIVE YEARS AGO



Dr. Fidel Castro...Prime Minister of Cuba

SOMETHING strange was taking place in the city. A few cars sped along the wider avenues. Small groups stood on corners, speaking in a low voice. Many businesses did not open that morning. Heavy traffic started jamming the roads to the airport. News of the flight of dictator Batista soon became public knowledge. It was January 1, 1959.

That date marked the end of an era of bloody repression. For seven years, supported by Wall Street and the State Department, General Batista had resisted the opposition of the people, who had paid a toll of 20,000 dead. But early on the morning of the new year, accompanied by his family and high officers—including notorious war criminals—Batista boarded a plane at Columbia Military Headquarters, bound for the Dominican Republic.

A NEW STAGE:

A new stage began in Cuba and in America. The echo of the Revolution, born in the Sierra Maestra, resounded throughout the country and the continent. A small group of re-

bels had defeated 40,000 soldiers armed with weapons labelled "Made in U.S.A." It was the hour of great social and economic transformations.

The roots of victory were to be found a few years back—on July 26, 1953. A year before, the national oligarchy and foreign monopolies had backed a military coup by General Fulgencio Batista, which shook the constitutional course of the nation. The conditions were created as of that time for an insurrectionary movement of the people, the first manifestation of which was the attack on the Moncada army barracks at Santiago de Cuba, led by Fidel Castro.

Then came prison, exile, the formation of the 26th of July Movement and the courageous landing at Las Coloradas, Oriente, near the Sierra Maestra mountains. Only a few of the 86 expeditionaries remained alive to continue the selfless struggle that won the support of the entire people.

DEFEAT OF THE TYRANNY:

The tyranny crumbled, defeated through underground struggle in the

plains; the roads were taken and the eastern end of the island cut off by the rebels.

Two fierce battles—one at Guisa, Oriente, and the other at Santa Clara, capital of Las Villas resulted in the unconditional surrender of Batista troops and the dictator's flight. The first battle was waged on November 20, 1958, by Column One, headed by Major Fidel Castro. After ten days of encirclement and combat, the rebels defeated four battalions sent from the city of Bayamo, causing over 200 casualties and losing only eight men; hundreds of weapons were captured, along with fourteen trucks and a tank.

A month later, troops led

by Majors Camilo Cienfuegos and Ernesto Guevara took the cities of Yaguajay, Placetas, Cabaigan, Sancti Spiritus and Remedios—in the province of Las Villas—and marched on Santa Clara, which was defended by 1,500 heavily armed troops. On December 31, 1958, after three days of combat, the city fell to the rebels; tanks, machineguns, cannons, thousands of rifles and millions of bullets were captured there.

JANUARY 1:

On January 1, 1959, Fidel Castro took the city of Santiago de Cuba and ordered the rebel troops in Las Villas to advance on Camp Columbia and the La Cabana fortress, both in the city of Havana. Simultaneously, a farce was staged in the capital: one of the dictatorship's generals took charge of the government and appointed the head of the Supreme Court as provisional President.

This last-minute Junta soon realised that their demagogic manoeuvre was bound to fail. Half of the country was in the hands of the Rebel Army, and orders were issued to continue military operations unless the Junta surrendered unconditionally to the Revolutionary Command. At the same time a call was made for a national general strike, conducted with the unanimous support of the people.

Military positions in Havana were surrendered to the Rebel Army soon afterwards, and the Revolution took power. Amidst the cheers of the people, Major Fidel Castro made his triumphant entrance into the city of Havana eight days later, followed by his heroic army of *harcudos*.

BRAZIL

AMERICAN MINING COMPANY TO BE EXPROPRIATED

Belo Horizonte: The Governor of the Minas Gerais State, Mr. Magalhaes Pinto announced his intention of introducing an urgent de-

crete expropriating "for reasons of public interest" the land owned by an Ame-

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THE BLACK EAGLE AWAKES

GEORGE AWOONOR WILLIAMS

Read by the author at a poetry recital held in Peking on August 25, 1963, in support of the struggle of the American Negroes.

For centuries they put chains on our hands and feet.
For centuries they manacled our souls
The slave-ships came one day
Splashing through the Atlantic waters
They have come to collect black human cargoes.
Then the young men, children and women
Were beaten and forced into the dungeons.
The drummers neglected their drums
And the wood carver's tools lay idle.
The gods of their fathers were alone
They took the ship
Their song was

On which shores are we going to land
On which shores?

We had worked in the foundries of Neroe
And built the Pyramids of Egypt
We raised the walls of Zimbabwe
And fashioned the glory of Mani-Congo.
The warriors of Ashanti were among us
And we sang to the anvil sound
Of the bronze workers of Benin.
We raised Empires and Kingdoms
Fashioned the wisdom of Timbuctoo
The cow, and the corn of our land
Multiplied a thousand fold
And we were at peace
In Kumbin Saleh we raised the temples
To our gods and worshipped therein.

But they did not know all this.
To them we were the animals of the jungle
To them we were the dregs of humanity
To them we were cattle and sheep.
We did not surrender
We fought many battles
Blood flowed from the great veld
And covered the fields of Chaka's Kingdom.
Osei-Tutu's men rose, fought undauntedly
For four hundred years we fought and won.
Then they came back again offering peace and friendship
We received them in our bounty.
But the second slavery had begun.
They walked our lands like overlords
Exiled our great sons
And killed our chiefs
They defiled our fathers' gods
And violated our virgins.
They taught our children strange ways
And steeped them in the oblivion of subjection.
We did not sleep, we never surrendered.
Their soldiers and lawmakers came
Accompanied by their men of god
Performed evil deeds in our sight
Stole the gold and diamond of our land
And gave us the Bible in exchange.
Our guns were weak and theirs were strong
But we did not sleep, we never surrendered.

Then the new dawn broke on us.
We saw the blood of our sons flow in rivers
We saw our violated women weeping
We heard our children's cries from afar
And heard the ancestors demanding revenge.
Will the blood of the martyrs be shed in vain?
Will those who died in the slave ships die in vain?
Will we endure the desolation for ever more?
One morning the drums sounded
Beating on my beloved hills of Africa.
I saw two hundred million black men
Marching like their fathers did.
The drums beat till noon
Then the great continent assembled
Black, fierce and strong.

The funeral dirges were pushed aside
The time of mourning was over
The tears and the moanings have ended.
The revolt of the slaves had begun.
Then the drums beat again
This time more powerfully
And the marshalled forces marched forward
Shaking the sacred earth of Africa.
Africa! Africa! Come back Africa!
Your sons are up in arms
Your daughters with babies on their backs
Are up in arms!
Our war songs reached the skies
Fiercer than ten thousand thunders.
They heard our war songs
And laughed at us.
They said the children of darkness have gone mad.
At sunset they return to their kraals.
But we did not return, we never went to sleep.
Those of them who saw the signs
Took to their heels
We slew those who remained
Widowing their women
And rendering their children orphans.
We crossed the Nile and reached the Niger
There the enemy had fled before us.
By the banks of the Congo we saw them gathered
Then Lumumba pointed his spear at them
The spear Nkrumah gave him
And they fled like geese before a storm.

We did not sleep
We marched eastwards
And rested under the shadow of the Kilimanjaro
And the Burning Spear looked into the waters
And told us the divination of the night.
"We cannot sleep," he said
Then we went forward
Routing them from every farmland
There were tears in the air
And vultures fed on carcasses
But we too have known many tears
We too have fed our bodies to the crows
We too have shed our blood in flowing rivers.
We cannot sleep, we cannot surrender.
They fled southwards to join their brothers
Our wing in the north had routed them.
And the beloved hills of Algeria are free.

Today we lie under the baobab tree
The drums that beat the war-dances have not slept
Our strength is gathering
Gathering for the final assault
When we move the ground shall shake
For at our head will be the shade of great Chaka
The Zulu warriors are in our ranks.
Our forces have redoubled
And from distant Asia
Another people whose victory echoes reached us
Have joined our ranks!

We have arisen,
We the sons of the black eagle have arisen
We are soaring high reaching for the skies
Our blackness shall redeem us
Our new-found voice shall raise
The freedom shouts
And our black hands raise the flag of peace.
The shout is ringing through the vast land
The drums are still beating
Under the Statue of Liberty on New York's shore
The freedom shouts of our black brothers reach us
Commingle with the voice of our drums
Uhuru! Uhuru! Uhuru!

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

FACTS FOR YOUR FINGERTIPS

THE inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia are divided into four racial groups: Africans 3,690,000 (93.9 per cent), Europeans 223,000 (5.7 per cent), coloured persons (i.e. of mixed racial origin) 11,200 (0.2 per cent), Asians 7,500 (0.2 per cent).

Under the Land Apportionment Acts, forty-one million acres of the best land is reserved for 223,000 Europeans and forty-four million acres for 3,690,000 Africans. Any European immigrant is entitled to a grant of 750 acres of land on arrival. The standard apportionment of land for an African farmer is six acres of arable.

In 1961, African agriculture, on which two million of the population depend, provided an income of just under £18 per head per year. Only £2 of this was in the form of cash.

The average monthly wage for Africans employed in farming or forestry in 1961 was £3 4s. In mining £5 12s. The highest paid group—transport—£14 16s. For the salary and wage earning population of Southern Rh-

desia as a whole the average earned by Africans was £95 per year, by Europeans £1,173 per year.

Africans are permitted to live only in the African reservations. To live outside the reservations require the consent of the employer who can and often does prohibit the worker from living with his family. No African may own or rent property in the central urban areas and all must carry a "pass".

United Kingdom investment in the Central-Federation area in 1962 was £103 million (excluding oil and insurance). Total United States investment £30 million (excluding petroleum), U.K. investments gave an annual return of £10.3 million.

In 1959, the Northern Rhodesian Mine-workers' Union, in calling for the nationalisation of the Rhodesian copper industry, stated that the mining companies had paid out £150 million in dividends after taxation over the previous ten-year period, while total investment in the Copper Belt did not exceed £100 million. In the past four years at least another £100 million have been paid out in dividends.

Latin America: BRAZIL

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ric mining enterprise, the Saint John del Rey Mining Co. He indicated that "this wealth, especially iron ore, are concentrated in few hands and are monopolized by groups which are mostly foreign".

CONFISCATION OF OIL REFINERY SUPPORTED

Brazilia: Mr. Costa Santos, M.P., defended the confiscation of the "Capua-va" oil refinery as a technical imperative in order to

make Brazil self supporting in oil requirement.

Santos criticized the press which opposed the confiscation, and said that the press "defended the tax fraud and corruption" adding that — "the company was squandering its gains and showed a deficit", for which reason the shareholders did not receive any dividends.

BRAZIL WANTS OAS REFORMED

Rio de Janeiro: The daily "Correio da Manha" says editorially that "Bra-

zil has long been an outstanding supporter of reforms in the Organisation of American States".

The paper adds that such reforms, demanded also by Mexico and other countries, would have been carried out had the Brazilian delegate, Mr. Ilmar Pena Marinho, been elected to the Presidency of the Executive Council of the OAS.

Among the arguments the paper advances for such a reform is the OAS inefficiency in the solution of problems of interest for Latin America.

CHILE

"OPERATION AMERICA" CONDEMNED

Santiago de Chile: The Co-ordinating Committee of Latin American Trade Unions has declared that "the military manoeuvres being held in Colombia are part of a plan to intervene

in Venezuela and possibly to extend this aggression to Cuba".

The document says that "the so-called Operation America is a disguised ac-

tion in which some Latin American countries participate, coinciding with the election mascarade called by the government of Romulo Betancourt".

Nicaragua

GUERRILLAS SEIZE MINE

Managua: An armed patrol of the Sandinists Armed Forces (FAS) an organisation named after the guerilla fighter who led the long resistance to U.S. armed intervention in the 30s—seized for several hours an American gold

mine 40 kilometers from the Leon City, taking with them 200,000 cordobas (30,000 dollars) and withdrew to the neighbouring mountains.

These guerilla units have recently carried out other

commando operations, one of them in San Carlos, in the Gracias a Dios region, where they wiped out a patrol of 12 national guards. In several other towns they successfully fought different government forces.

B.A.A. New Year Message

by A. K. Barden, Director.

WHEN Ghana attained independence in 1957, a new epoch had been reached in Africa. Since then tremendous strides have not only been made in Ghana but throughout the continent of Africa. The seed that was sown by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had born fruit more rapidly than the sceptics expected. The whole continent of Africa has been in revolt and Africa has been on the stage of world affairs. Africa has struck the headlines of world newspapers day after day.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah himself has emphasised over and over again that Ghana's future depends not only on its own internal measures to transform its economy and to work towards socialism, but on the tempo of advance of the whole of Africa towards freedom and independence.

The freedom struggle in Africa has developed at a fast pace in every corner of this vast continent. Fierce struggle for freedom have been waged—and are still being waged—in Angola, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia.

For three years, the Republic of Congo has been the scene of fierce and relentless struggle to rid this vast country of imperialist domination. In the process, Lumumba, one of the greatest patriots of Africa was

slaughtered on the altar of freedom.

For nearly eight years, the liberation war had raged in Algeria until 1962 when independence was eventually granted to her by the French imperialists. In Angola and Mozambique, the Portuguese Colonialists are committing the most inhuman atrocities to keep their hold on the people.

GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS

Even in the face of these struggles and ruthless measures by the imperialist powers, the African Liberation Movements have made great strides. In June 1960, Somalia won her independence. Nigeria achieved independence in October 1960, Sierra Leone in April 1961, and in October 1961,

the former British Cameroons united within the Republic of the Cameroons. Early in 1961 Tanganyika achieved independence and in October 10th Uganda shed off the imperialist yoke.

Just about the same time, the former French colonies in West Africa won their independence in 1960 and Mauritania and Malagasy won theirs in 1960. True it is that they are still within the "French community" and strongly under the influence of French imperial policy. Yet the Republic of Guinea chose to become completely independent and the Republic of Mali is also independent, allying itself with Ghana and Guinea to form the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union.

The result of these developments is that more than two thirds of the continent and peoples of Africa are now free from direct colonial rule. Early in 1960 there were only ten independent African states. At the end of this year there are no less than thirty-four of them.

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EDITORIAL The Battle Ahead

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mary to the fundamental document—The Charter. We have made gains towards isolating South Africa. Portugal and Spain have been forced to have second thoughts. And more countries have achieved formal independence.

But the coming year points at a new continental strategy based on an effective continental people's movement animated by the people, guided by a continental strategy, soldiered by the people, powerful enough to bring all forces of reaction, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid to their knees.

Our salvation lies in building political unity in Africa. It is the key to the higher phase of the African revolution.

On the world scene the Cuban tussle, in which though the United States demonstrated that it would rather see the whole world perish than put up with what it does not like, has forcibly focussed serious ideological issues confronting the revolutionary movements in the world. The coming year is bound to solve them.

One can safely predict that in 1964, the progressive and democratic forces in the world will see the urgent need for UNITY. Acrimony, propagandising and bad temper in the socialist world will definitely give way to tolerance, comradeship and unity of purpose and action.

In the capitalist world the crisis has become sharper, and surely the trend will continue as the conflict within their ranks deepens.

If imperialism must be restored, American economic and military power must sustain the capitalist world either by bolstering those powers seeking directly to stem the capitalist system or itself undertake the task. It must be active on all continents, for the crisis is universal. It must clash everywhere with the social forces of progressive change.

Already the crisis has produced new fissions and upheavals and realignment of nations. The crisis may produce more Kennedys in the capitalist world and perhaps many more de Gaulles.

World politics reflects the underlying movement of economic and social forces at a given time, and also influences this movement. But the most reliable index to the politics of our era is not to be found in the pronouncement of statesmen, although these often throw considerable light on events and influence the movement of peoples and classes. We must seek the shape of the present

period primarily in the processes of social change which have been advanced by our time, in the shift of power relations among the principal monopoly capitalist groups and nations, and in the new position of socialism with respect to the rest of the world.

Peace is essential in the coming year. Two world wars and many great economic crises, with their immeasurable burden of death and suffering would seem more than sufficient for a single generation. Yet in our day, after victory over the fascist Axis, threats of still another war, more destructive than the last, again agitate the world. The periodic outbursts are symptomatic of the fundamental crisis which afflicts social systems in the West.

Peace can be achieved but it is not unrelated to the processes of social change in our era. We must make it clear that the firm guarantee of peace is the strengthening and unification of all revolutionary and popular forces fighting against imperialism and the capitalist system.

The temptation is great to keep enlarging upon a subject that is endless, and bring into analysis every new event that illumines the current movement of history. But if we must serve an immediate purpose in the pressing struggle we must map out our immediate tasks:

In 1964, the world socialist movement must brace itself for the challenge of imperialism which shall be both frontal and outflanking, open and clandestine, direct and camouflaged.

In Africa we must spread the understanding of socialist ideas among the masses. We cannot fail or weaken in this task, for this is the bedrock of our edifice and the fountain-head of our strength.

In Ghana we must quickly re-organise the popular movement by basing the C.P.P. squarely on the workers, peasants, and youths; by raising a new class of enlightened and dedicated cadres; by building mass support for and defending the stand of the accepted socialist leadership of Kwame Nkrumah.

In order to strengthen the socialist movement throughout Africa, we think, as we did twelve months ago, that 1964 should see the emergence of co-ordinating action by truly socialist political parties and movements throughout Africa to fight the synchronised operation of collective imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

May 1964, already heavy with huge billowing clouds of on-coming political hurricanes, fortify all progressive forces.

May 1964 be a year of effective victory for the socialist forces.

Long live the African Revolution.

We Protest

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Fourthly, the students were impressed by the "diligent people" of the Republic of Rwanda "who long for the return of Europeans as their friends". Here the notion is being put out that the people of Africa are not quite at home with the new rulers in the new Africa and even prefer the old masters!

Fifthly, the students think Africa's condemnation of Portuguese colonialism as quite wrong. According to the article, these students "had revised their opinion on Portuguese policy in East Africa". Why? Because according to them there is "an appropriate level of public well-being and a lack of any racial discrimination".

It is just this that the West German students describe as the reality!

The West German authorities cannot disclaim responsibility for such a distorted and mischievous view of the new Africa. The 55 students were chosen by West German Federal Ministry of Economy to accompany the mobile exhibition. Their expenses were all met by the West German government. And,

no doubt, many of these students will soon become lecturers in the "German Foundation for Developing Countries." This institution or academy is to produce 'experts' and 'advisers' for service in Africa much along the same lines as the U.S. Peace Corps.

Let's be frank with people coming to Africa with their huge exhibitions, fireworks and "miracles". We measure their good-will towards Africa by the extent of their relations with the fascist regimes in Pretoria and Lisbon, and by their attitudes to Africa's efforts towards an independent national economy.

West Germany has been maintaining the closest relations with the Pretoria regime in the fields of the economy, politics and culture. As for their common ideology, it's enough to mention the announcement made by a West German leading statesman, Mr. Luecke in Johannesburg in March 1959. This statement was at the time published in the South African newspaper "The Star". Said the West German statesman: "South Africa has achieved great expe-

rience in solving the problem of aborigines. The Government has this problem well in hand, and its experience could be well employed also in other parts of the continent". We have not heard of any official rejection of this view on the part of West Germany up to now. Instead, we hear and read numerous other official and unofficial announcements of this nature.

West Germany—as it has been stated in a survey by the U.N. Secretariat—is among those states in no way participating in boycott measures against the Verwoerd regime. On the contrary, West German monopolies have penetrated nearly all spheres of South African economy. West Germany is next to Great Britain and the U.S.A. as an exporter to South Africa. According to an official announcement made in Pretoria on December 3, this year, West Germany has offered to deliver to South Africa all her requirements of arms and ammunition. This is the degree of unanimity that exists within this unholy alliance of racists, imperialist and neo-colonialist enemies of Africa with their seats in Bonn and Pretoria.

New Year Message

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The British colonial empire before 1957 of nearly

two million square miles, nearly twenty times the size of Britain, and a population of more than 72 million. At the end of 1963, Britain's colonial empire has been reduced by 40 per cent and the African peoples, under direct British colonial rule by over 80 per cent.

There will still remain in Africa 6 British colonies covering an area of six or seven times as big as Britain and African population of over 10 million. These territories are: Gambia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and the so-called self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia.

At the moment there are several explosive points in the African struggle for political freedom. There is the struggle in Tunisia to get rid of the French military base in Bizerta; in South Africa, the heroic resistance to the vile system of apartheid is still going on.

THE TRANSFER OF POWER

Extremely sharp is the struggle in Southern Rhodesia against the transfer of power to the minority white settlers. Northern Rhodesia is on her way to independence and so is the Gambia.

In relation to all these struggles, the big change in the situation is that the African in these territories is no longer fighting alone.

Since Ghana's independence in 1957, there has been a remarkable advance towards African Unity, and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has been the spearhead in the

activities to achieve this objective.

The Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of States and Governments held in May this year gave meaning and dimension to the idea of African Unity. Although events have proved that the Addis Ababa Conference did not go far enough, there is hope that the ideal of a Continental Government will be achieved in the coming year.

SERIOUS BLUNDER

We believe that it would be a serious blunder to deceive ourselves that imperialism is no longer aiming at maintaining its domination of the African continent. Although the greater part of Africa has now won the constitutional right to elect their own government and to decide their own policies, imperialism has increased its penetration of the African continent in other ways.

Let us not be complacent about our achievements. There is much that lies ahead in the future, but with our forces united in the effort to end once and for all imperialist domination in our continent, there is no force on earth to deter us.

The coming year demands from us new effort in our struggle and a new hope.

We enjoin you to have faith in our struggle and in that faith let us dare to work in unity and do our duty to ourselves and to our children to free Africa and solve our problems within the framework of a Continental Government of Africa.

