

THE PANAFRICAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

ORIGINS — ELEMENTS — CONFLICTS

A REPORT

published by

the

AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION

27 bis, rue Victor Hugo

DAKAR

HISTORY

EFFORTS to unify the African trade union movement are nearly as old as the movement itself. The principle of working class solidarity on a Pan-African basis was a major objective of African leaders even in colonial days. A number of meetings were held in that period (*see Chronology*), and tentative efforts were made to coalesce existing trade union centers, as in the experiment of Sékou Touré of Guinea with the General Union of Workers of Black Africa (UGTAN).

A period of experiment and maneuver marked the late 1950's and early 1960's, when most African states gained their independence. Two outstanding events took place in this period:

1. The Constituent Conference of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) at Casablanca in May 1960. Conflict over the future direction of African trade unionism developed at this Conference, causing a split among African trade unions which still persists.
2. The Founding Conference of the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC) at Dakar in January 1962. This meeting resulted in the creation of an organisation with the affiliation of 41 national centers from 32 countries. It was the first time anywhere that trade unions affiliated to the ICFTU and the IFCTU had joined together in a formal organisation.

There have been many efforts since Dakar to reunite African labour. A number of meetings have been called (*see Chronology*) and innumerable initiatives have been taken, especially by the leaders of the ATUC, to bring the two sides together.

The division nevertheless persists. It persists because of a basic philosophical difference between the two sides.

Major elements of the AATUF, led by Ghana, believe that trade unions must submit to the control of governments and political parties.

ATUC members, on the other hand, believe that trade unions should lend their full genius and strength to the task of nation building while maintaining their traditional independence.

That is the central issue. All others, such as the question of international affiliation, are secondary despite the emphasis placed on them in propaganda.

ATUC is not affiliated to any international organisation, and the ATUC Constitution specifically prohibits such affiliation. ATUC members may, if they wish, maintain relations including affiliation with other trade union internationals. AATUF members must disaffiliate from all other labour organisations as a condition of AATUF membership.

There are no differences between the two tendencies in African trade unionism which cannot be resolved. But differences must be resolved on a basis of mutual respect, of free and frank discussion - and, above all, on a basis of reality.

The AATUF, apparently intended by certain of its founders to serve political objectives, failed to do so because it failed to take account of African political realities. The reality is that Africans demand democracy and integrity in all their institutions and will not, after their bitter battle against colonialism, march backwards into servitude. The two most important events of the African Labour Movement underlined two completely opposed attitudes in that respect:

1. *The Casablanca Conference showed that free and democratic procedure can be ignored only at Africa's peril.*
2. *The Dakar Conference showed that African trade unions can join ranks in brotherhood and still maintain their autonomy and their integrity.*

THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE

« The Ghanaian Worker », the official organ of the Ghana TUC, expressed in its issue of November 14, 1959, sentiments that every African could share when it (unilaterally) « announced » the foundation of the All African Trade Union Federation.

« The Ghanaian Worker » appealed to the workers of Africa

« to banish every form of sterile partisanship, and to reject every evil prejudice... »

And « The Ghanaian Worker » described the true aspiration of Africa when it called for

« the establishment of true democracy, guaranteeing to everyone liberty, justice, social well-being, and peace. »

A year later, after Ghana's John K. Tettegah had signed a joint communiqué with Tom Mboya, then General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, in which the KFL and the Ghana TUC

« both recognise the right of each national centre to decide its own international relations, »

the AATUF — though yet unborn — became involved in the circulation of a forged document which impugned the reputation of Mboya and other African patriots. (Tettegah had denounced his agreement with Mboya almost as soon as it was made.)

In his ringing reply to the forged libel, Tom Mboya said:

« I... condemn without reservation blackmail or other forms of subtle manoeuvre by any African leader or country aimed at coercing or intimidating those who may for genuine reasons disagree with them. Unity and Solidarity in Africa will only succeed if we all adopt the spirit of respect and recognition of each others' interests and opinions and act honourably among ourselves. »

That Ghana and her supporters were following a policy of « sub-

the manoeuvre and blackmail » could not be doubted. Nor could it be doubted that the Ghana TUC was acting on orders of the Ghana Government and the Convention Peoples Party.

In the spring of 1961, Kwame Nkrumah went so far as to make a public speech in Accra ordering members of the TUC to exchange their TUC membership cards for CPP cards and fly the CPP flag over the TUC building instead of the TUC flag!

The hope of African unity became dimmer as the shadow of intrigue crept across Mother Africa.

Foreign funds were placed in the hands of adventurers and lackeys to set up fictitious trade unions in opposition to such great democratic unions as the Kenya Federation of Labour, the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria, the Uganda TUC, and others.

Ghana and her followers insisted on the pretense that these paper organisations, representing nobody except their foreign supporters, were legitimate trade unions.

This was situation as the Constituent Conference of AATUF was held in Casablanca in May 1961.

A general invitation to all African trade unions was issued, curiously, *through the press* by the Ghana TUC and other members of the Preparatory Committee. Specific invitations were sent only to those thought likely to toe the line laid down by Ghana — and to a large delegation of « trade unionists » from the Communist countries behind the Iron Curtain.

At a meeting in Conakry from 20 to 23 April, 1961, the self-styled Preparatory Committee of AATUF invited only itself plus two trade unions from outside the Ghana camp. Those officially invited, therefore, were:

1. Ghana TUC
2. Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens (Algeria)
3. Union Marocaine du Travail (Morocco)
4. Confédération Générale des Travailleurs de Guinée (Guinea)

5. Union Nationale des Travailleurs Maliens (Mali)

6. Federation of Egyptian Workers.

As an afterthought, the *Kenya Federation of Labour* and *l'Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens* were also invited — again through the press.

At the Casablanca Conference, the first five organisations set themselves up as a Steering Committee. Since all but one of these organisations — the *Union Marocaine du Travail* — were dominated by their governments, it is not surprising that no effort was made to let the Conference decide for itself who should serve as its officers.

The so-called « Steering Committee » decided on all matters relating to the conference. For example, it

- refused to seat delegates of African unions affiliated to the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.
- seated representatives of such fictitious unions as the « Kenya TUC », « Uganda Federation of Labour », etc.
- granted observer status to no fewer than 35 representatives from Communist trade union centres in Eastern Europe, the USSR, and Communist China.

The « Steering Committee » refused to recognise speakers from important democratic trade unions in Africa if it was believed that these leaders might express views contrary to those of the « Steering Committee. »

Freedom of speech was violated from the beginning of the Conference till the end.

There were no votes on any question. The « Steering Committee », remarking that decisions should be taken on the basis of the « consensus of the Conference, » expressed the view that this was « the better democracy. »

Faced with such tactics, there was no possibility of meaningful discussion toward an agreement which might bring about genuine unity of African labour.

Therefore, in the last days of the Conference, all the trade unionists attending walked out except those who had called the Conference — Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, and the UAR, plus Algeria and the Communist visitors.

AATUF was formed anyway. But it was a sham organisation which could never speak for African labour and which, in fact, sowed seeds of suspicion and disunity that bore — and continue to bear — bitter fruit for the working class.

Speaking from the rubble of AATUF, *John Tettegah of Ghana announced that the AATUF would wage « total war » against all African trade unions affiliated to trade union internationals other than AATUF.*

Tettegah's statement was part of the AATUF tactic of pretending that international affiliation was the cause of the failure of the Casablanca Conference. The real cause, of course, was the rape of brotherhood and freedom of speech and action which was perpetrated by the Ghana TUC and her supporters on the Steering Committee.

This frenzied attack upon the democratic trade unions of Africa continued through the long months of impotence and acrimony which followed the Casablanca Conference. And, when plans were announced for the Dakar Conference and African labour seemed on the verge of being reunited, Tettegah of Ghana launched a new, hysterical attack on all those patriotic African trade unionists who had refused to be bullied and silenced at Casablanca.

THE DAKAR CONFERENCE

In the event, neither Ghana nor any other member of the AATUF attended the Dakar Conference — although the first act of the trade unionists of Dakar was to invite their estranged brothers of AATUF to come to the Conference and heal the wounds of Pan-African Unity.

The Dakar Conference, conducted according to accepted democratic practice, resulted in the free and open decision of 41 African trade union centres in 32 countries to close ranks in a great Confederation representing more than two million African workers. The first aim of ATUC was:

« To bring together all the labour organisations of Africa with no discrimination whatever for the improvement of living standards and for their right to decide their own future. »

The Dakar Conference adopted a wide range of resolutions bearing upon the social, political and economic situation in Africa. The new Confederation took a strong position in support of freedom fighters in the remaining colonial territories and, only days after its foundation, raised the voice of the African worker in the meeting of African Heads of State then being held in Lagos.

Throughout its existence, the emphasis of ATUC policy has been on action to aid the workers, rather than upon propaganda — especially propaganda of the abusive type which has so injured the cause of unity.

UNITY PURSUED

After the impetus given by the Addis-Ababa Conference of African Chiefs of State, a new spirit of optimism was born, and representatives of the two major labour confederations met at Dakar in October, 1963.

In a communiqué signed by the President of AATUF, Mahjoub Ben Seddik of Morocco; the President of ATUC, Ahmed Tlili of Tunisia; and by the Secretary of the Meeting, Alioune Cissé, it was announced that AATUF and ATUC representatives at the meeting:

« Decide to create a single African labour centre which would be united and democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, independent from the control of any international labour centre and whose activity would be in the framework of the struggle of the African peoples for decolonisation and the achievement of a true democracy. »

A Preparatory Committee of 14 — seven from each organisation despite the much greater size of ATUC — was designated to set up a meeting at which unity might at last be achieved. That Committee has yet to meet in formal session. Several times meetings have been set, only to be postponed — sometimes by the AATUF, sometimes by the ATUC. Elements in AATUF have done all in their power to poison the atmosphere and destroy any hope of compromise before it could even be discussed.

Finally, a serious effort toward reconciliation was to have taken place at Algiers on May 12 1964. It looked as though the Preparatory Committee was at last ready to begin its work.

A few days before that hoped — for meeting, the AATUF announced the convocation of their own « unity » congress to be held at Bamako on June 10: a congress that would automatically exclude any national federation affiliated with an international organisation (in other words, most of the members of the ATUC). Thus, the long-awaited negotiations were unilaterally eliminated by the AATUF.

In spite of the intransigence of Ghana, whose trade-union officials continue their anti-African intrigues; in spite of the virulent attacks and the discord which have been the main product of the Bamako Conference; men of good will will continue to pursue the great dream of African labour unity and solidarity.

The time for name-calling speeches, bitter propaganda and declarations of « total war », is over. Since Addis-Ababa, responsible and reasonable men recognise the need for sober negotiation and sincere efforts to find grounds for compromise. Now is the time for those who speak in the name of Pan-Africanism to act in the true spirit of Pan-Africanism: the spirit of mutual respect, confidence, liberty and integrity.

A PROFILE OF THE AFRICAN LABOUR ORGANISATIONS:

ATUC	AATUF
OFFICERS	OFFICERS
President: Ahmed TLILI	President: M. Ben Seddik, Morocco
Vice Presidents: Lawrence BORHA, Nigeria Reuben JAMELA, Southern Rhodesia Gilbert PONGAULT, Congo Brazza André BO-BOLIKO, Congo Leo Madagascar Louis RANAIVO (CCSM) David SOUMAH, Secretary for Administration, Senegal	General Secretary: John Tettegah, Ghana Vice Presidents: Mamady Kaba, Guinée Mamadou Famady Sissoko, Mali Safi Boudissa, Algeria Ahmed Fahim, UAR Michael Kamaliza, Tanganyika Wahab Goodluck, Nigeria One post reserved for Congo Brazzaville
Secretaries for Press: Alasanne Sow, Senegal Alphonse Kithima, Congo Leopoldville	SECRETARIES John Reich, Uganda Dr. Amelon, Dahomey Kawamba, N. Rhodesia Madia Diop, Senegal Ochola Makanyengo, Kenya
HEADQUARTERS Dakar	One post reserved for Upper Volta
AFFILIATES Angola (LGTA) Cameroun Central African Republic (ATUC) Congo (Brazzaville) (two national centers)	HEADQUARTERS Accra

Dahomey (NCBWD)
 Gabon (two national centers)
 Gambia (two national centers)
 Ivory Coast (three national centers)
 Kenya (KFL)
 Liberia (CIO)
 Libya (GUW)
 Madagascar (two national centers)
 Mauritania (two national centers)
 Mauritius (MTUC)
 Niger (NUW)
 Nigeria (TUCN)
 Northern Rhodesia (NRTUC)
 Nyasaland (NTUC)
 Senegal (UGTS)
 Sierra Leone (SLCL)
 Somalia (SCL)
 Southern Rhodesia (SRTUC)
 Tanganyika (TFL)
 Togo (NCBW)
 Tunisia (UGTT)
 Uganda (UTUC)
 Upper Volta (UNTC)

MEMBERSHIP

2,225,000

DECLARED OBJECTIVES

1. To bring together all the labour organisations of Africa with no discrimination whatever for the improve-

AFFILIATES

Algeria (UGTA)
 Ghana (GTUC)
 Guinea (CNTG)
 Mali (UNTM)
 Morocco (UMT)
 UAR (ETUC)
 Claims 31 other affiliates,

MEMBERSHIP

610,000

DECLARED OBJECTIVES

1. To establish and maintain a united and virile labour movement representative of all Trade Union Centers of Africa, independent of all partisan and ideological international Trade Union Organisations: irrespective of considerations of nationality, religion or political considerations. (1)
2. To promote the aims and aspirations of the All African Peoples' Conference in the move for independence, unity and social reconstruction and to enhance the African Personality. (2)
3. To form the spearhead of the Nationalist Movement

ment of living standards and for their right to decide their own future.

2. To guide and coordinate their actions with regard to the general problems of Africa and the world, the struggle for African Liberation, the defense of the basic liberties of mankind and in particular the liberties of Trade Unions against imperialism, dictatorship and all other forms of exploitation and oppression.
3. To defend everywhere and in all circumstances the interests of Africa above all others.
4. To affirm and to secure respect for the personality and the dignity of the African Labour Movement.
5. ATUC is independent of all governments, all political parties, all religions and all associations of financial interests.
6. ATUC is independent of all International labour organisations and of all African organisations which do not belong to it.
7. The trade union must go

for the total liberation of Africa, from colonialism, capitalist exploitation and racial discrimination.

4. To assist where necessary the unorganized and weak trade unions in Africa to set up and strengthen their trade unions. (3)
5. To represent the interests of African labour in all International agencies concerned with the problems of World Organisations.
6. All national Trade Union Centres in Africa who accept the aims and Constitution of the AATUF shall be eligible for membership provided that only one such affiliate shall be admitted from each country and provided also that such national trade union bodies shall have no other affiliations with the ICFTU, WFTU or the IFCTU or any of their trade secretariats and/or International Trade Departments. (4)

beyond the narrow scope of cooperation and efficiently contribute to national construction on the political level by the establishment of true democracy and the creation of a stable, healthy, progressive and de-colonialized economy.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE PAN-AFRICAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

- April 1947 — Pan-African Trade Union Information Conference in Dakar
- March 1951 — African Trade Union Conference in Douala
- August 1952 — Trade Union Consultative Committee for West Africa
- July 1956 — Formation of African Trade Union Congress of Believing Workers in West Africa in Dakar
- January 1957 — Constituent Congress of the General Federation of Workers of Black Africa (UGTAN) in Cotonu
- 14-19 January 1957 — First African Regional Conference (ICFTU) in Accre
- 26-28 July 1958 — Formation East, Central and South Africa Area Trade Union Committee in Dar es Salaam
- 11-12 January 1959 — Formation of Pan-African Believing Workers Congress in Brazzaville
- 24-28 April 1959 — Conference of Arab Trade Unions in Cairo
- 11-12 September 1959 — Constituent Conference of the African Federation of Free Trade Unions (GASL) in Abidjan
- 4-9 November 1959 — Preparatory Committee of Casablanca Trade Union Conference in Accra
- 9-14 November 1959 — Second African Regional Conference (ICFTU) in Lagos

-
- (1) The membership of the AATUF has never expanded past the original founding members, numbering only six. Delegations from certain other countries attending the first AATUF Congress but walked out of the Congress when it became apparent that the Founding Members were uninterested in observing the most elementary norms of democratic procedure. It was, in addition, the policy of the AATUF leaders to invite splinter unions even from such countries as Nigeria and Kenya where both strong and representative national centers had existed for some time.
- (2) The founding of the AATUF was first advocated by the All African People's Conference (AAPC) in 1958.
- (3) The consistent policy of the AATUF since the organisations founding has been to support radical splinter groups which work against bone fide national centers affiliated to the ATUC.
- (4) The subject of international affiliation has been a major source of friction between African Labour Groups. WFTU has always given its support to the disaffiliation position. The most affiliates WFTU has ever had in Africa is 5, whereas the ICFTU claims 18 and the ICFTU 27.

- 2-5 May 1960 — Constituent Congress of the Pan-African Federation of Believing Workers in Cotonou
- 7-11 November 1960 — African Regional Organization (AFRO) Conference in Tunis
- 25-31 May 1961 — All-African Trade Union Conference in Casablanca
- 7 August 1961 — Maghreb Trade Union Federation in Sfax
- 5-6 December 1961 — African Trade Union Conference of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Blantyre
- 9-14 January 1962 — Pan African Trade Union Conference in Dakar
- 24 May 1962 — Meeting of the Bureau of the African Trade Union Confederation
- 17-19 October 1963 — Dakar Meeting of ATUC and AATUF Secretariats. Formation of Merger Congress « Preparatory Committee »
- January 1964 — Scheduled meeting of « Preparatory Committee ». Postponed at AATUF request
- 21 February 1964 — Scheduled meeting of « Preparatory Committee ». Postponed at request of ATUC
- 15 April 1964 — Meeting of representatives of ATUC and AATUF in Algiers. Request to both Secretariats for joint meeting in Algiers, 12 May, 1964
- 12 May 1964 — Scheduled meeting of Preparatory Committee in Algiers. AATUF fails to attend
- 12 May 1964 — AATUF holds Secretariat meeting in Bamako. Announce intention to hold Second AATU Congress
- 10 June 1964 — Second AATUF Congress, Bamako

APPENDIX

A selection of documents bearing on the history of the Panafrikan labour movement will be found in the following pages.

I. THE PERIOD BEFORE CASABLANCA

EDITORIAL from THE GHANAIAN WORKER
on Saturday, Nov. 14, 1959

COWARDS MAY FLINCH

They fiddle while Rome burns. This is the attitude of the few African trade unionists who have failed to answer the call of Mother Africa when the selfless stalwarts have ignited the great big fire, the fire that is the AATUF, the fire that will chase away from Africa the foreign vampires and the imperialist monsters.

Mother Africa, still still bleeding from the ghastly wounds of imperialist exploitation and oppression, called upon her sons to come together and join in the great big fight for her total liberation, but Tom Mboya and others chose to play foreign fiddle while Africa burns. If they have no other selfish motives, do they honestly believe that they can project the African Personality better through the foreign ICFTU, than through the African AATUF?

Cowards may flinch, traitors may sneer, but with the torch of the AATUF, we'll keep the banner of the new Africa flying high!

INTERNAL RULES FOR THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-AFRICAN TRADES UNION FEDERATION (1)

The Pan-African Trades Union Conference, which was attended by representatives of the following organisations:

(1) The French communique based on this text contains several variations, the most significant of which are pointed out in subsequent footnotes.

Ghana TUC — Nigerian Trades Union — Gambia Workers Union — South African Congress of Trade Union — Council of Labour (Sierra Leone) — Uganda TUC — Union Marocaine du Travail — Egyptian TUC — Union Generale des Travailleurs d' Afrique Noire representing Sudan, Senegal, Guinea, Togoland, Niger, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Mauritania — Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens, meeting in Accra from the 5th to the 9th November, 1959.

After examining the position of Trades Union in Africa, in relation to the international situation and the compelling need for the political, economic and social liberation of the African masses;

Considering the consciousness on the part of the African workers, of the common interest that unites them, and the compelling need to strengthen fighting front against imperialism exploitation and discrimination;

Considering the necessity to promote greater solidarity between African Trade Union Organisations, a necessity which is all the more urgent because of the intrigues tending to enslave the African Trade Union Movement and to divert it from its objectives of liberation; (2)

Taking account of the determination expressed on many occasion by the African Trade Union organisations to achieve unity, particularly at their meeting in Conakry in January, 1959 and at Casablanca by the Preparatory Committee on the 8th September, 1959.

Decides to call a Constituent Congress of the Pan-African Trades Union in Mid-May 1960 at Casablanca, Morocco.

The Headquarters of the Committee has been fixed at Accra.

The Committee is composed of nineteen (19) members representing the following organisations:

Ghana Trades Union Congress

(2) References to «intrigues tending to enslave the African Trade Union Movement» are absent from the French communiqué.

Nigerian Labour Movement [sic]
Gambia Workers Union
South African Congress of Trades Union
Council of Labour - Sierra Leone
Uganda Trades Union Congress
Union Marocaine du Travail (3)
Egyptian Trade Union Congress
Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens
Union Generale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire

It may be increased by representatives of organisations which join later.

The Bureau of the Committee is composed of 7 members as follows

One President and six Secretaries	— Mahjoub Ben Seddik (UTM)
	— Joe-fio N. Meyer (Ghana TUC)
	— Assad Rabeih (Egyptian TUC)
	— Abdoulaye Gueye (UGTAN)
	— W. O. Goodluck (Nigerian Trades Union)
	— Seydou Diallo (UGTAN)
	— Maachou Abdelkader (UGTAN)

The Bureau is charged with the following task:

- the organisation of the Congress in its material aspects
- the preparation of reports and documents
- the publication of a liaison bulletin
- the organisation of tours and contacts
- The collection of funds for the working of the organisation
- propaganda

The Bureau meets once in two months, on the President's initiative, and may hold extraordinary meetings, if circumstances warrant. The Bureau shall work on the principle of collective responsibility.

The Committee must hold at least one meeting in order to proceed with arrangements for convening the Congress.

(3) The Union Marocaine du Travail is not mentioned in the French communiqué.

The resources of the « UNION SYNDICATE PANAFRICAINE » (AATUP) (USPA) are comprised by:

- The participation of member organisations
- Workers' subscriptions
- Donations and subventions.

The Funds of the Committee must be deposited in a bank account in Accra and Casablanca. All withdrawals of monies must be accompanied by a voucher signed by the President or by a Secretary so empowered by the bureau.

The Bureau is accountable to the Committee in the first place and later to the Congress for the disbursements of the funds.

The Constitution of the Panafrikan Trades Union will be drawn up and adopted by the Constituent Congress. (4)

JOINT DECLARATION ON BEHALF OF THE GHANA TUC AND THE KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOUR

On the occasion of the visit to Kenya of John K. Tettegah, Secretary-General of the Ghana T.U.C., accompanied by H. K. Bardin and W. A. Wilson, exhaustive and frank discussions took place with members of the Executive Committee of the Kenya Federation of Labour including the General Secretary Hon. Tom Mboya and ranging over such matters as position of trade unions in Africa, structure of unions, Pan-African trade union relations and international relations. There were also frank discussions over the need for unity especially with relation to KFL/TUC situation in Kenya.

At the end of these discussions agreement was reached in the following terms and which will help eliminate past confusion and misunderstandings and prepare the way for full and effective cooperation and solidarity:

(4) The French communiqué concludes: «The conference decided to establish relations of cooperation and solidarity with all labour organisations of the world and asked its secretariat to undertake the necessary steps in this direction.»

1. Both organisations agree as to the need for effective and free trade union organisation in all parts of Africa. Such unions have a real part to play in the national interests of their respective countries and in Africa generally. Before independence unions have a real contribution to make in the nationalist struggle in addition to their normal task of championing the workers' interests. Imperialism and colonialism are in direct conflict with both the workers' interests and rights and freedom of trade unions, hence the African trade union movement must join hands with the progressive and nationalist forces fighting for freedom and independence.

After independence the unions have even an increasing responsibility and part to play in the national affairs. They must respond to the immediate needs of their new country in an effort to help consolidate the independence gained as well as help translate in tangible terms the new benefits that workers look forward to after independence. Thus the need for free and effective trade union organisation does not end with the attainment of independence. Both organisations recognise the need for cooperation, collaboration and maximum harmony between the trade union movement and the governments especially in our newly independent states so as to facilitate the prosecution of the national task—that of economic reconstruction and social advancement.

2. Both organisations reaffirm their belief that the African trade union movement cannot be an importation of the American, French, British or Russian systems. The movement in Africa must reflect African problems and conditions and respond to Africa's specific needs and personality. It must evolve according to these criteria and in this process pay due regard to the particular or peculiar need of each territory. Both organisations naturally recognise the fact of the influence that may be exercised by structure in other coun-

tries and especially the former colonial powers, but must emphasize the need for the trade union leaders to ensure that the movement does not blindly emulate foreign countries.

3. Both organisations committed to the principle and spirit of Pan-Africanism recognise the need for regular consultation, cooperation and coordination and solidarity among the trade unions of Africa. In this regard both organisations supported the resolution passed at the first All African Peoples' Conference at Accra in December, 1958. Bearing in mind recent misunderstandings over this question both organisations clearly want to state their complete support for the formation of the All African Trade Union Federation. Such a Federation would help generate closer relations and effective consultation and solidarity between the trade unions in Africa. It could also help further the area of cooperation and promote effectively the spirit of Pan-Africanism and African unity throughout the continent. It would help bring together trade union centres hitherto kept separated by ideological or other differences and eliminate unnecessary conflict and hostility. It could also help remove conflicts and splits in various territories and pave the way for effective unity. It was noted and agreed that past confusion, misunderstanding and misrepresentation arose from inadequate consultation. The setting up of the Federation must in no manner encroach upon the autonomy of each trade union national centres in the different states and territories.
4. Both organisations subscribe to the policy of positive independence and non-alignment as between the power blocks—East and West and warn against any country, political party or trade union being used as pawns in this struggle. The establishment of AATUF will help to guard against this possibility. It is agreed that AATUF should not be affiliated to any of the international trade union centres—ICFTU, WFTU or CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONAL.

The Kenya Federation of Labour and the Ghana T.U.C. both recognise the right of each National Centre to decide on its international relations. We find nothing in the present position what should make it difficult for both centres to participate fully in the formation of the AATUF.

The Kenya Federation of Labour and the Ghana T.U.C. appreciate the need for National Trade Union Unity in every African Country. A thorough review was made of the Kenya Labour situation and it is agreed that both organisations will pursue joint action in bringing about Unity in Kenya.

Signed: JOHN K. TETTEGAH,
*Secretary-General, Ghana
T.U.C.*

Signed: TOM MBOYA,
*General Secretary,
Kenya Federation of Labour*

NAIROBI 21st Novembre, 1960

TEXT OF A STATEMENT BY T. J. MBOYA

At the First African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, held at Lagos in December 1960, a forged document was circulated in the name of the All African Trade Union Federation. The forgery, entitled « The Great Conspiracy Against Africa » by its distributor, Gogo Nzeribe of Nigeria, purported to be a « British Cabinet paper. » It impugned the motives and the integrity of many leading Africans, including Tom Mboya, who was then active in the cause of Pan-African labour unity by virtue of his position as General Secretary

of the Kenya Federation of Labour. Below is the text of Mister Mboya's reply to the false allegations.

KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOUR

Solidarity Building,
Digo Road,
P.O. Box 10818,
NAIROBI.

31st December, 1960.

To: All I.C.F.T.U. Affiliates in Africa
and
Other Trade Union Centres; and
Heads of States in Africa

Dear Brothers, Sirs, and Friends:

Re: « *The great conspiracy against Africa* »

I take this liberty to address you on a matter that has disturbed some of us considerably in the last few months.

Under the above title a pamphlet has appeared and is now in circulation through a Mr. Gogo Nzeribe of the splinter trade union group in Nigeria.

The pamphlet purports to publish a secret document from the British Cabinet papers on Policy in Africa. The document makes serious allegations against some trade union leaders in Africa—among them myself... It is a strange coincidence that the document attacks viciously the I.C.F.T.U. and those of us who have supported her viz-a-viz those who have championed the policy of disaffiliation! The document seems to be designed cleverly—to support the case of those who have been our critics all along! My position as fighter for freedom cannot be in any doubt as my record in the past and even at this very moment speaks for itself. I therefore condemn without reservation blackmail or other forms of subtle manoeuvre by any African leader or country aimed at coercing or intimidating those who may for genuine reasons disagree with them. Unity and Solidarity in Africa can only succeed if we all adopt the spirit of respect and

recognition of each others interests and opinions and act honourably among ourselves.

It will be noted from the... joint declaration between the Trade Union Congress of Ghana and ourselves, that we are not hostile to the ideas of Pan-African Trade Union action. On the contrary we support the formation of All-African Trade Union Federation and hope we will make our contribution to ensure it is effective once established. We hold strongly however to our right to determine what is best for Kenya and can only surrender some of this autonomy under a mutually agreed organisation. We do not think it is wise to try to dictate or coerce any country and all action must be based on full consultation and free agreement.

It will be noted that while Mr. Nzeribe claimed that his pamphlet was sponsored by the All-African Trade Union Federation, Mr. John K. Tettegah... disclaimed any such sponsorship and in fact clearly states the A.A.T.U.F. is not yet formed. This reveals even more clearly the dirty game that is going on the part of some people.

I hope this communication... will help give you the other side of the picture. But I hope we shall all work together for genuine and positive unity and solidarity of Africa.

TOM MBOYA,
SECRETARY-GENERAL
K.F.L.

COMMUNIQUE

The Preparatory Secretariat of the all African Trade Union Federation met in Conakry from the 20th to 23rd April, 1961.

Having examined the evolution of Trade Unionism in Africa, it registered with satisfaction, the desire to unite 36 Trade Union Organisations, representing 34 different countries in Africa.

In this connection, the Secretariat has decided to convene an Inaugural Congress in CASABLANCA (Morocco), from the 25th to 28th May, 1961.

The Secretariat is therefore launching a fraternal appeal to all genuine African Trade Union Organisations to participate in this Congress.

All Trade Union Organisations who may wish to participate in this historic Congress, should communicate their desire to the following address:

The Preparatory Committee of the All African
Trade Union Federation
222, Avenue des Forces armées royales

CASABLANCA

Being conscious of the fact that the unity of workers of Africa will contribute decisively to African Unity, the Secretariat is sure that all Trade Union representatives who may be present during this Conference will experience a historic occasion in CASABLANCA.

Issued by the Preparatory Secretariat of the all African Trade Union Federation on the 23rd Day of April, 1961.

**MINUTES OF THE PREPARATORY SECRETARIAT MEETING
OF THE ALL AFRICAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION
IN CONAKRY FROM THE 20TH TO
23RD APRIL, 1961**

DECISIONS TAKEN AT THE MEETING

The following decisions were taken and agreed upon by members of the Preparatory Secretariat:

- a) That the Inaugural Meeting of the Federation should be held in Casablanca from the 25th to 28th May, 1961.

- b) That the foundation members enumerated below, should be invited to participate in the Inaugural Congress.

1. U.M.T. (Union Maroccaine du Travail).
2. T.U.C. Ghana (Trades Union Congress, Ghana).
3. U.G.T.A. (Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens).
4. C.M.T.C. (U.G.T.A.N.) (Confederation Generale des Travailleurs de Guinee).
5. U.N.T.M. (Union Nationale des Travailleurs Maliens).
6. U.F.T.E. (Federation des Travailleurs Egyptiens).
7. K.F.L. (Kenya Federation of Labour) and
8. U.G.T.T. (Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens).

- c) That the Organisations mentioned above, should send six delegates to the Conference, and that a mandated commission will be established in Casablanca before the opening of meeting to decide on the position and number of representation of other Trade Union Organisations who might be present for the Congress.

- d) That a general appeal should be made to all African Trade Union Organisations to participate in this Congress.

- e) *Finance:*

That the following Trade Union Organisations should give as an initial contribution for the running of the Congress, an amount of £. 6,000: Morocco, United Arab Republic, Guinea, Mali and Ghana.

- f) That the All African Peoples' Conference should contribute an amount of £. 6,000 towards the preparation of the Inaugural Congress.

- g) That the technical arrangements for the Congress has been assigned to a Committee composed of the following:

3 delegates from (U.M.T.) Morocco,
 2 delegates from (T.U.C.) Ghana,
 and 3 delegates from (C.N.T.G.) Guinea.
 and h) That this Committee responsible for the technical arrangements for the Congress should meet in Casablanca from the 27th April, 1961.

II. THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE

LIST OF DELEGATES ATTENDING 1ST ALL AFRICA TRADE UNION FEDERATION CONGRESS - CASABLANCA, 25th - 29th MAY, 1961

<i>Aden</i>	Aden Trade Union Congress	MOHAMED SALEM ALI HUSSEIN AHMED
<i>Algeria</i>	Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens	ALI YAHIA MAACHOU DEKKAR DJEBBAR
<i>Angola</i>	Union Nationale des Travailleurs de l'Angola	DOMBELE
<i>Basutoland</i>	Basutoland General Workers	MOHAPI LEFOKA
<i>Cameroon</i>	C.G.K.T.	EKWALLA NDOOH ISAAC
<i>Dahomey</i>	Union Syndicale des Travailleurs du Dahomey	LALOU
<i>Ghana</i>	Ghana Trade Union Congress	BARTIMBUS DIAPARE BALOGUN HEYMANN FOEVIE TETTEGAH
<i>Guinea</i>	C.N.T.G.	KABA MAMADY OULARE ANSOUMANE CAMARA OMARA DINN DIALLO MOKHITAR BASSE ABBASSE Mme. JEANNE MARTIN

<i>Portuguese Guinea</i>	Union Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée	CORREIA CABRAL		U.G.T.S.	PAYE FALL CISSE BA
<i>Ivory Coast</i>	Union Generale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire	NGO BLAISE			
<i>Kenya</i>	Kenya Federation of Labour	MULENDE LUBEMBE KIBISU AKUMU MBOYA	<i>Somalia</i>	Confederation of Labour	JILANI CHEIK GACEM ALI MAHMOUD SALAH NOUR
	Kenya Trade Union Congress	CACHAGO MINYA		Mogadiscio Trade Union Congress	BIHI GARAD KHAILI
<i>Libya</i>	Union Generale des Travailleurs Lybiens	SHITA	<i>Southern Rhodesia</i>	Southern Rhodesia African Trade Union Congress	MONTESIA
				Southern Rhodesian Trade Unions United Congress	JAMELA MSWAKA
<i>Mali</i>	Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali	MAMADOU SISSOKO LAZARE OULIBALLY BOUPAGAR DIALLO DIADE COULIBALLY (SALIF DIARRA) BALLA SISSOKO LANINE SOW (replaced DIARRA)	<i>Sudan</i>	Sudan Workers Trade Union	CHARAF ED DIN
			<i>South Africa</i>	South Africa Congress of Trade Unions	MKWAYI MABIDA F.O.F.A.T.U.S.A. NANA MAHOMO
			<i>Tanganyika</i>	Tanganyika Federation of Labour	TANDOU NCAHYOMA
<i>Morocco</i>	Union Marocaine du Travail	ABDELKADER AWAB DRISS MEDKOURI MOKHITAR ABAROUDI HOUSSEIN HAJBI EL HACHEMI BENNANI	<i>Tunisia</i>	U.G.T.T. (Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens)	TLILI AHMED BENAZEDDINE MAHMOUD HABIB ACHOUR SALAH GUELAOUI
			<i>U.G.T.A.N.</i>	DIALLO SBYDOU
<i>Niger</i>	Union Syndicale des Travailleurs Nigeriens	DOMBELE DJIBO BAKARY	<i>Uganda</i>	Uganda Federation of Labour	JOHN REICH WAGOINA
<i>Nigeria</i>	Trade Union Congress of Nigeria	BORHA COLE	<i>United Arab Republic</i>	Egyptian Federation of Labour	ANSWAR SALAMA (sic) BOLTIAH AHMED FAHIM ASAD RAGIH EZZIDINE
	Nigerian Trade Union Congress	IMUDOU ONYA			
<i>Nyasaland</i>	Nyasaland Trade Union Congress	NYIRENDA			
<i>Northern Rhodesia</i>	United Trade Union Congress	POOL MUGALA	<i>Zanzibar</i>	Federation of Progressive Trade Unions	ALI SULTAN
<i>Senegal</i>	U.G.T.A.N.	TCHATA TCHAO		Zanzibar and Pemba Federation of Labour	AHMED DIN HASSAN MOKANDJUK

OBSERVERS

attending 1st All Africa Trade Union Federation Congress
CASABLANCA, 25th - 29th May, 1961

C.I.S.A.	(C.A.T.U.)	TALATT TAGHLABY FATHI FODA
C.I.S.C.		BRAUN THEO
C.I.S.L.	(I.C.F.T.U.)	NEDZINSKI MOSES HEIDER BERNASCONI PROKOPP VANDERVECKEN BROWN
C.N.A.E.		BEN SALEM AIT CHAALAL
F.E.A.N.F.		KEITO KEMOKE DIENG AMADY
F.N.J.D.		JAAFAR MAHMOUD
F.S.M.	(W.F.T.U.)	ROCCHI MARCEL BRAS IBRAHIM ZAKARIA ROGER CLAIN
PARTIE SOCIA LISTE UNIFIE		CAZALLET
W.A.Y.		GERRIT KREVELD DAVID BROMBARD DAVID WIRMARK
Central Commit- tee of Czechoslo- vakian trade U- nions		VACLAV PACHEK JAROSLAV HRDLICKA
Central Committee of Polish trade Unions		OLDRICH STELOLEIN LEONARD BUDZYNSKI

Central Commit-
tee of Soviet trade
Unions

BOUGANOV
TOUTCHAVINOV
BOTVINOV
ARAKEJAN

Central Commit-
tee of Yugoslavian
trade Unions

MIKA SPILJAK
MILOS MARINOVIC
MARIKA RAKIDJIC

Federation of tra-
de Unions of Chi-
na

TSAI YING PING

Cameroon U.S.L.C.

AMOUHAN

Congo (Brazza.) U.P.T.C.

PONGAULT and GANDOU

Dahomey C.D.T.C.

GABRIEL DOSSOU

France C.G.T.

DUFRIKH
MONJOVI
DOMENGE

Germany F.D.G.B.

WILHELM WILKE
E. EGON LANGE
WILLY ALBRECHT

Internationale
Professionelle
Fonction Publique

Ghana Ghana T.U.C.

J. K. JANKSON
ALIPUI
E. P. K. SEDDOH
DESEWU
J. B. FERGUSON
INTERKUDZIE
DORKUNOR

Italy C.G.I.L.

ROSSO
PELUZZUCCHI

Jamaica Jamaica Union of African De-
scent Workers (J.U.B.W.)

STAN GRANT

Lebanon

FAKHRO MDALI

Liberia Congress of Industrial Orga-
nizations

L. F. SAWYYER
RICHED TICKLOB
AMOS N. GRAY

<i>Madagascar</i>	Confederation des Travail- leurs de Madagascar et des Comores	RAMILISON RANANDRO
<i>Mali</i>	U.N.T.M.	DIABATE FOUSSEYCI BATA ALASSANE JORY COULIBALY
<i>Tchad</i>	C.A.T.C.	BEYECABEZO
<i>Sudan</i>		AWAB SHARAFELDIN
<i>Uganda</i>	Uganda Trade Union Congress	E. W. NANIBINGE D. O. WANDERA
<i>International Labour Organisation</i>		ROGER SOMAILLE
<i>Labour Attaches</i>	of the foreign Diplomatic Missions accredited to Mo- rocco	

**O F F I C E R S
O F T H E
A L L A F R I C A N T R A D E U N I O N F E D E R A T I O N**
(as designated after the Casablanca Conference)

PRESIDENT M. Ben Seddik, Morocco

SECRETARIES A. Maachou, Algeria
J. K. Tettegah, Ghana
M. Kaba, Guinea
M. Sissoko, Mali
A. Azab, Morocco
Tom Mboya, Kenya (1)
A. Salama, United Arab Republic

(1) Named in absentia.

**EXCERPTS FROM THE
DOCTRINE AND ORIENTATION**

presented by

MAHJOUB BEN SEDDIQ

General Secretary of the Moroccan Trade Union Congress
Chairman of the Preparatory Secretariat of the

First All African Trade Union Conference

Casablanca
May 1961

PRINCIPLES OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM

An idea turned into a reality

The present All African Trade-Union Conference, which takes place for the first time in Casablanca, is an historic event in the African Liberation Movement. Born in the mind of all the African veterans, the idea at last has become a concrete reality. Many years ago, men from all parts of Africa claimed insistently and energetically the right for the representatives of the African Trade Union Movement to gather and convene a conference of their own: **THE ALL AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE**. Their desire, although legitimate, suscitated interrogations and ran against obstacles. Yet, their proceeding goes with the stream of History.

A violent wind of Unity blows all over Africa, sweeping on its way obstacles and reducing resistances. Due to the suddenness and the violence of its revolutionary spring Africa retains the attention of the whole world.

The African Fact

For this reason, the African Fact is the most notable event in our time. It occupies a selected place in the international

field and retains the attention of the world becoming one of the major preoccupations of the Great Powers.

Let us point here that if Africa may interest us to day either as a stake or as a partner, its interest lays and must lay for African themselves and democrats all-over the world, in its well-organized, highly conscious, and deeply solidary masses.

Africa of workers and peasants

This Africa which presents an interest for us is the Africa of the workers and the peasants who have been courageously engaged in an implacable fight against colonialism, feudality and reaction.

At the same time, and in almost the same circumstances, similar masses are leading the same courageous struggle in Asia and Latin America against the same enemies: Imperialism, Feudality and Reaction.

Their efforts and ours must be achieved historically, because such is the dialectic of History.

But it is their presence and ours on the same battle field covering three continents, that gives to-day their true meaning to events and men, and also confers an extremely precise and strong sense to the intercontinental solidarity of the masses fighting for their liberation.

In such a context is included the african dynamic powerful and overwhelming reality. But the african fact is, first, the one of the african masses, the one of the workers and the peasants who have endured, for a long time, the heavy weight of the capitalistic exploitation and the harshness of the colonial system. That is why, their consciousness reflects their behaviour in front of the tragic and brutal reality: the economic and social exploitation and the political enslavement.

Revolutionary originality of Africa

From this process of evolution, follow two basic characters which confer presently its marks of originality to the african struggle.

- a) The battle fought by the african masses assumes a radical form of a revolutionary and eager sincerity.
- b) It assumes also an empirical character with multiple « sui generis » features, therefore not fitting within the frame of foreign ideologies.

These two signs of the revolutionary originality of Africa brightly illustrate the contribution of man in the present phasis of transformation of Africa.

Africa: hands and will!

The Africa of to day was born from the sacrifices of its men from their anxiety and their will of victory. To-morrow, it will be reconstructed by these same men's hands owing to the lack of capital invested.

If capitalism has played an important role in the edification of the economy and the evolution of occidental societies, on the contrary in our countries it is man who constitutes the most precious capital able to be invested. Our present and our future depend on the working hands of our men.

This truth proceeds from norms which are not precisely those of capitalism on which has been built the occidental society.

It implicates new methods of work and conception and runs into a type of society which fits best our reality and the logic of our perspectives.

In this world of hands, sweat and exhaustion, but also of hope and determination, african trade-unionism, with its mobilizing mottos, its discipline, and its sense of concrete reality assumes a more and more decisive role in the liberation and edification of the New Africa.

It belongs to workers, as organized and united masses, to assume their historical responsibilities, first in their own country and then at the continental level.

Independence of trade unions

So that workers could be equal to their historical responsibilities trade union independence must not remain a snare or a big joke.

A trade-unionism which would not be really independent, is a false one, and in such a case, would be unable to take in charge, either on the national level or on the continental one, the mission that is normally devolved to it.

It could not deserve the confidence of authentic trade-unionists who refuse energetically the disguise and the imposture within their disposition of fight.

A valuable labour power on the African level may be based only upon the authenticity and straight will of the workers who are responsible and fully conscious of their duties as a vanguard in their respective countries.

This trade-union independence which is the condition of our efficiency applies for:

- The non-interference from states whatsoever in african trade-union matters.
- the non-limitation of trade union means of action, and above all the right to go on strike.
- The non-immixion of foreign organizations in the orientation, the gestion, and the action of african trade-unions.

No! to dictatorship! No! to paternalism!

Whatever its paternalistic or on the contrary repressive and intriguing dictatorial character, the interference of state in trade union affairs must be denounced as an attempt to falsificate the will of the workers and a serious obstacle on their way towards organization.

This principle which consecrates the non interference in the trade unions must not be considered as a method but

as a standard; neither any tactic nor any doctrine, nor any local circumstance could justify this violation in the eye of the other trade-unions.

If the authenticity and the integrity of the local trade-unions command at the upper level those of the panafrican syndical federation it is necessary that a collective authority issued from the workers themselves may express itself on the continental scale every time this integrity and this authenticity are threatened by elements having nothing to do with trade unions.

Let betrayers of Africa be defeated!

Besides, the non interference or foreign organizations must constitute an absolute rule. In no case, the African trade-unions might cooperate with labour organizations which are as many communicating vessels for mottos of foreign origin or inspiration.

Those who carry on their attempt to turn any african labour organization into an instrument in the hands of foreign interests should be unmasked and denounced as traitors to the african cause.

In fact, the african trade unionism must be an authentically african expression, and not an african version of a foreign trade union policy...

The era of mother countries is gone!

Long ago, the role played by the so called « metropolitan » trade unionists in Africa, was that of pioneers and forerunners. At first, legally and practically deprived of their trade union rights by the colonial administration, « native » workers were finally admitted or simply tolerated by certain metropolitan trade union organizations.

This process was the same everywhere. And everywhere also the heroic fight of the african workers for the creation of a pure african trade union system was the same. The consequen-

ces of the african countries were the official recognition of the african trade union fact.

Thus, the era of african national trade unions succeeds today to that of the mother countries in Africa. But, if metropolitan unions assumed in the past the role of pioneers in each african country, the international confederation of metropolitan trade-unions try presently to adapt their action to the new conditions existing in Africa and make attempts to act as tutors in the international plane, or at least as leaders of the whole african trade unionism.

No foreign interference into our affairs

...interference of the foreign organizations into African trade unionism is now justified

- neither by the evolution of the events inside Africa
- nor by the conclusions of an objective analysis of the international conjuncture...

Trade unionism plays in Africa, and in general, in all underdeveloped countries, a part absolutely incomparable with the mission and the limits assigned to the trade-unionism of developed countries.

For underdeveloped countries, a well developed trade unionism, is a practically invincible power of liberation...

Therefore, no foreign interference should be allowed to modify or transform the conceptions and the methods of african trade-unionism.

Beware of the cold war!

But foreign interference into african trade unionism would be all the more perilous as it would dangerously immerse Africa into the convulsions of cold war and would engage it into international conflicts between the blocks...

The decisive period which Africa is presently passing through, the Africa of workers, of peasants, and of the progressive

forces of the continent, is characterised by the struggle against colonialism, national reaction and under-development.

For the working class, the only policy which answers those imperatives is that of positive neutralism, non-alignment and non-dependence in front of the quarrels of the blocks and of the international conflicts that divide the great powers...

But if our duty is to prevent any exploitation of african revolutionary potentialities for foreign purposes, if we must spare Africa the commotion and upheavals of the cold war, we should nevertheless be careful not to fall into the deviations of a chauvinistic africanism which would condemn us to isolation and would alter in our own eyes the reality and the outlines of our own problems...

Trade union unity

The labour unity is as essential as the independence of trade-unions. For it is as an active force, one and indivisible, that workmen can fulfil their mission at the vanguard of their countries, in african liberation...

Labour unity on a continental scale indeed, but labour unity too on the scale of the component parties since these could not be any real unity at the level of the All African Trade Union Fédération if this same unity is betrayed, scoffed at and contradicted within its composing parties.

But once more, it's the rule of trade-union independence and of non-interference into syndical affairs which constitutes the essential condition and the safest guarantee of labour unity: every time a crack has to be wrapped within the ranks of the workers of a given country it's because the principle of trade-union independence is questioned by the interference of working classes' enemies, those who, in order to better enslave labourers, never hesitate to destroy unity whilst shouting « long life to workers' unity ».

Against the intrigues of the dividers, a single unequivocal and firm attitude: the african trade unionism must be faithful to the principle of the labour unity.

Corporatism is not in the image of Africa

Faithful to the historical mission assigned to it, our syndicalism rejects corporatism together with all the forms of syndical apolitism...

More than a doctrine, corporatism is a machine of war, just as the syndical pluralism, in the hands of the national reaction which is handicapped and hardpressed in its compromises with capitalism and its attempts to resume in its own benefit the privileges, the alliances and the conception of the colonial administration.

To neutralise workers as the more homogeneous and the most consistent force and therefore the most threatening for colonialism and his creatures, the national reaction make attempts to enclose the trade unions within an apolitical corporatism at the very moment when the efforts of the neocolonialism are growing freely and at the time when the newly appeared reactionary african masters are but taking the place of the old colonial masters.

No! the corporatism of the reaction and of feudality does not look like Africa. And the african trade unionism must throw it away with contempt since the fight for the edification of the new Africa goes on...

THE ROLE OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM IN THE EDIFICATION OF THE NEW AFRICA

Now what is, or more accurately, what must be the role of trade unionism in the edification of the new Africa?...

To operate the deep structural transformations it is necessary to turn firmly aside from the beaten track of the capitalistic concepts and to be confident in the working masses.

Any government policy which pretends to be in communion with the masses and nevertheless is at variance with the trade unions is a feudal policy and consequently unable to do anything valuable for the edification of the new Africa.

A binding organism with the workers of the world

But trade unionism plays also, in a different manner, a role as important as the ones we have already spoken of. It plays the role of a huge binding organism between millions african workers and all the workers in the world.

From that point of view, the african trade union movement is in charge of such an eminent duty as inducing the cooperation of rural and industrial workers throughout all continents in a great impulse of solidarity ignoring races and boundaries.

Values of african syndicalism

The first duty for african trade-unionism is to exist authentically. And being authentic means for it an all time fight against inside and outside forces which aim at his subjection and domestication.

The trade-union movement has also to defend its unity as well on the continental level as on the national one. Without this unity the proletarian continent could harm itself, as well as dangerously harm others, that would stand on the way to its unity.

It must also fight on a continental scale the political corporatism of reactionaries and colonialists, their hasty and balkanizing pluralism, and the thousand difficulties of any kind presently opposed to the african trade-unionist reality in order to prevent it from progressing.

But it is mainly in its praising and highly positive mission of edifying a concrete democracy in Africa, that african syndicalism must compare the various experiences and

deduct of them how to accelerate the process of political, social and economical promoting of the continent...

Hence, it is the privilege of the FIRST ALL AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE to draw out the imperative and practical conclusions and promote the means of inserting in concrete reality the frames and principles which will constantly inspire the african trade-union movement in his struggle against colonialism, reaction and underdevelopment, for the achievement of a free, just, democratic and prosperous Africa.

This frame, which is the one of african syndical cooperation, and those leading principles which guide our militant action must be prompted by the following imperatives:

- Labour unity
- Trade-Union independence
- Rejection of any foreign interference in african syndical affairs
- Rejection of any corporatism as well as of any forms of syndical apolitism
- Free cooperation with any foreign organization within the limits of the principles ruling the african trade-union movement
- International solidarity of workers
- Workers' share in elaborating, achieving and controlling the development programs of their own countries

One of the fundamental tasks we should fulfil without delay in this ALL AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE IS to proclaim solemnly those principles which must be as many criterias on which to adjust trade-unions' action and behaviour both on continental and international level.

A second task should be to settle the structure of an african trade-union authority committed to the vigilant protection of african syndical values considered as an unbreakable whole.

We should thus take into account the real objective datas of the african situation, and spare our continent the cold war convulsions and the dissensions it breeds, so that we may proceed in the light of an authentical african doctrine, towards a united, powerful, liberating labour movement.

Hundreds of millions honest people are staring upon our conference, for their aims are ours. Our duty is not disappoint them.

III. THE DAKAR CONFERENCE

TEXT OF TELEGRAMME SENT BY
THE AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE
TO TRADE UNION CENTRES IN
ALGERIA, GHANA, GUINEA, MALI, MOROCCO,
AND THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

« THE AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE, MEETING
AT DAKAR, REGRETS THE ABSENCE OF ORGANIZED WORKERS
OF YOUR COUNTRY. (THE CONFERENCE) EXPRESSES ITS
SOLIDARITY AND INVITES YOU TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE. »

LIST OF DELEGATES TO THE AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

(Dakar, 9th to 14th January, 1962)

ANGOLA	Biyaoula Fulgence Maurice Ognamy
André Cassinda Carlos Gunda	CONGO (Leopoldville)
CAMEROUN	Maximilien Liongo Alphonse Kithima Albert Mawungu Raphaël Bintu Zénou Mulkwakni André Bo-boliko Victor Beleké
Michel Tina Gérard Bihina Joseph René Amouhou Roland Amenguéli	

Belnoun (affiliated by tele- graph) Gabriel Fogam	DAHOMEY Gontran Rodrigues
---	------------------------------

CENTRAL AFRICAN REP. Maurice Kokey	GABON N'diaye Mamadou M've Jean de Dieu
---------------------------------------	---

CONGO (Brazzaville) Gilbert Pongault Okeyemba David Mafoua Christoph Malounga N'kounkou M. E. Jallow A. A. Saine J. D. Cole	GAMBIA H. S. R. Forster J. W. Bidwen Brighat
--	--

IVORY COAST Pierre Essoua Anougba Kone Noumouke Bruno Kouedan Ismaila Karaboue	NIGER René Delanne Diallo Kimba Bindio
--	---

KENYA C. K. Lubembe F. Kubai	NIGERIA L. L. Borha Anunobi B. M. Udokporo
------------------------------------	---

LIBERIA Junio Tubman Laurms Grey Sawyerr	NORTHERN RHODESIA Moulenga
--	-------------------------------

LIBYA Ali Baylar	NYASALAND S. D. Nkolokosa
---------------------	------------------------------

	SENEGAL Abdoulaye Ba Amadou Wague Bassirou Gueye Alassane Sow Alioune Paye Amadou Coumba N'dao
--	--

MADAGASCAR

Albert Rabelira
Félix Rakotomalala
Edmond Andriantsoa

MAURITIUS

Ramnarian

MAURITANIA

Malick Fall
Elimane Kane
Teuw Dijbril
Ababacar Thiam
Bassoum Oumar
Blaise Diame

SIERRA LEONE

G. H. Prat

SOMALIA

Bolai

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Jamela
Mswaka

Mapaté Fall
Ed. Latouffe
Sérigne Diop
Abdahmane Ba
Penda Diallo
Alioune Diop
Ousmane Faye
Sijh Sarr
Germain Dieng
David Soumah
Charles Mendy
Jean Diallo

TANGANYIKA

C. S. K. Tumbo

TOGO

Bernard Akakpo

TUNISIA

Ahmed Tlili
Ben Ezzedine
Galaoui

UPPER VOLTA

André Boyarm

EXCERPTS FROM DEBATE
at the
AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE
DAKAR

THE CHAIRMAN (*Gilbert PONGAULT, Congo - Brazzaville*): I shall now clear up some points... We said to the brothers who partici-

pated at the first Pan-African Conference that they hadn't been able to attain all their objectives because they didn't know how to mobilize the African masses to attain these objectives. But unfortunately it has been seen that at the first conference there were differences of viewpoints and the brothers wanted to act, whatever the cost, without taking into account the majority of the other workers.

So as not to cut Africa off from the rest of the world, we wished to continue the same conference in order to pursue the dialogue, and we sent delegations to permit the brothers to discuss matters with us. We are ready to receive all delegations! We are for African unity, and this is why, even in the opening address, we sent a new appeal to the brothers of the Federation of Casablanca. The Conference is not over! We still hope that they will come... tomorrow... or the day after tomorrow... and we shall welcome them with open arms! (*Loud applause.*)

C. K. LUMEMBE (*Kenya*): ...I believe this conference really represents Africa. It could make useful decisions which could lead us to a united Africa. I believe, Mr. Chairman, certainly, that we have differences of opinion among young trade union leaders and I think we can resolve the question in naming a commission. I don't say that those who are absent are wrong. ...There are those who wish to unify Africa but there are also those who seek to divide Africa. But we all want it to be unified! This discord among Africans should not continue. I propose that our friends of Senegal who are not affiliated to any international organisation discuss with Messrs. Tlili, Borha, Jones (sic) and Ben Seddik, in committee, what they wish to make of Africa. Do they wish to unify or divide it? This is why I also ask the young African trade unionists what they want, what they wish to do in this Conference, and ask them to be conscious of and take responsibility for their acts. I believe it possible to bring all trade union militants together in a single union.

THE CHAIRMAN: I thank the Kenya delegate for his remarks. I was in Nairobi during the labour celebration, when the trade u-

nion comrades met and decided the holding of a Pan-African Trade Union Conference to review the entire debate on trade union conditions.

In this manner they named a commission who was to go to Casablanca to meet our brother Mahjoub to try to agree and set in common a date for the holding of this conference. The Dakar comrades also went to Casablanca to meet leader of the Casablanca Federation. Unfortunately they did not receive satisfaction. I want this to be spelled out, at least for public opinion. And now, if you wish, I might question Mr. Amadou Wagué who was secretary of the Casablanca conference. He can give us the details on this point.

AMADOU WAGUE (*Senegal*): Brothers, I believe there is some confusion and that we must re-establish the facts. We are here, and I believe this should be clear, to set up an African trade union centre. This must be made clear. This conference cannot ask us to try to obtain a unity which was tried before. As secretary of the conference, I wish to disclose information which will clarify the debate. The first meeting was planned for July, the second for September. We of the Senegalese delegation had the pleasant opportunity at the Nairobi labour celebration, where we met other African leaders, to ask the question again. When we asked it, the leaders present unanimously wanted to meet with the centre which was created at Casablanca. The Senegalese delegation, acting through me, sent a letter to all those who were present in Nairobi to tell Mr. Mahjoub ben Seddik that, first, the African labour leaders assembled at Nairobi repeated their appeal for unity; second, that they desired to meet the leaders of the P.A.N.A.F. (AATUF) at Casablanca itself, not to be troublesome—and set the date for 28 November. On the way home the Senegalese delegation took the initiative of contacting the President of the P.A.N.A.F. (AATUF), our brother Ben Mahjoub. What we aimed for, at that time, was to have them attend the Dakar Conference.

But the President of the P.A.N.A.F. (AATUF) said to this delegation that he regretted not being able to meet with us on

undefined terms. He therefore had to propose to us the minimum prerequisites for such a meeting. What were these prerequisites? They were that all the African trade union organisations accept, without modification, without amendment, without retouching, the Charter adopted at Casablanca. Secondly, to plan a congress of the P.A.N.A.F. (AATUF) at which you would all be—listen to this—not to touch the Charter, but simply to prepare the organisation and Constitution. The Senegalese delegation, which if it were to remain faithful to its mission, did not have the duty to reply, said clearly to President Mahjoub that it had neither the right nor the authority to commit those of Nairobi who mandated it, and that the objective remained an encounter for the search for unity.

Back in Dakar, the Senegalese delegation took the initiative, after having made contacts in Paris and elsewhere, to call together the preliminary conference of the principal leaders who were at Nairobi. The leaders, after the explanation of the situation made by the Senegalese delegation, took the responsibility for convening this Conference.

Thus we have sought for unity by every means... without regard for self, agreeing to go to Casablanca, and I say that if, during our conference, we are asked again to plan a new encounter before our centre is created, I say that we shall not have done a useful job. We must realize one thing—the search for unity. Unity cannot be achieved in a day nor in the course of one meeting because of the enormous difficulties we face. I say, therefore, that we must be clear. The Senegalese delegation is here to create an African trade union centre. Of course, after having created it, the aim would be to arrange a meeting of all those who strive for a united front for the African workers. This is the proposal I wished to make. (Applause) I would like to make clear that I am speaking in my function as Secretary of this Conference, in order to clarify things so that our brothers will know what they are dealing with, but I am also addressing you in the name of the Senegalese delegation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Brothers, you have heard the clarifications presented to the Conference by our friend WAGUE. You can see for yourselves that we bear no responsibility insofar as African unity or division is concerned. We continue to think and believe that our brothers of the Casablanca Federation are in error and that some day they will certainly see reality. There are too many contradictions in Africa, within the States and within the various regions.

We must bear this in mind and realise that we cannot accomplish miracles. We shall attain our objectives in the natural course of events. We must now agree on the means of doing so. There is no problem. Everyone in Casablanca is in agreement, as everyone is in agreement here, for African trade union unity, for the unity of Africa, but it is on the means of achieving it that we do not agree. We should be in agreement here. They have already mobilised their means, and we are ready, as we have stated, to go to them for further discussion. But not for the time being. We are going to try to measure, to define our means. It is very true that up to the present time we have not wanted to attack, to answer the violent attacks and even the inadmissible calumnies which our Casablanca brothers hurl at us, because in answering we run the risk of widening the breach, and then unity will no longer be possible. They must realize that they are responsible for the future of Africa. If they persist in their ways it will be because they are irresponsible. We forgive them, but as for us, we want to build Africa on a basis of freedom and legality, we want to build it for the whole of Africa. There shall not be any African classes, any superior classes to impose their decisions on others. As for me, I cannot accept this, neither can any of the countries here represented accept it. (Applause) Africa must be built through equality and through respect for each individual.

AMADOU WAGUE (*Senegal*): ...We will all be guided, not by personal interest, not by a desire for position within the organisation, but by the constant and continuing search for the well being of Africa. Unity is easy and it is difficult. Why is it easy? We

all have it on our lips, we all have it in our hearts, but when it comes to bringing it about, how many obstacles, how much difficulty! I therefore ask my brothers present here at this Conference to give thought to these obstacles, to these difficulties! Let none of us impose his will, but when a difficulty arises, let each of us exert his will and his efforts to eliminate this obstacle so that we may reach our common goal: unity. This having been said, we thank our fellow delegates and later when the Committees meet we will once again be prepared to make our contribution to the work at hand.

M. JALLOW (*Gambia*): I noticed that the Chairman has stressed the need to be democratic and while what I am now going to say to you may be in a different vein, I think we must be frank with each other. I think we must now thank our African brothers who for years have contributed to the long struggle which led to the liberation of Africa. Today we see these same African brothers who were our allies who for other reasons have become embroiled in quarrels and fights and are no longer our allies...

It is something that we had organised a Conference in our country. There were brothers of diverging views but we brought them together. We had a discussion and were able to find agreement. Why do things make difficulties for us? I hope that our Conference will examine these problems. Most of the trade unions in Africa are represented here, and I know this, but I think that beyond all the problems, all the decisions, we must consider a suggestion put forward by a brother.

We must and we can find African trade unions that are unaligned. At the same time, we can try to unite to group ourselves in order to make our attempts, and we know that we must make the attempt... Workers... are wrong when they harbour criminal or hypocritical tendencies. We want to be Africans. We do not want to shuttle from one camp to another. We want to stay in Africa. We must draw away from the political figures or else we will become hypocrites...

...The condition *sine qua non* is African unity. Dear friends, let us now be logical. Let us be objective, sincere; let us put aside all these other problems.

We must forge ahead... I think we have the duty to say what we think. Why is Africa still divided?

THE CHAIRMAN: We thank our brother from Gambia for all the suggestions he has made before the Conference but I would like to state that to this point we have shown a spirit of conciliation but we have felt no reciprocal effort coming from our partners. This is not a case of hypocrisy. All the organisations represented in this Conference are delegates, equal to our brothers from Tunisia, Senegal and all the various countries. There is no discrimination, no hypocrisy. There is freedom of speech.

I want no confusion. On the other hand, Africa does not identify itself by colour. Brothers, I think this to be the truth which we must state. I believe that all workers are the same. Are the brothers whom we have just quoted the true representatives of the workers? (Applause).

I think that we are for unity. When the others refuse to confer, we will continue to call upon them. We must not create unity around us. There is no question of personal interest. We must recognize that the course of African history is set. We have heard here what the bases of African unity are, and we must be reasonable... We must seek unity and we must have it with respect for all.

OFFICERS OF THE AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION

PRESIDENT

Ahmed Tlili (Secretary General, Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens - UGTT)

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Lawrence Borha (Secretary General, Trades Union Congress of Nigeria - TUCN) (1)

C. K. Lubembe (Secretary General, Kenya Federation of Labor - KFL)

Reuben Jamela (President, Southern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress - SRTUC)

Gilbert Pongualt (Secretary General, Union Pan-Africaine des Travailleurs Croyants - UPTC)

André Bo-Boliko (Secretary General, Union des Travailleurs Congolais - UTC)

Abdoulaye Ba (Secretary General, Union Generales des Travailleurs du Senegal - UGTS)

Louis Ranaivo (President, Confédération Chretienne des Syndicats Malagaches - CCSM)

SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATION

David Soumah (Secretary General, Confédération Africaine des Travailleurs Croyants - CATC)

DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATION

Bassirou Gueye (Assistant Secretary General - UGTS)

SECRETARIES FOR ORGANIZATION

William V. S. Tubman, Jr. (President, Liberian Congress of Industrial Organizations - CIO)

Mamadou Wague (Assistant Secretary General - UGTS)

SECRETARIES FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Jean Diallo (Senegal Section - CATC)

Salem Shita (Secretary General, Libyan General Workers Federation - LGWF)

(1) Now United Labour Congress of Nigeria.

SECRETARIES FOR PRESS

Alphonse Kithima (Secretary General, Syndicat National des Travailleurs Congolais - SNTC) (3)

Sow Alassane (UGTS)

SECRETARIES FOR THE TREASURY

René Delanne (Secretary General, Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Niger - UNTN)

Charles Mendy (President - CATC)

CHARTER AFFILIATES
OF THE
AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION

ANGOLA

General League of Angolan Workers

CAMEROUN

Camerounian Union of Believing Workers

Cameroun Development Corporation Workers' Union

National Association Agricultural and Husbandry Unions of Cameroun

Union of Free Trade Unions of Cameroun

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Amalgamated Trade Union Centre

CONGO (*Brazzaville*)

African Confederation of Believing Workers

Congolese Confederation of Free Trade Unions

(3) Now Confédération des Syndicats Libres du Congo.

CONGO (*Leopoldville*)

Confederation of Free Congolese Trade Unions

General Federation of Congolese Workers

DAHOMY

National Confederation of Believing Workers of Dahomey

GABON

Gabonese Federation of Believing Workers

General Federation of Workers of Gabon

GAMBIA

Gambia Labour Union

Gambia Workers Union

IVORY COAST

National Confederation of Believing Workers of Ivory Coast

National Union-CASL of Ivory Coast

National Union of Workers of Ivory Coast

KENYA

Kenya Federation of Labour

LIBERIA

Congress of Industrial Organisations

LIBYA

General Union of Workers

MADAGASCAR

Christian Confederation of Malagasy Trade Unions

Confederation of Workers of Madagascar and Comore

MAURITANIA

National Confederation of Believing Workers of Mauritania
Workers' Union of Mauritania

MAURITIUS

Mauritius Trade Union Congress

NIGER

National Union of Workers

NIGERIA

United Labour Congress of Nigeria

NORTHERN RHODESIA

Northern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress

NYASALAND

Nyasaland Trades Union Congress

SENEGAL

General Union of Senegalese Workers
National Confederation of Believing Workers

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone Council of Labour

SOMALIA

Somali Confederation of Labour

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Southern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress

TANGANYIKA

Tanganyika Federation of Labour

TOGO

National Confederation of Believing Workers

TUNISIA

General Union of Tunisian Workers

UGANDA

Uganda Trades Union Congress

UPPER VOLTA

National Union of Believing Workers

IV. THE PERIOD SINCE DAKAR

THE CHALLENGE

(An Answer to the So-Called Dakar Conference)

by

John K. Tettegah

*Secretary-General of the
Ghana Trades Union Congress*

By deciding to stage a mock regroupment of ICFTU and the Christian International African Affiliated Unions in Dakar from the 30th July to 6th August, 1961, Western Imperialism has decided to show its naked form to the African Workers.

No African worker, worth his self-respect can now fail to see the role assigned to the ICFTU in this era of neo-colonialism.

A few months ago a mysterious document came into our hands which was stoutly denied by its authors but everyday the truth and facts of this document stares the African worker nakedly in the eye, and I quote:

« The gradual abdication of direct British and other European rule in Africa in favour of measures to establish local independence makes it all the more necessary to maintain our African connections by the development of non-political means. In these conditions the role of trade-unionism and therefore the role of ICFTU have acquired a new and vital importance for us. This had been only partially foreseen as regards Africa when ICFTU was founded. Recent

developments there have greatly increased the importance of the unions as an alternative Instrument of Western influence and especially as a brake on unchecked political and national movements. Since it is difficult to accuse trade unions of serving colonial needs, with their aid it should be possible to establish harmonious relations with the new social and political institutions in Africa now being created and with the administration of industrial and agricultural interests which we hope to maintain after any political changes. Trade Union help will be needed to check irresponsible nationalisation and to maintain control in the key sectors of the economy in the newly created African States ».

Who can now challenge the fact that the ICFTU is not playing precisely this role?

Imperialist Lackeys .

Before the bar of African opinion, the so-called Monrovia Conference today stands discredited and now they want to stage another Monrovia in Dakar. But the spirit of Casablanca lives on, and the African working class will achieve their unity without the colonial puppets.

After the successful launching of the All-African Trade Union Federation, the imperialist lackeys in Africa and those with wooden conscience are throwing money about in order to weaken the faith of the workers in the AATUF and to divert them from the cause of total liberation and unity.

This brings into focus before world opinion the ferocious nature of Western imperialism, the sworn enemy of peace and of the toiling masses of Africa. It radiates the hallowed dictum that whilst the forces of imperialism, colonialism and reaction grow from position of strength to weakness, the forces of progress and African Unity will grow from the position of weakness to strength.

Shivering with hopeless desperation and excruciating pains against their total collapse and complete elimination from Africa with the sanguine birth of the All-African Trade Union Fed-

ration, the world imperialists have taken to diabolical and vicious means to disorganise the united front of working people of our continent.

African workers have spoken. The moving spirit of Casablanca Conference lives on. History is on our side. Whatever the pretext hypocritically used by the Western agents, its attack on AATUF, only exposes all the more clearly, the traitorous character of the ICFTU agents and their lamentable display of mental bankruptcy which must arouse the resentment of the people of Africa.

Traitorous Intrigues

Dismayed by the genuine efforts of broad-minded Africans for laying the unshakable foundation of AATUF, some ICFTU agents have accepted the unholy task of imperialist instruments and poisonous nonentities to undermine the unity and solidarity of the working people of Africa.

The ICFTU and their backwagons have miserably failed to realize that a violent wind is sweeping all over Africa, removing all obstacles and reducing every resistance. We are fully aware, that the ICFTU is not alone in this continent-selling, treacherous acts which will eventually leave another stigma in the history of our continent. We know the interests they are serving and the Ghana TUC can promise them another battle.

We are on a mission. No amount of treachery and Western propaganda will deter the African workers from their genuine and avowed cause. The achievements of the Casablanca Conference are a rousing example and endanger the monopolists profits and sordid interests in Africa.

The AATUF is a dynamic organisation designed to redeem African workers from imperialist control, perpetual subjugation and mis-rule. And no amount of hot dollars can divert the African workers from their historical course.

In face of the mounting desire of Africans against their oppressors, little did we forget that after the historic Casablanca Conference, the ICFTU and its colonial accomplices who

are not yet ashamed of their crushing defeat suffered from the true African nationalists, will work hand in glove to sabotage the hallowed cause taken by the dedicated and patriotic African Trade Union Movements of the AATUF.

The bubble is burst! the machinations of imperialism by setting brother against brother is now seen in its nakedness. The Western Labor organisations, under the sign-board of ICFTU have planned another Conference ridiculously and spuriously styled 'Conference of the Authentic Labour Union's to be held in Dakar from 30th July—6th August, 1961. Why Dakar? Who are the brains behind the Dakar Conference? Who are financing that Conference? And who are the so-called « Authentic Labour Unions? »

The Challenge

Firmly convinced that the struggle against imperialist agents, led by ICFTU and its flunkies and for defending the unity and solidarity of African workers, will certainly be crowned with final victory, the Ghana TUC resolutely calls upon all nationalist and patriotic worker's organisations to close their ranks and avoid infiltration of Western imperialism and colonialism under the guise of « Free Labour Unions! »

It is now an incontestable fact that the reins of power having shifted from the colonialists into the hands of nationalists Western powers have resorted to all sorts of flattery and cajolery, by sinking uncountable and colossal amount of dollar into semi-illiterate organisations inspired by them, to revert the cause of history.

We challenge most vehemently the composition of the so-called authentic labour unions with their diabolical puppet leaders tied to the apron-strings of ICFTU, who have lamentably fallen under the grinding axe of international capitalism, to come out boldly with their cards face upwards.

The cause of AATUF is clear. The AATUF, confident in the victory of the noble and just cause of the peoples and Trade Unions of Africa, to brighten and train working people in so-

solidarity with the brave African people together with them, declares that Africa must be able to live in peace, to be free and independent, halt aggression and sabotage against the working peoples' movement of Africa.

That is why the Ghana TUC will have nothing to do with the so-called Dakar Conference. We have faith and confidence in AATUF and shall carry on the struggle for African Unity and Independence under the Banner of the All-African Trade Union Federation.

Forward with AATUF

Long live African Unity and Independence.

ATUC - AATUF MEETING

On 17th to 19th October, 1963, a long-expected meeting between delegations from the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) and the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC) was held in Dakar. From the outset, it was obvious that the AATUF delegation remained attached to its original objective: the disaffiliation of African trade unions from international organisations.

A statement issued by the ATUC after the meeting, reproduced in the following pages, points out that the communist press gave « exaggerated importance » to the discussion on international ties; it may also be noted that the final communiqué of the Dakar meeting on 19th October recommended (but, significantly, did not oblige) African trade union organisations to unify on a national basis and to withdraw from international trade union organisations.

Despite their evident differences, delegates of the two Pan-African labour organisations agreed to meet again in Algiers during the first half of January 1964, as a Preparatory Committee (seven members from AATUF, seven from ATUC) to organise a

Constituent Congress for a future single Pan-African labour organisation. This constituent congress would be held in April or May 1964. No site was agreed upon, although AATUF delegates suggested an AATUF country as a proposed meeting place.

COMMUNIQUE

The meeting of the two secretariats of the All African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) and the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC) was held in Dakar on October 17, 18 and 19, 1963.

After studying the African and World labour situation, and taking into account the imperatives dictated by the structure of African society,

Decides to create a single African labour centre which would be united and democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, independent from any international labour centre and whose activity would be in the framework of the struggle of the African people for decolonisation and the achievement of a true democracy.

This African labour centre will maintain relations of friendship and solidarity with all national and international labour centres on a basis of the principles of equality, absolute respect, and of non-interference in domestic affairs.

Recommends to all existing African labour organisations that they unite on a national basis and free themselves of all international affiliations;

Decides to create a preparatory committee of fourteen members (7 from each Pan-African organisation) empowered to:

1. Set the date and meeting place of the future unified Pan-African centre's constituent congress to be held in late April or early May 1964.

2. Set the congress' agenda and draft the various reports and the rules of procedure.

3. Determine the ways and means of participation of the various national organisations and provide for the settling of material and financial problems.

The Preparatory Committee will meet in Algiers in the first half of January 1964.

The two Pan-African Secretariats express their satisfaction with the spirit of unity which has ruled their work.

Dakar, 19th October, 1963

Chairman of the Meeting	President of AATUF	President of ATUC
Alioune CISSE	Majoub Ben SEDDIK	Ahmed TLILLI

Excerpts of comments by AHMED TLILI, President of the African Trade Union Federation, made to the Tunisian press agency on return from ATUC-AATUF Dakar meeting (17-19 October, 1963)

The ATUC delegation went to Dakar fully convinced of the necessity to attain African trade union unity within the concept of mutual respect and freedom of each national centre.

Our major objective was to respond without further delay to the tasks confronting the trade union movement, that is the development of the African economy, the improvement of the well-being of the masses and the reinforcement of democracy. Unfortunately, on the other side they seem only to be interested in one question, which in our opinion, should never have been raised, that of international disaffiliation. To force disaffiliation as a pre-requisite to reunification is not in accordance with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each national centre.

Such an attitude would, as a consequence, restrain the freedom of each national organisation and on these conditions the activities of our future Confederation would probably fail, especially during the first phase, to reach the objective originally fixed.

Among the 41 national centres belonging to ATUC representing 32 African countries some are affiliated to the ICFTU, others to the IFCTU and some even are non-affiliated organisations.

The question of disaffiliation remains on the agenda of the future founding congress of the United African Trade Union Organisation which will decide sovereignly through a democratic vote. This congress will be preceded by a preparatory committee meeting in Algiers during the first part of January 1964.

The great majority of African trade unions being grouped within the ATUC, I am convinced that the decision of the congress will be for freedom of affiliation.

AFRICAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION

Circular to all Affiliated Organizations

Our friends in charge of African trade unions will recall the steps already taken prior to Casablanca (May 1961) to achieve unity within our trade union movement.

They will also recall the differences of opinion which erupted during the Casablanca Congress, which caused an overwhelming majority of the African unionists to gather together within the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC) (established at Dakar in January 1962).

Since its founding, our Confederation has never ceased working to achieve total unity based on mutual respect, and it was with pleasure that we participated in good faith in the last meeting at Dakar whose results, in spite of everything, are positive,



as they represent a second step along the road to unity. Moreover, we sincerely hope to follow up these efforts in good faith.

On the other hand, following the meeting which took place on 17, 18 and 19 October 1963 between the delegation of our Confederation and the All African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) delegation, certain newspapers have felt the need to exploit in tendentious fashion the final communique which was adopted at this meeting.

Thus, *Humanité* (French Communist Party's main vehicle) and *Alger Republicain* treated the subject in such a way as to give an exaggerated importance to the paragraph dealing with international affiliation, and which ends as follows: « Moreover recommends that all existing African trade union organizations unite on a national basis and free themselves from all international affiliation. »

In order to avoid any confusion, this phrase should be placed in its true context, that is, it should be interpreted in light of the general atmosphere which dominated the work performed by the two delegations.

For this reason all African trade union leaders should be informed of the insurmountable difficulties faced by the ATUC Bureau vis-a-vis the AATUF delegation.

Thus, from the beginning of the afternoon of the 17th the inflexibility of the AATUF positions began to be apparent as regards elaboration and adoption of the agenda. It was clear that the Casablanca group was solely concerned with getting a formal declaration out of the meeting concerning disaffiliation from international confederations. It was necessary to adjourn the session, to visit the President of the Republic of Senegal, and to resume work afterwards.

On resumption of the session a brief agenda was adopted and discussion again proceeded in a deadlock (several times this term was used by the session President Cisse Alioune himself). The discussion lasted through the 18th, until very late in the evening. The AATUF delegation, assuming a rigid as

well as arrogant position, threatened with breaking down the negotiations. It wanted to impose on all of the African centers immediate disaffiliation from the international organizations and proposed a text which subordinated establishment of a united African Trade Union Confederation to disaffiliation as a prerequisite for holding the Conference. The text in question was thus drawn up: « Recommends that before the next congress all existing trade union organizations unify on a national basis and free themselves of all international affiliation. »

The different members of the ATUC delegation spoke in favor of granting full liberty to each of the African organizations to continue its affiliation or to disaffiliate, as well as the freedom to determine this freely both on the internal and external levels. The positions of the two groups present remained rigid to the extent that rupture and separation of the two delegations were avoided in the nick of time by the establishment of a Commission which met during the morning of the 19th in order to find grounds for agreement over the wording which, while respecting total liberty of each organization, recommends it to work towards effecting its independence, including its independence from parties and governments.

These ideas clearly arise from the various opinions expressed during the debates and thus the paragraph concerning unity on a national level and disaffiliation was edited in terms of « simple recommendation, » which does not carry with it any idea of obligation whatsoever.

Moreover, the discussion following the report of the Editing Commission makes clear the fact that each of the delegates at the next conference has the right to defend his point of view concerning the internal and external independence of his organization, as it was agreed that these questions involving principles should be solved at the Plenary Conference and by the majority of the delegates.

In summary, it must be held from the sum total of the proceedings that no commitment was taken limiting the liberty of the centers affiliated with ATUC. The latter, desirous of streng-

thens trade unionism in Africa and going ahead along the road of economic expansion, the struggle against under-development and raising the workers' standard of living, unfortunately was not followed by AATUF which, as one can see, limits itself strictly to questions of formality which have no relation to the future of the African working masses.

The ATUC, aware of the existence of a spirit of sterile maneuvering, will remain on guard in order to play this down whenever possible. And, if our delegation has conceded to its partner over formalities, that is to say, over the editorial aspect of the text it is solely with the purpose of not giving its partner an excuse to cause a cleavage which would be exploited in a spectacular and exaggerated way by the enemies whose intentions we well know.

The ATUC, continually on guard, will remain active in its desire to build up a true General Confederation of African Unions on healthy and democratic bases in order to contribute to economic and social progress in Africa and to achieve unity and wellbeing for the workers.

In addition, with regard to this last meeting at Dakar, we note that a very strained discussion also took place over the site of the next conference. Since an agreement was not reached, the whole problem remains and in order to save this meeting from a deadlock it was decided to appoint a Preparatory Committee to meet in Algiers during the first two weeks in January 1964.

Attention of the affiliated organizations is thus drawn to the conciliatory spirit with which our delegation took part in the last negotiations, but it remains understood that, in spite of the pains we take to achieve unity, it is not a question of yielding on essentials. Being clearly in the majority, in comparison with AATUF, our confederation has made considerable headway since its recent establishment and has achieved an appreciable number of its objectives. It insists on continuing this work in harmony and democracy. Thus the next meeting of the Preparatory Committee must be devoted to positive work, that is to say, the meeting of the General Conference must be on democratic bases, (three

delegates maximum per country and one single voice per delegation in the votes), and the drawing up of reports and rules must be submitted to this conference, which will be held in a capital fulfilling all of the conditions necessary for carrying out work democratically and serenely, since we are the first to bow down before majority decisions.

In conclusion, all union leaders of ATUC are called upon to remain vigilant with regard to future interpretations which could be made on the subject of the last communique and to remain prepared to contribute to the creation of an African Trade Union Conference which is truly democratic, constructive and truly united in order to assume its responsibilities during this delicate phase of African evolution.

Remarks by AHMED TLILI, President of the African Trade Union Confederation, following the joint meeting of AATUF and ATUC Secretariats at Dakar 17th - 19th October 1963

The ATUC delegation went to Dakar fully convinced of the necessity to attain African trade union unity within the concept of mutual respect and freedom of each national centre.

Our major objective was to respond without further delay to the tasks confronting the trade union movement, that is the development of the African economy, the improvement of the wellbeing of the masses and the re-inforcement of democracy. Unfortunately, on the other side they seem only to be interested in one question, which in our opinion, should never have been raised, that of international disaffiliation. To force disaffiliation as a pre-requisite to reunification is not in accordance with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each national centre.

Among the 41 national centres belonging to ATUC representing 32 African countries some are affiliated to the ICFTU, other to the IFCTU and some even are non-affiliated organisations.

The great majority of African trade unions being grouped within the ATUC, I am convinced that the decision of the congress will be for freedom of affiliation.

AGAINST APARTHEID

Dear Brother,

I have pleasure in forwarding to you the enclosed statement, subscribed to by the ten colleagues whose names appear at the foot of the statement. The statement was made in the name of all the African worker delegates to the 47th session of the International Labour Conference.

I hope that you will subscribe to it and that your organisation will give its maximum cooperation in bringing into being a Pan-African Trade Union Committee to deal not only with the South African question but also to form a basis for the eventual unification of the African labour movement.

Yours fraternally,
Lawrence L. Borha

Lawrence BORHA, General Secretary of the United Labour Congress of Nigeria and member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) issued, on behalf of ten African trade union leaders, a statement on South Africa, as follows:

PRESS RELEASE

We, the undermentioned African trade unionists who have been in Geneva for various engagements including the recent session of the International Labour Conference as well as the

156th Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation, acting on our behalf and in accordance with the will and mandate of African and Arab worker delegates to that Conference, undertook a further exchange of views on the South African question. In this connection, special attention was given to the international as well as to the pan-African aspects of the problem posed by the continued accommodation in world organisations such as the United Nations Organisation and its Specialised Agencies, of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, in spite of its criminal policy of apartheid.

In the light of this exchange of views we

DRAW ATTENTION once again to the fact that apartheid constitutes a shame on and a challenge to world conscience as well as a crime against humanity not only in Africa but also in every civilised community of men and women everywhere in the world;

WARN that apartheid in all its forms and manifestations represents the most immediate and, indeed, most explosive threat to world peace;

EXPRESS our total condemnation of those countries of the East and West blocs which are collaborating in the dark design of the South African Government against world peace by their continued overt and covert backing and support to the satanic Verwoerd Government—both by political and economic means and by covert supply of military equipment by the Governments of Great Britain and Czechoslovakia;

URGE the governments of the Western and Eastern blocs of countries to shed their hypocritical and opportunist positions on the South African question and to rise to the will of their peoples for the preservation of peace and therefore of civilisation by immediately translating into concrete action the United Nations resolution calling for political and economic sanctions against the Government of South Africa and by taking steps, at the same time, to ensure the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies, as a means of moral and positive pressure against the policy of apartheid;

ADDRESS a solemn appeal to all the workers of the world to continue to fight side by side with their African brothers and rally all the democratic forces in their respective countries through their national and international trade union organisations in a common offensive against apartheid which puts in great peril all that is dear and meaningful to workers everywhere;

REAFFIRM our unconditional support of the position taken by the African and Arab delegations as well as their friends at the 47th Session of the International Labour Conference in their demonstrations against the continued membership of South Africa in the ILO, and note, as evident justification of that position, the recent decision of the ILO Governing Body to apply itself more positively and vigorously than hitherto in order to achieve the objective of the 1961 ILO resolution which called for the withdrawal of South Africa from the Organisation;

WARN again that as long as apartheid exists in the Republic of South Africa, so long will South African representation at any future meetings or conferences of the ILO continue to be a source of paralysing confusion in the affairs of the organisation.

WE FURTHER STATE that while the South African question has properly ceased to be an exclusively African problem, it is our firm belief nevertheless that the final action for the total eradication of apartheid in all its forms and manifestations rests ultimately with indigenous Africa; consequently

WE HAIL the Addis Ababa Conference decision on South Africa as the first essential act in an all-out pan-African offensive against apartheid and call upon all African States to carry out faithfully and as a matter of urgency the obligations of that decision.

WE CONSIDER that our trade union organisations as an essential arm of the democratic and progressive institutions in the New Africa should constitute themselves into a vital force in the vanguard of action in the execution of « Operation South Africa »; and to this end we call upon the Secretariat of the African Trade Union Confederation in Dakar and of the All-African Trade

de Union Federation in Accra to take steps to convene, at an early date, a meeting of representatives of all bona fide and democratic African national trade union centres with a view to set up an All-African Trade Union Action Committee and to determine a « positive action programme » aimed at the complete eradication of apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination on the African continent.

L. L. BORHA	Nigeria
M. BEN EZZEDINE	Tunisia
G. A. PONGAULT	Congo (Brazzaville)
W. V. S. TUBMAN, Jr.	Liberia
T. BOOKA	Congo (Brazzaville)
R. NGAMBY	Cameroon
S. SHITA	Libya
Mr. KIBUKA	Uganda
A. MAKONEN	Ethiopia
R. JAMELA	Southern Rhodesia