



MDA MDA: UNITY MOVEMENT ACTIVIST-INTELLECTUAL HONOURED BY HIS ALMA MATER

In 2001 Jacob Zuma received an honorary Doctor of Law Degree from the University of Fort Hare in Alice. The numerically challenged former president did not stop there, and he went on to receive an honorary Doctor of Philosophy Degree from MEDUNSA for his fight against HIV/AIDS (he advocated hot showers), and an honorary Doctor of Administration Degree from the University of Zululand.

Ten years later, the indefatigable ruler of Nkandla rounded off his academic career by receiving an honorary Doctorate in Humane Letters from the Texas Southern University in Houston. Jacob Zuma's fourth honorary Doctoral Degree heralds the early 21st Century as the age of sub-par mediocrity and underachievement.

Honorary degrees are conferred on individuals for their contributions to society in various fields such as the arts, activism, public service and a myriad of philanthropical activities. These contributions should invariably be positive and have had a lasting impact and impression on society generally.

Positivity is not a word that springs to mind when speaking of Jacob Zuma.

Roughly 670 kilometres from Zuma's sprawling Nkandla estate, is the small trading town of Viedgesville, just outside of Mthatha. Viedgesville, which takes its name from Robert Viedge, is home to retired civil lawyer, Mda Mda.

This diminutive giant, who sits quietly in front of his fireplace these days, reading his newspaper and



Comrade Mda Mda (Centre) receiving an honorary doctorate of Law degree.

watching the news, has raised more than his children. He has raised ghosts and raised intellectual standards while maintaining unparalleled and unrivalled standards of parlance.

At the age of 102, Mda Mda was awarded an honorary Doctor of Law Degree from the University of Fort Hare in Alice. In

2001 he would have been an energetic 78 and his acceptance speech would quite likely still have been spoken about today. Sadly, as with most things in the not-so-new South Africa, political fealty takes precedence over substance and worthiness.

At the age of 96 Mda Mda launched his book

Inside this issue

1	MDA MDA: UNITY MOVEMENT ACTIVIST-INTELLECTUAL HONOURED BY HIS ALMA MATER	1
2	ECONOMIC SANCTIONS: A TWO-EDGED SWORD	4
3	LEVEL THE PLAYING FIELD!!!	6
4	CAPTAIN IBRAHIM TRAORÉ : THE NEW CHE GUEVARA OF AFRICA ?	7

'Struggle and Hope - Reflections on the Recent History of the Transkeian People' and writes:

"In my view, it is evident that the ANC has outlived its usefulness and is now an encumbrance. It is aiding and abetting wrongdoers and criminals. Although it is in power and in control of the arms of the law, it is now the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the media who expose and ferret out law breakers. The ANC does not seem to know its duty anymore. Remember the way its MPs zealously and maliciously obstructed and frustrated former public prosecutor, Thuli Madonsela? It was painful to watch. You would have thought she was the enemy and not the incumbent head of a state organ they were obliged to support. They were an absolute disgrace."

Mr Mda weaves in and out of history, tying the past to the present as only he can. The book, apart from a small collection of papers and interviews are the closest newcomers will be able to get to his wit and intellect, especially now that he has, in his own words, reached the stage of sitting and listening.

Very few people, if any, can stand on a podium and launch into a reasoned, witty and factually relevant lecture of history and politics without any notes at hand. Mda was one of the few. He, together with the late Livingstone Mqotsi and the late Mallet Pumi Giyose, could speak on matters of historical, cultural, educational and political relevance at the drop of a hat, all while maintaining the grasp of the common man in the street.

This unholy trio of dissent all came from the same school of non-racial thought – The New Unity Movement. That nonracialism has been supplanted by the liberalised policies of multiracialism and identity politics is not the fault of these erudite interlocutors. Rather, the sheer weight of corporate and political buy-in, has crushed nonracialism probably forever.

Speaking about the new global tribalism at a book launch circa 2009, Livingstone Mqotsi described South Africa's new race laws and policies as 'vulgarised black consciousness'. In response to a question from a Walter Sisulu University student about Jacob Zuma at his 2019 book launch, Mr Mda said: "Who was the student who decided that it was a good idea to invite former president Jacob Zuma to this university? Surely, if that student is unaware of the damage done to the country, then that student has no place at a university!"

On Julius Malema, Mda Mda had this to say: "Are you saying that I am his brother just because of skin colour? No!"

The likelihood of South Africa ever producing an intellectual triumvirate equivalent to Mda, Mqotsi and Giyose, is extremely remote especially when one considers South Africa's devotion to political deviance and educational mediocrity. The religious adherence to post-apartheid racism, is a hallmark of South Africa, and indeed global political systems.

Steeped in the values of respect and the pursuit of



Comrades Pumi Giyose, Livingstone Mqotsi and Mda Mda
"Conversations across Generations" at Fort Hare University

truth, these comrades always placed human beings at the centre of their arguments and reasoning. Educationalist Neil Postman often wrote that political leaders bragged about technological achievements and disregarded the decline of humanity on the behavioural level. 'Better technology' as Neil Postman mused, 'requires better human beings'.

South Africa under the ANC mis-impersonated Mao's China and took a great and emphatic leap backward, and we are now in a situation where, despite the ANC claiming victory over apartheid, blames apartheid for every failure they oversee.

According to Comrade Mda: "We have apparently gone astray from the path of liberation. Having lost our way, we are helplessly floundering in the desert, misled by the unprincipled, the unscrupulous, the self-centered and narrow-minded. The essential attributes of honesty, uprightness, integrity and a sense of honour are missing in our public life. For many of us, current revelations have been an eye-opener. The country is mired in a morass of shameless greed and rampant corruption. In all of this, the biggest culprit has been the African National Congress (ANC), the ruling party. The country has been brought to its knees and is desperately struggling to keep its head above

water.”

In a recorded conversation, Mda Mda shook his head in disappointment at the duplicitousness of the African Nation Congress when they gleefully announced victory after the CODESA talks: *“They did that to avoid bloodshed they say. Yes, bloodshed was to be avoided, but it was a matter of deception on both sides. They claimed victory without any military victory, so they were appeasing the so-called vanquished.”*

As South Africa descends deeper and deeper into barbarism, with over 70 people murdered each day, and over 50 daily kidnappings (the highest rate in Africa), Mda’s concluding sentiments during that conversation resonates: *“That bloodshed that was avoided, no it was not avoided, it was only postponed. I believe that we are still coming to that.”*

The Rainbow Nation’s murder body count up to 2024 is over 650,000! That is an average of 20,000 homicides per year since 1994. The situation is primed to worsen as unemployment rates soar, municipal services collapse, policing fractures, and political avarice gains momentum. South Africa, it would seem cannot, as Dr. Mda says: *“Do the basics correctly.”*

Born on the 25th of March 1923 in Lusikisiki, Mda Mda is a rare breed of human being – a man who epitomises moral intellectualism. His disgust at what transpired at the CODESA *“shenanigans”* as he often referred to it, brought him repeatedly to his ‘political schooling’ within the New Unity Movement, a political movement that he has remained loyal to throughout: *“We knew, from our schooling within the Unity Movement that those people have sold out. Which is the truth. They sold out!”*

At a New Unity Movement meeting in Queens-town, comrades saw Mr Mda alight from a mini-bus taxi, with the other occupants enthusiastically bidding him farewell, amid cheers and laughter. One can only imagine the tales that were told on that trip. At the end of the meeting, there were offers from comrades to take Mr Mda back to Mthatha, but he said that he had already arranged transport, and sure enough, just as the group photo session was concluded, the same mini-bus taxi pulled up. He bid the comrades farewell, and as he got into the taxi, there was a roar of excitement as he greeted the other commuters – the screaming laughter could be heard as the taxi moved off.

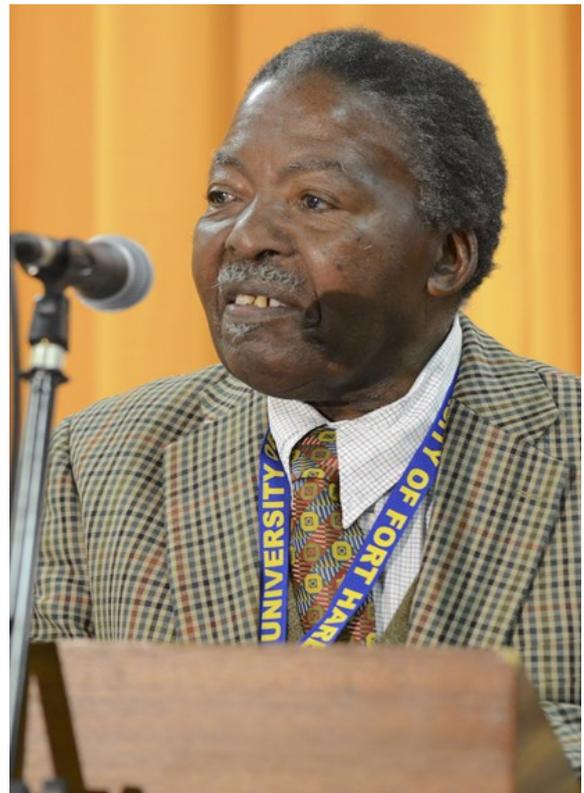
The quintessential straight-talker, Mda, Mda does not brutalize the targets of his utterances. His command of language, his style of delivery, and sense of humour, endear him to everyone, includ-

ing those on the opposite side of the political divide.

He does, however, tell it like it is: *“Instead of attending to the issues afflicting the country, the powers that be are engaged in a vanity fair of celebration after celebration, extolling the virtues of countless ANC leaders. We are treated throughout the year to a nauseating chorus of self-congratulation and ANC achievements, viz, ‘sacrifices in the struggle’, ‘liberating the country’, ‘defeating apartheid’ etc. The monotonous theme of these sermons is that we are beholden to them and, therefore, must suffer their sins of commission and omission. If we are unhappy or discontented, we must not forget that apartheid was far worse. Talk of poor service delivery and corruption is disloyalty. They can do no wrong.”*

Even though Dr Mda has now retreated into silence, he is still with us and has left us with a fantastic legacy and a rich repository of memories.

Long Live Mda Mda! Long Live!



Comrade Mda Mda

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS: A TWO-EDGED SWORD

The accession of Donald Trump to the presidency of the United States has given world-fascism a major boost. He has more openly than his predecessor, Sleepy Joe Biden, supported the genocidal assault on Palestine in general, and on Gaza in particular, and has had no qualms about openly stating his support for notions of transforming a depopulated Gaza into a Mediterranean Riviera; in addition, he has led the campaign to punish all pro-Palestinian utterances and actions as “anti-Semitic,” to create (however feeble) an excuse to clamp down on and punish the perpetrators. This has resulted in the unbridled use of the power of so-called Presidential Decrees to deal a body blow to US Ivy Leagues that dared permit Pro-Palestinian/anti-Zionist protest action even of the gentlest kind, among their staff and students, and on their campuses.

In characteristically clumsy, bull-in-a-china-shop-style, this psychopathic monster has launched a campaign on the economic front to “Make America Great Again” (BTW, was America ever great? Other than as a destructive, warmongering global capitalist force, that is?). Like a crazed shooter with a loaded shotgun he has imposed laughable tariffs on pretty much the rest of the world, including his country’s closest allies. It appears that the strategy (as appears to be with all his “strategies”) is to create a sh*t-storm to gain attention. The supposed idea is to force the targeted countries to come forward with concessions. Now, towards the end of May, our own GNU, led by ever-collaborative president Cyril Ramaphosa, were quite happy to submit to the madman’s humiliating exhibition of self-aggrandisement in front of a global TV audience, to win his approval.

Economic sanctions (which include tariffs) are not a new form of “war by other means.” Its history is traced as far back as classical Grecian times, when Athens imposed sanctions on Sparta in 432 BC. For America in the modern era, it has been an indispensable tool of domination over states and institutions which dared not toe the imperialist line. (Apparently, included in Trump’s current wave of tariffs is a threat to impose same on *Apple* if the world’s leading corporate does not close down its overseas manufacturing operations in favour of bringing the affected jobs [back] to America).

Seen as “commercial and financial blockade,” economic sanctions are a coercive policy for “isolating human communities from exchange with the wider world.” (See Nicholas Mulder, 2022 – *The Economic Weapon*). “As of January 2020,” writers Stuart Davis and Immanuel Ness (2022) tell us that

America has unilaterally imposed sanctions on the following countries: Belarus, Burundi, Central African Republic, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Nicaragua, North Korea, Russia, Somalia, Serbia, Sudan, South Sudan, Syria, Venezuela, Yemen, and Zimbabwe.

“All in all,” Davis and Ness add, “economic sanctions are a weapon wielded by the most powerful, the US and its allies in Western Europe and beyond, against the poor and weak in the poorest countries of the Global South.”



Do sanctions work?

This is perhaps the wrong question – we know that they *can* work, particularly if their aim (as always) is to inflict hardship. One need only look at the extreme case of Zionist Israel’s genocidal siege on Gaza.

Sanctions against Russia by the western allies following the war in Ukraine are a different story, with Russia capable of mitigating the worst effects of sanctions against it.

To quote Davis and Ness again:

Not only do sanctions by design “cause untold death and devastation,” a reality laid bare in the current health crisis, but also, as Lauren Smith (2020) demonstrates, “economic sanctions serve to justify and conceal theft, through asset freezes and seizures, at a rate only previously accomplished through invasion and occupation.” US sanctions trigger currency devaluation, inflation, and increased unemployment, as well as reduced access to food, power, industrial equipment, and medicine. In other words, in the hands of US empire, sanctions are a neo-colonial tool designed to prevent global South development.

Shoring up an empire in crisis

Never one for subtlety, Donald Trump, as we are witnessing, has hit the ground running with his threat of a harsh and widespread tariffs regime. It comes at a time of waning American global influence, when the neoliberal order is beginning to falter, and when fascism is increasingly seen as the answer for a capitalism in crisis. Indications are that the current system of global alliances is breaking down, with Trump’s wooing of Middle Eastern royalty the clearest sign.

In a nutshell, America needs capital investment within its borders, as much to placate working class aspirations for jobs as to create opportunities for profit growth. Secondly, it needs to secure stable access to raw materials – including rare earth minerals – for its industries, hence the need to tie into its sphere of influence suppliers such as South Africa.

For Trump’s America, open warfare as well as economic warfare are indispensable strategic imperatives.

Sanctions from below

Sanctions are not an option available exclusively to the ruling classes. It can be applied with equal effect “from below,” with the (global) Palestine BDS Movement perhaps one of the more visible examples today.

As an integral part of the broader liberation struggle, Palestine BDS has faced ceaseless harassment from all governments partial to Israel and subject to American pressure. This notwithstanding, it has been unflinching in its commitment to the struggle for the isolation of the Zionist state.

Part of its inspiration comes from the success South Africa achieved in the anti-apartheid struggle as a result of the impact that the then Boycott/Divestment/Sanctions movement played in bringing down the apartheid regime.

In the current period, when the Zionist state is intensifying its extermination campaign, the work of the Palestine BDS Movement is more important than ever. The following is a link to their website, where they highlight successes achieved.

<https://bdsmovement.net/Indicators-BDS-Global-Impact-July-December-2024>

The website commences with the following optimistic message:

Thanks to strategic campaigning and the tireless work of people of conscience and organisations across the world, the BDS movement’s impact is increasing substantially.

A LUTA CONTINUA – FROM THE RIVER TO THE SEA, PALESTINE WILL BE FREE!



From the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea

LEVEL THE PLAYING FIELD!!!

The following is a speech transcribed from a video circulating on TikTok on 7 May 2025, attributed to “mindquestmedia.” The video included a picture of Helen Zille, chairperson of the DA’s federal council, and is a sharp riposte to her in light of the reactionary sentiments she is well-known for spouting.

You can’t stand on a mountain built by apartheid and preach about the power of hard work. That mountain wasn’t earned. It was inherited. Stolen land, stolen labour, stolen opportunity, and now, decades later, you want to speak of free markets as if the race just started today, as if we all lined up at the same starting line and had the same pair of shoes. But some of us are bare foot, bleeding, still limping from a marathon we were never allowed to finish.

They say the market must be free. But free for who? Free for the people who already own the banks? The farms? The shopping malls? The fibre networks? The private schools? Is it free when you’ve got nothing to trade? Nothing to sell but your time, your labour, your dignity at a price dictated by the very people whose grandfathers got rich selling your grandmothers’ silence?

Every time a black entrepreneur speaks of land reform, here comes the free market preacher, usually white, sometimes black, always invested talking about efficiency and productivity like they’re sacred gods we dare not offend, as if apartheid wasn’t the most inefficient, most unproductive system of theft the world has ever seen. The only reason it worked was because people were forced to work for nothing. Now you want us to compete in the open market, with what? No capital, no credit, no generational wealth, just hustle and motivation porn from guys who got their first funding from daddy’s friends at Standard Bank. You can’t call it a free market when one side is still shackled by history. That’s not freedom, that’s gas lighting.

Let’s talk about the word “merit.”

They love that word! As if talent and brilliance were ever enough. As if the streets of Soweto aren’t filled with geniuses who will never get noticed because their parents don’t golf with CEOs, as if job interviews aren’t coded filters for whiteness: “You must speak English fluently,” “you must have your own transport,” “you must have five years’ experience at the age of twenty-two.” To please free market capitalism is their religion, not because it’s fair, but because apartheid gave them an advantage. If they want to play a fair game, why are they against land and wealth redistribution?

They say, “but we’ve been paying tax,” as if paying tax erases historical theft, as if tax is some magical



redemption fee for centuries of dispossession. Paying tax is a civic duty in every country, not a get-out-of-jail-free card for inherited privilege.

The land wasn’t bought with tax. It was taken with guns, laws and God. The wealth wasn’t built by tax, it was built on cheap black labour, stolen minerals and a rigged system that made sure one group climbed while another stayed underground, literally in the mines. Tax goes to roads, to Eskom bailouts, to salaries of corrupt ministers. It doesn’t put land back in the hands of those who lost it. You don’t get to hide behind your SARS receipts while sitting on land your family never paid for in the first place. That’s not justice, that’s an accounting trick. Tax doesn’t undo structural inequality. It sustains it when the system itself is unjust.

You benefited from apartheid, whether you admit it or not. If you inherited land, a house, a business, a network, an English accent, a passport to opportunity, then you are not self-made, you are apartheid-made. And, no, that doesn’t necessarily mean you didn’t work hard, it just means your hard work was never just yours. It was turbocharged by a history that crushed others so you could run faster.

So don’t talk to me about free markets unless you’re willing to have a *real* conversation about restitution, about repairing the past before you demand competition in the present. Until then, your gospel of capitalism is just the devil wearing a suit, selling hope to the desperate, while hoarding everything behind velvet ropes.

CAPTAIN IBRAHIM TRAORÉ : THE NEW CHE GUEVARA OF AFRICA ?

Our attention was drawn to Captain Ibrahim Traoré, the president of Burkina Faso, because of a widely circulated YouTube video recording of him reading a letter that he wrote to the newly elected Pope, Leo 14th. The YouTube video recording of the Pope's letter written in reply to Traoré's letter came as a surprise to many of us because of the Pope's expression of sympathy, understanding and support of all the sentiments expressed by Traoré. Although doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of these videos which it is alleged have been AI generated, it nevertheless has inspired us to focus on Traoré.

Our focus on Traoré and Burkina Faso is the second, after the one we just did on the DRC, of a series of articles we'll be doing on other "trouble spot's" in Africa. In these articles we seek to highlight the diabolical activities of imperialism in plundering the natural resources of countries in Africa.

The publicity given to Traoré presents us with an opportunity to examine developments in another "trouble spot" in Africa, namely Burkina Faso and the Sahel region of Africa.

Our Information on this subject is gleaned from Wikipedia and various news media.

The now only 38 years old came to power on 30 September 2022, when he led a military coup against the then president Damiba who had himself seized power via a coup eight months earlier. The rationale given by Traoré for the coup d'état was the purported inability of Damiba to deal with an Islamist insurgency. Damiba resigned and left the country. On 6 October 2022, Captain Ibrahim Traoré was officially appointed as president of Burkina Faso.

It should be noted that the coup d'état by Traoré was the latest in a long series of such events in Burkina Faso's history since it became independent from France in 1960 when it was known as the Republic of Upper Volta.

The organisation "Make Africa Great Again", about which we know very little, has posted a number of videos featuring Traoré on the YouTube platform, touting him as the leader of an anti-imperialist movement in Africa. As such he has won the support of a number of organisations in Africa, including the EFF in South Africa.

By way of a background to the purported reasons



CAPTAIN IBRAHIM TRAORÉ

given by Traoré for the coup it is notable that since the mid-2010s Burkina Faso has been severely affected by the rise of insurgencies in the Sahel. Several militias, partly allied with either the Islamic State (ISIS) or al-Qaeda, operate in Burkina Faso and across the border in Mali and Niger. As a result of these insurgencies more than one million of the country's 23 million inhabitants are internally displaced persons. Burkina Faso's military seized power in a coup d'état on 23 and 24 January 2022, overthrowing President Roch Marc Christian Kaboré. On 31 January, the military junta restored the constitution and appointed Paul-Henri Sandaogo Damiba as interim president, but he was himself overthrown by Traoré 8 months later.

Judging from the statements he makes in the plethora of YouTube videos posted by the Make Africa Great again group, Traoré should be measured against the legacy left by Thomas Sankara who must have made an impression on him.

He is clearly in the mould of Thomas Sankara, who, like him, came to power in 1984 via a military coup.

Sankara as an avowed Marxist, Pan Africanist

and anti-imperialist was described as the Che Guevara of Africa. Given his stature as a revolutionary, he won the recognition of the Cuban government when he was awarded the Order of José Martí.

Sankara, of course followed in the footsteps of Patrice Lumumba, who as the newly elected president of the Congo was assassinated because of his anti-imperialist stance. In highlighting the diabolical role played by Imperialism in Africa. Walter Rodney in his seminal work "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" states: "it was precisely the strength and potential of the nationalist movement under Lumumba which forced the imperialists to resort to murder and invasion." This is a fate that might well befall Traoré' unless there is a significant support for his anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist stances.

Burkina Faso became so named by Sankara in 1984. He then went on to totally transform the country in line with his anti-imperialist and pan Africanist outlook.

According to Wikipedia, Burkina Faso (the literal translation is *land of the upright men*), is a landlocked country in West Africa, bordered by Mali, Niger, Benin, Togo, Ghana and Ivory Coast. It covers an area of 274,223 km² (105,878 sq mi). In 2024, the country had an estimated population of approximately 23,286,000. Its citizens are known as *Burkinabè*, and its capital and largest city is Ouagadougou (pronounced Waa·guh·doo·goo).

Of note is the fact that whilst being one of the poorest countries in the world, it is the fourth-largest gold producer in Africa, after South Africa, Mali and Ghana.

Sankara's government comprised the National Council for the Revolution with Sankara as its president. He established popular Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) and the Pioneers of the Revolution youth programme. Sankara launched an ambitious socioeconomic programme for change, one of the largest ever undertaken on the African continent. His foreign

policies centred on anti-imperialism, with his government rejecting all foreign aid, pushing for odious debt reduction, nationalising all land and mineral wealth and averting the power and influence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank.

Other policies included a nationwide literacy campaign, land redistribution to peasants, railway and road construction, the outlawing of female genital mutilation, forced marriages and polygamy.

Sankara pushed for agrarian self-sufficiency and promoted public health by vaccinating 2,500,000 children against meningitis, yellow fever, and measles. His national agenda also included planting over 10,000,000 trees to halt the growing desertification of the Sahel. Sankara called on every village to build a medical dispensary and had over 350 communities build schools with their own labour.

In the 1980s, when ecological awareness was still very low, Sankara was one of the few African leaders to consider environmental protection a priority. He engaged in three major battles: against bush fires "which will be considered as crimes and will be punished as such"; against cattle roaming "which infringes on the rights of peoples because unattended animals destroy nature"; and against the illegitimate cutting of firewood "whose profession will have to be organized and regulated". As part of a development program involving a large part of the population, ten million trees were planted in Burkina Faso in fifteen months during the revolution. To face the advancing desert and recurrent droughts, Sankara also proposed the planting of wooded strips about fifty kilometers wide, crossing the country from east to west. Cereal production, close to 1.1 billion tons before 1983, was predicted to rise to 1.6 billion tons in 1987. Jean Ziegler, former UN special rapporteur for the right to food, said that the country "had become food self-sufficient."

On 15 October 1987, Sankara and twelve other government officials were assassinated in a coup d'état organized by Blaise Compaoré, Sankara's former colleague, who took over as Burkina Faso's president. Compaoré held the position until

October 2014 when he was forced to resign and went into exile in Cote d'Ivoire.

Compaoré gave the deterioration in relations with neighbouring countries as one of the reasons for the coup. He argued that Sankara had jeopardised foreign relations with the former colonial power (France) and with neighbouring Ivory Coast. Following the coup, Compaoré immediately reversed the nationalizations, overturned nearly all of Sankara's policies, returned the country back into the IMF fold, and ultimately spurned most of Sankara's legacy.

In all the You Tube video's posted by the Make Africa Great Again group, Traoré expresses himself very clearly as an anti-imperialist, anti capitalist which begs the question : Is Traoré like his predecessor, Sankara, the new Che Guevara of Africa?

On 18 January 2024, Burkina Faso announced its exit from ECOWAS and the African Union (AU) after it helped form the Alliance of Sahel States (AES). The AES is made up of Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger. This development impacts on questions about regional security, economic cooperation, and the future of African unity. It also brings to the fore challenges that this new alliance might face, such as diplomatic isolation, economic sanctions, and internal stability issues.

Despite any reservations one might have regarding the seizure of power via military coup d'état's we unequivocally support all progressive socio-economic and political changes introduced by such regimes, as was the case with Thomas Sankara.

However our enthusiasm is tempered by our knowledge of the fact that Imperialism does not

take kindly to any challenges to it's hegemony.

Bearing in mind how the assassinations of Patrice Lumumba in 1960 and that of Thomas Sankara in 1987 and Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, literally snuffed out any hope of an Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Capitalist continent wide movement, developing in Africa.

On the positive side there is the faint hope that whereas neither Lumumba nor Sankara were able to garner significant support from other countries in Africa, perhaps we might see the beginnings of a groundswell of support for Traoré who already has survived at least two assassination attempts.



Captain Thomas Sankara

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