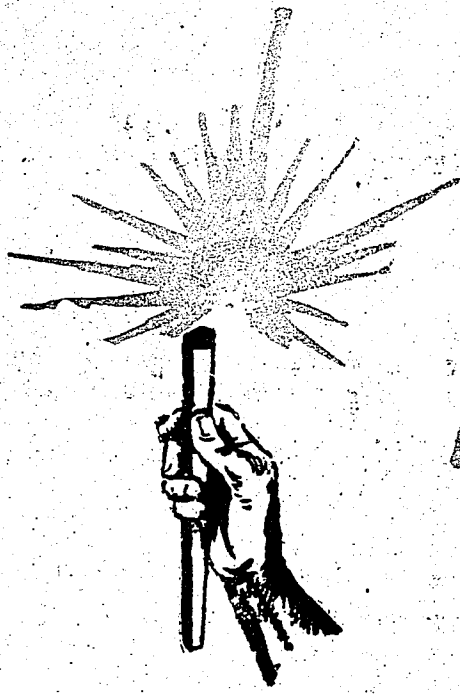


# THE SPARK



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## EDITORIAL

### KEEP TSHOMBE OUT!

NEO-COLONIALISM is showing its paces in the Congo. Only three days after the U.N. Special Operations in the Congo came to an end with the withdrawal of the last contingents of the U.N. forces, Moise Tshombe flew into the strife-torn republic. A few days later, the Adoula government was thrown out of office. Tshombe was called upon to form a new government. Now a new administration headed by Tshombe has been installed in Leopoldville with Tshombe, in addition to his office as Prime Minister, holding the key portfolios of finance and foreign affairs.

One of Tshombe's first acts was to announce that he has no need for an African force in the Congo; that he will make arrangements for the policing of his country with the Western powers.

Now Tshombe, obviously in a truculent triumphant mood, has announced his plans to attend the Cairo Summit of African leaders. (As we go to press, he has issued another statement to the effect that he is no longer for Cairo. But those who know Tshombe's reversibility in the service of Western imperialism cannot rule out the possibility of this man suddenly turning up at Cairo). Nor should African leaders ignore the fact that the imperialist powers might wish to use Tshombe in their game of disrupting the Organisation of African Unity.

#### Who is Moise Tshombe?

He is the man whose hands are stained with the blood of Patrice Lumumba. He is the man for whom a central government warrant of arrest was issued some years ago. He is the man who organised armed rebellion in Katanga, killing and maiming soldiers of the central government of the Congo. He is the man who looted the banks in Katanga. For all these acts Tshombe still has not rendered account to the Congolese people.

But today Tshombe is the Head of the Congolese Government. By this act, the powers that run the affairs of the Congo have shown roguish brazenness a parallel for which will be difficult to find in recent history. They have shown utter disregard for African opinion and for Congolese feelings. They have inflicted grievous wound on the Congolese people; now they rub salt into this wound. For Africa it is a classic case of adding insult to injury.

Now these behind-the-scenes intriguers want Tshombe in Cairo, no doubt to convince Congolese opinion that this man has been fully accepted and rehabilitated by all African leaders. Such a move will crown Tshombe with the halo of African support and make it easier for him to perpetrate his crimes against the Congo nation.

Nationalist African opinion demands that Moise Tshombe be kept out of the Cairo Summit. And should he make for the United Nations, the African delegations there must make it abundantly clear to the whole world that Africa simply cannot be treated like dirt by circles whose only interest is to exploit the riches of Africa without regard to the needs, the feelings and the aspirations of the African people.

It is probable that the back-room boys of Moise Tshombe—his U.S. and Belgian advisers—will interpret the slamming of the doors of the Cairo conference at Tshombe's face as the ostracism of the Congolese people. This should not deflect us from our resolve to keep this arch stooge of Western imperialism out of the Cairo Summit. For by keeping him out, Africa would be strengthening the hands of the African patriots in the Congo.

Furthermore, it is Tshombe who has flouted the will of the Congo people. Where is the mouth-piece of the Congolese people, namely the Congolese National Assembly? Has it met in full strength to approve and endorse Moise Tshombe as Prime

## FROM LONDON TO CAIRO

# NEW TURN IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

by

Julius Sago



Mr. Joshua Nkomo

THE Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference just ended in London has set in motion powerful new currents which will certainly sweep white minority rule out of Southern Rhodesia. All that the Cairo Summit of African leaders now has to do is to mobilise all Africa behind the London decisions and take steps to make sure that Britain does not fall back on the diplomacy of delay for which she is an acknowledged adept.

The battle over Southern Rhodesia dominated this year's Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference to such an extent that historians may well refer to the 1964 conference as the Southern Rhodesia Conference. And in the conduct of this struggle, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana has played the leading and a constructive role. This is acknowledged by friends and foes alike.

All African Prime Ministers contributed handsomely towards mounting very heavy pressure on the United Kingdom government. So did non-African leaders like Leslie Pearson of Canada and Ayub Khan of Pakistan. But Dr. Kwame Nkrumah raised the controversy on to the plane of principles and kept it there by enunciating the principle of majority rule and minority protection.

#### SHREWD STROKE

By this shrewd stroke, President Nkrumah of Ghana saved the conference from degenerating into a slugging match between African nationalism and British colonialism. Simultaneously, he forced the British delegation to fight on grounds not of its own choosing and earned the support of a wide section of British opinion in the process. In a way the British Government was arraigned before the bar of world opinion.

As soon as Dr. Nkrumah's manoeuvre succeeded, it was not difficult to see that the U.K. govern-

ment had to give in (even though a stubborn rear-guard action was put up). For whatever one has to say against British colonialism, it must be admitted that the moral conscience of sections of the British public has always been a valuable ally to colonial peoples fighting for their freedom.

The decision on Southern Rhodesia shows that Britain's position—that of not being responsible for events in Southern Rhodesia—was hopelessly outflanked. For years, successive Conservative governments of Britain have sought to side-step all attacks on colonial rule in Southern Rhodesia by arguing that the territory was self-governing and, therefore, outside her jurisdiction. This argument was repeated *ad nauseum* at the United Nations. It served as the grounds for Britain's non-co-operation with the U.N. Sub-Committee set up to deal with the Southern Rhodesian question.

This obdurate and indefensible stand has now been completely abandoned. But it had to be abandoned in a way not to expose the U.K.

Minister? The answer is No. How then can a so-called Prime Minister who has not got the blessing of his own people expect all Africa to welcome him with open arms? Clearly such a move by Africa will be morally wrong and constitutionally indefensible. It will be tantamount to all Africa acquiescing in the imperialist plots and machinations against the Congolese people.

Africa supports the Congolese people in their just struggle against West European and U.S. imperialisms. A vivid demonstration of this support is to shun the arch-agent of imperialism. Keep Tshombe out of Cairo.

government unduly as shirking its responsibilities through its deference to British vested interests. Here a formula was hammered out which acknowledges the constitutional argument used by Britain and at the same time commits Britain to playing a positive new role in the direction of justice in Southern Rhodesia. The relevant portion of the communique reads: "At the same time he (Sir Alec Douglas-Home) emphasised that the government of Southern Rhodesia was constitutionally responsible for the internal affairs of that territory and that the question of the granting of independence was a matter for decision by the British Parliament."

#### BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY

This formula makes it clear that the entire Commonwealth has reached unanimous agreement that Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing not an independent territory. Now all authorities on constitutional law are agreed that, under the British practice, self-government in a British territory leaves the colonial power with full powers over maintenance of law and order and over external affairs. It follows that Britain now fully accepts her responsibility for law and order as well as for external affairs in Southern Rhodesia. For Southern Rhodesia, it is now agreed among all, is a colony even though at an advanced stage of evolution towards full independence.

Once Britain's full responsibility over Southern Rhodesia had been established, the Commonwealth leaders, again prompted by Dr. Nkrumah and his African colleagues, proceeded to lay down principles to guide Britain's discharge of this responsibility. The communique states that the "authority and responsibility for leading her remaining colonies to independence must continue to rest with Britain." This view seems to concede the point that while other agencies could express opinion on what goes on in Southern Rhodesia, the responsibility for advance devolves squarely on Britain.

#### PRINCIPLES

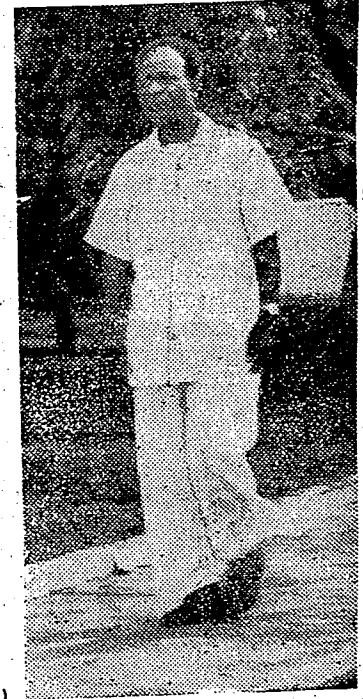
However, the Commonwealth leaders have not given Britain the freedom to handle the affairs of Southern Rhodesia as she pleases. And here a few principles have been introduced.

First, the independence of Southern Rhodesia must be achieved "at the earliest practicable time."

Secondly, Southern Rhodesia should be independent "within the Commonwealth".

Thirdly, the independence of Southern Rhodesia must be "on the basis of majority rule."

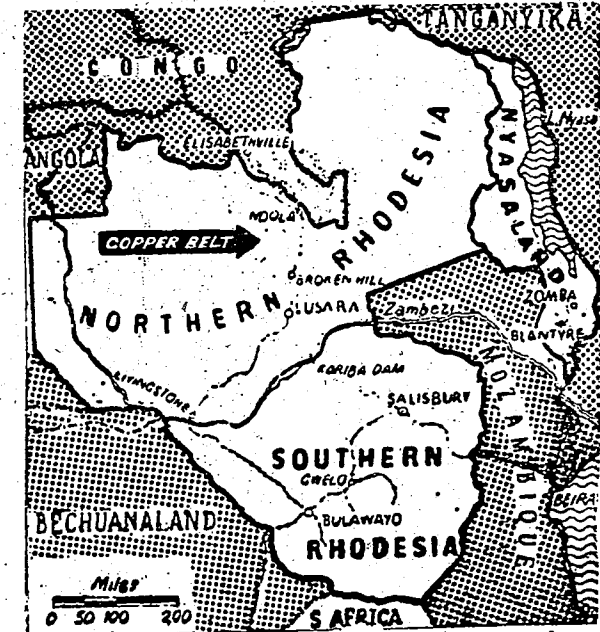
Fourthly, "the existence of sufficiently representative institutions would be a condition of the granting of



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

agreed that a constitutional conference be held soon and that all political leaders now held in detention should be released. Of course it is pretty obvious that the second condition is indispensable to the summoning of any worthwhile constitutional conference to settle the fate of Southern Rhodesia.

In the meantime the Commonwealth leaders endorsed and emphasised the point that the U.K. government must not recognise any unilateral declaration of independence by the present rulers of Southern Rhodesia. The point that has to be reiterated here is that since it is now recognised that the grant of independence to Southern Rhodesia is a "matter for decision by the British Parliament", any unilateral



independence to Southern Rhodesia."

Fifthly, minority interests should be protected under an independent Southern Rhodesia.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

In order that the constitutional evolution of Southern Rhodesia might proceed peacefully and speedily, the Conference

declaration of independence by the white minority rulers in the territory will be a usurpation of the powers of the British Parliament. Hence such a move will be illegal and unconstitutional.

The point here is that in the event of such a mad venture as the declaration of independence by Ian Smith and his team of

Continued on page 4

# O.A.U. and Neo-

by  
Politico

# Colonialism

**SURELY** we should not be surprised at the latest happenings in the Congo. Should we not rather face up to reality and ascribe them in part to the failure of the O.A.U. to fulfil its commitments to the objective of continental unity and the continuing struggle for total African independence?

It can be unequivocally stated that no similar organisation ever sparked off the hopes of the ordinary people of a whole continent as this one did. For the poverty ridden millions of common people in Africa, the struggle for independence means much more than a simple transfer of government from an alien ruler to a set of national politicians too often devoted to securing and maintaining a vested interest in a power pattern only outwardly changed but in substance a continuation of the colonial relationship—the essence of neo-colonialism.

Hopes for a better life are an inextricable element in the nationalist upsurge. To deny the means of satisfying these hopes is to betray them. Those who do so will have finally to pay the penalty of this betrayal. Meanwhile, however, they thwart the people's needs by refusing to come together in solid African unity and manipulate the O.A.U. in the interests of neo-colonialism. If they came to the founding conference, it was under pressure of the popular response to the shibboleth of African unity that has spread so quickly among Africa's millions. It was this same pressure that

forced their signatures to the founding Charter, a Charter whose character as a neo-colonialist document and instrument has been manifested.

A document and an instrument, however, can be turned towards quite an opposite goal than it is intended to if those who operate it are sincerely willing to use it to honest purpose. There are many obvious contradictions in the charter, such as that between its avowed purpose to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states, and the insistence upon the inalienable right of the independent (separate) exist-

ence of these states. Nevertheless, there are sufficient areas of opportunity within the stated objectives to work towards solid continental unity if there were good intention from all the signatories and good faith between them.

The animating element, however, is perhaps implicit in clause 5 of article 3, which raises as a principle the "unreserved condemnation of political assassination in all its forms as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring states or any other states." This is obviously based on fear of the masses, and is inspired by the concern to obstruct Pan-African support of popular action against oppressive governments in independent African states.

#### FEAR OF VENGEANCE

Those leaders of African states who are guided by the fear of mass vengeance

for unfulfilled hopes in the face of corrupt government and the rising wealth of politicians and administrators have made the O.A.U., by anterior design and implicit action, an avenue for furthering neo-colonialism instead of an instrument for forging African unity and the securing of total African independence.

Blame, however, does not rest on them alone. It falls also upon those states that have placed themselves in the vanguard of African unity. They have shown a lack of firmness and cohesion in the face of neo-colonialist provocation in Africa, and have permitted, almost unopposed, the continued existence of blocs among the O.A.U. states which are supported by the imperialist powers and aimed at vitiating African unity.

The signing of the charter created the idea that the new organisation would displace the existing blocs and political groupings that had arisen to demarcate the al-

liances policies of different sets of African states. This has not proved to be the case. The Casablanca and Monrovia blocs seem to have disintegrated by default.

The U.A.M., for whose dissolution some African statesmen have called, has persisted and, with French dictation, has transformed itself from a politico-economic organisation into a so-called purely economic one under the title of the U.A.M.C.E., paving the way, according to *Le Monde* (11.3.64) "towards new regional groupings, such as that of Senegal, Mali, Guinea and Mauritania, which about a year ago M. Senghor called the constitution of all their hopes".

If this was to bring the scope of the organisation into line with the objectives of the O.A.U., as was declared by those engaging in the transformation, it was a point at which members of the African Unity Organisation opposed to neo-colonialist's divisive strategy

could have taken a firm stand. It is open subversion to "divide" the functions of the U.A.M.C.E. and by its definition this is precisely what the U.A.M.C.E. purports to do.

Insistence upon the political unity of Africa is given first place by those who honestly want it because no economic planning of substance can be done without an established continental government from which the power of execution and enforcement would stem. Political unity and economic unity are indivisible and African blocs which are turned, as the U.A.M.C.E. is turned, towards outside powers or associations of powers, whether labelled political or economic, represent islands of foreign intervention inside the O.A.U.

In the context of Africa's struggle for freedom from economic imperialism, unity must be kept within the boundaries and objectives of this struggle.

Daily Graphic, stating that United States army officers were training as specialists in the African area programme being conducted by the American University in Washington (under Methodist control). A defence Department announcement said the officers were taking a course of graduate level instruction in the culture of the African peoples, the geography and economy of Africa and the continent's languages. The C.I.A., far from hiding its activities; boasts of them in press and books. On February 22, 1964, West Africa carried the information, date-lined Abidjan, that "a 76-man French delegation made up mostly of senior army officers arrived here last week from Dakar. It is touring a number of French-speaking African countries for discussions on French technical assistance."

We cannot say we have not been warned. Why has O.A.U. not heeded the warnings and taken positive action?

As in every coalition representing assorted motivations, ambitions and intentions, the majority attitude determines its character. The O.A.U. is dominated by the neo-colonialist tendencies of the many states linked to extra-African alliances and their African-created appendages. This predominance made itself felt at once in the composition of the Liberation Committee (or Committee of Nine) which, though its members were carefully screened had to admit Algeria despite its socialist adherence and revolutionary programme, because her exclusion would have made the nature of the organisation too apparent in view of the fact that Algeria had then only too recently emerged from a grueling 7½-years war against the French.

#### NEO-COLONIALISM

Neo-colonialism, unfortunately, is in the mind no less than in the act, as illustrated by the confession of Madagascar's ambassador at a reception given by General de Gaulle in Paris and reported in *Le Monde* 7 January, 1964: "We owe to France the radiance of universal thought, of art and of letters. This radiance is felt in Abidjan, in Dakar, in Algiers, in Tananarive, thanks to your universities. It symbolises—because it is France—liberty and human fraternity."

"To advance, it is necessary that we, your partners, must be united. To be united will give us strength. But we feel deeply that we can be united only by following the road traced by France. Like France, along the same track as France, we are anxious to accomplish also this noble task that you have so well defined: the maintenance of peace." It is further demonstrated in the war against Vietnam and that against Algeria; not forgetting the dreadful massacre performed on Madagascar itself in 1947/48.

When France, Great Britain, or America, is to be the partner, when the unity is to be between former slave and master, when it is to be dominated by absorption of the tutelary philosophy, what happens to the independence of the "decolonised" state, what to be specific, happens to the O.A.U., into which these penetrations are brought?

The answer is only too plain. We call to mind the rain of bombs and parachutists in Gabon to return to power the willing marionette M'Ba, so that that country's tremendous iron ore reserves, its manganese deposits, its uranium and oil might be saved for France. Alas, not a single demonstration from O.A.U. or its member states was made.

What happened to clause 5 of article 3? Was it meant only for intervention by African States in other African States?

And what is to happen about America's wanton bombing of 3,000 innocent men, women and children in the Kivu province of Congo, to make it safe for American imperialism? Where is the protest? Where is the counteraction?

In August 1962, a small item appeared in the Ghana-

## The Nato Multilateral Atomic Force—Danger for Africa

THE project of the NATO multilateral nuclear force, abbreviated MLF, has increasingly aroused the interest of the international public. This is quite understandable because it involves a problem that is of vital importance to world peace and especially to the national interests of the European and African states. This becomes clear as soon as the MLF project is investigated in more detail.

It provides for the formation of a nuclear naval force jointly manned and financed by all NATO states. It is to include 25 deep sea vessels of 18,000 gross registered tons each (14,000 G.R.T. according to the West German plans) in the first stage. Camouflaged as ordinary freighters, these ships are scheduled to be equipped in such a way that they can remain at sea for 100 days. Each of them is to be armed with eight missiles of the Polaris A 3 type including atomic warheads with a range of 4,700 kilometres.

To remain unidentified these "atomic missile-freighters" are to be cruising predominantly in the waters of the international trade shipping lines and near the coast of the North Sea, the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic coast, i.e., also in the waters belonging to African countries or other non-member states of NATO.

These plans are sufficient to make evident that the MLF is also a serious threat to the peaceful life of the people on the African continent. This danger is at least of a triple nature:

#### THE PLANS

1. The MLF is directed against the Moscow Agreement on the partial ban of nuclear tests because the NATO atomic warheads, until now exclusively in American keeping, would become accessible to the MLF partners, including the Federal Republic, which would thus be given the right of co-determination on the use of atomic weapons.

Such a development inevitably involves the danger of causing a race in the field of missile and nuclear armament which can be restricted neither geographically nor to certain states. It would result

in incalculable conflicts and tensions in world politics concerning the vital interests of all peoples of our planet. The hopes for disarmament and relaxation of tensions of the peoples would be cruelly disappointed.

2. Hitting the nail on the head, the West German newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 6 March 1963 called the NATO "nuclear missile-freighters" "floating atomic coffins easy to locate and destroy." Nevertheless, these "nuclear coffins" have a fatal effect on all states within the range of their routes. For all these areas, especially the countries on the coasts of the North Sea, the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic, would automatically be exposed to the disastrous effects of the annihilating atomic counterblow in case of an atomic conflict.

The NATO "nuclear missile-freighters" cruising in the African waters would in fact include the African continent in NATO's "nuclear forward strategy"; this refers also to the 17 NATO bases which, according to official NATO information, exist in Africa.

To keep any atomic menace away from Africa, all African states with the exception of the South African Republic—together with the socialist states and other countries enforced their view that Africa should be regarded as an atomic-weapon-free zone at the 16th United Nations General Assembly on 16 November 1961 (with 55 ayes, no adverse vote, 44 abstentions and with four national delegations absent).

All member states of the United Nations were called upon in the resolution "not to use the territory, territorial waters and the air sovereignty of Africa for testing, storing or transporting nuclear weapons."

An MLF atomic fleet cruising in African waters with its fatal cargo is directly levelled at both the spirit and the letter of this UN resolution, and must be sharply condemned by all peace-loving people throughout the world.

3. A well-known politician like Harold Wilson, the leader of the Labour Party, said warningly that the MLF is the means to pave the way to atomic weapons for the West German Federal Republic. This conception is in full accord with the GDR note to 97 states in January 1964.

Giving his impression of the West German Ministry of Defence, the former Kennedy adviser, Henry Kissinger,

### for Africa

said that this Ministry "seemed to know no greater worry than that of how to force the Americans into a war in case of emergency." (West German *Spiegel* of 5 April 1961). Henry Kissinger's fear would be even more justified if the Bundeswehr generals had once settled down on the atomic "missile steamers".

#### SCANDALOUS STATEMENTS

The spirit these generals are inspired with, what they are thinking of the liberated African peoples and of those still struggling for their liberation was expressed in a scandalous way, according to statutory statements, by the Bundeswehr Brigadier-General von der Heydte in the Hubertus halls in Nuremberg on 21 November 1962 as was made known on 20 February 1963 by the *Frontalinformationen* of the West German Social Democratic College Federation.

The Negroes, he said, were "shown too late who is the master" Von der Heydte continued literally: "The Negroes are but half-men... Unfortunately, there are so many of them... They are still regular animals... I cannot understand the United Nations, they must be hit, the more who perish the better."

A disgracefully racist and deeply inhuman attitude like this makes every GDR citizen and all other good Germans whose hearts are with all African peoples blush with shame. We vigorously and indignantly reject the savage racism. It is fortunate for Germany that there is the German Demo-

cratic Republic, that German state of peace and friendship among the peoples in which people like von der Heydte have been deprived of their power for ever.

A kindred spirit to von der Heydte the West German *Industriekurier* wrote on 25 February, 1964 commenting on the taking-up of diplomatic relations with the GDR by the People's Republic of Zanzibar, that formerly the colonial powers had replied to "acts" like that with "total boycott and economic blockade, perhaps even by sending a warship. That was the time of the 'gunboat diplomacy' which is illfamed today but which, however, succeeded in making the big powers of the western world respected and esteemed throughout the world..."

#### 'GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY' AGAINST AFRICANS

The "good" old days of colonial rule of unblest memory are thus mourned for, and it seems as though those people are longing for nothing else than a modernized "gunboat diplomacy" against the African people's right of self-determination. It is certainly not mere chance that in recent weeks the *Industriekurier* has advocated the atomic armament of the Bundeswehr in a way recalling an ultimatum.

If Bundeswehr and Federal German press organs strike a tone like that against the African peoples today, what will be their language when they have atomic weapons in their hands? Will not incorrigible generals who, like von der Heydte, were adorned by Hitler with the Knight's Cross for their "mission" in Crete, perhaps then demand the use of a "nuclear missile-freighter diplomacy"?

imperfect in original

Continued on page 4

# ONE PARTY SYSTEM

by  
Jack Woddis

WHAT forms of democratic government are emerging in the new Africa? And how will they evolve further in the coming period? Many commentators in the western world—and this unfortunately goes even for some well-intentioned people—look at African political structures through western eyes.

This is especially so in Britain where "the Westminster model", the two-party system, and the principle of the official Opposition are propounded as if they were synonymous with the very term "democracy".

But the people of Africa are not firmly wedded to this idea. While amongst sections of the rising African capitalist class and petty bourgeoisie there is a certain tendency to copy some of the worst features of western forms of democracy and government, especially in the realms of parliamentary procedure, the experience of trying to make use of political independence to solve the serious economic and social problems which have been left as the grim heritage of the colonial system is convincing the African people, their organisations and their most outstanding leaders that western forms of democracy do not necessarily have much relevance in Africa's present circumstances.

This was clearly brought out in the discussions in March 1959 at a seminar held at Ibadan, Nigeria, on "Representative government and National Progress" in which delegates from a number of different African territories took part.

## CHANGES AND ADAPTATIONS IN NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES

Although this was a discussion conference and no binding conclusions were reached or decisions taken, the deliberations clearly showed that "nobody wanted merely to take over institutions inherited from the colonising powers; everybody considered that there must be changes and adaptations and that newly independent countries must not be expected to govern themselves in images of the European powers". (*West Africa*, 11 April, 1959).

The inadequacy of the institutions of European capitalism for newly independent states has been sharply emphasised by President Sukarno of Indonesia in terms which have considerable relevance to the situation in Africa. Speaking at the University of Istanbul in April 1959 he said:

"We imitated the practice of Western countries in establishing a pattern of parliamentary liberal democracy which came straight from the textbooks of Western Europe and America... We swallowed it and got violent indigestion.

... The sickness grew worse, not better, and eventually it began to menace not only the health, but even the very life of the nation... Something had to be done. We had to apply our own system of democracy, which is in harmony with the character of our nation... We had to make it possible for all sections of our society to participate in the function of government."

The essence of many of the discussions now taking place in Africa and the west regarding democracy in Africa tends to centre around the question of the two-party system and the official Opposition. Many western commentators, in recent times, have spoken in critical terms of the

in the new African states towards one-party systems, and in doing so have often placed indiscriminately in one basket, states where wide-spread democratic discussion and activity take place and those where extreme arbitrariness and repression reign. The government of Ghana, in particular, has come in for much criticism from such quarters, and totally misleading slogans such as "Black dictatorship" have been freely used in the British press to describe the situation in this country.

It can be argued that the one-party system is to an extent a return to or a continuation of traditional forms of African democracy in that it excludes the conception of an official opposition, of a majority and a minority. But it is not simply that. In many parts of Africa there have sprung up national parties which are the voice of the whole people and have expressed their national demands and aspirations during the struggle for political independence. Such parties embrace workers and peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeois sections, national capitalists and even sometimes chiefs; and within the ranks of such parties all patriotic and anti-colonial classes are united around the common aim of overthrowing the rule of the colonial power.

## UNITY OF FORCES

Experience has taught the people that the utmost unity of their forces is essential for this task; and thus have arisen such mass parties as the Sudanese Union of Mali, the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Convention People's Party of Ghana, the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Southern Rhodesia, the Malawi Congress of Nyasaland, the Tanganyika African National Union—all of them mass parties, uniting the overwhelming majority of the people for anti-imperialist and independent aims.

In a sense these mass parties are more than political parties in the normal meaning of the term; they are the national united fronts of their respective countries. In the conditions of Africa, however, where class forces are still in a process of formation, where the mobility between classes is considerable, where many workers are migrants or conscripted peasants and where many peasants are casual workers, where peasants become small traders and their sons become intellectuals, where a new bourgeoisie is even now arising from the ranks of the bigger traders and richer farmers and even from amongst those petty bourgeois forces which utilise their political positions to acquire new economic strength under such conditions, it is, perhaps, natural that mass national organisations should arise at this stage rather than specific, clearly defined class parties.

What has provoked the discussion, however, is not simply that all the healthy forces of the nation have combined in order to win

independence, but that after independence has been won and new African governments have been formed and states established, the overwhelming dominance of one-party remains. Thus in independent Guinea, Mali, Ghana and Tanganyika, for example, there is a one-party system.

## DEMOCRACY

How do African leaders look at this problem? What is their view? And is it possible to equate such systems with democracy? In reply to this latter question, many western commentators would assert "No!" But African political leaders and thinkers claim that their one-party systems are in no sense a denial of democracy.

Julius Nyerere, for example, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, states:

"We have a one-party government, to all intents and purposes a one-party state. Although our National Assembly is the same shape as the House of Commons, T.A.N.U. members sit facing us as well as behind the Government benches. We make no provision for payment to the Leader of the Opposi-

tion and we use Government machinery to explain the purposes of the T.A.N.U. Government to the people, and the T.A.N.U. machinery to explain Government policy... Yet I believe that Tanganyika is a thoroughly democratic country."

(*East Africa and Rhodesia*: 7 December 1961)

In an interview (published in *National Guardian*, 18 September 1961) Nyerere explained that to him democracy in a poverty-stricken and recently colonial country means a united, single-minded effort for the rapid economic, social and cultural betterment of all its people. Thus presumably anything which disturbs this united effort and hampers or delays the betterment of the people cannot be regarded as working for democracy.

The same points have been stressed by Madeira Keita, Mali's Minister of the Interior.

"For us the essential thing is to mobilise all the forces of the country to move forward... Does democracy necessarily imply more than one party? We say no... At the present moment in African history there is no need to multiply parties, there is no need to give oneself

the luxury of sterile and fratricidal opposition, there is no need to give ourselves a ministerial crisis every three months, if we have decided to go for independence, to consolidate the independence of the African states and if we want to achieve unity and speedily raise from the economic and cultural point of view to the level of other countries and other peoples."

(*The Voice of Africa*: October 1961)

The point has been put even more sharply by Ndabaningi Sithole who has underlined very emphatically the dangers for the new African states of an Opposition which can in reality be the pawn of imperialism and a weapon to disrupt the people's efforts to overcome the remnants of colonialism.

"The recently emancipated African countries do not place great importance on the two-party system, partly because it does not in itself guarantee democratic processes and partly because, at this particular stage of their development, and when it is realised that the former MASTER countries are only too eager to return by hook or by crook, the Opposition may only be African in appearance but European in fact. The Opposition

may have its remote controls in London, Washington, D.C., or in Paris." (*The Voice of Africa*: September 1961)

## PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL UNITY

Thus the main consideration in the minds of African national leaders is the preservation of national unity to prevent the return of colonialism, to scotch the neo-colonialist endeavours and practices of the imperialist powers, and to build up the nation; and the form which experience has tended to show to be the most suitable for these tasks, in certain African territories, is that of the single mass party.

Sithole rightly warns, however, that the new African states cannot ensure democracy solely by following a one-party system. "Neither it nor the two-party system can guarantee democracy to the peoples of Africa and to the peoples of the world. The two-party system may be European imperialism's gateway to African countries, and, equally so, the one-party system may be dictatorship's first eggs in Africa. There is no special virtue, in principle, in either the one-party system or the two-party system," argues Sithole. "It is not the form but the content that counts, and that content is the will of the majority."

Madeira Keita makes the same point. "Democracy is the management of public interests in accordance with the will of the masses, the will of the greatest number. But while we want to clean up the situation, to deprive the colonialists or the adversaries of the weapon of division... it must nevertheless be recognised that the system of a single party is not without its dangers."

These dangers, in fact, cannot be underestimated, as events in Africa in the past two years have shown only too well. Failure to recognise these dangers springs primarily from a failure to appreciate that political parties are expressions of class realities, and that in Africa, despite certain differences compared with other regions of the world, classes are in a process of formation and different class interests exist.

While accepting the mobility of classes in Africa it would be illusory to draw the conclusion that class conflicts are of no significance. Madeira Keita admits that "we obviously cannot assert that Negro African society is a classless society", but he nevertheless claims that "the differentiation of class in Africa does not imply a diversification of interests and still less an opposition of interests".

# The Bourgeois Concept of "Cultural Contacts" and Colonialism

by Y. A. Veselkin, Researcher, African Institute, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

## CULTURAL CONTACTS

... Thus the mining companies have an excellent system of unemployment insurance, the cost of which is borne by the natives."

The "cultural contacts" concept dooms the African to poverty and ignorance. This concept is essentially a racist one. It is an attempt to give "scientific" substantiation to a policy of segregation and racial discrimination. Malinowski said as much when he declared: "Whenever Europeans plant the settlement of a large portion of any colony, segregation and the colour bar become inevitable."

Malinowski and his associates in British social anthropology expressed the colonialist's attitude to the African peoples. He assigned to the Africans the role of a cheap labour force and denied them the right to equal development and progress.

History has rejected and smashed schemes of this sort. But such trends in anthropology are not ended, as is sometimes claimed. Malinowski has ideological heirs in one of the last bulwarks of racism, South Africa, where his ideas have found their logical embodiment in the policy of apartheid. Proof of this is a recent monograph by P. Mayer, Professor of Social Anthropology at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, called "Townsmen or Tribesmen." Here the author presents Malinowski's ideas and arguments in a somewhat modernized form. But we are certain history will disprove his concepts just as it has disproved Malinowski's.

THE social anthropology of the colonial countries, including British anthropology, developed as a discipline in answer to the needs of colonial administration. Anthropologists themselves do not deny this. They see the applied nature of their science to be one of its chief merits. In order to administer and exploit the colonies efficiently a thorough study had to be made of the colonised peoples. This applies in particular to Africa with its enormous diversity of social and economic conditions.

British anthropologists have done a vast amount of work to study the colonial peoples. Many studies are distinguished by great thoroughness and extensive factual material, and are a big help in studying the life of the African peoples.

But what we want to examine are the ends to which their work has been put, the practical use made of their scientific knowledge. To do this we shall have to look into the theoretical conclusions and practical recommendations drawn from the tremendous work done by the anthropologists.

Take the British "functional" school which engaged chiefly in a study of African peoples. The school is connected with a definite period in the history of African colonial oppression. It developed after the first world war when Britain embarked on the intensive development of the resources of her colonies, many of which acquired a considerable number of European colonizers. The exploited peoples were regarded purely as building material in the hands of men like Rhodes and Lugard, creators of the British colonial empire in Africa. "Functional" anthropology fulfilled a definite social purpose. An examination of it may help us better to understand some new trends in contemporary British anthropology.

## THEORETICAL VIEWS

The theoretical views of "functional" school are most fully represented by Bronislaw Malinowski, creator and head of the school. Let us consider some of his theoretical principles among them his concept of "cultural contacts."

This concept is based on the proposition that there are "three cultural realities" in Africa. According to the concept, African and European societies exist separately and each develops according to its own

laws, laws that are incommensurable.

"It would be difficult," says Malinowski, "to regard the settler and his African neighbour as brethren of a large family". But as it stood the scheme did not take into account the actual state of affairs—that exploitation of the population of the African colonies by white capitalists took many different forms.

Therefore, Malinowski created a "third cultural reality." This is a special world where black and white co-operate. It differs both from the European and the African worlds; and also has its own laws. It is from this triple formula that Malinowski studies the African peoples. What role does the scheme allot them?

The third, artificially-constructed world is where the process of contacts and changes takes place. Influence and initiative come from the "organisational forces of Western civilisation" and are directed against the "passive tribal forces." But even the changes allowed for in the triple scheme take place in a no-man's land and hence do not affect the life of African society. In town, in a "situation of contacts," for example, the African lives according to one set of laws. When he returns to the reserve, the village, he moves into another world, a world

of tribal culture and a tribal way of life. Such an interpretation, it is obvious, denies the African the possibility of and right to social progress, denies him the possibility of any sort of social development.

## SOCIOLOGICAL ATTEMPT

This was a sociological attempt to justify a policy aimed at preserving the archaic institutions of African society. With the help of this policy the colonialists hoped to be able to maintain their rule. Great emphasis was placed on leaving the institution of tribal chiefs intact.

As the "functional" school saw it, the chiefs would help to keep the tribes backward. Consequently, says Malinowski, "the real problem of contact, which the anthropologist is bound to assess, depends then largely on how to strengthen financially, politically and legally the present-day chief under present-day conditions."

The "functional" school can see the economic advantages of this policy "for, owing to the forces of traditional generosity, the strong vitality of kinship obligations and neighbourly kindness, the unemployed can return to the reserves and share the pittance of tribal subsistence economy

## Book Review:

## WHICH WAY AFRICA?

by Basil Davidson

**SYMPTOMATIC** of the growing importance of Africa in world affairs is the growing stream of books, articles and features pouring from the printing presses of the world. Contributing their share to this are Penguin Publishers, well known for their skill in catering for the generally well informed reader. They have recently launched their Penguin African Library Series.

Following on 'The Rise of the South African Reich' by Brian Bunting which was reviewed in *The Spark*, we now have *Which Way Africa?* by Basil Davidson, well known as a journalist, novelist and a firm friend of Africa.

This is the first attempt in this series to give a comprehensive survey of Africa today and to speculate about future developments. No one is more aware than the author himself of the difficulties and dangers of treating such a large subject within the small confines of a Penguin volume.

Nevertheless, he presents a most interesting picture of Africa today, indicating both the tremendous variety to be found and yet the essential unity of the African peoples and states.

## FLYING JOURNALISTS

He analyses the historical forces, both African and foreign which have shaped the various countries of the continent, and he illustrates how they have shaped contemporary situations and how they are likely to condition the future.

We are all too familiar with the journalist who flies into the country, flies out again after a brief stay and then passes off his superficial observations as carefully formulated conclusions based on reliable evidence. Basil Davidson is not that kind of journalist or observer. He has visited Africa frequently. He knows not only the leading politicians

of the continent but travels widely meeting ordinary people from all walks of life. It is clear that between his visits he follows in detail, the work of other specialists and this is revealed by his references to books, speeches and newspaper articles of all kinds, which always aptly support his thesis and are interesting for readers who, interested by the book on Africa, will want to follow it up.

All books on Africa impress the reader with the sense of the rapid speed of development. Davidson not only gives this impression with great vividness, but more important shows what causes it. It is caused by the mass pressure of the African people for a speedy improvement in their way of life.

## CRISES

To the English reader, raised on the 'civilising mission' myth of the apologists of the British Empire, it must come as a shock to read the descriptions of the acute economic and social crises, as well as political crises widespread throughout the Continent immediately after the Second World War.

The continuous drain of the precious natural resources of Africa to the metropolitan centres was a process which he calls 'dismantlement', a suitably vivid word to convey its effects. It was, in the absolute sense, driving down living standards, impoverishing the land and destroying traditional ways of life. Discussing the effect of the growth of migrant labour for the mines and plantations he describes how 'large areas were denuded of the fit adult males for long periods of time'. He quotes the following from an official report on Nyasaland: 'The whole fabric of the old order of society is undermined when 30 to 60 per cent of the able-bodied'

men are absent at one time. Emigration, which destroys the old, offers nothing to take its place, and the family community is threatened with complete dissolution.'

In other areas, peasants were forced to depart from their traditional methods of raising food to raise industrial cash crops. They thus became the helpless victims of the fluctuations of the capitalist world market, they lost their sources of stable food supply. The theft of valuable land in areas of white settlement have produced, as he vividly illustrates, land hunger, erosion and starvation.

It is necessary to stress this to many English readers who, while vaguely uneasy about what they hear of the effects of imperialism, comfort themselves with the illusion that there have been some compensating factors somewhere. The figures on health and education alone go far to smash the myth of beneficial foreign occupation.

The impact of the Second World War which released a great leftward popular movement in Europe, had the same effect in Africa. It is a lesson for progressive people in Europe to note that in those countries which were centres of imperialism the working class was not strong enough to overthrow capitalism and establish new societies. While imperialism was able to resist its own working class at home it was not able to stem the tide in the colonial world. This upset their calculations because they were looking to Africa as a further source of riches. Britain especially, after the loss of India looked to our continent to patch up her rather battered fortunes. The Labour Government tried to apply that policy with what success we all now know.

By marshalling a formidable array of evidence, Davidson should be able to convince the most sceptical reader of the overall negative effects of imperialism of whatever brand. Having established the fact of 'dismantlement' he goes on to show how this is one of the dominating factors of the present situation. The newly independent states have inherited from imperialism economies and social systems bled white by the systematic pilage of centuries.

...the outside world tended accordingly to see the African drive for emancipation merely in political terms. It saw more often than not, only the top seventh of the iceberg, but the bulk beneath the surface, the social and economic crisis—was none the less there. It was this that constituted the real colonial crisis, the heaviest burden left lying on the shoulders of Africa.'

How to throw off this inherited burden is indeed, the essence of the problem now facing every African state.

Davidson discusses the variety of political forms which have emerged. A number, like some of the colonies of France, are as yet, merely client states of

the old imperialist power. Here the old administrators have been replaced by men who now feel that they have 'arrived', who want no further change and are prepared to go along with neo-colonialism. The author explains the dangers of neo-colonialism very clearly. There are other states which are committed to thoroughgoing social change and these too he treats simply and plainly.

A very useful section of the book is that dealing with the One-Party State. To many British people, and indeed, to many Africans, the ideal form of democracy is the Parliamentary system with its Government and opposition parties. Indeed, many seem to think it is the only form of democracy.

## BRAIN WASHING

For generations now, since the growth of the Soviet Union and of the other Socialist states, the people of the West have been subjected to intensive 'brain washing' designed to convince them that the One-Party State is a violation of democracy. The same propagandists have curiously overlooked some One-Party states which were not Socialist, these have been tolerated. It is not the One-Party system that worries imperialism, it is the building of Socialism which it regards with such horror.

It is just the same in Africa. Those One-Party States which are being 'deliberately misrepresented in the Western Press are those which are committed to a planned socialist economy. Davidson shows that in a country like Ghana the One-Party State is the highest expression of democracy based on the mass unity of the people, forged in the national liberation struggle and now going forward to build a new and nobler life. Davidson shows how necessary it is for the new African states to tackle their problems in a fundamental way if they are to overcome the terrible legacy of imperialism, but he sees clearly that this is not happening everywhere. Some like Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Algeria are indeed committed to this thoroughgoing change but as he puts it for some 'the coming of independence has meant a certain failure of nerve, a tendency to retreat within the traditional enclosures for new security inside an old armour of customs and belief.'

## DIFFERING PATHS

There are detailed examinations of the differing paths taken by Ghana on the one hand and Nigeria on the other. While he is tentative in all cases and reluctant to make bold forecasts, his confidence in Ghana is clear. In relation to Nigeria on the other hand, he sees the impossibility of the hope entertained by some leading Nigerians that they will be able to construct a Nigerian middle-class capable of developing a vigorous capitalist society.

He quotes from the very mild journal, *West Africa*, to express the basic dilemma they face. 'The real crisis in Nigeria is its unique experiment of meeting the challenge of a new vast multi-

tribal state in Africa with all the borrowed apparatus of Western democracy'. This rather understates the problem; but since this book appeared, the Nigerian Labour Movement, having undertaken one of the finest militant actions of its history, has shown already the depth and power of the challenge which is already being made to such a backward looking policy.

## REGRETTABLE TENDENCY

Perhaps because of the audience for which Penguin tends to cater, Davidson tries to maintain a certain air of detachment, but inevitably one or two weaknesses flow from this.

One regrettable tendency throughout the book, although not dealt with in great detail, is to discuss the imperialist powers and the socialist countries rather as if they are merely two different power blocks, each battling for world domination with Africa as one of the arenas of struggle. If this view is encouraged, the African people will be cut off from their strongest anti-imperialist allies, the Socialist countries.

By the very nature of the Socialist system, which is a non-exploitative society, aid from the Socialist countries is radically and profoundly different from that proffered by imperialist and neo-colonialist countries. It is fraternal aid without strings, negotiated on the basis of equality and designed to strengthen the

agricultural and industrial base of the African state. It is aid from the whole people of the Socialist world who see it as their fraternal duty to assist all the forces of anti-imperialism to grow and develop.

Davidson too accuses Communist writers of trying to find bourgeois classes where they do not exist. As if they have a dogmatic insistence on seeing what is not there. On the contrary it is necessary to find out about the class composition of every African state.

We reject the accusation which the author quotes from Nyerere that scientific socialism sees the only way of advance in Africa through bitter class conflict. But he himself says "Nigeria and Ghana among others have many enterprising traders, even a few bankers, these people neither behave as an investing class, nor yet consider themselves to be one. They do not have 'class coherence of the kind with which we are familiar in Europe. They are simply men and women whose position tends in that direction.'

We should not be disarmed by the word 'simply'. It is true that such people are not strong, but we do not make a class analysis simply to crush classes, we make a class analysis to see how strong is the leading force for the building of Socialism. The working class and working peasantry are the leading force precisely because of their class position and their relations

with other classes are decisive.

We seek alliances from all classes in the building of a new socialist order but it is undoubtedly true that as a class, some groups of people will play a more positive role than others. To deny this is to encourage the ideas of people like Nyerere whom Davidson himself describes as a Utopian Socialist.

Without wishing to appear arrogant or pretend that we have solved all problems, those of us who are scientific socialists might be allowed to point out that in no country in the world have utopian socialists yet managed to build socialism, while over a third of the world has been led to Socialism by Scientific Socialists.

In spite of these weaknesses the book is very useful, analysing the present and indicating possible lines of development. Davidson sees clearly the dynamic force of the idea of African Unity and warns the sceptics that once they doubted the possibility of Independent States in Africa, just as they were mistaken then they are likely to be mistaken about the prospects for the unity of the whole African peoples.

The book is valuable not only for people in Britain who need to understand our countries much better, it is also useful for Africans, useful for them to have a view of their situation and prospects so clearly outlined by a friend of our continent.

## THE O.A.U.

Contd from page 2

The first thought that occurs is: How objective, from the revolutionary viewpoint, can an appraisal be that does not state the fact that Holden has a free run of Leopoldville and holds his meetings openly under the nose of the Americans without molestation from them? Secondly, was it ascertained how and from whom Holden obtained the equipment and funds that originally put his men into the field, and how this advantage placed him immediately in a superior position over the other organisations, even though their efforts from an organisational point of view may have had equal strength at the time?

Perhaps "the crippling of all revolutionary movements in Angola" is the desired objective of the Liberation Committee, because recent approaches to Dr. Agostino Neto's M.P.L.A. (Movement for the Liberation of Angolan Peoples) by Roberto Holden have been attempts not to ally with it but to absorb it, a comment also on the strength of that organisation.

The heart of the matter is that the charter of O.A.U. was signed without any attempt to thrash out in advance the different motivations and political ideologies of the participating states. It has become more and more obvious with the passing of the months that the agreement made at Addis Ababa glossed over these in order to present before the world a diplomatic front of common purpose. As a result, there has been a covert evasion of action in depth, and the thinly

spread tentatives have been kept to diplomatic and bureaucratic levels which have skirted away from the solid issues.

To touch the solid issues would have meant to bring out into the open the underlying contentions and would have necessitated an attempt to resolve them. This is something which the states in the vanguard of African unity upon whom the burden of raising them would fall have fought shy of.

It means tackling the political, social and economic fundamentals. It means going down to the people, the urgent and basic approach that has been avoided through too cautious a fear of stirring up diplomatic susceptibilities.

Where there have been tentative sorties in this direction, there has been a quick withdrawal from them. Thus O.A.U. operates wholly in the arid aura of diplomacy around a secretarial skeleton that will never take on life until it is given flesh and blood by the integration of the people.

A start has been made with the coming together of central trade union organisations from 27 of the African countries in the A.A.T.U.F. Can it be hoped that this All-African organisation of the working people, now that it has been reinforced, will build a militant political arm that will make it its business to rouse the people all over the continent to push their governments into a solid All-African union with a centralised government having full legislative and executive powers?

Nothing less will bring to this continent the bright fu-

ture that the people look to from the struggle for independence. Africa, surely, cannot seriously leave its affairs in the hands of a secretariat?

Meantime, what of the struggle of those ruthlessly oppressed sectors of Africa where white government is supreme? What is being done positively to help forward their emancipation?

Every day our newspapers confront us with pious resolutions and stirring declamations about African unity being the means of bringing freedom to the slaves of apartheid. Unless resolutions and declamations are backed by effective and active support of the struggle in these areas of systematic oppression, the independence and unity of Africa may become merely an academic question.

If southern Africa, with its more advanced industrial structure, were released from the imperialist stranglehold, it could make the largest and most vital contribution to the over-all development of this continent. But if the Committee of Liberation is to be allowed to tinker with the liberation movements as it has been doing, dividing and setting them off one against the other, or strangling them by favouring one against many, we can be sure of the triumph, not of African unity but of neo-colonialism.

And if the secretariat is allowed to entrench itself within the present diplomatic structure of the O.A.U. working within the formalities that encourage neo-colonialism, we can equally give up hope of the establishment of a union government.

## NEW TURN IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Continued from page 1

racists, the whole world would expect the full might of Britain to be employed in scorching such an act of vandalism. Until the U.K. Government is fully prepared to do this, there is still the danger that its solemn pledge just given to Commonwealth leaders may be proved empty and hypocritical. It must be noted that African opinion is not prepared to accept any *post hoc* plea that Britain's hands were tied by circumstances beyond her control.

In the light of this eventuality it is still necessary that the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations remain on the alert and apply continuous pressure on Britain to see that the solemn pledge just given is fully carried out. The Southern Rhodesia lobby in the U.N. must therefore be kept active. And at Cairo, the O.A.U. should draw up plans for establishing and helping an African Southern Rhodesian government in exile. Such a plan would be put into immediate operation should the white minority rulers of Southern

Rhodesia unilaterally declare the territory independent.

The Commonwealth leaders must be congratulated on their historic decision over Southern Rhodesia. For by this act of statesmanship, they have averted imminent bloodshed in Southern Rhodesia. What is more, they have saved the Commonwealth from inevitable disintegration and collapse.

Will Britain discharge her obligations to Southern Rhodesia with honour and expedition? Will the lunatic fringe of the white minority settlers in Southern Rhodesia stop short of plunging that territory into a racial war they simply cannot win?

The prospects are that sanity will prevail in the end.

But the guarantee for this is the state of seriousness and alertness of the O.A.U. over the Southern Rhodesia issue. For in international diplomacy, success comes not through reliance on the good sense of the participants but via the neutral's and defeat of enemy moves.