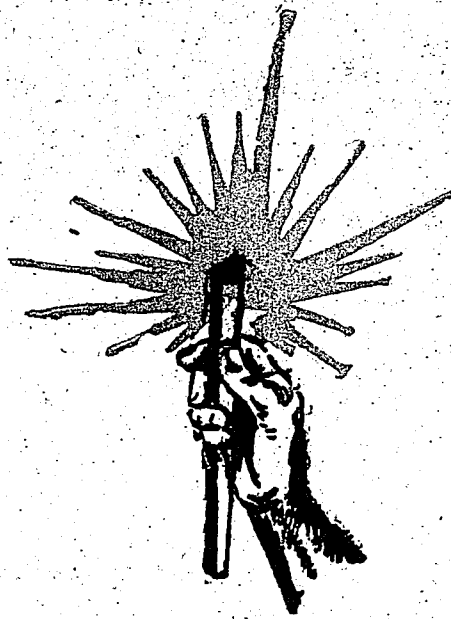


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## PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Programme Adopted by the Non-Aligned States

At the Second Conference of Non-Aligned States held at Cairo from October 5-9, the representatives of nearly 50 states together with observer delegations from 10 other states made a critical study of the problems connected with the maintenance and securing of world peace. These frank exchanges of views were reduced to concrete decisions embodied in a document captioned "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation" and adopted by the Conference. The full text of this historic document is published below:-

THE Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of the following non-aligned countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic,

Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malawi,

Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia was held in Cairo from 5 October to 9 October.

The following countries: Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Finland, Jamaica, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela were represented by observers.

The Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States were present as observers.

The Conference undertook an analysis of the international situation with a view to making an effective contribution to the solution of the major problems which are of concern to mankind in view of their effects on peace and security in the world.

### WORLD TRENDS

To this end, and on the basis of the principles embodied in the Belgrade Declaration of September 1961, the Heads of State or Government of the above-mentioned countries proceeded, in an amicable, frank and fraternal atmosphere, to hold detailed discussions and an exchange of views on the present state of international relations and the predominant trends in the modern world. The Heads of State or Government of the participating countries note with satisfaction that nearly half of the independent countries of the world have participated in this Second Non-Aligned Conference.

The Conference also notes with satisfaction the growing interest and confidence displayed by people still under foreign domination, and by those whose rights and sovereignty are being violated by imperialism and neo-colonialism, in the highly positive role which the non-aligned countries are called upon to play in the settlement of international problems or disputes.

The Conference expresses satisfaction at the favourable reactions throughout the world to this second meeting of non-aligned countries. This emphasises the rightness, efficacy and vigour of the policy of non-alignment, and its constructive role in the maintenance and consolidation of

international peace and security.

The principles of non-alignment, thanks to the confidence they inspire in the world, are becoming an increasingly dynamic and powerful force for the promotion of peace and the welfare of mankind.

The participating Heads of State or Government note with satisfaction that, thanks to the combined efforts of the forces of freedom, peace and progress, this Second Non-Aligned Conference is being held at a time when the international situation has improved as compared with that which existed between the two power blocs at the time of the historic Belgrade Conference. The Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries are well aware, however, that, despite the present improvement in international relations, and notwithstanding the conclusion and signature of the Treaty of Moscow, sources of tension still exist in many parts of the world.

This situation shows that the forces of imperialism are still powerful and that they do not hesitate to resort to the use of force to defend their interests and maintain their privileges.

This policy, if not firmly resisted by the forces of freedom and peace, is likely to jeopardise the improvement in the international situation and the lessening of tension which has occurred, and to constitute a threat to world peace.

The policy of active peaceful co-existence is an indivisible whole. It cannot be applied partially, in accordance with special interests and criteria.

Important changes have also taken place within the Eastern and Western blocs, and this new phenomenon should be taken into account in the objective assessment of

the current international situation.

The Conference notes with satisfaction that the movements of national liberation are engaged in different regions of the world, in a heroic struggle against neo-colonialism, and the practices of apartheid and racial discrimination. This struggle forms part of the common striving towards freedom, justice and peace.

The Conference reaffirms that interference by economically developed foreign States in the internal affairs of newly independent and developing countries and the existence of territories which are still dependent constitute a standing threat to peace and security.

The Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, while appreciative of the efforts which resulted in the holding of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and mindful of the results of that Conference, nevertheless note that much ground still remains to be covered to eliminate existing inequalities in the relationships between industrialised and developing countries.

The Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, while declaring their determination to contribute towards the establishment of just and lasting peace in the world, affirm that the preservation of peace and the promotion of the well-being of peoples are a collective responsibility deriving from the natural aspirations of mankind to live in a better world.

The Heads of State or Government have arrived in their deliberations at a common understanding of the various problems with which the world is now faced, and a common approach to them. Reaffirming the basic principles of the Declaration of Belgrade, they express their agreement upon the following points:

### I. CONCERTED ACTION FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRIES STILL DEPENDENT; ELIMINATION OF COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

THE Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries declare that lasting world peace cannot be realised so long as unjust conditions prevail and peoples under foreign domination continue to be deprived of their fundamental right to freedom, independence and self-determination.

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security. The participants in the Conference deplore

the Declaration of the United Nations on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples has not been implemented everywhere and call for the unconditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism now.

At present a particular cause of concern is the military or other assistance extended to certain countries to enable them to perpetuate by force colonialist and neo-colonialist situations which are contrary to the spirit of the

### THE QUESTION OF CLASS CONFLICT IN AFRICA

A GHANA Radio commentator last week discussed my article "The First Century" which appeared in our issue of October 2. According to him, my article infers "that there is no advanced industrial proletariat in Africa, hence class struggle in its classical forms, is absent". The radio commentator went on to classify me with the 'new revisionists' arguing that the article "displayed all the characteristics of this opportunist group".

The article, "The First Century", does no more than explain the standpoint of "Consciencism" on some vital problems facing the socialist movements in Africa. It recognises the capital/labour contradiction as one of the basic conflicts in contemporary African society. The whole point of the article is not a denial of the capital/labour class struggle as such but the insistence that it is ONE, and not the ONLY, contradiction in African society.

My article enumerates the more important of these contradictions and goes on:

"Since positive action is the total of the progressive aspects of these contradictions, it becomes clear that the proletariat in Africa is an element of positive action. 'Consciencism' does not ignore the proletariat. It absorbs the proletariat within a wider concept—positive action".

If sufficient attention had been paid to this passage, the radio commentator would have spared himself a good deal of unnecessary exertion.

On the question of the leadership of the socialist revolution, the article complained of takes precisely the same view as the radio commentator, viz., that the socialist revolution must be led by the working people themselves. The relevant passage reads:

"In the field of organisation, the party of positive action must build close indissoluble links with the masses. In addition, a conscious effort must be made to give leading positions in this party organisation to working class elements with a high degree of political consciousness. This honour goes to the workers because the working class is the most revolutionary force capable of pushing the revolution to its ultimate goal—the abolition of classes."

The radio commentator's statistical evaluation of the working class in Africa shows too many glaring flaws. How does he arrive at 10 million industrial proletariat in Ghana, Morocco, Algeria, Sudan, U.A.R. and Tunisia?

Why should the "farmer-peasant groups" be numbered among industrial proletariat and how did the radio commentator arrive at the figure of 20 million for this group? By what logic can we arrive at the position where the farmer-peasant groups become industrial proletariat simply because they are "increasingly receiving the little education necessary to transform them into urban workers"? Are the terms "urban worker" and "industrial proletariat" synonymous? How correct are we in lumping 15 million proletariat and 20 million farmer-peasant groups together to arrive at the conclusion that "the strength of working people organised or clustered around co-operatives is nearly 30 million"?

African Marxists will involve themselves in such embarrassing statistical evaluations as long as, consciously or unconsciously, they make a fetish of the bourgeoisie/proletariat concept. This concept is not the heart of Marxism. Rather, the heart of Marxism is the conflict between oppressor and oppressed in society, which conflict leads to a revolutionary re-constitution of society.

Look at it another way. There are several revolutionary forces in contemporary African society. The proletariat is one of such forces. Though it is numerically small, it is qualitatively important because it is the most revolutionary of all the revolutionary forces. "Consciencism" prefers to lump all the revolutionary forces together under the label "positive action".

The socialist revolution in Africa will triumph if it is led by an army, made up of all the revolutionary forces in our society; if the proletariat play a leading role within this army; and if the entire army fights under the banner of Nkrumaism which is scientific socialism applied to the historical conditions and aspirations of contemporary Africa.

This is not revision of Marxism. It is its fulfilment within the African social milieu.

Julius Sago

### EDITORIAL

#### A BIG ADVANCE

THE Second Conference of Non-Aligned states just ended in Cairo constitutes a positive advance in the formation of a global strategy against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It has made the struggle for world peace synonymous with the struggle against imperialism in all its forms.

International finance capital had hoped to steer the Conference of Non-Aligned States away from a forthright denunciation of imperialism. It pinned its hopes on the financial and other pressures it exerts on developing nations generally. In particular, it had calculated that the commitments to it of some new nations would force on the non-aligned states a mild and conciliatory approach to world problems. It had bargained only for vague resolutions restating some platitudes about peace and international co-operation.

Once again, the strategists of imperialism have failed dismally. The Non-Aligned states not only condemned imperialism; they made it abundantly clear that imperialism is the principal threat to world peace. The relevant passage in Resolution No. 1 of the Cairo Conference reads:

"The Heads of States or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries declared that lasting world peace cannot be realised so long as unjust conditions prevail and peoples under foreign domination continue to be deprived of their

fundamental right to freedom, independence and self-determination.

"Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security".

In this resolution the Non-Aligned nations have given the world a meaningful interpretation of peaceful co-existence. They affirm peace—stable world peace—as the noble cause which all peoples of goodwill and good sense must pursue. But they make it clear that the road to lasting peace is by removing the causes of war.

This formulation has nothing to do with pacifism. Nor does it regard the co-existence of oppressor and oppressed peoples as a permanent situation or as an acceptable formula. Perhaps this is why some of the leaders at the Conference spoke of "positive peaceful co-existence."

This dynamic approach to the problem of world peace by the Non-Aligned states is a massive endorsement of the stand of 'Africa Must Unite', published two years ago, Kwame Nkrumah states: "Africa cannot co-exist with imperialism". This vindication of Africa's viewpoint registers a big defeat for the enemies of the African Revolution. For today Africa, in her just struggle against imperialisms old and new, has found a valuable new ally—the Non-Aligned States.

Continued on page 2



# Peace and International Co-Operation

Continued from page 1

Charter of the United Nations.

The exploitation by colonialist forces of the difficulties and problems of recently liberated or developing countries, interference in the internal affairs of these states, and colonialist attempts to maintain unequal relationships, particularly in the economic field, constitute serious dangers to these young countries. Colonialism and neo-colonialism have many forms and manifestations.

Imperialism uses many devices to impose its will on independent nations. Racial discrimination, economic pressure, interference, subversion, intervention and the threat of force are neo-colonialist devices against which the newly independent nations have to defend themselves. The Conference condemns all colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist policies in various parts of the world.

Deeply concerned at the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Congo, the participants:

1. support all the efforts being made by the Organisation of African Unity to bring peace and harmony speedily to that country;
2. urge the Ad Hoc Commission of the Organisation of African Unity to shirk no effort in the attempt to achieve national reconciliation in the Congo, and to eliminate the existing tension between that country and the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) and the Kingdom of Burundi;
3. appeal to the Congolese Government and to all combatants to cease hostilities immediately and to seek, with the help of the Organisation of African Unity, a solution permitting of national reconciliation and the restoration of order and peace;
4. urgently appeal to all foreign powers at present interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly those engaged in military intervention in that country, to cease such interference, which infringes the interests and sovereignty of the Congolese people and constitutes a threat to neighbouring countries;
5. affirm their full support for the efforts being made to this end by the Organisation of African Unity's Ad Hoc Commission of good offices in the Congo;
6. call upon the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to discontinue the recruitment of mercenaries immediately and to expel all mercenaries, of whatever origin who are already in the Congo, in order to facilitate an African solution.

The newly independent countries have, like all other countries, the right of sovereign disposal in regard to their natural resources, and the right to utilise these resources as they deem appropriate in the interest of their peoples, without outside interference.

The process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible. Colonized peoples may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self-determination and independence if the colonial powers persist in opposing their natural aspirations.

The participants in the Conference undertake to work unremittingly to eradicate all

vestiges of colonialism, and to combine all their efforts to render all necessary aid and support, whether moral, political or material, to the peoples struggling against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The participating countries recognise the nationalist movements of the peoples which are struggling to free themselves from colonial domination as being authentic representatives of the colonial peoples, and urgently call upon the colonial powers to negotiate with their leaders.

Portugal continues to hold in bondage by repression, persecution and force, in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, and the other Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia, millions of people who have been suffering for too long under the foreign yoke. The Conference declares its determination to ensure that the peoples of these territories accede immediately to independence without any conditions or reservations.

The Conference condemns the government of Portugal for its obstinate refusal to recognise the inalienable right of the peoples of those territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

- The Conference:
1. urges the participating countries to afford all necessary material support—financial and military—to the Freedom Fighters in the territories under Portuguese colonial rule;
  2. takes the view that support should be given to the Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile and to the nationalist movements struggling for the independence of the Portuguese colonies and assistance to the Special Bureau set up by the OAU in regard to the application of sanctions against Portugal;
  3. calls upon all participating States to break off diplomatic and consular relations with the Government of Portugal and to take effective measures to suspend all trade and economic relations with Portugal;
  4. calls upon the participating countries to take all measures to compel Portugal to carry out the decisions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The countries participating in the Conference condemn the policy of the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, which continues to defy the Charter and the Resolutions of the United Nations in that it denies fundamental freedoms to the people by acts of repression and terror.

The participating countries urge all states not to recognise the independence of Southern Rhodesia if proclaimed under the rule of the racist minority, and instead to give favourable consideration to according recognition to an African nationalist government in exile, should such a government be set up. To this effect, the Conference states its opposition to the sham consultation through tribal chiefs envisaged by the present Minority Government of Southern Rhodesia.

The Conference deplors the British Government's failure to implement the various resolutions of the United Nations relating to Southern Rhodesia and calls upon the United Kingdom to convene immediately a Constitutional Conference, to which all political groups in Southern Rhodesia would be invited, for the purpose of preparing a new constitution based on the "one man, one vote" prin-

ciple, instituting universal suffrage, and ensuring majority rule.

The conference urges the Government of the United Kingdom to call for the immediate release of all political prisoners and detainees in Southern Rhodesia.

The Conference reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence and condemns the Government of South Africa for its persistent refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly.

It urges all states to refrain from supplying in any manner or form any arms or military equipment or petroleum products to South Africa, and to implement the Resolutions of the United Nations.

The Conference recommends that the United Nations should guarantee the territorial integrity of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland and should take measures for their speedy accession to independence and for the subsequent safeguarding of their sovereignty.

The participants in the Conference call upon the French Government to take the necessary steps to enable French Somaliland to become free and independent in accordance with paragraph five of Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations.

The Conference appeals to all participating countries to lend support and assistance to the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity.

The Conference condemns the imperialistic policy pursued in the Middle East and, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, decides to:

1. endorse the full restoration of all the rights of Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable rights to self-determination;
  2. declare their full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism.
- The Conference condemns the continued refusal of the United Kingdom Government to implement the United Nations Resolutions on Aden and the Protectorates, providing for the free exercise by the peoples of the territory of their right to self-determination and calling for the liquidation of the British military base in Aden and the withdrawal of British troops from the territory.

The Conference fully supports the struggle of the people of Aden and the Protectorates and URGES the immediate implementation of the Resolutions of the United Nations which are based on the expressed wishes of the people of the territory.

The countries participating in the Conference condemn the continued armed action waged by British colonialism against the people of Oman who are fighting to attain their freedom.

The Conference recommends that all necessary political, moral and material assistance be rendered to the liberation movements of these territories in their struggle against colonial rule.

The Conference condemns the manifestations of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Latin America and declares itself in favour of the implementation of that region of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

Basing itself on this principle, the Conference deplors the delay in granting full independence to British Guiana and requests the United Kingdom to grant independence speedily to that country. It notes with regret that Martinique, Guadeloupe, and other Caribbean Islands are still not

## II. RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND CONDEMNATION OF THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE EXERCISE OF THIS RIGHT

THE Conference solemnly reaffirms the right of peoples to self-determination and to make their own destiny.

It stresses that this right constitutes one of the essential principles of the United Nations Charter, that it was laid down also in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, and that the Conferences of Bandung and Belgrade demanded that it should be respected, and in particular insisted that it should be effectively exercised.

The Conference notes that

## III. RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND THE POLICY OF APARTHEID

THE Heads of State or Government declare that racial discrimination—and particularly its most odious manifestation, apartheid—constitutes a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the principle of the equality of peoples. Accordingly, all governments still persisting in the practice of racial discrimination should be completely ostracized until they have abandoned their unjust and inhuman policies. In particular the governments and peoples represented at this Conference have decided no longer to tolerate the presence of the Republic of South

self-governing. It draws the attention of the Ad Hoc Decolonization Commission of the United Nations to the case of Puerto Rico and calls upon that commission to consider the situation of these territories in the light of Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations.

this right is still violated or its exercise denied which results in a continued increase of tension and the extension of sources of war in many regions of the world.

The Conference denounces the attitude of those Powers which oppose the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination.

It condemns the use of force, and all forms of intimidation, interference and intervention which are aimed at preventing the exercise of this right.

Africa in the comity of Nations. The inhuman racial policies of South Africa constitute a threat to international peace and security. All countries interested in peace must therefore do everything in their power to ensure that liberty and fundamental freedoms are secured to the people of South Africa.

The Heads of State or Government solemnly affirm their absolute respect for the right of ethnic or religious minorities to protection in particular against the crimes of genocide or any other violation of a fundamental human right.

## SANCTIONS AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE Conference regrets to note that the Pretoria Government's obstinacy in defying the conscience of mankind has been strengthened by the refusal of its friends and allies, particularly some major powers, to implement United Nations resolutions concerning sanctions against South Africa.

2. The Conference therefore:

- (a) calls upon all States to boycott all South African goods and to refrain from exporting goods, especially arms, ammunition, oil and minerals to South Africa;
- (b) calls upon all States which have not yet done so to break off diplomatic, consular and other relations with South Africa;

- (c) requests the governments represented at this Conference to prohibit aircraft and vessels proceeding to or from South Africa from flying over their territory or using their airports or ports, and to discontinue all road or railway traffic with that country;
- (d) demands the release of all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions on account of their opposition to the policy of apartheid;
- (e) invites all countries to give their support to the special bureau set up by the Organisation of African Unity for the application of sanctions against South Africa.

## IV. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND THE CODIFICATION OF ITS PRINCIPLES BY THE UNITED NATIONS

CONSIDERING the principles proclaimed at Bandung in 1955, Resolution 1514 (XV) adopted by the United Nations in 1960, the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference, the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, and numerous joint declarations by Heads of State or Government on peaceful co-existence;

Reaffirming their deep conviction that, in present circumstances, mankind must regard peaceful co-existence as the only way to strengthen world peace, which must be based on freedom, equality and justice between the States and nations of the world;

Considering the fact that the principle of peaceful co-existence is based on the right of all peoples to be free and to choose their own political, economic and social systems according to their own national identity and their ideals, and is opposed to any form of foreign domination;

Convinced also that peaceful co-existence cannot be fully achieved throughout the world without the abolition of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism;

Deeply convinced that the absolute prohibition of the threat or use of force, direct or disguised, the renunciation of all forms of coercion in international relations, the abolition of relations of inequality and the promotion of international co-operation with

a view to accelerating economic, social and cultural development, are necessary conditions for safeguarding peace and achieving the general advancement of mankind.

The Heads of State or Government solemnly proclaim the following fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence:

1. The right to complete independence, which is an inalienable right, must be recognised immediately and unconditionally as pertaining to all peoples, in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly; it is incumbent upon all states to respect this right and facilitate its exercise.
2. The right to self-determination, which is an inalienable right, must be recognised as pertaining to all peoples; accordingly, all nations and peoples have the right to determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without intimidation or hindrance.
3. Peaceful co-existence between States with differing social and political systems is both possible and necessary; it favours the creation of good-neighbourly relations between States with a view to the establishment of lasting peace and general well-being.
4. The sovereign equality of States must be recognised and respected. It includes the right of all peoples to the free exploitation of their natural resources.
5. States must abstain from all use of threat or force directed against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States; a situation brought about by the threat or use of force shall not be recognised, and in particular the established frontiers of States shall be inviolable. Accordingly, every State must abstain from interfering

in the affairs of other States, whether openly, or insidiously, or by means of subversion and the various forms of political, economic and military pressure. Frontier disputes shall be settled by peaceful means.

(Moreover they declare that it is the duty of states not to recognise any situation brought about by the threat or use of force in violation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter).

6. All States shall respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of the human person and the equality of all nations and races.
  7. All international conflicts must be settled by peaceful means, in a spirit of mutual understanding and on the basis of equality and sovereignty, in such a manner that justice and legitimate rights are not impaired, all States must apply themselves to promoting and strengthening measures designed to diminish international tension and achieve general and complete disarmament.
  8. All States must co-operate with a view to accelerating economic development in the world, and particularly in the developing countries. This co-operation, which must be aimed at narrowing the gap, at present widening, between the levels of living in the developing and developed countries respectively, is essential to the maintenance of a lasting peace.
  9. States shall meet their international obligations in good faith in conformity with the principles and purposes of the United Nations.
- The Conference recommends the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt, on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary, a declaration on the principles of peaceful co-existence. This declaration will constitute an important step towards the codification of these principles.

## V. RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF STATES AND THEIR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY: PROBLEMS OF DIVIDED NATIONS

THE Conference of Heads of State or Government proclaims its full adherence to the fundamental principle of international relations, in accordance with which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, great and small, are inviolable and must be respected.

2. The countries participating in the Conference, having for the most part achieved their national independence after years of struggle, reaffirm their determination to oppose by every means in their power any attempt to compromise their sovereignty or violate their territorial integrity. They pledge themselves to respect frontiers as they existed when the States gained independence; nevertheless, parts of territories taken away by occupying powers and converted into autonomous bases for their own benefit at the time of independence must be given back to the country concerned.

3. The Conference solemnly reaffirms the right of all peoples to adopt the form of government they consider best suited to their development.

4. The Conference considers that one of the causes of international tension lies in the problem of divided nations. It expresses its entire sympathy with the peoples of such countries and upholds their desire to achieve unity. It exhorts the countries concerned to seek a just and lasting solution in order to achieve the unification of their territories by peaceful methods without outside interference or pressure. It considers that the resort to threat or force can lead to no satisfactory settle-

ment, cannot do otherwise than jeopardize international security.

Concerned by the situation existing with regard to Cyprus, the Conference calls upon all states in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular under Article 2, paragraph 4, to respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and to refrain from any threat or use of force or intervention directed against Cyprus and from any efforts to impose upon Cyprus unjust solutions unacceptable to the people of Cyprus.

Cyprus, as an equal member of the United Nations, is entitled to and should enjoy unrestricted and unfettered sovereignty and independence, and allowing its people to determine freely, and without any foreign intervention or interference, the political future of the country, on the basis of the principle of self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Conference, considering that foreign pressure and intervention to impose changes in the political, economic and social system chosen by a country are contrary to the principles of international law and peaceful co-existence, requests the Government of United States of America to lift the commercial and economic blockade applied against Cuba.

The Conference takes note of the readiness of the Cuban Government to settle its difference with the United States

Continued on page 7



# WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE

## CONGO (Part 2)

**SPEAKING** over Leopoldville radio on September 5, 1960, President Kasavubu of the Congo said that he was removing Patrice Lumumba from the post of Prime Minister and appointing Joseph Ileo in his place. This was the first unlawful act in the long chain of flagrant violations of the law undertaken by the Americans and their stooges in their struggle against the lawful government of the Congo.

Kasavubu had no right to remove Lumumba because under the provisional constitution, the Prime Minister was responsible to the parliament and not the President. However, Kasavubu ignored this law. He was encouraged by the backing of U.S. Ambassador Timberlake and Andrew Cordier, the soft-spoken and energetic UN official.

### V. THE LYNCHING OF LUMUMBA

O'Brien points out in his book that Kasavubu undertook these unlawful actions "with at least the approval" of Timberlake.

On the same day Lumumba declared that the actions of Kasavubu were illegal and that a President who had violated the law so flagrantly could no longer hold his post. Lumumba intended to appeal to the people over the radio on the next day and explain to them the situation that had arisen. However, he was prevented from doing this. On orders from Andrew Cordier, who at that time played the main role in the UN administration in the Congo, the UN troops cordoned off the Leopoldville radio station barring entry to one and all.

Patrice Lumumba was deprived of the possibility of addressing the people while his enemy Kasavubu enjoyed the services of Radio Brazzaville kindly placed at his disposal by Fulbert Youlou. Simultaneously, Tshombe launched a campaign against Lumumba raging over Elizabethville radio to set up an "anti-Lumumbist front."

Patrice Lumumba tried to send his representatives to the United Nations and the African countries to request that they come out against the lawlessness and arbitrary rule unleashed in the Congo. However, he was again obstructed by Cordier who ordered the UN troops to close the airport. Lumumba appealed to the parliament which not only supported him as Prime Minister but granted him emergency powers on September 13.

The Americans replied by dealing Lumumba a new blow: they brought to the foreground General Mobutu whom they had bribed. The United States provided Mobutu with money, (and continues to do) to pay his officers and soldiers their wages. Otherwise the Congolese army would have long ago done away with Mobutu.

On December 14, Mobutu staged a coup, dissolved the parliament and tried to arrest Lumumba. This action, writes O'Brien, was undertaken by Mobutu with the same diplomatic backing as the Kasavubu action.

#### SENTENCE ON LUMUMBA

It is quite possible that initially the Americans did not intend to murder Lumumba. Their main aim was to divest him of power. With this aim in view, on orders from Cordier, the UN troops in actual fact subjected him to house arrest under the pretext of protecting him from Mobutu's gendarmes who were allegedly out for his blood. Lumumba twice escaped from the "protection" of the UN troops, both times turning up in the den of Mobutu's followers. And each time he returned unscathed. Realizing Lumumba's great influence Mobutu tried to bargain with him but Lumumba rejected the deal outright. Later on, when Lumumba was in the hands of Mobutu's gendarmes at the Tsville camp, he again managed to win the soldiers over to his side. And it was only the speedy interference of Kasavubu and Mobutu, who made numerous arrests among the soldiers sympathis-

ing with Lumumba, that prevented his release.

Even American Ambassador Timberlake was forced to admit at the time the tremendous popularity of Patrice Lumumba. The Ambassador said that were Lumumba to appear now at any meeting of Congolese political leaders, even in the capacity of an ordinary waiter with a tray on his head, he would nevertheless leave that meeting as the prime minister.

The possibility of Lumumba returning to power at any moment haunted the American monopolists like a horrible nightmare. In October, 1960 an observer of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain wrote that U.S. spokesmen were alarmed by the prospect of Lumumba returning to power. It seems, wrote the observer, that Lumumba might impede the actions of the United States.

In their drive for control over the wealth of the Congo the American monopolists could not permit Lumumba to "impede" their actions. That is why, when they became convinced that he could neither be bribed nor forced to leave the political arena voluntarily, they sealed the death sentence for the national leader of the Congo.

#### EXECUTION

Lumumba and two of his associates—Mpolo and Okito—were savagely murdered in Katanga in February, 1961. They were killed by ignoble traitors of the Congo, Belgian mercenaries, in the presence of Tshombe and Munongo. However, responsibility for this crime is also shared by the UN and the Americans who stood behind it. Lumumba fell into the hands of his assassins due to Kasavubu and Mobutu, and they could not have acted without the approval of Timberlake and Cordier.

The murder of Lumumba and his associates was an international lynching carried out under the aegis of the United Nations to please the forces that were striving to seize the Congo's wealth. Lumumba has been an obstacle on the road to the realization of their plans.

The Western powers won this round in the struggle for the Congo, writes O'Brien, with the considerable help of at least one UN representative who was also an American. O'Brien had in mind Cordier who acted independently without consulting Hammarskjöld. Although the latter backdated his approval of all Cordier's actions.

#### STANLEYVILLE: NATIONALIST STRONGHOLD

The United States had seriously miscalculated when it thought that the death of Patrice Lumumba had paralyzed the nationalist forces and that the Congo would become an easy prey for them. The patriotic forces were not defeated. They set up a new stronghold in Stanleyville which became the seat of the new lawful government of the Congo Republic (December, 1960) headed by Deputy Premier Antoine Gizenga, Lumumba's closet associate and champion of his cause.

The death of Lumumba served as a sad, object lesson

for the Congolese nationalists. Many of them realized that the Americans were false friends of the African peoples. They saw that the Americans



... vandalism of U.S. imperialism

were friends only in words, whereas all the while they were holding a knife behind their back. The nationalists saw that death awaited those who refused to knuckle under to the Americans and become their servants. They also realized that the UN administration and troops were acting in collusion with the Americans. In such conditions every nationalist in Leopoldville was in constant danger of his life. That is why the nationalists decided to move to Stanleyville and bar that city to both the Americans and the "blue helmets."

Having betrayed Lumumba and his associates to the Katanga murderers, security chief Nendaka, Mobutu and Kasavubu took up the pose of Pontius Pilate, who as is known did not take direct part in crucifixion of Christ but simply "washed his hands off the matter". However, all their attempts to dissociate themselves from this crime proved a dismal failure. There is not a single honest person in the Congo who will clear them of complicity in the savage murder of Lumumba. Since that day they have firmly won the reputation of imperialist stooges and traitors to the ideals of the Congolese people's struggle for genuine independence.

#### QUEST FOR A NEW LEADER

Seeing that Mobutu and Kasavubu were rapidly losing their prestige, the Americans, even before Lumumba's death, started looking around for a new leader who could be moved into the limelight and

counterposed to Lumumba, and after his death to Gizenga. Such a leader had to meet two requirements: on the one hand, he had to have the reputation of a nationalist, and on the other to be ready to mortgage Congo's Sovereignty and Independence to the Neo-Colonialist.

And they found such a leader in the person of Cyrille Adoula. In the past he had worked with Lumumba in the National Movement of the Congo and had been active in the trade unions for several years. However, in the whirlwind of political events which led to the death of Patrice Lumumba, Adoula rapidly changed his stand. Already in September, 1960, he deserted Lumumba and joined the imposed Ileo government as Minister of the Interior.

#### PLOT AGAINST GIZENGA

Propped up by the Americans Adoula set about forming a government which would ironically be approved by the parliament already dissolved in September, 1960, by Mobutu.

The Americans hoped that this time they would succeed in forming a government which would suit their aims. The ranks of Lumumba's supporters had considerably diminished by this time. Lumumba was dead and so were many of his associates. Others had been bribed or blackmailed into joining the pro-Western camp.

The Americans hoped the convening of parliament would re-assure the African public

and the United Nations indignant at the arbitrariness reigning in the Congo. However, the main aim was to liquidate the nationalist stronghold in Stanleyville.

#### ADOULA GOVERNMENT

The Congolese government did not live up to the hopes of the Americans. Twenty-seven ministers were elected to the government headed by Adoula with Antoine Gizenga his first deputy. Twenty-three of them were members of political parties affiliated to the National Bloc headed in his days by Patrice Lumumba. The parliament recognized the new government as the only successor to the Lumumba cabinet. Adoula himself made several public statements promising to continue the policy of Lumumba. The formation of such a government showed that despite all the intrigues of the "Congo Club" headed by Andrew Cordier, the nationalist forces of the Congo had not surrendered their leading positions in the country's political life and that they could not be ignored.

Neo-colonialism again miscalculated. Antoine Gizenga, the staunchest and most consistent nationalist member of the Adoula government continued to be regarded as a major obstacle to neo-colonialist aims. He and his colleagues had to be removed and they stabbed him in the back.

In the autumn of 1961 the troops of the third Stanleyville group of the national army which remained true to Gizenga liberated the Northern part of Katanga Province without practically firing a

single shot. They established control over Kindu and Albertville. Then, early in November the unexpected happened. 13 Italian pilots disappeared from the Kindu aerodrome. The UN representative in the Congo alleged that the pilots had been killed by rebellious Gizenga soldiers. This slanderous allegation was never proved, and the death of the pilots remained a mystery. However, all the subsequent events give full grounds to believe that they fell victim to a shameful provocation which played into the hands of those who wanted to do away with Gizenga but could not find a suitable pretext for his arrest.

The Italian pilots disappeared at the time when the Security Council was discussing the situation in the Congo. Having received the report on the death of the pilots Stevenson, the U.S. representative, seemed to have completely forgotten what the Security Council had been convened for. He vented all his wrath on Stanleyville. This imperialist who poses as a liberal tried to create the impression that it was not Tshombe but Gizenga who was the main source of unrest and dissensions in the Congo. Stevenson declared that the question of Stanleyville was more serious than secession of Katanga. He approved the decision of the UN Command about "restoring law and order" in the districts

controlled by Gizenga. In January, 1962, the UN troops invaded the Oriental Province although they had no right to do so. The only justification for their presence in the Congo were the Security Council decisions on the necessity to end the secession of Katanga, if necessary by force.

Having established control over Stanleyville the UN troops helped Mobutu arrest Gizenga.

Thus yet another atrocious crime was perpetrated to please United States.

Gizenga languished in confinement on Bolabemba Island in the mouth of the Congo river until recently. The climatic conditions in the Congo estuary are very hazardous. And to make a human being live there in confinement can pursue only one aim: to gradually kill him...

After dealing a number of serious blows at the nationalist forces, which were striving to secure genuine independence for Congo, and bringing the subservient Adoula government to power with the help of the "blue helmets," the United States could at last launch on the solution of the dragged out Katanga problem. However, here they came up against the fierce resistance of Britain, France and partly Belgium.

### VI. POWER OF THE RED METAL

**SEEING** that the United States was trying to subjugate central government and thereby the whole Congo, Britain and Belgium, supported by France, decided to separate Katanga and Kasai, the two richest provinces from the Congo Republic.

The British and Belgium monopolists hoped that with the help of such puppets as Moïse Tshombe in Katanga and Albert Kalonji, the self-styled king of South Kasai, they would be able to ensure their dominating position in the economy of these pseudo-independent states and simultaneously safeguard their wealth from the encroachments of both the Leopoldville nationalists headed by Lumumba and the American monopolists.

#### THE UNITED STATES BIDES ITS TIME

Washington understood fully well that the secession of Katanga and Kasai was spearheaded against its most cherished aspirations. However, first the Americans did not oppose this action, and even supported it. The United States shared the view that it would be expedient to take these provinces out of the hands of Leopoldville while the outcome of the struggle against Lumumba and other nationalists was still not clear.

That is why at first the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, as well as Federal Germany, came out, as it were, in a united front in support of the Katanga separatists. They helped Tshombe with money, arms and planes and also rendered him diplomatic support. Ralph Bunche appeared in Katanga as early as the beginning of August, 1960. After confidential talks with Tshombe he advised Hammarskjöld not to hurry with the dispatching of UN troops to Katanga so as not to aggravate the situation.

Then Hammarskjöld, on the recommendation of the "Congo Club", set out for Elizabethville in person. There he held talks with Tshombe thereby recognizing his independence in respect to the central government. All this served to strengthen Tshombe's positions.

However, this touching unanimity of the imperialists vanished into thin air the

moment it became known that Lumumba was dead. The conflicting economic interest of the different monopoly groups immediately came to the forefront. The subsequent American penetration into the Congo proceeded in an atmosphere of struggle both with the Congolese nationalists, as well as with Britain, Belgium and France.

Britain, France and to some extent Belgium, continued to support the "independence" of Katanga. While the United States suddenly came out in support of the territorial unity of the Congo within the framework of a federation. Having at their disposal such a formidable force as the UN troops the Americans could at any moment have put an end to Tshombe's game of independence. However, they bade their time waiting for the pro-American elements to consolidate their power in Leopoldville.

#### TSHOMBE'S BOSOM FRIEND

Britain was the most ardent supporter of Katanga's independence. Although it does not buy large quantities of Katanga copper, its business men own a major holding of "L'Union Minière" shares. Tanganyika Concessions alone holds 14.5 per cent of these shares.

The directors of "Tanganyika Concessions" had a cherished dream: to unite Katanga with Northern Rhodesia. And not so much their territories as their copper deposits. Once united the Katanga and Ndola deposits (the so-called "copper belt") would become the second world copper mining centre, whereas separately they hold fourth and fifth place respectively.

The Benguela railway also brought the British businessmen large profits. Under the colonial regime Katanga copper was shipped to the Congolese port of Matadi along the so-called Royal Railway belonging to Belgium. When the separatists seized power in Katanga they blew up the bridge across the river Lubilash and put the Royal Railway out of commission. The trainloads of the Katanga copper were then shipped along the Benguela railway, which passes through Angola to the port of Lobito.

Continued on page 5



# CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP IN LAND (I)

BEFORE we can proceed far let us first answer the question: What is land? In the usual parlance, land means nothing more than soil. But defined comprehensively, land should include everything on, in and above the earth. In this respect, land, therefore, mean not only the soil we see, the mountains and valleys, trees, rivers, lakes and oceans on it, but also the minerals beneath the earth's surface and the air above it—this is what we mean when we say "Our land!" This definition of land should also include man-made objects like buildings, roads, railways and bridges.

Thus when we say land, we mean everything on it i.e. the "lower beings" which are there to serve man's interests, including anything that man himself has built upon it. This is why land can rightly be regarded as man's greatest asset.

As an asset, land is one of the three major means of production—the other two being labour and capital. As a means of production, land harbours all the known wealth on which the livelihood of man depends. For instance, it is not only the source of our food, but is also the source of raw materials such as timber iron ore and other metals and bases from which man makes his consumer goods. From land, man also derives power and energy in the form of electricity or steam. This is perhaps why some Africans regard land either as a Mother, in the case of for example, the Ashantis of Ghana, or as a God, as in the case of the Masais of Kenya and Tanganyika.

## EAST AFRICAN ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT

In 1955 a Royal Commission, consisting of 8 members all of whom (with the exception of one African) were carefully selected British citizens, published the results of their investigations in the form of a report on the "Economic Development of East Africa" Their recommendations on the question of the "tenure and disposal of land" were as follows:—

"Policy concerning the tenure and disposal of land should aim at the individualisation of land ownership and mobility in the transfer of land which, without ignoring existing property rights, will enable access to land for economic use."

On the basis of this recommendation alone, East African Colonial Governments began to advocate and forcibly implement the policy of "land titles". Let us therefore discuss whether in fact, individual land ownership of the type advocated and understood by the British and other Europeans, is applicable to Africa or is the best method for Africa's progress.

## THE EUROPEAN CONCEPT OF LAND OWNERSHIP

Ownership of land is, to the Europeans, a legal estate (interest) created by the signing and executing of Title Deeds. In Britain, for instance, legal ownership of every inch of land in the country is vested in the monarch—all other owners holding from him as tenants. The largest interest an individual can claim over a portion of land is called a "fee simple in possession absolute", but although he is then the legal owner of this estate, it will revert back to the Monarch in whom rests absolute ownership, should he die without issue or without having sold the estate.

Ownership, as implied in legal ownership under the English Law, is absolute and to the exclusion of all other people. The Legal Owner may sell, lease or mortgage or otherwise dispose of his property in any way appropriate to the conveying and transferring of his legal title to another during his life time, or he may leave it to his descendants conditionally or unconditionally, but nevertheless the absolute ownership still rests with the Crown. The origin of this type of system can be traced back to

1066 when William the Conqueror confiscated all the land in England and vested it in himself and his successors. It was a means of extending his domination and control over the conquered English by means of the creation of a landed aristocracy who would hold their land from him in return for administrative and military services to the Crown. Those who held land in this manner from the Crown were known as "Mesne Lords" and these, in turn, had a whole hierarchy of sub-tenants, ranging down to Villeins and Serfs (or Squatters), who were subjects and slaves of the "Lord of the Manor", working on his land for a certain number of days each year in return for their right to occupy a portion of it—as squatters do.

This system was known as Feudalism, and was based on the principle of the stronger ruling the weaker. The system, to quote Cheshire's "Modern Real Property"

"Was one of the necessary consequences of the disruption of the Roman Empire..."

"caused chaos and disorganisation in Europe and produced conditions in which it was necessary for persons to procure for themselves a higher degree of protection than could be furnished by their own unaided efforts... The only method of obtaining security was mutual support... Men deliberately subordinated themselves to the strong hand of some magnate versed in the art of war, and were compensated for the diminution of personal independence and the loss of land ownership by acquiring the protection afforded by the forces of which he depended". (pages 9 and 10).

And, as Sir Thomas P. Whittaker wrote in his book "Ownership, Tenure and Land Taxation",

"one of the bonds of social cohesion is the dependence of the weak upon the strong—from which evolves obedience on the one hand and protection on the other..."

"This obedience and protection, however, led to the stronger section having unrestricted liberty to acquire and keep whatever it chose and by whatever means it liked, at the agonising and humiliating expense of the weaker section. As Sir Thomas continued:—

"This liberty of the stronger meant the reign of selfishness and brute force, and is individualism in its purest and most extreme form!"

## INTRODUCTION OF RENTS

During this period vast stretches of land were held by individual nobles. This land was cultivated by their villeins and serfs, but no fencing of estates was found. Gradually, however, a system of Copyholding was evolved under which villeins were transformed into "copyholders", or title owners. At the same time, as the use of money became more widespread, the Monarch gradually took a greater part of his payment from the nobles in cash rather than in services. This led to the beginning of Rent,

## ENCLOSURES

But the growth of commercialism at this period, especially the growth of the trade in wool which became a more profitable source of income than agriculture and rents, necessitated a radical change in the question of land tenure. The 16th century therefore saw the land ushering in of the enclosure system under which individual ownership of land was effected; but although the objects were, "primarily,

LAND question is an important subject of study in Africa. Much of the interest intellectual circles have displayed on the land question may be ascribed to the acquisitive habits of a predatory society. This is especially true of Southern and Eastern Africa, whereas a result of historical evolution, the majority having been reuced to a parish status, are vigorously denied ownership right in land property.

In the 4th and 5th issues of "The Spark", Mr. Lionel Morrison, the eminent South African journalist discussed in detail, the land situation in South Africa.

In this article below, Chango Machyo, the prolific writer on African problems, discusses in detail, the concept of land ownership in Africa. He discusses the feasibility and economic advantages of a

for the raising of sheep for wool". Briggs and Jordan in their book "Economic History of England" are careful to point-out that the main object was commercial. It was not only "to provide wool for the rapidly expanding cloth industries", but mainly for "the purposes of sinking capital in land."

"The introduction of the enclosure system brought rapid wealth to the bigger landlords, and misery and poverty to the peasants. On this system hinged the transformation from peasant to capitalist farming. Naturally, the protagonists of enclosures claimed a most disinterested motive for the change. For instance, they claimed that

"the commons and wastes on which peasants lived were blots on the English civilisation", and that they were

"nurseries of crime, idleness and destitution. Neither the squatters nor their children ever developed or could develop, in their surroundings, any settled habits of industry. The enclosures of the wastes, therefore, would eliminate one of the main causes of poverty in the labouring classes" (op. cit.) Therefore, as Briggs and Jordan pointed out:—

"To force dissolve the labourer of the wastes into regular work for a capitalist farmer appeared to be a public duty" (op. cit., page 304).

The landlords were therefore able to turn their previous tenants off the land, "reclaimed villeins and turned copyholders into tenants", rents increased rapidly, and the poorer farmers suffered considerably since more capital was required for enclosed land.

The scant attention paid to the welfare of the peasants at this time is also underlined by Briggs and Jordan. Between 1760 and 1845 the enclosure movement "was effected without any legal safeguards being afforded to the peasantry", they wrote. Those safeguards which had existed in the 16th century were "swept away in the Puritan revolution... A Parliament in which the land-

ed interest was supreme and which regarded enclosures as an economic necessity, had scant regard for the peasantry and its ancient rights in the soil". They also draw attention to the fact that the good economic effects of the enclosures were only possible because the richer and upper class could afford the necessary capital investment, while the poorer landowners were gradually being squeezed out.

The social effects of the Land Enclosures Acts were appalling. The material condition of the poorer villagers became so acute and their moral condition so aggravated, that

communal system of agricultural farming and suggests that in areas like Kenya, it would be much more effective and beneficial to let land taken from the white settlers and foreign companies, be formed on a communal basis by the former "labour" force on the particular form, as has been done in Algeria, rather than parcel it up in small and uneconomic plots of five or even ten acres each. Because where the communal type of farming would maintain and even improve the present role agriculture plays in Kenya's economy, the fragmentation of once large estates is likely not only to depreciate it but it might affect adversely the soil fertility.

Though we do not necessary accept all the conclusions in the article we recommend it for thorough discussion. Other views are invited.

many were thrown on the Poor Law with disastrous results. To cite Briggs and Jordan:—

"Enclosing commons deprived the peasants of means of supplementing their incomes. Men who enjoyed rights in the commons had an interest in the land, a feeling of independence, and a motive for thrift. Grazing rights allowed them to keep livestock, the woodlands, provided them with free fuel."

These rights were now denied them.

Thus land became transformed into a commercial commodity. Led by the Crown, which was always pressed financially, land-market was created under which land had no other value other than a monetary one. This led to speculation in land and the resultant dispossessing of the smaller landowners and peasant farmers, who were forced to fend for themselves elsewhere. Thousands of peasants became landless, a poor propertyless class came into existence and a further social problem arose only to be dealt with by further suppression and oppression. During this agrarian revolution both the Church and the Monasteries became some of the biggest landowners, and it should be remarked that to this very day the Church is among the biggest of London's landlords, the same is true of other European countries.

It can therefore be seen that land consolidation in England came into being not to improve agriculture and raise the standards of living of the people, but in order to build a class of capitalist landlords who could use their capital both for the further exploitation of agricultural and industrial labour. Thus the standard of living of the privileged showed a rapid increase while a vast class of hungry, poverty-stricken and propertyless people, (formerly small farmers, peasant farmers and tenants) were ruthlessly pushed into further misery and squalor. From a peaceful and dignified rural community, they became a problem which Britain has to this day been unable to solve.

The foregoing account of the

conditions and poverty imposed on the common man by the introduction of the enclosure system, may be aptly summed up by quoting the East African Royal Commission Report, where they admitted:—

"It is well-known in our own history from the story of the enclosures, and it continues today in our search to keep a balance between the encouragement of productive individual initiative and responsibility for a reasonable standard of living for all" (page 316, para. 65).

The African conception of land-ownership was stated

independent entity. Every man, every individual, forms a link in the chain of vital forces; a living link, active and passive, joined from above to the ascending line of his ancestry and maintaining below him the line of his descendants." Nowhere is this philosophy more clearly and emphatically reiterated, than when Jomo Kenyatta dedicates his book to:—

"Moigoi and Wamboi and all the dispossessed youth of Africa: For the Perpetuation of Communism with Ancestral Spirits through the Fight for African Freedom, and in the Firm Faith that the Dead, the Living and the Unborn, will unite to rebuild the destroyed Shrines."

## EQUALITY OF MAN

In keeping with this philosophy, it is natural that the African was, is, and will be more interested in ensuring that all men share equally both the good and the bad. Nowhere is this more clearly indicated than in the African's attitude towards ownership and the distribution of land. The East African Royal Commission fully appreciated this practice and pointed out that:—

"There was, moreover, in the system of certain egalitarianism (equality), a conception that various members of the society accept a fair share in what belongs to the whole; and this feature is evident not only in the communal grazing but also in the distribution of land. Some land would grow maize and other land only sugar cane or rice, and often the dispersion of an individual holding over a wide area was due to the attempt to give each member a share of each type of soil". (p. 285, para. 15).

## ADMINISTRATION OF LAND

Landlordism, so common a feature of European life, was and still is completely unknown in many parts of Africa. The ownership of land being recognised as corporate, there was consequently no question of the African Chief or King having any of the "legal rights" possessed by the Crown in England. He was merely a trustee and an administrator "of the land for the benefit of the whole community" (T. O. Elias, pages 164-5).

This practice is made quite clear by the Royal Commission Report, which states that:—

"The authority, whatever its nature, was responsible for ensuring that the local customs regarding land were observed, that the individuals obtained their appropriate rights as far as the use of land was concerned, and that these rights in no way damaged the rights of the group as a whole." (p. 285, para. 16).

## LAND AS SOCIAL SECURITY

To the African, we may therefore conclude, land is an irrevocable social security owned by the community as a whole. To endeavour to transform our land from its present ownership would therefore be a serious offence against society. A commercial attitude towards land in Africa would destroy the very basis of our society, a basis on which depends the dignity, security, happiness and the perpetuation of our community.

## DERIVED DEMAND

Nevertheless, the African's love or (in other words) his demand for land is not created by land as land, but stems

from those products of land which are used in meeting man's needs—the "lower beings." Thus, the demand for land depends on the demand for the produce and services it can provide—in economic jargon, such demand is said to be a "derived demand" i.e. it comes about as a result of demand for other things which are directly useful, and is therefore an indirect demand.

Hence, man demands land because he wants to grow food on it, he wants to build on it, he wants to tap its natural resources for his own use, or he wishes to put it at some services that will meet his insatiable wants. Apart from satisfying these categories of needs, land could also be sought after for social and political reasons. In some countries, the most important and influential members of the community are landlords. They enjoy not only the prestige attached to ownership, but also that of keeping other people as tenants from whom rent is exacted. In many countries in the world, land has been used as a political weapon. Most of the ruling classes in the world are those powerful individuals who managed by some devious means to rob the people of their land. These, as already pointed out above, are the kings and their henchmen. By confiscating all the land in the realm, they were able to use it as an effective weapon in their domination and control of the masses.

The most powerful institutions in the world—e.g. the Church and Colonial Governments—also used the expropriation of land from the people as a means of coercing them into submission. There is no need to quote any examples to prove the truth of the foregoing, because it should be obvious to anyone.

Nevertheless, the important thing remains that land is demanded because of the use that it could be put to. Generally speaking the following are the major uses:

Firstly the agricultural use. This includes the use of land for growing both food and other cash crops like cocoa, cotton, coffee and sisal, as well as animal husbandry and fishing. Secondly, the industrial use. In this class we could place not only buildings which are used for manufacturing purposes, but things like mining as well. A third use is a residential one. This means the use of land to build houses in which we live. Then essential to all three are the transport and communication services—e.g. canals, roads and railways, and radio stations. These four categories of land use could be further analysed, but for our present purposes we need not go further than this.

## LAND AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As we have already seen above, land is one of the three major factors of production. And, if we take into account the uses we have just outlined above, it becomes obvious that land is a major factor in the economic development of any country in the world. With such a vital economic role to play, it becomes absolutely necessary that any discussion about the mode of holding, and especially as it affects the social structure, has got to take into account the overall national economic development. As Dr. A. H. Hanson writes in his book "Public Enterprise and Economic Development":—

"Modification of the social structure are particularly important when they affect... productive relations. If, somewhere in this range of human activities the correct pressure points are identified and operated upon, a kind of sociological "multiplier" may be brought

Continued on page 5



# What is Happening in the Congo

Continued from page 3

Before the secession of Katanga the Benguela railway had been on the verge of bankruptcy. After the secession its financial difficulties began to straighten out at a rapid pace. In 1959 the railway's net profit amounted to 6.66 million dollars while in 1960 this figure grew to 9.27 million dollars. If we add that the Benguela railway belongs to "Tanganyika Concessions", we get another reason why Britain displayed such touching concern for the 'independence' of Katanga.

British big business circles, expressed apprehension that the reuniting of Katanga with the Congo Republic headed

by the pro-American Adoula government would play into the hands of American capital. At best this could lead to a redistribution of Western capital in Katanga's economy in favour of Wall Street, as was the case with Iraq oil, for example. While at worst it can lead to the complete ousting of Britain from Katanga.

## FRANCE HAS ITS OWN CARES

The support rendered Tshombe by France was also by no means disinterested. France is the main buyer of Katanga's copper and cobalt. "L'Union Miniere" had to sell its copper to France at a fair price since the latter always had the

alternative of turning to America for its copper. If the Katanga copper mines fell into the hands of the American monopolists the United States would be in a position to dictate its own price to France and thus enrich itself at the expense of the latter.

De Gaulle also hoped that with the disintegration of the Congo Republic into several weak states France would be able to spread its influence to at least some of them by using the advantages of a common language and the services of the Afro-Malagasy Union.

All these factors taken together go to explain why France was so eager to supply Tshombe with arms, especially planes, and looked through its fingers at the fact that mer-

cenaries for the Katanga "army" were quite openly recruited in Paris.

## BELGIUM: DOUBTS AND HESITATIONS

Before the death of Patrice Lumumba Belgium unconditionally supported the "independence" of Katanga. However, later the Belgian ruling circles began to express doubts as to the wisdom of this course. This was a reflection of the controversial interests of various financial groups in that country.

The financial circles linked with "L'Union Miniere" supported Britain and tried to impede the reuniting of Katanga with the Congo. However, there are influential

firms in Belgium whose interests were seriously impaired by the chaos reigning in the Congo. The powerful Belgian "Societe General" group is a shareholder of "L'Union Miniere" but most of the companies it controls have vast interests in other regions of the Congo. These companies control 70 per cent of all the capital investments in the Congo.

After the death of Lumumba the "Societe General" was more interested in restoring law and order in Katanga than in supporting Tshombe because a normalisation of the situation was necessary to enable its companies to resume their business activities throughout the Congo. The "Societe General" was all the more interested in bringing life back to normal in the Congo because it saw that the Americans were quite frankly using the chaos in the country to amass wealth and strengthen their positions.

Supported by France and Belgium, Britain made two attempts in 1961 to drive the UN troops out of Katanga. However, both attempts ended in failure because Tshombe did not have enough strength. These attempts might have had very sad consequences for Tshombe had the "blue helmets" acted more resolutely. However, they were restrained by orders from the UN headquarters. Every time a critical situation arose strong pressure was brought to bear on the UN command to make it suspend military operations.

Washington could have put an end to Tshombe already in 1961, but the Americans had other plans at the time. The United States merely permitted itself the pleasure of scaring Britain and Belgium by dragging out the military operations as long as possible without bringing them to an end. This was a diplomatic game for Washington. While the UN troops, consisting mainly of Asian and African contingents, had to pay for it with their lives.

In the autumn of 1961, Dag Hammarskjold fell victim to the imperialist intrigues. Although the causes of his death remain a mystery, there are weighty grounds to believe that his plane was shot down

by one of Tshombe's mercenary pilots. And there are very strong suspicions that this could not have been done without the knowledge of certain British officials. Britain was obviously vexed when Dag Hammarskjold, who was closely linked with the U.S. State Department, did not display any hurry to stop the military operations in Katanga which created a life-size threat to Tshombe's rule.

Every time military operations flared up in Katanga "L'Union Miniere" shares on the London stock exchange inevitably dropped. According to the book "Trusts in the Congo" 1961 showed the lowest level of these shares. The small stock holders, who knew nothing about the secret backstage intrigues around Katanga, hurried to get rid of their holdings. And they always found brokers who readily bought their shares. These were the agents of the big American monopolists. For they knew fully well that the UN troops would not be allowed to undertake actions that might seriously impede the work of "L'Union Miniere" mines and enterprises and that after the end of hostilities the corporation's shares would again soar.

Continued on page 6

# Concept of Ownership in land

Continued from page 4

into play initiating a chain reaction in the desired direction.

There is no doubt that, in the case of Africa, one of the "pressure points" is land reform.

Nevertheless, in order to appreciate further how important land is in a country's economic development, let us first divert a little and make a brief mention of Professor W. W. Rowstow's 5 stages of economic development, merely to demonstrate our point.

In his book, "The Stages of Economic Growth", Rowstow outlines five important stages—

"It is possible", he writes, "to identify all societies in their economic dimensions as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high-mass consumption."

The traditional stage is one before science and technology. The precondition for the take-off is the stage during which a society is taking to science and technology as a means of production. The take-off is the interval when the old blocks and resistances to steady growth are finally overcome, and growth becomes a normal condition. The drive to maturity stage could be defined as:

"the stage in which the economy demonstrates the capacity to move beyond the original industries which powered the take-off and to absorb and to apply efficiently over a very wide range of its resources..."

The high-mass consumption stage is self-explanatory, e.g. it is the stage at which some of the Western countries have found it possible to allocate a great proportion of their resources to welfare and security.

## THE ROLE OF AGRICULTURE

For our purposes here, however, the importance of Rowstow's stages lies in their assisting us to appreciate the important role agricultural use of the land plays in the whole process of economic growth.

Agriculture has a very important role to play, not only in the period of preconditions for take-off, but throughout the economic history of a country. To begin with, Rowstow singles out three distinctive roles agriculture plays—particularly in the transitional period—i.e. from the precondition for take-off to take-off.

Firstly, agriculture must supply more food. This food is needed for several reasons. Among others, it is needed to meet the likely rise in population in the country as a whole

and thereby save the economy from the burden of foreign exchange problems. As a country becomes industrialised, there is a steady movement of population from rural to urban areas; this expanding urban population must be fed by the farmers in the rural areas. Increases in agricultural produce are also needed to help meet the cost of capital equipment purchased from foreign countries. This could be done either by direct earnings of foreign exchange, as was the case of the United States, Russia and Canada; and as cocoa is doing for Ghana, groundnuts for Mali, cotton for Sudan, coffee and cotton for Uganda. Or it could be used to minimise the foreign exchange bill for food, as it did in Britain, Israel and as is true of nearly all African countries—most of whom depend on locally-produced food.

Secondly, by increasing the income of the rural population, agriculture thereby increases their effective demand; this enables them not only to buy more of their own manufactured goods, especially agricultural capital goods, but, through taxation, it increases the Government revenue. Thus Rowstow writes:

"In addition, the modern sector can—and often should—be built in part on items of capital for agriculture, farm machinery, chemical fertilizers, diesel pumps, etc."

Thirdly, agriculture must make available investment capital by yielding a substantial part of its surplus income to the modern sector. This means that surplus income in the agricultural sector has got to be transferred from

"the hands of those who would sterilise it in prodigal living into the hands of productive institutions which (B.C.M.) will invest it in the modern sector and then regularly plough back the profits as output and productivity rise."

Rowstow adds that "in their nineteenth-century land reforms this is precisely what Japan, Russia and many other nations have done during the transition in an effort to increase the supply of capital available for social overhead and other essential modernising processes."

The importance of agriculture does not, however, stop with the end of the preconditions for the take-off stage. Even in a mature or high-mass consumption economy agriculture still plays a very vital role. We often read in the press about Nikita Khrushchev's warnings against the Soviet Union's agricultural sector. In Britain, one of the heavily subsidised sectors is the agricultural one. While on the continent, the importance of agriculture is reflected in the

failure of the Common Market countries to reach an unanimously accepted agricultural policy! All these go to show that an industrialised country is one in which the agricultural sector is growing all the time.

## LAND TENURE

This, therefore, seems the appropriate stage at which to go back to our old friend—the question of land tenure. For the agricultural sector to prosper the question of land tenure is very relevant.

As already quoted above, land reform is an important "pressure point" in economic development and growth. Dr. Hanson has also pointed out that:

"Almost everywhere it is the land system that seems to constitute a major bottleneck. Increased agricultural productivity is the basic source of capital accumulation in real terms."

He emphasises the fact that the precondition for an adequate industrial labour supply is increased output per peasant farmer. But, as he points out, the raising of agricultural productivity is more than a mere matter of providing fertilizers, tested seeds and farm machinery, and the educating of farmers in their use of them; the development of credit, marketing and purchasing agencies, co-operative or state.

"None of these necessary improvements... will" he writes, "yield their maximum effects..."

In their book, "The Problem of Co-operative Farming in India", Professor A. M. Khuro and Mr. A. N. Agarwal, point out that despite the efforts of the Indian Government Department of Agriculture and the Community Development Projects, to teach the Indian peasant farmer about the new farming techniques and the introduction of implements which are likely to be more effective in the lifting up of agricultural productivity; despite the supply of crop protection devices, desirable strained seeds and a judicious combination of manufactured and local fertilisers, the peasant farmer remains unaffected, the rate of capital formation in the agricultural sector "has been extremely slow"; and despite the availability of surplus labour in most places the long list of agricultural processes—fence, well-sinking, manuring, bunding, etc.—looks more like a catalogue of what has not been done and has yet to be undertaken by Indian farmers. They deny that the reason for this is ignorance, because the methods are not only widely known, but they are increasingly being made known through various agencies. So they conclude that this inertia

must be due to the disincentive of small holding; and Dr. Hanson points out that

"some of these modern techniques and methods will be virtually impossible, unless suitable systems of land holding are introduced".

Advocates of individual ownership of land in Africa appear to put forward two major arguments:

Firstly, it is suggested that land consolidation and the issue of individual titles would lead to an increase in and an improvement of land productivity, and the quality of animal husbandry.

Secondly, it is asserted that landowners would thus be able to raise capital by means of leases and mortgages, renting to farmers, or by outright sales.

For instance, the East Africa Royal Commission Report states:

"Planned holding on these lines facilitate the attack on the three major faults of the present system. With the family herds restricted to their own grazing ground, there is an incentive to look after, and improve, both land and stock. There is also, at last, a chance to begin thinking of income and saving without irresponsibility to land."

They also point out that the consolidation of land would simplify tasks such as manuring, and the time-wasted at present in "walking to scattered little parcels of land and inefficiency in managing them are now replaced by ease of control in the consolidated unit around the homestead", (para 63, page 314).

They continue to argue:—"Individual tenure has great advantage in giving to the individual a sense of security in possession, and in enabling by purchase and sale of land, an adjustment to be made by the community..." (para. 77, page 323).

It is also asserted that:—"The ability of an individual to buy and sell land by a process of territorial law, instead of by a process of custom, opens the door to that mobility and private initiative on which a greater sector of economic progress tends to depend... The Specialist farmer is relieved of the liability of providing a place for the subsistence of his clan relations."

It is also asserted that:—"The trend towards individualisation... has the virtue of developing a political as well as an economic sense of responsibility."

This argument, carried to its logical conclusion, would surely imply that most of the British people lack a sense of political and economic responsibility because the great majority of them are certainly not landlords.

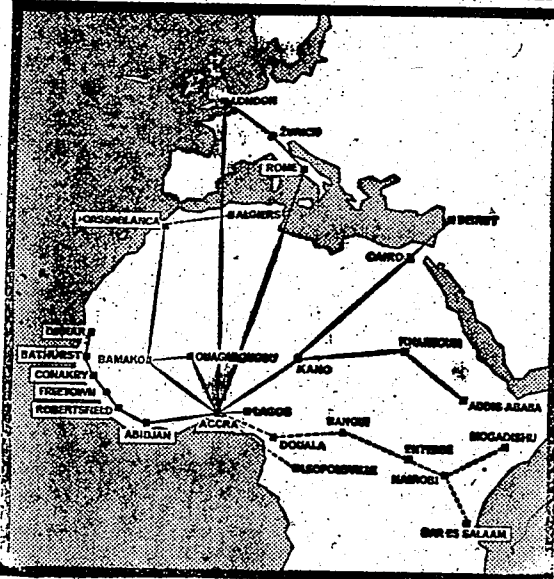
## VICTIMS OF THE RED METAL

Such was the balance of imperialist forces participating in the struggle for the riches of the Congo. This was ruthless struggle waged by diplomatic, economic and military means.

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# The Concept of Socialism and the

## African Situation

By Modibo Ocran, Legon

SOCIALISM now reigns in not less than a third of the earth's surface, and is spreading to all corners of the world. Almost all the newly-independent Asian and African states have declared their intention to build socialism, and the word 'socialism' is now on everybody's lips.

Is this phenomenon accidental, or is it because of the natural superiority of socialism over all other systems? We take the latter view; but whatever reason one gives, the fact that the idea has spread so much in Africa and elsewhere makes it imperative for all those who seriously believe in it to help explain the concept to their people, in view of the confusionist and hypocritical assertions that we find presently in the speeches of a lot of those who talk about it.

In Ghana, for instance, every Kofi, Kojo and Esi who can read has seen the word written some-where in the newspapers. But not many people have clear-cut knowledge of its principles; and there is a large section of the community who have fanciful ideas about the system—ideas which, when translated into practice, become a serious threat to the society. When for example a man seriously defines socialism as "Chop some, make I chop some," and by that he means that when there is some bribe to be taken, or some money to be misappropriated, he should make it possible for his fellow crooks and rascals to participate in the booty, the threat to the economic stability of the country assumes such a proportion that the person concerned should be brought to book and Socialism redefined for him; for this is not socialism, but the collective ownership of the spoils of unsavoury buccannery, a manifestation of the highly unethical 'humanitarianism' of the seasoned thief.

### STRANGE NAMES

This confusion in the minds of the broad masses of the people is nurtured by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists who want to thwart the real progress of the African and Asian peoples—"the have-nots"—and all working peoples elsewhere, by sowing in their minds non-socialist ideas under the mask of socialism. Thus they give strange names like Pragmatic Socialism, Christian Socialism, Democratic Socialism, Arab Socialism and African Socialism. In his book, *African Socialism*, Fenner Brockway describes himself as a 'Liberal

tarian socialist". A lecturer friend once said that he was a 'thinking socialist'. These concepts their proponents attempt to explain by expressing themselves in a fog of vague verbiage whose only effect is that it confuses even more what it sets out to clarify. Some there are who even describe a mixed economy as socialism and the Scandinavian countries which practice it as the models of true socialism; one could also mention the argument of the naive who regard the middle-class ownership of one or two hospitals in America as socialism. If this exercise continues, we shall soon have as many socialisms as there are countries on this planet.

From all this, it becomes clear that the Party has a lot to do in the field of educating all sections of the community—the leaders of the masses, the masses themselves, and the middle echelon—to understand clearly what socialism is, if our desire to build a socialist society is to materialise. In this exercise, no one is spared. There is none of us who can claim to know everything about socialism, if socialism is seen in its proper perspective as a science. The Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute is doing a lot in this regard, but it has a stupendous task ahead.

For the moment, however, certain basic principles of socialism are clear and unmistakable. For us, socialism cannot be confused with capitalism, or with any other system that goes under the cloak of socialism. There is only one system called socialism; it is that social order in which equality, freedom and justice reign because the

exploitation of man by man, based on the private ownership of the means of production is abolished, followed by the take-over by the public of the ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. It is in this light that we can see who is a socialist and who is not. A socialist is one who, having unconditionally accepted the principles of the society outlined above, works assiduously for its attainment, realising that the capitalist or any other force in society with capitalist tendencies or with an appetite for slavery and exploitation of one kind or other, will not voluntarily relinquish its power and ownership, and that he must help organise the masses for the overthrow of these evil forces and for the capture of State machinery to bring this society into reality.

### COMMUNALISM NOT SOCIALISM

When socialism is understood in this way, it cannot have so many names. There may be so many roads to a destination; but the destination remains the same. There is no justification whatever for confusing the application of a concept with the concept itself.

What is the origin of Socialism? What promoted this notion of the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange? To answer this question more correctly, let us at this stage quickly draw a distinction between tribal Communalism and socialism. True, the theoretical and moral basis of communalism is the same as that in socialism: the free development of each as a condition for the free development of all. But socialism is a step further from communalism; it is the modern world's realisation of the tenets of communalism; it differs from Communalism not only in its mode of production and its means of production, but also in its objectives in production. Also, because under tribal communalism the means of produc-

tion were not developed enough to harness the natural resources more abundantly for the people's consumption, its collectivisation tended to be more of a common share of scarcity than of plenty, and is, in this case, not quite up to the mark (and even a negation) of socialism. This, however, is only the outcome of a process of historical development; it is just that socialism came at a time in human development when more scientific knowledge had been acquired and when man was better equipped with science and technology to deal with nature. Hence, African Communalism, like any tribal communalism, was socialist, but it was not a socialist society; and the beginning of socialism proper cannot be attributed to Africa, but to where it appropriately belongs. This is not to imply that Africans are inferior in intellect to other people; it was just that Africa was at a different stage of historical development, this itself being the effect of colonialism and imperialism—both Islamic and Euro-Christian.

The ideas of modern socialism, in my opinion, grew up in the European working class movement, in that era of its history in which the two main classes of society were the bourgeoisie—the class that had overthrown feudalism in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the French Revolution of 1789—and the proletariat, which was the inevitable outcome of the existence of the bourgeoisie. "There can be no bourgeoisie without a proletariat", Engels wrote.

### ESSENCE OF CAPITALISM

The essence of capitalism was that a class worked for another class which owned all the tools, raw materials and the land—what we normally refer to as the means of production. A class lived by selling its labour; it was responsible for all the output, but the output was shared between them and people who didn't take part in it. What was worse, this idle class even had a greater share of the output.

The result was the growing consciousness of the workers that they were being grossly exploited. This was a society characterised by moral indignation, periodic unemployment caused by slums, and acute poverty; a society in which, as the rich grew richer, the poor grew poorer—to him who had, more was given; but to him who had not, even the little that he had was taken away from him. Consequently the opportunity for civilization and culture was denied to the majority of the people. Capitalism did not just bring indignation against material conditions. It was an affront to human dignity, because it treated men, not as human beings, but as hands, to be thrown away any moment the employer felt like it; capitalism was a caste system in which the basis of differentiation was not only birth, but also economic power—how much of stolen money a person had with him.

What was the reaction of the working people to those indignities? They naturally wanted to abolish this state of affairs, but were confused as to the means. Some who saw no salvation forward wanted to go back to small-scale hand-weaving; the religiously inclined cried for the promised paradise in which all men would be brothers; some, like the Fabians, felt that society could be changed by appeal to human reason through argument, propaganda and example. Men had not fully appreciated reason, and a new man who understood the truth, and was prepared to practise and abide by it had to be created. But the Robert Owens, the Saint-Simons, and the Fourierists were lost as to the means of creat-

ing this new man. Karl Marx was not there to point out to them that "it is not the consciousness of man that determines his condition but, rather, his condition that determines his consciousness."

There is no better testimony to the importance of these approaches to the problem of building Socialism than the difficulties that Robert Owen faced when he made attempts to translate his ideas into practice: from a man respected and liked by the then English bourgeoisie (despite all his talk and writings against the growing evil tendency of capitalism), Owen became a personality hated and ostracised by this very class, who began to see that Owen was turning into a thorn that could hardly be tolerated. Not only did Owen fail to persuade the workers but the capitalists even had the upper hand over him by succeeding in rendering him harmless.

### SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

All these approaches to Socialism, their differences notwithstanding, have one thing in common: They have never succeeded in building Socialism anywhere in the world. History is our evidence.

Then there were the propagators of scientific socialism who neither found it wise to split up and destroy the large-scale technology with which capitalism had equipped society, nor thought it adequate merely to dream about a better society which will bring the greater good.

Their approach was to maintain bourgeois technology, but to get rid of private ownership of the means of production; all men would work in this society; work would be the only basis for reward. Society was not going to be so organised that the fate of the poor would be entrusted to philanthropy, or that the lazy drone would not work but still claim a right to the shares of public affluence. Production and distribution were going to be comprehensively planned and organised in such a way as to increase productivity of labour and deploy technology to its fullest extent; and thus produce a society of abundance fit for human beings.

But the scientific socialists saw the problem involved in changing the bourgeois society to a socialist one. The capitalist controlled the organs of the state and the law courts and used them to oppress the workers. The ideology of "elitism"—that a person is rich because he is good and hard-working, or poor because he is bad and lazy—was being pumped into the minds of the populace. The Marxists had no illusions as to the economic and political strength of capitalism. In order to carry through this revolution, it was foolish to appeal to the good sense and Christian feelings of the capitalist to relinquish his grips over his profit and to behave a little more kindly to his fellow beings.

The Marxists came to the conclusion that where violence was necessary for the transfer of the political power, this should be the case; where less violence could attain the same objectives, this was better. One thing was clear, however; that under no circumstances should violence or other seemingly harsh and dictatorial law be sanctioned off-hand. A revolutionary step—its form and content to be determined by the context, is inevitable for all those who want to carry through a revolution of society. These they have called the 'means

of countries and Socialism built as a result. The first of these was the Soviet Union. The end-result of this fundamental change in the class structure of the Soviet Society has been a remarkably high improvement in the amenities and cultural standards of the broad masses of the people as well as the attainment of an enviable position in the world of science and technology.

These features of scientific socialism are so far clear from the foregoing discussion:—

1. The abolition of capitalism and all its manifestations—imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.
2. Their replacement by socialism, a society in which the people through the state assumes the ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.
3. The difficulties involved in changing society into a socialist one in the face of opposition.

Now, let us relate them briefly to the African situation. Like Karl Marx, the African leaders see that political power is a *sine qua non* to all other steps in society. Is it not the same idea that Kwame Nkrumah had in mind when he declared "Seek ye first the political Kingdom, and the rest shall be added unto you"? The concept of state power as a condition for the achievement of any other thing seems axiomatic to all African leaders in their national struggles. May we note in passing, therefore, the lamentable attitude of some of these same leaders who postulate economic co-operation before political unification when it comes to the question of African Unity? Do the facts of life change when it comes to the organisation on a continental Union?

### DIFFICULTIES

But since independence has been won in most of Africa, the greater problem is how to transform the outlook of the people into a socialist one. People who have lived under capitalism, or under its offshoots like colonialism cannot get used to the brotherhood of man just overnight. On the road to socialism there will be difficulties, at the back of which there will be dangers of counter-revolution, as the old socialist countries have experienced. It is true that since we in Africa did not experience the full destructive individualism of capitalism due to the dictates of colonialism, we still maintain our links with our communalistic past. The principles of egalitarianism and humanitarianism are still embedded in our tradition. But these have been tainted with smatterings of individualistic and capitalist ethics and outlook due to our contact with the colonialists.

Hence, we cannot now argue that our outlook is wholly communalistic, and that there is therefore no question of transformation in outlook. Africa is no longer traditional. Africa, and those who unduly idealize the past should not forget that Africa is not an exception to the laws of human development; and that she has changed considerably. Anyone who has not forgotten the attempts on the life of Ghana's socialist leader and other progressive African leaders will understand that we are not advocating a policy of witch-hunting here. Any safeguards for this consolidating socialist gains are permissible, for the sake of the people.

that the enemies of socialism will not step in to stop the people's advance to socialism. It is in this light that we should view the need for legislative measures like Ghana's Detention Act, and the enactment that only one party committed to the building of socialism (the C.P.P.) has a right to exist.

Then there is the question of the economic attractiveness of socialism: as culture, education and technology spread and enable the masses to enjoy life, some of those who were formerly opposed to socialism will inadvertently come to support it; and as more and more people understand and support socialism, the need for the exercise of strong state power and force will diminish. Karl Marx went so far as to say that "the state would wither away, and the government of persons shall be replaced by the administration of things".

### LOP-SIDED ECONOMIES

The third and perhaps the biggest problem facing socialists in Africa is that of the economy. All these countries emerged from colonialism with lop-sided economic structure.

This is not uniquely African. With the possible exception of the Soviet Union, all those European and Asian Socialist countries had underdeveloped or semi-colonial economic structures at the beginning of the road to socialism. Poland was full of French, German and some Polish capital; Czechoslovakia was a granary of France and the Soviet Union itself was largely a granary of Europe of which Britain was the overseer.

The problem in Africa is how to build up a modern economy from almost nothing. After independence, large scale industry is still owned by expatriates; the economy centres around mining, forestry and some agriculture—with little attempt at industrialisation. Export and import is largely in the hands of expatriates; the profit from all these is dissipated in fields hardly useful to the broad masses of the indigenous people.

The case for socialism in Africa has been stated time and again, and it is just sufficient to state here that without the state stepping boldly into the national economy, the latter cannot grow. Socialism is the rational continuation of the struggle for national independence; it is the firm basis upon which the freedom of the people will be built and guaranteed. For us in Africa the question of building socialism is not only the result of an intellectual conviction of the soundness of its principles; it is the only panacea for our ills; it is the situation in which we find ourselves.

As to whether the Mixed economy envisaged in Ghana's 7-year Plan will lead to socialism depends largely on those who are in control of state power. If the top posts, in the Party and government are stuffed with men who have everything to gain from capitalism, this could lead to a situation in which either the public property will be converted into private hands, as happened in Japan, or a situation in which the mixed economy will become a permanent feature of our society, as India has learned to her chagrin. If that happened, we would have created, not a socialist society, but the apogee of a socialist society. But it is the duty of all those who believe in socialism to see to it that socialism is achieved, for socialism is "the thing itself".

## WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE CONGO

Continued from page 5

On the other hand even the slightest curtailment of production in Katanga brought about a rise in the shares of the American copper mining firms on the stock exchanges of both New York and London. This shows that the United States was playing a very clever game around the Katanga issue.

### UNSUCCESSFUL BOYCOTT

The economic essence underlying the diplomatic manoeuvres around the so-called independence of Katanga found especially vivid reflection in the American plan for boycotting Katanga put forward in August, 1962. According to this plan the UNO, acting on behalf of the central government, was to impose a tax on the export of Katanga ore mined by 'L'Union Miniere' to make it stop its support for Tshombe. It is interesting to note that this plan was even approved by some British and Belgian firms, for example, the "Unilever" and "Federation des Entreprises du Congo"—the very companies whose interests in the Congo lie outside the boundaries of Katanga.

Exposing the true aims of this boycott Le Monde wrote on August 24, 1964: "In actual fact, a possible economic boycott of Katanga, and consequently 'L'Union Miniere' copper, would not have cost the United States very

much. American industry is mainly concerned with the red metal supplied by the U.S. Chile mines which will be the first to profit from the delay in Elizabethville exports. Whereas the Belgian and French plants, which depend to a considerable degree on Katanga copper, would experience serious stoppages in production were this source of copper to run low".

A boycott of "L'Union Miniere" would not affect British industry which received its copper from Northern Rhodesia. However, it would affect the profits of the British lords and businessmen holding "L'Union Miniere" shares. And it was they who brought strong pressure to bear on the Macmillan government which in the end rose to the defence of their interests and rejected the American plan. Herein, it plainly gave the Americans to understand that any boycott of Katanga would be a failure since the copper would continue to reach foreign markets through Rhodesia and Angola.

### THIRD ROUND

Having provoked a clash with Tshombe's gendarmes the UN troops launched their third offensive against the Katanga separatists (December, 1962). It took less than a week to bring Elizabethville and other key points in Katanga under the control of the "blue helmets". Tshombe again escaped to Salisbury while his gendarmes and mercenaries were either dismissed or dis-

## CONGO

persed in the jungle.

U.S. Under-Secretary of State, Harlan Cleveland, directly engaged in questions of UN policy for the Congo, frankly admitted in one of his speeches in the middle of January, 1963, that the UN troops which routed Tshombe's mercenaries acted with the support of the United States. Herein, he did not forget to add that Washington had pursued the most pious aims: to help the Congolese people restore their territorial integrity, strengthen their independence, restore law and order etc.

The world press assessed the aims of America in a different way. Thus, the British Sunday Telegraph wrote that a new battle was in progress in the Congo directed by the United States which is engaged in a cynical form of neo-colonialism. And the French magazine *Candle* said that the actions carried out by Washington in the Congo in December, 1962, were the results of pressure on the part of American companies which had monopolised the mining of copper in Chile and Peru and were now striving to monopolise copper mining in the Congo.

No matter whose anxiety these sections of the British and French press reflected, they, at any rate, gave a very precise definition of American policy in the Congo.



# PEACE AND CO-OPERATION

Continued from page 2

on a normal footing, and invites these two Governments to enter into negotiations to

## VI. SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHOUT THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

AS THE use of force may take a number of forms, military, political and economic, the participating countries deem it essential to reaffirm the principles that all States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

They consider that disputes between States should be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter on the bases of sovereign equality and justice.

The participating countries are convinced of the necessity of exerting all international efforts to find solutions to all situations which threaten international peace or impair friendly relations among nations.

4. The participating countries gave special attention to the problems of frontiers which may threaten international peace or disturb friendly relations among States, and are convinced that in order to settle such problems, all States should resort to negotiation, mediation or arbitration or other peaceful means set forth in the United Nations Charter in conformity with the legitimate rights of all peoples.

5. The Conference considers that disputes between neighbouring States must be settled peacefully in a spirit of mutual understanding, without

this end and in conformity with the principles of peaceful co-existence and international co-operation.

foreign intervention or interference.

Taking into account the principles set forth above and with a view to restoring peace and stability in the Indo-China Peninsula, the Conference appeals to the Powers which participated in the Geneva Conference of 1954 and 1962:

(1) to abstain from any action likely to aggravate the situation which is already tense in the Peninsula;

(2) to terminate all foreign interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that region;

(3) to convene urgently a new Geneva Conference on Indo-China with a view to seeking a satisfactory political solution for the peaceful settlement of the problems arising in that part of the world, namely:

(a) ensuring the strict application of the agreements on Laos;

(b) recognising and guaranteeing the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia;

(c) ensuring the strict application of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam, and finding a political solution to the problem in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people to freedom, peace and independence.

## VII. GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT; PEACEFUL USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY; PROHIBITION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS, ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, PREVENTION OF DISSEMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ABOLITION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS

THE Conference emphasises the paramount importance of disarmament as one of the basic problems of the contemporary world, and stresses the necessity of reaching immediate and practical solutions which would free mankind from the danger of war and from a sense of insecurity.

The Conference notes with concern that the continuing arms race and the tremendous advances that have been made in the production of weapons of mass destruction and their stock-piling threaten the world with armed conflict and annihilation. The Conference urges the great Powers to take new and urgent steps towards achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

The Conference, regrets that despite the efforts of the members of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and in particular those of the non-aligned countries, the results have not been satisfactory. It urges the great Powers, in collaboration with the other members of that Committee, to renew their efforts with determination with a view to the rapid conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The Conference calls upon all States to accede to the Moscow Treaty partially banning the testing of nuclear weapons, and to abide by its provisions in the interests of peace and the welfare of humanity.

The Conference urges the extension of the Moscow Treaty so as to include underground tests, and the discontinuance of such tests pending the extension of the agreement.

The Conference urges the speedy conclusion of agreements on various other partial and collateral measures of disarmament proposed by the

members of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

The Conference appeals to the Great Powers to take the lead in giving effect to decisive and immediate measures which would make possible substantial reductions in their military budgets.

The Conference requests the Great Powers to abstain from all policies conducive to the dissemination of nuclear weapons and their by-products among those States which do not at present possess them. It underlines the great danger in the dissemination of nuclear weapons and urges all States, particularly those possessing nuclear weapons, to conclude non-dissemination agreements and to agree on measures providing for the gradual liquidation of the existing stock-piles of nuclear weapons.

As part of these efforts, the Heads of State or Government declare their own readiness not to produce, acquire or test any nuclear weapons, and call on all countries, including those who have not subscribed to the Moscow Treaty, to enter into a similar undertaking and to take the necessary steps to prevent their territories, ports and airfields from being used by nuclear powers for the deployment or disposition of nuclear weapons. This undertaking should be the subject of a treaty to be concluded in an international Conference convened under the auspices of the United Nations and open to accession by all States. The Conference further calls upon all nuclear powers to observe the spirit of this declaration.

The Conference welcomes the agreement of the Great Powers not to orbit in outer space nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction and expresses its conviction that it is necessary to conclude an international treaty prohibiting

the utilisation of outer space for military purposes.

The Conference urges full international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

The Conference requests those states which have succeeded in exploring outer space, to exchange and disseminate information related to the research they have carried out in this field, so that scientific progress for the peaceful utilisation of outer space be of common benefit to all. The Conference is of the view that for this purpose an international conference should be convened at any appropriate time.

The Conference considers that the declaration by African States regarding the denuclearization of Africa, the aspirations of the Latin American countries to denuclearize their continent and the various proposals pertaining to the denuclearization of areas in Europe and Asia are steps in the right direction because they assist in consolidating international peace and security and lessening international tensions.

The Conference recommends the establishment of denuclearized zones covering these and other areas and the oceans of the world, particularly those which have been hitherto free from nuclear weapons, in accordance with

## VIII. MILITARY PACTS, FOREIGN TROOPS AND BASES

THE Conference reiterates its conviction that the existence of military blocs, Great Power alliances and pacts arising therefrom has accentuated the cold war and heightened international tensions. The Non-Aligned Countries are therefore opposed to taking part in such pacts and alliances.

The Conference considers the maintenance or future establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other countries against the expressed will of those countries; as a gross violation of the sovereignty of States, and as a threat to freedom and international peace. It furthermore considers as particularly indefensible the existence or future establishment of bases in dependent territories which could be used for the maintenance of colonialism or for other purposes.

Noting with concern that foreign military bases are in practice a means of bringing pressure on nations and retarding their emancipation and development, based on their own ideological, political, economic and cultural ideas, the Conference declares its full support to the countries which are seeking to secure the evacuation of foreign bases on their territory and

## IX. THE UNITED NATIONS: ITS ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENT OF ITS CHARTER

THE participating countries

declare:

The United Nations Organisation was established to promote international peace and security, to develop international understanding and co-operation, to safeguard human rights and fundamental freedom and to achieve all the purposes of the Charter. In order to be an effective instrument, the United Nations Organisation must be open to all the States of the world. It is particularly necessary that countries still under colonial domination should attain independence without delay and take their rightful place in the community of nations.

It is essential for the effective functioning of the United Nations that all nations should observe its fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence, co-operation, renunciation of the threat or the use of force, freedom and equality without discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion. The influence and effective-

ness of the United Nations also depends upon equitable representation of different geographical regions in the various organs of the United Nations and in the service of the United Nations.

The Conference notes with satisfaction that with Resolution 1991 (XVIII), the General Assembly has taken the initial positive step towards transformation of the structure of the United Nations in keeping with its increased membership and the necessity to ensure a broader participation of States in the work of its Organs. It appeals to all Members of the United Nations to rectify as speedily as possible the amendments to the Charter adopted at the XVIIIth Session of the General Assembly.

The Conference recognises the paramount importance of the United Nations and the necessity of enabling it to carry out the functions entrusted to it to preserve international co-operation among States.

The Conference therefore urges the participating countries to take, at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations, all the necessary steps for the holding of such a conference and of any other special conference for the conclusion of special agreements on certain measures of disarmament.

The Conference urges all nations to join in the co-operative development of the peaceful use of atomic energy for the benefit of all mankind; and in particular, to study the development of atomic power and other technical aspects in which international co-operation might be most effectively accomplished through the free flow of such scientific information.

calls upon all States maintaining troops and bases in other countries to remove them forthwith.

The Conference considers that the maintenance at Guantanamo (Cuba) of a military base of the United States of America, in defiance of the will of the Government and people of Cuba and in defiance of the provisions embodied in the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference, constitutes a violation of Cuba's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Noting that the Cuban Government expresses its readiness to settle its dispute over the base of Guantanamo with the United States in the normal way, the Conference urges the United States Government to negotiate the evacuation of this base with the Cuban Government.

The Conference condemns the expressed intention of imperialist powers to establish bases in the Indian Ocean, as a calculated attempt to intimidate the emerging countries of Africa and Asia and an unwarranted extension of the policy of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

The Conference also recommends the elimination of the foreign bases in Cyprus and the withdrawal of foreign troops from this country.

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Aligned Countries should consult one another at the Foreign Minister or Head of Delegation level at each session of the United Nations.)

The Conference stresses the need to adopt the Charter to the dynamic changes and evolution of international conditions.

The Conference expresses the hope that the Heads of State or Government of the States Members of the United Nations will attend the regular Session of the General Assembly on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Organization.

Recalling the recommen-

## X. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION

THE Heads of States or Government participating in this Conference,

Convinced that peace must rest on a sound and solid economic foundation,

that the persistence of poverty poses a threat to world peace and prosperity,

that economic emancipation is an essential element in the struggle for the elimination of political domination,

that respect for the right of peoples and nations to control and dispose freely of their national wealth and resources is vital for their economic development;

Conscious that participating States have a special responsibility to do their utmost to break through the barrier of underdevelopment;

Believing that economic development is an obligation of the whole international community,

that it is the duty of all countries to contribute to the rapid evolution of a new and just economic order under which all nations can live without fear or want or despair and rise to their full stature in the Family of Nations.

that the structure of world economy and the existing international institutions of international trade and development have failed either to reduce the disparity in the per capita income of the peoples in developing and developed countries or to promote international action to rectify serious and growing imbalances between developed and developing countries;

Emphasizing the imperative need to amplify and intensify international co-operation based on equality, and consistent with the needs of accelerated economic development;

Noting that as a result of the proposals adopted at Belgrade in 1961 and elaborated in Cairo in 1962, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development met in Geneva in 1964;

Considering that while the Geneva Conference marks the first step in the evolution of a new international economic policy for development and offers a sound basis for progress in the future, the results achieved were neither adequate for, nor commensurate with, the essential requirements of developing countries;

Support the Joint Declaration of the "Seventy-Seven" developing countries made at the conclusion of that Conference, and PLEDGE the co-operation of the participating States to the strengthening of their solidarity;

Urge upon all States to implement on an urgent basis the recommendations contained in the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and in particular to co-operate in bringing into existence as early as possible the new international institutions proposed therein, so that the problems of trade and economic development may be more effectively and speedily resolved;

Consider that democratic procedures, which afford no position of privilege, are essential in the economic as in the political sphere;

that a new international division of labour is needed to hasten the industrialisation of developing countries and the

modernisation of their agriculture, so as to enable them to strengthen their domestic economies and diversify their export trade,

that discriminatory measures of any kind taken against developing countries on the grounds of different socio-economic systems are contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter and constitute a threat to the free flow of trade and to peace and should be eliminated;

Affirm that the practice of the inhuman policy of apartheid or racial discrimination in any part of the world should be eliminated by every possible means, including economic sanctions;

Recommend that the target of economic growth set for the development Decade by the United Nations should be revised upwards,

that the amount of capital transferred to developing countries and the terms and conditions governing the transfer should be extended and improved without political commitments, so as to reinforce the efforts of these countries to build self-reliant economies,

that a programme of action should be developed to increase the income in foreign exchange of developing countries and, in particular, to provide access for primary products from developing countries to the markets of industrialised countries, on an equitable basis and for man-

prospersity of mankind.

Convinced that progress towards disarmament increases the resources available for economic development,

Support proposals for the diversion of resources now employed on armaments to the development of underdeveloped parts of the world and to the promotion of the

equitable basis and for man-

prospersity of mankind.

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Convinced that progress towards disarmament increases the resources available for economic development,

Support proposals for the diversion of resources now employed on armaments to the development of underdeveloped parts of the world and to the promotion of the

factured goods from developing countries on a preferential basis,

that the establishment of a Specialised Agency for industrial development should be expedited,

that members of regional economic groupings should do their utmost to ensure that economic intergration helps to promote the increase of imports from the developing countries either individually or collectively,

that the recommendation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries to adopt an International Convention to ensure the right of landlocked countries to free transit and access to the sea be implemented by the United Nations early next year, and that the principles of economic co-operation adopted by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in relation to the transit trade of landlocked countries be given consideration;

Call upon participating countries to concert measures to bring about closer economic relations among the developing countries on a basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual assistance bearing in mind the obligations of all developing countries to accord favourable consideration to the expansion of their reciprocal trade, to unite against all forms of economic exploitation and to strengthen mutual consultation;

Call upon the members of the "Seventy-Seven" developing countries, who worked closely together at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development of 1964 in Geneva, to consult together during the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in order to consolidate their efforts and harmonize their policies in time for the next Conference on Trade and Development in 1966;

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# NEGRO-BAITING IN U.S.A. EXPOSED

Earlier in the week, the office of "The Spark" received an envelope from the United States Information Agency. The postmark on it is Accra.

It differed in no way from similar documents which regularly reach this office from the U.S. Information Agency. But the contents of this envelope were unique. There were six copies of an illustrated brochure and one illustrated booklet all dealing with the plight of the Afro-Americans in the U.S.A. We reproduce below photostat copies of the envelope, the cover and five pages of the illustrated brochure. The literature in the centre piece reads in full:—

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



Mr. Kofi Batsa  
P.O. Box M.24,  
Accra

Writer William Bradford  
Hew, New York Herald  
Tribune, June 30

Many policemen subordinated to municipal or state authorities are members of the Ku-Klux-Klan. To join the Ku-Klux-Klan, one must swear to his willingness to "immerse his hands in Negro blood". He must swear loyalty to his fellows.

Malcom X, on May 13, 1964

The struggle of Negroes for civil rights in America would have to be substituted by the struggle for human rights; then it would be possible to present the matter to the U.N.O. Twenty-two million Negroes of African origin in the U.S.A. are spending their lives, to all intents and purposes, in jail. Oppression in French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies and in South Africa exists only with the assistance of the U.S.A., as the main imperialist country. American democracy is in the hands of racists, whose goal is oppressing the coloured population. I am calling all African countries to vigilance against leading American visitors.

Kwame Nkrumah  
... Out of the 230 million

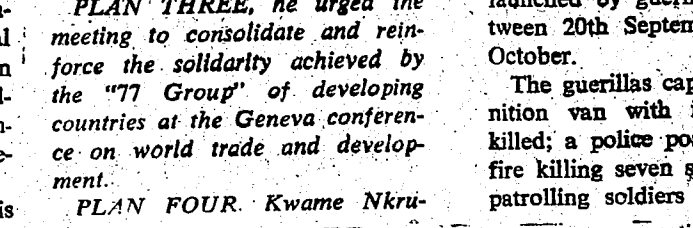
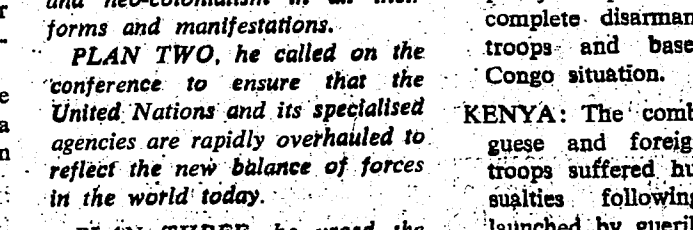
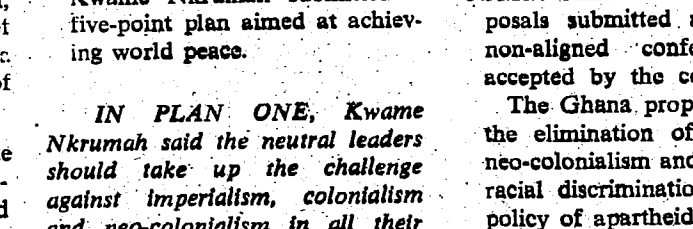
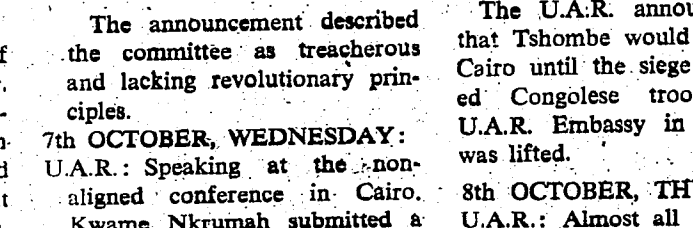
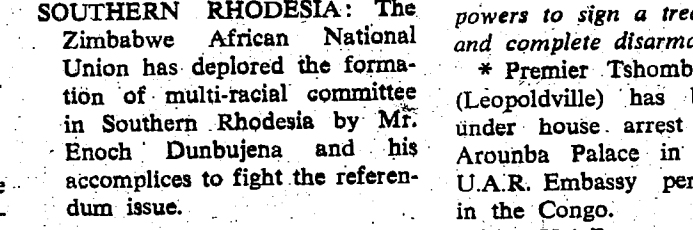
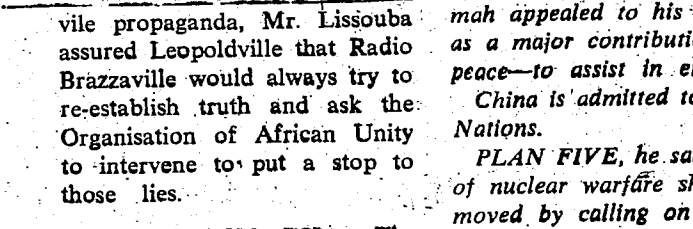
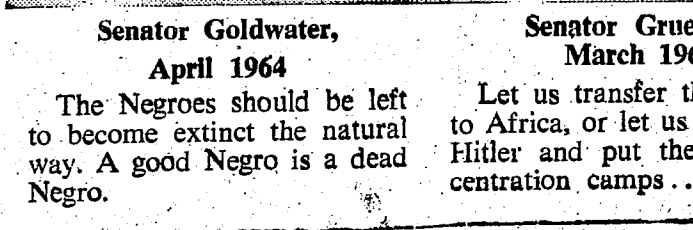
inhabitants of the African continent, only 3 per cent consist of people other than African origin. In no other continent would it be possible for such a small percentage of the population to create such hardship and troubles for the majority, as is the case in Africa. The sooner the colonial powers realize the end of their colonial rule in Africa, the better for themselves and for the whole world.

A Southern U.S. Senator,  
In a Television Speech  
(according to U.S. agencies,  
January 10, 1964)

Using police dogs against demonstrating Negroes is more humane than beating them with nightsticks; dogs only bite and tear, without inflicting such serious injury.

Political Affairs, Nov. 1963

The Fair Grounds at Jackson, Mississippi, have become a concentration camp. Similar camps now exist at Gagsden, Alabama, Danville, Virginia, Albany, Georgia; and Cambridge, Maryland. Between May 1 and July 4—Independence Day—almost 10,000 Negroes were arrested, and over 2,000 had to be admitted to hospitals with injuries.



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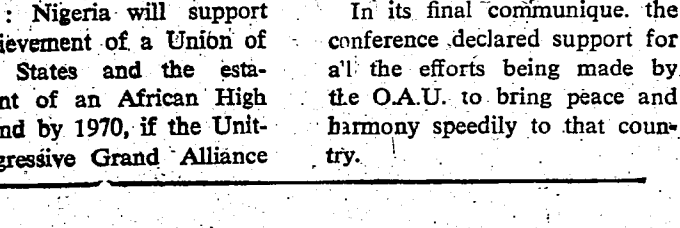
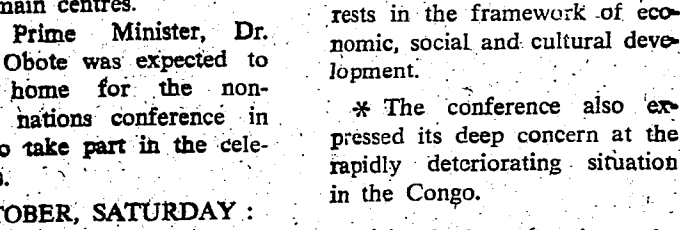
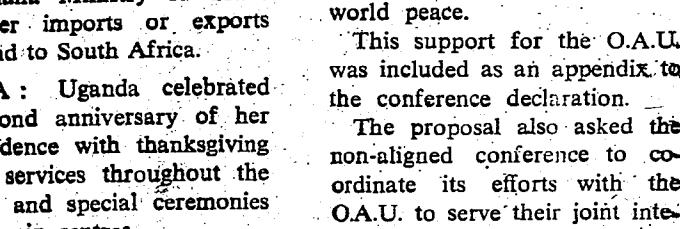
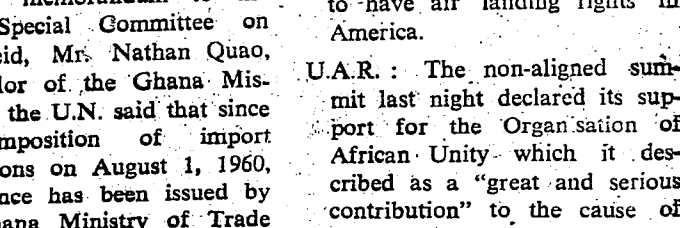
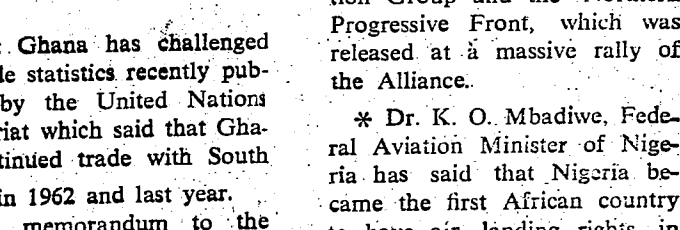
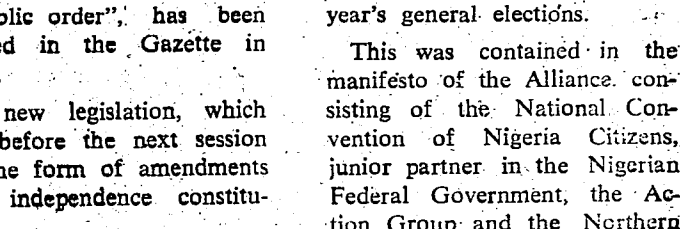
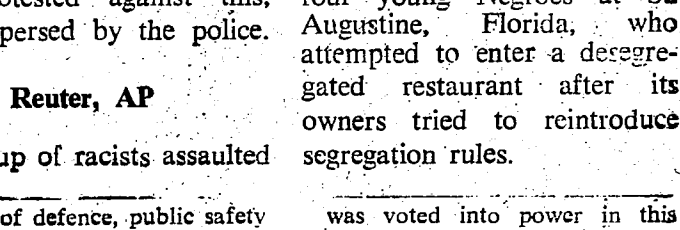
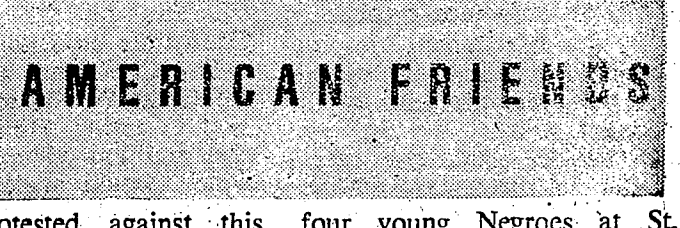
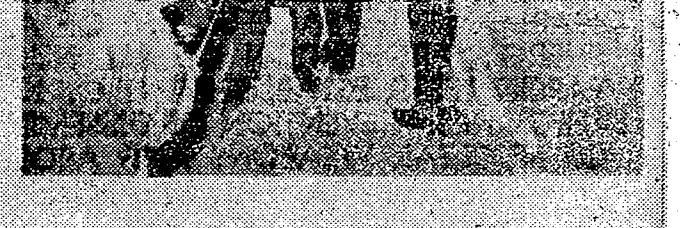
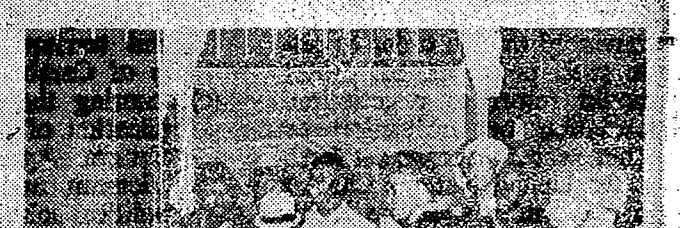
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## AFRICAN DIARY

5th OCTOBER, MONDAY:  
**GHANA:** Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana flew by air today for Cairo to attend the second summit conference of non-aligned nations.  
Thousands of people including President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and Ghanaian students were at Cairo airport to give him a hero's welcome.  
**ALGERIA:** Speaking at a dinner given in Peking in honour of a visiting Algerian party and government delegation to the People's Republic of China, Premier Chou En-Lai, praised Algeria for its firmness in opposing imperialism, its support for African liberation movements and its efforts to strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity.  
**MOROCCO:** Morocco's major labour federation, Union Marocaine du Travail, has called for a 48-hour strike of about 8,000 petroleum workers to support demands for a 30 per cent wage increase.  
The union also demanded the creation of a state agency, a "national Petroleum Office" to replace foreign petroleum pro-

duction, refining and distribution companies.  
6th OCTOBER, TUESDAY:  
**U.A.R.:** The summit conference of non-aligned states was opened today.  
Under the chairmanship of the President of Lebanon, Mr. Charles Helou, the first working session opened early with speeches from President Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia, President Josip Bronz Tito of Yugoslavia, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia and Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos.  
\* The African Heads of State attending the non-aligned conference in Cairo have decided to refuse the entry of Premier Moise Tshombe of Congo (Leopoldville) at the conference.  
Early reports said, Tshombe was given military escort to a V.I.P. lounge and later driven to El Aroumba Palace.  
**CONGO (Brazzaville):** The Congolese Premier, Mr. Pascal Lissouba has denied allegation broadcast over Radio Leopoldville that two people from Congo (Leopoldville) have been executed in Congo (Brazzaville).  
After protesting against this vile propaganda, Mr. Lissouba assured Leopoldville that Radio Brazzaville would always try to re-establish truth and ask the Organisation of African Unity to intervene to put a stop to those lies.  
**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The Zimbabwe African National Union has deposed the formation of multi-racial committee in Southern Rhodesia by Mr. Enoch Dumbujena and his accomplices to fight the referendum issue.  
The announcement described the committee as treacherous and lacking revolutionary principles.  
7th OCTOBER, WEDNESDAY:  
**U.A.R.:** Speaking at the non-aligned conference in Cairo, Kwame Nkrumah submitted a five-point plan aimed at achieving world peace.  
**IN PLAN ONE,** Kwame Nkrumah said the neutral leaders should take up the challenge against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations.  
**PLAN TWO,** he called on the conference to ensure that the United Nations and its specialised agencies are rapidly overhauled to reflect the new balance of forces in the world today.  
**PLAN THREE,** he urged the meeting to consolidate and reinforce the solidarity achieved by the "77 Group" of developing countries at the Geneva conference on world trade and development.  
**PLAN FOUR,** Kwame Nkrumah appealed to his colleagues—as a major contribution to world peace—to assist in ensuring that China is admitted to the United Nations.  
**PLAN FIVE,** he said the threat of nuclear warfare should be removed by calling on the nuclear powers to sign a treaty for total and complete disarmament.  
\* Premier Tshombe of Congo (Leopoldville) has been placed under house arrest in the El Aroumba Palace in ransom for U.A.R. Embassy personnel held in the Congo.  
The U.A.R. announced earlier that Tshombe would not leave Cairo until the siege by 35 armed Congolese troops on the U.A.R. Embassy in Leopoldville was lifted.  
8th OCTOBER, THURSDAY:  
**U.A.R.:** Almost all Ghana's proposals submitted at the Cairo non-aligned conference were accepted by the conference.  
The Ghana proposals covered the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid, general and complete disarmament, foreign troops and bases, and the Congo situation.  
**KENYA:** The combined Portuguese and foreign mercenary troops suffered humiliating casualties following operation launched by guerrilla forces between 20th September and 3rd October.  
The guerrillas captured ammunition van with its occupants killed; a police post was set on fire killing seven soldiers; three patrolling soldiers and a col-

laborator were killed; two military barracks were burnt down resulting in the death of three sentries, and a van carrying arms, ammunition and other valuable goods was captured and its five mercenaries and four Portuguese soldiers killed.  
**MALI:** A 10-day conference of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa opened in Bamako today with representatives from ten West African states including Ghana.  
The conference will discuss co-ordination of industrial development of West Africa.  
**SOUTH AFRICA:** The International Football Federation meeting in Tokyo has suspended South Africa from its membership.  
The proposal was put forward by U.A.R. and supported by Ghana and Ethiopia.  
Speaking at the meeting, Ghana's Sport Director, Ohene Djan told the meeting that coloured and white players could not meet on the same ground in South Africa.  
He declared that the rules of FIFA, which state that there should be no discrimination and that sports must be upheld.  
**CONGO (Leopoldville):** A Swedish mercenary co-pilot, Sven Hedhind, was killed by Congolese guerrillas in Lodje, Central Congo, while he was resting in an aeroplane.  
9th OCTOBER, FRIDAY:  
**MALAWI:** A new legislation giving Premier Dr. Kamuzu Banda, sweeping powers to detain anyone for "whom such detention is reasonably required in the

interest of defence, public safety and public order", has been published in the Gazette in Zambia.  
The new legislation, which comes before the next session takes the form of amendments to the independence constitution.  
**GHANA:** Ghana has challenged the trade statistics recently published by the United Nations Secretariat which said that Ghana continued trade with South Africa in 1962 and last year.  
In a memorandum to the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, Mr. Nathan Quao, counsellor of the Ghana Mission, at the U.N. said that since the imposition of import restrictions on August 1, 1960, no licence has been issued by the Ghana Ministry of Trade to cover imports or exports from and to South Africa.  
**UGANDA:** Uganda celebrated the second anniversary of her independence with thanksgiving church services throughout the country and special ceremonies in the main centres.  
The Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote was expected to return home for the non-aligned nations conference in Cairo to take part in the celebrations.  
10th OCTOBER, SATURDAY:  
**NIGERIA:** Nigeria will support the achievement of a Union of African States and the establishment of an African High Command by 1970, if the United Progressive Grand Alliance was voted into power in this year's general elections.  
This was contained in the manifesto of the Alliance consisting of the National Convention of Nigeria Citizens, junior partner in the Nigerian Federal Government, the Action Group and the Northern Progressive Front, which was released at a massive rally of the Alliance.  
\* Dr. K. O. Mbadibe, Federal Aviation Minister of Nigeria has said that Nigeria became the first African country to have air landing rights in America.  
**U.A.R.:** The non-aligned summit last night declared its support for the Organisation of African Unity which it described as a "great and serious contribution" to the cause of world peace.  
This support for the O.A.U. was included as an appendix to the conference declaration.  
The proposal also asked the non-aligned conference to co-ordinate its efforts with the O.A.U. to serve their joint interests in the framework of economic, social and cultural development.  
\* The conference also expressed its deep concern at the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Congo.  
In its final communique, the conference declared support for all the efforts being made by the O.A.U. to bring peace and harmony speedily to that country.