

# THE SPARK

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## The Nigerian Crisis

### EDITORIAL

### POSITIVE ACTION

THE 15th anniversary of Positive Action celebrates a historic date in the annals of the people of Ghana. The declaration of Positive Action was a qualitatively new step which led to the winning of our independence. It was a victory which had worldwide repercussion and was hailed by anti-imperialist circles throughout the world.

It was a victory for the courage, determination, skill and sacrifice of our people which defeated one of the oldest and most skilful imperialist powers in the world.

But what Positive Action has taught us transcends the struggle for national independence. Today our Party—the Convention People's Party—has changed from the Party of national independence to the Party of National reconstruction and socialism. It is now the Party of those who, on the foundation of political independence want to build a new economic and social order for the benefit of the whole people.

Positive Action is now the basis of our political action. In every society, more so in a colonial and newly independent society, there is both positive and negative action. While positive action is progressive and forward impelling, negative action is reactionary and backward looking.

Consciencism points out that these forces can be measured through a "statistical analysis of such facts as production, distribution, income etc." The balance existing at anytime between these two sets of forces defines the character of the society under consideration. It is this basic conflict of opposites which is the main motive force in society.

Philosophical Consciencism posits that "there is a fundamental law of the evolution of matter to higher forms. This evolution is dialectical. And it is also the fundamental law of society. It is out of tension that being is born. Becoming is a tension, and being is the child of that tension of opposed forces and tendencies".

When the sum total of positive action exceeds negative action, a colonial territory transforms into an independent sovereign state. But after political independence it is also necessary to push on to national reconstruction through positive action of the people. Hence the need at all times to maximise positive action.

Positive action can be taken on a continental level. The thirteenth analytical formula in Philosophical Consciencism explains that the African continent as a whole can be regarded as equal to a single zone of optimum development, capable of bringing about complete de-colonisation and self-induced development at a fast tempo but the process must be through the increase of positive action and decrease of negative action. This means that opposition to neo-colonialism is never really effective unless it is set within an optimum framework of development, capable of becoming an optimum centre of resistance.

Kwame Nkrumah stresses that to be able to carry out the resistance against neo-colonialism, "positive action requires to be armed with an ideology, an ideology which, vitalising it and operating through a mass party shall equip it with a regenerative concept of the world and life; forge for it a strong continuing link with our past and offer to it an assured bond with our future." The ideology of positive action is socialism. And in a liberated colonial territory socialism must set out consciously to

FROM the dissolution of Nigeria's Federal Parliament on 9th December last year to the re-appointment of Balewa as Prime Minister on the 4th of January this year, Nigeria was rocked by a grave crisis which began as a political conflict but grew into a constitutional deadlock. Although a violent explosion seems to have been averted, the root causes of the crisis remain unresolved. Deep political schisms have been temporarily glossed over with the setting up of an administration that looks only superficially national.

The current politics of Nigeria is the story of a people struggling desperately to break out of the crippling system of neo-colonialism. The leadership offered the Nigerian people in this crucial struggle has not always been scientific and down to earth. The turn of events in the past few weeks is a further evidence of this.

The struggle against neo-colonialism in Nigeria is not of interest only to the Nigerian people. It is full of meaning for all Africa, because a neo-colonialist Nigeria is a kink in the machinery of imperialism on the African continent.

### ALL-IN WRESTLING

The clash of personalities, the confrontation between North and South, religious and tribal frictions, the agitation for ethnic self-determination, political careerism—these are all aspects of this all-in wrestling we have come to know as Nigerian politics. But none of these is the root cause of the political cleavage. Indeed some are merely the offshoot of the impasse.

The heart of the Nigerian problem is neo-colonialism.

On the eve of political independence in 1960, British imperialism forced an unprogressive constitution on Nigeria. Nigerian political leaders, themselves divided by inter-party squabbles, were blackmailed with threats of delaying independence and of breaking up the country into accepting the present constitution. And the constitution contains all the gadgets for keeping the progressive forces of Nigeria in chains.

In retrospect, one could ask if the Nigerian leaders, particularly the more radical ones, were wise in accepting this constitution. It must not be forgotten that these leaders were in a weak political situation at the time. Having put all their eggs in the basket of constitutionalism (some even aided the destruction of radical youths organisations by the British administration in Nigeria) these leaders (and the country) are now paying the price of negotiated independence.

The constitution of independence, handed down by British imperialism, guarantees the dominance of the reactionary feudalists of the North in two ways. It gave Nigeria a federal system which

by  
Julius Sago

in turn gave the North a larger political representation than all other regions put together.

In addition, it left the Emirate system in the North intact. In fact, it reinforced that system by creating conditions that have helped the political unification of the erstwhile independent emirates. This emirate (or Native Administration) system gives unqualified power to the fulani ruling houses in the North. And the absolutism of the fulani ruling houses in the North reflects in Nigerian politics in the dominance of the forces of reaction. This has come to pass because the North has more seats in the federal parliament than all other regions put together (167 as against a combined 145 for the Federal Territory of Lagos, the Western Region, the Mid-West Region and the Eastern Region). The North enjoys a parliamentary majority of 22 over the rest of the federation taken together.

Once the constitution of independence had given effective political power to the reactionary feudalists of the North (led by the British knight Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto) all that remained was for imperialism to operate craftily behind this solid constitutional cover. British, Canadian and West German experts train the Nigerian army, navy and air force which are commanded by British Service Chiefs. The criminal investigation, security and political intelligence divisions of the Nigerian Police are headed by British officers. British, American and World Bank advisers direct Nigeria's finances and economic development. Secret military "arrangements" have been concluded between the Nigeria and U.K. Governments. Private foreign investments see Nigeria as an Eldorado.

With governmental control firmly in the hands of pro-imperialist reactionary

forces, it has become necessary to cope with the popular support enjoyed by the radical (some socialist most nationalist) politicians. These radical, progressive forces have been led by two personalities—Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo. A carrot and whip policy was formulated for this. Through the offer of political appointments, many lieutenants of Zik and Awo (as the two prominent political leaders are affectionately named) have been turned into political opportunists and careerists. These vacillating elements were in turn used to frame Awolowo and to incapacitate Azikiwe. When the Nigerian Parliament was dissolved on December 9 last year, neo-colonialism was firmly in the saddle though the popular forces were strongly opposed to it. A showdown could be postponed; it could not be avoided.

Dr. Okpara, the Premier of Eastern Nigeria and leader of NCNC, and Alhadiji Adenigbo, the stand-in head of the Action Group, led the popular forces in the recent elections against the Northern reactionaries who had managed to win some southern allies over to what has been called the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA). The two radical parties—NCNC and Action Group—united their efforts under the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA). The political weapons of this Alliance were the constitutional position of Azikiwe as Head of State and the popular appeal of Awolowo.

### IRREGULAR ELECTION

Fully aware of their slim support among the people, the reactionary forces grouped in the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) fell back on rigging the elections. They were well placed for this because they had control of the state apparatus. A veteran British Labour Party parliamentarian, Ferner Brockway writes:

"There would seem to be no doubt that the election was grossly and even barbarously unfair. While the contest was proceeding, the 'Guardian' reported a terrorism in the West which was almost unashamedly fascist... Thousands of voters were imprisoned: when the prisons were filled, they were placed under 'suspension sentence', a threat usually enough to break his resistance. It was alleged that ballot papers were smuggled to heads of compounds and that they were paid a shilling for each Government vote

delivered. Students were locked in their University building. After this it seems almost unnecessary to add that the leader of the Progressive Alliance was not allowed to address public meetings.

In the North, the terror appears to have been still more brutal. It is reported that four of the Progressive Alliance candidates and several dozen of its organisers were killed. Those who wished to nominate candidates were kidnapped so that in 65 constituencies, the candidates of the reactionary National Alliance were returned unopposed.

Five thousand members of the Progressive Alliance, including thirty candidates, were arrested and imprisoned... In these circumstances the election became an outrageous farce."

### CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

In the whole of the Eastern Region and in parts of the Mid-West and Western Regions and in Lagos, the election boycott called by the Progressive Alliance was effective. It was also effective in a few areas in the North where the Progressive Alliance is particularly strong especially in the Middle Belt and in parts of Kano emirate.

In these circumstances, President Azikiwe let it be known that he would rather resign his office than call on anybody to form a new government on the basis of the bogus election results.

The political conflict had matured into a constitutional crisis.

For five days the deadlock continued. Merely by refusing to exercise his powers under Section 87 (2) of the Nigerian Constitution, President Azikiwe could keep the forces of reaction at bay and compel political negotiations that could impede, if not halt, the avalanche of political reaction. His position was constitutionally impregnable. Only Parliament could remove him from office with a two-thirds majority vote. There was no Parliament. And under Section 67 of the Constitution, the President alone must appoint the time and place for the first meeting of Parliament after a federal election. Again, the physical and forcible removal of Azikiwe from the Presidency would most certainly have led to a violent political explosion.

At this juncture, which might have been seen by historians as the turning point in the political history of Nigeria, President Azikiwe threw in his hand. On the fifth day of the constitutional crisis climaxing three weeks of sharp political conflict, Dr. Azikiwe appointed Balewa, federal spokesman of the reactionary National Alliance, Prime Minister and invited him to form a new federal government.

The big question now is: Why did Azikiwe throw in his hand? Perhaps an answer to this question might reveal

the inner-workings of neo-colonialism.

Several theories have been put forward. The first is that Dr. Azikiwe had been given assurances of security for his multifarious business interests. This is an uncharitable view of a man who has given the best part of his life in the service of Nigeria.

A second view is that Dr. Azikiwe was given assurances about the release of Chief Awolowo. This should not have weighed so much on Zik because a violent political eruption, which would have come if he stuck to his guns, would have secured Awolowo's release from prison.

In any case, it is an open secret that even British imperialism is anxious to get Awolowo out of jail. Not because they share his political stand. But rather because they see Awolowo's plight as constituting a political time bomb which it would be in the interest of imperialism to defuse.

The formula of the imperialists for this operation is to release Awolowo from jail, but to make sure that he is rendered politically impotent. Now that the federal government is back in the hands of its allies, imperialism would like to install a duly elected Akintola government, even if elections are again rigged, in Western Nigeria before the release of Awolowo. The western elections are due in May. And Awolowo freed in June or thereabout would have to be in the political wilderness for nearly five years before he could constitute a serious threat at the polls to the present regime.

### GROSS MIS-CALCULATION

The third theory is that Zik threw in his hand after driving a hard bargain with the reactionary forces. It is claimed that by delaying the invitation to Balewa to form a new government, Dr. Azikiwe wrested a national coalition government, an early review of the constitution and a revision of the electoral machinery.

If this is so, Dr. Azikiwe has grossly miscalculated. Judging from his past political experience, it is difficult to see how President Azikiwe could have fallen for such a hollow bargain. In his broadcast, announcing agreement with Balewa, Dr. Azikiwe spoke of "a national government". In his broadcast that followed close on the President's, Balewa said he would form a "broadly based government, God helping me".

The same indefiniteness surrounds the other condition of an early revision of the constitution. Balewa seems to agree to a revision, but asserts that it must be "according to law".

Now the revision of the Nigerian Constitution "according to law", involves a two-thirds majority in Parliament. And since the results of the bogus elections have

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grapple with certain basic issues if independence is not to be alienated from the people!

The 15th anniversary of Positive Action can mark a new upsurge in the Party if we forge ahead with our mastery of the ideas and philosophy of our revolution and utilise our gains in the service of the people's struggle for socialism.

Long Live Positive Action!



## STUDIES IN CONSCIENCISM (4)

## The Nkrumaist World Out-Look: IV

We continue the publication of Mr. Habib Niang's expositions on Philosophical Consciencism. It deals with the concepts of space-milieu, categorial space-milieu and categorial space, and their relationship with the outlook of the blackman living outside Africa.

by  
Habib Niang

THOUGHT without practice is empty. That is why it is not enough merely to state that in the national liberation movement the inside—the African consciencism—was the determining factor, and that the outside was by itself of no consequence. We know very well how, in 1949, Kwame Nkrumah put his thought into practice by declaring positive action. Let us now follow up by discussing concrete examples from the history of the African Revolution in order to show the validity of this idea; the inside is the ultimately determining factor.

British imperialism, the first imperialism in the modern world, was the first to recognise the inevitability of the liberation of the African Continent when it released Kwame Nkrumah from prison on February 12th, 1951, to form the first government of the African Revolution. Herein lies the significance of the release of Kwame Nkrumah.

This revolutionary thought of Nkrumah—that the African consciencism was the determining factor—was then confirmed by the practice of the original milieu-media of the African Revolution. A milieu-media is a horizontal portion of a milieu; and here the milieu is the African consciencism which, from a stage of non-self-consciousness to that which is self-conscious, became the African Revolution. Here then the original milieu-media is that portion of the African Revolution whose significance lies in the very fact that it is the first outside which derived from that categorial conversion which gave birth to the African Revolution. This original milieu-media is then the first manifestation of that categorial conversion which gave birth to the African Revolution. Herein lies the significance of the February, 1951. Revolution which gave birth to Ghana.

## CATEGORIAL SPACE MICRO-MILIEU.

After the February, 1951 Revolution it was evident for some African revolutionaries, whom we shall from now on refer to as categorial space micro-milieu, that it was possible to overcome imperialism; no matter its strength, by relying on the fundamental factor, namely, the inside of the milieu, the consciencism of the people. By micro-milieu we mean a horizontal portion of a milieu-media. A micro-milieu can therefore take on the form of an individual. It is when the individual is, echoing the consciencism of his micro-milieu, that is to say, a section of the nation, that he is called a categorial space micro-milieu. Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser was therefore a categorial space micro-milieu when he was the symbol of the consciencism of the Egyptian Army. He also became a categorial space milieu-media when he became the symbol of the consciencism of the Arabo-Muslim world as milieu-media because it never in fact formed a milieu; it has always been a portion of a milieu.

We witnessed in the year 1952, not only the 23rd July Revolution led by President Nasser, but also the beginning of armed revolution and guerilla warfare in Kenya, the historic move made by the Kikuyu of Kenya whose symbol was Jomo Kenyatta. Kenyatta was then a categorial space micro-milieu. Long before his release from prison in 1961 he was already a categorial space milieu-media, because it was the symbol of the African Revolution in East and Central Africa. Those two countries of Egypt and Kenya succeeded in their fight against imperialism because they relied on the inside that is on the consciencism of their people.

Another significant event at that stage of the African Revolution was the historic day of November 1st, 1954, when

Brother Ben Bella and some hundreds of his Algerian Brothers decided to launch an armed revolution and guerilla warfare to free their country. If the milieu-media of the so-called Mau Mau movement was in fact British imperialism, in East and Central Africa, the milieu-media of the Algerian move was French Imperialism in North-West and Central Africa. The independence of Tunisia in 1955, that of Morocco in 1956, that of Guinea in 1958 and of Mali in 1960, followed in the same year by the independence of all French colonies in Africa with the only exceptions of Algeria and Djibouti in East Africa, were, of course, the exteriorisation of the consciencism of those micro-milieus but they were also the outside of that milieu-media whose inside was the Algerian Revolution. At that time, the original milieu-media had become the symbol of the milieu that is the African Revolution.

The exteriorisation of this fact was indeed the All-African People's Conference which took place in December 1958 in Accra, the very birth place of the African consciencism. The presence of that of the African Revolution in that historic conference, Patrice Lumumba, helped to speed up the revolution in the Congo. The year 1960 earned the title "the year of Africa" not only because many African countries had proclaimed their independence but also the very heart of Africa, Congo, entered this kingdom of independence. This year was again significant because it was the very year when neo-colonialism declared a war on the true liberation and complete unity of Africa.

## NEGATIVE ACTION

Neo-colonialism is negative action playing possum. That is why those who could not visualise the correct answer to the question "What must be Done?" During the first stage of the African Revolution thought that independence was merely the possession of the traditional attributes of sovereignty: a flag, national anthem, ambassadors etc., not to mention a symbolic army. They were helping imperialism to set in again or to reinforce itself in another form,—a form which was more vicious and yet most deceptive, because usually invisible. It is in the struggle against neo-colonialism that the acknowledgement of the predominance of the inside of the country, (the consciencism of the people) over the mighty force of outside powers is even more paramount.

For the deceptive move of neo-colonialism to use a section of the inside of the country may lead even some freedom fighters to rely on the outside.

It is here that the idea of an optimum centre of resistance becomes ever more pressing. No single micro-milieu,

not even a milieu-media can resist effectively the moves of imperialism at the stage of neo-colonialism. Only the milieu, the optimum zone for self-induced resistance can overcome imperialism and neo-colonialism in their totality, and set the pace for self-induced development. This is the basis of the Nkrumaist concept of a Continental Union Government.

We must point out at the outset that this Nkrumaist con-

cept, which is in fact a shift of the idea that the inside is at all times the ultimately determining factor, is being approached in three different ways. The extreme materialists are proclaiming that if we want to go ahead with the revolution we should assemble in Accra, this year, only the revolutionaries for the formation of a revolutionary continental government to finish with imperialism once and for all. They have in fact turned upside down the line which says "No revolution without revolutionaries" into "Revolution with revolutionaries only". Indeed, when we come to the question, "Who are the revolutionaries, and who are not?", the answer is a bit more difficult.

Indeed extreme materialism and idealism are nothing but the two sides of the same coin. That is why the approach of the Fabians leads ultimately to the same result. For Fabianism, struggle is antithetical to all change. This idealist approach has already led the modern African Fabian to ask for the cessation of the strug-

gle of African Freedom Fighters in order to allow the formation of a continental government for Africa. They have even gone to the extent of practicing blackmail by suggesting that, if Accra, the birthplace of the African Revolution, continues to keep the fire of the Revolution burning, may not come to Accra this year.

If they do not come, they believe, this will be the failure of the realisation of the burning desire of the African Peoples to unite. If this happened they say, the freedom fighters who refused to give up the fight would then be the only group to be blamed. It is painful to note that in their move, these people are backed, and even sometimes instigated, by their counterparts in Ghana.

## OBJECTIVE LAWS

The idealist will never learn lesson out of history because for him history is not dictated by objective laws but rather by the whims and caprices of mighty and clever individuals. But now than ever before, the

modern African fabian is less clever and even more, less mighty. For in the history of human thought consciencism is a turning point, that is to say, from now onwards Africa, as far as thought is concerned is leading mankind. Africa is the lowest logical type within this changing world in which we are living today. In order to free herself Africa is duty-bound to release first of all, a loss of mass which will guide her and mankind as a whole in this critical stage. Secondly she is duty-bound to establish solidly the foundation of the envisaged new world. Such a loss of mass, as has already been stated elsewhere, is Philosophical Consciencism. That little book, in fact, both the bible and the Koran in this our era in the realm of modern languages. This may be another testimony that Africa is now leading mankind and that Kwame Nkrumah is the symbol of the consciencism of mankind; that is what has already been described elsewhere as categorial space. The foundation on which this new world is to be built is found

in the Union of African States acting through a continental Government. Indeed nothing can stop such a necessary step. But to say nothing can stop this forward march is not to be apologetic to blind determinism which will be either idealism or extreme materialism.

Of course a complete and sound strategy has to be worked out in order to achieve in the most positive and useful way this sacred mission, namely the formation of an African Continental Government. The only result of the recent move of the modern African fabian is to provoke on the part of the African Nkrumaist a new loss of mass which will be the scientific bases of a strategy towards the next summit conference in Accra this year.

## Africa's Past and Neo-Colonialism

OCTOBER 1964 will go down in African history as an important date not so much because anything spectacular occurred on our continent but simply because the Pope chose to make it so! But, the canonisation of the so-called Uganda Martyrs is not of interest only to Catholics but also to every serious student of the African scene.

According to the imperialist historians the crisis for Christians in Buganda (a Province in Uganda) came with the murder of Bishop Hannington, the first Anglican Bishop in Uganda, while he was travelling through Busoga (an adjoining territory to Buganda) on his way to Buganda. Sometime later Mwanga (Kabaka of Buganda) sentenced some of his subjects to death for their anti-state activities and dangerous association with the missionaries who were fanning up religious bigotry. The Catholics chose to call them martyrs—probably with some justification. It should be noted that there were others who were not Catholics and therefore did not qualify in Rome's list—even Rome "discriminates in death"!

What is important, however, is the fact that these people have been Rome's chief propaganda stunt. They have done all that one could think of to convince people in Buganda that those are their martyrs, they have included in all prayers outside Buganda, (to other Uganda communities) a statement to the effect that those are Uganda's martyrs and now the new bid is to impress their faithful in Africa that in Uganda, Africa had her first martyrs. Presumably, the American spy-missionary in the Congo will be added to some such list.

These Catholic Martyrs were Beatified in 1920 by Pope Benedict XV since when it is claimed the cause for their canonisation has continued. Before this could be considered, proof had to be offered of the Martyrs intercession in the form of miracles. In 1941, two Missionary Sisters, Sister Richildis Buck and Sister Mary Alyse Criblet were stricken with pneumonic plague, a deadly disease. The diagnosis was confirmed at Rubaga Hospital (a Catholic Headquarters Hospital) and treatment with drugs was begun. But within 3 days, during which prayers were said for them (so it is claimed "wonderfully" in Uganda, the two Sisters were found to be completely cured. One should bear in mind the means of communication at that time and the fact that no special appeal related to the martyrs was made throughout Uganda within those three days. Nonetheless a description of the incident states: "On the strength of their experience,

the doctors were of the opinion that nobody afflicted by primary pneumonic plague could possibly be cured in such a short time after treatment with so small an amount of medicine administered by mouth." The faithful had to believe. Later a miracle was claimed!

## THE TRUTH

The circumstances of the miracle were investigated by the Archiepiscopal Curia of Rubaga in 1962 and the results of these inquiries were sent to Rome, where they were studied first by experts of the Sacred College (a Roman Catholic College), which confirmed, the diagnosis, prognosis and cure of the two sisters. Then the question of official recognition of the miracles was taken up by the Preparatory Congregation in the Vatican last year. It was reported that when the Cardinals and Prelates cast their votes in favour of the Canonisation of the Martyrs' the Pope himself deferred his decision for further prayer.

Finally, he announced acceptance of the claims made on behalf of the Martyrs, and authorised their canonisation. These Martyrs are now known invariably as Buganda, Uganda or African Martyrs! One local imperialist paper in a leading article said, "The Canonisation of the Uganda Martyrs is a case for rejoicing by Catholics all over the world—but particularly in Africa. Throughout Africa there has been special celebration in Catholic Churches at the acceptance of the Martyrs'

cause which has made the name of Uganda known more widely than ever before." Well, that is understandable.

by  
Watibini-Manda

However, what concerns the student of the African scene is not so much what Rome says but rather the facts related to every phase of this case. If you are a Catholic and believe in the infallibility of the Pope then I am sorry if I hurt your feelings in this article but if you entertain a feeling similar to Gandhi's, viz that man is an imperfect being (in this case men) and that whatever therefore passes through an imperfect medium is subject to distortion then you will probably find my article if not acceptable at least thought provoking. It is our duty to acquire the knowledge and develop the analytical mind without which we would obviously stand disqualified and unable to rid ourselves of the extra-ordinary and not rarely successful imperialist manoeuvres which make our nation so pitiable and a target for attempted dominion of all kinds. We must therefore record events accurately so as to help our unaware brothers and the future generations so that they may not serve as a holocaust to comfortable philosophies calculated to rob us of our pride and dignity. The way the Western press handled the Congo episode clearly indicates what they are up to. But to go back to religious practice in Africa, I am in entire agreement with Dr. Marcus James who writing in "Voice of Africa" (July-August) edition said, "No aspect of African culture has been more misunderstood and misinterpreted than African religion".

PSYCHOLOGICAL  
ENSLAVEMENT

Many of us having been bred as we were in (and as if it were committed uncritically to) the Colonialist-climate that proclaimed the superiority of the white-God and manipu-

lated successfully our various cultural systems—distorted as they were by the vulgarities of money—economics—it is not surprising that to talk of a Cultural Renaissance appears bizarre, incomprehensible and to the so-called educated ones, illogical and even repressive!

This is, however, no excuse to leave things as they are—caught as we are in a new wave of uncompromising calculated efforts by the big-brothers to acquire our means of production and distribution of wealth and so perpetuate their colonial hold on us. For example, after the imperialists had opted to display force and their usual dubious standards of justice (based on the colour of people's skins) in the Congo a Uganda Anglican Bishop speaking in Toronto urged that Canada continue to send missionaries to Africa despite the Congo situation. "Africa had been in darkness while the West was enlightened by religion and education... now we can be likened to a small child beginning to walk—sometimes we stumble; our troubles in the Congo are like that", he concluded (Uganda Argus Nov. 1964). With the respect to his sincerity, it remains obvious that His Lordship has never understood the mechanics of imperialism and has no idea of Africa's glorious past. I should imagine him at a loss when people talk of reconstruction. However, it is difficult to indict him of misrepresenting Africa because the imperialists have only fed him with their own sort of calculated information. The history of Africa such as he learnt is centred on the White Explorers and the supposed benefits that accrued to Africa. As for European history he has been thought the history of the spread of Christianity and never the history of Europe's insatiable lust for wealth and political dominion of other people (i.e. imperialism)—as a result he has never had the opportunity to grasp what imperialism means! If he did, one can be sure that his ultra-seology would have consisted of different vocabulary.

## DARK-CONTINENT

Thanks to a number of holy wars which have been depicted in many spheres of African history, using accepted white tech-

niques, Africa is no longer the tranquil never-never land, the land of fairy tales etc., as the imperialists would have us accept. The rich history of the four pluvials (periods of floods) is being unfolded and the people of Africa (and hence the history of Africa) is being re-established—already in East Africa the period on which agreement has been reached goes back to 600,000 years.

A fantastic date.

Clearly the burden of explaining what the White God did with Africa's people from that date up to the time when the so-called whiteman came to give his guiding-hand lies with them. It is not true, to say, as the racist Rector of Linton, Herefordshire (U.K.), the Rev. Stephen Plifford, that "The blacks had Africa to themselves since the year one and did nothing with it". Let us examine in a way this dubious stand.

Now, agreed, (or if) man's creation was the act and therefore purpose of God, they (Africans) had the responsibility of seeking to understand that purpose—and that they did. This co-operation with God meant self-guidance of one's or community's thoughts and activities to the fulfilment of God's motive. This they did. But, even during the far off eras of pre-history the failures due to self promptings and personal whims were the order of the day; Today the same cannot be denied.

Then looking upon God as father of all men, surely, He stands in every relation to every man, woman and child on this earth. Indeed the colour of a man's skin was only a result of his creation and therefore can never be thought of as an act of condemnation. It therefore, also follows, that it can only be very absurd to suggest that God's love was not concerned, with every condition of the African's existence; with the house he lived in, with his health, joys, sorrows and deaths and with the opportunities for the development of his mental and spiritual equipment and requirements. In a similar way, it cannot be denied that the more they concentrated their commonsense—itsself being an attribute of God—to him, the closer they dwelt in communion with him. And their fellow men, and thence the smaller the margin error in their knowledge and interpretation of him, became. As always there were good men whose actions others emulated and obeyed instinctively. There were others to whom customary conscience was a burden to self-interests.

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# The Socialist Revolution in Africa (5)

THE previous article outlined the characteristics of a nation and showed how the development of nations takes place with the development of capitalism. We tried to demonstrate how the impact of Imperialism on the colonial countries where nations in the term of our definition did not exist, led to the formation of some characteristics of nationhood and the development of national consciousness.

One of the major contradictions which emerges during the General Crisis of Capitalism is the sharpening of that between the Imperialist rulers and the colonial peoples. Concretely this means that the peoples of the colonies begin to organise, agitate, struggle for their right to independence. As the struggle takes on a wider significance reaching out to the mass of the people, they become aware of their unity, their common past, their potential future as a nation. A new pride develops in culture, language, history, the people develop national consciousness. It is a powerful ideological force enabling them to struggle successfully against Imperialist countries which, in the material and repressive sense are infinitely stronger than they are.

There are however some dangers in thinking of the content of the struggle for independence merely as national consciousness and leaving it at that. It is important to analyse the specific real demands which go to make up the programme of a movement for national liberation. The demands are much more than the right to be 'Indian' or 'Kenyan' or 'Algerian', they are concrete demands which reflect the yearning of the people to build a richer, fuller more prosperous life, and they have come to understand that while they are still held down under colonial rule these demands are absolutely unattainable. For this reason we see that a national liberation movement, while posing general demands which reflect 'national consciousness' must also pose particular demands which satisfy the aspirations of different sections of the people, moving them into action on the basis of their immediate and long term requirements. A skilled and wise leadership of a national liberation movement having real contact with the mass of the people will know what slogans and forms of struggle best reflect their aspirations and they will know how to reconcile and unite diverse sections whose differences could be exploited by Imperialism.

## PROBLEMS OF TRADE

There is no doubt for example, that in colonial countries where there is a fairly developed trading section among the colonial peoples that the demands of this group are based usually on problems of trade. They make demands for freedom to import from countries other than the metropolitan country, they pose demands which will free them from dependence upon foreign monopolies in whose interests the Imperialists govern. Other sections will emphasise cultural demands especially the right to educational opportunities which are restricted to a small privileged elite. The farmers or peasants will naturally look to the national liberation movement to defend and advance the demand for higher prices for their crops, the wage workers will see in national liberation the possibility of better wages and conditions and opportunities to acquire new skills and more responsible jobs. The people as a whole will look to independence to usher in greater prosperity, better social services, and a fuller cultural life.

The struggle for freedom therefore is not an abstract demand but represents for different sections various specific, concrete demands which will improve their lot. The task is to mobilise the political energy and to unify them into a solid front of opposition and action.

This does not mean to say that people will only struggle for their own narrow interests, but in general they will first be stimulated to act in this way, the movement itself develops their awareness, educates them to see new possi-

bilities and changes their ideology.

If national consciousness is not understood in these concrete and specific ways it is a concept which can obscure the real basis of Imperialism. It can lead to an attempt to explain away Imperialism in crude terms of race, or as the conflict between two differing national movements, it can even emphasise religious differences as a reason for the ills that Imperialism brings.

*We continue today the series of articles on the Socialist Revolution in Africa. The aim of the whole series is to demonstrate the relationship between the Socialist Revolution in Africa and the general world-wide advance of mankind towards full emancipation. We aim to show that full freedom in Africa as anywhere else in the world can only be realised through getting rid of exploitation and by creating a new society based on the common ownership of the resources of the nation. Pan-Africanism itself is part of the socialist revolution; it is based on the irresistible demand of the peoples of Africa for a new, developing prosperous way of life which can be realised only through socialism. We have dealt with the nature of imperialism, its characteristic features and its different forms. We have shown how this system is in crisis and what possibilities this situation holds out for the strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist forces. The problems of national liberation and the relation of this to nationalism and the fight for socialism will now be discussed and we shall endeavour to show that the very concept of liberation and Pan-Africanism involves the whole question of the reconstruction of African society on the basis of socialism, which is an economic and social system with common basic features wherever it exists or is being built. A guide in the exploration of these essential ideas is Nkrumaism which brilliantly demonstrates the basic validity of scientific socialism everywhere and which creatively applies its basic principles to the particular and special problems of Africa.*

Similarly, vague and mystical concepts like 'negritude' which while reflecting objective experiences pose the solution in subjective terms are dangerous. Such a concept avoids an analysis of why some people need to escape from where they happen to be, or from the circumstances in which they find themselves, it separates them from other forces which are also opposed to, and struggling against, a common oppressor. It is true that the African personality has been crippled by Imperialism, but scientific socialists see that the crippling of personality takes specific forms in the facts of poverty, denial of education, ill health and disease, humiliation, denial of democratic rights, cultural suppression, these and many other things make up the sum total of what we mean by the suppression of the African personality. To change this, real, economic, political and social steps have to be taken. If we allow national liberation to be expressed in these vague terms then the movements are in danger of being led by intellectuals whose subjective frustrations and satisfactions will become the touchstone of what constitutes oppression and what constitutes freedom. If the dangers of this confusion are doubted we need only look at those countries where such terms have been employed as the main political springboards of the independence fight and we can see that because there has been either a lack of knowledge or a deliberate obscuring of the real content of Imperialism and therefore of what real liberation is, substitutes for independence have

been passed off as the real thing. Within a few years after the winning of formal independence the people who shouted the mystical slogans are willingly or unwillingly acting as the tools of neo-colonialism.

## NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND NATIONALISM

It is therefore always essential to examine the content of the term 'national consciousness and of nationalism.'

The nationalism of the British Tory Party and even of some Labour leaders, of De Gaulle, of West German political leaders is suspect because of their Imperialist records. The German Nazis used nationalism and racialism as the ideological justification for terror, mass murder and war. The nationalism of the exploiters is to be opposed because we can be sure that it is being used to intensify or justify their exploitation of some other nation or peoples.

This is what Kwame Nkrumah meant when on the 10th Anniversary of the Convention People's Party he declared as follows:

As the international platform of the Convention People's Party Programme states: The Party seeks to establish fraternal relations with, and offer guidance and support to all nationalist, democratic and socialist movements in Africa and elsewhere which are fighting for national independence and self-determination on the one hand and whose programmes are opposed to imperialism, colonialism, racialism, tribalism and religious sectarianism and all other forms of national, racial, tribal and religious chauvinism and oppression on the other. We are working towards making this policy a reality. That is why we insist that in Ghana in the higher reaches of our national life, there should be no references to Fantis, Ashantis, Ewes, Gas, Dagombas, 'strangers' and so forth, but that we should call ourselves Ghanaians—all brothers and sisters members of the same community—the state of Ghana. For until we ourselves purge from our own minds this tribal chauvinism and prejudice of one against the other, we shall not be able to cultivate the wider spirit of brotherhood which our objective of Pan-Africanism calls for. We are all Africans and peoples of African descent and we shall not allow the imperialist plotters and intrigues to separate us from each other for their own advantage.

## WORLD WIDE BASIS

The extension of this fine call on a wider, indeed on a world wide basis is but a small step to take.

The content of the fight for national liberation and the forms that national consciousness takes can indeed condition many problems which emerge after the winning of independence. The fraternal bonds forged in the struggle for independence between different sections of the people can carry the country through many immediate difficulties and problems. The relationships of the national liberation movement with other such movements, and with other anti-imperialist forces can likewise be of tremendous aid and assistance in the period of national reconstruction. The relations of forces within the national liberation movement is also vital. It is necessary to recognise that important as unity is the leading role must be played by the most progressive section, the workers and poorer peasants. If the movement is led by the potentially capitalist sections then the danger is that nationalism will be merely exploited to justify economic expansion where this is possible, or economic capitulation at the expense of the people as a whole. Liberation becomes liberation for a few and nationalism its cover for exploiting the rest of the nation and if possible other nations too.

Lenin said 'The market is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns its nationalism'. The Convention People's Party has developed from a small organisation to a nation-wide movement, embracing within its ranks and among its sympathisers the overwhelming majority of our nation. The composition of the Party has become quite heterogeneous and there is the danger that our socialist objective may be clouded by opportunistic accommodations and adjustments to petty-bourgeois elements in our ranks who are unsympathetic and sometimes even hostile to the social aims to which the Party is dedicated.

This is Kwame Nkrumah's warning that national consciousness, national unity has its dangers if, in the name of national unity, the aims of a developing capitalist class

## NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM

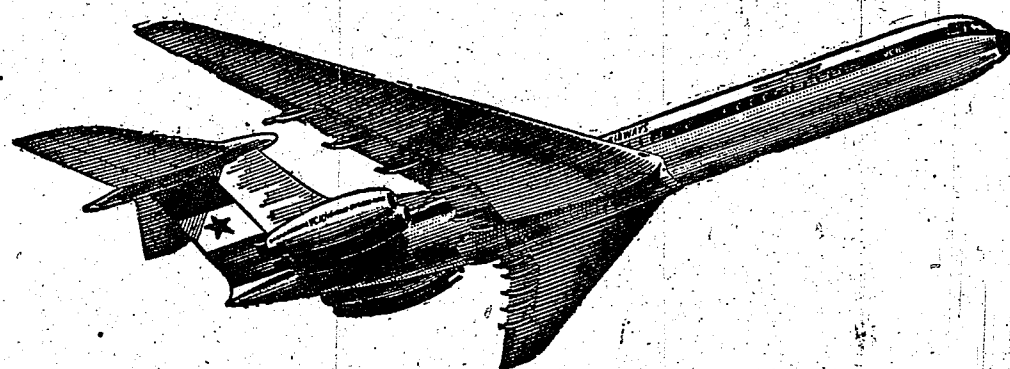
are allowed to become the basis for future programme of national liberation movement when independence has been won.

Real liberation therefore can only be won when the people as a whole are united, united by national consciousness and the striving to become a nation, but inspired to struggle for specific concrete social, economic and political aims, and when the leading force in this move-

ment is the ordinary people, the worker, the poor peasant, the youth, the intellectual who has thrown off petty bourgeois aspirations given to him by his Imperialist type education and who identifies himself selflessly with the interests of the whole people. These aims can only be realised through socialism.

The development of nations in Europe in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries came with the advance of capitalism.

The new nations arising from the ruins of Imperialism are not the capitalist nations of the past, they are the nations consolidating their hard won freedom and independence by putting an end to the remnants of Imperialism in their countries and laying the basis for Socialism which alone guarantees full liberation and real fraternal relation with all nations irrespective of race, or colour, culture or language.



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# THE TRAGEDY OF THE



КУКРЫНИКСИ-64

TSHOMBE'S SOVEREIGN POSITION "

\* The Congo story is only half told. Books, magazines and newspapers are being published by the West with one aim - to falsify the facts of the Congo situation. New-baked historians of the West are rummaging through the entire history of the Congo so as to be able to justify the blatant rape of a whole people. But every passing day throws fresh light on what is actually happening in this strife-torn region of Africa.

\* In this issue we publish a photostat of a letter written by the people of Tshokwe (who were the victims of Moise Tshombe's secessionist policy in Katanga and are still suffering from his shameless disregard of the rights of the Congolese people) addressed to President Kassavubu demanding a redress for wrongs meted out against them.

\* At the time of Tshombe's secessionist movement the Tshokwe people opposed him and they had to pay for it with the massacre of 10,390 lives.

\* After Tshombe was installed to power by the United States, he appointed his trusted agent, Diur, as governor of the Province of Lualaba, to supervise the extermination of the Tshokwe people. So far, 21,031 people have been killed. This means that from July 11th, 1960 to May 4th, 1964, 31,421 Tshokwes were killed on the orders of Tshombe.

\* 60,000 widows and orphans have been created and 4,200 are being kept as hostages in Tshikapa.

\* The Tshokwe incident brings to mind the story of the English traveller E. J. Glane who visited Tshokwe and Stanley Falls in 1894. He said:

"Twenty one heads were brought to Stanley Falls from Tshokwe and have been used by Captain Rom as a decoration around a flower bed in front of his house. In 1898 an individual named 'Lacroix' an

ALLIANCE DES TSHOKWE DU CONGO  
ANGOLA ET RHODESIE "ATCAR"

Siège Social  
17  
ELIZABETHVILLE  
R. P. 2028 Les Kallias  
REPUBLIQUE DU CONGO

247/ATCAR/64

Objet  
Mémorandum pour M. A. Diur  
Tshokwe succédant sous  
les bannières du régime  
sécessionniste.

Objet  
THANKS copie pour information à  
Son Excellence, Monsieur G. ADOULA,  
Premier Ministre de la République du Congo,  
Gouvernement Central,  
à LISBOUVILLE.

A Son Excellence, Monsieur le Chef de l'Etat  
Joseph KABILA,  
Président de la République du Congo,  
à LISBOUVILLE/AULABA.

Excellence,

C'est avec tristesse que nous vous adressons notre  
rapport mémorable, concernant la perte des vies humaines que nous, les  
Tshokwe, avons subie depuis l'année 1960, et continuons à souffrir jusqu'à  
ce jour.

Malgré nos lettres vous adressées, aucune mesure n'a  
été prise pour empêcher sur la malheureuse situation que ce peuple vit dans  
cette République du Congo, cependant que nous sommes Congolais comme tous  
les autres. Mais l'injustice de nos Gouvernements nous a fait un grand tort.  
Car depuis 1960 jusqu'en décembre 1962, le peuple Tshokwe a connu les mas-  
sacres atroces de la part du gouvernement sécessionniste de M. TSHOMBE. Le  
motif de ces massacres est que les Tshokwe défendent ardemment l'intégrité  
territoriale et le pouvoir établi dans notre République dont vous avez  
l'honneur de présider.

Pendant la sécession de Katanga, nous avons espéré  
que, lorsque le Katanga reviendrait dans le bercail Congolais, nous aurions la  
paix et la tranquillité dans le Congo-Du (Démocratique).

Ainsi, malgré la perte que nous avons subie de 10,390  
personnes, pendant cette sécession, sans compter les pertes de nos biens,  
nous n'avons pas pu réagir devant tout obstacle, et sommes restés obstiné-  
ment fidèles à notre résolution, qu'est de défendre l'unité intégrale de  
notre cher Congo, après que le Gouvernement de notre jeune République, en  
collaboration avec le peuple Tshokwe, en a facilité la sécession de Katanga  
et expulser le régime insoumis dans ce coin de pays.

Maintenant, nous nous sommes étonnés de voir que le  
régime que nous avons souhaité est instauré encore dans la province de  
Lualaba. Depuis l'installation du gouvernement Diur, sous l'œil de M. Tshombe,  
le peuple Tshokwe subit les massacres perpétrés par lesquelles nous avons  
perdu 21.031 âmes (voir nos rapports vous adressés précédemment).

\*\*\*

REAPPeler DANS LA REPONSE LA DATE ET LE NUMERO

## Translation

### EXCELLENCY,

It is with heavy hearts that we are sending you our unforgettable report concerning the loss of human lives that we, the Tshokwe, have sustained since the year 1960 and are experiencing till this day.

In spite of the letters we sent you, no step has been taken to make inquiries on the unfortunate situation afflicting our people in this Republic of the Congo, though we are Congolese like all the others. However, we have been greatly wronged by those who are ruling us. Indeed, from 1960 to December 1962, the Tshokwe people have been the object of atrocious massacres practised by the secessionist government of M. TSHOMBE. These massacres are motivated by the fact that the Tshokwes are relentlessly guarding the territorial integrity and the power established in our Republic which you have the honour to preside.

During the Katanga secession, we had hoped that, when Katanga reintegrated with the Congolese homeland, we should have peace and quiet in a United (Democratic) Congo.

Thus, in spite of our loss of 10,390 lives during this secession, not to mention our material losses, we could not afford to turn our backs on any obstacle, and we have remained stubbornly loyal to our resolution which is to defend the integral Unity of our dear Congo since the Government of our young Republic, in collaboration with the Tshokwe people, annulled the secession of Katanga and suppressed the regime established in that part of the country.

At present, we are amazed to see that the regime which we fought against is still operating in the Province of Lualaba. Since the establishment of the DIUR Government—the right arm of Mr. Tshombe—the Tshokwe people have been suffering genocidal massacres which have cost them 21,031 lives (we refer you to the reports previously addressed to you).

We do not hesitate therefore to disclose to you the facts of this sad situation which not only involves the massacres referred to above but also the future attacks prepared and organised in Lualaba by the pro-Tshombist government.

The object of this memorandum is to acquaint you with the number of Tshokwes who lost their lives from July 11th 1960 till this day. The total is 31,421 people killed during the Katangese secession and after the installation of the present government of Lualaba.

We have almost 60,000 widows and orphans who live a miserable day to day existence, not to mention the 4,200 Tshokwe of Lualaba transported as refugees by the O.N.U.C. from Elizabethville to Tshikapa. These men are living amongst constant risks and perils and are without food, clothes and medicine. We have solicited the Central Government to repatriate these men back to their homes by train which is less expensive than by plane. But we regret to say that our request was not followed up though the refugees of other ethnic groups were repatriated to their homes and supplied with food through the aid received from countries of goodwill who wished to help the Central Government in this difficult task. Thus, our dead, the Tshokwe

agent of the great Anversoise Trust admitted killing 160 men, women and children, cutting off sixty hands, crucifying women and children and mutilating men".

\* The main fact the letter we publish today reveals is that a gloomy and despairing situation exists in the Congo. Unprecedented machination has characterised the conduct of events in the Congo.

\* A tyrant, rooted by imperialism, is lording it over a Congo shaken by the thunderous march of "giants" racing for its mastery. This cause is championed by nations burning with hatred for Africans and are ready to palisade the whole continent for rape and massacre.

\* The letter reveals that Congo, the land on which blood does not seem to get a chance to dry, has become the arena of sanguinary spectacles.

\* But across Congo's broken cities, towns and hamlets, heavy with the unknown pitfalls and the unmeasured dangers of a period gone awry, there can be heard the steady, relentless rhythm of something irresistible about to be born very soon. It is the throbbing of a new Congo. In such a Congo all who died for her in the cause to raise her dignity will scintillate in the firmament of history like distant suns, enthroned in wondrous splendour.

Continued on page 5

Continued on page 5



# CONGO

## Translation

(Continued from page 4)

dead, are forgotten, as if we were not Congolese like all the others.

Lastly, we kneel down before your High Authority and present you with the conclusion of our memorandum which ends with the following four points.

1. We have lost 31,421 people in order to uphold the Unity of the Congo of which we are the victims, and in blind defence of an integrity which not all Congolese agree with;
2. in a sovereign country, is it possible to discriminate between citizen ethnic groups who have the right to be protected by the government and those who are not granted this right (in this case the Tshokwe people);
3. we see that Mr. TSHOMBE is making preparations to take action again; in fact, he has gendarmes in Texeira de Souza, in Angola and others in the Lualaba region whose reports have already been sent out to the relevant Ministries—our great fear is mostly that there will be an attack which will probably cause a triple defeat to the Tshokwe people in their defence of a right cause: territorial integrity and established power;
4. what fate then will His Excellency mete out to these poor and miserable Tshokwe:
  - (a) to the 60,000 widows and orphans;
  - (b) to the 4,200 Tshokwe stationed till now in Tshikapa;
  - (c) to avoid the future secessionist attacks which the Lualaba government is preparing in collusion with its chief, Tshombe;
  - (d) what is the measure taken against the DIUR government who massacred 21,031 persons on the pretext that they were politicians;
  - (e) why cannot the Tshokwe rejoice also in the amnesty granted by the Head of State to all political prisoners since ten of our people were arrested, on March 13th 1960, for political reasons, and thirty others, on September 24th, because they had demonstrated their grievances against the DIUR government, MR. TSHOMBE'S right arm. In spite of the fact that these demonstrations had all passed off in a calm and peaceful atmosphere—these thirty demonstrators were all condemned to five years of penal servitude.

Honouring the expectation of an answer, we pray you to accept, Excellency, the homage of our very High Consideration.

For the A.T.C.A.R. Party, The President, The Directing Committee, The National Secretary.

BEHIND IT ALL . . .

# West Germany Manoeuvres

**BONDS** of friendship connect the ruling circles of Bonn and Leopoldville. Both sides are trying to improve relations with each other. After the visit made by Adoula, Tshombe's predecessor as Prime Minister, to Bonn at the beginning of last year, the authorities of Leopoldville widely opened before the West German monopolies the gates to the Congo's riches, especially to uranium, cobalt and copper. Hoping for fat profits, Bonn bankers have added generously to the earlier invested 125 million almost 100 million marks.

Commander of the Congolese army Mobutu visited Bonn at the invitation of General Inspector of Bundeswehr, former Hitler's general Tretner for talks to supply Leopoldville with West German weapons. Quite recently the West German press reported that the imperialists' henchman, Tshombe, will go to the FRG, and, as was pointed out by General-Anzei-

ger, which is close to Bonn's ruling circles, "intends studying the possibilities for buying weapons in the FRG" and receiving a new credit, which could also be used for military purposes, for financing the military operations against the patriotic forces of the Congo.

The FRG, however, is interested in giving its additional military assistance as soon as possible. Therefore Bonn decided not to wait for the arrival of the former Katanga president and hastened to send its representatives to him to study his "needs" on the spot.

It is not enough to say now that the FRG ruling circles are openly on the side of the Tshombe clique—they fiercely attack those political leaders, in African republics in particular, who are against Tshombe and his accomplices from imperialist countries.

### KENYA OPPOSES IMPERIALISM

Bonn shows extreme irritation, for example, at Kenya's position in the Congolese question. This irritation recently vented itself when the influential organ of the Industrial-Kurier concerns expressed

indignation that Kenya not only opposes the imperialist interference in the Congolese affairs but that its Prime Minister heads the commission on the Congo set by the Organization of African Unity.

After the US planes had landed Belgian paratroopers in Stanleyville, the press of the NATO countries, including the FRG, decidedly took the side of the interventionists. Bonn is openly establishing direct contact with Leopoldville, probably believing that the time has come for direct economic and military expansion in the Congo.

At the time when almost the entire African continent wrathfully protests against foreign interference in the affairs of the Congo, on the eve of extraordinary session of the Organization of African Unity which will discuss the situation in that country, Bonn is giving an ever greater help to Tshombe.

And all this is being done simultaneously with the West German ideologists' assurances of friendship with African states.

Are not the words of FRG politicians in regard to Africa too much at variance with their deeds?

## Letter to The Editor

### MISSIONARIES?

It will take us Africans years to overcome the dishonest imperialist propaganda hammered over the years by the American visitors, including the missionaries.

For years, Africa and her people have been the subject of evil and damaging Western propaganda. Such names as cannibalism, the dark continent, head hunters, ignorant natives, juju priests, and medicine men are commonly applied to the African people.

Fantastic and false stories about native huts, wild animals greeting one in the streets, snakes everywhere, hot stifling heat, are often told as if Africa was a continent in hell itself. Here in America, many

missionaries returning from Africa, have the inexplicable habit of preaching and showing pictures to their home congregations degrading Africa and her people in the worst means possible.

Any progress made in the field of service, these self-same "experts" never say and when they do say, they never fail to label it "Communist-inspired, Peking-leaning, leftists cannibalism, primitive, and underdeveloped." All that these so-called "missionaries" want is an Africa which they can exploit. These so-called missionaries are the forerunners of the Western powers in a drive to spread imperialism, neo-colonialism for economic, political and social reasons.

In the name of the church, these "missionaries" have led to an ever increasing disturbance, exploitation of the African continent and openly encouraged racial discrimination. All African customs and

traditions were and still are tabooed by the missionaries in the name of the church. African dances, music, art and those things which are dear to the African hearts were and still are ruthlessly condemned as heathenish, idolatrous and cannibalistic.

These American missionaries preached that all American things and ways were good and Christian and approved by God himself, but anything African and African customs had no merit in them at all, and were sanctioned by the Devil.

These Americans should now know that Africa rejects such peculiar ideas held in America: anything American denotes goodness, while anything African is synonymous with evil. If Africa is to grow then, these American "advisors" with their degrading, damaging advice, must be curtailed. We have educated Africans who know best what needs to be done in Africa.

Lekakeny ole Koros, U.S.A.

Ainsi, nous n'avons pas hésité de vous signaler cette triste situation qui se réalise tant par les massacres perpétrés que par les préparations pour les futures attaques que le gouvernement pro-Tshombe organise dans le Lualaba.

Ce mémorandum a pour but de vous faire savoir le nombre de Tshokwe qui ont péri depuis le 11 juillet 1960 jusqu'à ce jour. Le chiffre s'élève à 31.421 personnes tuées durant la sécession Katangaise et après l'installation du gouvernement actuel du Lualaba.

Nous avons presque 60.000 veuves et orphelins qui vivent dans une situation lamentable, sans toutefois oublier les 4.200 Tshokwe du Lualaba qui ont été transportés par l'U.N.C., de Kisumu à Tshikapa pour les réfugiés à Tshikapa. Ces hommes vivent au risque et péril et sont dépourvus de nourriture, vêtements et médicaments. Nous avons demandé à leur profit, auprès du Gouvernement Central, pour que ces hommes soient rapatriés dans leurs milieux d'origine par train qui ne coûte que moins cher qu'un avion. Mais nous regrettons d'avoir constaté qu'aucun train n'a été réservé à ce sujet, alors que les réfugiés des autres ethnies ont été rapatriés chez eux et ont été ravitaillés par les aides reçues des autres pays de bonne foi qui ont voulu secourir le Gouvernement Central dans cette tâche difficile. Ainsi, pour nous les Tshokwe, c'est un oubli de mort, comme si nous ne sommes pas les Congolais comme tous les autres.

Pour finir, nous nous agenouillons devant votre Haute Autorité et vous exposons la conclusion de notre mémorandum qui se termine par ses quatre points :

- 1° nous avons perdu 31.421 personnes pour soutenir l'Unité du Congo dont nous sommes victimes, en défendant ardemment cette intégrité qui n'est pas pour-être à l'événement de tous les Congolais ;
- 2° dans un pays souverain, pourrait-on distinguer les ethnies citoyennes du pays, qui ont le droit d'être protégées par le Gouvernement et celles qui ne l'ont pas (en l'occurrence le peuple Tshokwe) ;
- 3° nous voyons que M. TSHOMBE se prépare pour recommencer son action ; en effet, il possède des gendarmes à Tshikapa de Douba, en Angola, et les autres dans la région du Lualaba, dont les rapports ont déjà été adressés aux Ministères intéressés - notre grande crainte concerne surtout à cette future attaque qui causera sans doute le triple malheur au peuple Tshokwe qui défend avec la haute raison l'intégrité territoriale et le pouvoir établi ;
- 4° quel est dans le sort que Son Excellence réserve à ces pauvres et malheureux Tshokwe :
  - a) pour les 60.000 veuves et orphelins ;
  - b) pour les 4.200 Tshokwe se trouvant jusqu'ici à Tshikapa ;
  - c) pour éviter les futures attaques de la sécession que le gouvernement du Lualaba est en train de préparer en collusion avec son chef TSHOMBE ;
  - d) quelle est la mesure prise contre le gouvernement DIUR qui a massacré 21.031 personnes, sous prétexte qu'ils sont des politiciens ;
  - e) les Tshokwe ne peuvent-ils pas réjouir eux aussi de l'amnistie accordée par le Chef de l'Etat à tous les détenus politiques, car nous avons dix

personnes qui ont été arrêtées, le 13 mars 1960, pour une raison politique, et trente autres, qui ont manifesté leur mécontentement, le 24 septembre, contre le gouvernement DIUR, sous la direction de M. TSHOMBE, et malgré que ses manifestations s'étaient déroulées dans une atmosphère calme et pacifique - ses trente manifestants sont tous condamnés à cinq ans de servitude pénale préalable.

Dans l'honneur de vous lire, nous vous prions d'agréer Excellences, l'hommage de notre très haute Considération.

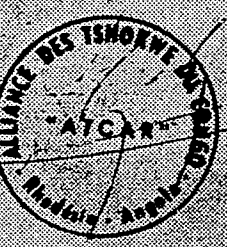
POUR LE PARTI A.T.C.A.R.

LE PRÉSIDENT GÉNÉRAL, - LE COMITÉ DIRECTEUR, - LE SECRÉTAIRE NATIONAL, -

MURUMBA Ambroise.

SHINDANI Clément.

NISSI Joseph.



## ANNOUNCEMENT

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\* Mankind shall one day remember all those who during this period of the Congo, kept the torch of liberation alive that future generations might see, without tears and without blood, the fulfilment of that noblest of all dreams: An independent Congo, in the New Africa, United in a solid bond of a Union Government.



# The Forces of the African

by  
Jack Woodis

## Revolution (2)

In other territories, the amount taken by the Europeans was often less—9 per cent in the Belgian Congo, 7 per cent in Kenya, 5 per cent in Nyasaland (now Malawi), and 3 per cent in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia); but, even in these latter cases, the land taken for European farming or plantation development, was the best land, the land left to the Africans being very poor, often swampy or dry scrubland without adequate water, and with unsuitable soil.

Thus in Northern Rhodesia, Dr. Rita Hinden (Plan for Africa, 1941) has pointed out that crude statistics have little meaning, for the Africans are confined to the "poor soils", with poor irrigation facilities which compel them to crowd into the few areas with water supplies. Cataloguing the various handicaps which face the Africans on their poor land, Dr. Hinden sums up by describing these obstacles to successful African agriculture as being "nothing short of catastrophic".

In Kenya, too, the European land, the famous White Highlands was the richest land in the territory, said to comprise 30 per cent of all the good land in Kenya. This was made the preserve of some 4,000 European farmers, while 6 million Africans were crowded into the poor, unfertile lands. In Southern Rhodesia, a former Land Development Officer, Ken Brown, has described most of the land available to Africans as being "poor soil... known technically as Class III land; while the European Area contains nearly all the areas of fertile soil in the Colony". (Land in Southern Rhodesia (1959).

He adds that in many parts of the country it is embarrassing for a European to drive through a European Area into a "Native Area", for the change in soil-type coincides almost exactly with the boundary-line and is strikingly obvious.

### PLAN TO CRIPPLE AFRICA

In addition to seizing land, the imperialists introduced measures deliberately designed to cripple African agriculture. Sometimes there were legal restrictions as to which crops the Africans could produce. In Kenya, for example, until 1939 Africans were prevented from growing coffee, partly by the high cost of the licence, and partly by the acreage limitations; coffee growing was reserved for the European farmers. There were similar restrictions on Africans wishing to grow sisal or pyrethrum. African coffee growing was also restricted in Tanganyika and in Cameroun, where there was also a quota restriction on African export of bananas.

In Southern Rhodesia, Africans are not allowed to grow the best Virginia tobacco which fetches the highest price; this, too, is reserved for the white settlers. In Uganda, Africans had to conduct a long battle before they were allowed to gin the cotton they produced. In many territories, the authorities constantly strove to reduce the herds of African livestock. Africans growing maize in Southern Rhodesia were only allowed to provide one quarter of the home maize market, the other three quarters being reserved for Europeans. At the same time the price paid to African maize growers was only about two-thirds of that paid to Europeans. (This two price system still operates.) The absence of railways and decent roads from African populated areas to the main markets was a further factor hindering the emergence of an economically independent African peasantry.

That this was deliberate policy on the part of the imperialists is indicated by the fact that most of the rich lands they seized were never used by them. Thus a Government Report on Northern Rhodesia in 1938 (the Pim Report) found that of 23 million acres taken away from the Africans only 70,000 acres were under European cultivation; in the Abercorn district out of 5,500,000 acres set aside for Europeans, only 500 acres were under European cultivation. Even as late as 1960 only 5 per cent of the 4,500,000 acres of land in Northern Rhodesia owned by Europeans was actually being cultivated. In Southern Rhodesia, according

to figures compiled in 1957, only 2 per cent of land reserved for Europeans was under cultivation. In Kenya, in 1960, only 6 per cent of the valuable White Highlands was under European cultivation.

The apparent paradox of large areas of land seized by Europeans and then not used is easily explained. The purpose was two-fold: to prevent the African peasant becoming a serious competitor to European farmers and plantation owners; and to impoverish the African peasantry to such an extent that the majority of African adult males would be compelled to work for the Europeans, in farms or in mines. We shall have occasion later on to examine the results for the African peasant producers, but for the moment we are concerned with the question of the African working class.

The measures indicated above were not sufficient in themselves to guarantee a constant flood of cheap African labour for European employers. In many parts of tropical Africa the climate was not suitable to large-scale European settlement, and so land seizures in these areas did not take place to the same extent, nor were there always the kind of restrictions placed on African agriculture that we associate with Southern Rhodesia, or Kenya. In addition, Africans, even where their economic standards were not very high had no great desire to take up wage employment in European enterprises. Thus a further economic spur was introduced, that of taxation. Taxation is generally regarded

as a means of raising revenue for a government. In Africa the taxation system imposed by the Western powers had quite other functions. It was simply a device to compel Africans to take up wage labour, or, in other words, a form of labour tax.

The essence of this system was to make it obligatory on the Africans, irrespective of their income or property, to pay a tax in cash, first in the form of a hut tax, and then, more widely, in the form of a poll tax. The usual pattern for the latter was a personal tax on all adult males over sixteen (in some territories eighteen). Writing of Bechuanaland, Dr. Schapera (Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, 1947) has pointed out that in Bechuanaland, following the discovery of diamonds in South Africa in 1870, and of gold in 1884, the

Administration introduced a hut tax, in 1899 "and thus forced upon the people the necessity of finding a regular sum of money each year." This same obligation arose with the introduction of the poll tax.

Significantly, these taxes were introduced in a whole number of territories at the end of the nineteenth and the commencement of the 20th century when the first needs for African labour arose. Hut and poll taxes were introduced by the German authorities in East Africa in 1897, and by the British in Bechuanaland in 1897, in Kenya in 1901, in

(This article has appeared in **CRITICA MARXISTA**—an Italian Marxist Journal).

Southern Rhodesia in 1904 and in Northern Rhodesia in 1905. In the Belgian Congo an open labour tax was introduced, to be replaced in 1910 by a poll tax. In the French possessions in Africa a labour tax or *prestation* system was inaugurated. Under this system, the African was obliged to work for a specific period as a form of tax payment. If he wished, he could pay a cash tax instead of performing this obligatory work; but to acquire cash for tax payment usually meant having to take up wage labour. In either case, the African was compelled to take up labour for the Europeans.

### CRUDE TAXATION

At the time these various systems were introduced there was no attempt to conceal their purpose. Thus, a Kenya Governor, Sir Percy Girouard, stated in 1913:

"We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to

"They could increase the output of their traditional forms of production, and so provide a surplus for export; they could produce new crops and other commodities specially for the market; or they could work for cash wages. The first two methods have up to the present proved inadequate. Wage-labour has consequently become an indispensable source of income for the people generally."

Mr. de Brier, in his study of Bechuanaland, found that the population could not earn sufficient to meet all its expenses if it relied solely on its livestock. To meet their taxation and other essential items of expenditure, it was, he stressed, necessary for the African to enrol himself as "a wage-earner in order to balance the family budget by means of his wages." Dr. Buell in his classic work, *The Native Problem in Africa* (London, 1928), pointed out that in Northern Rhodesia in the 1920's the absence of railways and feeder roads made it impossible for Africans to produce crops for export, and thus to earn the cash to pay taxes. The consequence, he said, was that "most of them, in order to pay this tax, must seek work from European employers."

Economic compulsion alone was not sufficient to force Africans into wage labour. Other forms of pressure and coercion were utilised as well, including various forms of compulsory or forced labour. Convict labour, "civic obligations", work in "emergencies", compulsory portage, work by tax defaulters, labour "recruitment"—these were many of the forms of compulsory labour imposed at different times on the African people.

Protests against these methods became so strong in the 1920's that eventually in 1930 all that major powers with colonies in Africa, apart from Portugal, ratified the Geneva Convention on Forced Labour. This, however, did not put a

stop to such methods, especially in British territories during the war, and in every emergency during the post-1945 period, as well as in South Africa where the widespread use of convict labour and pass-law offenders became an international scandal in the 1950's. In Angola, especially, forced labour has been widely used by the Portuguese authorities and employers.

### MORE SLAVES

Basil Davidson, in his book, *The African Awakening*, 1955 describing his investigations in Angola, states that there are "now more slaves... than there were fifty years ago." Examining the files of the Native Affairs Department at Luanda, the capital of Angola, Davidson found listed "379,000 *contradados*, or force workers

who are really slaves". Professor Marvin Harris found in Mozambique widespread forced labour. Under the *shibalo* system those who do not offer themselves for wage employment are declared "idle and become subject to forced labour. Professor Harris estimated in 1958 that there were 100,000 *shibalos* in Mozambique, but that an additional 300,000 had been forced to take up work in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia in order to avoid becoming *shibalos*. In reality, all 400,000 had been compelled by the system to take up employment in government or private enterprises.

In the French occupied territories, forced labour was not officially abolished until 1946. Prior to then there had been widespread use of forced labour in European plantations in the Ivory Coast, Guinea and what is now Mali, in forestry concerns in Gabon and the Ivory Coast, and on roads and railway construction, 150,000 forced labourers, according to official figures, being utilised between 1927 and 1934 to build the railway from Brazzaville to Pointe-Noire.

### THE AFRICAN WORKING CLASS

Thus the African working class came into existence as a result of the imperialist destruction of African traditional agriculture and handicrafts, and driven by the triple whip of poverty, the poll tax, and forced labour.

The circumstances in which African labour came into existence also help to explain its size and character. The birth of a class of African wage earners was not a consequence of the growth of indigenous African capitalism but the result of the imposition of colonial rule. Colonial administrations were established in Africa not in order to build up modern industrialised economies there but to make maximum use of cheap land,

Africa's ports, to return later and unload their cargoes of manufactured goods right down to buttons and nails.

When Ghana became independent in 1957 she was exporting bauxite, importing Aluminium pots and pans; exporting palm oil, importing soap; paper and furniture; exporting hides and leather, importing boots and shoes; exporting cocoa beans in imported jute sacks, and importing back every bar of chocolate and every tin of processed cocoa. Even her limes were expressed in Ghana and the juice exported to return later in the form of bottled lime-juice.

As recently as November 1962, during a visit to Guinea, I noticed on an office desk a small bottle of glue labelled "Best Senegalese glue. Made in France." It is reported that when the luxury Dukor Monrovia, Liberia, everything needed in the construction, apart from some local stone, had to be imported, even the nails.

In other words, Africa became simply a minerals and agrarian appendage to European economy, pouring out raw materials to the West and importing back practically every single item of manufacture which, very often, was made from these same raw materials.

Such an economy had no need for a large labour force. Nor for a highly-skilled, educated, urbanised and permanent body of workers. Miners, timber and forestry workers, farm workers, domestic servants, transport and building workers, commerce and public administration employees—these were the main fields of employment which the colonial system held out to the African people. In general, industrial development only took place to any degree where there was a considerable body of European settlement—and in these cases, it was usually Europeans who filled the ranks of the artisan and skilled labour force. Notably was this so in South Africa, but the same trend could be seen in Northern and Southern Rho-

which account for no less than 1,500,000 workers, nearly 30 per cent of all the workers included in the table. A second striking fact is that if one excludes South Africa, the one territory in which basic industrialisation has been allowed to take place, we find less than 450,000 workers employed in manufacture in the rest of Africa. If, from these, one subtracts the 167,312 accounted for by the Belgian Congo, we are left with a balance of only some 280,000 workers engaged in manufacture in all the remaining territories.

It is further noticeable that, after "domestic and other services", the main category of African labour is that employed in the extractive industries, which account for over 900,000 workers. These are mainly engaged in mining. Transport and commerce, which are closely connected with both agriculture and the extractive industries, account for over 400,000 and 365,000 respectively. Over 560,000 are consumed by building and construction, and almost as many in public administration.

If one turns to the U.N. Report on the *Enlargement of the Exchange Economy in Tropical Africa*, 1954, one finds that agriculture and forestry is the sphere in which by far the largest number of Africans are employed as wage earners. This table excludes South Africa, and domestic servants in their Congo—and these two countries alone account for 1,150,000 wage earners (see previous table).

A table (see our next issue) based on a selected group of territories shows over 1,100,000 workers engaged in agriculture and forestry, and a further 390,000 engaged in mining. These two groups alone account for almost 43 per cent of the entire labour force of the territories given here. Among individual countries, we find that agriculture accounts for 52 per cent of all the wage workers in Tanganyika, 48 per cent in Kenya, 39 per cent in Southern Rhodesia, and 34 per cent in French Equatorial Africa.

### LOW INCOME

It will be noted that in the ten territories listed, the number of wage earners employed in secondary industry constitutes only about 10 per cent of the total—and even half of this is accounted for by Belgian Congo and Southern Rhodesia. Quite apart from this, however, it should be appreciated that, generally speaking, secondary industry in Africa is usually light industry, or is associated with the preliminary processing of locally produced crops and minerals. The number of Africans engaged in factory production is usually very small. The Republic of South Africa, of course, has long been an exception to this general pattern. And in other territories, too, since independence has been won and economic reconstruction has commenced, more workers are entering factory production, though even now the total numbers involved are still a small minority of the total wage earning class.

Writing elsewhere in 1960, when most of Africa was still under direct foreign rule, I summed up the main characteristics of the African working class in these terms:

"... a colonial working class, working within the sphere of a colonial economy and scarcely touched by the breath of industrialisation. It is working class which is mainly unskilled, largely migrant and... only partly urbanised."

(Africa, The Roots of Revolt: London, 1960) Unskilled, casual, migrant labour, these terms could be applied to the African working class at any time during the past sixty years. Such were the consequences of colonialism and the lack of industrialisation. With limited factory production undertaken in Africa there was no occasion for the European rulers to develop an educated, skilled, urbanised and permanent working class.

TABLE VIII  
DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN WAGE EARNERS BY PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION

Territory and Year of Reference	Extractive industries	Manufacturing	Building and Construction	Transport	Commerce	Domestic and other services	Public administration	Total
French W. Africa 1954	12,419	30,779	42,670	33,134	51,210	21,123	107,626	298,961
French Equatorial Africa 1953	20,333	12,188	22,089	14,292	12,626	15,329	16,800	113,657
Sierra Leone 1954	4,901	—	10,963	5,004	4,962	2,688	11,162	39,680
Gold Coast 1952	41,037	11,766	44,700	18,511	23,498	18,328	33,352	191,202
Nigeria 1952	57,688	17,923	35,392	42,335	20,579	13,129	53,181	240,227
Belgian Congo 1954	103,518	167,312	128,915	34,468	77,399	318,741	—	880,353
Angola 1953	21,809	—	—	—	—	—	—	21,809
Mozambique 1953	5,025	29,866	—	—	—	—	—	34,891
Madagascar 1953	12,920	25,312	11,138	7,677	16,900	36,997	55,343	166,287
Southern Rhodesia 1951	63,805	55,729	48,971	17,613	—	131,033	—	317,351
Northern Rhodesia 1953	46,100	18,650	25,500	8,150	6,810	73,820	37,450	216,480
Nyasaland 1953	—	1,400	4,300	5,800	1,800	3,200	19,100	35,600
Uganda 1954	7,922	24,414	45,448	7,625	6,245	28,486	48,408	168,548
Tanganyika 1954	15,453	19,669	16,373	34,262	11,428	50,946	76,334	214,465
Kenya 1954	5,448	42,754	19,411	34,355	22,080	44,274	103,709	272,031
Union S. Africa	491,900	436,029	107,593	98,367	109,600	830,900	—	2,074,389
TOTAL	910,278	893,801	563,463	401,793	365,137	1,588,994	562,465	5,285,931

Source: WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION, U.N., 1957



# Italy Facing Political and Economic Crisis

BY the time this article is published Italy may be in the midst of a new government crisis. Certainly the present Centre-left coalition (of the Christian Democratic, Social Democratic, Republican and Socialist Parties) is torn by differences; even if it survives the present crisis its life is not likely to last long afterwards.

There are several issues urgently requiring solution and on which there are differences within the Government coalition and the Government parties themselves. Among those that spring to mind first are those of how to resolve Italy's economic difficulties; the question of the election of a new President if, as seems likely, the health of the present President, Segni, is so impaired that he cannot resume his office; and last, but not least, the question of what type of government is going to rule the country.

The country's financial situation is not rosy and Italy represents the weakest link within the Common Market. The causes are manifold, among them is the fact that the rapid industrial transformation of the country (from an agricultural-industrial to an industrial agricultural country) only started some 15 years ago. Industrialisation has been concentrated in the north, in the "Genova-Turin-Milan triangle." The South remains among the most backward areas of Western Europe, both as regards industrialisation, its agricultural set-up and its lack of roads, railways, schools, hospitals etc.

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

At the root of the present difficulties lies the chaotic development of Italy's economy in the years of the so-called "economic miracle" in the antiquated structure of many sectors; and in the "Liberalism" of past years which led to the neglect of the development of basic industries and of agriculture, to speculation and to the transfer of large amounts of capital abroad.

The country has a serious deficit in its foreign trading balance, primarily caused by the importing of agricultural products, (pre-eminently meat, butter, oil, and grain) and by the importing of foreign cars. Within the country there is serious inflation with prices rising at breakneck speed. In the last seven months of last year the cost-of-living index rose by 7.6 per cent compared to the similar period of 1963. Meat prices went up by 15.5 per cent, cheese and milk by 19.8 per cent, bread and spaghetti by 7.9 per cent, fish by 13.1 per cent and wine by 7.5 per cent. Telephone and postal charges have risen and there is the threat of railway fares, already high, being increased. By last year (October) the question of removing control on rents of dwelling occupied prior to 1947 was to be decided. If this occurs, the rent bill for almost a quarter of Italian families will soar.

It is in the building and engineering industries that the financial crisis, which started in autumn 1963, and the Government's policy causing it, is most widely felt. The number of men employed in the building industry since October 1963 has been reduced by 250,000. At least half-a-million workers have suffered a reduction of working hours (and a resultant cut in wages) since last autumn: 400,000 in the engineering industry and 100,000 in the textile industry.

To combat the crisis there is the classic solution of deflation: wage freeze, reduction of public expenditure, the swallowing up of small- and medium-sized enterprises by the monopoly groups, unemployment, etc. And it is this policy the present Government has adopted, resulting in immeasurably harder conditions for the mass of the Italian people.

The deflationary restriction on credits and Government spending has particularly hit the enterprises with State participation such as the nationalised electricity, com-

pany, etc. On the other hand, the capacity for self-financing of the big concerns has been enhanced. There has been a noticeable tendency of these later to swallow up the weaker enterprises and to merge with foreign firms, notably American concerns. This trend is being facilitated by the Government, which has abolished certain taxes on business mergers.

Thus, the Fiat automobile firm recently acquired part control of the Olivetti type-writer company and of CEAT, the electric cable and tyre firm. The Montecatini chemical combine has taken over SADE (Adriatic Electricity Company) and will be able to use the millions of dollars compensation being received by SADE for the nationalisation of its electric power generating installations. There are also big tie-ups with foreign interests: Montecatini with Shell, Olivetti's computer department with General Electric, and the American group "3M" (Minnesota, Mining and Manufacturing) has just bought out Ferrania, the major Italian photographic material firm.

The workers and their organisations have repeatedly warned—and shown by strike action—they are not prepared to accept this "way out" of the country's financial difficulties, a solution chosen by, and favouring, Big Business. They have repeatedly warned they are not prepared to accept the choice presented by the employers: either a wage freeze or unemployment and short-time working.

They are, instead, demanding anti-inflationary measures which do not favour the re-establishment of the mechanism of accumulation controlled by the large private economic groups and of concentration of capital. Such measures must be accompanied by the introduction of long over-due and long-discussed structural reforms, the trade unions and Left-wing parties say. The most important of these reforms are:

## REFORMS

(a) Land reform, abolishing, above all, the medieval tenant-farming systems, responsible for the backwardness of agricultural production and the vast flight from the land. Millions of Italians have left their homes in the south and in the backward agricultural areas in the rest of the country to try to find a job either in the industrialised north or abroad. There are over 600,000 Italian emigrants in Switzerland and over 350,000 in West Germany alone. The flow to the north of Italy has, however, of late stopped because there are no more jobs to be had. There is even the phenomenon of Italians from the south who, for a time, found employment in Milan or Turin, now being forced to return to their homes to face unemployment there.

If there were land reform, this would help increase agricultural production, would help Italy considerably to reduce its imports of food products, thus lightening the country's foreign trade deficit.

(b) Town planning measures, in particular a stop being put to the vast land and

building speculation. Between 1958 and 1963 the price of building sites has trebled in value in the large cities. Rents are rising at an enormous speed too; an average of between 30-50 per cent of the workers' income is spent on rent. A comprehensive town planning law must provide for public control over building land, over public housing schemes and for the modernising of building methods.

(c) Administrative reform, the setting up of regional administrations with regional economic development councils as an indispensable precondition for economic planning measures.

(d) Economic planning. The Italian General Confederation of Labour, the CGIL, (the joint Socialist-Communist trade union federation, the largest in the country, with over 3,500,000 members) has recently worked out an emergency plan, rejecting the employers' and Government's theory of first resolving the financial crisis and then dealing with economic planning. The CGIL calls for: 1) an emergency plan for the engineering industry with State participation in order to expand production of plant and machinery, both directly and through small- and medium-sized enterprises; 2) Development of public works (schools, hospitals and roads) and public housing projects;

3) credit facilities to be granted by local bodies and co-operatives for the direct purchase and sale of basic consumer goods in order to combat the high cost of living.

## THE BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT POLITICAL LINE-UP

Since 1947 Italy has continually had governments dominated by the Christian Democratic Party, the largest in the country and one embracing very mixed strata of the population of Catholic views. Within it are employers and workers big landowners and workers on the land, representatives of Big Business and artisans. In the circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising that this Party is split by internal differences and contradictions.

Though the largest Party, the CD has never had an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies and has formed coalitions with Centre or Right-wing parties. In 1953 the CD tried to end this parliamentary deadlock by attempting to alter the Constitution in order to be able to introduce a form of what would now be termed De Gaulism into the country. This attempt was balked by the energetic and united opposition of the Socialist and Communist Parties.

In 1960 the CD tried another dangerous experiment. It allied itself with the neo-fascists—but not for long. Within a matter of weeks mighty anti-fascist demonstrations—in which a number of people, mainly workers, lost their lives—but swept the Tambroni Government out of office.

In the meantime, the Left-wing forces (particularly the second largest Party in the country, the Communist) were increasing their influence. The more realistic and far-seeing of the CD leaders, especially after the Tambroni Government debacle, realised that if the Christian Democrats wished to retain political power they would have to seek support from the Left. It was at the Christian Demo-

by Phyllis Rosner

cratic Party's Naples Congress in November 1962 that a large majority decided on the Centre-left experiment. That is to say, negotiations were initiated, and successfully concluded, for the Nenni Socialist Party, the PSI, to give the Government its external support. In other words, the PSI, while not being part of the then Government undertook not to vote against it in Parliament.

This is the background to this strange union between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists. It was something quite new. In Western Europe there are several precedents of Conservative - Social Democratic coalitions, as for instance that of the Austrian Government over the past 18 years. There has been no precedent, however, of Christian Democrats allying themselves with a Party such as the Nenni Socialists, an avowed Marxist tradition, administering jointly with the Communists over 2,000 local and district councils, and working with the Communists in mass organisations such as the CGIL and the Peasants' Alliance.

The Left-wing Socialists and the Communists were not opposed to this experiment, but they underlined the basic question was what programme such a Government adopted. The only true guarantee that this Government would carry out a programme in the people's interests lay in powerful working class unity. Nenni, however, chose a different path, breaking this working class unity.

## NENNI'S CAPITULATION

As events have proved the collaboration has been to the detriment of the working class movement, above all, to Nenni's own Party, the PSI. Since the end of last year the Nenni Socialists have actually been part of the Centre-left Government, with Nenni holding the position of Vice-Premier. Under the pretext that the danger to the country from the Right can best be met by the Socialists remaining within the Government, Nenni has made concession after concession to Christian Democratic pressure. His policy met with stiff resistance in his Party; just before the PSI actually joined the Government a number of Socialists asked for a special Party conference to discuss the issue. Nenni refused and, at the beginning of this year, a number of former PSI members broke away to form the Left-wing Socialist Party, the PSIUP (The Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity).

The present Centre-left Government has done nothing about urgently-needed reforms including that to decentralise government and form autonomous regions, as provided for in the 1948 Constitution but never carried into effect. It has only touched the fringe of the deep crisis in agriculture, it has put no restrictions on land and building speculation; its economic policy leaves intact the power of the monopoly groups. Moreover, the governmental programme contains a reference to "extending to the periphery" the present Centre-left coalition (trying to break the Joint Socialist-Communist local and district administrations, in other words). And now, as before, the Christian Democrats' avowed policy is the vain

attempt to isolate the Communists.

The Italian Communist Party has over 1,700,000 members and is not in crisis. In the April 1963 general elections it polled eight million votes, a gain of almost a million, which meant that one in four electors voted Communist. Subsequent local and regional elections have shown that the Communists maintain their strength.

## THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

While the death in August 1964 of former Communist Party general secretary Palmiro Togliatti was a tremendous blow, the PCI's position and influence will certainly be maintained. Togliatti's funeral, attended by over a million people, was another indication of the Communists' influence in the country as well as a tribute to the man himself. Among the tributes from Government leaders, political, cultural and working class personalities was that from the Nenni Socialist follower Fernando Santi, the joint general secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour. Bringing the last salute of the CGIL, Santi declared: "The overwhelming expression of sorrow arising spontaneously from the entire country, from all social strata, from all the people, from intellectuals, political parties and government authorities, and the recognition of Togliatti's great political stature is an expression of civilisation and democratic maturity of which we Italians should be aware and proud. Now Togliatti is dead. His disappearance, after a life of struggle and sacrifice, lived in the entire world and with intensely dramatic moments, leaves a deep gap. It is a serious loss for his Party, for the workers, for democracy and for Italy."

## TOGLIATTI'S LINE WILL BE CONTINUED

Speaking recently on the Italian television Longo declared that the PCI intended to continue Togliatti's work on the lines of his memorandum. "This work—Longo added—has always been that of defining an Italian road to Socialism and to indicate a form of Socialist power based on our reality and on our traditions."

Turning to Italy's present situation, Longo underlined

the continuing rise in prices, the dismissals and short-time working, the problems to be tackled in reforming the country's social and economic structure. "It is now clear that the Centre-left has failed, the Centre which said it would overcome this retrogression. The present Moro Government has not the strength to carry out a policy of reforms and many of its members do not even desire such a policy."

"The aim should be to arrive at the elaboration of a common concrete programme against imperialism and colonialism. Contemporaneously we must further deepen our research into the problem of the paths of development of formerly colonial countries, what the objective of Socialism means for them, and so on. It is a question of new subjects, hitherto not faced. For this, as I have already stated, we would have welcomed with pleasure an international meeting, completely devoted to these problems. And, in any case, we will have to dedicate ever-increasing attention to them in all our work."

## TOGLIATTI'S LINE WILL BE CONTINUED

More and more circles are seeking a way out of this situation. They recognise that the immobility of the conservative and reactionary forces can only be overcome through the united strength of the Left. Here lies the whole crux of the Italian situation: Will the Democratic forces—ranging from the Left of the CD to the Socialists—drop their discrimination against the Communists and their eight million electors, this aligning the forces capable of solving the country's problems?

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## A Lesson To Cadres

# "DON'T BE AFRAID TO CORRECT YOUR IDEAS"

Prof. J. B. S. Haldane died in 1964. John Maynard Smith, Professor-elect of Biology, University of Sussex said in a tribute published in the "Daily Worker" that "Haldane was one of the cleverest and most learned men of his generation." One of his marked qualities was his success as a writer of popular science. He treated his readers as equals instead of writing down to them.

We publish one of Professor Haldane's best articles which he wrote on 27th April, 1939. It should be of special interest to students of Marxism.

ONE of the commonest — criticism with which we scientists have to put up with is that we change our theories so quickly that they must obviously be worthless.

At one time atoms were said to be indivisible; today they are split in scores of laboratories.

Electricity was first thought to be a fluid, then to consist of particles—and now the particles turn out to behave like groups of waves.

Tuberculosis was once said to be hereditary, now it is supposed to be caused by a germ. And so on.

Of course, this is partly due to the fact that science is very badly taught. A scientific theory may be nothing but the truth, but it is never the whole truth.

Lenin said that the properties of an electron, the smallest known particle, were inex-

haustible; that is to say, there would always be something more to find out about it.

## NO SURPRISE

So no Leninist should have been surprised when it was found to have previously unexpected properties.

But this is not all. Scientific theories are always guides to practice or at least prediction.

Chemical theory tells you how to prepare a metal or a drug. Astronomical theory tells you when and where to look for an eclipse.

The old theories were certainly wrong.

It was supposed that the sun went round the earth, and that when you heated iron-ore with charcoal a stuff called phlogiston came out of the charcoal and united with the ore to make iron.

Now we say the earth goes round the sun and that oxygen leaves the iron-ore to combine with the charcoal (or

nowadays coke). But the old theories were partly right.

They were right in saying that the sun was farther away than the moon, and that the amount of charcoal needed was proportional to the amount of iron to be made.

## TRUER THEORIES

No doubt our present theories will have to be altered. But they are truer because they are nearer to practice.

One can be sure that one's theory is incomplete and partly wrong, and at the same time be sure that it is near enough to the truth to enable one to do a particular job.

For example, I have eaten about two-thirds of the quantity of ammonium chloride which would kill me. I made some calculations beforehand which were based on the theory that all atoms of chlorine were alike, and similarly for hydrogen and nitrogen.

This is false. Some hydrogen atoms are twice as heavy as others. But it was true enough, in this connection, for me to stake my life on it.

In the same way I don't believe in the absolute truth of Marxism in the way that some people believe in religious dogma.

## BET MY LIFE

I only believe that it is near enough to the truth to make it worth while betting my life on it as against any rival theories.

Some discarded theories were substantially true when they were first put forward, and ceased to be true later.

In the 19th century chemists said that atoms could not be split.

They tried with all the means at their disposal, such as heat, electric currents, strong acids and alkalis.

Those units which resisted their efforts were called atoms.

Then Rutherford and his pupils developed much more powerful methods, such as protons (nuclear of hydrogen atoms), moving in a million-volt field, and split a number of atoms.

The old theory ceased to be true because of these changes in technique.

Just the same happens with political theories. At the end of the 19th century most Marxists thought that Socialism could not be achieved in one country alone. They were probably quite right at that time.

Then Lenin pointed out that "uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence the victory of Socialism is possible first in several or even one capitalist country, taken singly."

But this only became true when capitalism had developed to the imperialistic stage.

Sometimes two or three apparently contradictory theories are both true.

Tuberculosis is due to infection. It is also due to heredity, and to bad surroundings.

## TB AND HEREDITY

The hereditary element is shown by the fact that, given infection, several members of the same family (and particularly so-called identical twins) will get the disease in the same place, say the base of the left lung or the glands of the neck.

We cannot yet control heredity save in a few cases.

But we could see that our children got milk as free from tuberculosis as those of the United States, or that they got the fresh air, sunshine and diet which enable people to fight the infection, even if they have some hereditary tendency to it.

We are quite right to emphasise the environmental factors in tuberculosis just because we can control them.

We say that a house caught fire because someone threw down a cigarette end, and not because there is 21 per cent of oxygen in the air.

But it is perfectly true that wood will not burn in air containing only 15 per cent.

## NO ONE CAUSE

No event has only one cause. But a refusal to think or act until you know all the causes is not science, but pedantry.

And a refusal to recognise a new cause when we can control it or even predict its

changes is a sign of adherence to absolute dogma.

So don't worry if we scientists change our theories. It is

a healthy sign. "Frankly admitting a mistake," said Lenin, "ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party."

It is also the earmark of a serious scientist.

APRIL 27, 1939

## The Nigerian Crisis

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been accepted, it is obvious that there will either be no two-thirds majority in Parliament (in which case no constitutional revision can take place "according to law"), or the two-thirds majority will be enjoyed by the reactionary forces (in which case a revision of the constitution must be in accordance with the wishes of the Sardauna-led reactionary Northern Peoples Congress).

In any case, what happens should Balewa go back on these empty assurances? He is constitutionally the Prime Minister and there is no way of revising this.

Indeed, the whole situation constitutes such a weakening of Zik's position that it will not come as a surprise to me should the NPC-dominated Federal Parliament move to remove Azikiwe from the Presidency. It is significant that the Chief Justice of the Federation, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, has for months now been tipped for the Nigerian Presidency.

When all available evidence is sifted and weighed, President Azikiwe threw in his hand principally because of the intervention of the army on the side of the reactionaries. By the 28th December, it was clear that President Azikiwe had taken the view that the elections were unfair and undemocratic.

On the 29th, the service chiefs held a conference with Balewa and reassured him, it was reported, of their loyalty. Then came the unprecedented announcement—the army was parading the streets "to show the people that the army is ready in case of trouble". And the announcement came directly from the Army whose head is British Major-General C. E. Welbey-Everard. It was clear that military power controlled by British service chiefs who are naturally out to safeguard British interests, had now been thrown in on the side of Balewa. The same army took over Radio Nigeria although this was reported as placing the radio "under heavy army guard". It was reported by Radio Brazzaville that President Azikiwe's proposed broadcast that never came was called off at the last minute on the insistence of the army. Obviously the source of this news is the French news agency A.F.P. which has reliable contacts in the caucuses of imperialism.

By this view, President Azikiwe gave up the tussle when he saw that the British-led Nigerian Army had thrown its might behind Balewa (even though he Azikiwe is the Commander-in-Chief); that it had suppressed popular demonstrations of support for the President in Lagos and the regional capitals; and that it had sealed off Radio Nigeria to the progressives. One would have expected Azikiwe to defy this British tactic and compel the Army to remove him from office and thus precipitate a major political upheaval which would be made more serious by the new government not being a constitutional one, since no one had been invited by the President to form a government.

But at this juncture, nerve-racking for Azikiwe who in crisis always drew strength from the firmness of his lieutenants, leading members of the Progressive Alliance began to vacillate. Okotie Eboh, National Treasurer of the NCNC, announced he would join an NPC government. T. O. S. Benson had earlier deflected and was transparently using Radio Nigeria against the people's cause. Chief Fadahunsi, NCNC Governor of the Western Region, sided with Premier Akin-tola and the reactionaries. Chief Osadebe, Premier of Mid-West Region and his Governor, Chief Mariere, joined Okotie Eboh, as negotiators between their Party and the NPC. Such manoeuvres must have proved too much for Azikiwe coming as they did from his top political colleagues. He gave up. And Nigeria plunged back into the morass of unmitigated neo-colonialism.

President Azikiwe was cowed by the intervention of the army on the side of Balewa. And his spirit was broken by the apparent unpreparedness of the masses for extra-parliamentary struggle (a function of political leadership!) and by the staggering inconsistency and nauseating opportunism of political colleagues. Students of history are likely to blame Zik for paying too much attention to the inner springs of political power while placing too little reliance on the revolutionary ability of the people.

Where does Nigeria go from here?

It will all depend on the extent to which the people of Nigeria learn the lessons of the past months and particularly of the past few weeks. The setback suffered by the progressives in the recent crisis exposes the utter bankruptcy of bourgeois constitutionalism. It adds point to the view that Nigeria's fight against neo-colonialism stands little chance of succeeding as long as the leadership of the struggle is entrusted to upper and middle strata who, because of ignorance or of ideological bent, know only the parliamentary form of struggle.

There can be no doubt that the Nigerian people will continue in the fight. For the very simple reason that, unlike the middle class professionals and rising business captains, the masses have nothing to gain from a regime of neo-colonialism. But the renewed struggle will make real headway only when the political leaders in Nigeria grasp the eternal wisdom contained in Kwame Nkrumah's famous statement at the Second Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned States in October last year:

"As we sit here, neo-colonialism has created a situation in Africa in which the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed revolution and guerrilla struggle."

Whether the revolutionary struggle shall stand on its own or be made to back up parliamentary constitutionalism is merely a matter of detail. The Nigerian people have no option than to travel the revolutionary road.

# Africa and Neo-Colonialism

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However, with a good analysis it does become apparent that they were capable of responding to the stimulus of God and that by continued response to his divine influence they came to know him to be all consolation and love because of the reciprocal action between him and man. It is also clear that in their individuality, they were united by His external impulse, partly by the world around them and partly by themselves. Some claimed to have had some experience of God. No doubt, it was probably figurative and approximate—it being visual—but they understood that they shared his immortality and that there were things (including devils) that interrupted this realisation.

The imperialists have no better claim. In a similar way, it does not require high intelligence for one to see that dreams related to divine existence, the emergency of prophets, holymen, etc., etc, could not have been geographical or the exclusive privilege of the so-called white man as the imperialists would have us believe. As for our failures, other races have no better claims and, particularly the so-called white man himself is no longer complacent about his divisions and failures—he accepts them as part of the natural order of things. When he operates on racial lines, he claims that it is justified by his White God!

And so, one could go on to show that when the so-called whitemen came to Africa,

he did not come too early and found Africa primitive, but, as with the rest of Africa's glorious past, he came too late to witness it—though, he came early enough to destroy, as he has all along endeavoured, what remained of it.

As the twentieth century rushes on to a close, the liberation struggle in Africa intensifies. Africa's new leaders are confident that the emancipation of Africa will complete the emancipation of man. Kwame Nkrumah in an effort to unify the various faiths and ideologies which unnecessarily divide the peoples of Africa produced his remarkable book CONSCIOUSNESS while in some other states the regimes rule without a programme without intellectual discussion and without purpose—save of course, clinging to power with a coterie of imperialist advisers around them. The imperialists on the other hand are regrouping their "faithful" as their final tool. Tshombe's visit to the Pope was calculated to give heart to the "faithful". But, clearly this won't do. In many of the so-called independent states the imperialists control the press, use it to build up what they call "suitable" leadership and to point out the so-called communist activities of the nationalists.

Events such as are going on in the Congo and which would serve as eye-openers for the masses who have been long time victims of the double-faces of the imperialists were carefully chucked away and the peoples' sympathies directed, not to the number of people who were losing their lives, but to nuns, priests and

their like, and who, in most cases were even not touched. Church sponsored-papers were all quick to print the "humanitarian" aspect of the Stanleyville operation and the "rebels' refusal to talk sense. Yet, when governments in the imperialist countries fail Africa, they say nothing or just mention it in passing.

For example, those who had been led to have faith in the British Labour Party, as a Socialist Party, have had to lose their faces. Wilson supplied South Africa fighter-planes which are intended to shoot Africans anywhere on the Continent who will side with the rights of man in South Africa. This clearly goes on to show that the Labour Party shares the view that a "white" skin is worth up to (or even more than) a thousand "black" skins. Much to our surprise, the Church papers do not find this disturbingly sinful and therefore only mentioned it in passing! Similarly, the spiritual-colonisers find no fault in the Labour Party's mild platitudes and cautions hints in regard to the untenable position of apartheidists, its lack of any positive inclination or common resolve to confront the white clique in Africa with some of the supposed obligations of the British Commonwealth Members, its half-hearted affirmations to help rectify the sickening iterations of the clumsy constitutional fallacies, untruths and garbled facts based on the rigid fanaticism of unrepentant protagonists, its recent involvement in America's show of force in the Congo where

freedom-loving blackmen were literally butchered and poured into a gory pulp in front of their wives and children and its unwillingness to find means to knock some sense in Verwoerd, Smith and their fellow obscurantists who have been deluded by miscalculations of greed, no less by selfish clericalism. NO, these papers fail us. All one can say is that all this helps to bring into critical focus their belated principles of "the brotherhood of man".

The wispy-washy gospel of "love thy neighbour" that has been long preached by the imperialists and their agencies but NEVER practiced by them are at long last approaching frank discussion and practical application. Indeed, as Mr. Kambona, Tanzania Foreign Minister, aptly put it to the Security Council during the debates on the imperialist aggression in the Congo, Africa will fight all attempts "to insinuate the poisons of imperialism, colonialism or neo-colonialism amid high-sounding protestations and expressions of noble intentions." We must re-establish the Religious Minister's stand on Africa and the Liberation Struggle. WAR IS NOT NEW. The Church has often supported people at war. Must AFRICA be the one exception! OURS IS A JUST CAUSE.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, one cannot help affirming that the motive that led to Christianity, the motive that led to Islam, and the motives that led to Buddhism, Hinduism, Brahmaism,