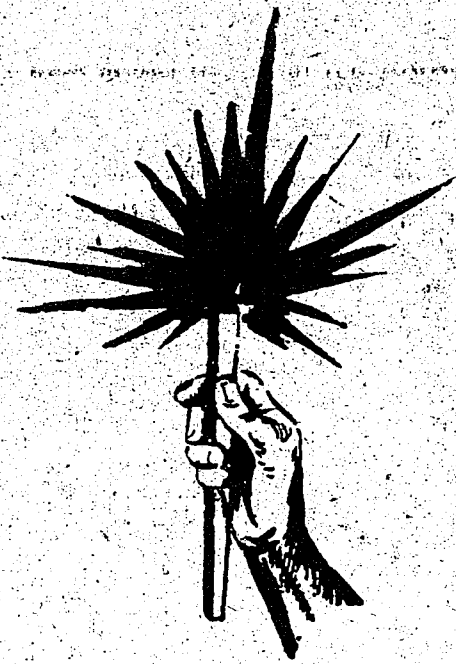


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EDITORIAL

LIE FACTORY

THE London "Daily Express" is the voice of that section of the British ruling class that still dreams with nostalgia of the golden days of British imperialism.

It was the voice of those who wanted to maintain British rule over India. After the British had been forced to leave, it waged a ceaseless and unscrupulous vendetta against the leaders of the new India.

Likewise it has opposed every advance of the colonial liberation movement in Africa. It is one of the most zealous apologists for Verwoerd's apartheid regime and for the Portuguese oppressors in Angola and Mozambique.

It reports the activities of Tshombe and his mercenaries with ill-concealed approval. It is vocal in its support of Ian Smith's white minority regime in Southern Rhodesia—a regime which denies to Africans even the most elementary democratic rights and holds thousands of freedom fighters behind barbed wire.

These reactionary policies abroad are matched by no less reactionary policies at home.

Not only is the "Daily Express" the implacable enemy of those who seek freedom and a better life in what were once Britain's colonies.

It also uses the same weapon of lies, misrepresentation and distortion against those who seek to build a better life for the ordinary people of Britain.

It is not therefore surprising that Ghana, the foremost champion of the cause of African Unity whose advance to Socialism is setting an example which other African countries will follow, should be a Number One target for its attacks.

"Let me bring to light the central meaning of the attacks on me and Ghana", Kwame Nkrumah declared in his speech to the National Assembly on March 26th.

"It is not out of any concern for civil liberty that they attack us. When they attack us it is because we threaten their interests in Ghana and Africa. All the rest of their pretensions are hogwash.

"What is it which they complain about Ghana? That we oppose their control over our continent and that we wish to develop for our own well-being and not for their enrichment."

Now the "Daily Express" has been caught red-handed in the perpetration of a blatant forgery. A picture which it published on March 17th, and which it claimed depicted Opposition leaders in chains in a Ghanaian gaol in fact showed Togolese prisoners in a prison in Togo.

It had been taken after President Olympio's death to show how his regime had treated political prisoners.

The picture appeared not only in the "Daily Express"; it was circulated throughout the world, and was published in many newspapers and magazines.

It is perhaps too much to expect an apology from the "Daily Express." No doubt the paper will with an air of injured innocence declare that it published the picture "in good faith."

It will be able to point to the fact that self-styled "Ghanaian Opposition leaders" had "identified" persons in the photograph.

As Minister Welbeck told this week's press conference, "every Ghanaian adventurer and disgruntled person is considered a spokesman for the people of Ghana and the source of red hot news."

The affair of the forged photography has demonstrated how Busia, Gbedemah and their associates have in fact become tools in imperialism's lie factory.

The "Daily Express" claims to support Commonwealth unity. Let it now cease smearing fellow-members of that Commonwealth and—"in good faith" publish pictures showing Ghana as it really is.

UN Must Fulfil World's Hopes

Make it Representative of World Today

by A Spark Correspondent

TWENTY years ago this month delegates of fifty nations met at San Francisco to draw up the Charter of the United Nations Organisation. Its adoption brought new hope to the peoples of the world longing for a lasting peace and a new world of freedom, justice and equality.

Those hopes have not been fulfilled. There is no peace in Vietnam or in the Congo; there is no freedom, justice or equality in the racist Republic of South Africa, or in Portugal's African colonies.

During the first years of its existence the United Nations was virtually a branch of the U.S. State Department, a "voting machine" for the automatic approval of U.S.-inspired policies.

But with the onward march of the national liberation movement, particularly on the African continent, the character of U.N. began to change. With half the membership made up of Afro-Asian states, many with bitter experience of colonial domination, it has become more difficult for the West

to streamroller through its resolutions.

This is the background to the current crisis in the United Nations Organisation, the effect of which has been virtually to paralyse the work of the General Assembly.

In the words of the New York Times Magazine (14.3.65) "the Security Council is powerless, the General Assembly is powerless, the Secretary-General is powerless. The United Nations has ceased to be an effective international organisation."

It is significant that this artificially stimulated crisis came to a head during the 19th General Assembly—the assembly which many had foretold would become the "African Session."

For the first time an African, Ghana's Mr. Quaison-Sackey, was elected President and important African problems were expected to dominate its discussions.

Chief among these was the Congo problem and the U.S.-Belgian operation against Stanleyville, using the British base on Ascension Island, and also the continuing employment of

mercenaries against the Congolese population.

Other African topics included sanctions against the South African apartheid regime, the threat of a unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, Portugal's war of extermination in Angola and its other African colonies and the possible creation of an atom-free zone in Africa.

Uppermost among other vital issues down for discussion during the 19th General Assembly were the still-unresolved problems of disarmament and the neo-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

But effective U.N. action against the remnants of colonialism, or real progress towards disarmament is clearly not to the liking of all U.N. members.

The pretext for the campaign which was to bring the United Nations to the brink of breakdown was the so-called financial problem. The Soviet Union was accused of being in arrears because it refuses to help foot the bill for the Anglo-French operation against Suez and for the Congo operation which led

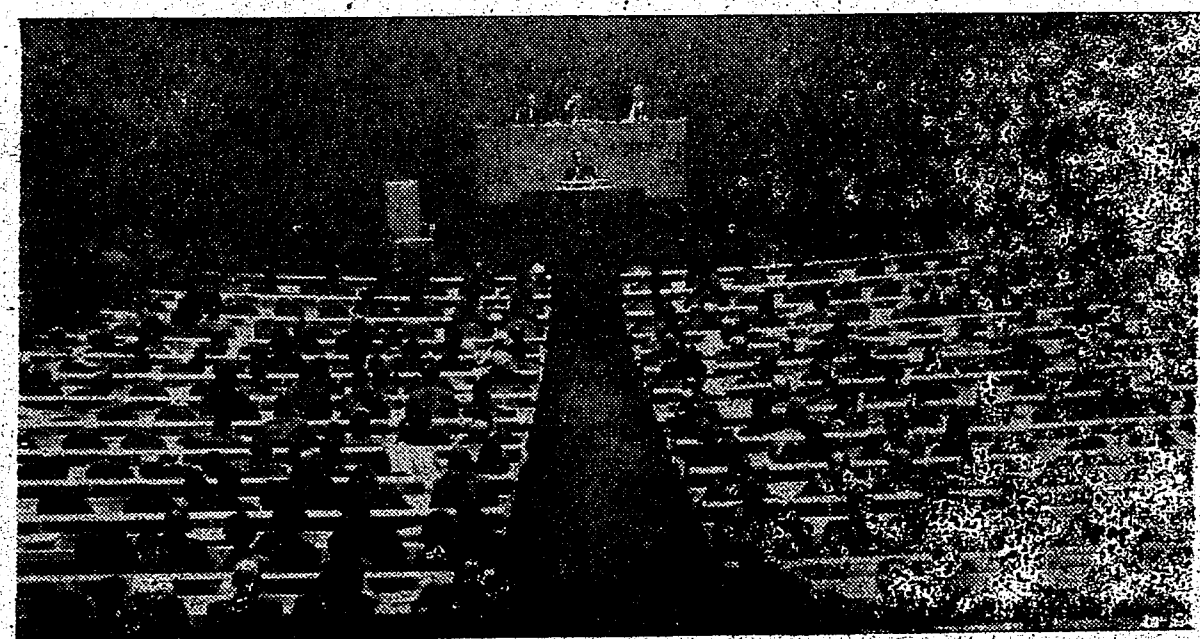
to the murder of Patrice Lumumba and paved the way for the re-establishment of colonial domination.

The United States and its allies first sought to deprive the Soviet Union of its voting rights by reference to Article 19 of the Charter, which applies

and elected non-permanent members of the Security Council and members of the Economic and Social Council and on February 18, despite the U.S. view that Article 19 would be "automatically" applied to deprive the Soviet Union and other countries of their votes, took a roll call vote.



UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS. The success or failure of this auspicious World Body will determine the survival or extinction of mankind.



INSIDE THE UN BUILDING Kwame Nkrumah addresses the 15th session of the United Nations in 1961.

only to regular dues, which the Soviet Union has paid.

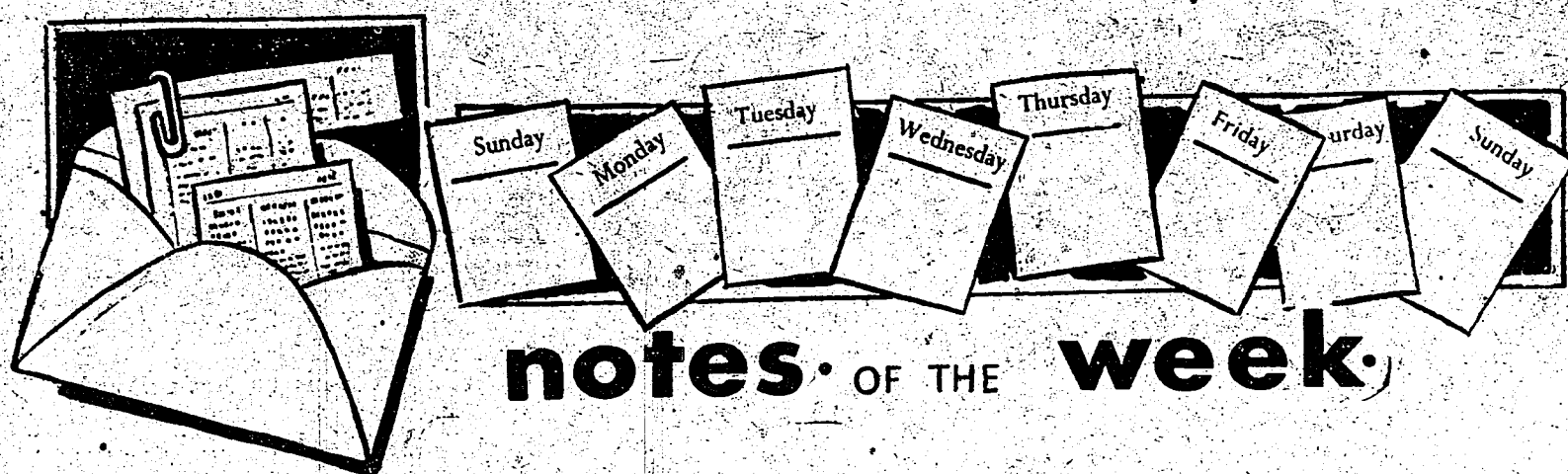
When this failed, the Western Powers tried to block discussions of the items on the Assembly's agenda. But the general debate did take place, and was marked by extremely sharp attacks on Western policies in the Congo and elsewhere.

The Assembly took a number of important decisions: it set up the permanent mechanism of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, dealt with budgetary matters

But despite the effort of the Afro-Asian group supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to find a mutually acceptable solution, the Western Powers succeeded in disrupting the discussion of disarmament and colonialism.

The General Assembly decided to adjourn till September and appointed a special committee on peace-keeping operations under the chairmanship of the President of the Assembly.

Continued on page 2



PRESIDENT Johnson has made a conversion more apparent than real to world protests over American military actions in Vietnam. The Soviet Union and China have already announced that they are giving aid to North Vietnam to resist the U.S. terror attacks on her civilian population. The 17 neutral nations including Ghana made their demand for an end to the war and for negotiations to arrange a settlement.

They received a very curious reply, which appeared to concede the request while in fact giving up nothing of any substance. The essence of the reply was that the United States was willing to take part in "unconditional" peace talks but that it must continue its military support to the South Vietnam regime.

It is military support for the South Vietnam regime by the Americans which is precisely the problem and which must be ended before any political settlement can be reached.

The United States is carrying out aggression not only against the people of North Vietnam, but against the people of South Vietnam too, who want to be rid of the puppet governments which follow each other in Saigon with breath-taking speed while American control continues.

Only this week yet another South Vietnamese admiral has been removed from his job and arrested.

It is the popular content of the struggle that the U.S. State Department seems unable to understand. The war will never be won by American forces because the basic fight is not against armed force but against the desire of the people to be free from U.S. domination.

The British Budget

THE Labour Government has now presented its Budget to Parliament. New stringent tax measures are reported with increases in indirect as well as direct taxes. The Budget was described as part of the 'grimly defensive struggle' which Britain is waging to save sterling in face of pressure franc.

What this means is that the Labour Government is really trying to preserve Britain's traditional position as a centre of world trade and world finance.

This traditional, commercial and financial role of Britain, arose because she was one of the world's most powerful imperialist countries, but now the British people are being made to sacrifice their social services and even living standards to maintain a position which no longer has any reality.

It is difficult to see how the Labour Government can reconcile its socialist claims with its actions in trying desperately to hang on to an essentially capitalist position.

It is for the same reason that the British people are being yet more heavily taxed to pay for arms to maintain Britain's position 'East of Suez'; this means that Labour still wants to play a traditional imperialist role in Asia.

It is for this reason that the Labour Government has failed to condemn U.S. aggression in Vietnam; they want U.S. support for their military

It is this grass roots support which ensures that waves of resistance follow one after the other, growing irresistibly in numbers and extent.

President Johnson is trying to work a confidence trick by offering "unconditional" talks. It is not for the aggressors to lay down the basis on which talks can be held; "unconditional" talks mean that the U.S. intends to try to continue its occupation of South Vietnam while such talks are being held.

"This is clearly unacceptable to anyone in Vietnam, North or South, and is a deliberate attempt to block any negotiations from the start."

The American Government, trying to perpetuate the myth of North Vietnamese aggression, appears to hold out the olive branch for talks and at the same time launches yet another massive air raid on Northern territories.

The linking of the offer of "unconditional" talks with large-scale aid will deceive no one. Aid from the United States in South-East Asia has so far consisted mainly of arms and large hand-outs over which the puppets of South Korea and South Vietnam have quarrelled—and parted.

It has been the source of this large-scale, corruption. One war lord after another has used it to rob and oppress the people and to hold them down in the interests of United States imperialism.

The best aid that America can offer anybody, in South-East Asia or anywhere else, is to get off the backs of the people and leave them to decide their own fate.

Mr. Wilson will no doubt be feeling somewhat pained at Peking's refusal to receive Patrick Gordon Walker on his

occupation of Malaysia as against Indonesia, they want support for their military adventures in the Middle East to protect the oil supplies and oil profits of the capitalist oil monopolies.

The Budget makes great play of taxing capital gains. But if the experiences of death duties are anything to go by; the capitalist firms of Britain will find ways round this.

Recently any man who paid death duties was described as having either a bad lawyer, stupid, or hating his family. The same will happen in the case of the capital gains unless the Labour Government threatens to take over such firms which evade tax, and carries out the threat. We think it will probably not take any such measures.

International bankers are bringing pressure to bear on the Labour Government to attack living standards at home, especially by cutting down on social services, such as health, education and housing.

In this they are joined by some Tories who have decided that the class war must be waged sternly and bitterly to force the people to accept lower living standards and to deprive them of their gains under the so-called 'welfare state'.

The Budget is not a socialist budget but perhaps it will lead many sincere socialists in Britain to wake up and realise that they are not likely to get socialism with the present set up of the British Labour Party.

mission. There seems to be a problem here of the right hand not knowing what the left is doing.

Mr. Peter Hope, Britain's representative at the United Nations Committee at work on defining aggression, has launched a vicious attack on North Vietnam, repeating the lies of the State Department that it is the North which is attacking South Vietnam.

It is not surprising that Britain should scarcely be regarded as a suitable "peace-

maker" when ever since the crisis blew up the British Governments, Labour and Tory, have been the main apologists for U.S. policy.

The campaign for peace in Vietnam will not be deterred by U.S. manoeuvres. The people will see through these patent devices to confuse the main and basic issue—that the U.S. must take its troops out of Vietnam and leave the people to negotiate their own settlements.

Stop the Election Now!

FIVE members of the Special United Nations Committee on Colonialism have in their report on Southern Rhodesia expressed "grave concern" that a general election is due to be held there next month without the possibility of the African peoples being able to express their views and establish the Government, which will reflect their wishes.

The British Government is trying to convince the world that the calling of the election by Ian Smith will make no difference to the course of the future development in Southern Rhodesia.

It must be apparent even to them that Smith is going to work for a two-thirds majority so that he can make constitutional changes leading to a declaration of independence.

A decisive move now to halt the elections can avert terrible danger inside Southern Rhodesia and set the country peacefully on the road to real independence with democratic rights extended to the people.

If Smith is allowed to get his majority and take new measures designed to continue the denial of the "one man, one vote" principle the liberation fight will take a new and more tragic turn.

The Labour Government must carry the responsibility

for what happens in Southern Rhodesia. If Smith succeeds, it will mean that the Organisation of African Unity will recognise a new Government in exile; it will mean that African members of the British Commonwealth will have to look at their membership and decide to pull out.

Britain will have lost any right to claim that she is for democracy and independence anywhere.

The elections should be called off, forbidden by Britain and steps taken now to arrange for a general election which will give everybody the right to vote for the leader of their choice, and to establish a representative government for the first time.

This will inevitably happen, sooner or later; it is the responsibility of Britain to see that it happens now and to see that it happens without the suffering, violence and bloodshed that a new racist Southern Rhodesian Government will inflict on the people if they are allowed to hold their phoney elections next month.

Time is short and the situation is grave. Surely Mr. Wilson is not so pre-occupied in carrying through his role "East of Suez" to be wholly ignorant of the consequences of his present policy in Southern Rhodesia?

Ghana and World Youth

YOUTH is much in the news in Ghana this week. The World Federation of Democratic Youth is holding its Executive Committee meeting in the University of Ghana at Legon. This is the first time since its inception 20 years ago in London in 1945 that the Executives have met in an African state.

Its meeting here reflects the way in which African youth is moving onto the world stage and taking an increasing part in youth's campaigns for peace, independence and equal social rights.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth was born out of the struggles of young people during the Second World War against fascism. It has developed into a worldwide progressive youth movement dedicated to the fight for peace and to the cause of international friendship among young people from all countries.

Young people have been to the fore in the fight against the H-bomb, in the fight against racial discrimination and the struggles for their countries' independence.

In these efforts the Federation has given consistent and unwavering support and has helped to mobilise the opinion of young people every-

where in support of their noble aims.

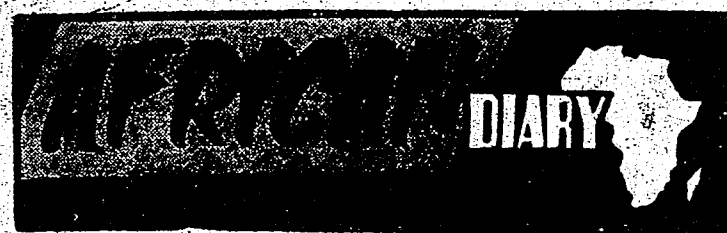
In addition to the World Federation Executive meeting, Accra will see the gathering of the youth of thirty African states to discuss the role of young people in changing African society.

We shall have the opportunity to hear from young people coming from widely differing backgrounds how they are playing their part to take Africa into the modern age, racing to catch up and cast off remnants of the colonial heritage of their people.

Such gatherings will strengthen all the African states in helping to win more and more of their youth for a firm and uncompromising anti-imperialist struggle and for the cause of African Unity.

The young people will not only be concerned with their own countries. They will show their support for the people of South Africa, in the mock trial of Verwoerd to be staged at the end of the Seminar.

Both these two important youth events will mark the development of the youth and student movement of Ghana, assisting it to take its place in the forefront of the ranks of progressive youth. We wish them all success in their deliberations.



5TH APRIL;

TANZANIA: The Tanzania Government has banned the Jehovah's Witness Sect, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, said a Government statement issued in Dar-es-Salaam.

KENYA: Kenya's Minister for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, Mr. Achieng Oneko, said in Nakuru that Kenya believes in Socialism not Capitalism.

GHANA: Mrs. Lorraine Senarante, Ceylon High Commissioner left Ghana for re-posting. * A G.D.R. delegation of political Bureau of C.U.P. currently visiting Ghana has paid a courtesy call on President Nkrumah at Flagstaff House, Accra.

MAURITANIA: Presenting his credentials in Nouakchott, Mauritania to President Ould Dadah today, Dr. K. Foli, Ghana's Ambassador to Mauritania said that the speedy establishment of the Continental Government is indispensable if African Unity is to become a reality.

6TH APRIL;

GHANA: A ten-man Chinese Parliamentary delegation of National People's Congress of the Peoples Republic of China has arrived in Ghana.

* A new pest considered to be a serious threat to the cocoa industry has been discovered by the Cocoa Research Institute, Tafo.

SENEGAL: Senegal celebrates its fourth anniversary of the attainment of a Republic today. In a message to President Leopold Senghor congratulating him on this happy occasion, President Nkrumah of Ghana stressed that the bond of brotherhood between Ghana and Senegal would be strengthened in the succeeding anniversary and guide the efforts of the two countries towards the speedy realisation of African Unity.

ADDIS ABABA: The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has sent an urgent message to the Foreign Minister of Algeria and Senegal to raise the question of Rhodesia at the United Nations Security Council, Mr. Mohammed Sahnoun, assistant Secretary-General of the OAU has announced in Addis Ababa.

NIGERIA: Counsel for Dr. Victor Leonard Allen now serving a one-year term for sedition in Nigeria has claimed that the High Court will be departing from justice if it rejects the appeal against his client's con-

viction.

ETHIOPIA: The Ethiopian government has denied charges by Somalia that Ethiopia had been receiving arms from Western Germany.

7TH APRIL

GHANA: Three Lebanese and three other foreigners arrested by the police for illegal trafficking of diamonds, have been ordered to leave the country forthwith.

* Two Journalists, Mr. Kofi Badu and Mr. F. O. Awuku, have left Accra for Bamako to attend the Steering Committee meeting of the Pan-African Union of Journalists.

8TH APRIL

ALGERIA: President Ben Bella of Algeria now in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, has called for an end to imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of independent countries.

BRITISH GUIANA: Dr. Jagan Cheddi, former Premier of Guiana now visiting Cuba, has said people should depend on their own strength and organise themselves to struggle for National Liberation.

NIGERIA: According to provisional figures issued by Nigerian Federal Office of Statistics, Nigeria had a £40 million trade deficit last year;

* Nigeria has proposed that the United Nations launch a massive world-wide campaign against South Africa in order to counter its increasing efforts in the public relations and information field.

SUDAN: Mr. William Deng of the Sudan African National Union (SANU) has said that his party will not observe any constitutional resolutions passed by the New Sudanese National Assembly due to be elected on April 21 unless the election is deferred until after the round-table conference to determine the future of Sudan has been held.

IVORY COAST: Four African Heads of state belonging to Nouakchott group hold talks in Abidjan today to "discuss Africa and international problems". They are Presidents Yameogo (Upper Volta); Nicolas Grunitzky, (Togo); Hamani Diori, (Niger) and Houphouet Boigny (Ivory Coast).

ZAMBIA: Mr. Jacobus Swart, a Zambian white railway worker who allegedly placed bricks inside equipment box and ordered an African worker to carry it has been served with deporta-

tion order to leave the country within 48 hours.

KENYA: Two men charged with the murder of Mr. Pio Da Gama Pinto a member of Kenya Parliament appeared before a magistrate court in Nairobi today.

* Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Republic of Kenya, has said in Nairobi today that his Government will deal drastically against any subversion in the country. He said there would be no distribution of free lands as being rumoured. Nobody would be dispossessed of his holding.

DAHOMEY: Dahomey breaks diplomatic relations with "Free China" as a result of her decision to recognise the People's Republic of China.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The United Nations special committee on colonialism resumed its debate on Southern Rhodesia today after studying a statement by Britain that the decision to hold election in Southern Rhodesia did not materially affect the prospects for a peaceful settlement of present problems.

TANZANIA: President Nyerere has strongly condemned United States military commitment in the Congo and blamed her for ignoring the recent appeals by OAU for immediate withdrawal of foreign military aid to Tshombe regime.

10TH APRIL

GHANA: Ghana has been elected a member of the 28 nation committee to draw up rules of procedure for the United Nations Trade and Development Board.

* Chinese Congress men now visiting Ghana have paid courtesy call on President Nkrumah at the Flagstaff House Accra.

* Mr. N. A. Welbeck, Minister of Information and Party Propaganda has sent a message to the Conference of the Pan African Union of Journalists executive committee now in session in Bamako, calling for intensification of the struggle to build an Africa free from exploitation.

UGANDA: Mr. Benedicto Kiwawuka, President of the Democratic Party of Uganda has been awarded £500 damages against Attorney-General Godfrey Binaisa for unlawful arrest and wrongful imprisonment in December 1963.

ALGERIA: President Ben Bella of Algeria has closed the Narberousse Prison in Algiers and released its 874 inmates.

NIGERIA: All but one of the members of the Mid-West Democratic Front, in the Mid-West Regional House of Assembly, have crossed the carpet to join the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens Government bench.

U.N. MUST FULFIL WORLD'S HOPES

(Continued from Page 1)

bly, Mr. Quaison-Sackey.

Working in co-operation with the U.N. Secretary-General, it will examine all aspects of these operations, including ways and means of overcoming the current financial difficulties.

Its purpose is to find early solutions to the problems that arose at the Assembly in order to enable the United Nations to continue its normal work.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "the United Nations Organisation, in spite of all its shortcomings, is the only universal instrument yet devised by man for the reconciliation of differences among nations, and for the mobilisation of world public opinion toward the achievement of these generally accepted objectives which are the foundations of the Charter."

If the United Nations is to fulfil the hopes placed in it by mankind, it must cease to be a mere instrument of Western policies.

It must become genuinely representative of the world as it is today, not as it was in 1945, before the wind of change swept across Asia and Africa.

It must include the real representatives of the 700 million people of China. The Chinese People's Republic must take its rightful place.

It is high time to implement the resolutions, approved over a year ago by substantial majorities, to increase the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, with the Afro-Asian states having five of the ten elective seats, and the membership of the Economic and Social Council from

eighteen to twenty-seven. The Soviet Union has ratified these resolutions; the United States and Britain have so far failed to do so.

It is indeed high time that a permanent seat should be created for Africa on the Security Council in view not only of the growing number of African members of the United Nations, but also of the increasing importance of the African continent in world affairs.

This suggestion apfotes equally to Asia whose only permanent "representative" on the Security Council at present is the Formosan puppet regime and the Middle East.

For only when it is really representative of the world as it really is can the United Nations fulfil the hopes of mankind.

The Congo and African Freedom

by K. Roshchin

THE Congolese people are fighting a heroic battle against the united forces of imperialism and the puppet Government, which is politically and economically controlled by foreign monopolies. Recent events have shown that the imperialist Powers headed by the U.S.A. will resort to every means, including terror and mass murder to resist the liberation movement and keep the Congolese people in colonial subjection.

The reason is not hard to seek: among the newly free African countries the Congo is the richest in mineral resources.

International monopoly groups and cartels take pains to conceal the scale of their investment in the Congo and especially their profits. But output figures and other information show that the bulk of the capital in the Congo belongs to Belgium. It is estimated at \$3,000 million.

After the Second World War American banks and trusts elbowed their way into the Congo. Together with the Belgian financial oligarchy, the U.S. groups of Morgan, Rockefeller, Du Pont and Lazard, the British groups of Lever, Oppenheimer and the Midland, Barclays and Baring Bros & Co. banks, the French monopoly associations of Rothschild, de Wendel and Schneider are the real bosses of the Congo.

"ELDORADO"

Members of the royal families of Sweden and the Netherlands, scions of the house of Savoy and even the Vatican (indirectly, it must be admitted) figure among the large shareholders of companies doing business in the Congo. Description of the giant octopus strangling the Congo would be incomplete if we failed to mention West Germany.

Not long after the war the Rhein and Ruhr monopolists took their place in the "international" colony. They are particularly interested in rare metals and ores used for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. The agreement signed between Bonn and Leopoldville in mid-1963 gave West Germany greater access to this African "Eldorado".

The imperialists calculate that if the Congolese were to attain genuine independence, they might put paid to their economic backwardness in a comparatively short period, and stop their country being a raw material supplier of the imperialist powers.

The Congo certainly has the resources for this—inexhaustible ores and hydro-power resources, quite a sizeable working class and an advanced mining industry. The Congolese would not be obliged to rely on neo-colonialist "aid" from the Western Powers, by which means the international monopolies hamper many young African states from escaping economic dependence.

But there is more to it than economic factors. The Congo is located in the middle of Africa and therefore holds an important strategic position in Africa. The colonialists took upon it as the last line of defence against the national-liberation movement sweeping

southward from the north. The international cartels regard the Congo not only as a buffer between the liberated north and the racist south, but also as an important stronghold, which can be used for pressure and provocations against the sovereign African countries. The immediate prospects of the fight to destroy colonialism's remaining strongholds on the African continent will be greatly influenced by the Congo developments.

The Congolese people refuse to acquiesce to the aggressive plans of the international monopolies. Their failures and defeats in the first years of their struggle, the mass political repressions, arrests and murder of progressive leaders have not killed their aspirations for real independence as is evidenced by last year's rebellion of the patriotic forces against the imperialists and police rule.



Tshombe, Africa's Number One Enemy

The upsurge in the national-liberation movement brought down the Aoula Government and caused great anxiety in the colonialist camp. A deal between Washington and Brussels enthroned the obedient puppet—Katanga secessionist Moïse Tshombe—as Prime Minister in Leopoldville.

Tshombe had his orders: to adopt the demagogic slogan of "national conciliation" and thereby stop the offensive of the people's liberation forces, to disrupt the ranks of the patriots and give Mobutu's army a respite. This respite was to be used to equip it with American and Belgian arms, whereupon the national-liberation movement was to be drowned in blood.

At the same time the State Department inspired an appeal by the Leopoldville puppet to Nigeria, Ethiopia, Liberia, Senegal and the Malagasy Republic asking them to send their troops to "pacify" the country. Far better, of course, to have Africans to suppress the Congolese patriots.

After the appeal the U.S.A. hurriedly declared it was willing to pay for the maintenance of these troops. This American move lacked novelty. They had only recently used the U.N. flag to cover up their subversive actions against the young Congo Republic. And

because of this mantle they had succeeded in attaining their aims. Now a tactical change had to be made, and they hoped to induce Africans to take aggressive action against the Congolese.

But now they had to contend with the Organisation of African Unity; the imperialists cannot buy everything with dollars or francs. The African countries refused to send troops to the Congo. The national-liberation forces in the Congo replied to the demagogic appeal of the puppet Government for "national conciliation" by intensifying their drive. In a short time the patriots had liberated a large part of the country and completely demoralised the punitive armies.

Their plans foiled, the imperialists resorted to open interference. The country once again became the object of military intervention by the colonial Powers. American and Belgian military equipment (armoured cars, guns, mortars, rifles) streamed into the Congo. These weapons were destined for the mercenaries hired in Belgium, West Germany, Italy, the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia and generously remunerated by the NATO Powers.

Military transport planes and helicopters with American crews and hundreds of American paratroopers, ready for action, arrived in the Congo. American planes, piloted by Cuban counter-revolutionaries, were thrown into action. They brutally bombed and machine-gunned the regions occupied by the liberation forces.

The Portuguese colonialists transferred large supplies of arms and ammunition from Angola to Leopoldville. An agreement was signed between Belgium and Tshombe, according to which "Belgian military personnel is to carry out tasks for the Congolese Government".

WICKED AGREEMENT

In keeping with the agreement over 400 Belgian officers, including 12 colonels, took command over part of Tshombe's gendarmes and white mercenaries in the counter-offensive against the Congolese patriotic forces. Military operations were planned directly by the Belgian and American military missions.

The U.S. and Belgian military interference in the domestic affairs of the Congo was a flagrant violation of international law and the U.N. Charter. They openly violated the U.N. Security Council resolutions prohibiting the dispatch of military supplies and military personnel to the Congo in contravention of the United Nations.

The Soviet Union roundly condemned U.S. and Belgian military interference in the internal affairs of the Congo. It gave full support to the lawful demands laid down in the decisions of the extraordinary session of the Foreign Ministers of Organisation of African Unity. The session, held at the beginning of September 1964 in Addis Ababa, insisted that foreign interference in Congolese domestic affairs be stopped, and issued an ultimatum to Tshombe, demanding that the use of white mercenaries cease and those in the country be expelled.

Further it described the Congolese problem as an African political problem, one that should be solved by the African countries without outside

interference. A Special Conciliation Commission was formed to implement these decisions. The commission is headed by Kenya's President Jomo Kenyatta.

Washington and Brussels obstructed the work of the commission in its efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Congo problem. At their instigation the Leopoldville puppets refused to recognise the demands of the African countries. Moreover, Tshombe began to hire new mercenaries to step up military operations against the liberation forces.

At the end of September 1964, the commission sent a delegation to Washington for talks with the U.S. Government about the cessation, in accordance with the O.A.U. decision, of American military assistance to Tshombe and U.S. interference in the Congo. The delegation declared that the fulfilment of these demands was a premise for an end to bloodshed and the calling of all forces. Africa's delegates got a cool reception, and found nobody even to negotiate with.

GROSS INSULT

The refusal by the United States and the puppets to fall in with the O.A.U. demands for a settlement of the Congo problem by negotiation was a gross insult to the Organisation of African Unity. It convincingly demonstrated that the U.S.-Belgian colonialists were determined to intensify their military interference.

In the meantime the Congolese patriots, fighting against heavy odds, were repelling attacks by well-equipped mercenaries. They were foiling the plan of the American and Belgian military advisers to capture Stanleyville, the stronghold of the liberation forces.

The delay in Tshombe's "pacification" of the country, begun in summer 1964, did not suit the interventionists. Time was working against them. "A country the size of all Europe—stretching from Athens to Oslo", the *British Observer* of November 29, 1964, wrote, "cannot be coerced by a Government with limited authority, with an administration of the sketched kind, and with an army so deplorable that it can fight only when led by a handful of white mercenaries".

The imperialist Powers decided on a decisive blow against the Congolese liberation army before the opening of the U.N. General Assembly in order to present a fait accompli to the African countries and the world at large. But their hopes staked on Tshombe's many-thousand-strong army of gendarmes and mercenaries collapsed.

A Saintraint, a former administrator of the Congo, at present a deputy of the Belgian Parliament declared: "Stanleyville can only be taken by force and with the help of Belgian paratroopers". To make it possible for Tshombe to establish himself in Stanleyville his American and Belgian bosses decided to cut the way there themselves.

The landing in the Congo of Belgian regulars was an act of direct military intervention of the imperialist Powers against the fighting Congolese people. By this action the U.S. and Belgium, with the connivance of Britain, threw down an open challenge to the African countries and to world public opinion. They ignored the recent demands made by the African countries at the O.A.U. session and later at the Conference of Non-aligned countries in Cairo to stop armed interference and immediately withdraw all mercenaries from the Congo.

The Stanleyville action is especially dangerous because it

obviously grows from a collective conspiracy by the imperialist Powers. The direct perpetrators of this outrage were the United States, Belgium and Britain.

The Belgian paratroopers boarded U.S. Air Force planes on the unhappily-named Ascension Island, a British military base. But the Government of West Germany, Italy and other NATO countries who approve of the military intervention in the Congo share the responsibility of the aggressors. At its extraordinary meeting the Standing NATO Council unanimously approved the U.S.-Belgian intervention.

The Stanleyville action of the colonialists is more than a new chapter in the Congolese tragedy. It shows that the Western Powers will resort to open terror in order to intimidate African countries supporting the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies, anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa, and opponents of the racist regime of Rhodesia.

In an endeavour to re-establish their rule in Africa, the organisers of the collective NATO aggression against Stanleyville intended to shake the foundations of the Organisation of African Unity, sow confusion and strife in it, undermine the faith of its participants in the power of the Organisation.

By resorting to open military intervention, the imperialists wanted to strike a blow at those African countries who do not want the African continent to remain an economic appendage of the capitalist world.

RACIAL SUPERIORITY

The reaction to this aggression in Cairo and Accra, Conakry and Khartoum and in the majority of African countries has proved that the true aims of this dangerous conspiracy of the colonialist and neo-colonialist forces have been clearly understood.

These events show, the *Ghanaian Times* wrote on the day after the attack on Stanleyville, "that the West has not abandoned its hopes of creating an enclave of neo-colonialism in the heart of Africa, linking Pretoria, Salisbury, Angola and the Congo in an axis controlled and exploited by international finance capital from Wall Street, London, Belgium and Bonn, and upholding the racial superiority doctrine of apartheid".

The aggressors in the Congo did not expect to encounter such an angry denunciation of their action in Africa and by peace-loving forces elsewhere. Insistent demands for the withdrawal of the paratroopers forced the U.S.A. and Belgium to cut short their operation and remove their troops from the Congo.

Stanleyville may have fallen but the national-liberation movement in the Congo has not been broken. The imperialist conspiracy did not attain its principal aim, and its initiators have once again been exposed before Africa and the world at large as sworn enemies of the freedom of African peoples.

The collective action by the imperialist necessitates African unity and co-ordinated measures of the African countries in defence of the Congolese people's right to freedom. Most members of the Organisation of African Unity resolutely condemned the American-Belgian intervention. But there were Africans who did not.

Wachuku, then Foreign Minister of Nigeria, openly approved the U.S.-Belgian interference in the Congo. He even said that certain African



Gbenye, a revolutionary leader fighting for true independence for the Congo

countries were the true interventionists.

But African developments are not decided by a few henchmen of the imperialists. "Stanleyville has been taken but Africa remains," President Ben-Bella declared at a meeting in Algiers on November 25. "Africa is the Congo and Algeria, Bamako, Conakry and Cairo."

It is everywhere and this Africa will not yield... Let all Africans rise like one man to foil the imperialist plans, the criminal actions of the military forces, attacking the unity of Africa and the freedom of Africa."

On the day after the landing of the Belgian in Stanleyville, the Governments of a number of African countries (Algeria, U.A.R., Mali, Guinea, Kenya, Sudan, etc.) gave directions to their representatives in the U.N. to demand the convocation of the Security Council. The Algerian representative declared that the military intervention of the U.S.A. and Belgium constituted a threat to international peace and security and created a dangerous precedent in Africa.

The Sudanese representative pointed out that his Government considered the landing in Stanleyville of Belgian paratroopers from American planes a gross interference in the internal affairs of the African countries.

WORLD'S SUPPORT

The U.S.A. and Belgium put strong pressure on the African countries to foil their initiative and to prevent the convocation of the Security Council or, at least, to delay it until the punitive operation was completed.

A small number of African countries followed the lead of the Western Powers. The Nigerian Government, for example, withheld support from the communique of the African group in the U.N., condemning the U.S.-Belgian military intervention.

After a week's delay, the Security Council met at the request of 18 African countries and Cambodia, Afghanistan, Indonesia and Yugoslavia. In its memorandum the 22 countries condemned the armed intervention of the U.S.A. and Belgium in the Congo, qualifying it as a flagrant breach of the U.N. Charter, a challenge to the O.A.U. and a threat to peace and security on the African continent.

The three-week-long meetings of the Security Council turned into a court judging the colonialists. "I have not come here to sit in the dock!" Spaak shouted. In spite of all the manoeuvres of the Belgian, American and other NATO diplomats, the aggressors were put in the pillory. They were tried by the representatives of the independent African countries.

The Soviet Union and all other peace-loving countries fully supported the Africans' just demands. While the Security Council was discussing Congo events, an extraordinary session of the O.A.U. Foreign Ministers' Council was called in New York.

By a majority of 20 (with 10 abstentions and 4 absent) it passed a resolution affirming the September O.A.U. decision and categorically condemning the U.S.A. and Belgium. This greatly influenced the course of the discussion in the Security Council.

In the resolution adopted on December 30, the Security Council requested U.S.A. and Belgium "to desist from intervening in the domestic affairs of the Congo", agreed with the O.A.U. demand that "mercenaries should as a matter of urgency be withdrawn from the Congo", and asked the O.A.U. "to pursue its efforts... to achieve national reconciliation in accordance with the resolution dated September 10, 1964".

Even though the resolution did not fully reflect the demands of the African countries put forward at the Security Council and at the O.A.U. session in New York (it did not name the Western Powers who participated in the aggression), it did condemn the intervention and create the prerequisites for a solution of the Congo problem by the Congolese people with O.A.U. assistance.

The resolution is significant because it confirms the right of the African peoples to decide their own fate and problems facing them without interference by the neo-colonialists.

The American imperialists and their NATO partners do not intend to lay down arms. The Leopoldville rulers and their Western bosses overtly defy the recently adopted decisions of the O.A.U. and the U.N. Security Council. Tshombe's emissaries are enlisting new batches of mercenaries in South Africa, Rhodesia and Western Europe, and U.S. transport planes are continuing to unload more and more arms and equipment on Congolese territory.

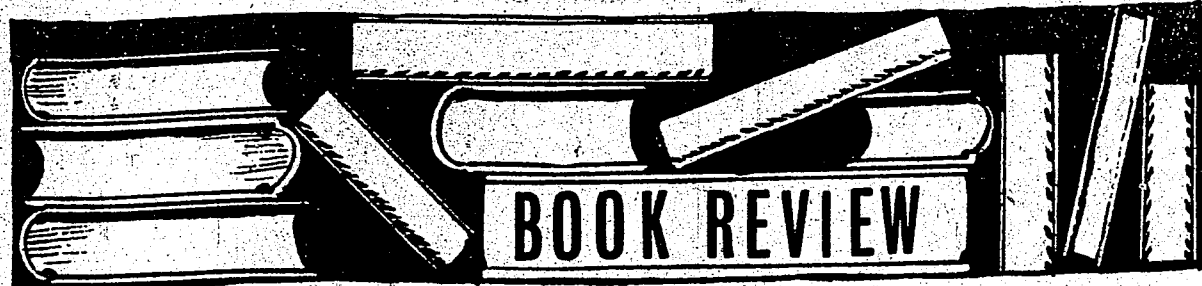
Military instructors from the United States, Belgium, Israel and Italy still teach Mobutu's gendarmes. Tshombe openly admits that he intends to create a permanent detachment of foreign mercenary officers in the Congolese army. He also intends to organise a "militia", numbering 30,000 white mercenaries.

The Leopoldville regime has started a wave of bloody terror on occupied territory. Thousands of Congolese are dying at the hands of Tshombe's butchers. Yet the Atlantic strategists have come to the conclusion that even with the help of foreign mercenaries, American arms and military advisers, Tshombe will not be able to suppress the patriotic movement. "Strong Western intervention on a long-term basis may be the only thing that could save the Congo from complete disintegration", wrote the *U.S. News & World Report*, a paper close to the U.S. ruling circles.

This frank admission throws vivid light on the behind-the-scenes activity of the Atlantic strategists, which began immediately after the Security Council ended its work. On American initiative, a secret session of the NATO Council

Continued on Page 5

1 Mines in the Congo account for 8 per cent of the world output of copper, 75 per cent of industrial diamonds, 9 per cent of tin, 70 per cent of cobalt and 90 per cent of radium. There are also rich uranium, lead, manganese, iron ore, gold, silver and coal deposits in the country. Palm plantations extend along the jungle belt in the north; coffee and tea plantations in the mountainous east. The Congo has vast forests and large hydro-power resources.



EVERY freedom fighter in any part of the world, who is dedicated to the liberation of his country, and who wants to know the ins and outs of how the imperialists seek to counteract the national liberation movement must necessarily make "Guerilla and counter guerilla warfare" by William Pomeroy, published by International Publishers of New York, his companion.

The author, himself once a fighter in the guerilla war waged by the Huks of the Philippines first against the Japanese and then against the U.S. puppet government is one of the very few objective writers about liberation movements and freedom struggles.

CONTACT WITH HUKS

Born in a small town in upstate New York in 1916, William J. Pomeroy served in the

Philippines with the United States Army during World War II as a historian attached to the Fifth Air Force.

Here he first came in contact with the Huks, a Filipino guerilla force which fought the Japanese throughout the occupation on the island of Luzon.

At the end of the war, he returned to the Philippines as a free-lance writer for the Manila press, at the same time studying at the University of

the Philippines, where he met and married Celia Mariano.

In 1952, together with his wife, he joined the new Huk movement in the fields, as teachers and writers. They were captured the same year by Government forces, and together, sentenced for life imprisonment for "rebellion complexed with murder, robbery, arson, and kidnapping".

Released after serving 10 years in jail, Pomeroy was de-

ported, finally uniting with his wife in London.

His first book, *The forest*, gives an account of his life with the Huks, dealing in passing, with the Huk's guerilla warfare.

His latest book on guerilla warfare is certainly a masterpiece. In a simple style, he tells us all about guerilla and counter-guerilla warfare, as undertaken by the imperialist powers to thwart the efforts of countries fighting to be free.

Its 127 pages are full of very essential, reasonably and logically set out facts of the intrigues of the dominating powers.

The chapter on "Why Guerilla Warfare?" reveals why it has become necessary for some freedom fighters to resort to guerilla warfare.

He justifies this when he notes that "guerilla" or "counter-guerilla" wars, have for the past few years received major attention in the military training camps and in the military literature of the United States, France and Britain.

He reveals that whole new branches have been created in the armies of imperialist countries to specialise in guerilla fighting and in how to cope with it, adding that extensive studies on guerilla warfare have been financed by governmental agencies, both military and political, and have been widely circulated to popularise the military policies associated with it.

IMPERIALIST PLANS

He goes on to tell us that this is due to the fact that the main world forces for liberation, represented by the socialist countries and their allies, have substantially altered the balance of power in world relations.

They are in a position to thwart imperialist plans for a major war of aggression, and are actively rallying the peoples of all countries for peace and for an end to intervention in the affairs of other coun-

Guerilla Warfare

by Max Addo

tries.

Thus, in a score of countries in Asia and Africa—India, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Nigeria, for example, the people and their leaders have been able to manoeuvre for freedom without an armed struggle becoming necessary in their particular cases.

HISTORICAL CHANGE

The present historical period, which is one of general transition from capitalism to socialism and of the break-up of the colonial system of imperialism, may prove different from the preceding great historical change from feudalism to capitalism, which was marked by waves of armed revolutions, civil wars, and national wars, conducted by the rising capitalist class to attain power.

Pomeroy's vivid account of "Guerilla Warfare in American History and U.S. Counter-insurgency Programme" should be read and studied by all engaged in liberation movements.

Throughout the book Pomeroy reveals the tactics, programmes and manoeuvres by the imperialist and seeks solutions to the problems they create.

We do not only recommend this book to every freedom fighter, we also believe that it should be translated not only into such languages as French, Russian, Chinese but also into such languages as Hausa, Swahili and Arabic so that it will reach the broad masses of the people of the world who are fighting for their freedom and independence.

And a Threetold Cord

By Brian Hunting

DURING his period of house arrest Alex La Guma worked on his second novel, "And a Threetold Cord", this time dealing with life in one of the shanty-towns sprawled on the periphery of Cape Town.

Few white South Africans can have any conception of what life in a shanty-town is like, for here are housed the tens of thousands of Non-whites for whom there is no "official" place to live, Coloureds and Africans clutching precariously to life on the outskirts of the cities which offer their only hope of sustenance.

Many of the inhabitants are in the urban area illegally, lacking the papers which establish their right to existence, a prey to perpetual police raids, insecurity and poverty. Home for them is a crazily-constructed shack providing only the barest shelter from the elements.

There are no paved streets, sanitation, drainage or electric light in these areas; water has to be bought by the canful. In the Cape winter, when the rain comes pouring down, the roofs leak and the whole neighbourhood becomes sodden and waterlogged.

Over all hovers the smell of dirt and wretchedness. Children play in the mud, and men

and women flounder in the dark going to and from work—if they are lucky enough to have work.

These are areas where life is short and cheap, where violence flares out of hate and frustration, yet where humanity, love and hope sprout even from the dunghill of evil and decay.

BASIC OPTIMISM

And A Threetold Cord is drenched in the wet and misery of the Cape winter, whose grey and dreary tones Alex La Guma has captured in the series of graphic prose-etchings.

Under a lesser pen, it could have been depressing, this picture of South Africa's lower depths, with its incidents of sordid brutality and infinite desolation. But Alex La Guma's compassion and fidelity to life have infused it with a basic optimism.

His electric dialogue crackles with the lightning of the human spirit. His message is: "People can't stand up to world alone, they got to be together."

The fact that he was living under twenty-four-hour house arrest, and was thus completely cut off from all possi-

bility of political action, did not save Alex La Guma from still further victimisation at the hands of the Government.

Following the passing of the ninety-day no-trial Act by the South African Parliament in 1963, Alex La Guma was one of those who was arrested and detained without trial.

In prison he was held in solitary confinement, locked in his cell alone for twenty-three and half hours a day, the remaining half-hour being allowed for "exercise"—also on his own.

As was the case with other detainees, he was denied visitors and any reading or writing material, refused access to his legal adviser and generally subjected to the most abominable form of mental torture so that he might be forced to answer questions to the satisfaction of the police.

His wife Blanche, a nursing midwife, was also detained, and their two children had to be cared for by Mr. La Guma's mother.

Blanche La Guma was later released but almost immediately served with a banning order which prohibits her attendance at all gatherings, political or social forbids her to communicate in any way with any other named or banned person, and restricts her to the Wynberg magisterial

district in which she lives.

In due course Alex himself was released—but on bail, facing a charge (at the time of writing) of being in possession of banned literature. If convicted, he may be sentenced to a term of imprisonment up to three years.

Meanwhile he continues under twenty-four-hour house arrest, completely isolated from his fellow human beings.

It is to be hoped that the publications of *And A Threetold Cord* by Seven Seas Books will win for Alex La Guma the international reputation he deserves. It is hoped that this book will stimulate a worldwide campaign which will force the Verwoerd regime to restore to him and to all other political prisoners their full freedom.

For no less than this is demanded in the resolution, passed by 106 votes to one (South Africa) by the United Nations General Assembly in October, 1963. It is time for effective action to be taken to end the nightmare of apartheid and repression in South Africa.

It is time that men like Alex La Guma were able to come into their own, and live like free people in the land of their birth.

Published by Seven Seas Publishers, Berlin.

A NEW SPUTNIK

GHANAIA N readers will find much of interest in the attractive new illustrated monthly "Sputnik" published by the Soviet Embassy in Accra.

Its aim is to help the Ghanaian public understand how what it justly terms "the Russian wonder" has been made possible—how it has been possible for a country which only 47 years ago was among the poorest to become one of the most advanced, despite years of foreign intervention and war.

"This is the work, will and impetuous onward march of a free people that make the impossible a reality on Soviet soil", declares *Sputnik*.

The first issue contains an article discussing the Soviet Union's extending contacts with African countries, and

another describing some of the places visited by Kwame Nkrumah during his tour of the Soviet Union in summer, 1961.

Of special interest in the light of current Western-inspired attempts to fan hostility between the Soviet Union and Africans is an article describing the day-to-day life of Ghanaian seamen training in the Southern Soviet city of Kher-son.

Another article discusses translations of Kwame Nkrumah's works which have appeared in Russian.

In a message welcoming the new magazine, Ghana's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr. J. Banks Elliott, describes its appearance as "a joyful event in relations between our countries". We join him in wishing *Sputnik* a happy voyage.

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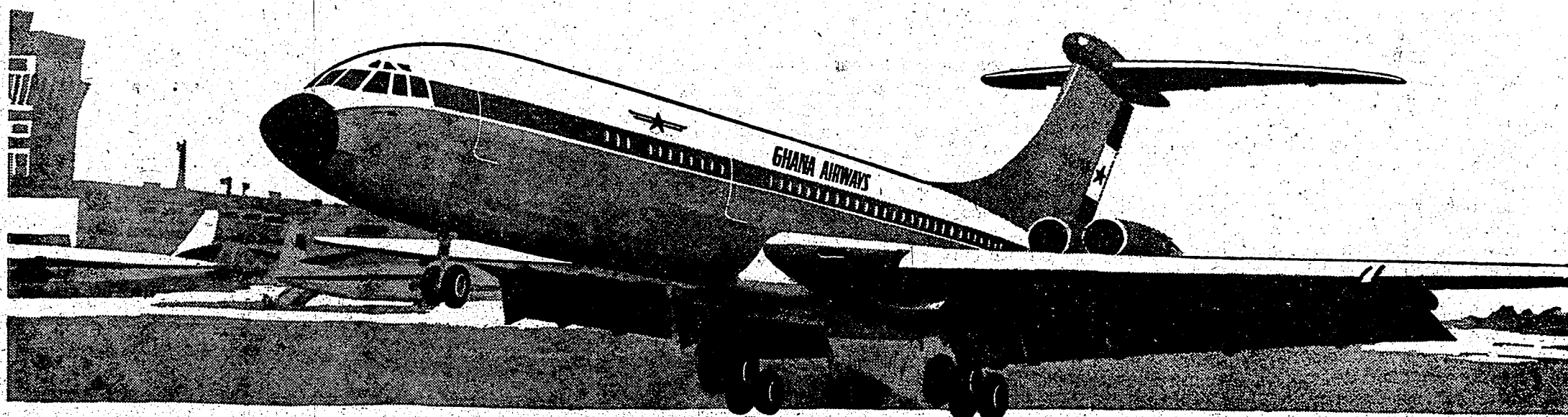
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ZURICH	ARR. DEP.		1555
	ARR. DEP.		1645
AMSTERDAM	ARR. DEP.		1800
	ARR. DEP.		1850
LONDON	ARR. 1625		1945



The Unions of Neo-colonialism

by Henry Herve

MANY projects of co-operation between French-speaking African countries have been observed recently in Africa. These African states met earlier this year in Nouakchott. Their meeting can only be interpreted as an imperialist offensive. To understand the interplay of forces behind these projects, let us examine them more closely.

The first, the Economic and Customs Union of Central Africa (UDEAC) includes the four states of the ex-AEF and the Republic of Cameroun. The aims of this union go further than a mere "Central African Zollverein" or Customs Union.

THE OBJECTIVE

The objective is to end isolation, and mutual ignorance and to pool national resources to allow for a "wider and fairer distribution". The ultimate aim is a real Central African Common Market, an economic Union.

President Apmadou Ahidjo (Cameroun), David Dacko (Central African Republic), Francois Tombalbaye (Tchad) and Gustave Anguile, the Gabonese Minister of Economy who represented M. Leon M'ba, detained by home affairs, agreed on the following five principles:

1. The co-ordination of industrialisation programme.
2. The harmonisation of development plans;
3. The creation of a Central African Bank based in Libreville (Gabon);
4. The harmonisation of investment codes (a series of measures granting identical advantages to foreign investors in the five states);
5. The removal of barriers to inter-regional trade.

This attempted economic union is comparable to a similar previous attempt, *L'Union Douaniere et Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* which has just held its 10th Congress. The UDEAO was formed on July 9th, 1959, in Paris-afact not without significance. The UDEAO groups the following countries; along the same lines as the UDEAC the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper-Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Senegal.

DIFFERENCE

At the opening of its tenth session, its President, Francois Aplogan, expressed his alarm and strongly emphasized that decisions reached during previous congresses had been ignored to such an extent that the commercial expansion within the Union of States was gravely compromised.

Francois Aplogan's mandate is terminated. And the end of the tenth congress of the UDEAO was marked merely by high-sounding recommendations.

The UDEAO and the UDEAC unite French-speaking States. But sharp ideological differences exist between the members. The political positions of Mali and even of Dahomey, for example, do not coincide with the views held by the governments of the Ivory Coast, Upper-Volta or of Niger.

Congo (Brazzaville) is in a similar position *Vis-a-vis* the other members of the UDEAC. It is therefore clear that the so-called goals of development and reinforcement of international economic ties have not been achieved.

Is there any hope of their even being achieved?

The French-speaking countries of the UDEAO-UDEAC Unions share all the economic problems of all the African countries confined within narrow national boundaries.

This might be some justifi-

cation for attempting to form a regional union. But inasmuch as these countries are mostly producers of identical agricultural raw materials, it is very hard to imagine the large-scale organisation of "inter-regional trade" along the lines indicated.

Moreover, all share the same need of machines and technicians. Since a "French presence" is still to be reckoned with in the majority of these territories, we understandably wonder whether these unions are not simply the product of a dangerous dream which would enable neo-colonialism to implant itself more firmly in these important African countries.

A RISK?

Is there not a risk that UDEAO and the UDEAC might become game preserves for the exclusive use of European and French investors? The more so because they are already entangled in the Common Market.

"Economic" unions of this type can only hope to acquire some sort of justification if radical political and economic measures are also taken.

However, it is clear that the UDEAO is quite incapable of implementing the principles it so piously "adopted by common agreement". The UDEAC is just as cowardly.

An economic union can sustain itself only if a higher political agency guarantees the implementation of its decisions. This higher political agency exists neither within the UDEAO nor within the UDEAC.

We therefore ask with legitimate concern: what are the real goals of this type of unions?

What interpretation should we then give to the second pro-



Ould Dadda, President of Mauritania—a victim of neo-colonialism

ject initiated by the President of the Ivory Coast?

On his return from a recent trip to Upper-Volta Mr. Houphouet-Boigny revealed the basic objectives of his tour, mainly in the statements he made at Ouahigouya, Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso

PLOT DISCOVERED

After a long period of silence interspersed with the "discovery" of a number of "plots" the Ivory Coast President announced "the organic fusion between three of the four states which form the Conseil de l'Entente" (created in May 1959).

According to the Ivory Coast President, nationals of Niger, Ivory Coast and Upper-Volta will enjoy "the same rights and the same duties" in all spheres of social, political and economic activity in the three countries.

This second project appears to be more compact than the UDEAC project and is of a definitely political nature.

Aside from the unpractical aspects of a limited integration between three French-speaking and francophile territories, we must take into account certain disquieting political and economic features shared by the three states.

They are three states enslaved by European businessmen but there are other businessmen besides Europeans.

Though France, for instance, still controls most of the classically colonial economic sectors, it is important to note the infiltration of Yankee imperialism through its interests in West Germany or Italy, and even through French economic sectors penetrated by U.S. capitalism.

(U.S. investment in Europe \$481 million in France (1958-61): \$241 million).

The U.S. is also making its way into Africa by classical methods such as the A.I.D. and its operations, the Peace Corps, "technicians" from Israel and particularly through the strategic positions U.S. capitalism has been able to occupy in many, so-called "African" banks.

REGIONAL UNIONS

The conflicts between European interests and the interests of U.S. Capitalism find many echoes in Africa today.

The current political and economic attempts to form regional unions in Africa must be examined and assessed in the context of the complex USA-France-Europe relationship and in the context of the battle of interests within the imperialist camp with its repercussions on African neo-colonialized states.

Thus in Niger, Ivory Coast and Upper-Volta, which are all three neo-colonized, the general tendency is to enforce government stability with arbitrary rule and not infrequently with guns.

There may very well be "an axis linking Abidjan to Ouagadougou and ending in Niamey", but it seems to sow only bitterness, to spill the blood of patriots wherever it extends.

Moreover, though it is true that the RDA is the one and only government party in the three countries, it is no longer the same RDA that stood in the vanguard of the struggle for genuine independence and whose revolutionary torch is still carried by the UPC and the Sawaba.

The present RDA is a product of Houphouet-Boigny's "tactical retreat" in 1951, a quite different RDA that has turned to the Right, and whose degree of popular representation is highly questionable.

Inasmuch as the three states moving towards organic fusion are, also part of the UDEAO, one may well ask whether this union is not more likely to fall under the firm political influence of the nucleus headed by President Houphouet-Boigny, for it is an union without substance, an union which could easily become a dangerous obstacle to true African unification and to the liberation of Africa.

It is therefore easy to foresee what dangers the UDEAC is exposed to, for it has succumbed to trap draped in the innocent garb of an economic convention which can hardly be taken seriously.

ALIEN INTEREST

Some maintain that regional unions are a necessary step towards unity. The fact is that by stubbornly refusing to analyze the realities of neo-colonialism, regional unions established on restricted economic foundations can at the most result in a semblance unity ("you give me your cocoa and I will give you my groundnuts").

But the very fact that these unions are limited and precarious and therefore unable to ensure self-induced development renders them incapable of solving the economic problems of the African masses and turns them into mere tools of the alien interests operating in West Africa.

The first act sees the creation of an economic union which

one can qualify as more moral than objective.

The second sees the formation within this union of a nucleus of imperialist agents whose objectives are to strengthen negative action in certain African zones.

Though this policy is practised in the name of African Unity, it is in fact only one more obstacle on the road to unity, for African unity can only be based on an opposition to imperialism and an uncompromising stand for socialism.

If we now place the UDEAO (and its subsequent development, i.e. the organic fusion)



Houphouet Boigny, President of Ivory Coast, originator of "Organic Fusion"

in its international context, we shall be able to see very clearly the real use to which Franco-European neo-colonialism has put these economic unions of French-speaking states.

An article in *La Nation* recently revealed (with the help of two eloquent charts depicting a white worker successively giving and receiving a package from a naked black man) that "a Common Market report specifies that between 1959 and 1963, France had a 19 per cent increase in imports from Euroafrica (that is to say the former French colonies, the Franc zone) and a 40 per cent increase in sales to the same zone".

MORE TRADE

The same article goes on to note with pride that "France is doing more trade since the independence of the eighteen black countries which are now associated and is therefore way ahead of her Brussels partners."

"In 1963, 74.2 per cent of the sales made by the Six to Africa were French exports, whereas in 1959 France's share was only 65.7 per cent". And further "West Germany or efforts to secure access to Africa are expending greatest can markets".

Over a period of four years, the Germans have increased their exports in that direction by 35 per cent and the Italians by 25 per cent.

The areas of Africa concerned are mainly former French Equatorial Africa (ex-AEF) and former French West Africa (ex-AOF), whilst Algeria (the biggest purchaser of French capital goods) is redirecting its trade towards socialist countries.

The African areas so freely exploited by the Six (as is shown by the eloquent figures quoted above) coincide almost exactly with the UDEAC, and this is quite deliberate.

In other words, these pseudo economic and customs unions are merely the neo-colonialist appendages of the European Common Market.

And if France gets more out of it than the others (as shown by the figures quoted above it is not due simply to free competition.

In this connection, it should be observed that the Yaounde Convention (June 1964) "Foresees the same

customs ruling for each one of the six at the end of 1965"; this clause being similar to one of the fables shared by the U.D.E.A.O. and the U.D.E.A.C. "the harmonisation of investment codes".

"EUROPEAN EUROPE"

The fact is that "Euroafrica covers most of the Franc Zone. This means that trade within this zone or with this zone is of special advantage to France.

France does not need to pay in foreign currency (dollars or pounds). This system helps to strengthen the franc as a strong international currency.

This the monetary struggle which is now raging, De Gaulle is using his dollar reserves and his "heavy" franc to bring pressure on Anglo-Saxon imperialism and to create a "European Europe".

This zone is the key to the strength of France on the international and European scene.

Leaving aside purely monetary reasons and the important contribution of Gabonese uranium to a Franco-European nuclear force, the strength of France's position is also based on the huge market for trade and investment and the bottomless reserves of raw materials provided by African countries caught in the trap of deceptive unions such as the UDEA) and the UDEAC.

We by no means oppose the principle of co-operation with the capitalist countries. Such a policy correctly oriented and co-ordinated, might constitute a major force in the battle against imperialism.

But these regional unions, with their attempts to create new nationalisms or extended blocks, linked to political-economic organisations alien to Africa, are by their very essence opposed to the policy of African Unity.

It is evident that such a state of affairs encourages mutual blackmail between imperialism and its African agents.

However, not all of them are mere puppets. A few have made very skilful use of the relationships existing between African countries belonging to the franc zone on the one hand and Europe and France on the other in order to strengthen their position.

MAIN OBJECTIVE

We must relentlessly denounce and fight false unions which strengthen the positions of agents of imperialism and contribute to imperialist preponderance.

Manoeuvres such as the U.D.E.A.O. (and the "Organic Fusion" of a nucleus of reactionary governments as its logical development) or the U.D.E.A.C. cannot solve the problems of the African masses.

It would be a grave mistake to limit our examination of these regional groupings to the economic framework which they claim to be the main objective of their organisation.

These unions are above all political manoeuvres aiming to destroy African Unity. From this point of view, Nouakchott is a step backward, a blow against unity.

It is significant that the Unity currents in ex-AEF and ex-AOF countries are linking up with the initiatives of Houphouet-Boigny and his disciples.

But it is even more significant to notice that on the way to Nouakchott representatives of the three merging States (Ivory Coast, Upper-Volta and Niger) stopped in Monrovia and held "the small summit of the Nouvelle Entente".

When people go to consult in Monrovia, the identity of those consulted is no secret. Liberia is the West African centre of Washington's in-

fluence and financial operations.

And there were further consultations in Monrovia on the way back from Nouakchott, a few days later.

The Nouakchott Conference brought together the members of the UAMCE: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Upper-Volta, Niger, Togo, Cameroun, Gabon, Tchad, Central-African Republic, Madagascar, Dahomey, and Congo (Brazzaville).

Nothing precise has been foreseen for the Nouakchott meeting nothing was specified on the agenda. But the Monrovia advisers and Tsiranana directed the performance. The discussions centred around three problems.

One was a trumped-up "problem"—that of Chinese infiltration into Africa. Efforts in this direction were wasted because the majority of the 13 states do not believe in the existence of this "problem". But it served to set the tone.

The second problem was that of making Tshombe's respectable, the installation of America in the Congo basin and the attempt to destroy the revolution of the Congolese patriots.

The third was the condemnation of revolutionary and progressive Africa headed by



Yankee leaning Maurice Yameogo President of Upper Volta, also a member of Conseil de l'Entente

Ghana, the historical centre of the African Revolution.

Nouakchott was not only the beginning of a broad anti-socialist campaign in the American style, but the symbol of a real and overt plot against progressive Africa and African Unity. Rothschild, Tubman and Tshombe were there to demonstrate the fact.

Though the Nouakchott meeting did not bring about the death of the O.A.U. and failed to give birth to a definitely anti-progressive political block, it did establish a favourable ideological atmosphere to achieve these goals.

African Unity cannot be attained by a gradualist approach. The "step-by-step" attitude on which these regional groupings are based is just one more attempt to put

THE CONGO AND THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Continued from Page 3)

was held this January, at which a search was made for a new imperialist solution to the Congo problem, one which would get round the demands of the Organisation of African Unity and the Security Council. But whatever new provocations occur, they are already foredoomed.

In spite of the fact that the Stanleyville attack has boomeranged on the aggressors, they still will not understand that in the world today a people rising against colonialism is invincible.

"The rebel movement is being reorganised and is acquiring new strength," says the *New York Times*. Undoubtedly the Congolese people, today or tomorrow, will find enough strength to drive out the colonialists and their lackeys. They are not

to practice the ideas already preached by neo-colonialism and its agents, even before Addis Ababa. Imperialism is moving faster.

And the expected change took place at Nouakchott. The theory of the "economic, social and cultural" regional groupings was superseded by "co-operation and solidarity between African and Malagasy States", in the "political, economic, social, technical and cultural" domains, as announced in the final communique.

It is a "Malaysian style" union; it is an insolent proclamation of the new imperialist doctrine which has given up the restrictions "divide and rule" slogan and adopted the much more flexible "merge and rule" slogan which offers ample possibilities for the more dynamic agents of imperialism, for adventurism and confusion.

It is also evident that the regional and Malaysian type approach put into practice at Nouakchott (but not only there, as is evidenced by certain projects of East African federation) does not represent an interpretation of pan-Africanism but a pure and simple negation of it.

A united continent is necessary not only to ensure a genuine, self-centred development but also the fulfilment of Africa in the future.

Africa's choice is continental unity or defeat. This is why imperialism and its agents are playing for desperately high stakes in their fight against a continental government.

An African Union government is the first and foremost condition of genuine all-African independence. It is only through the medium of a continental government that the theory of the liberation of the masses can become practice.

A continental government represents a deadly threat to neo-colonialism: with political and institutional unity Africa will be able to break through the shackles of external intervention and emerge as one massive block of revolutionary powers.

Imperialism has its back to the wall and is on the defensive; its criminal and irrational acts in Vietnam, in the Middle East in Latin America, in Africa and even in the West on its own soil, are ample proof of its despair. Imperialism is morally and economically ill.

But it will not die by itself. The salvation of Africa is in the hands of the African masses. Liberation will be born of the relentless struggle being waged from the inside.

This struggle of the African masses against the enemy inside and outside to extract the neo-colonialist tumour is essential to the success of the African revolution at the next OAU summit in Accra.

alone in their struggle. They are backed by independent African states, the Socialist countries and all progressive mankind.

The Congolese problem is more than a national problem. The military intervention in the Congo has raised a sense of responsibility in Africa's progressive forces for the liberation of the whole African continent and the independent development of all its peoples.

Many African leaders realise that an imperialist stronghold in the Congo constitutes a direct threat to other African countries and impedes the granting of independence to all colonies.

They are aware that the Congolese problem can be solved only if all peace-loving countries unite in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

DAILY EXPRESS PHOTO SHOWN TO BE FORGERY

It cannot be said that our Government is indifferent to, or unmindful of world opinion, even though we don't rush in to refute every slander and false rumour about our President and our country. We have just the same regard for decent opinion of mankind as Mr. Michael Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary quoted with so much approval as being a requirement of the American constitution.

Knowing the source and the cause of the hostility of the Western press and other communication media, we are apt to consider individual and particular cases of malice and slander as no more than symptoms in the recurring imperialist effort to use every means to weaken Ghana's resolution as a member of the vanguard for Africa's Unity and the expulsion of neo-colonialism.

GREAT RESOURCES

We know how important it is for the imperialist and neo-colonialists to damage the image of Kwame Nkrumah the freedom fighter who is our President as well as the author of *Consciencism*, the philosophical handbook of the African Revolution.

We know what great resources the imperialists have—what their influence is in the press, radio and television—what vast sums they can spend on subverting loyal citizens and on making active traitors out of political opportunists.

In the immediate past—since Kwame Nkrumah proclaimed that our independence is meaningless without the liberation of the rest of Africa, since he set examples for the meaning of non-alignment, and since he steered our ship of state on to a socialist course—Ghana and its Kwame Nkrumah have been subjected to the full fury of imperialist hostility.

"Ghanaian Opposition Members" Were Togolese

Facts disclosed by Minister of Information and Party Propaganda Secretary, Mr. N.A. Welbeck at a press conference in Accra last Tuesday

They have armed local traitors with guns and bombs to kill our Kwame Nkrumah, and to terrorize our people. They have greeted every sort of traitor and opportunist fleeing from Ghana to escape the penalties of justice, as a victim of tyranny and a martyr for democracy. They have tried to ruin our economy by undermining faith in our plans and by lying about and suppressing the news of our achievements.

Knowing all this, we have not worried unduly, except to reply when African unity, our socialist society or our developing economy could be served by refuting false, malicious and slanderous rumours or allegations.

GENERAL HOSTILITY

But the Congo crisis has spurred the imperialists to a greater offensive against Ghana and its Kwame Nkrumah. Since we are in the vanguard of those who oppose the plans for the neo-colonialist takeover of the Congo, we must now meet not only the general hostility of the imperialists against a new state intent on making its independence a reality, but the hostility of giant financial trusts and combines operating in the Congo, which will use not only their unlimited funds, but their unlimited influence in Western councils and press organs against us.

It is no wonder that Busia, Gbedemah and others who have escaped from Ghana's justice, now seem to have unlimited funds for the treacherous campaign against their homeland.

They can buy and supply forged photographs and documents, and have these publicised at press conferences and radio and television interviews as if they represented unbiased sources.

Every Ghanaian adventurer and disgruntled person is considered a spokesman for the people of Ghana and the source of red hot news.

Whilst not embarking on a fruitless campaign to refute every lie and slander, yet one example has appeared lately of such a wicked and monstrous nature, that we have decided to nail it down once and for all for the whole world and for all honest men to see its poisonous fangs and vicious claws.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

We refer to the photograph which appeared in the *Daily Express* of London, on March 17th last purporting to have been taken in a gaol in Ghana; of shackled Ghanaian political prisoners sitting on the ground.

The photograph is headed "MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION" and its sub-title is

"Ghana M.P. sends *Express* the Grim Evidence."

This photograph, according to the *Daily Express* (and I quote) "came from its correspondent in Lome, Ernest Gegry, who wrote that it was given to him by Mr. Idanu Asigry, a Ghana member of Parliament, who spent two years in a Government prison camp before he escaped."

Among the shackled prisoners in the *Daily Express* photograph are supposed to be (and I quote the *Express* again) "members of Ghana's Loyal Opposition—politicians, officials of the opposition United Party and leading citizens who have been critical of the regime of Kwame Nkrumah."

FREED MEN

Kwame Nkrumah has already stated publicly that he does not recognize a single face in the photograph. We challenge all those present to name one man, or to produce someone who will recognize one man among all these "politicians, officials of the United Party and leading citizens."

You will recollect that Kwame Nkrumah also remarked to Parliament that the men in the photograph looked in good condition and too free from care to be genuine prisoners.

You will soon hear how right he was. This photograph was taken when these men had already been freed, had a chance to recuperate and were happy about their release.

They were not prisoners under a strain, but freed men re-enacting the scenes of their former prison life as political detainees of the late President Olympio.

The immediate response of the *Daily Express* to Kwame Nkrumah's statement that these men in the photograph were not Ghanaians, was not, as could have been expected, to order an immediate investigation in an effort to identify these men, but to publish an uncorroborated statement that two men have been identified as Jack Allotey and Mr. Neequaye.

TAKEN AFTER COUP

This is so vague as to be almost laughable. There are hundreds of Alloteys and Neequayes in Ghana. The *Express* might as well have called them Mr. Jack Smith and Mr. Brown. Have these men not addresses, occupation or families by which they can be identified?

But we intend to go much further today, than to argue about the probabilities of the *Daily Express* photograph being a forgery. We will prove that it is a forgery.

It is a forgery as a photograph of Ghanaian prisoners in a gaol of Ghana, because it is, in fact, a photograph of Togolese prisoners in a prison in Togo.

The men in the photograph are the prisoners of the regime of the late President Olympio of Togo, and the photograph was taken after his death, in January 1963 on the orders of the leaders of the coup d'etat to show how political prisoners were treated in detention under the Olympio regime.

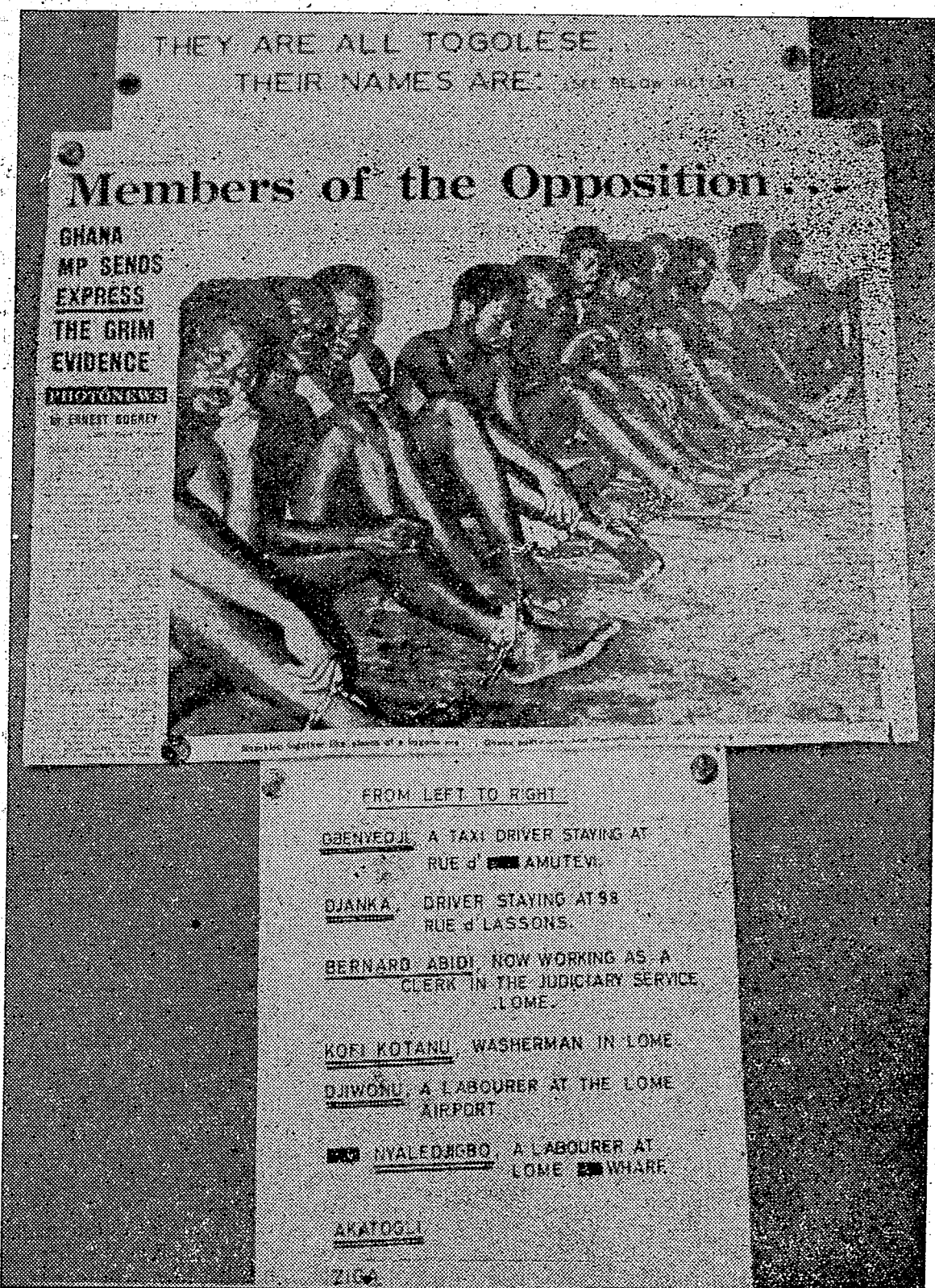
The photograph published in the *Daily Express* on March 17th 1965, and which the paper maintained to be

genuine even after Kwame Nkrumah's denial that the prisoners were Ghanaians, is one of several taken in the Togolese Detention Camp which the late President Olympio maintained in Lome.

According to our information political detainees in this camp, including the men in the photograph, had been arrested by Olympio on the grounds that they were plotting to overthrow his regime.

- ii) *Djanka*, driver staying at 38 Rue d'Lessons, Quartier Zongo.
- iii) *Bernard Abidi*, now working as a clerk in the Judiciary service, Lome Justice Parquet.
- iv) *Koffi Kotanu*, washerman in Lome.
- v) *Djiwomu*, a labourer at the Lome Airport.
- vi) *Nyaledjibo*, a labourer at Lome wharf.
- vii) *Akatogli*

Lome at that time were summoned by the Army leaders to report at the Prisons where these photographs including the one published by the *Daily Express* were taken. The second man from the left by name Djanka is still living in Lome and I am in a position to announce to the members of the Press that Djanka, as I said earlier, is here with us at this Press Conference to testify that he and his colleagues in the photographs are *not* (repeat *not*) Ghanaians and that they are Togolese who were in the detention camp of the late



They were released immediately after Olympio's death by the Army leaders who had staged the coup. A short while after their release all those who could still be found in Lome were called together to re-enact the conditions of their imprisonment to demonstrate to the people of Togo how President Olympio dealt with his political opponents.

Toye, who is number 10 in the *Daily Express* photograph was the first Togolese to be arrested by Olympio's police. A pistol was found in his possession.

He was then subjected to a rigorous interrogation during which he divulged the names of all the persons connected with the alleged plot.

The other persons in this photograph were arrested and put in chains in Lome Prison as a result of the information given by Toye to Olympio's Police.

We are displaying to you several of the photographs taken in Lome under circumstances, which we have just described.

We now identify the personalities in the *Daily Express* photograph. They are all Togolese. Their names are:

- i) *Gbenyedji*, a taxi driver staying at Rue d'Amutevi, Lome.

- viii) *Ziga*
- ix) *Aguessi Sossini*
- x) *Toye*

Mr. Kow Richardson, the so-called United Party General Secretary, in his open letter of April, 3rd 1965, identified No. 2 and No. 3 persons in the photographs as Jack Allotey and a Mr. Neequaye.

This was a blatant lie—a lie which, for a charge can be nailed right on the head.

No. 2 in the *Daily Express* photograph is not Jack Allotey, a Ghanaian, but Mr. Djanka, a Togolese. We have in our midst this morning Mr. Djanka who will soon be presented to this Press Conference so that you will see for yourselves whether he is or not the man in the *Daily Express* photograph identified by Kow Richardson as a Ghanaian by name Jack Allotey.

The first four persons starting from Gbenyedji have all been identified as members of Juvento, the party which opposed Olympio's regime.

They were arrested in December, 1961 and were released in 1963 by the Togolese Military Personnel who carried out the coup d'etat on 13th January, 1963.

The released persons went to their homes but shortly afterwards those released persons who happened to be in

President Olympio.

One would wonder how a photographer could manage to enter into such a hideous detention camp to take these photographs.

The answer is simple. According to Djanka, these photographs were taken after the death of Olympio when the political prisoners, as a result of the successful coup d'etat, were released.

It was at that time that the photographs were taken at the instructions of late Nubukpor for the whole world to know the grim prison life under the regime of the late President Olympio.

We are not here to comment on the happenings in Togo during the late Olympio's regime. Our aim is solely to expose the photograph in the *Daily Express* as a wicked forgery to mislead the British press and the British public with false tales of atrocities in Ghana.

In as much as Djanka and other Togolese personalities have helped us to expose those Ghanaian traitors who have a career of serving the imperialists by slandering Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah, we think they, Djanka and other Togolese personalities, have done a service to the cause of truth.



"THIS IS ME"
Djanka identifies himself in the photograph claimed by "Daily Express" to depict arrested Ghanaian opposition leaders.