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A SPARK
CORRESPONDENT
WRITES ON
"THE DELUSION OF
AFRICAN
SOCIALISM"

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THE SPARK



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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

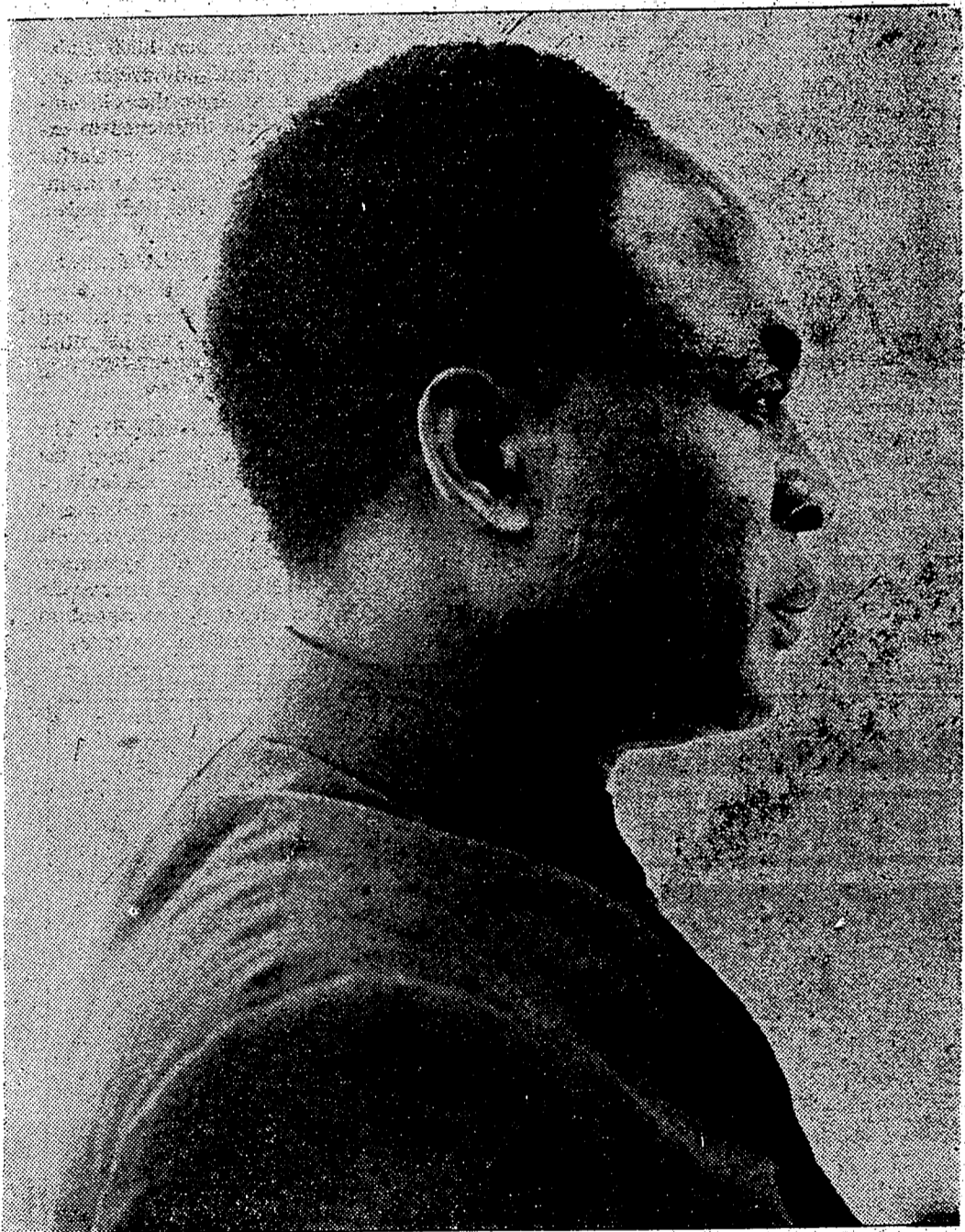
No. 133

2d.

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

FRIDAY, JULY 2, 1965

5th Anniversary of the Republic of Ghana



EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

"Everybody will be given equal opportunities for development whether it be in the fields of education or of cultural and economic advancement. Every worker and farmer will receive a fair share of the wealth of the country and their children will have the same opportunities as others for education, so that they can become doctors of medicine, engineers, barristers, professional workers and scientists. We want working-class intellectuals devoid of arrogance and an end to class distinctions based on privilege.

"We want to give to the farmers, co-operators and workers equal status in our new society, and this explains our attachment to the Trade Union Congress, the United Ghana

Farmers Council and the National Council of Co-operatives. These three Party organisations are the true and practical schools of our philosophy and those who go against them go against the Convention People's Party also.

"The Convention People's Party is a powerful force; more powerful, indeed, than anything that has yet appeared in the history of Ghana. It is the unifying force that guides and pilots the Nation and is the nerve centre of the positive operations in the struggle for African irredentism. Its supremacy cannot be challenged.

"The Convention People's Party is Ghana, and Ghana is the Convention People's Party."

Excerpts from Kwame Nkrumah's summary of the Party's Republican programme on April 2, 1960.

THE Republic of Ghana this week celebrates its fifth anniversary. We can look back to great achievements, and forward to even greater ones.

Throughout the country new industrial undertakings which have a vital role in laying the foundation for our economic independence are springing up; great advance have been made in farming; schools and higher educational establishments have been built; new hospitals and clinics are helping safeguard the health of our people, while the first steps have been made toward the creation of a social welfare system that will ensure security for all.

Abroad, our country's reputation stands high as a champion of freedom and national independence, as a tireless worker for peace and disarmament and as a passionate advocate of the unity of our continent.

These achievements have in no small measure been assisted by the constitutional changes which have taken place in our country since the winning of independence.

The decision to establish Ghana as a Republic was no mere formality. It was a serious and carefully considered decision by which we threw off the last constitutional remnants of our colonial past.

We put an end to the situation in which our Head of State was the hereditary of a foreign country, a ruler who even in her own country has a merely formal and ceremonial role to play.

The people of Ghana decided that our Head of State should be no mere figurehead; we decided that our Head of State must be a leader of the people who initiates, teaches, organises and unites, and who is in turn influenced, guided and helped to reflect the will of the people in their advance to a new, just society through democratic processes of consultation, discussion and referendum.

The function of our Head of State is in fact to play a vital role in leading our country rapidly through the successive stages of its development.

History knows many examples where outmoded constitutional forms have held up the onward march of the people.

But Ghana's Constitution is the carefully fashioned instrument of our progress, the modern, rational democratic expression not only of our present but also of our future, the expression of the popular will to build Socialism.

It has given new unity to our country. It is worth recalling that in the same year that our Republic was established, Congo (Leopoldville) declared its independence.

The unhappy subsequent history of that country demonstrates the tragic consequences of constitutions bequeathed by colonialism which make concessions to regionalism and separatism. Such constitutions can lead only to anarchy, suffering and stagnation.

Ghana's new Republican Constitution by contrast gave expression to all the unifying factors and forward looking elements in our society. As a result, even some of our bitterest critics have been obliged to acknowledge our country's stability.

During the five years which have elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution, further constitutional changes have taken place, notably the people's decision to adopt the one-party system.

This too was a change fashioned to fit in with our historical experience and circumstances, and designed to meet the needs of our advance to a richer fuller life for all.

The variety of multi-party systems which has evolved in many of the industrially-developed countries over the centuries reflect a virtual stalemate a temporary state of balance between strongly opposing forces based on the

acceptance by all the major parties of the basic principles of the capitalist way of life, despite the many and important democratic gains won by the people in centuries of bitter struggle.

In these countries Parliament is a stage for noisy sham battles fought on issues which are all too often false.

Such Parliaments act as a brake on progress. As a result, despite the wealth of these countries, acute social problems still remain, with poverty amid plenty and stagnation in many sectors of their economies and public life.

These forms of democracy reflect capitalist democracy, not socialist democracy. When their advocates talk of freedom they above all mean the freedom of the exploiters to go on making profits from the labour of the mass of the people.

Ghana does not want such a system. It wants a Parliament which is an elected body of the best representatives of the people, able to lead them in the struggle to build a better society.

Our people are united in their desire to build an industrialised, prosperous, educated and just society. The only way to achieve this is through a planned economy with the means of production owned by the people as a whole.

The political patterns of Western capitalist states have no relevance to this aim. They were evolved for quite a different purpose—the maintenance of the capitalist system.

Our one-party state and the role of our Head of State reflect the will of our people to overcome the legacy of imperialism and to build the Socialism which alone can guarantee them freedom of every kind—including freedom from exploitation.

Our Party is moving into what can become a most glorious chapter in the history of Africa", Kwame

Nkrumah declared when he opened the C.P.P. Headquarters a few weeks prior to the adoption of the new Constitution.

"Our plans for the re-organisation of all sections of the community is to give everybody a chance to make his contribution to the development of our nation. The test of the future will be the amount of purchasing power we put into the hand of our workers and farmers, and the protection the Party and Government can give to ensure a dignified existence and comfortable standard of living for all our people.

"There will be no place in that society for the exploitation of the labour of others for the enrichment of a minority. Our Party is great and strong because we aim for a Socialist pattern of society. We are the Party of the workers, the farmers and all progressive elements in our community and we will remain faithful to the principles that guide us in evolving our own Ghanaian pattern of socialist society."

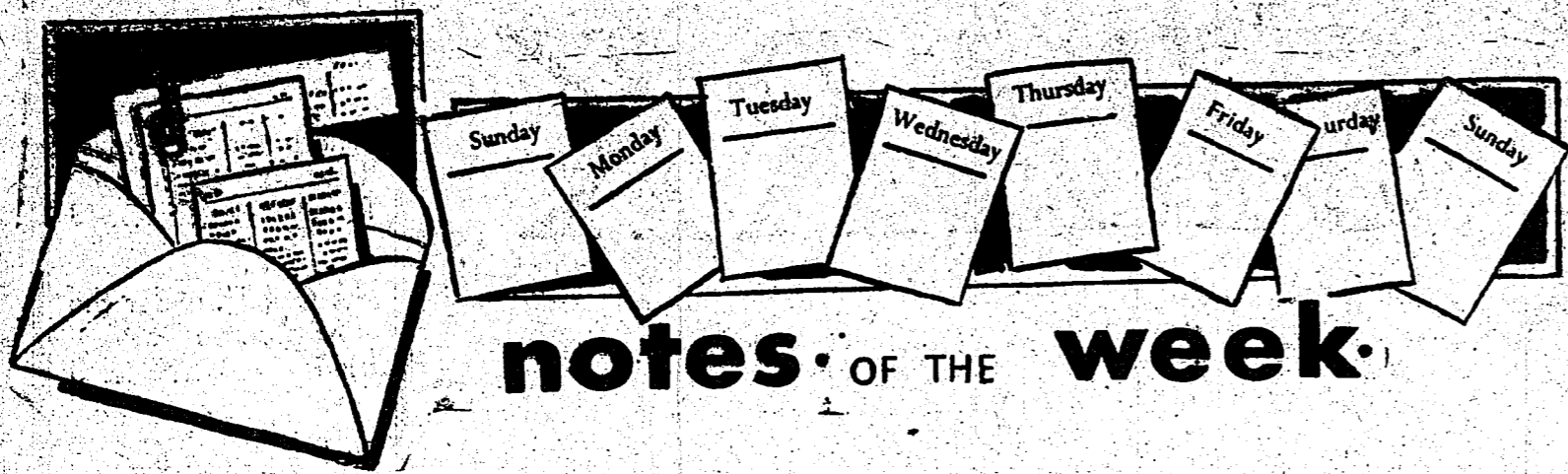
Nor was it only with Ghana in mind that our new Constitution was drafted. Kwame Nkrumah and the Party have always worked for an African continental government as a necessary guarantee for continental independence.

Our Constitution therefore contains provisions for the surrender of certain aspects of our national sovereignty in the interest of a Union of African States and Territories as soon as ever such a union becomes practicable.

In fact, in the words of Kwame Nkrumah, the keynote of the Constitution is "One man, one vote and unity of Africa, namely, the political union of African countries."

Those words, spoken five years ago, still sum up the basic needs of our continent.

We look to the future we hope.



THOSE who would have us believe that imperialist exploitation is dead should consider the list of Britain's 300 top companies recently published by "The Times" of London.

The list abounds in the names of major British firms which have made—and are still making—vast sums of money out of the colonies or out of the newly-independent and developing countries.

Indeed, the top four companies in the list—Shell Transport, Imperial Chemical Industries, British Petroleum and Unilever—fall squarely into this category. They are companies which have grown rich by buying cheap from the colonial, dependent or developing countries and selling dear.

* * *

Now they protest they have changed. But the leopard, least of all the capitalist leopard, does not change his spots. The techniques of exploitation may have changed, and perhaps it is no longer fashionable to boast about how successful one is in extracting profit—but extracted it certainly is, and in enormous sums, in total far exceeding the amounts handed back with such great publicity in the form of "aid".

At the same time as this list appeared, we received a glossy off-print of an article from a recent issue of the *New Commonwealth* purporting to describe the activities of the United Africa Company, one of the greatest of the imperialist monopolies and the largest element in the Unilever organisation, fourth on the *Times* list of Britain's top 300 companies.

The article constitutes an ingenious case of special pleading. Yes, it acknowledges, U.A.C. must seem to the African to be "complex" and "almost intimidating".

"The African may be awed and humbled by the sheer power of U.A.C. or he may approach it with a mood of resistance—simply because, though it is compounded of individuals, it appears to transcend the control of any man and seems more the inanimate dictator..."

But, the article comfortingly goes on, "African's fears are not justified." U.A.C. is, in the words of the article's headline, a "gentle giant." We can only observe that the best confidence tricksters are also "gentle"—but they are tricksters nonetheless.

The article, for example, make the ludicrous claim that "U.A.C. is in Africa because the Africans want them there." On what grounds does U.A.C. make this claim? When were "the Africans" consulted? U.A.C. was in fact formed

on the basis of companies which either came in the baggage trains of the foreign conquerors of Africa or provided the pretext for the conquerors.

They are "in Africa" not because "Africans want them there" but because they make a profit by being there. If they did not, they would go, whether Africans wanted them or not.

The article makes great play with the fact that the emphasis in U.A.C.'s work has shifted from "general merchandise importing and produce handling" to "specialist merchandising and industrial investment"—something which no colonial monopoly would have even considered prior to the upsurge of the colonial liberation movement.

But even so profit—profit for British investors—is the determining factor: "though the aim is to work with individual governments U.A.C. gives an honest, perhaps, even blunt, view of the potential and they resist pressures, for example, to concentrate employment in one locality or to adapt plans to purely political considerations Government priorities are not necessarily accepted in this light because they may be motivated by politics without being economically viable."

* * *

In plain English, this means that U.A.C. will not co-operate in the implementation of African countries' development plans unless they find them "economically viable"—in other words, profitable.

The article likewise makes great play with U.A.C.'s efforts to "Africanise" its staff—but nowhere is there any reference to the need to Africanise its ownership.

And the way in which it "pathetically exclaims that "U.A.C.'s most difficult job is to erode the element of suspicion" is most touching—as if decades of colonial exploitation simply did not matter, and have all been forgiven and forgotten, just like that.

But they have not been forgotten—because the exploitation still continues.

According to *The Times*, the Unilever organisation of which U.A.C. is part last year had a total net profit before interest and tax of £59,607,000, representing a return of 13.7 per cent of capital employed—in other words, for every £100 invested, U.A.C. got more than £113 back, which is certainly not to be sneezed at.

And, of course, "net profits" do not include lush salaries and fat expense accounts for expatriate top management and their African collaborators—although the African customer foots the bill for these too.

UNWELCOME GUESTS

HARDLY a day goes by without the U.S. Administration admitting—nay, boasting—that U.S. aircraft have carried out devastating new raids over both North and South Vietnam. Hundreds—indeed, thousands—of innocent men, women and children have been seared by napalm and torn by the deadly fragments of Lazy Dog missiles.

Meanwhile, a succession of U.S.—backed puppet regimes in South Vietnam have waged campaigns of torture and terrorism unparalleled since the days of the Nazis.

Now the U.S. State Department tries to enlist our sympathies because the South Vietnam Liberation Front has reportedly declared its intention to execute the U.S. Ambassador in South Vietnam, because it executes captured U.S. servicemen in retaliation for the execution of captured

Vietnamese Freedom Fighters and because the Freedom Fighters attack cafes frequented by U.S. servicemen.

But the U.S. Ambassador in South Vietnam is no ordinary Ambassador—in fact, he is no ambassador at all, but a general appointed with the express aim of securing military victory over the insurgent people of South Vietnam.

He is fulfilling the same role as that fulfilled by Hitler's generals in Occupied France, Belgium and other countries under the Nazi heel; like them, he is a legitimate target for the resistance forces.

For months the world has been seeing photographs taken by U.S. and South Vietnamese cameramen depicting how the Americans and their South Vietnamese puppets torture

those whom they allege are Liberation fighters; the American press has published photos of the public executions of alleged Freedom Fighters—executions carried out with American bullets and with American consent and approval.

The State Department must therefore expect little sympathy for its protestations; American servicemen in South Vietnam are soldiers of an army of occupation, as were Nazi soldiers in Occupied Europe.

Those who train and equip torturers, and who without compunction rain high explosive and napalm upon innocent villagers thousands of miles from their own land should not expect to be treated as welcome guests.

KLAN IN U.K.

A LONDON newspaper, "Daily Sketch," on June 21st, carried photographs of Britain's first Ku Klux Klan fiery cross ceremony.

The Ku Klux Klan was formed in the southern states of the United States after the Civil War with the aim of terrorising the Afro-American population and preventing them from exercising their civil rights.

have been reported. The American Ku Klux Klan leader Robert Shelton wanted to visit Britain to take part in the setting up of a British Klan, but the Government, faced with widespread protests, refused him entry.

* * *

The recent outbreaks of racial terrorism in Britain are the direct outcome of the prejudice against Commonwealth immigrants incited by sections of the Conservative Party.

The situation has been aggravated by the Labour Government's retreat on the Race Relations Bill in the face of a campaign of attacks by racials and Tories.

Commonwealth immigrants have already expressed concern, and warned that if the Klan is allowed to spread in Britain they may be obliged to act to defend themselves.

There is an urgent need in Britain for a broad campaign against racialism in all its forms—a campaign which will embrace the entire Labour movement, all democratic, religious and progressive organisations and organisations of immigrants.

Only in that way can the foul growth of racism be stamped out.

Its members—racist whites drawn mainly from the ranks of small businessmen and hoodlum elements and encouraged and financed by powerful financial and political forces—garbed themselves in white hoods and robes to preserve their anonymity; the burning of a fiery cross was their warning of impending new acts of terror and violence.

Now, against the background of official dilly-dallying on legislation to check racist propaganda, efforts are being made to introduce the Klan's foul doctrines and practices into Britain.

During recent weeks, some six cases of cross-burning in London and the Midlands

Comments on Algerian Revolution

President Sekou Toure of Guinea has called upon the leaders of the new Algerian regime to spare the life of the deposed President Ben Bella.

Ben Bella, he declared, "is a revolutionary fighter, convinced, honest, determined and committed to the cause of Africa."

"To spare the life of Ben Bella is to avoid the Congolisation of Algeria."

Sekou Toure went on to declare that "in Ben Bella we have not discovered the slightest fault that would have allowed us to deprive him of our trust and esteem."

* * *

Dr. Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, has condemned the "Algerian Revolutionary Council" as a product of treason and a military putsch which has done great harm to the revolutionary movement in Africa.

He described M. Bouteflika, the Algerian Foreign Minister, as the "intellectual author" of the coup and said he was "man of the right, an enemy of socialism and a reactionary."

Dr. Castro praised the deposed President, especially because of his courage in visiting Cuba during the 1962 crisis; when American was threatening war against Cuba.



JUNE 22nd

U.A.R.: President Gamel Abdel Nasser of U.A.R. and the Chinese Premier Chou-En-Lai had the third official meeting in their current series of talks in Cairo today, present at the meeting also were the U.A.R. Premier Aly Sabry and the Vice-President, Marshal Abdel Hokim Amer.

CONGO (Leopoldville): A Congolese fighter plane left Leopoldville today to search for about 30 Europeans reportedly missing around Nioki town, about 200 miles north-east of the capital.

TANZANIA: A five-member delegation of the women's national organisation of Tanzania led by Mrs Rashidi Kawawa, wife of Tanzania's second Vice-President has left Dar-es-Salaam for a fortnight's visit to the people's Republic of China.

U.A.R.: The first U.A.R. Parliamentary delegation to visit Britain since the Suez crisis in 1956 arrived in London from France today. The delegation of five will spend nine days in Britain and will probably have talks with Mr. Harold Wilson, British Premier.

TUNISIA: Mr. Mongi Slim, personal envoy of President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia has said in Tunis that he was satisfied with the results of the recent meeting of the O.A.U. Foreign Ministers conference in Lagos. Mr. Slim was speaking to reporters on his return from his African trip.

SUDAN: Mr. William Deng, the Southern Sudanese leader of SANU has said in Khartoum today that his party had joined Prime Minister Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoud's UMMA and National Unionist coalition government in a bid to help solve the Southern Sudan problem.

23rd JUNE

RHODESIA: The Deputy Prime Minister of Rhodesian minority regime Mr. Clifford Dupont, has invited general Cost Almeida, the fascist Portugal's Governor

General of Mozambique to visit Rhodesia in August.

GHANA: The State Metal Industries Corporation is to export its products to Uganda, Libya and Sierra Leone, as from September, the Managing Director of the Corporation, Mr. Louis B. Manieson has said in Accra.

IVORY COAST: Mr. Gamille Alliale, Ivory Coast Foreign Minister has delivered a message from President Felix Houphouet Boigny to President Leopold Senghor of Senegal. Although the contents of the message were not disclosed, observers in Dakar feel that it concerns the recent O.A.U. Foreign Ministers' Conference in Lagos.

SUDAN: Mr. Aggrey Jaden, President of Sudan African National Union (SANU) has said in Kampala today that he will appeal to the O.A.U. to appoint a commission to inquire into the situation in Southern Sudan. Mr. Jaden has said at a press conference also that SANU would not recognise the new Sudan Government because it had rejected SANU's efforts to co-operate in settling the Southern Sudan problem.

24th JUNE

GHANA: A Five-man Ghana goodwill delegation led by Mr. A. K. Pupilumpu, Minister of Lands will leave Accra by air today for Cameroon, it has been announced.

*Ghana has been re-elected by the 17th International Union of Local Authorities being held in Belgrade Yugoslavia, to serve on the Union's Executive Council. She is being represented by a three-member delegation of the National Association of Government Council led by Mr. S. M. Darko, National Chairman of the Association.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia addressing the Royal Commonwealth Society on the role of the Commonwealth in world affairs has said in London that whatever excuses Britain gives for its inability to take action in Southern Rhodesia, it must not be forgotten that ultimately, the

blame for whatever consequences will be borne by the British government.

SUDAN: The Sudanese Foreign Minister has denied in Khartoum today that Chad troops are massing on their common frontier. A statement issued by the Ministry said President Francois Tombalbaye of Chad has agreed to hold talks with Sudanese goodwill mission to find mutual solution to problems concerning their two countries.

SOUTH AFRICA: Heavy snow has claimed three lives and isolated between 34 and 40 families in the South-western end of the Drakensberg Mountain range of South Africa's Cape Province.

U.A.R.: The U.A.R. is to spend £115 million on defence, Mr. Abdel Moneim Al Kaissouny, Deputy Premier and Minister for Economic and Financial Affairs has said in Cairo, today, that the National Assembly had unanimously approved the country's £1,320 million budget for 1965-66.

KENYA: President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, has suspended all public meetings of the country's two rival trade union organisations.

25th JUNE

CONGO: Congolese President Joseph Kasavubu today confirmed an earlier announcement that the Leopoldville Parliament would not meet before June 30, the deadline set by the constitution. He then said, it is considered inopportune for Parliament to meet in the absence of delegates from the three provinces.

SUDAN: More than 1,000 Sudanese living in Chad have crossed into Sudan since the Government of Chad threatened to expel all Sudanese, the Darfur Province Commissioner announced this in Geveina, West Sudan.

GUINEA: USSR and United States technicians will work together on a 1,562 miles road and bridge building projects in Guinea, it has been announced in Conakry today.

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE): The Soviet Union is to help the Congo Brazzaville to build a hydro-electric power station and a 120-room hotel in Brazzaville under technical aid agreement. Mr. Issac Gomez of Brazzaville Foreign Ministry, also signed an agreement in Moscow today.

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Where the Capitalist Road has led Turkey

AFTER half a century of the capitalist road in Turkey all the facts show that capitalism has not solved the socio-economic problems of the country, has not ensured a rapid advance along the highway of progress. To this day Turkey is a backward country dependent economically and militarily on the imperialist powers.

The annual national income per head of population is a mere \$163. There are nearly a million and a half wholly unemployed in the country, and several million semi-unemployed who depend on occasional earnings. Over 60 per cent of the population is illiterate.

Today Turkey owes more than \$2,000 million, or over 21,500 million Turkish lire, to foreign states and banks—a sum several times greater than the gold and currency reserves of the country. The foreign trade deficit amounted in 1961 to \$162.3 million, \$238 million in 1962, \$320 million in 1963, and \$126 million in the first six months of 1964.

The profound economic and socio-political crisis caused by following the capitalist road was one of the main reasons for the *coup-d'état* of May 27th, 1960. But the *coup*, carried out by the military, did not resolve the crisis.

And because of this the question of the road to take now is being raised with growing frequency in the press and among the public. Should our country continue along the capitalist road, remaining dependent on the imperialist powers financially, economically and politically, or should it take a different way?

For the leaders of the bourgeoisie and their ideologists capitalism is the only way suitable for Turkey. Contrary to the facts, they argue that it has benefited the people and that it is best suited to their interests.

Progressives, and in particular the Communist Party, suggest a different way, the non-capitalist way, and hold out the perspective of socialism. They add, however, that at the moment the objective conditions and prerequisites for an immediate transition to socialism have not as yet matured in Turkey.

For this a period of time is needed during which all the obstacles impeding the rapid economic advance of our country should be removed and the conditions for building socialism created.

In our opinion, the objective conditions for cutting short the further growth of capitalism and adopting the non-

capitalist way are taking shape in the country.

One of the economic factors conducive to the transition is the existence of a large state sector which accounts for over half the industrial output.

So far this sector serves the interests of capitalism and is a state-capitalist sector. But if this sector were placed on a democratic footing and its capitalist nature changed it could serve as the economic basis for the country's advance along the non-capitalist road.

IMPACT

Another important factor of a political nature is the change in the relationship of the political forces and the growth of the progressive forces advocating the non-capitalist way and socialism.

Under the impact of the success of the socialist countries and the newly-independent states of Asia and Africa the ideas of socialism are becoming increasingly popular in Turkey.

The socialist orientation and transition to the non-capitalist way are now favoured not only by the vanguard of the working class but also by numerous intellectuals—people who command considerable influence in the Labour and Social Democratic parties and in the Left wing of the People's Republican Party.

Socialism and the non-capitalist way are supported also by a large section of the student movement.

The influence in the army of the ideas of national liberation should also be noted. Patriotic officers dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, hold that the regeneration for which the 1960 *coup* was carried out is not being implemented. Many of them now support the democratic reforms and demands advanced by the progressive intellectuals and the working class.

So the relationship of political forces is now changing, we believe, in a direction opening up before the progressives the possibility of ousting from power the reactionaries tied up with imperialism, of forming a national-democratic government, and effecting democratic changes, i.e., the possibility of creating the political prerequisites for the transition to the non-capitalist way of development.

For countries such as Turkey the problem of the non-capitalist way is an extremely complex one, calling for a thorough and all-round analysis. In this article we would like to give only the general outline of the subject and discuss the urgent problems of modern Turkey from the standpoint of the perspective of non-capitalist development.

The Agrarian Question

AGRICULTURE is the main occupation in Turkey, employing over three-quarters of the total labour force and accounting for over half the national income and 75-80 per cent of the country's exports. But, despite the significance of agriculture for the economy, its level remains very low.

Tens of thousands of acres of cultivable land lie idle. The cultivated area is slightly in excess of 56 million acres. Over 60 per cent of this land is farmed by big landowners. Until recently 76,000 landowners (2.6 per cent of the total) possessed 44 per cent of all arable land. At the same time 773,000 poor peasant families (30.6 per cent of the total of peasant families) owned a mere 1,700,000 acres.

A large part of the peasantry—489,000 families—are landless, rural proletarians. Most of them comprise the reserve army of the working class and serve as the principal source of replenishment for the urban working class.

Successive bourgeois governments since the national-liberation, anti-imperialist revolution of 1919-23 failed to abolish the survivals of the feudal and semi-feudal land relations in the countryside.

The bourgeoisie, closely linked with the feudal lords and landlords, has invariably resisted the attempts by the peasants to win their economic demands, and has resisted agrarian reform.

For years it refused even to recognise the existence of the agrarian problem and the class struggle going on in the countryside. For example, the programme of the People's Repu-

Some argue that the developing countries should take the capitalist road of development. YAKUB DEMIR and HALIS OKAN here examine what that road has meant for Turkey during the last half-century

blitan Party contained the following definition of the Turkish people:

"By the Turkish people we understand not a community of different classes but a single entity. Small landowners, handicraftsmen, workers, professionals, industrialists, big landowners, contractors, small and big traders are the principal worker groups of Turkish society. The labour of each is essential to the life and well-being of the other groups and to society as a whole."

In this way the bourgeoisie sought to blunt the class consciousness of the working people and to suppress the class struggle sapping bourgeois society.

The reluctance of the bourgeoisie to restrict feudal landownership in any way and carry through a land reform has been one of the reasons for the slow development of capitalist relations in agriculture and for the preservation in the countryside of strong survivals of feudal and semi-feudal relations.

The agrarian question is still unsolved. Nothing has been done about land reform

Industrialisation

THE first important steps aimed at building a national industry in Turkey were made soon after the national liberation bourgeois revolution of 1919-23, the principal aim of which was to turn the semi-feudal, semi-colonial Turkey into an independent national bourgeois state.

The progressive aspect of the revolution was that it accomplished this task, thus paving the way to the emergence and development of capitalism.

The national bourgeoisie that came to power sought to restrict foreign capitalist interference in economic life, to consolidate its positions and the country's independence by taking recourse to the policy of statism.

STATISM

Features of statism are Government intervention in economic affairs, on the one hand, and encouragement to private enterprise, on the other. It was born in the conditions of a backward country and a weak bourgeoisie fearing to make big investments in the national industry then in its infancy.

Statism was engendered also by the need to build new branches of industry to promote economic development.

The national bourgeoisie utilised all sources of national income to set up some of the important branches of national industry. All enterprises of national significance (mines, railroads, etc.) previously held by foreign capitalists were transferred directly to the state.

Large-scale industrial and agricultural enterprises were created by the efforts of the state, with the result that a considerable state sector took shape.

Bourgeois propaganda extols statism as a system which, it claims, brings "prosperity" to the people as a whole. The state-owned enterprises, we are told, have become "public property" and

which would abolish feudal landownership and give free scope to the development of the productive forces in industry and agriculture. Isolated measures taken by the government in agriculture have not improved the situation in the countryside.

In our opinion, a radical solution of the agrarian question, which is of paramount importance for the rapid growth of our economy, calls primarily for the following:

- abolition of feudal landownership and distribution of the land among landless peasants and those who have not enough land;

- the setting up of co-operatives and state farms on part of the land confiscated from the feudal lords;

- normalising tenure relations in keeping with the interests of the peasants.

The contradictions in the countryside can be resolved only through non-capitalist development providing for a radical land reform and other fundamental socio-economic changes in the interests of the working people.

against capitalism, is veritable state socialism."

In reality, however, statism, which has played an important part in strengthening the national bourgeoisie and in developing capitalism, favours the interests of the bourgeoisie. Indirectly, this was admitted by Ataturk the leader of the 1919-23 Revolution who said:

"The statism practised by Turkey today was not borrowed from the socialist ideas of the nineteenth century. We maintain that statism must be founded on private initiative and private enterprise. But bearing in mind all the needs of our great nation and our vast country, the economy must be controlled by the state."

The bourgeoisie has used statism and the state sector to increase its profits and consolidate its political positions to the detriment of the masses.

After the Second World War the interests of the bourgeoisie gradually came into conflict with the policy of statism. Beginning with 1950 voices were heard calling for an end to this policy. The first Menderes government stressed that:

"state intervention in economic life should be restricted as far as possible and private enterprise expanded to the maximum"

MOTTO

The policy of the Menderes government, with its motto "a millionaire in each block of flats", was founded on the principle of gradual abolition of the state sector. To restrict state intervention in economic affairs the big bourgeoisie sought ways and means of establishing contact with foreign capital.

In 1951 Parliament enacted a bill on "encouragement to foreign capital". With the aid of U.S. capital the Bank of Industrial Development of Turkey was set up.

Somewhat later companies were formed with the participation of foreign and local capital. Thus, the economy was gradually placed under

the control of U.S., West German and other monopolies.

Foreign capital, while exerting pressure on the main branches of our economy, aims, in conjunction with big local capital, at getting control of the state sector, with the result that the latter, universally recognised as one of the main gains of the Kemalist revolution, is threatened with liquidation.

The present rulers support the private sector on the grounds that the state sector is unprofitable. The process of big private capital fusing with state capital is becoming more and more obvious.

The state is coming under the sway of big capital.

FUSING

An example of the fusing of private and state capital is the iron and steel combine in Ereğli, where 51 per cent of the capital belongs to the state and the rest to Turkish and American companies.

But, according to a special law promulgated under the Menderes government, this enterprise is considered private, and the state has no control over it.

On the whole it can be said that statism has played a positive role in the country's economic development. In the thirties textile mills were built in Kayseri and Nazilli as well as other industrial enterprises under the first five-year plan.

Foreign Capital

FOREIGN capital has penetrated into our country in the shape of military, technical and economic "aid", loans and credits, through banks and the foreign-trade system and through foreign state and private investments.

Turkey has had to make humiliating concessions. It is still repaying the debt incurred through the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

To this day our country is a sphere of investment for foreign capital. The U.S., West German, British, French, Belgian, Dutch and other foreign companies are vying for monopoly profits. The reactionaries made provisions for various benefits with a view attracting a steady inflow of foreign capital (witness the special laws adopted at the time of the Menderes government). Special rights were accorded to foreign interests. A law was enforced permitting free export of the profits of foreign capitalists in hard currency.

Under pressure of foreign capital the lira was devalued. The U.S. dollar, previously exchanged for 2.80 lira, now has an official exchange rate of 9 lira. The result was an automatic threefold increase in Turkey's indebtedness and an accompanying growth of inflation.

To the detriment of the national interests, and contrary to Ataturk's slogan "Peace in the world, peace in the homeland", Turkey is a member of N.A.T.O. and C.E.N.T.O. and a pillar of imperialism in the Middle East.

Our country, which through its huge debt has been made an appendage to the imperialist war machine, is forced to maintain an army of 500,000 to spend over 40 per cent of

This development made Turkey at the time the most industrialised country in the Middle East. But the industrialisation was confined basically to light industry; heavy industry, which could become the bedrock of industrialisation and economic independence, was neglected.

For our country with its population of 30 millions and rich sources of raw materials industrialisation, especially heavy industry, is essential. This is one of the big problems facing the country.

STATE SECTOR

The building of heavy industry enterprises presupposes all-round development, consolidation and modernisation of the state sector. The state sector, in which the main productive forces are concentrated, should not be allowed to become an appendage to the private sector.

From the very beginning the Communist Party supported the state sector and campaigned for its extension and consolidation.

The documents and resolutions of the Party have stressed that the Communists regard the state sector as the most essential factor for strengthening the economic and political independence of the country, and see their task in combating those who seek to discredit the state sector. At the same time they stand for a democratically run state sector and for changing its capitalist nature.

The further development of the state sector and a general expansion of our economy depend on a radical change in policy on deep-going democratic lines. Given this the state sector could be enlarged and acquire a new essence. This would ensure balanced development of the productive

forces in the interests of the working people.

This was truly fraternal, disinterested aid which in the past secured our political and economic independence. It came, to us from the country of the great Lenin, the people of which were the first to abolish capitalism and the exploitation of man by man and build socialism, the country which opened the road to national-liberation and socialist revolutions.

A few years ago a caustic soda works and a big glass factory were built and put into commission in Turkey, again with aid from the Soviet Union.

And had not Turkey joined the imperialist blocs and pacts after the Second World War and violated the good-neighbourly relations between the two countries, who knows how many more plants would have been built in our country?

Would it not have been possible to build in Turkey a hydro-electric project like the Aswan High Dam or the enterprises built with Soviet aid in the U.A.R., Iraq, Algeria, Syria, India, Burma, Indonesia and other newly-free countries?

Valuable aid and credits could be extended by the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and other socialist countries.

The national interests of Turkey require that the country's economy be freed from the fetters of foreign monopoly capital, that a policy of neutrality be pursued and mutually advantageous and equal economic co-operation established with all countries.

A National Democratic Front

RECENT years have seen the rise of the working-class movement—the most striking feature in present-day Turkey. There are now in the country roughly 2.5 million workers, of whom over 700,000 are organised in trade unions.

In the fight for their social, economic and political rights, they are not intimidated either by pressure, police brutality or provocations. Mass strikes, meetings and demonstrations are a common occurrence.

A reflection of the changes that have taken place in the working-class movement is the formation of the first legal Labour Party, which has openly proclaimed its aim of rallying the working masses (including the peasants) for the country's regeneration, which should take the road of democratisation of the machinery of state, carrying through an agrarian reform, and the way of non-capitalist development.

The bourgeoisie is trying might and main to split the working-class movement and infect it with alien bourgeois ideology. Many of the trade unions, totalling 700,000 members, are affiliated to the Trade Union Confederation. The top council of this body follows the line of the bourgeois parties and of the chiefs of the U.S. Trade Unions and Free International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

In 1964, when workers downed tools in many parts of the country and preparations were made for more strikes, the council resolved not to call further strikes and to discontinue those already under way until a solution had been found to the Cyprus crisis.

Contrary to this decision the strikes continued, even at the height of the crisis, and

Continued on page 4

The Delusion of African Socialism

It may be said with some confidence that the ideas of African Socialism have been successfully combated in Ghana. We have seen from our immediate experiences that the theories which go under the name of "African Socialism" were, in reality claiming special African features as a cover for their lack of socialist understanding.

The Programme for Kenya shows the same general features of the African Socialist ideas which were once peddled in Ghana.

Perhaps it is necessary to give the basic scientific definition of Socialism before we expose the fallacies of "African Socialism".

Socialism is defined as follows:

"A society based on the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, in which the nations' resources are planned to meet the ever rising material and cultural needs of the people".

Socialism is not a mixed economy. In those societies trying to lay the basis for socialism, there are of course two systems of ownership existing side by side, but this is a stage in the advance to socialism, it is not socialism itself. In such a transitional stage the commonly-owned sector of the economy grows more rapidly than the privately-owned sector.

African Socialists however, appear to believe that their kind of socialism can consist of the two systems of ownership existing side by side with them holding the balance between them.

UNPRODUCTIVITY

What happens in practice in such an attempt is that the state owns the unproductive or unprofitable sectors of the economy, operating them for the convenience of private capitalists who can invest their money in more profitable enterprises and get a quick return on their investment.

This is to be seen in Britain, in Scandinavia and in New Zealand, where the less profitable industries and the infra-structure are subsidised or run by the state with public money while the more modern and highly profitable sections of the economy are privately owned.

Indeed, it is the policy of the British Labour Party to leave, unnationalised the "efficient" (i.e. profitable) industries and to take over, at high rates of compensation, the less profitable in which capitalists are unwilling to invest.

The mixed economy therefore, is not socialism, it is capitalism at a particular historical stage.

The advocates of "African Socialism" seek to emphasise the differences between Africa and the rest of the world in the attempt to build Socialism in our continent. The practical effect of this could only be to divide us from the rest of the world-wide movement for liberation and freedom from exploitation. To achieve such a separation would deprive the African people of their natural allies in face of the ever-present menace of the imperialist world.

This is not to deny that there are special problems which have to be dealt with in Africa in a new and creative way, but it does not mean that we have to decline to learn from the experiences of other peoples in their struggles to build socialism.

Many different peoples, with widely differing histories, levels of development, cultures and traditions, are trying to build Socialism, or have already achieved it. Are we to be stupid or arrogant and claim that their experiences,

difficulties, mistakes and achievements hold no lessons for us? On the contrary, we have to observe their efforts and draw lessons from their experiences applying them in an intelligent way to our particular situation.

We resist, therefore, this kind of parochialism, this form of separatism because it weakens our efforts to build a just, Socialist society, and because it splits the anti-imperialist movement on a world scale.

"African Socialism" encourages illusions about political problems as well as economic problems. Its advocates fail to understand that the newly-independent states inherit a civil service, legal system, educational and propaganda organs from the old colonial powers, specially designed to ensure the effectiveness of colonial rule.

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

It is assumed that somehow this machinery designed for a special purpose—that of ensuring political guarantees for the super-exploitation of the colonial peoples—can be taken over and made to operate in the building of socialism. Nothing could be further from the truth.

When Kwame Nkrumah talks about the need to decentralise the economy, the state and ideology, he means that to build Socialism we have to remake the political and ideological apparatus, we have to refashion new tools to be used for this vital task of abolishing the exploitation of man by man in our society.

The "African Socialists" appear to regard the newly-independent state inherited from the old Imperialism as a kind of neutral referee, holding the ring for different "power groups", carefully balancing their claims, one against the other.

They never answer the 64,000-dollar question "Who appoints the referee?".

There are strong elements of Utopian Socialism in the theory of "African Socialism". There is a harking-back—in many cases a very sentimental harking-back—to aspects of traditional African life, and an attempt to try and revive them.

We are not in any way against the attempt to revive and develop our great African heritage and culture, we are for the development of our history and understanding of African society, but we cannot turn back from the challenge to move into a modern industrialised future, which, on the basis of common ownership, will help us to eliminate poverty disease and ignorance.

We must preserve all that is humane and progressive in our culture and heritage but we must be honest and admit that there are also aspects of our traditional society which reflect a backward-looking ideology, ideas and superstitions which could hold back our development and which must be rejected.

Because of the search for separatism "African Socialists" tend to accept, quite uncritically, everything in our traditional society sentimentalising qualities and customs which in fact stifle socialist initiative and growth.

The term "positive non-alignment" is now widely known, but just as widely interpreted. "African Socialism" consistent with its separatist tendencies, misuses this important concept.

Positive non-alignment does not mean that we can stand back and evade responsibility for what is happening in international affairs, neither can we try to play both sides off against the other, we cannot declare "A plague on both your houses, we stand aside".

Positive non-alignment does not mean that on one day we attack imperialism, and then to keep the account balanced

THIS is the first of two articles which will discuss some of the problems raised by the programme introduced in the publication "Africa and the World" under the general title "Development of Africa". The programme is a summary of a Seminar on the theme "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya".

we invent complaints against socialist countries, repeating capitalist attacks on them.

Positive non-alignment means that we join no military blocks and that we refuse to have foreign military bases on our territory. It means that we make a mature estimate of where the danger to peace comes from both in general and in any particular case and we take our stand on that analysis.

We do not seek to pander to powerful Capitalist foreign interests by repeating their slanders about Socialism.

We recognise that the threat to peace arises inevitably from the very nature of imperialism and our stand of positive non-alignment is a powerful anti-imperialist stand because it pulls the newly independent states out of the orbit of imperialism which has for centuries dominated them.

It is clear that "African Socialism" has been manufactured for a special reason: to try and combat scientific socialism in our continent. In the same way "Democratic Socialism" is peddled in Western Europe and other capitalist states, to try and combat scientific socialism there.

It is noteworthy that Kenya should use the combined term of "African Democratic Socialism" in presenting its definitive statement of aims and policy for development in that country.

CAPITALISM

The programme shares all illusions we have just outlined. It is a programme which could quite easily have been drawn up by the backroom boys of the British Labour Party's Head Office. With minor amendments it could form the programme for any social democratic party in Europe or anywhere in the world.

We do not wish to accuse the authors of insincerity in putting this programme through as a contribution to socialism, but we do wonder if they have failed to observe the failure to introduce socialism in European countries where similar principles are advanced by Labour and Social Democratic parties.

Surely they recognise that in those countries where the aim of a mixed economy and the balancing of power groups has been formulated we see not socialism but just the same old-fashioned undemocratic capitalism still at work?

To attach the word "African" to the term "Democratic Socialism" is to play with words, it does not magically transform the underlying principles or give them any real validity. Indeed we are convinced from a close study of the detailed points of the programme that some of its authors have learned only to well from their erstwhile teachers in the British Labour Party, British T.U.C. and in I.C.F.T.U.

We regret that they are trying to smuggle these theories into Africa under the guise of making some new contribution to socialist theory. These theories are as alien to Africa as they are alien to the interests of all exploited peoples—African, Asian, European or American.

The programme, printed around the photograph of Mr. Mboya wearing his usual disarming smile, opens with a mis-statement.

It tries to establish respectability for itself with anti-socialist forces by attacking communism in the first sentence. It alleges that Communism denies its mature citizens equal political rights.

It is not merely a quibble to

by a Spark
Correspondent

remind our readers that as yet no Communist society has yet been established anywhere in the world, though that time is not too far distant.

However, socialist societies exist and it would be impossible to find any whose constitution do not guarantee equal political rights to all its mature citizens. Indeed, their definition of maturity is 18 years of age, in capitalist countries it is usually 21 at least.

EXPLOITATION

In any case, we do not fall for the hypnosis of general terms like "equal rights". Frankly, we are not in favour of "equal rights" just like that.

We are against the rights of anyone to exploit another man's labour, for example. Under capitalism there are no equal rights. There is the right of the owner of capital to exploit and the right of the worker to work for wages or starve. It is in that basic context that the right to vote has to be seen and its limitations understood.

In socialist societies all citizens have equal political rights and what is more,

they have equal economic and social rights, something capitalism can never bring them.

To strike the balance though, the same statement tries to dissociate itself from capitalism. It talks about "the exercise of disproportionate political influence by economic power groups".

So vague is this statement that it could mean anything. Does it mean that "African socialists" think there is some legitimate or proportionate (as opposed to disproportionate) level of influence which could be tolerated by economic power groups?

Scientific socialists reject such American-type sociological jargon. In a socialist society economic power groups are done away with by the transference of the productive resources into common ownership and the abolition of the right of exploitation.

With such a muddled and unclear opening statement, with such confusion about social relationships revealed, one can hope for very little of any use from the programme.

There is not one mention of the real, existing economic relationships which still dominate all newly independent African states, Kenya being no exception. Reading the programme, one would ima-

Turkey took wrong course

Continued from page 3

the council had to cancel its decision.

One of the conditions for a basic change in policy and for the country's transition to the path of democratic revolutionary reforms is the unity of all forces in the national-democratic front and the replacement of the reactionary Urguplu-Demirel government by a national-democratic government.

Is a national-democratic front possible today, and are the progressive forces strong enough to implement the basic demands of the front and take the country onto the non-capitalist way?

Turkish Communists answer this question in the affirmative. In doing so they proceed not only from the fact of the activation and growth of the working-class—the most militant and revolutionary force counterposed to the reactionaries, monopolies and imperialism—but also from an analysis of the main antagonisms among the bourgeoisie.

As capitalism develops a gradual concentration of production and capital is taking place, and associations of big business—peculiar types of Turkish monopolies—are coming into being.

An example is the Business Bank which shares in 35 big enterprises and companies, controls four insurance companies, has two subsidiaries abroad—in Alexandria and Nicosia—and an agency in West Germany.

Men of big capital, as Koc, Seleke, Avunduk, Burlar, Danic, Koper, Benli and Demirel (chairman of the "Justice Party") are a minority arrogating to themselves 38 per cent of our national income and who, along with foreign monopoly capital, aim at getting control of the main branches of the economy.

In order further to consolidate their class positions, they make deals with U.S. imperialism. It was they who sent our

soldiers to die in Korea, who gave the order "shoot to kill" the students in April 1960 and miners in Zonguldak in March 1965. It was they who enmeshed our country in the imperialist N.A.T.O. and C.E.N.T.O. blocs.

The big bourgeoisie brutally exploits the working people and simultaneously infringes the interests of the small and middle bourgeoisie. Today one can speak with every justification about the existence in our country of acute contradictions between the big bourgeoisie associated with foreign monopoly capital and large sections of the small and middle national bourgeoisie.

The former, opposed to any generation and to any reforms, will never accept the demands of the national-democratic forces. Hence the task of the latter is to expose the reactionary, imperialist character of this bourgeoisie and wage a fight against it.

THREAT

The numerous sections of the small national bourgeoisie unable to withstand competition from the big bourgeoisie and foreign monopolies, can join the national-democratic front. The threat of being crushed by big monopoly and imperialism makes them support the demands for reforms and social justice.

That is why, despite their inherent duality, vacillations and inconsistency, the small and middle national bourgeoisie can become an active force of the national-democratic front and an ally of the proletariat and all working people in their struggle against imperialism and the big bourgeoisie.

The patriotic wing of the small and middle national bourgeoisie, and especially pro-

gressive intellectuals, students and patriotic army officers, are an active political force. Many of these act in defence of national independence, for democratic reforms and social regeneration.

The struggle for reforms, especially for agrarian reform, creates real conditions for building an alliance of the working class and the peasantry in the national-democratic front.

DISCONTENT

The peasants are an important potential force of the national movement. True, the peasant movement is still feeble, but it is getting under way. In 1963 a demonstration of landless peasants and farm labourers took place in Adana, and early in 1964 a meeting of peasants in support of land reforms was held in the vicinity of the town of Siverek.

Discontent is growing in the principal tobacco-growing regions (evident, for example, in the demonstrations and meetings held in Akhisar and Adiyaman in February and March). The peasants in these areas called for nationalisation of tobacco trade and for a better price for their tobacco.

Thus, the preconditions exist for building a united anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front the core of which must consist of the working class, the peasantry and the middle sections of town and countryside, primarily the forward-looking intellectuals.

It can be said that the front is already taking shape "from below" on the initiative of the working people and above all on the initiative of the industrial workers, students and intellectuals.

Manifestations of this were the mass actions in defence of the Zonguldak miners who stopped work last March to protest against their arduous conditions. Government reprisals against the workers caused outbursts of indignation all over the country.

It was not only the working-class parties and trade unions which came out in defence of the workers but also organisations of professional workers, including student unions belonging to the National Student Federation and some student unions in Istanbul.

Even before the strike in Zonguldak a declaration issued by the Student Federation called on all progressives to close their ranks. However, along with the unity trend among the progressive forces notice should also be taken of the fact that many of them are still dispersed in various parties and trends.

Calling for a united national-democratic front, the Communist Party—the vanguard of the working class—proceeds on the ground that its structure should not be based on the principles of domination of any one class or obligatory leadership by any one party.

The front should unite all the patriotic forces, including the national bourgeoisie, working to get rid of imperialist oppression and the subordination to monopoly capital, all who stand for Turkey's independent development.

Despite the illegal conditions and the anti-communism instigated by imperialism and the reactionaries, the Communist Party is searching for, and finding the ways and means for carrying on its work. It is extending its activity and its prestige is rising.

The slogan of a united national-democratic front advanced by the Party as the task of the day helps to build the unity of the progressive, patriotic forces of the Turkish people in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for complete national liberation, and for far-reaching socio-economic reforms.

We expect to see the recognition that the socialist sector must grow more rapidly than the private sector and in the key areas of the economy.

Anything less than such a recognition and a policy based on it will lead countries deeper into economic dependence and into misery for their peoples.

FAILURE

This programme evades all the basic problems. It promises some attempts at control of social and economic life but it fails to drive at the heart of economic relationships namely ownership.

Socialism is a clear concept. It is scientifically defined at the beginning of this article. The Kenya programme is not scientific it fails to reveal any understanding of the laws of social development or any deep analysis of the present situation.

This proves what we have often asserted before—that "African Socialism" is a delusion.

Kwame Nkrumah has said that in Ghana "we have had to wage an unflagging battle for the general acceptance of the principles of scientific socialism, in its basic principles it is a science. And science has no geographical limitations. The duty of Africa is to embrace these universal principles of socialism while giving the institutional forms that take into account our African background and heritage" and "there is no such thing as African Socialism. There is only Scientific Socialism which is valid the world over".

FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF MOZAMBIQUE

By E. K. MICKSON



Mozambique Freedom Fighters discuss new offensive against Portuguese imperialism in Africa.

WHEN on March 6, 1957, Ghana achieved her independence after one hundred and thirteen long years of colonial rule, there were only eight independent States in Africa.

Today, due to the inextinguishable flame of African national consciousness and pride kindled by Ghana and her militant uncompromising and unyielding leader Kwame Nkrumah and other African leaders, the number of independent States in Africa has risen to thirty-six.

Most of these states won their independence only through long but peaceful constitutional battles with their former colonial masters.

STRUGGLE

But others, like Kenya and Algeria, had to gain their independence with their precious blood after long years of war of liberation to establish their rightful demand to live as independent and respected peoples on an awakened and respected continent.

Some of our brothers and sisters are even now engaged in national liberation wars, fighting by all means and at all costs to gain for themselves the independence that is theirs by natural right.

Some of such states who are engaged in active liberation wars at the moment are: the Congo, Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique. Apart from the Congo, the other three states listed are Portuguese colonies under Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal—the man without a conscience.

However, our searchlight here is on Mozambique.

Mozambique is a strip of country in South Eastern Africa along the coast of the Indian Ocean and exactly opposite the Island of Malagasy (formerly Madagascar). It is bounded on the South by the Republic of South Africa, on the West by Southern Rhodesia, on the North-West by Zambia, on the North by Fanzania and on the East by the Indian Ocean.

OPPRESSED

It has an area of 297,654 sq. miles, which is more than thrice the size of Ghana. Its mixed population of 6,130,000 is, however, less than that of Ghana, is made-up as follows: 6 million Africans, 70,000 Europeans and 60,000 Asians and others.

Portuguese is the official language. There is no common African language though there are some twenty-five different dialects in the country. Swahili is however the lingua franca among the Africans in the northern most districts.

The only legal political organisation of the country is the minority Government's own National Union. Labour and trade unions are non-existent. So 6 million Africans of the

country are, in all matters, at the mercy of the imperialist minority of 70,000 Portuguese Europeans who constitute the colonialist government of the land.

For 467 years since Vasco da Gama discovered Mozambique in 1498, this country has remained under the colonial rule of Portugal.

For years, the people of Mozambique had been trying by every constitutional means—by sending delegations, petitions, memoranda, communiques and all—to get Portugal to grant them more acceptable conditions of living as people in their own country and on

their own continent.

But Salazar having turned deaf ears to their repeated legitimate demand, the freedom fighters of Mozambique rightly had no alternative but resort to armed struggle.

And so, the Mozambique National Liberation Front was launched in 1962.

This has the full backing of the O.A.U. which has established a "co-ordinating Committee" to co-ordinate assistance from African states and to manage the special fund set up to help all Freedom Fighters.

As the 45-year-old leader of the Liberation Front, Dr.

Eduardo Mondlane, told a reporter recently:

"This is not a classical war. It is a guerilla war and there is going to be a lot of bruising. It may take one year of it, may take two or three, or four, or five... It would be irresponsible to say that we shall be independent by this or by that date."

Fully conscious of the task ahead and the kind of people he is fighting, the Liberation leader went on:

"With the Portuguese, there is no question of expecting

negotiations. We want a Black African government and not a stooge government. They will never give us out-right independence. We are going to have to fight for it."

On the question of their arms and equipment supplies Dr. Mondlane said,

"Yes. They are from the Communist countries mostly, and from Algeria and the United Arab Republic. If it happens to suit their ideologies to help us, it suits us

too, because we need all the help we can get from genuine friends."

This is a challenge to the O.A.U.'s Committee of Nine whose duty it is to co-ordinate assistance from other African States and supply the necessary practical and financial assistance.

It is also a challenge to the O.A.U. itself as a whole to be more radical, more practical and more bold to come forward openly to help these freedom fighters to achieve

their deserved unconditional victories to solidify once and for all, the African Unity drive.

For if Africa is to be free, it must be all Africa—free and united—and not only parts of it.

We in Ghana salute our brave brother fighters of Mozambique. We and the whole of Africa are with them in spirit in their fight and know that Independent they will certainly soon be to join the continental Union Government of Africa.

The O.A.U. Under New Modern Doctrine

by H. M. BASNER

It was obvious at the Addis Ababa and Cairo summit conferences that for President Nkrumah the struggle against neo-colonialism had become the main task of the African Revolution. His sense of urgency about creating the machinery for an All-African Union Government could not then have been based on imperialist military aggressions as much as on the new forms of political domination and economic exploitation evolved by imperialism to offset the effects of decolonization.

Since last year, however, the policies of U.S. imperialism have crystallized into an articulate doctrine which makes military aggression complementary to, and even inseparable from, neo-colonialism. This doctrine not only lends new urgency to the formation of a continental government, but may make it dangerous for African independence if the O.A.U. solidifies in its present form.

The two dangers which Kwame Nkrumah foresees, if the O.A.U. does not create machinery for a continental government are:

- (a) that the O.A.U. will become merely a talking shop; and
- (b) that failure on the part of the O.A.U. to act will give the enemy time to regroup his forces and evolve new forms of combat, whilst allowing existing arrangements to crystallize, thus creating indigenous vested interests around the status quo.

From these two dangers, however, a third and greater danger may emerge. The O.A.U. itself is now part of the existing arrangements in Africa, and vested indigenous interests can already use it to

maintain the status quo. Under pressure from the U.S. they can even go further, to make the O.A.U. another organization of American States; that is, an instrument of imperialist policy.

TACTICS

We must remember that it was a close call at the Nairobi conference of O.A.U. Foreign Ministers, and a decision was narrowly averted to send African troops to Tshombe's aid. The U.S. State Department almost succeeded in making the O.A.U. play, in the Congo, the role which the C.I.A.S. is playing in the Dominican Republic.

We may argue that the O.A.U. can never become an instrument of neo-colonialism like the Organization of American States, because neither the United States nor any other imperialist Power is a member of the African organization, and because geography saves Africa from the operation of any imperialist policy like the Monroe doctrine.

The rapid evolution of neo-colonialism makes imperialist membership of a neo-colonialist organization unnecessary. Client states can now be directly or telepathically guided with a speed and precision which make proximity a matter of convenience and very little more. Economic and political arm-twisting do not need more than efficiency on an ambassadorial level.

Optimism based on geography has also no realism in the world as it is today. Science and technology have made political thinking in geographical terms as obsolete as the theories of a flat earth and stationary universe. The difference in distance from Washington between Havana and

Lagos is nil by radio, a few minutes by telephone, and a few hours by transport or bombing aircraft.

The economic gap is also closing fast. The increased imperialist investments in South Africa, Angola and the Congo—mainly in mining strategic and indispensable minerals—and the dependence of imperialist industries on the raw materials of Africa, interlock our continent with North America and Europe with far stronger bonds than geography can provide.

As far as the United States is concerned (that is, as far as the only imperialist Power which counts today is concerned) the doctrine of containing communism by suppressing all wars and struggles of national liberation is a new Monroe doctrine, embracing all continents and as wide as the world itself.

DOCTRINE

In 1823 President James Monroe proclaimed that the American continents

"are henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European Powers, and that any attempt to extend European colonies in the Americas would be regarded as dangerous to U.S.A. peace and safety."

This Monroe Doctrine, ostensibly designed to decolonize the American continents, was quickly interpreted by succeeding U.S. Presidents to mean that the United States had a mission, a vital interest and a monopoly in neo-colonizing all the independent republics of Latin America.

This paved the way for United Fruit, Standard Oil and other Rockefeller companies to take over the plantations,

FACTORS

mines and oil wells of the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies with invasions by U.S. marines, with the corruption of the indigenous landowners and bourgeoisie, with the protection of gangster dictators like Trujillo and Batista, with the overthrow of all progressive regimes by military juntas trained and indoctrinated in the military academies of the United States.

In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson proclaims that all six continents are henceforth not to be considered subject to intervention or interference by any communist Power, and that any attempt to extend communism in any continent would be regarded as dangerous to the peace and safety of the "free world", and, above all, of the United States.

The times do not allow President Johnson to wait for succeeding Presidents to interpret the new version of the Monroe Doctrine. Almost simultaneously he proves in South-East Asia, in the Dominican Republic and in the Congo—in three of the six continents—that the new Monroe Doctrine is an extension and not a modification of the earlier version.

The Dominican Republic is in the bag with the rest of Latin America, and must stay in the bag. (There will never, says President Johnson, be another Cuba). The former French colonies in South-East Asia will be protected against communism to the last marine. (There will never, says Presi-

dent Johnson, be another North Vietnam.) The former Belgian colony, and presumably the remaining Portuguese and British possessions, must fall in time under U.S. protection. (There will never, says President Johnson, be another Zanzibar).

The details of how U.S. imperialism means to suppress all popular explosions in the world may have been worked out in the Pentagon already, but they must baffle the imagination of the rest of us. One has only to think of France—after the passing of President de Gaulle, of course—of Italy, India, Pakistan and Turkey to know that there must be something bigger than contingents of marines and paratroopers in the minds of the military advisers who, ultimately, are the only ones to give validity to the Johnson version of the Monroe Doctrine.

We are concerned for the moment with independent Africa, where the difficulties of U.S. imperialism are not insurmountable in the light of its experience and accomplishments in Latin America.

O.A.S.

In the latter, the piracy entailed in enforcing the Monroe Doctrine required a more suitable flag than the Stars and Stripes or the Skull and Cross-bones. After strenuous labour, a new flag was born: The pennon of the O.A.S. can flutter over the American marines for years in any Latin American Republic until a new Trujillo or Batista takes over. The same pennon can also be used by the Peace Corps if a suitable civil regime can be found by United Fruit or the Rockefeller Foundation.

It must be remembered that the first charter for the O.A.U. to be publicly canvassed was drawn up in Havard and circulated by the Chilean ambassador in Addis Ababa. It was closely modelled on the O.A.S. Charter. The State Department had been quick off the mark, as it saw neo-colonialist possibilities in the O.A.U. whilst the colonially-minded British and French foreign experts viewed it only as an unmitigated menace.

FACTORS

Two factors only saved the O.A.U. from adopting the American Charter as a whole: There was enough support for Kwame Nkrumah's anti-imperialist urgency, even if hardly any for his continental government, to make it inexpedient for the American voices to become over-loud. There was a unanimous determination to make the O.A.U. an instrument for liberating the rest of the African continent, which called for activities not covered by the Havard charter.

It is two years since the Addis Ababa Summit. We must face the position that the O.A.U. has not been able to help the client states in Africa to shed their neo-colonialism, and has accomplished very little in assisting the national liberation movements in occupied Africa.

On the contrary, Salazar's intransigence remains unchanged; apartheid in South Africa has grown stronger with increased imperialist investments and NATO military aid; a handful of white colonists in Zimbabwe feel bold enough to set up another apartheid republic; the imperialists have

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Such A People are Indomitable

THE situation in South Vietnam has no parallel. While a merciless war is conducted against non-combatants and combatants alike, democratic and social reforms are being consolidated in the Liberated Areas.

It is a war with no lines of battle. The forces of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front are here, there and everywhere, and it is they who decide when and where battles shall be staged. Nor is there any clear delineation of occupied and free zones.

The Front now controls four-fifths of South Vietnam's territory, accounting for 10 million of the 14 million population. But this does not give the exact picture. To quote the Japanese journalist Kobatashi, recently in South Vietnam:

"The U.S.-Saigon troops only control strongholds and communication lines. The communication lines belong to them only when they pass through them. When they are gone, the lines return to the Liberation Front. The mercenaries live in the strongholds, go to the villa-

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front has already freed four-fifths of the territory of South. HILDA VERNON, an Englishwoman recently in Vietnam, here describes the Front's achievements in the Liberated Areas.

ges and towns to carry out their 'duties' early in the morning and return to the strongholds in the evening". There is a continual passing between the Liberated and enemy-controlled areas. Even from Saigon, people with visas issued by the Front, visit the Liberated Areas. If the Front stopped the food-laden trucks which go into Saigon every morning, Saigon could not be fed.

living conditions. True, we were very hard up before liberation. But recently the Front has given us more land and we have promoted mutual aid among neighbours, so we are really better off. Enough to eat and wear."

Such areas are targets for savage attacks—bombardments

from sea and air, spraying of toxic chemicals and napalm. But efforts of the enemy to destroy the new life the people are building do not deflect them from this goal; what they succeed in destroying is at once rebuilt, with the whole population from round about and units of the People's Army co-operating.

Education Develops

EDUCATION develops by leaps and bounds. Every village has schools, and over 80 per cent of the children are already at school. Some schools are actually attended by children coming in from places still controlled by the enemy.

Even in the contested areas schools are maintained, though of course with much more difficulty. Institutions for higher education are increasing.

Part-time adult education is organised for the peasants and workers and members of the Front's Defence Forces. Teachers have been "emergency-trained", text books prepared and printed, once the problems of producing paper had been surmounted.

All localities have their local music, dance and drama groups, and there are also full-time professional ensembles. A member of the Artistic Ensemble of the Liberation Army writes:

"We are now fairly well-equipped with musical instruments, costumes and other stage properties—a quite respectable achieve-

ment under conditions of constant warfare. Although our artistic level is still relatively low, the comrades in the Army have lavished praise on us, for amidst the hardships of war, they naturally welcome artistic performances. They told us, 'Don't worry about shortage of musical instruments. We'll take them from the enemy for you'. No danger of hardships can discourage us. We want so much to learn, to study, but the enemy leaves us little time for training. We rehearse, as you might say, with rifles in our hands."

Not only has the problem of paper for text and exercise books been solved. Newspapers, periodicals and books are produced in great variety, and libraries established in the villages.

And what the people cannot get from these, they get from films and broadcasts. They know all that is happening all over the world, and the solidarity their cause is gaining.

They listen to the broadcasts from Hanoi, rejoice in the progress of socialist construction in the North, their fighting spirit enhanced as the U.S. tries to destroy this progress.

A Health Service

A MEDICAL and health service has been built up. Doctors, and nurses, many newly trained in Institutes of the Front, man not only the Army Medical Service, but the hospitals in every Liberated Area, the First-aid Centres for victims of bombing raids, the maternity centres in every village.

As well as the necessary food, the production of much else has had to be mastered—textiles, clothing, household goods, medicines, and so on.

Most important are the ordnance factories. Often using captured American equipment as prototypes and for the most part with no previous experience, these workers have

learnt how to turn out first-class products.

Everything that can be salvaged to provide raw materials, the children in particular participating in these salvage efforts.

The unity of the people with their army is complete. No wonder the Americans recognise this as one of the main causes of their defeats. Here is another quotation from a letter smuggled to the North:

"Sometimes we cannot help looking back to the past, to the time when our people had just started to rise up against the U.S.-Djem regime. We didn't have enough men and lacked everything, food, weapons, and ammunition. We had to rely entirely on the people, thanks to whose support every problem was solved."

Who Leads?

OVER and above all, continuous military and defence operations are planned and carried out. Who leads the people who accomplish so much with so little?

It is not possible in one short article to give the biographies of all the members of the Front's Central Committee.

Whether they be doctors, lawyers, writers, teachers, men or women, officers of the old French colonial army, clergy of the Buddhist, Roman Catholic or Protestant faiths, textile and other workers, peasants—all who are old enough have a history of struggle against the French, against the Japanese and then once more against the French.

I will conclude with the story of one of the youngest—22-year-old Rocham Ban, from the National Minority of the heroic Pleiku area.

At the age of 15, in 1958, she organised the youth of her village to campaign for negotiations between the North and the South and for participation in the Resistance Movement; then the fight against forced conscription of the young men into the puppet army and against the setting up of strategic villages.

In a demonstration of women for the release of villagers who had been arbitrarily arrested, when the puppet troops fired on the demonstrators, she led the women to seize arms, return the fire and rescue the prisoners.

Truly such people are indomitable.

African Youth and the Revolution

by **KOFI APPEAH**
(Institute of Journalism)

"Practice without thought is blind. Thought without practice is empty" (Consciencism Chapter 4 page 78)

A FIERCE revolutionary hurricane is sweeping through the length and breadth of our entire Continent. It is a revolution against the old decadent order. It is a new dynamic progressive Society. It is in this society the youth have a vital role to play.

But what should be the role of the youth? How can they be on constant watch against all retrogressive and unpatriotic tendencies and expose them, without the slightest fear or favour?

First, the youth must play their part in the progressive political parties in their countries.

Secondly, they must equip themselves with the ideology for the African revolution. The ideology is provided by *Consciencism*. With a proper understanding of this, they will know the meaning of Scientific Socialism and what *Consciencism* stands for.

Africa to-day needs a politically conscious youth, young people whose aim is to create a just society in which the free development of each shall be the condition for the free development of all.

The youth of today are the architects of tomorrow and the custodians of the future and will be called upon one day to play a vital role in the development of their countries.

In his autobiography, Kwame Nkrumah wrote: "As never before we want thinkers—thinkers of great

thoughts. We want doers—doers of great deeds. Of what need is your education if you cannot help your country in her hour of need?"

This must guide the young people in all their endeavours if they are to be useful to society.

Africa is at a crucial moment in its history evil forces are being marshalled against its attempt to achieve a Continental Union Government.

Go around Africa to-day and see the abject poverty, misery and disease the imperialists bequeathed Africa. Africa's mineral resources and raw material built the giant industries and cities of Europe and America. Even to-day Portugal, Spain and Britain have not left all their colonies.

The enemies of Africa know what they gain if Africa remains forever divided. It means they can go on exploiting Africa.

Unfortunately, not all Africa's leaders see this. Parochial interests are hindering any move to real unity.

It is for the youth therefore to fight for Unity. They must urge governments towards the common goal of Continental Unity.

The youth of Africa must rise and move forward like one man to revive Africa's lost culture. It must be the bulwark against apartheid, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

It must project and hold the banner for a Continental Union Government of Africa. The youth must move forward. Arise, Youth of Africa!

Monroe Doctrine

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invaded the Congo with a paratroop invasion as if Gordon, Kitchener, Lyautey and King Leopold had been restored to life.

All this calls forth in independent Africa—what? *Nouakchott and OCAM*.

If this were all, it would be more than enough to prove Nkrumah's first prophecy in Addis Ababa that an O.A.U. without machinery for a continental government would become a talking shop and provide a breathing-space for the imperialists.

But this is not all, by any means.

We are in the period now of the Johnson Doctrine that the United States will intervene with military force wherever and whenever her vital interests are involved. Her vital interests range from bananas in the Caribbean to uranium in South Africa and the Congo.

We must take it that from now, in conformity with the Johnson Doctrine, every regime in every client state in independent Africa will be protected by U.S. marines and paratroopers along the lines of the recent French exercise in neo-colonialism in Gabon. This, in itself, gives a powerful incentive to indigenous vested interests in Africa to draw closer to a Power which is committed to maintain the *status quo*.

We must also take it that, from now, Salazar, Verwoerd and Ian Smith can count on the aid of the United States not only with investments and arms, but with direct military support. The fascists cannot

be overthrown without a national liberation struggle, and the United States is committed to put down all national liberation struggles with the full weight of American military might.

We must take it, above all, that every progressive regime in Africa in its struggle to oppose neo-colonialism and to achieve socialism can run into the danger of having its policies categorized by Washington as "communism." The United States is now committed to oppose the extension of what she categorizes as "communism" with the full weight of her armed forces.

Thus, the Accra summit of the O.A.U. will not meet under the same conditions as at Addis Ababa and Cairo, and cannot continue its debate about an All-African Union Government under those conditions.

It meets with the sound of gunfire on three continents spelling out the terms of the Johnson Doctrine.

It can choose to become another O.A.S. under the aegis of the United States, assured of all the political and economic developments which a century of neo-colonialism has brought to Latin America.

It can choose to become an All-African Union Government with a chance to achieve what the United States and the Soviet Union achieved by unification.

But it cannot remain the O.A.U. much longer. That possibility has disappeared with the first bombs in North Vietnam and the first shots in the Dominican Republic, announcing the Johnson Doctrine.



Vietnamese Liberation Army on war front.

News Release from Industrial Aids Limited Public Relations

Issued on behalf of:-

DR. K. A. BUSIA
Leader of the United Party
of Ghana in Exile.

Not to be released before:
5.00 p.m., 15th June 1965.

WHEN, in March of last year, we spotlighted the connection between Dr. K. A. Busia and the British public relations firm of Industrial Aids Ltd., Dr. Busia was quick to deny any such connection.

Well, he might, for Industrial Aids Ltd. is not very good company for anyone claiming to stand for democracy and African freedom.

The Managing Director of Industrial Aids is a Mr. R. E. Sims, C. B. E. who was at one time Chief Publicity Officer for the Conservative Central Office—a body not renowned for its sympathies with the African freedom movement.

One of its subsidiaries is Voice and Vision Ltd., another public relations outfit which during the short-lived Central African Federation sent forty British

M.P.s to Salisbury at the behest of Roy Welensky on a £25,000 junket to whip up support for the Federation.

The Spark asked where did Dr. Busia get the money to pay so costly a mouth-piece? After all, he who pays the piper calls the tune, and we would like to know who pays Dr. Busia's piper.

For, despite Dr. Busia's denials, Industrial Aids Ltd. is his piper, as can be seen by the letterhead we reproduce above.

Dr. Busia was last month invited to address an obscure British body describing itself as the Society for Individual Freedom on the occasion of the 750th anniversary of the signing of Magna Carta—and his speech was circulated by none other than Industrial Aids Ltd., the firm which he claimed to have no connection.

In the Liberated Areas, when a "strategic village" has been liberated, so soon as possible it is turned into a "fighting village"—that is, a village where the local people, organised as guerillas, are able to repulse enemy attacks without assistance from the regular forces of the Front.

Where a network of such villages is established, the administration in all aspects—social, economic and defence—is in the hands of a Committee of the Front elected by the villagers.

The Committees establish schools, medical and other social and recreational services. They are responsible for land reform. Land distributed during the resistance war against the French and seized back from the peasants during the Djem regime is returned to them.

TAKE OVER

Land of collaborating landlords is taken and distributed; land of non-collaborators is either temporarily allocated to peasants or leased out at rents controlled by the local committee.

Irrigation is organised and agricultural methods improved and this enhanced production means that the peasants are more prosperous than ever before in their lives.

As long ago as 1963, in a letter smuggled out, a woman wrote to her husband regrouped in the North:

"Don't worry about our