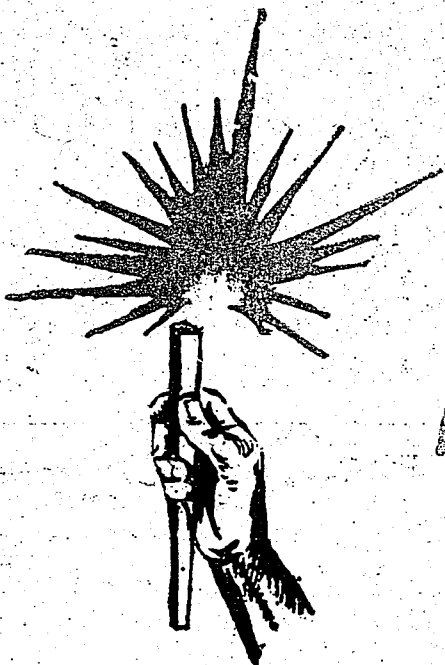


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The World Last Week

EDITORIAL

The Changing Scenes

HARD on the heels of the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned States at which fifty nations committed themselves to a dynamic new formula of a global struggle against world imperialism, the world was, last week, rocked by three events of far-reaching significance. The British working class narrowly edged out the government of the British upper classes. New leaders have emerged in the Soviet Union, the world's first and most powerful socialist state. The Chinese People's Republic has emerged as a nuclear power and an incalculable reinforcement to the world socialist camp.

These events add up to one thing—a rapidly changing world scene.

But, we must ask, is the changing world moving in a direction favourable or unfavourable to the African Revolution?

To answer this question, we must assess concretely what constitutes the essence of the African Revolution. Our struggle has three principal characteristics:

(i) It is absolutely anti-imperialist in spirit. It is out to destroy imperialism in whatever form it takes—colonialism, neo-colonialism or racial discrimination. "Africa cannot co-exist with imperialism", says Kwame Nkrumah.

(ii) It is socialist in content. On the ruins of colonialism and imperialism we are building a new society founded on equality, progress and social justice.

(iii) It is continental in scope. We see in the political unity of the African continent the ultimate guarantee of our total emancipation, our rapid progress and our eventual greatness.

Our considered view is that the events of the past week add up to a great leap forward in the world struggle against imperialism.

The only point of regret is that it has been necessary to further contaminate the atmosphere with radio-active fallout. While noting that the atmospheric test took place inside the borders of China, we cannot but wish that all testings of nuclear weapons came to an end.

The new Labour Government in Britain should make it easier to solve the problems of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa more expeditiously in the interest of the African Revolution. But in view of its slim parliamentary majority, the Labour Government will have to be pushed over its African policy. And the most potent force for this exercise is an upsurge of nationalist activity inside the territories coupled with sustained diplomatic action by the O.A.U. and the Non-Aligned Nations.

The voluntary retirement of Nikita Khrushchev seems to open the door for the strengthening of unity among the socialist countries. While peaceful co-existence will continue to be a major plank in the foreign policy of the socialist countries, such a policy will now be backed by the united will of the socialist camp. The closing of ranks within the socialist camp is a big blow delivered against impe-

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WITHIN the short space of a single week, the world scene has changed fundamentally. Nikita Khrushchev, at his request, was relieved of his posts as First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and as Premier of U.S.S.R. The British Labour Party has won the British general elections. The People's Republic of China has successfully tested a nuclear device. All the indications are that these events will have a profound effect on international affairs. They will, to a considerable degree, influence the course of human history for many years to come.

The Labour Party victory in the British general elections is the easiest of the three events to analyse. It has brought to an end thirteen years of Tory rule. But for how long?

Mr. Harold Wilson's victory will bring joy and hope to those who wish to see British policy, especially the foreign and African policy, take on a more up-to-date look. It will also bring some satisfaction to those who disapprove of the anachronistic and undemocratic way in which the Tory Party chooses its leader. Many there are who will feel a bit relieved to find the fortunes of Britain entrusted to a man who by his birth, his upbringing and his perspective is certainly more typical of Britain today than Sir Alec Douglas-Horne.

HOW LONG?

But for how long will Harold Wilson's Labour Government last in view of the very slim majority it has in the House of Commons? Already some political analysts are forecasting another general election within two years.

The political situation in Britain poses a crucial question for us in Africa. Given the political circumstances in which Harold Wilson finds himself, can Africa hopefully look up to the new Labour Government for dramatic new changes in British policy towards Africa?

The truth is that the British elections have produced a political stalemate. Mr. Wilson has been given a mandate by the people of Britain; but he has not been given a free hand to carry out this mandate.

This fact may not change Labour's attitude to African problems. But it will most certainly affect the resolve and expedition with which Labour can give effect to its African policy. What many Africans who have no intimate knowledge of British politics often overlook is that there is no fundamental difference between the Labour and Tory parties on Africa. Both parties are committed to promoting what they call British interests in Africa. The difference is only as regards the method. While the Tories are the empire party, Labour seems to prefer promoting British interest within the context of the Commonwealth. In other

words, while the Tories want colonies, Labour prefers states that are independent politically but dependent on Britain in other respects.

FEET-DRAGGING

Equally important in whatever calculation we might make is the fact that the British people are overwhelmingly in support of keeping their colonies. A few groups of enlightened Britons may hold—and do hold—different views on this matter. But the voters themselves are firmly for the empire.

With the ever-present threat of a general election therefore, the Labour Party cannot make an issue of colonial problems. Our forecast is that on African affairs Mr. Wilson will edge forward warily. He is likely to reverse the trend in Southern Rhodesia and quicken the tempo of events in Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, but he may decide to drag his feet over South Africa.

Mr. Wilson's hands will have to be forced. This will be achieved if the sore spots in Africa and world diplomacy create a situation for Britain. It is by going over to the offensive on the part of the nationalists of these territories, and by mounting diplomatic pressure on Britain by the African, the non-aligned and the socialist states that we can hope to compel the new British Government to pursue an enlightened policy in Africa.

If we leave the British to themselves, Mr. Wilson will be bogged down on his African policy by an empire-minded people, by a slender parliamentary majority and by a public service overwhelmingly Tory in outlook.

The present situation further emphasises the fact that the liberation movements in Africa must follow the line of positive action. It is clearly unwise to rely solely or even mainly on a policy of negotiation with imperialism.

Last week's events in Moscow are certain to have a big influence on the conduct of international affairs. Their impact will become increasingly felt as time goes on.

The changes in the leadership of the Soviet Union constitute a positive advance for world socialism and a glowing tribute to the personal integrity of Mr. Khrushchev.

Some sections of the anti-socialist Western press are busy creating bad blood by referring disparagingly to Khrushchev's "downfall", "dismissal", "disgrace" etc. Other sections, the mouthpiece of the ultra-rightists—of "fascist imperialism" as Kwame Nkrumah labels it—are getting set to advocate a tough line, a line of intransigence in world relations. They, like Goldwater, dream of "total victory" over socialism.

These reactions to the Moscow events are wrong because they seem to assume that Khrushchev's retirement means an end to the policy of peaceful co-existence. Both in their public utterances and in notes sent to world leaders through diplomatic channels, the new Soviet leaders have made it abundantly clear that peaceful co-existence of different social systems remains a fixed principle of Soviet foreign policy.

Why then has Khrushchev retired at this point?

WORLD CONQUEST?

One factor seems to be the Sino-Soviet controversy on the general line of the world socialist movement. The other is the trend of world events even before but more particularly after the assassination of President Kennedy.

The activities of U.S. imperialism in South East Asia, especially in South Vietnam, and in Africa, especially in Congo (Leopoldville), have shown clearly that the plan for re-conquering the world by imperialism is being pushed by force of arms. When these western powers talk of peaceful co-existence, they seem to infer that their imperialist spheres of influence must be left areas of oppression and exploitation. While it has eased tension between the big powers, peaceful co-existence as interpreted up to now has tended to encourage aggression against weaker and dependent nations.

The dependent and semi-dependent peoples insist on an interpretation of peaceful co-existence that makes room for the early and total elimination of imperialism in all its forms. The second Cairo Conference

By
JULIUS SAGO

of non-aligned states has given a concrete and powerful formulation of this point of view.

The Sino-Soviet controversy has largely turned into a duel between Peking and Mr. Khrushchev. The erstwhile Soviet leader had looked as a personal obstacle to a genuine rapprochement between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China.

SACRIFICIAL LAMB

But since he is a sincere socialist anxious to see the total triumph of the socialist cause, Khrushchev did not hesitate to make himself the sacrificial lamb in the cause of socialist unity. He has submerged self to the greater good of the socialist cause. It is here that we catch glimpses of the statesmanship of Khrushchev as a leader and of his greatness of soul as a man.

The message of congratulations sent to the new men in the Kremlin from China has been couched in very warm and affectionate language. The way now seems clear for closer unity of the socialist ranks the world over. This should follow on the wake of Moscow-Peking rapprochement which is imminent.

Behind all this is a significant reassessment of the world scene. While there is still the commitment to world peace, it seems there has been a re-evaluation of the strategy for achieving it. Negotiations between East and West remain important but are no longer the first weapon in the armoury of world socialism. The premier position in socialist strategy for world peace now seems to go to the unity of a strong socialist camp. Next place goes to the unity of all forces in the world fighting against imperialism. The unity of the socialist camp and the co-ordination of all world forces fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will then be used as the driving force behind negotiations with the imperialist states. This is the only way to make sure that the negotiations serve the interests of mankind and not those of international finance capital.

There are reassuring signs that the new Soviet leaders accept this re-evaluation of the anti-imperialist strategy. The new First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, speaking to the Russian people earlier this week said:

"In our time, the cause of peace and social progress increasingly depends on the strengthening of the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces, above all, in the unity of the socialist countries."

This approach to world problems offers the best possible conditions for a rapid and powerful development of the national liberation movements the world over.

The explosion of a nuclear device last week by the People's Republic of China has brought added confidence to the friends of China and utter dismay to her enemies. It is an event that is bound to compel a sober re-appraisal of the relation of forces in the world. It has helped to tip the scales more in favour of the enemies of imperialism.

The United States of America, the implacable foe of the Chinese socialist republic, has reacted by raising an outcry against pollution of the atmosphere by the Chinese test. Progressive Africa is concerned not only with tests of nuclear weapons but with the whole problem of nuclear weapons.

SELF-PRESERVATION

The circumstances that forced China to her action are obvious. For fifteen years, her existence has not been recognised by U.S.A. She is ringed round with American war bases containing nuclear weapons. She has been refused admission into the U.N. And her security has been threatened by the recent rift in the socialist camp. No objective analysis can fail to appreciate the fact that the Chinese effort has been dictated primarily by self-preservation.

The Chinese position of self-defence is further strengthened by two facts—China's diplomatic moves to explain her position to nations of the world, including U.S.A., before the nuclear device was tested; and her solemn pledge that she will never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The interests of mankind demand an end to all tests of nuclear weapons. However, it should be pointed out that imperialism has no moral right to decry the Chinese test while it is itself busily engaged in the proliferation of nuclear weapons by underground tests. If, as scientists point out, atmospheric tests pave the

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WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE

VII. UNDER THE RULE OF NEW BOSSES

It has already been pointed out that at no time did American diplomacy support the idea of the complete breaking up of the Congo. The interests of the American monopolists, which were out to seize the wealth of the whole country and not Katanga alone, called for the restoration of the unity of the republic. A united Congo was also necessary to carry out the plans of turning the republic into a vast bridgehead for subversive activities against other African countries with the aim of bringing them under U.S. control.

The United States was in no hurry to reunite Katanga with the rest of the country. It wanted Katanga to be reunited under a pro-neo-colonialist central Congolese government which would serve Washington at the expense of the Congolese people. It took America nearly 18 months to achieve its aim, beginning in August, 1961, when the Adoula government came to power, and right up to the end of 1962 when, following the arrest of Gizenga, all patriots and true nationalists were removed from the government.

By the middle of 1962 Edmund A. Gullion, the new American ambassador who replaced Timberlake, became a sort of governor-general of the Congo. Since the summer of 1962, Gullion started giving regular bachelor parties at his residence on Wednesdays. Adoula, Mobutu, Bomboko and other persons closely associated with the U.S. ambassador were permanent guests at these parties. Here all the current affairs were decided over a glass of whisky and soda.

Generally speaking, by this time the Americans began to feel quite at home in the Congo and enjoyed practically complete power. Their embassy staff numbered more than 200 members. Besides a military attache, the Americans also have a naval and air force. The U.S. ambassador and military attache have private planes in which they fly to any region of the country without either seeking the permission of the Congolese Government or even notifying it. In the Congo the Americans behave like conquerors in an occupied country, completely disregarding its sovereignty and national dignity.

A correspondent of the *Chicago Sun and Times* proclaimed in exultant tones in July, 1962: "In political conversations held nowadays in Leopoldville the hint is indirectly expressed that if formerly that country was known as the Belgian Congo, it is now becoming an American Congo, even if this is not generally known as yet".

The correspondent's exultations were somewhat premature. The forces of the nationalists were by no means destroyed despite the fact that they had been deprived of their best leaders. They continued to control the parliament on which the fate of the Adoula government depended.

There was a reverse side to Adoula's closeness to the Americans. The more pronounced his dependence on ambassador Gullion became, the more his prestige dropped in the nationalist circles and consequently, in the parliament. Those members of parliament who had at first believed that Gizenga had been arrested for organising an anti-government plot soon realised that they had been deceived. Neither Adoula nor anyone else could supply convincing proof of this version. All demands to give Gizenga a fair hearing in parliament were ignored.

The longer Gizenga languished in confinement without trial the more obvious it became that his arrest was illegal, that his imprisonment had been an arbitrary act on the part of the government and that a similar fate lay in store for other leaders, including members of parliament, objectionable to the government. It also became clear that Gizenga had been arrested to please the Americans and that the Adoula government was

in actual fact on their payroll.

Now Adoula was ever more often met with boos and catcalls in parliament. He was prevented from speaking. He was accused of being "in the pocket of the Americans". On March 3, 1963, the *New York Times* expressed anxiety as to the outcome of the American "game" in the Congo because the Adoula government was supported by the minority in parliament and continued to exist for the sole reason that its opponents could not get a two-thirds majority necessary for removing the government under the Fundamental Law.

The parliament accused Adoula of arbitrariness and subservience to ambassador Gullion. It also held him responsible for doing nothing to restore the territorial unity of the Congo and for protecting the interests of the United States which was engaged in backstage activities in Katanga. Washington's decision to put an end to Katanga's separatism was motivated, among other things, by the desire to strengthen the positions of the Adoula government by depriving the opposition of the "Katanga argument" and at the same time strengthening its own influence in Leopoldville.

According to the *French Tribune de Nation* (January, 1963) the UN operations in Katanga in December, 1963, were preceded by the conclusion of a "genuine agreement" between the American government and Adoula. Adoula was given assurance that the United States would support his pretensions to become the leader of the one and only political party which would rule the Congo. (And soon such a party, named the Congolese Democratic Party was created with the participation of Adoula, Mobutu, Bomboko and several other pro-American leaders). Adoula, on his part, had to agree to make the American ambassador in Leopoldville his adviser; Adoula also promised to reject the policy of non-alignment and guarantee American capital investments. (Such a treaty on guarantees was signed soon after).

EMERGENCY LAWS

The trick with reuniting Katanga did not serve to boost Adoula's prestige in the parliament in any measure. Gizenga was still in confinement, while the behaviour of the Americans became ever more brazen.

By the autumn of 1963 an agreement began to shape out between the opposition parties on the unity of action. The trade unions launched a sharp attack on the government. They were dissatisfied with the fact that nothing was done to normalise the economic situation and that the working people were suffering from inflation, unemployment, lack of goods, medicine, etc. Andre Boboliko, General Secretary of the union of the Congolese working people, called the Adoula government a camou-

flaged colonialist committee which was openly following in the wake of the great powers.

On September 25, government, partroopers and other units dispersed a peaceful demonstration of working people in which representatives of the nationalist parties, members of parliament and trade union leaders took part. The demonstrators demanded the release of Antoine Gizenga.

A stormy session of parliament was held on the next day. The deputies elected a commission to visit Gizenga and check on his health. But, on September 30, Kasavubu dissolved the parliament for an indefinite period. Nationalists were rounded up and arrested in Leopoldville.

On October 21, when Adoula returned from his trip to the United States, all preparations had been completed for the introduction of a state of emergency. All civilian courts were dissolved and replaced by military tribunals. Power in Leopoldville was placed in the hands of a three-man military junta headed by Defence Minister Jerome Anany. In one of his first decrees Anany banned the activities of the nationalist parties—National Movement of the Congo, African Solidarity Party, Popular Convent Party and the African Democratic Union Party. Warrants were issued for the arrest of their leaders.

BINZA GROUP

Since then a triumvirate acted in Leopoldville besides the Adoula government. But, the actual power was in the hands of a third party—the so-called Binza group.

The Binza group was a clique of Congolese leaders most closely linked with the Americans. It included General Mobutu, the Congolese army commander, security chief Victor Nendaka, Justice Minister Bomboko, Albert Ndele, chairman of the national bank and Alphonse Kambele, State Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior. This group held all the key positions in the Congolese state. It controlled the army and secret police, the gendarmes and finances. This enabled the Binza group to spend all the money they wanted to pay their soldiers, gendarmes and agents of the secret police.

The ties between the Binza group and the Americans were of long standing. Mobutu was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Congolese army and Nendaka Security Chief under direct pressure from Washington. However, the Americans preferred to keep them in the background in reserve as it were, until the appropriate time. And it was only when they became convinced that they could not win the parliament over to their side that they decided to dissolve it and hand over power to the Binza group. It was an open secret in Leopoldville that Adoula, who had been spoiling for power, served as a mere front for the Binza group which had actually established a military dictatorship in the country with the help of the United States.

No military dictatorship can exist without a strong army, large gendarme force and extensive secret police network. And the United

CONGO [Part 3]

This article is an extract from "The Tragedy of Congo", a pamphlet published by a study group in Nigeria about the problems of the Congo. We consider this booklet of much significance vis-a-vis the perennial unrest in the Congo and its root causes.

This significance lies in the following, as in many other, salient points unveiled in the booklet:—

(a) America's policy towards Africa is actuated by the overriding economic desire to control this continent which one of her journalists, John Gunter, describes as the "richest booty in the world".

(b) America's he a strong interference in the Congo despite the strong opposition of the O.A.U. is because she considers the Congo "the richest morsel of the richest booty in the world."

(c) In these endeavours, America stops at nothing, and uses every subterfuge and chicanery to achieve her ends. She has succeeded in eliminating Belgian and English influence in the Congo and is in virtual control of the present government.

(d) America's struggle for supremacy over the Congo is of long standing and she has played it with consummate skill as the results show.

(e) America's ignominious role in the Congo is a clear pointer to the danger that the whole of Africa faces.

Obviously the booklet will be of great interest to our readers, most of whom may be desiring just such a succinct account of the background to the upheavals in the Congo.

States saw to this well in advance. Washington spared no money to boost and increase the army and gendarme contingents. On the eve of independence the Congolese police numbered 9,000 men, and the strength of the army was about the same. By the end of 1963, the police force had grown to 25 thousand men and the army numbered 35 thousand servicemen.

The Americans hold that the Congo needs a still bigger army. The country occupies a vast territory and there is a strong centrifugal tendency in the provinces. Force is needed to contain this tendency. The more so that America's rivals as was shown by the events in Katanga, will not fail to use these secessionist tendencies to their advantage. Force is also necessary to contain the nationalists who cannot be destroyed, as it is impossible to destroy the entire nation. The view is expressed in Washington that the army, as the mainstay of the Binza group dictatorship, should be controlled by the United States since there is always the danger that this group may defect to the side of those who can name a higher price.

True, as yet one can rely on the UN troops. But they cannot remain in the Congo for ever although such plans have been contemplated by Chester Bowles, the former U.S. Under-Secretary of State. It took a major effort on the part of the United States to incline the UN in favour of prolonging the mission of the UN troops in Congo until July 1, 1964. And what then? In a dispatch from Leopoldville (October, 1963) the *New York Times* admits that the very idea that the UN troops might leave gives the Leopoldville ruling circles the feeling that the ground is slipping from under their feet.

U.S. CONTROL OVER THE ARMY

To strengthen their positions the Americans put forward a plan for the so-called reorganisation or extension training of the Congolese army. True, officially this plan was proposed by Mobutu. However, one can hardly attribute such an initiative to him. Moreover, he advanced his plan early in 1963 after the visit of an American military mission to Leopoldville (December 1962) headed by Major-General Truman, nephew of the former president, which studied "the needs of the Congolese army".

It had been proposed initially that the reorganisation of the Congolese army would be entrusted to a consortium made up of Israel, Norway, Italy, Belgium and Canada which would receive material aid from the United States and would act under

the aegis of the UN. But, the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations objected to the reorganisation of the Congolese army exclusively by NATO states and Israel, which they regard as an American satellite.

Washington, as usual, ignored the opinion of the Afro-Asian countries. When General Mobutu visited the United States in May, 1963, the Americans arranged with him that the plan for the reorganisation of the Congolese army would be carried into life outside the framework of the UN. Thereby the United States grossly violated the UN decision banning the rendering of military aid to the Republic of Congo through any other channels besides the UN. It has repeated this affront in recent times by refusing to pay heed to the O.A.U. resolution against its military intervention in the Congo, and even going so far as to discountenance a delegation deputed by the O.A.U.

The reorganisation of the Congolese army is financed by the United States. The bulk of arms and, consequently, military instructors is also supplied by Washington. A large U.S. military mission is already busy in the Congo. The Americans are not satisfied. They are striving gradually to take over the entire process of training the army. The *New York Times* warned that if the training of the Congolese army is not improved considerably, the United States will have to increase the staff of its military mission in Leopoldville and give it greater attention (September 7, 1963).

Washington can hardly be expected to come to any other conclusion. For direct control over the armed forces of the Congo is the most reliable guarantee against the appearance of a government in Leopoldville which would oppose the implementation of the wide-scale plan of expansion elaborated by the Wall Street monopolies, a plan which forms the basis of all U.S. policies in the Congo.

ECONOMIC CHAOS

One of the reasons why the United States was in no hurry to reunite Katanga with the rest of the Congo lies in the fact that the "independence" of the province placed the central government in very difficult financial straits. "L'Union Miniere" paid Tshombe the central government's share of dividends and rent for concession rights. The situation was made still more complicated by the fact that many Belgian firms and businessmen operating in other provinces of the Congo were curtailing their activities and closing down their enterprises. As a result, this source of income was also running low.

Here are some figures characterising the desperate financial and economic situation of the Congo Republic during the period of Katanga's secession.

In 1961 the deficit of the budget comprised 9.3 billion francs while the corresponding figure for 1962 was already 13.4 billion francs. There were 6.8 billion banknotes in circulation in 1960, whereas the corresponding figures for 1961 and 1962 were 10 billion and 13 billion respectively. Congolese currency was rapidly depreciating. In 1962 the price index soared to 239.5 points as against the end of 1960 (taken as 100 points). In 1962 the currency receipts were a mere 5.6 billion francs as against 20 billion francs in 1958. This made it necessary to cut down sharply on imports. As a result, a severe shortage of goods developed and a flourishing black market came into being.

In 1963 European goods were sold in Leopoldville at prices 5-6 times higher than those in Europe, and often they were not available even at such an exorbitant price. People began to go shopping to neighbouring Brazzaville which led to a rapid rise in prices in that city.

SMUGGLERS

Contraband trade is having a very baneful effect on the economic situation in the Congo. This scourge has acquired such dimensions that it recalls the dark days of the East-Indian Company and the discovery of America.

We have in mind the smuggling of diamonds, gold, ivory, coffee, tea and cotton out of the Congo. Priority in this unseemly business goes to the Americans: embassy officials, advisers and experts, members of U.S. missions flooding the country. UN officials, many of whom are Americans, are not averse to taking a hand in the game.

Contraband is quite openly taken out of the country through Leopoldville airport. However, for a long time the main channel was the Elisabethville airport, since it was quite easy to deliver diamonds, gold and silver to Elisabethville from Southern Kasai. There were some resourceful smugglers who even managed to take whole train-loads of copper ore out of the country duty-free.

According to the *Washington Post* (January 16, 1963), the Congo's losses from contraband trade in diamonds alone ran into 50 million dollars in 1961 and 41.5 million dollars in 1962. This exceeds the overall sum of American aid to the central government.

UN officials and American embassy employees have no scruples about engaging in black marketing with the aim of enrichment. They sell everything: from whisky, cigarettes, lighters and cosmetics to food products. Not to be outdone by the Americans, the local rulers also engage in black market activities. Mobutu, Nendaka and Bomboko also have a finger in the pie. They misappropriate valuables confiscated from smugglers, as well as part of the money provided by the Americans to pay the wages of servicemen, gendarmes, secret police agents and government officials. This trio has opened private accounts in the banks of Brussels and even owns real estate in Belgium. For example, the "Plaza" hotel in Brussels belongs to Mobutu and Bomboko.

THE WORSE—THE BETTER

Various American missions operating in the Congo during these years have been striving to aggravate the economic difficulties of the country. Thus, they insisted on expanding the police apparatus and the armed forces, which absorbed tremendous sums of money.

True, the United States rendered the Adoula government aid. However, this aid was insufficient to rectify the situation and could barely cover the arrears of the central government in wages to its servicemen, officials, etc.

Herein, Washington proceeded on the premise that the worse the economic situation in the Congo, the better it is for the United States. An atmosphere of the central government on American handouts, made it easier for the United States to secure various privileges and concessions for the American monopolists.

WALL STREET'S OFFENSIVE

Foreign trade was one of the main instruments of Belgium's control over the economy of the Congo. Up till 1961 Belgium was responsible for 30-35 per cent of the Congo's imports. But, in 1962 its share dropped to 15 per cent. The positions forfeited by Belgium were taken over to a considerable degree by the American monopolists. The Americans used the system of "conditional credit" as a kind of battering ram which paved the way for American capital into the sphere of Congolese trade. In granting the Congo credits the Americans stipulated that this money be used for financing imports from the United States alone. The scope of this operation can be seen from the fact that the "conditional credit" granted to the Leopoldville government by the United States comprised the tidy sum of a billion Belgian francs.

The French newspaper *Echo* wrote in January, 1963, that complying with the demand of Washington, the central Congolese government favours American suppliers when it provides private firms with foreign currency to make purchases abroad. Belgian enterprises in the Congo, which still form the nucleus of the Private sector in that country, found themselves faced with a situation where they could neither renew nor even repair their equipment.

In 1963 the Americans pressured the Adoula government into signing a unilateral agreement guaranteeing American capital investments. The capital of other countries, including Belgium, does not enjoy such privileges.

After that the American KAINW company set up its

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Independence and After (V)

THE CHOICE (a)

by OBOTAN A-WUKU

SO FAR we have outlined the growth of the colonial system, analysed it and seen how it is essentially an outgrowth but an indispensable element in the development of the capitalist system. We have made a short but critical analysis of the capitalist system and contrasted it with the socialist system. We have thus known the nature of each.

From this standpoint we are to make our choice, a choice between a planned and an unplanned economy, between a controllable and an uncontrollable system, between an efficient and an inefficient system. We are, in the final analysis, asked to choose between applying reason to the problem of economic development and leaving things to blind chance.

Obviously, it is surprising that any should question the application of reason to an all-important question like economic development. Thus simplified it sounds preposterous that any should raise a finger of protest against such a proposition. But it is as simple as that. And why this is so, we shall find out presently.

It is in the nature of man to resist change and stick to the old, to cling to the known and shrink from the unknown, to face the familiar and cower before the unfamiliar. It is easier to be conservative than to be radical and revolutionary. Change means effort and courage, but most men are lazy and cowardly. It takes a man to be radical and revolutionary, but few there are who are manly men. In the problem of economic development, therefore, we are asked to choose between the coward's way of life and that of the courageous.

A MIRACLE

Now no-one would like (in fact it is not in the part of wisdom) to make sacrifices where sacrifices are unnecessary. This does not mean that no sacrifices need be made under capitalism, indeed, as we know we may make greater and less rewarding sacrifices. Its attraction lies in its conservatism. It is the old order and those "who have drunk old wine dislike the new because they say: The old is good."

Men resent the effort and courage that structural changes demand. And they will not summon these powers unless they are convinced their employment is necessary. This has always been the case. Men resented the structural changes that the capitalist system brought. Even Adam Smith, the father of economic science, far from championing the cause of the new industrial class of his time, upheld the old order. It was Marx, paradoxically, who realized the indispensable role that the new order was bound to play in the development of human society. He saw the necessity for the change; but was appalled by the overwhelming waste in human and material resources; he was distressed over the incalculable cost in human suffering that the Industrial Revolution engendered, hence his advocacy for conscious direction of future change. This is what is labelled radicalism and it is the necessity for such radicalism in the developing countries of the world that is the moot question of our time.

Capitalism represents a major breakthrough for man. Developing from the ruins and ashes of the old feudal system, it severed man from his past and transformed his way of life beyond the fondest dreams of the visionaries of the Medieval Era.

That capitalism wrought a miracle in the life of man, there is no doubt, but that this miracle can be duplicated in all times and climes, is highly debatable.

In our present essay we shall attempt a dispassionate examination of the chances which our economies stand if we adopt capitalism. That is, if we should, despite its legion of limitations, choose the capitalist system, are our prospects bright or bleak; and if the latter why should it be so?

We can cast the first part of the problem in more-con-

crete terms, viz, if we choose the capitalist mode of development, how fast for instance, if ever, shall we bridge the gap between our standard of living and those of the highly developed countries such as the United States and Canada? Professor Benjamin Higgins of the University of Texas replies us in curt fashion: "Reducing the gap may not prove possible..." For, as he goes on to say, "even in Latin America where present incomes and growth rates are relatively high, a level of per capita income one-third of the United States level may prove unattainable". (Italics in the original).

The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs gives a dismal confirmation of this disheartening opinion. From their 1955 publication, *Analyses and Projections of Economic Development; A Study Prepared by the Economic Commission for Latin America*, we read:

"In 1953, average per capita income in Latin America stood at 248 dollars (at 1950 prices), or slightly less than one-eighth of that of the United States (2,000 dollars). The targets for a development programme should always be attainable within a reasonable period of time, but it would be expecting too much to suggest that such a high per capita figure could be reached over a short period. In order to discover the first unknown quantity, the figure for the United States may be reduced by two-thirds, or to an average per capita income of 666 dollars which is two and a half times the average per capita income of 248 dollars in Latin America during 1953. If such income continues to increase at a rate of 2.4 per cent annually, when will the level of 666 dollars be reached? The answer, forty-two years, provides the information for judging whether or not this rate of growth is satisfactory."

RATE OF GROWTH

Clearly then, even where we set our goals much lower and aim not to attain the full level of living in the United States but only a third of it, that would (in the early fifties) take us 42 years. But it would be naive to think that the standards in the U.S. would in the interim be at a standstill. The report, in this regard continues in this manner:—

"How long would it take Latin America's per capita income to reach one-third of the United States figure, assuming an annual rate of growth of 2.4 per cent in the former and 2.0 per cent in the latter? Given the relatively small difference between the two rates, the period would be extremely long and devoid of all practical significance. In fact, 252 years would be required."

If on the other hand the rate of growth were increased from 2.4 to 4.0 per cent, the required period of 42 years in the first illustration would be reduced to 25 years. This is enough to demonstrate that it is absolutely impossible to hope to level off the differences between the economies of the highly developed countries and those of the developing ones, unless the rate of growth in the latter is accelerated to a much greater degree than it is in the former. We have already seen that growth-rate in the socialist system is about three to four times greater than in the capitalist system.

Wisdom demands therefore that, even on this score alone, should we entertain any hopes of raising ourselves above our lowly levels and rub shoulders with other men as equals, our path of development lies with socialism.

This is the inescapable conclusion to which the analyses of capitalist economists themselves lead us. But faced with this stark reality (stark, because to them socialism is an anathema), these bourgeois economists beat about for excuses to avoid arriving at the conclusion which they know they must. Even an honest man like Professor Higgins finds refuge in compromise. He says: "What is important and possible is (not to bridge the gap, but) to eliminate poverty". (Italics in the original).

Why equivocation is necessary is found in his reference to former U.S. President Eisenhower's views (which Higgins apparently shares) in defence of his requests for "enlarged and liberalized foreign aid". He refers to President Eisenhower as saying that "development of underdeveloped countries (with our assistance) is essential for our security" (Italics mine).

Referring to the relative ease with which such aid may be injected in some countries than in others, "absorbive capacity" as economists call it, Professor Higgins advocates concentration where this is high. He gives a warning, however, (and in so doing reveals the motive behind all so-called aids) in the following words:—"In countries peculiarly important to our security, however, it may be unwise to frame policy in terms of economic efficiency alone" (Italics mine).

We are left with no room for doubt. Aids, policies and economic theories advanced for our development are not primarily motivated by our ultimate welfare but by the security of the countries from which the "assistance" or theory comes. If therefore, our welfare is unattainable through the methods they want us to follow, they advise us not to adopt better methods but rather to reduce our goals, as Professor Higgins has "advised".

The question that may be nuzzling most readers is this: Why is it so impossible to catch up with the advanced capitalist countries if we adopt their system. Is it that once a country has taken the lead it can never be overtaken? Many will then recall that the Industrial Revolution started in Britain but Britain is not the most highly developed country in the world today. If it is possible for the United States, Canada or Australia to outpace Britain, why cannot some other countries among the now developing countries do the same?

This is a complex question whose answer will depend upon several considerations. It seems both possible and impossible for an advanced capitalist economy to be overtaken, depending upon manifold factors.

The capitalist system was a culmination of several changes that had been going on in European societies for centuries. It was the flowering of a long process of learning from other more advanced societies particularly in the Near and Far East, and of the intellectual, political and geographical revolutions which occurred between the 13th and 16th centuries. It can be validly maintained that the countries which led in these structural changes are still the leading countries of the European continent today.

It would be carrying the influence of chance too far to say that England which led in almost all the revolutions

led the Industrial Revolution by accident. Likewise the other leading countries in these revolutions, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, France and later Germany, followed the wake of England in the economic revolution, while the laggard nations in the intellectual ferment were left behind economically too.

Why the United States, and other new countries could outdistance the "old" European countries must clearly be due to the presence of other factors which must be absent in European economic development. To recognise these, we need to recapitulate the historical circumstances, which led to the development of capitalism, examine some essential features in greater detail and compare the present circumstances of the now developing countries with this past.

First, however, we must pinpoint one important feature of capitalism. We saw in the first article that three factors led to the development of this system, viz:—

- (1) an increase in agricultural output and the suppression and displacement of the agricultural population;
 - (2) the division of labour and the growth of a merchant class accompanied by the growth of towns; and
 - (3) the accumulation of capital in the hands of the rising merchant class.
- The third factor is considered to be the most important of the three and it is noteworthy that the accumulation was done by the suppression and displacement of the agricultural population at home and by rapacious looting and calculative exploitation abroad.

PARASITIC SYSTEM

This underscores a predominant characteristic of capitalism which we should never lose sight of, viz: **CAPITALISM IS A PARASITIC SYSTEM.** Lenin describes the parasitism of capitalist imperialism in terms of "the extraordinary growth of a class, or rather, of a stratum of rentiers, i.e. people who live by 'clipping coupons', who take no part in any enterprise whatever, whose profession is idleness". Identifying the rapid growth of this class which controls the economy with the country as a whole, he writes further: "The export of capital, one of the most essential economic bases of imperialism, still more completely isolates the rentiers from production and sets the seal of parasitism on the whole country that lives by exploiting the labour of several overseas countries and colonies" — *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, pp 166-167.

We may carry Lenin's argument a little further. The parasitism of capitalism appears far more inherent than the growth of a "rentier class" and the subsequent development of the country into a "rentier state". Lenin's view may easily be interpreted to mean that the parasitic nature of capitalism is a mere outgrowth, essentially extrinsic to the development of the system. Thus it may lead some to believe that without these developments, capitalism would not be parasitic. But it seems its parasitic character is a cardinal element of the system itself. In fact just as laissez-faire is the quintessence of capitalist economic theory, so also is parasitism the quintessence of the capitalist economic system. It is the free reign of these which led in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the horrors of the Industrial Revolution and the pillaging of foreign lands.

A cursory survey of the history of capitalism clearly delineates this inherent characteristic which springs from the

inner contradictions of the system, the conflict between the thesis and antithesis, the "haves" and "the have-nots".

For any capitalist society to develop, either the society or the country or whole land masses must be divided into two broad groups, one class of society living on the blood and sweat of another or one region of the same country developing at the expense of another or one or several countries flourishing at the expense of some other countries. This is the law of capitalist development.

The Industrial Revolution thrived in England as a result of the growing mass of displaced agricultural workers

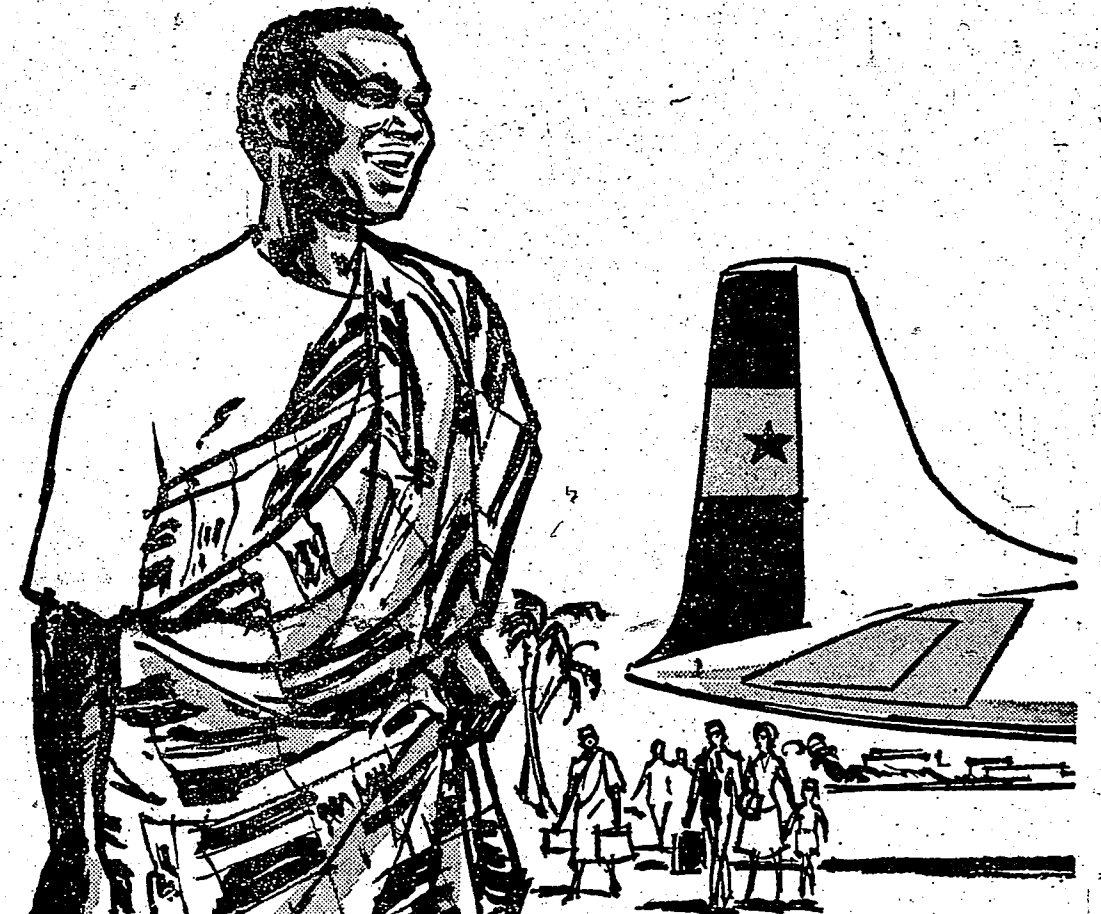
who were only too willing to be "sweated", because the only other choice was starvation. The existence of such an abundant labour force was an essential prerequisite for the spread of capitalism both on the European continent and elsewhere.

Under rather different circumstances, the classic examples being the United States and Italy, we have one region thriving on the other. In both of these countries, it was the northern region which prospered and held the south to ransom. In fact in each case the south became no more than a colonial territory of the industrial north, supplying it with raw materials, the

life-blood of its industries. This is strikingly reminiscent of technological dualism, the outcrop of capitalist relationship with colonial territories.

It needs no mention that the developing countries of the world today cannot have colonies for the purpose of exploitation. Should they choose the capitalist mode of development, therefore, they are left with two methods (a) the cleavage of society into 'haves' and 'have-nots' and (b) the exploitation of one region by another.

That there is no hope of these succeeding, we shall realize in our analysis of economic development, past and present, next week.

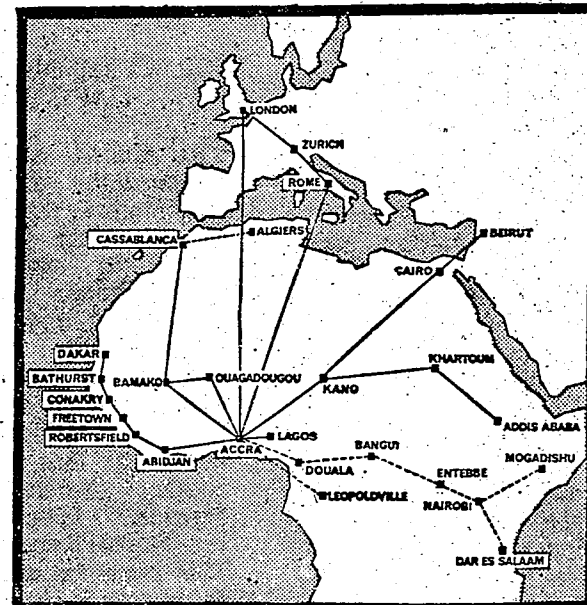


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THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA



CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP IN LAND (2)

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

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

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

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

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

5. IS INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP NECESSARY?

THAT the case for individual ownership of land cuts across all the social and political conceptions and values of the African, was of course fully appreciated by the members of the East African Royal Commission. Accordingly, their Report—instead of categorically stating that individual ownership was the best system—stressed the need for caution in its implementation.

However, since they nevertheless strongly advocated the introduction of individual ownership of land, the question we must chiefly concern ourselves with here is, should ownership of land by Africans necessarily be based on European or the Western model? We can best discuss this question by examining and refuting the arguments advanced in support of individual titles by the Royal Commission.

First let us examine their arguments on the question of productivity and quality of animal husbandry, which they allege would follow individual ownership of land.

In the first place we must deny that Rugambwa in Kigezi, or Njoroge in Kikuyu, by consolidating his scattered parcels of land around his homestead would automatically be able to increase his productivity. Productivity depends on many factors, some of which are completely beyond his control. It depends for example on such factors as environment, the degree of mechanisation and fertilisation and above all, on the size of the farm. Increase in income also depends on these same factors, quite apart from the question of whether the increase referred to applies to real as opposed to monetary income.

CONSOLIDATED HOLDINGS

In an endeavour to equalise the production of all people, and realising that all types of land are not suitable for a particular crop, the Africans have always made a special point of sharing equally among all members of the community both the good and bad land. In this way, an individual farmer is better off with a diversification of holdings than he would be if his farms were all concentrated in one place. The East African Royal Commission does, in fact admit this principle as valid when it stated:—

"Some of the land grows good maize and other land only sugar cane or rice, and often the dispersion of an individual holding over a wide area due to the attempt to give each member a share of each type of soil."

Thus due to the unsuitability of soil in a consolidated holding for the variety of crops the farmer must grow, consolidation might in fact decrease a farmer's earnings rather than increase them, or could demand a far greater capital expenditure and work than he might be able to supply if he is to achieve anything.

Furthermore, the examples we have seen of individual ownership in practice in East Africa, do not convince us of its virtues. Can it be said that in Buganda, where individual ownership has existed for some 60 years, agriculture and animal husbandry are superior to those of the Bakiga in Uganda, the Chagas in Tanyanyika, or the Kikuyus in

Kenya? On the contrary, economic agricultural enterprises in Buganda have frequently been greatly inhibited by the great fragmentation of ownership caused by the *Kibanja*, or tenant-holding system, which does not permit large scale or mechanised cultivation. In fact, the *East African Royal Commission Report* was forced to admit that the difficulties of mechanisation "have been at their worst in crowded country of small individual holdings interspersed with permanent crops as typified by the heavily populated districts of Buganda".

It would also be fair to point out that the acquisition of land by the majority of Buganda landlords was mainly for the purpose of prestige (and to a lesser extent for speculation and posterity), rather than for the purpose of increasing productivity through mechanisation. Many aged Bugandans purchase land for the sake of leaving something to their descendants. It is also true to assert that individualisation of land increases rather than decreases fragmentation.

Another light on the undesirability of individual land titles is thrown by U.N. Publication, "Land Reforms" published on 23rd July 1951, based on an examination of the land question in Mexico and Eastern Europe, as well as Asia and Africa. This report stated:—

"From the experience of Mexico, and from that of Eastern Europe, it appears possible to conclude that changes in the land tenure system, even on a large scale, are not likely to be a sufficient remedy for rural over-population, since, although they can achieve better conditions and status for the farming population, the expansion of production which results may not be large enough to absorb additional labour."

But would we be prepared to face the large-scale unemployment which would undoubtedly follow dispossession of the present tenures?

The contradictions which prevail throughout the whole *East African Royal Commission Report*, do nothing to convince us of the necessity for land consolidation. For instance, from advocating the introduction of land titles for the purpose of increasing productivity, the Report then goes on to state that:—

"From the land usage angle, there is nothing necessarily associated as more beneficial either with a communal or an individual approach. Neither individual tenure nor co-operatives nor collective farming necessarily make crops grow better (B.C.M.) Agriculturally they are not ends in themselves". (p.324, para. 78).

They continue to state that methods of land holding are only:—

"The social means appropriate to a particular environment (B.C.M.), a means which may disappoint and fail if the practical objective, the agricultural basis, has not been previously laid".

As regards lack of individual initiative and sense of responsibility, which is alleged in the present system of land tenure in Africa, this is sheer nonsense. Every African knows that in our traditional corporate system every member is fully responsible for his particular piece of land and as long as he is utilising that particular piece of land he cannot be arbitrarily deprived of the use of it. As Dr. T. O. Elias points out:—

"If the head of community required a piece of land, for purposes beneficial to the whole community (B.C.M.) he must beg it if the holder has no immediate use of it."

In short, the African looks at land from the utilitarian rather than from the commercial angle. Ownership is accordingly determined by the "Utility Theory", i.e. individual labour alone can give a complete right and clear title to property. It therefore follows that the individual's security of tenure on the land is sufficiently guaranteed as he can continue to claim possession as long as he uses it. Otherwise it could be utilised for other purposes more beneficial to the community.

THE MYTH OF RAISING CAPITAL

The second argument of the advocates of individual landholdings is that by individual ownership farmers are enabled to raise capital through leases and mortgages, renting, and sale.

"The urban wage-earner can sell his homestead plot, which is often an uneconomic one, confident in the knowledge that he can buy another when occasion demands". (The East African Royal Report).

This argument sounds plausible but it is, when related to the African conditions (as it proved when applied to Asia), a mere myth.

Far from enriching the small individual landowners, experience has proved that the raising of capital by mortgaging the estates, coupled with other economic vagaries, has usually served only to put them at the mercy of the ruthless money-lenders who, by

insisting on their "pound of flesh" have left the hapless landlords much poorer and more indebted than ever. This has certainly been true in Buganda, which is the part of East Africa where private ownership of land has been successfully imposed—due to the feudalistic form of traditional government and early colonial government machination.

This point was emphasised by V. Liversage in his book "Land Tenure in the Colonies", where commenting on the mortgage system in the Gold Coast (Ghana), he wrote:—

"When the capital is borrowed, however, the trouble arises out of the rigidity of the debt compared with the returns which are always fluctuating. Sooner or later returns fall below the level at which the obligations were contracted, the debtor's working capital becomes reduced and his economic efficiency impaired. The farmer is thereby (B.C.M.) placed in a vulnerable situation in which he runs the risk of being dispossessed with the loss of the greater part of his equity in the farm."

The effect of economic depression or a fall in commodity prices was also pointed out by Liversage. He stated that forced sales frequently occur at such times and "dispossession is likely to take place when maximum loss is likely to be sustained" (B.C.M.) (p. 85).

Concerning the mortgage system, where the lender is entitled to two-thirds of the crop, Liversage pointed out that the one-third retained by the farmer "has little incentive", as he sees no way of bettering himself as long as he remains indebted, since for every 60/- he earns from his produce, 40/- must be paid to the money-lender; Thus, "In every age and in every country the mortgage system has been the curse of the peasant holder".

Liversage reiterated a historical truism. Indeed the mortgage supports the latter as the rope supports the hanged. Borrowed money therefore becomes the very worst landlord, and one of the biggest obstacles to increased production.

That improvement of land productivity increases with the raising of capital is also debatable. In many cases where private landowning is practised in Africa, it has been found that money raised by mortgaging or leasing land is not spent on economically beneficial projects—let alone on the improvement of the land itself. Much of it is spent on riotous living, in buying ostentatious cars or other "prestige" articles, in extravagant marriage celebrations, or in meeting other obligations of a purely personal nature and entirely unconnected with land. This is true in Buganda, but has proved also the case in India and in pre-Communist China, of which it was

"Ritual indebtedness is among the curses of China". Of course, it may be argued that the money-lender cannot be blamed, for irresponsible and uneconomic application of the borrowed money, and to some extent this is true. But we must point out that to many *bona fide* African "businessmen" the imposed foreign commercial world, with its legalistic trickeries, is something incomprehensible, especially in view of the fact that their philosophy of life differs greatly from that

of the foreign entrepreneur. Since there has been no effective transfer of culture from foreigners to the African, the African could not acquire by any possible means the "Skills" in this direction now expected of him: This was mainly due to segregation, and it is admirably expressed by Professor Gunnar Myrdal in his book, "Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions" where he said:—

"The capital, enterprise and skilled labour a metropolitan country sent to a dependent country tended for natural reactions to form enclaves, cut out and isolated from surrounding country. Their economic relations with the indigenous populations were restricted to their employment as unskilled labour". (p. 58).

INAPTITUDE?

The inaptitude of the African for commercial activities is also discussed by *The Times Colonial Correspondent*, in a series of articles under the title *Three Faces of Africa*, published from 6th to 11th March 1961. In this series the Correspondent examined the problems of the domination of Ghana economy by foreign firms and the inability of Africans to penetrate into the commercial field there. He wrote:—

"In Ghana the fault lies to some extent with the Ghanaians themselves, who have left the field wide open because they do not seem to be natural entrepreneurs or managers of their own business activities. Thus, if a cut is going to be made into foreign business activities, it can only be done through state-supported organisations..."

Although it is nonsense to attribute the fault to Africans, the fact however is that what is true of Ghana is true of every part of Africa. African "capitalists" can therefore only play a 3rd or even 4th class role in their country's economy.

Any attempt to carry through planning schemes in Britain can only succeed at a fantastic cost to the taxpayer, who has to foot the expensive compensation bills incurred through compulsory purchases etc. Yet, despite great endeavours, charges of increase in value (betterment) due to the public action of planning schemes have so far proved impossible to levy.

but would also (as indeed has been shown in Britain) create a social problem—a landless proletariat.

PLANNING PROBLEMS

Nevertheless, this discussion would be incomplete if we failed to point out perhaps the biggest problem posed by private ownership: the planning problem. Individual title over land is usually associated with the doctrine of "free enterprise"; but this doctrine and planning are diametrically opposed, and whereas "free enterprise" was possible in the years gone by, it is incompatible with modern times.

Today, every enlightened nation has taken to planning of some kind. In nearly all the capitals of the world one of the indispensable Government Departments is the planning department. Nations take to planning because "it shapes and adapts the present, to future ends", wrote F. J. McCulloch ("Land Uses in an Urban Environment", vol XXXII, October 1961—January 1962), and planning is inevitable in these days of rapid technological progress. It is only by planning that the use of land as a national resource in the best interests of the nation as a whole would be achieved. Towns, villages, roads, dams, farms, etc., all need proper planning if the people's welfare has to be maximised and industrialisation stopped from condemning men to conditions of poverty, ignorance, insecurity and squalor.

However, as we could learn from the example of Britain, private landowning is not conducive to proper planning either of towns or of villages. There is no doubt that British cities are among the most badly laid out urban areas in the world. They are unhealthy, and their narrow and tortuous streets have aggravated the traffic problem. Today, as land prices rocket upwards even Local Councils are finding it difficult to erect dwelling-houses at reasonable rents for the lower income group of their community.

Any attempt to carry through planning schemes in Britain can only succeed at a fantastic cost to the taxpayer, who has to foot the expensive compensation bills incurred through compulsory purchases etc. Yet, despite great endeavours, charges of increase in value (betterment) due to the public action of planning schemes have so far proved impossible to levy.

NATIONALISATION

In 1947, the British Government at that time tried to solve the problem by nationalising all "development values" in land, but the deeply rooted vested interests of powerful landlords made the success of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act impossible. Nevertheless, even the "Bow Group" of Young Conservatives has advocated "the compulsory pooling of land in blocks of comprehensive development" and all enlightened town planners in Britain believe that "to facilitate proper, effective and successful planning, and in order to reduce the financial burden involved, the nation should acquire the freehold interest in all land"—i.e. land must be owned by public authorities as opposed to individuals. It is important to note that even the Conservative Party has reluctantly been converted to this view.

"Borrowing is no remedy for low average income. It only aggravates the evil by increasing the peasants' cash obligations. For (B.C.M.) there is an ever-present temptation to borrow in order to maintain a preconceived standard of living". Therefore, the much-publicised and much-advocated private ownership of land could serve as a means not only of depriving the family of the only social security it had previously counted on as a group,

It should also be mentioned in passing that in those communities where the society depends on the institution of private land-ownership the

basis of the law rather than being the human relationship between individuals as such is, in fact based on human relationship as determined by individual property ownership. So that the more one has, the more protection one is bound to receive from the law. This in itself is inimical to what we, as Africans, would understand as justice.

After the foregoing examination of pros and cons, we are left with one conclusion only; to reject the idea of individual landownership, because such a system violates the African's philosophies and principles. For, as the Western concept of property ownership is based on the individual, that of the Africans, is based (as we have seen above) on the whole hierarchy of the dead, the living and the unborn. Therefore as far as we are concerned, we see nothing wrong in this philosophical belief where land as a "lower being" is there to serve man's interests.

We have seen that there is no strong economic case for land "individualisation".

Generally speaking, we could note the following disadvantages: vis-a-vis African political and socio-economic development if we were to adopt the system of private land ownership.

DISADVANTAGES

First, once individual landownership is introduced into Africa it will thereby destroy the basis of our society, by dismantling the family.

Secondly, private landownership creates a landless proletariat—a social problem which has forced Europeans into countless bloody revolutions and condemned the masses of people to poverty, ignorance, insecurity and squalor for centuries.

Thirdly, the system creates class distinctions whereby the landlords feel that they are superior to those who do not own it. But everyone today knows how bitter a class struggle can be, and especially if it is imposed on a primarily egalitarian society like ours.

Fourthly, in Africa, land serves as a social security. To deprive anyone of this security, on the basis of such flimsy arguments as advanced, would therefore mean depriving our people of an old-age pension and forcing them into degraded reluctant beggars, at a time when they should be sitting quietly in their homes with dignity and honour, taking care of their grandchildren.

Fifthly, commercialisation of land would render homeless many innocent, unborn children who would fall victims of a cruel, capitalist society, which would be a product of individualism.

Sixthly, individual ownership is inimical to proper planning and economic progress.

Finally, we should understand that the real motive behind the urge to create "landlords" or a "property-owning class" in Africa by the neo-colonialists, while they still exercise some influence, is political rather than economic.

But, in order that land can effectively contribute to our progress, something must be done to re-organise it—not by the application of alien ideas of ownership, but within the egalitarian conception of Africans. For land, being our only irremovable social asset, must be made to become more productive than it is at present. What, therefore, is needed is for African leaders first of all to be clear about what they want; then to put their plan before the people and ask them to discuss which reforms they consider would respect our traditional beliefs while at the same time capable of enabling our land to be farmed on modern and scientific basis. It is suggestions in this direction which we should now attempt to discuss.

Continued on page 5

What is Happening in the Congo

Continued from page 2

branch in Leopoldville and launched largescale activities. This firm specialises in investing American capital abroad. And the results of its operations are there for all to see: 80 per cent of all the current foreign capital investments in the Congo are already controlled by the Americans.

It is doubtful that the Brussels business circles expressed any delight when they learnt that the American "Morgan International" bank had bought up part of the stock of the National Bank of the Congo in Leopoldville. This fact was reported by the Brussels press on December 16, 1963. This bank has about 20 branches in the country and exerts considerable influence on the economic life of the Congo. The buying up of part of its shares by the Americans dealt a serious blow at the positions of the "Societe Generale de Belgique" in the Congo.

The UN administration in the Congo helps the Americans to gradually oust their rivals.

Using its key positions at the UN headquarters in the Congo the United States secured a decision according to which the building of industrial enterprises in the Congo, as well as all construction and road projects, could only be carried out with the consent of the UN administration. One hardly needs to add that herein the American firms enjoyed all the privileges.

The UN headquarters also helped the United States to establish control over the currency council which determines the financial policy of the Congo. On Washington's insistence the council set up a credit manager's office which began to impede the trade transactions of European businessmen by refusing them licences and currency for the purchase of goods.

BELGIUM SHOWS RESISTANCE

Belgian capital is considerably weaker than American capital. However Belgium retained sufficiently strong positions in the Congo to stand up to Wall Street's offensive.

Late in 1963 reports came in from the Belgian capital to the effect that a major deal was in the making between Brussels and Leopoldville. The Belgians intend to turn over to the Congolese government the stock which formerly belonged to the colonial authorities and was now in the hands of Belgian firms. Even at the low stock exchange rate which obtained at the end of 1963 these shares would run into 125 million pounds sterling. As a result of this deal the Congolese government would become a major shareholder in many Belgian firms, which, as Belgium hoped, would somewhat weaken American influence and make Leopoldville pay more heed to the voice of Brussels.

Herein, American capital was in a comparatively disadvantageous position since, in contrast to Belgian capital, it could in no way benefit the Congolese and only strove to get something out of them. In view of this, it was reported in the press that Rockefeller agents were trying to talk the Adoula government into selling them its holding of "L'Union Miniere" shares. Resisting the American offensive the Belgians had no scruples about resorting to methods which in another country would have sent them straight to prison. For example, they managed to make money on the commodities delivered to the Congo by American firms. This is how they went about it.

Before the devaluation of the Belgian franc (November, 1963) its official exchange rate was 77 Belgian centimes. However, the black market price of the same franc was

only 15 centimes.

The Belgian firms which still controlled the Congo's internal trade, bought up the American goods dirt cheap at the official rate and smuggled them into the neighbouring countries where they sold them for stable currency. Then they used this stable currency to buy devaluated Congolese francs on the black market and made new purchases, pocketing the difference. Part of the goods were sold in the Congo at exorbitant prices.

The devaluation of the Congolese franc was carried out under strong pressure from Washington which even threatened to suspend its economic aid to Leopoldville. America's insistence in this matter is explained by the fact that the devaluation was primarily to the advantage of the American firms. Formerly they used to receive 64 francs for each dollar worth of goods sold legitimately. While after the devaluation they began

receiving 150 francs for the same dollar.

The Belgians took good care to nullify the effects of this devaluation. They dumped on the market a vast amount of Congolese francs which they had accumulated, including a large number of forged banknotes. As a result, the price of the Congolese franc began to drop again. And now the Congolese francs cleared by the American firms no longer had the purchasing power on which Washington had counted when it insisted on the devaluation.

The imperialist beasts of prey are locked in a ruthless struggle. And they are completely unconcerned with the dire sufferings and privations which this struggle brings to the Congolese people. Whereas, to judge from the pious tone of their official statements, they are showing great concern for the prosperity and well-being of that country.

nationalists were carried away by parliamentary struggle and, what is still worse, by backstage intrigues. As a result, some of them became mere tools in the hands of forces alien and hostile to the interests of the Congo. In general, the nationalists relied too much on the parliament while they should have organised the masses, rallied them round the political parties and struggled for the unity of the national forces. Herein, when the situation called for it, they should have waived their personal or purely party interests in the name of national

BELGIUM VERSUS AMERICA

In this sad chain of events the Belgian politicians also failed to make a realistic approach to the situation. They were too engrossed in their egoistic interests to assess the developments in the Congo from a broader and more sober point of view.

The Belgians spent a lot of energy on rendering support to Tshombe, thus giving the Americans a practically free hand in Leopoldville. All the efforts of Belgium in Katanga ended in dismal failure while the Americans lost no time in establishing control over the central government.

Belgian businessmen placed a major stake on the disorganisation of the Congo's economy, hoping in this way to bring the nationalists to their knees. However, it was the Americans who took advantage of the chaos in the country. Today the Belgian firms are most of all interested in the normalisation of the situation in the Congo. However, due to their improvidence U.S. influence has increased to such an extent that the restoration of law and order now depends more on the Americans than on the Belgians.

The Belgians underestimated both the appetite of the U.S. monopolists and the brazenness with which they go about satisfying it. Frightened by the prospect of the nationalists gaining strength in the Congo, the Belgians forgot that the United States support for European Colonialists in their struggle against nationalism in Africa and Asia is based solely on the plans of the American monopolists.

Belgium still has the possibility of developing fruitful co-operation with the Congo. But she must not forget that the Congo is a former colony and that from now on relations with it should be built on a new basis, namely—on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. The Congolese would hardly be opposed to the Belgians making a profit in the Congo, if this were a reasonable profit and not colonial plunder. And in exchange they would require Belgian aid in developing their national economy.

WHEREIN LIES THE ANSWER?

There should be no room for despair no matter how serious the mistakes of the Congolese nationalists are. The experience of other countries, for example, Cuba or South Vietnam, shows that the Americans are not so strong that a successful struggle against them is excluded. Their brazen sway and uncontrolled appetites lead to chaos which inevitably gives rise to disorder and a vividly expressed anti-American movement.

Complicity with the Americans on the part of such puppets as Mobutu, Nendaka, Bomboko and others of their ilk in the final count results in their political isolation inside the country. This paves the way for the unity of the national forces and a fresh struggle of the liberation strug-

gle in which Lumumba had such implicit faith till he breathed his last. And all true patriots loyal to his ideals share this faith. They do not intend to sit idle and will rally their forces to repulse the American monopolists.

Only a government of genuine nationalists, leaning for support on the unity of all patriotic forces, can bring the Congo out of the chaos which was precipitated by the Americans with the help of their stooges in the United Nations Organization. To be effective such a government must obviously remove from power all traitors and leaders who have compromised themselves by collaborating with the imperialists. On the other hand, it must give full freedom of

action to all the nationalist parties and mass organisations.

It is necessary to take all non-African troops and foreign military advisers out of the Congo. While the functions of the UN, if such a need arises, can be transferred into the hands of the Organisation of African Unity.

The central Congolese government must receive back all the prerogatives of control over the country's economy, finances, internal and foreign trade. Only then will it be able to cope with smuggling and profiteering, normalise economic life, draw up development plans and launch their implementation.

And what is most important, all American interference

in the affairs of the Congo must be stopped immediately.

This must as it has already become a major demand of all Africa. For the turning of the Congo into an American base presents a grave danger to the entire African continent. If this were to happen, the Congo would become a hotbed of intrigues against the sovereignty and independence of other African states. The fate of the Latin American countries that were enslaved by the Americans and have become their "clients" and satellites should serve as a warning. An end must be put to the American sway in the Congo. This corresponds to the best interests of peace on the African continent and the genuine independence of its peoples.

VIII. LESSONS OF THE CONGO TRAGEDY

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CONGO
These people should serve as a serious object lesson for the peoples of Africa. To safeguard themselves from a similar fate, the African countries should first of all understand what the United States wants in Africa.

FALSE ALARM

Official Washington spokesmen claim that all their actions in the Congo pursue one single aim: to prevent the communists from filling up the vacuum which was allegedly formed in the country when the Belgians left. After all that has happened in the Congo it is very difficult to believe these statements.

There have never been any communists in the Congo. The American press tried to brand Patrice Lumumba and Antoine Gizenga as communists. However, anyone acquainted with them saw that they were nationalists loyal to ideals which had nothing in common with Marx or Lenin. At different times the American press also depicted as communists such leaders as Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah, Sukarno and Nasser, and even the late Abdel Kassim. This can lead us to but one conclusion, namely—that the Americans regard anyone who refuses to be their puppet as a communist.

The experience of the Congo shows that every time the Americans sound the alarm in connection with the threat of "international communism" to an African state, one should be prepared for one or another form of American aggression. The communist threat fabrication has become a sort of shield for the United States to cover up its intrigues against the countries which are striving for their independence.

In all the four years neither Russia nor any other communist country has undertaken a single action in the Congo which ran counter to the interests of that country. The Russians did not support the separatists; they did not come out against the unity of the Congo and have in no way interfered in the internal affairs of that country. Russian aid was restricted to deliveries of flour and medical supplies. They did not send any military missions or representatives of their firms to the Congo. But they did send doctors whom the country needs so much.

What are the results? The very circles which sounded the alarm in connection with an alleged communist threat to the Congo have themselves deprived the country of its independence.

UN HYPNOSIS

The second lesson to be learnt is that the Africans should not place such great faith in the United Nations and should on no account entrust it with the destiny of any African state. The Africans are strong enough to help a country in distress with their own means.

The functions which have been assumed by the UN troops and administration in the Congo could fully well have been discharged by the Africans themselves. They could have sent their own troops to the Congo under a united African command. The African countries could jointly have rendered financial aid to the central government. All this would not have entailed any great expenditure since it would have taken much less time to do away with Tshombe and then normalise the situation in the country. Neither would there have been any great difficulties in finding military instructors in the African states to help reorganise the Congolese national army.

The Africans succumbed to the hypnosis of UN impartiality whereas in actual fact it continues to be an instrument of the Western powers since its secretariat is under the direct or indirect control of their representatives. In actual fact, until quite recently the African states kept aloof from helping the Congolese people under the pretext that one should not interfere in the internal affairs of a fraternal country. But the struggle in the Congo is not a civil war. It is a struggle between the Congolese nationalists and the imperialists who are acting under cover of such people as Kasavubu, Mobutu, Bomboko, Nendaka and the like. One must be blind not to see that this is the continuation of the struggle for the Congo's independence.

MISTAKES OF THE NATIONALISTS

Many Congolese nationalists have also not understood the intrigues of the neo-colonialists. They were divided into numerous parties. Not all of them by far succeeded in breaking out of the chains of tribal loyalties and reaching like Lumumba and Gizenga, an understanding of common Congolese interests. Some of them have forgotten the behests of Patrice Lumumba who bequeathed to them to struggle courageously for the interests of the people, to unite the patriotic forces and strive for the genuine independence and unity of the country.

Instead of uniting, many

Concept Of Ownership In Land

Continued from page 4

We must now, therefore, move on to discussing what type of tenure would be more acceptable to Africa—a tenure that would fit in with our social structure, norms and values, i.e. a tenure based on the philosophy of *Ntuisim*, and Communalism, and yet facilitate the progress of agricultural productivity.

In her book, "Economics of Agriculture" Miss Anne Martin pointed out that the causes of a change in the land holding system are either economic or political. Economic causes come about as a result of a change from subsistence farming to market produce. This leads to a rise in the standards of living which induces farmers to participate more in the production of economic cash crops, some of which, as in the case of cocoa, palm trees,

coffee or sisal, require a much more stable system of land holding.

She quotes Ghana and South-Eastern Nigeria as an example of this type of change. Then there is the question of population pressure when land becomes so densely populated that the diseconomies of small-scale farming creates the type of inertia which has already been pointed out in the case of India. Thus, apart from the political side of it, economic causes are said to have been the major causes of land reforms in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe.

Changes could also be induced by political causes. Examples of this could be found in France and England where the rising capitalist class effected reforms in order to undermine the relative political power of the aristocracy;

in Egypt where the Land Reforms in 1952 "mainly was concerned to expropriate the Royal Dynasty and its powerful supporters, rather than to increase agricultural productivity". In Africa, we should note that much-hailed "land settlements" of landless Africans for example in Kenya are purely political rather than economic.

However, in most cases both economic and political causes are usually mixed up. Here as an American Professor Paul A Baran puts it, agrarian changes take place:

"In order to eliminate land owning class and to break its stranglehold on the life of an underdeveloped country".

They are indispensable, he continues;

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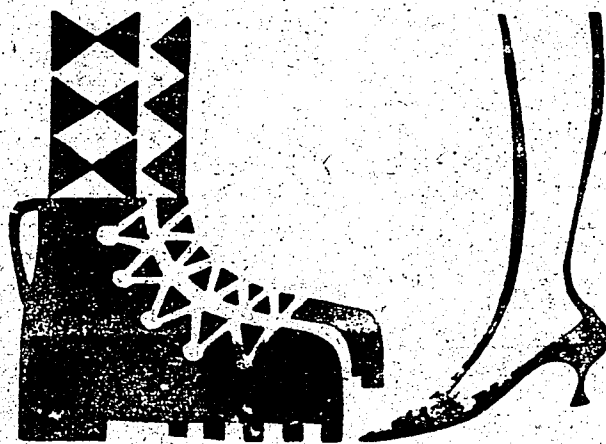
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AFRICAN DIARY

Concept Of Ownership In Land

EDITORIAL

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"In order to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the peasantry and to secure the foremost prerequisite of all economic and social development; the release of the creative energies and potentialities of the rural masses held down and crippled by centuries of degrading oppression and servitude." (*The Political Economy of Growth* by P. A. Baron, p.170)

On the criteria of choice of tenure, Dr. Hanson suggests that viewing it from the economic development side,

"the test of a land system is whether it facilitates the progress of agricultural productivity per head."

But Miss Martin admits that it is hard to generalise which is the best tenure. She quotes the example of Egypt, where a system of share-tenancy before 1952 (despite the fact that it had virtually reduced the status of the tenant to that of an ill-paid labourer) had remarkable economic results:

"The cotton yield per acre was the highest in the world, the yield of maize equal to that of the United States, that of wheat higher than the European average."

But on the other hand, in America where it was a freehold tenure with a right to bequeathing to their heirs, the American farmers with their more advanced methods of farming created "the American dust bowls".

COMMUNAL OWNERSHIP

As already pointed out, holding based on individual ownership has no realistic economic basis whatsoever, except political. This being so, our discussion here should be concerned with, further examination of a communal tenure, i.e. where the ownership of land is vested in the community as a whole—a system widely known and traditional to Africans.

The main argument advanced against communal land is that, due to lack of individual ownership and therefore security, a communal system of holding land is not as productive as it would have been if each farmer had a legal title over his piece. Contrary views are, however, expressed by some experts: Some, like Edith H. Whetham, point out that, given a proper professional management:

"There is nothing inherently impossible in a system of communal or state ownership of land. Indeed, such a system might function more efficiently than private ownership where farming depends on complicated systems of irrigation or drainage." (*Economic Background to Agricultural Policy* by Edith H. Whetham, p.96).

While Miss Anne Martin (ibid.) quotes Henry George who stated:—

"What is necessary for the improvement of land is not its private ownership, but the security of improvements. It is not necessary to say to a man 'this land is yours', in order to induce him to cultivate or improve it. It is only necessary to say 'Whatever your labour or capital produces on his land shall be yours.'"

Looking back into "Old Africa" we are told that even in those remote centuries when our continent was referred to as "The Dark Continent", African farming was never inefficient. Basil Davidson disagreeing with the usually-held views on the "inefficiency of African Agriculture", wrote:—

"A great deal has been written about the inefficiency of African Agriculture. Modern techniques can certainly improve it. The fact remains that this agriculture was highly successful in producing food under tropical and sub-tropical conditions. Its transplantation to America—through the skill and labour of slaves from Africa—made plantations possible."

NO CHANCE AFFAIR

"African agriculture was not a chance affair. Its methods were evolved through centuries of trial and error. It rested on intentions and adaptations, on hillside terracing, on soil conservation, on the extensive use of irrigating channels, on the rotation and hoe and fallow. Europeans of the 19th century found the coast of South-East Africa, for example an appalling wasteland. But earlier records set down before the invasions and ravages of those years, show quite another picture."

He continues to prove this by quoting a Captain Owen, who, in 1833, reported that in the old days before the slave trade, the richest of this south-east coastland:— consisted "...principally of grain which was produced in such quantities as to supply Mozambique... (But now) the Portuguese possessions of the whole colony

of the Rios de Senne do not supply themselves with sufficient corn for their own consumption."

And Davidson adds that his "was the same with other regions" of Africa. (*Daily Mirror* "Spotlight on the New Africa" page 30).

Finally, to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that there is nothing wrong with our communal system of ownership, and to show that it is not a handicap to agricultural productivity, Dr. Hanson refers to Dr. Mair, who correctly points out that:

"African farmer's lack of individual ownership has not prevented him from taking up with enthusiasm certain export crops, such as cocoa in West Africa, coffee in Tanganyika and cattle and maize in Kenya." (see page 48, op. cit.)

After the foregoing, we should now be left in no doubt, about the suitability of a communal system of land holding. It is therefore only fair to conclude with the view expressed by Professor W. Arthur Lewis, who wrote:—

PROPAGANDA

"Although the success or failure of systems depends partly upon their intrinsic nature, it depends also partly upon what men choose to believe about them."

To prove the legitimacy of this view he cited the example of the two diametrically opposed systems of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. He wrote:—

"The great industrial unrest through which the twentieth century is passing owes as much to propaganda as it does to anything else."

Therefore:— The industrial worker in the U.S.S.R. has less freedom than his counterpart in the U.S.A. and receives a smaller share in direct payment (B.C.M.) of what he produces, but it is conceivable that propaganda in favour of his situation may cause him to accept it much more than the U.S. worker who is subject to strong propa-

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rialism and, to that extent, an enhancement of the global struggle against all forms of imperialism.

The emergence of China as a nuclear power adds strength to the socialist camp even though it leaves the world dejected over the further contamination of the atmosphere. The mitigating circumstances surrounding the China blast must not be lost sight of. For it is the hostile and unreasonable half of the world, led by U.S. imperialism, that has forced China to join the nuclear club. Perhaps the nuclear gamblers among the strategists of U.S. imperialism who refuse to be impressed by the size and human achievements of China will now be forced to acknowledge her military reality.

While we regret the Chinese test, it is most important to point out that our point of view is poles apart from that of imperialism.

We decry the test because we are committed to a total nuclear blackout. We want this weapon eliminated from the world's arsenals. Imperialism, on the other hand, decries the Chinese test because it is committed to the domination of the world through nuclear blackmail based on nuclear monopoly.

The Chinese bomb will serve as a catalyst in international diplomacy. New calculations will now have to be made. It is impossible to cling to old positions which have been hopelessly out-flanked.

The leaders of the world are now face to face with the task of charting a new course for world diplomacy. The interest of mankind demands that our leaders be more forthcoming in the pursuit of a policy of peace with progress. The balance of terror in the world has created a stalemate. But we cannot stand still. We can move forward only by recognising the rights of peoples everywhere to self-determination, by the conduct of international relations on the basis of equality and justice among states.

da against a similar status, even though it is relatively superior." Coupled with this propaganda, a lot also depends on the long run expectations and what is being done to demonstrate the possibility of satisfying them in future. So that although he is getting less now, a worker in the U.S.S.R. might accept his present status in full knowledge that he is discounting the present for future enjoyment, either of himself, or his children. In Africa, however, it is not only propaganda that is necessary, we also need to make sure that the advocated system has its roots in our society, and as such it is something that will be easily understood and accepted with the least amount of persuasion. This requirement would be fully met if we restricted our land reforms within our communal system of land tenure.

12th OCTOBER, MONDAY:

GHANA: Kwame Nkrumah received a tumultuous welcome on his arrival at the Accra airport from Cairo, U.A.R. where he attended the non-aligned summit conference.

He was met at the airport by Members of the Presidential Commission, Party Officials, Cabinet-Ministers, Chiefs and members of the Diplomatic Corps.

KENYA: A resolution expressing full support for Kenya Government's plans for a one-party state was passed at a rally addressed by Premier Jomo Kenyatta.

The resolution also expressed support for the Kenya Government and the declaration of a republic on December 12.

MALAWI: The United Nations Security Council has unanimously recommended to the General Assembly to admit the new independent African State of Malawi to full membership of the world organisation.

Voting on the three-power resolution was 11 with none against.

ALGERIA: An Algerian paper, "L'Peuple" has said in its editorial on the struggle for the national liberation of Mozambique that Algeria would give Mozambique all the necessary assistance in its struggle for independence, justice and dignity.

The paper said "the victory of the Mozambique people was a forgone conclusion, because they were defending the cause of justice against Portuguese colonialism."

MALAGASY: Opening the budget session of the Malagasy Parliament, President Philibert Tsiranana said Africa should struggle in the face of all difficulties to achieve African Unity, "which remains our supreme objective".

He condemned the policies of arbitrary intervention and non-respect for a country's sovereignty.

13th OCTOBER, TUESDAY:

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Northern Rhodesia security forces are reported to have killed more than 60 members of the fanatical Lumpa religious sect in a series of new operations mounted a few days ago in the Luangwa valley in the north-east of the country.

More than 20 others were said to have been wounded and 100 captured.

* The Northern Rhodesian Government has rejected a request to invite Premier Moise Tshombe of Congo (Leopoldville) to attend the country's independence celebrations on October 24.

U.A.R.: Mr Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel, U.A.R. Ambassador to the Congo (Leopoldville) together with 13 embassy officials have arrived in Cairo.

This follows last week's incidence when Congolese gendarmes besieged the U.A.R. Embassy in Leopoldville for three days. The gendarmes cut all communications and prevented food and water supplies to the embassy.

14th OCTOBER, WEDNESDAY:

GHANA: The Ghana Academy of Sciences, on behalf of Kwame Nkrumah the President, who is also President of the Academy, has sent a message of congratulations to the Soviet Academy of Sciences for the remarkable achievement of Soviet scientists in successfully putting three astronauts in orbit in one space-craft.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Southern Rhodesian settler regime of Ian Smith, has rushed through the second reading of a bill which seeks to authorise the holding of an independence referendum on November 5.

KENYA: The Kenya Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Jan Mohammed, who has just returned from a tour of China has told reporters

at Nairobi that a trade delegation from the People's Republic of China would soon arrive in Kenya to sign a trade agreement with the Kenya Government.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions, representing 90 per cent of all Swedish workers has cabled President Swart of South Africa, appealing for mercy for three Africans; Vuysile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinkile Kaba who have been condemned to death.

15th OCTOBER, THURSDAY:

SOUTH AFRICA: The South African apartheid Minister of Justice, Mr. Balthazar Voster, has said in Johannesburg that a total of 396 persons were executed by the racist settler regime in South Africa between 1960 and 1963.

NORTHERN RHODESIA:

Queen Elizabeth II of Britain has signed an order in council, giving effect to Northern Rhodesia's new Independence constitution.

(The country will adopt the new name of ZAMBIA on October 24, Independence Day).

NIGER: Four people have been publicly executed by shooting after conviction by a state security court for leading armed bands on government posts in East and West Niger.

A Government communique said two others were sentenced to 10 and 15 years imprisonment respectively.

GABON: Three opposition members in the Gabon National Assembly have crossed the carpet.

It is the fourth time within recent weeks that followers of the Defence of Democratic Interests have joined ranks with the Gabon Democratic Block.

TANGANYIKA:

Four East African leaders, Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya; Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia; Milton Obote, Uganda; and Julius Nyerere, United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, were due to meet at Dar-es-Salaam for high-level talks.

The agenda for discussions includes "matters of mutual interest" and the question of a railway link between Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika.

16th OCTOBER, FRIDAY:

SENEGAL: The Senegalese chief delegate to the U.N., M. Addou Ciss, in a letter to the council president, Sir Patric Dean, alleged that a Portuguese plane has violated Senegalese territory.

The plane—a piper, had flown over the military camp at Kolda and turned back towards the South on the same course by which it had flown in.

MALAWI: Mr. Tengo Maloya, Malawi Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Natural Resources, has tendered his resignation to Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, in protest against the restriction orders placed on Mr. Henry Chipembere, former Education Minister.

TANGANYIKA:

The Organisation of African Unity is expected to meet in Dar-es-Salaam today to discuss among other things the recent influx of refugees from Mozambique into Tanganyika.

17th OCTOBER, SATURDAY:

NIGERIA: The acting editor of the Nigerian Tribune, Mr. Ayo Ojewunmi, has been sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour at the Ibadan High Court on charges of seditious publication arising from a newspaper comment he wrote on April 16, on certain allegations made by Action Group Members in the House of Assembly.

The African Press, Printers and publishers of the Nigerian Tribune, co-defendants in the case were fined £500.

The World Last Week

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way for proliferation of nuclear weapons by underground tests, then a ban on atmospheric tests alone leads not to the elimination of nuclear weapons but to its monopoly by the big powers. Such a state of affairs can only encourage nuclear blackmail.

The big powers should agree to renounce nuclear weapons—stop all tests, destroy stockpiles, sign a treaty prohibiting all military uses of fissionable materials—before they can enlist world sympathy on their side in the struggle against the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. In other words, if possession of nuclear weapons is a factor in big power politics, then what right has one country to own nuclear weapons and simultaneously demand that other nations must not have them?

The balance of terror which the emergence of China as a nuclear power further underlines should make for increased security. Now, there is no weakness that can tempt aggression. We can no longer turn a

blind eye to world realities. We can no longer be satisfied with preaching peaceful co-existence. We must now live it.

The Chinese bomb has proved the wisdom of General de Gaulle and the utter bankruptcy of the strategists around the White House in Washington. To claim that China still needs many years to stockpile the weapons and develop the means of delivery is cold comfort for those who dream of nuclear monopoly as a lever to world domination.

The way forward for mankind is to give full international recognition to People's China. On this basis, China will be admitted to her rightful place in the U.N., and the stage would have been set for purposeful negotiations first among the Big Five (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, People's Republic of China) and secondly among all nations of the world for the creation of a new international community founded, on the right of peoples to self-determination, on equality among nations and on justice in the relations between states.



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