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## The Army in the New Africa

### EDITORIAL

BARRY MORRIS  
GOLDWATER

THE American Presidential Election campaign is now moving into its decisive stage and the American people are preparing to go to the polls. We are not as presumptuous as a section of the world press who undertake to forecast election results in the same way that the tipster discusses the odds at the race course. We do not see election campaigns as exercise in statistics, an activity which is noteworthy only for the fact that in all major elections of recent years, the forecasters have been proved abysmally wrong. But we do regard the American Presidential Elections as of profound importance. The outcome will set the pattern of future developments not only internally, within the United States but, it will affect the course of international politics.

Both Republicans and Democrats are parties of U.S. monopoly capitalism; they are based on the same ideology and methods, dedicated to the service of American imperialism. While we thus see their basic similarity, however, we know that we cannot stand aside and declare 'a plague on both houses' and remain indifferent to the election results.

Goldwater, fantastic as his policies seem in this day and age, is not a lunatic and what he represents is not some freakish aberration from capitalist political norms. He represents what has always been a factor in American politics from the days when the pioneers of the American labour movement had literally to do battle for working class rights—namely that section of American monopoly capitalism which will resort to brute force, to open violence and terror to smash popular, democratic or socialist opposition. This is what the German monopoly capitalist class did when they supported Hitler and the Nazi Party.

In foreign policy this is the section which calls for open branding of the H. bomb and its use as a means of advancing their interests and stopping the advance of the Socialist world and the forces of national liberation; at home it resorts to open, brutal, racial oppression and terror in the affairs of the working class movement.

If the American people elect Goldwater, they identify themselves with war, facism, oppression and terror at home and abroad; a vote against Goldwater is a rejection of the most open terroristic elements of monopoly capitalism's political representatives, and world opinion will welcome this. However, a vote for Johnson is by no means a positive vote for social progress.

It will not be an expression of a desire for basic social change, not even a Welfare State, nor even for advances in Civil Rights in any fundamental way. If the American people reject Goldwater and facism they still will face the need for a struggle to win the most elementary rights of racial equality, social opportunities and economic security. The achievement of a political Party in the United States which is capable of rallying all popular democratic and socialist forces still lies on the future agenda.

The successful campaign over the last 20 years of the MacArthyites acting in the interests of big business in mobilising national resources behind an aggressive, cold, (and sometimes hot) war policy, and their success in developing anti-communism and racial hatreds at home, has certainly retarded the advances of the American people; but it has also created enormous problems for the rest of the peoples of the world.

The national liberation movements of South America, of Asia and Africa have faced not only the traditional imperialist countries but have faced and still face the strongest and most violent of the Capitalist

### Kwame's address to Members of the Ghana Air Force

I AM happy to be here with you today, for us to witness the Passing-out Parade of Officers on this first Air Force Day. I hope that this event will take place every year like we have it in the Army. I hope that such Passing-out Parade will be established for the Navy also soon.

This event will enable the people of Ghana to witness the work which our Armed Forces are doing in the country. The Armed Forces are the people's Armed Forces and the people must realise that it is their own. We have established these Services almost out of scratch in order to protect the people and safeguard their interests and security. The Armed Forces are therefore the servants of the people. It is more so in a people's democracy like ours.

As you know, we have established a Military Academy and a higher Military College for the training of superior Army Officers. We are also laying the foundations for a Naval College and an Air Force College. The Gliding School that has been established at Afiénya two years ago and which has a programme of making Ghanaians air-minded, and providing not only facilities for sport but also providing the necessary incentives for military and civil aviation, has made commendable progress. We hope to make it one of the best in the world and a model for all Africa.

#### CONGRATULATIONS

May I now take the opportunity to congratulate those of you who have completed your training in our Air Force. Your graduation from this Centre, which we hope to develop into the Ghana Air Force College, is not the end of your endeavours but the beginning of a fascinating career. The conquest of space and the tremendous technological progress in aero-nautical science has made aircraft and aircraft design more and more sophisticated, requiring for their handling considerable alertness and presence of mind.

I am delighted to see two women among those who have completed their training today. May I extend my special con-

gratulations to them and may their efforts serve as a growing symbol of the new womanhood of Ghana and of Independent Africa. It may interest you to know that a Women's Military organisation is now being established within the Ghanaian Armed Forces to be known as the Women's Auxiliary Corps. It will be auxiliary to the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. This Women's Military Service will enable our young women to join in the Defence Services of the State and will enable them to move forward shoulder to shoulder with the men as they are already doing in many other fields of national activity.

The Ghana Air Force to which you who are graduating today belong is a relatively young Service in Ghana. I inaugurated barely 4 years ago in 1960 with the establishment here of the Air Force Train-



Supreme Commander of the Ghana Armed Forces.

afternoon we shall see something of their efforts, within this short period of time.

The major function of the Air Force is to assist the other Services making up the Armed

Force planes in a Flying Doctor Service throughout the country. This will bring quick and efficient medical service to the people by linking the hospitals and medical centres

**The Armed Forces have a great responsibility to the Nation. That is why it is vital that its leadership should reflect and conform to the aspirations of the Party, Government and the people. It must reflect the ideology of the African Revolution.**

ing Centre. Since then progress and expansion of the Air Force have been steady and swift. I hope that this

Forces to protect our frontiers and to safeguard the territorial integrity of Ghana. If a country is victimised by imperialism and occupied by a foreign power, if a country is subjected to the ravages of colonialism, and neo-colonialism, then that country should have the right to use all the means at its disposal to recover its territory and defend its territorial integrity. This is the basis of our liberation struggle in Africa. This is the reason why Ghana is compelled to maintain an Army.

The Air Force has other duties as well; to give service to our people, and to make an effective contribution in

throughout the country. The Armed Forces have a great responsibility to the Nation. That is why it is vital that its leadership should reflect and conform to the aspirations of the Party, the Government and the people. It must reflect the ideology of the African Revolution.

We now have our own Military Academy where officers are trained for the 3 Services of the Armed Forces. A new higher Military College has also been established at Teshie near Accra to train senior officers for higher military and administrative responsibility. As I have said, it is intended in the near future

every sphere of our national development. I recall that during the recent floods in the Northern and Volta Regions, the Air Force together with other military and civilian organisations played an important part in carrying essential supplies and foodstuffs to the affected areas in order to relieve the hardships of the people. Recently, the Air Force has been assigned the task of helping the Ministry of Health in the campaign for the eradication of Malaria which is now proceeding very nicely.

I have also directed that a scheme should be established for the use of Ghana Air

to establish separate institutions for the training of Military, Naval and Air Force Officers in greater numbers to prepare them for service within Ghana and elsewhere in Africa wherever they may be needed.

The African revolution is unalterably opposed to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. To this end we are determined to achieve total victory. Africa must be free and united. It is the only basis on which we can assert and project the African personality thus enabling Africa to play its full part within the world order for peace, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

#### NEW DIMENSIONS

Recent events in Britain, the Soviet Union, China and other parts of the world seem to point unmistakably to the establishment of new dimensions and the creation of new problems in world affairs. The successful explosion of an atomic bomb by the Government of the People's Republic of China has been received with misgivings and dismay although we can understand and appreciate the point of view of the Chinese people in this great achievement. But a nuclear explosion by China must bring home to all of us the supreme danger facing mankind, the imperative necessity for peace and the urgent need for the establishment of general and complete disarmament. It is our hope that the nuclear powers, now including China, will make one more supreme effort for the attainment of complete and total disarmament and to seek to create the conditions for peace and world security.

As I have stated recently elsewhere, Africa cannot co-exist with imperialism; we cannot co-exist with colonialism; we cannot co-exist with neo-colonialism. There can never be co-existence between poverty and plenty, between the developing countries and the forces that militate against their progress and development. We must therefore fight to conquer and destroy these anachronisms of our century.

We stand for peace, we stand for progress, we stand for justice. We look forward to the early establishment of Continental Union Government of Africa which will throw the whole weight of a united Africa in support of peace and prosperity in the world.

Men and women of the Ghana Air Force, Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish once again to congratulate those officers who have obtained their Wings today, and also to say a word of thanks to the Staff who have been responsible for the training in this Centre. And now may I wish members of the Ghana Armed Forces success in their future endeavours.

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## Artur James Askes:

# Who Robs Zambia?

THE affair of the British South Africa Company's mineral royalties in Northern Rhodesia is a classic of imperialist robbery. It has taken seventy years to expose it fully, a task carried out by the first African government which has led the country to independence within the Commonwealth as the Republic of Zambia.

Last month Arthur Wina, the Finance Minister, came to London to try to negotiate a settlement with the British Government which the Africans hold responsible; the Company (motto: JUSTICE, FREEDOM, COMMERCE) refused one; Wina refused to meet the Company; and Her Majesty's Government in the person of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Dilhorne, fluttered seemingly helpless under the stern eye of Paul Vychan Emrys-Evans, President of the Company, an ex-Foreign Office man, Tory M.P. 1931-45, and very Big Business indeed.

Mr. Emrys-Evans, whose British South Africa Company is currently taking a royalty of £46 on every ton of copper mined in Northern Rhodesia (the world's second largest copper-producing country) and doing very little for it, has declared that the Company will take every step within its power to protect its rights, and expects H.M.G. to use every effort to support it. Be that as it may, the Company faces expropriation of its Northern Rhodesian empire for which Cecil Rhodes laid the foundation during the scramble for Africa in the second half of the last century.

### A PRICE OF PAPER

Rhodes had made himself a diamond and gold millionaire in South Africa where he had gone for his health. Convinced that the British were the right people to rule the world (he even had a scheme for annexing the planets), he sent his agents northward into what are today the Rhodesias and Malawi.

They were armed with a piece of paper, a Charter granted to the British South Africa Company by Queen Victoria in October 1889. The Company belonged to Rhodes, and has ever since been known on the Stock Exchange as "Chartered". By the Charter, the Company acquired immense powers to

*"make treaties, promulgate laws, preserve the peace, maintain a police force and acquire new concessions... make roads, railways, harbours, or undertake other public works, own or charter ships, engage in mining or any other industry, establish banks, make land grants and carry on any lawful commerce, trade, pursuit or business."*

Geographically, the Company's sphere of operations was defined as north of Bechuanaland, north and west of the Transvaal and west of Mozambique. There was no limit northwards.

The Charter included a clause that the Company's agreements, treaties and concessions must subsequently be sanctioned by the British Government. The Charter gave Rhodes the green light for his concession-hunting activities. As they moved northwards among the African tribes his agents gave everyone to understand that in return for concessions they were extending the protection of the "Great White Queen", as if they were her agents rather than the Company's.

In fact, the agents had no authority to engage in diplomatic negotiations, and the wording of the concessions reflected this ambiguity.

The vague nature of the concession treaties has been fully described in the Northern Rhodesian Government's White Paper titled "The British South Africa Company's Claims to Mineral Royalties in Northern Rhodesia" (Government Printer, Lusaka, 1964), on which this article is based.

The first Chief sought by Rhodes' agents was Lewanika, Paramount Chief of Barotseland, who wanted protection from the Matabele tribes. He had already given a concession to Harry Ware, representative of a Kimberley syndicate. Rhodes solved that by buying out the syndicate.

Even before this deal, and only two weeks after the granting of the Charter, Frank Lochner, a Captain in the Bechuanaland police, was dispatched north by the Company with instructions to negotiate a new concession with Lewanika.

It was signed in June 1890. It gave the Company the "absolute exclusive and perpetual right" to search for and mine minerals over the whole territory of the Barotse nation, and was considered to be as "a treaty between the Barotse Nation and Queen Victoria".

In return, the Company agreed to finance education and industry, appoint and maintain a British Resident, and pay the Paramount Chief £2,000 per year.

### MISSIONARY 'DUPED'

The Company was in no hurry to fulfil its share of the bargain. It did not appoint a Resident until 1897, and did not open a school until 1907. And in 1964 it is hard to find any worthwhile industry established in Zambia by the Company.

Among Lewanika's closest advisers was a French missionary, Francois Coillard, who secured Lochner's first interview with Lewanika. But both Lewanika and Coillard believed that Lochner's primary role was to pave the way for a treaty of British protection, and that this commercial interest was secondary.

It was not long before Coillard was writing to the Company complaining that he had been duped. Lewanika acted similarly, and only four months after signing, wrote to a British resident in Barotseland, George Middleton, that he had been induced to sign by the suggestion that the concession placed him under Queen Victoria's protection.

So much faith had Lewanika in Lochner that he had presented him with a superb pair of elephant tusks as a gift to Queen Victoria. Some time later Lewanika discovered from a book that the "two fine tusks of ivory, each weighing considerably over 100 lb. in weight, and over six feet long... now ornament the Boardroom of the British South Africa Company in their palatial office in St. Swinburn's Lane".

In his negotiations, Lochner declared that the Company's President, the Duke of Abercorn, was a member of the Royal Household, and another of its directors, the Duke of Fife, was related to Victoria by marriage, thus implying Royal patronage.

As it happened, the British Government did not much like the monopolistic terms of the concession, and on October 17, 1900, a revised version was signed between Lewanika and the Company's first resident, Major R. C. Coryndon.

But the whole subsequent history of the Company in the territory stems from the first, Lochner version.

The revised version removed the monopoly of trade from the Company, but gave it administrative rights, and rights to grant land to European farmers. At the same time the Company cut Lewanika's annual payment down to £850.

The revised concession was sanctioned by the British Government in 1901.

### THE 'TREATIES'—AND HOW THEY WERE OBTAINED

Now we must return to 1889, the Year of the Charter. Lochner has gone miles to Lewanika. Now Rhodes looks to the north-east.

After talks with British officials in Central Africa, and correspondence with Lord Salisbury (British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary), he sends out two concessions-seeking expeditions. One is led by Joseph Thomson, a geologist, and the other by Alfred Sharpe, a solicitor who liked big game hunting.

### 'BAGGED TWENTY'

By the following year, when Thomson and Sharpe had finished, they had "bagged" twenty grants between them.

They all bound the signing chiefs to British protection, and stated that they were to be considered as treaties with the British Government.

One of these chiefs, Mshiri of Southern Iramba, received £10 worth of goods and £20 a year, in return for conceding the Company exclusive right to minerals, industrialisation and trade. He was forbidden to concede any land to anyone without the Company's consent. The original treaty bears a X and underneath, the words "Mshiri's mark".

### CARELESS

In every case, description of geographical location was more than careless. Because they believed they were dealing with illiterates in a far-away country, none of Rhodes' agents bothered too much with precise maps.

In any case, there were no detailed maps except those they made themselves, and the extent of a Chief's domain was scribbled down in accordance with the Chief's description. In eight of the Thomson-Sharpe treaties the area of concessions was designated no more precisely than by the name of the tribe or sub-tribe over which the signing chief claimed that he ruled.

The amounts paid by Thomson in return for concessions varied from £60 to £10. One payment of £10 was paid to the "Independent Female Chief Nansara of the Lobisa District of Imbalalala".

says the White Paper:

*"It is clear from the evidence of people in this district today that this personage had no chiefly authority at all; the local villagers decided to put her up to sign the treaty in order to make doubly sure that it would have no validity."*  
Note that "doubly sure".

Sharpe in two of his treaties made lavish promises to build schools, establish residents, and so on; in others, nothing was immediately given at all; while in his last two, the signing chief was given £6 in one case, and a job lot of goods including a muzzle-loading gun and some calico cloth, in the other.

As soon as these treaties came under the eye of experienced British civil servants they were seen to be absurd. Sir Percy Anderson said they contained engagements which were beyond the Company's power to contract on behalf of the Government. He doubted whether "in justice to the chiefs" the mineral concessions in the Thomson treaties could be upheld.

Major Cordrington, an employee of the Company, admitted "There is a lot of humbug about the original agreements."

And Cordrington made the damaging admission that the Thomson-Sharpe treaties did not make it clear to whom the Company was to pay the royalties that the treaties agreed should be paid. The result of this was that they never were paid.

Even Wilson Fox, the Company secretary at the turn of the century, said that the treaties had been made with "personages whose existence today are somewhat mythical."

### FOURTEEN TREATIES

Thomson signed fourteen treaties between September 10th and November 27th, 1890. Two were not witnessed, and in three no interpreter was present—although there were references to latitude and longitude with which, says the White Paper, "it can hardly be credited that the signing chiefs were familiar". And it adds:

*Finally, the treaties purport to grant various monopolistic rights. Where these were exclusive mineral rights they would be difficult to exercise without rights of ownership over the land or of sovereignty—neither of which was conceded in any of the treaties. Where they were exclusively commercial rights, they were incompatible with the Company's Charter.*

In 1894 the Thomson-Sharpe treaties were sanctioned by the British Government.

### DO THEY EXTEND TO THE COPPER-BELT AREA?

Geographically, the Company's case is that the Lewanika concessions and the Thomson-Sharpe treaties gave the Company exclusive mineral rights throughout the whole of what is now Zambia, with the first accounting for the territory west of the Kafue River and the second for the territory to the east.

But even if they were valid they do not—says the White Paper—extend to cover the Copperbelt area.

Although, in 1890, the boundaries of Lewanika's domains extended beyond the present boundary of Barotseland, in the Lochner concession there is no reference to a boundary at all.

And when Lewanika was asked in 1897 to describe his kingdom, he enumerated seventeen tribes. The White Paper holds it to be of "tremendous importance" that the list does not contain the Lamba (or Iramba) tribal group which at that time lived in the Copperbelt area.

A list of twenty-one tribes under Lewanika was made by Coillard in 1890, and this also does not contain the Lamba. Neither does it appear in a third list drawn up by the British Barotseland Boundary Arbitration in 1903.

### CONTRADICTION

In the case of the Thomson-Sharpe treaties, the White Paper reproduces a map of Thomson's concession-hunting route, drawn by him for

the Royal Geographical Society, on which the certificate of claim areas are marked, as drawn up by British Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald in 1938.

It shows that neither Thomson nor Sharpe ever reached the Copperbelt. Sharpe was far to the east and north of it, and Thomson's route was eighty miles from the nearest mine.

The certificates of claim areas also contradicts the treaties as they claim far more land than was included in the treaties.

Four of Thomson's treaties were supposedly made with Lamba tribal groups, but some of these lived in what is now Katanga in the Congo, and the others appear to have excluded the Copperbelt area from the concessions.

In the following years, the Company was always quick to define or change a boundary to suit the needs of the day, or new developments were used to "reinterpret the situation in the Company's interest".



Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia.

The British Government was similarly adapt at changing boundaries, and the whole Barotseland-North-Western Rhodesia frontier was moved east in 1905 on the initiative of the Company.

As a result of the change the whole of the Copperbelt, and Broken Hill with its lead and zinc mine, came within the territory.

There is a whole series of these changes, and rewritten concessions—frequently queried by civil servants on the spot—by which the Company ensured a stranglehold on the riches of the earth, to be approved time after time by the British Government.

The whole thing appears today somewhat absurd—if so much money had not been made out of these obscure jugglings.

Criticism started building up after the first world war, but the Company's claims to mineral rights survived each enquiry, each petition from

the Africans, not to mention a succession of complaints from settlers, and other companies.

### NO REAL RIGHT

In 1923, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies was Tory M.P., W. Ormsby-Gore, a personal friend and related by marriage to the managing director of the Company, Dougal Malcolm. Ormsby-Gore influenced the Devonshire Agreement of that year between the Government and the Company acknowledging the Company's claims.

In 1935, Ormsby-Gore became Colonial Secretary, and he wrote to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia in January 1938 that he was "not prepared to reopen the question of the title of the B.S.A. Company to the ownership of minerals throughout Northern Rhodesia..."

In 1924, Sir Herbert Stanley, the territory's first Governor, said he was worried about the mineral rights as they might cover water and air, and the company might exact a royalty on sand, clay, stone and other building materials.

In 1937, Governor Young undertook his own investigation following complaints that

There was more criticism after the last war, when the Company's royalty income rose from £416,000 in 1946 to £2,628,000 in 1949. Among the critics was a member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, Roy Welensky.

### DOUBTS EXPRESSED

He asked "whether any African chief, whether he was the King of the Barotse or any other African chief, knew what he was disposing of in parting with the mineral rights."

And Welensky said it was immoral of a British Government to barter the mineral wealth of a country to a private company "without even consulting the people".

In 1948 we find Sir Andrew Cohen of the Colonial Office expressing "great point of view" and referring to the "serious doubts" in Governor Young's suppressed despatch. Cohen doubted whether the Company had any right at all to the Nkana and Nchanga mine areas which provide nearly half of the copper output.

Cohen even suggested that a Commission of Inquiry would "establish that the Company should be paid something less than the commercial value of their mineral rights when the purchase took place in view of doubts about their title in certain areas.

"In the second place it would almost certainly esta-

### POWER OF MONEY

The first solid and salient fact that Cecil Rhodes appears to have grasped in those old days in the early seventies, when he used to sit under the burning African sun at a rough deal table picking diamonds out from the yellow earth as it was brought by his kaffirs from the old Kimberley mine, was the transcendent and almost irresistible power of money.

**MEN WHO HAVE MADE THE EMPIRE**  
George Griffith (1899)  
And when tradition and fable and story,  
In the far future, about him shall cling,  
Still shall his name be the patriot's glory—  
Still his achievements the poet will sing.  
**CECIL JOHN RHODES**  
by William Blane  
Anthology of Empire  
(1932)

The consolidated profit before tax for the year under review is £14,423,000.  
Statement by P. V. Emrys-Evans, Chairman of the British South Africa Company.  
The Times (3:4:64)

blish that the responsibility for the present situation rests on H.M.G. and it might therefore recommend that H.M.G. should bear part of the purchase price."

No wonder the Zambians say that the "British Government should compensate the company now—if at all. But Young's proposal for an inquiry was dropped, and the White Paper calls that "mysterious", saying of it and a similar happening in 1923:

"It would be naive not to assume that on both occasions there were important contacts between the British Government and the Company before the plans were changed. On both occasions, of course, the Company had an obvious financial interest in preventing a thorough-going investigation of its title."

And in May 1949, after a meeting with Sir Dougal Malcolm, then the Company President, Welensky, representing the European settlers, dropped his threat to propose a royalty tax, apparently in return for the Company's agreement to negotiate on how long it would continue to enjoy its mineral rights.

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# CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP IN LAND (3)

LAND question is an important subject of study in Africa. Much of the interest intellectual circles have displayed on the land question may be ascribed to the acquisitive habits of a predatory society. This is especially true of Southern and Eastern Africa, 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.

IT WOULD be false to convey the idea that all is well within our present communal holding of land. Since the era of colonisation, our system has undergone great changes and, for it to render us maximum economic benefits, i.e. in order to make it play its rightful role in our economic development, some drastic changes in the framework of communal ownership are necessary.

We have to remember that our people's standard of living is not static; they all want to enjoy modern things, like the bicycle or the car, the radio, the brick and mortar house; they want to drink clean water, to use electricity, etc. However, since land is our most valuable asset, it goes without saying that all these things can only come out of its proper utilisation, and that any rise in our standard of living will be proportional to its proper management and thus rising productivity.

For this reason then, we need now to make a brief examination of the various patterns of agricultural holdings and the criteria of choosing which type is likely to be the most productive.

The patterns of agricultural organisation could be classified into five major groups:

1. Small Peasant Farming;
2. Estate or Capitalist Farming;
3. State Farming;
4. Collective Farming and
5. Co-operative Farming.

## SMALL PEASANT FARMING

This is a universally-known system of agricultural organisation in Africa. This system is, in short, a small-scale capitalist farming. The peasant owns the farm and manages it according to his own free will. He keeps the whole produce without interference and usually uses a considerable portion of it for personal consumption. Because of the size of such farms, which is usually very small in most cases in Africa, and because it is held in scattered strips, mechanisation, in any real sense, is virtually impossible. Therefore the size of the produce in any particular year will depend on many factors, among which are: the amount of work the farmer does, the size and health of the family, whether conditions, quality of soil, etc.

## ESTATE OR CAPITALIST FARMING

This is very common in those parts of Africa where the imperialists expropriated land and granted it to either their kin (the settlers) or to their plantation companies (good examples of which are the United Africa Company, Uganda Company, East Africa Tea Planters, sugar cane and sisal estates, etc.). It is also found in capitalist countries, such as the United States, Western Europe, and in India, too. This type of farming is run like a joint-stock company—the unit of organisation is large, the work is carried on by a hired labour. It is highly mechanised and, like a joint-stock company, its efficiency and worth is measured by its net profits.

## STATE FARMING

Here, farms are owned and managed by the state which also employs both managers

and other workers. The whole produce belongs to the state and the surplus earned is used to augment the state's revenue.

In Uganda, an example of this type of farming was the Busoga Farm near Jinja. Ghana also has embarked on this type of scheme. Nevertheless, the system is not very common in Africa. The only place in the world where it exists on a large scale is in the U.S.S.R., China and other socialist countries.

## COLLECTIVE FARMING

This type of farming is found in socialist countries, and to a certain extent in countries like Mexico and Israel, although the methods of formation, organisation, working etc. differ with each country. In the U.S.S.R. it is called the Kolkhoz; in China the Commune; in Mexico, the Ejido; and in Israel, the Kibbutz. Under this system, people are persuaded or encouraged to group together.

On a large land unit which they hold on a communal (collective) basis thus, the ownership of the land, stock and capital is vested in the community as a whole.

This view is supported by Murray Weingarten, a Kibbutz member himself who in his book "Life in a Kibbutz" wrote:—

"The Kibbutz provides every member with similar housing, similar furnishing, and similar opportunities for recreation. It grants all members equal education for their children, similar food, similar clothing, complete medical care, equal economic security and similar opportunity for creative self-expression" (p. 129).

## CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

This system is open to very great variations in definition. In some cases, it merely means the joint handling of essential services, e.g. marketing and credit organisation. This is the system prevailing in many parts of Africa, where it was created and encouraged by the colonial governments. In other cases, it means:—

"A system of agricultural organisation wherein cultivators of an area voluntarily associate together, pool their individual holdings for purposes of cultivation and manage the whole farm as one unit under an elected gov-

vernment". (Khusro and Agarwal, p. 18).

The difference between this system of holding and the collective is that whereas under the later the ownership of land is vested in the community, under the co-operative farming it is vested in the individual in his particular piece of land is thereby reflected and

"he is entitled to periodic ownership divided in proportion to the land (and sometimes other assets) contributed by him." (Ibid.).

For example, in Hungary, the member of the co-operative is paid "land rent for the area contributed" (Planned Economy in Hungary, etc. by Jozsef Bogнар).

In the case of the Kolkhoz and Ejido, however, individual families are allowed to own some limited livestock and to use small allotments of land for individual private production. But apart from this, the whole farm is treated as one unit for the purposes of production and management. Thus, the scale of operation is very high. Work is carried on jointly by the members themselves. Although, in some cases, managers from outside are appointed by the Government, the general practice is for the members themselves to elect a management committee. This committee undertakes the duties of planning, supervision, marketing, organisation of credit and supplies, social services, etc.

## 'LABOUR DAYS'

Generally speaking, distribution of income is based on "labour days" contributed by each member, i.e. according to the amount of work each member has put in. In some cases, in order to stimulate interest, bonuses for extra efficiency and medals of merit are awarded to the deserving workers of the community. Part of the surplus is given to the state, while the rest is ploughed back into the community in the form of both improvement in farming etc., and in better social services. So that, whereas work is collective, distribution of the proceeds is undertaken on an individual basis—"from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". Khusro and Agarwal do, however, point out that in the three types of the collectives, (kolkhoz, ejido and kibbutz),

"Kibbutz is... a more complete form of communistic organisation. Here both production and consumption are communal. Every member is trusted to work according to the best ability and to claim from the common pool of goods available a share in accord with his needs by virtue of being a member and not in proportion to the quantity or quality of work done by him."

This means that distribution of goods is based on the principle:—"from each according to his ability to each according to his needs."

## CRITERIA FOR CHOICE

The problem we are now faced with is how to decide on which one of these five alternative systems would be most appropriate for agricultural holdings in Africa, i.e. what criteria should we apply to make our choice. There appears to be at least five of them.

a) **Economic Efficiency:** This would mean that yields per acre would increase and the cost per unit of output decrease.

b) **Employment:** Here the system selected would have to be one which would be capable of rendering full employment to the rural population; the whole year round.

c) **Social Value:** This means a type of holding that will secure equality, freedom and democracy among its members, i.e. one that would be in keeping with African egalitarian conceptions.

d) **Overall Economic Development:** The selected alternative's effective on overall economic development of the country must be carefully considered.

e) **Standard of Living:** The pattern has got to be one that will be capable of meeting the increasing demands of the farming community, as their standard of living rises.

Of these five alternatives, we find that small Peasant Farming (in spite of those fanatics who support it for political rather than economic reasons) has some serious handicaps. For example, as it is true of Africa, most of the holdings are scattered for fairly understandable reasons; therefore, in the criteria of economic efficiency, unless the holding is of optimum size, a small size of land itself becomes a bottleneck to full utilisation of other indivisible factors of production, e.g. manpower and whatever mechanical equipment the small farmer might own, such as a bullock plough—and managerial efficiency is thwarted. This leads to serious diseconomies of small scale, and thus results in high average costs per unit of production and low yield per acre per unit of capital. As a result of these diseconomies, incomes are very low and tend to decrease as operational costs increase. Therefore, neither high consumption, nor substantial investment nor the marketing of large surpluses, are possible. The increasing indebtedness or low consumption of the peasantry becomes a retarding factor to industrialisation. It is also practically impossible to maintain the fertility of the soil by the application of scientific methods of farming etc.

Furthermore, as Khusro and Agarwal point out:—

"Many of the intricate problems of underdeveloped agriculture cannot be effectively tackled on an individualistic basis, as farmers, working on separate tiny plots do not have adequate resources in capital and organisation to tackle them". (p. 22).

Of course, it could be argued, as indeed it is done in East Africa, that consolidation of the various strips of land belonging to one individual farmer would solve the pro-

blem. (This was the argument advanced by the Royal Commission of East Africa). But we have to remember that what matters is the total size of the farm which the mere bringing together of scattered fragments cannot enlarge.

Therefore, the small-holdings whether consolidated or not, whose owner still thinks in terms of a self-supporting subsistence economy, as Bon-yar points out from the experience of Hungary

"hampers the development of rational specialisation in agriculture and fails to produce the variety of goods required by a more exacting consumer demand and the world market".

It is also true that in countries like Japan, Denmark and others where there exist quite a preponderance of small holders, the farmers are finding that, as their standard of living rises, they need larger farms in order to keep abreast with the times. Even in Britain, farmers have been warned against the dangers that might face them as a result of too much individualism.

Neither is capitalist farming conducive to Africa. Although, when one considers the question of efficiency and surplus generation, the system could be very promising, it falls down on socio-political grounds. First of all, in order to organise farming on a capitalist basis, a lot of land must be enclosed. Secondly, it must be highly mechanised. Both these requirements merely aggravate the employment and social problems as a result of which a landless and unemployed class of people is created. This is exactly what happened in Kenya where, due to the wholesale alienation of land and an extensive capitalist farming by European settlers, many Africans were rendered landless—and Mau Mau was the natural outcome. Furthermore the heavy mechanisation required can only be possible where a country has achieved a certain degree of industrialisation, if embarrassing balance of payment and unemployment problems have to be avoided.

## A SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS

Let us not forget that when the Western countries took up capitalist farming with enclosure or mechanisation, they did so alongside an exodus of population from farms to the growing industries, we, in Africa, have not yet reached this stage; our economy and employment are still heavily dependent on rural agriculture. Moreover, if capitalist type of farming has to succeed, it requires a lot of capital but few Africans, if any can afford to raise the requisite capital.

This therefore means that such a system of farming would rely entirely on foreign private investment which might not be readily forthcoming. It could demand or create conditions which would be repugnant to our social and political progress. Because, as has to be carefully noted, foreign investors are not philanthropists. When they come their motive is to make money—profit—and it is in the course of trying to maximise profits that they create unpalatable situations and conditions. What we, therefore, need is a system of agricultural holdings which will respect both our social and our political requirements, but at the same time meet our economic needs.

In Africa today, we need a combination of state collective, and co-operative farming. These three properly planned, could facilitate an increase

in productivity and income; could ensure security and happiness to the individual peasant-farmers and their families; could ascertain the proper and full utilisation of every inch of our land and finally could make possible, a balanced economic, social and political development.

Of course, many arguments could be advanced against all three. The state farming could be held to be similar to capitalist farming, it could be rejected because of its bureaucratic tendencies, both in management and administration. It could be said that, as a system, it stifles individual incentives, while the collective could be accused of destroying individual freedom and initiative of being egalitarian, etc. And against co-operative system at least two major arguments could be made: that is, the stifling of initiative and the difficulty of achieving effective authority over all the members. However, as Professor Arthur Lewis pointed out, the success or failure of any of these systems depends on what a people have been taught to believe, and one might add that the general socio-economic background against which they are being introduced or organised, also matters.

## COLLECTIVE FARMING

However, each one of these three categories of farming could be employed under different conditions. The state farming, for example, could be very useful in utilising land which cannot be properly farmed by peasants either because of its "difficult" nature, due to quality or tsetse flies—and therefore, where a great deal of drainage or clearing has to be undertaken before it can be made productive,—or as in the case of dry land, where irrigation and soil conservation on an extensive scale are necessary before any definite returns could be expected. Needless to state, all over Africa there is land of this nature lying idle and therefore wasted.

The collective system is prone to a great deal of misunderstanding. The sound of it and, also from what we usually hear about it, connotes force and compulsion. But whether the collective farm is brought about by force due to ideological reasons and socio-economic background, or by the free will of the peasants as a result of persuasion and example, it is difficult to say. Because, whereas those who are against the system believe that the system has not proved as successful as the socialist theoreticians claim, those who practise it assert that

"these associations of producers organised on the basis of equality are called into existence by the producer's free decision." But they qualify this statement by pointing out that:

"Nor does free will mean that there is a complete absence of persuasion. Social organisations spread propaganda, the radio and television come forth with arguments, and the newspapers with proofs about the advantages of co-operation." (Jozsef Bogнар, p.52).

Thus we go back to Professor Lewis' theory of all depending on what people are made to believe and also the benefits they expect to reap from a particular system.

Thus:—  
"Men will not make the effort unless the fruit of that effort is assumed to themselves or to those whose claims they recog-

nise, but what they consider to be their proper share of the fruits, and whose claims they recognise are largely subjective matters, which depend upon what they have been brought up to believe."

## CO-OPERATIVE SYSTEM

The co-operative system seems to be very popular with many people. As we have seen above, it is said to be based on a free decision of individual peasant farmers who voluntarily agree to pool together their individual pieces of land into a larger co-operative unit while at the same time retaining their individual title to their particular pieces of land. This title means that, although in practice land is farmed collectively, the remuneration to each tenant will also include rent for this piece of land. This, however, presupposes the existence of legal private ownership of land by each peasant farmer.

Nevertheless, it appears that whether adopting a collective or a co-operative system depends on the prevailing land tenure system at the time of reforms. In Africa, however, it would, in many cases, be difficult to give a proper title to suit the definition of either the collective or the co-operative. Because, in many cases, although land is by custom vested in the community, be it a clan or an extended family group, the right use is nevertheless vested in the individual. But the co-operative system would be appropriate to those areas where the idea of individual ownership has been successfully imposed, for example in Buganda. However, for simplicity let us use the expansion 'communal farming' as meaning collective or co-operative farming; for I think this would be the proper title under African conditions.

## COMMUNAL FARMING

Generally speaking, communal holding of land is not only the traditional system of tenure in many parts of Africa, but—except where it has been destroyed by the imposition of individual ownership, as is the case of, for example, Buganda in Uganda the system is still very widely practised in one degree or another. In this system, the most important point to note is that as long as land is held on such a basis, no member of the community be it a clan or a family, has a right to alienate or mortgage or lease any piece of it without the consent of other members. This point is very clearly put by Jomo Kenyatta in his book "Facing Mount Kenya". Similarly, in a Nigerian case of Adagun-y-Gagbola, it was held that where a portion of the family land is allotted to any member of the family:—

"that member becomes entitled to occupy and enjoy that portion during good behaviour, but he does not become the owner of the land as against the family, and he cannot alienate it without the consent of the family". (Nigerian Land Law and Customs, by T. O. Elias, p.147).

This being a universally accepted system, especially in black Africa, it means that the problem of individual ownership—where it does not already exist—is not a handicap; but, where it exists, it has to be taken into account when determining the best alternative.

Furthermore, the idea of communal work is indigenous to Africa—whether it is in the cultivation of individual fields, or in the building of a house, in the building of highways and bridges, or in the construction of dams and water reservoirs, the examples of collective self-help are well-known.

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# A CALL TO THE AFRICAN YOUTH

THE light that was sparked by Kwame Nkrumah in 1949 by giving birth to the Convention People's Party has turned out to be a revolutionary flame spreading like a prairie fire over the whole continent of Africa.

This revolution, the first of its kind to affect a whole continent of such a tremendous size in so short a time, may be termed the plight of the youth, because of the vital role the young men and women of Africa are playing in it and which they still have to play to achieve its main goal. This strong hurricane which aims at the decolonisation, unification and the economic reconstruction of Africa has yet a long way to go to complete its cycle; and the youth, to whom the glorious future of this continent belongs, should leave no stone unturned to keep this historic flame ablaze.

We cannot afford to ignore them in this all important patriotic strive nor have them perched on the fence to look on and criticise. The following may therefore include some of the urgent demands their Motherland makes on them for the achievement of her full liberation.

Every revolution is a rise against an old system and an advocate for a new order. Africa has seen too many bitter years from the hands of the whiteman: The treachery of the infamous slave trade has soiled the record of human dignity, the partitioning of Africa has brought antagonism between brothers and sisters of the same mother, stubborn colonialism has crippled the initiative of the African, and racism has deprived the Blackman of his natural personality, white capitalism has brutally sucked his very life blood to feed the Western countries. These vices summarised in the term 'exploitation of man by man' have become outmoded in our day just as feudalism saw its decay during the industrial revolution. Africa can no longer tolerate this and has, in a concerted effort unprecedented in history, launched an offensive against this degrading attitude of white design.

## DIFFICULT TASK

Our task therefore is a difficult one which requires facts, courage, determination and tact as a unitary force to combat and overthrow this old and decayed system. We shall also need the same energy, spirit and technique to introduce the new order that will recover to us our long lost heritage. Thus the struggle, though not necessarily involving bloodshed, demands men and women of militant spirit inspired with a keen sense of mission, dedication and sacrifice; people of great virility and integrity, a quality available only in the Nkrumaist youth.

That tradition dies hard is a truism that requires no proof. When a man has, after a long period of practice, acquired a particular mode of life he finds it difficult to accept a change. To effect an alteration in the taste of such a person one needs to be armed with good reasons, a careful method of presenting them and the patience to listen to and answer a hundred and one questions. The social pleasures of a man decrease with the increase of his days. As the older people grow the less interested they become in material life.

In Africa today where the confusion of the diversity of religion has dogmatised the beliefs of many people dividing their attention between heaven and earth, where the imperialist intrigue of "divide and rule" has fragmented even families, and where the bait of the policy of French assimilation has created the Black European, we do not only have a grueling battle to fight to rout colonial mentality but

a nerve breaking assignment to introduce a new social order.

And here we can count mainly on the youth who, by dint of their modern education and traditional renaissance have come to the conclusion that "the development of each is conditioned by the development of all", and who have also got the required energy to undertake this heavy task of creating conducive conditions for this development.

It is therefore the bounden duty of the African youth to hold aloft this optimistic ideology of egalitarianism. It is as such incumbent that they must first be loyal apostles of this concept of the new social order and the method of its propagation will automatically reveal itself.

An ideology must germinate from the people, nurtured by the aspirations of the society and finally, be able to bear fruits worthy of communal consumption. Fortunately for us, Nkrumaism, the ideology for the new Africa has nothing to lack in these qualities, for it is the policy of all the African Progressive Parties. It is the weapon with which colonialism and neo-colonialism are being thrashed all over Africa, and the fortress upon which our new economic system is being built. It is the magnet that pulled the hands of the Heads of African State and Government together to sign the Great Charter of Continental Union Government in Addis Ababa last year and the voice of "Conscience" the life wire of the African Revolution.

With the ground so smoothly prepared the youth should take courage and continue to hold high the torch of the struggle all over the continent. This they have to do through writing, reading, talks, discussions and examples by living up to the demands of "Africa's New Man", the man who submits self in service.

## NEO-COLONIALISM

Apart from 34 independent countries the rest of Africa is struggling under imperial domination. But conditions in these independent countries are so deplorable that they cannot be termed free in the sense of national sovereignty.

An independent state must be able to defend herself from external aggression and maintain internal peace and security. She must be in the position to plan her own welfare projects and finance them, reduce unemployment to the minimum and provide the needs of her people.

Unfortunately, the position is always the reverse in the emerging African States. On the attainment of independence the young states are placed in the most difficult situation of political and economic embarrassment. They discover to their utter amazement that they have nothing to build on, nothing with which to start and no qualified personnel to take up responsible posts. The only way

out therefore is to seek help from the former masters. This aid they give with haste but with countless strings attached. That is, they attach so many complicating conditions to whatever assistance they give in order to commit the receiver.

Since the imperialists have a stronger bargaining power in this instance, the young states are compelled to accept these conditions en bloc. The natural outcome as shown by experience is that by virtue of their position the helpers subsequently begin to dictate policies and exercise economic and military control over the young countries. This turns them into puppet sovereign states more or less like dependent colonies. This is neo-colonialism, the greatest danger facing Africa today because their independence becomes meaningless and exploitation continues more than ever.

Our youth have an important assignment here. It is their duty to rid us of these neo-colonialists. They must equip themselves with the intellectual and moral tools with which to hold the fort on the attainment of self government. It is admitted that this academic preparation is very difficult in several countries which lack adequate educational facilities yet we have to take inspiration from some Africans who were able to overcome this handicap in their days by forcing their way into foreign institutions to nurse their brains for the political emancipation of their people. Fortunately for us several educational facilities are now available, even at our doors in our various countries and over the rest of the continent. We do not expect the old men and women to go to these institutions but the youth who have a lot more years to serve the nation and have also got the strength to do so. Any shortage of qualified personnel to man key positions in our countries is therefore a problem to be solved by the youth.

## OPPORTUNITIES

Apart from residential studies there are correspondence courses which the worker can take full advantage of. Evening classes are also available for the improvement of our educational background. Mass literacy campaign teams are waging relentless attack on illiteracy and it is for the youth to ginger it up. The unfortunate illiterates among us should seize the opportunity to learn to read and write while the fortunate literates should lend a helping hand as voluntary instructors.

While we develop the brain we must also nurse the heart to abhor corruption and its allied social evils. We must learn to be true Nkrumaists by developing a high sense of integrity. Our behaviour must be unquestionable at home, in society and in office to justify the trust placed in us.

The neo-colonialists are aware of the influence of the youth, as such they do all they can to buy them unto their side. Their popular bait is cash. They also distribute anti-socialist pamphlets and periodicals through their information centres. We must, in the interest of our Motherland, resist any form of temptation to sell ourselves out as neo-colonialist agents.

Another method of getting rid of the neo-colonialists is to rely on our own goods and services. The imperialists, having trained us to be producers of raw materials only, always leave us without a single factory of our own. In an attempt to establish

our own industries we are faced with a formidable competition from the highly industrialised countries. Our major difficulties in this case, as it is with every infant industry, are high cost of production and low quality of goods.

If those employed in these industries could be more serious and diligent with their work, improve upon their technical knowledge and increase their productivity cost of production would fall to the minimum and quality raised appreciably. Government subsidies are expected to help establish these industries but it is only efficiency, hardwork and avoidance of waste that can help them remain in business. Already most of our industries have had long strides in the field of improvement and now meet on a footing of perfect equality with the foreign firms. It is our duty to patronise them. The youth who have high purchasing power coupled with the strongest desire to consume will do well to learn to enjoy these "Made-in-Africa" goods as well.

We must also remember that we have to rely on our own funds to carry out our projects and thus avoid the neo-colonialist trap. We can achieve this through a gradual accumulation of capital from our little savings. Our national banks and the various saving schemes like the premium bonds have this role to play and we must patronise them. A well balanced budget by every worker is therefore highly recommendable so that the whole month's salary may not be exhausted within each month.

## SMOKE THEM OUT

The rest of the continent darkened with imperial domination presents a serious threat to the security of the independent states. This is what Kwame Nkrumah saw on the day of Ghana's independence (March 6, 1957) and declared, "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa".

Apart from being an eye sore to see a next door neighbour being maltreated by imperialists, these colonial territories serve as neo-colonialist bases for subsequent infiltration into the nearby independent states. So long as a particle of colonial regime remains on the continent white exploitation will continue to be a vampire to our economic growth.

The youth must therefore use their influence to intensify the struggle and smoke all these rats out of their hiding places. The press should also continue to expose their tricks. The Freedom Fighters need our encouragement, moral and financial support, and this the youth in the independent countries must be prepared to give at all times. A very shining example of this help was the promptness with which our soldiers rushed down to the Congo to help restore order at the invitation of late Patrice Lumumba.

The Freedom Fighters should also take courage from the liberated countries and face the powder bravely believing that success will surely crown their efforts at last. The young men and women in these colonies want to realise that the battle is theirs and its success lies on their youthful energy and perseverance. Should any African Freedom Fighter seek political asylum with us we should be obliged

to grant him all necessary protection and hospitality to continue the struggle.

The independent countries now faced with the problem of economic reconstruction discovered that their success depends upon modern science and technology. They need machinery to mechanise their agriculture and run their industries. They require workers with vigour and untiring nerves to handle these huge machines. Progressive scientists with young and virile blood are inevitable to explore the earth and survey the atmosphere to grasp the best they can from nature for the benefit of mankind. Young men and women of great initiative and apt ingenuity must come forward with new ideas and rational methods of production. Efforts must not only be doubled but tripled by working round the clock till the goal is achieved.

We have nowhere to turn for the requisite personnel but to the youth who by reason of their flowery age have enough strength to spare Africa. The challenge is therefore thrown to us in the Development Plans of our various states and the youth must boldly accept it. The common desire of our youth for "white colour jobs" must in these circumstances give way to a new frame of mind—national reconstruction. A new taste for dignity of labour and preservation of state property must be given fresh pages in our labour movement. The worker's greatest satisfaction should lie in sincere service to his Motherland however inconvenient the assignment might be. The youth who form the cream of our labour force must take note of this great responsibility to be resourceful, productive and vigilant.

## AFRICAN UNITY

The importance of the role of African Unity in our revolution need not be over-emphasised. The African continent by its geographical position is endowed with a cross-section of the world's vegetation ranging from hot equatorial forest to cool temperate forest with their allied products. It enjoys oceanic, continental and mountain types of climate as related to the various vegetational zones on both sides of the equator. Its topography is varied, consisting of low lands, mountains, plateaux and valleys. It can also boast of big rivers and lakes of great potential power. Their natural waterfalls are vital sources of cheap hydraulic power. Its geology which remains almost unexplored in many cases has various types of fertile agricultural soils to offer not to mention her rich minerals which have been the tempting apples to the capitalist world. We thus find that Africa has valuable resources which when tapped can provide all the needs of her people.

The independent African States would be encouraged to pursue their individual lines of development if these resources were equally distributed among them. Conversely, nature has bestowed these materials to the continent as a whole irrespective of the imperialist selfish partitioning. The result is that some states lack one thing while others have it in abundance.

Apart from this uneven distribution of the natural resources there crops up another big problem with development—capital. To plan a development project and implement it successfully requires a great deal of money to provide the various productive forces (machinery, raw materials and labour) Gold or diamond deposits may be discovered at a place but the absence of machinery and technical knowledge as well as funds to provide them may render same inaccessible and the owners of these valuable resources may continue in want amidst plenty. This is true with the tapping of all other resources. The solution lies only in a continental union government to

plan all projects on a continental scale and mobilise all the states to pool their human, natural and financial resources together to implement them for in unity lies strength. This will help deficient areas to enjoy all the benefits of the other parts of the continent. It will also help to remove all trade barriers and provide an African Common Market.

African Unity is not desirable only for economic reasons but for security purposes as well. The national sovereignty of an independent state will be at stake so long as we are not united under one strong African High Command. The neo-colonialists are ever ready to slip in and interfere with our internal affairs. They first pose as peacemakers and finally turn out to be "wolves in sheep skin". What happened recently to Gabon and what is now the headache of the Congo are visible pointers to a thick nimbus cloud that hangs obscurely over every independent African State. It is only a strong union government machinery that can expel and revert the operations of these venomous serpents.

If therefore our youth have any strength, which naturally they possess, let them exert it on a campaign for a continental union government. Tribalism must step down for a new sense of national and continental brotherhood, racial superiority must die with colonial mentality and artificial boundaries must be broken down after the example of Ghana and the Upper Volta in which they rid themselves of this impediment of colonial design.

## REAL BROTHERHOOD

When we speak of African Unity we mean something more serious than a mere group of loosely joined states each pursuing a different policy. For example, we cannot have any member states practising racial segregation while others preach racial integration as it is in the U.S. today. All Africans have a common history and a similar destiny. We are one and the same people with identical aspirations and we must flock together as birds of the same feather. Our conception of African Unity is therefore more of fraternal nature than a mere documentary agreement made with signatures. When our leaders meet they embrace themselves and call each other brother. This is the spirit in which our youth should move both at home and abroad to identify themselves with this mark of true unity. We should have to mix up freely as children of the same parents.

This fusion may be fostered through intermarriage. The youth who are now looking round to pick partners are discard the outmoded taboos that debar us from marrying outside our own tribes. In making their choice however, let them be guided by real love and African Unity.

The use of national dresses of other African countries may be another practical way of strengthening our unity. If our youth who have much interest in dressing as well as time and the means for it will appreciate the national dresses of other African States as well they may not only be helping to promote African culture and project its personality but help to strengthen the bonds of friendship and brotherhood existing among the African States. The smock and Kente of Ghana, the Batakari of the Hausa tribes, the Agbala of Nigeria and the ladies frock of Guinea and Mali are but a few of these attractive dresses in point.

The enjoyment of music also helps to understand a people. The type of unity we yearn for will only be practicable through understanding one another, and music, apart from giving us enjoyment can supply this because we are able to know more about a people from the way they sing and dance. The famous highlife of Ghana, the graceful Cha-cha-cha, the invigorating Down South, and the

lovely Shata of Nigeria, to mention but a few, are already popular all over the continent. Others of similar taste may be recommended for enjoyment.

Our young men and women who form the bulk of our music fans and our dance bands are therefore called upon to give much popularity to these numbers.

## ENJOY AFRICAN DISHES

The staple foods of other African countries may also help to satisfy our hunger for a continental brotherhood. As brothers we shall exchange visits between countries. The pursuit of education, the transaction of business and sight seeing trips may take us away from home to other African states. Despite the need that might arise in such circumstances to live on the foods of other countries it would be gratifying to taste them in our own homes. Furthermore, with the mechanisation of our agriculture and the industrialisation of our raw materials it will become necessary to can certain staple foods for the African market and for export. Foods like fufu, eba, tuwo-dawadawa, beans, rice, corn products, dates and many others may be suitable for this purpose. If our young men and women would learn to take other foods in addition to their own they might grow to like them and provide markets as well as lay a permanent foundation for real African brotherhood.

## LEARN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Another means of understanding each other is to learn the languages of other African states. If you can communicate with a person directly without an interpreter you are sure to understand each other better. Since English and French have become the lingua franca of most African States a knowledge of both is essential. In addition other popular indigenous tongues like Twi, Hausa, Yoruba, and Swahili may be learnt. Here again we may rely on the youth who have the energy and fertile brains to absorb the various vocabularies and rules of these languages.

Exchange of students in our institutions of high learning may also serve as a practical way of promoting our unity and brotherhood. In the three universities and the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute of Ghana one comes across students from many African States. In the Universities of Nigeria and the other states the story is not different. Notwithstanding the strengthening of fraternal and intellectual ties between our states, this measure helps to unify our ideology and steer a common approach to our problems.

When our students are therefore called upon to pursue such courses outside their countries they will do well to accept the offer in the interest of our unity, and as they study in these countries they want to drink deep their customs and traditions for onward transmission to their own countrymen.

## READ AFRICAN LITERATURE

Reading materials also form a vital source of information about other people. The reading public, especially the youth, should as a matter of curiosity dive into the literature of other African writers. Daily and weekly newspapers, magazines, poems, pamphlets, novels, frictions, and short stories written by Africans of other states may form a good reading matter in this respect. At this juncture one cannot help commending "THE SPARK" for the introduction of a monthly column for "New Books" in which current literature bearing on our revolution are reviewed. A constant advertisement of these reading materials will be of much guidance to readers.

Through this medium we shall have first hand informa-

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# The Mecenaries in the Congo

## WHAT OUR INVESTIGATION REVEALS

**\*A TEST case for Africa, "cauldron of upheavals and intrigue," "Africa's trouble spot," "the world's treasure trove", "the choicest morsel of the world's richest booty" etc. etc. That is the Congo. The contrasting epithets depict the motivations that have set this unhappy country ablaze for so long.**

Peace in the Congo has been a perennial enigma ever since her independence four years ago. Her curse is her wealth. For the sole cause of her problems is foreign involvement in her domestic affairs. With their evil eyes focussed on her natural resources, capitalist exploiters have never ceased, ever since the country was "opened" to foreign influx, to struggle for the seizure of her possessions.

Belgium quit with ignoble haste when faced with the bitter fact that she could not turn a deaf ear to the Congolese peoples' demand for freedom. It was a design intended to ruin the Congo and make Belgium's return necessary. Four years have passed but Belgium has not yet returned to the Congo, and there is no hope of her ever returning. Nevertheless, her design set in motion a whole chain of events that have made the Congo what it is today—a country dismembered, unpeaceful and unsettled.

The leading role in the sordid activities which have dismembered the Congo goes to

land, Africa must continue to be a good place to make all the profits. It should trite, but it is the thing. Otherwise the Western powers would not continue to finance and arm South Africa to perpetuate the policy of apartheid which they condemn. Otherwise Portugal without their support would long have succumbed before the determined struggles of the freedom fighters.

To make Africa the good place that they want it to be, the major imperialist power, the U.S., and her allies use such scum of Western society as the man interviewed to create havoc in the Congo, the heart of the continent.

### USE OF FORCE

The interviewed mercenary might have come from Greece or Italy, from Britain, France or Germany, from Southern Rhodesia or South Africa. He might have been a murderer on the run, or a racist gangster, or a victim of boredom,

and Belgium, the two powers most deeply involved in the Congo were convinced of the indispensability of the use of force, and since Tshombe had the necessary contacts, it was evident that swift action might help in this ignoble course. This, but not his exclusion from the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned States was, to borrow Tshombe's own words, "the dirtiest trick in history".

This great trick was performed by American imperialism through the smoke-screen provided by Tshombe's inner cabinet, labelled the "Security Council", made up of Tshombe himself, Gen. Mobutu, Godefroid Munongo, the Interior Minister, and Victor Nendaka, the Congo's police chief. This so-called "Security Council" is the heir to the Binza Group through which America ruled the Congo during the period of the ineffective Adoula Government.

In spite of himself, Gen. Mobutu had to concede before this so-called "Security Council" that his group of 30,000 men which he called the Congolese National Army

Rhodesian and South African newspapers were enough to tickle the susceptibilities of the riff-raffs of capitalist societies all over the world and a steady flow of applicants streamed to the recruiting centres set up in Johannesburg and Salisbury.

### DISASTER

They were drifters and misfits thirsting for money and adventure. Many were ex-members of Tshombe's Kantanga gendarmerie, expecting once again to do no real fighting save to ravage Congolese villages and shoot down defenceless women and children with machine-guns mounted on jeeps. Some were veterans of U.N. forces in the Congo, expecting that they would this time have a much easier "war".

Anxious to present the African countries with a *fait accompli*, and to prove to the imperialist powers what the mercenaries could do, decision was taken for quick action. The target was Albertville. Hoare led the onslaught from Lake Tanganyika, while another force under a South African, Lt. John Mackintosh attacked from inland. It was a disaster. Hoare lost several of his men with many more wounded. Not one of Mackintosh's men escaped unhurt.

Unsurprisingly, many of the mercenaries left after this and recruiting dropped sharply. But to most the promise of \$500 a month and a \$2,300 insurance policy for the next of kin in the event of death is too strong a prize to let go unclaimed. They are still "volunteering" in numbers sufficient to form the new units of hundred-strong commandos into which the mercenary forces are now being organised.

Who pays these fantastic wages is all too clear. With her eyes on the great resources of the Congo, the United States of America considers these wages quite trifling. The riff-raffs are supplied by the U.S., champion of liberty, with first-class weapons to kill people who only demand the freedom to govern themselves in the way they think best. Against these armed brigades are the determined peoples of the Congo, who, literally with their bare hands, fly at the throats of the hellhounds. They fling themselves at the armed men, because they have got what these miscreants have not: the conviction that they die not in vain, but in the supreme duty of saving their land from foreign domination.

Armed with this faith alone, they are able to inflict heavy casualties on the armed fortune hunters who, like the men in high places in Leopoldville, have sold themselves as handy instruments for the implementation of imperialist designs. They are men who have never made any good. Their organiser Hoare, has confessed: "It's what I have been doing for the past 15 years... kicking around Africa, safaris, and fighting with the gendarmerie. I can't settle down."

The reasons are varied. There are even those, like the first interviewed, who seem to be possessed with a vague emotion, a sense of mission, perhaps a mission to perpetuate white supremacy (or American imperialism) in the Congo (and Africa) to make it a good place to settle down. But whatever the reasons, these men have one thing in common, they are misfits,

"loners", rootless men driven on remorselessly to the place "they know not where, to find that they know not which."

These are the men America and her allies have hired to murder patriots who seek nothing but their freedom. They are still in the Congo creating havoc, despite the resolution of the O.A.U. Foreign Ministers' Conference calling for their immediate expulsion.

"The Spark" at the time of the Conference questioned whether we could "with reasonable certainty expect that these uncertain instruments will now be the means of bringing peace, true unity, and freedom into the Congo."

The question is yet to be answered. Meanwhile the conflict rages on, while Africa seems unable to make up her mind to save herself. It is strange that any reasonable man should refuse to save himself from apparent danger. But blinded by self-interest most African leaders fail to see the imminent danger that we in Africa face. Four years ago Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah said: "The Congo question is a test case for Africa. What is happening in the Congo today may happen in any other part of Africa tomorrow."

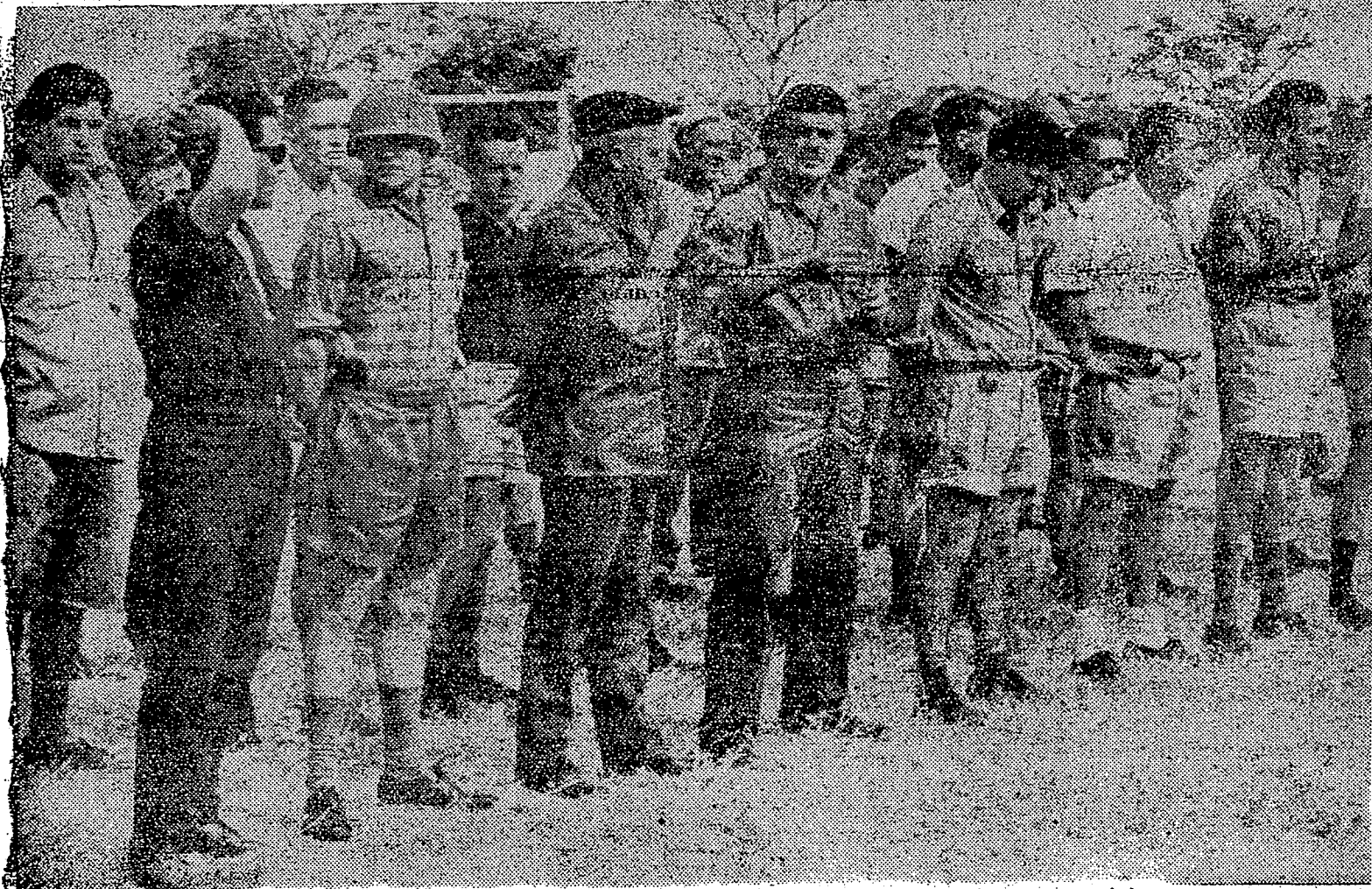
His words are even more true today. Imperialism seems to have an even firmer grip on the richest part of Africa. The locations of the recruiting centres for mercenaries, Salisbury and Johannesburg, in relation to Leopoldville are very significant. Together they form the ends of the Evil Triangle through which the U.S. and her allies seek to

dominate Africa. Leopoldville forms the vertex and this is in the firm grip of the greatest imperialist power. And here too we have one of our own kith and kin who has sold himself to our enemies.

Unless the African dog stops barking and begins to bite, this part will be lost and Africa with it. Many African states have been too tardy in realising the realities of our times. As far back as September 23, 1960, Kwame Nkrumah in a speech at the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations said: "I am sure that the independent African States will agree with me that the problem in the Congo is an acute African problem which can be solved by Africans only."

Four years had to elapse before some of our leaders could catch up with this idea. And there is still lack of conviction in their realisation. His other ideas, African High Command, and a Continental Union Government have also been accepted in principle. But again they are yet to be embraced with that devotion which makes their materialization inevitable.

Yet unless these ideas are translated into realities, Africa shall be heading for her doom. Cannot these other African leaders at least catch up with the ideas of this man as he gives birth to them, if they cannot initiate any themselves? Nkrumah and the progressive ones have been maligned and lied about, but they speak the words of destiny. Let the others follow their lead if they cannot equally lead. We throw this as a challenge.



Scums of European society turn up at their first parade at a mercenary training camp.

the United States of America, whose intrigues and stratagems, classics in subversion, outclass the most inordinate perpetrations of the other imperialist powers. To the United States unflattering catalogue of criminalities—the murders of Patrice Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjöld and other known and unknown crimes—must now be added the current financing of mercenaries fighting against nationalists in this land of woes.

### CAUSE OF INSTABILITY

In all these ignominious activities, the U.S. has taken care to dissemble and cover up her real intentions and those who are susceptible to deceit have been deceived and impressed by her craft and cunning. But despite her loud protestations of friendship with Africa and her high professions of "stringless" aids toward the establishment of peace and the advance of progress in this land, the United States of America, assisted by her NATO allies, constitutes the major cause of instability on this continent. It is well-known that without U.S. and NATO assistance neither Por-

tures to bring peace and unity into the Congo.

What have been the changes in the Congo? Is Tshombe now the peoples' man, the hope of unity in the Congo as the Western press would have us believe? The evidence seems to point the other way.

Someone has said in an interview, "Tshombe is the only hope in Africa". But whose hope? The hope of Africa's millions or of imperialism? The answer is the speaker himself. He was one of thousands of mercenaries now roaming the unhappy land, pumping bullets into defenceless people. The speaker said further, "I reckon if he (Tshombe) can make it, the Congo is a good place to settle down. It's no good in Rhodesia any more." Nor is it good in the U.S. or any of the capitalist countries either for the exploited worker or for the capitalist who stands to lose by economic independence of Africa.

Hope of survival of the leaky system rests as always on Africa. "The Congo is a good place to settle down." This symbolizes the attitude of imperialism towards this

of poverty or of a broken home. But certainly he was one of the carousing listless men who were sent post-haste into the Congo, just a week after Tshombe's return.

Tshombe's return of course could not have been possible without imperialist machinations. But the speedy importation of the mercenaries demonstrates further that he had kept a constant touch with the gendarmerie through whom he brought a curse onto the Congo. For ever weaving evil webs with the forces of imperialism, Tshombe in exile entertained hopes of returning to the Congo.

The powers supporting him had kept the instruments of war with which he was to cease power at the ready. Although he finally returned without the use of force, it was clear from the start that he would never be accepted by the Congolese people save through suppression by military might.

His protestations of peace and conciliation during his days in Leopoldville were only a camouflage designed to lull the fears of the patriots who opposed him, while he was preparing for war. America

with its disgraceful record of unbroken chain of defeats and the glaring evidence of disorganisation, cowardice and inefficiency, was no match to the revolutionary forces led by Pierre Mulele and Gaston Soumialot. Help had to be sought and this help they could find only among the enemies of Africa, since their course was inimical to the best interests of Africa.

Entrusted by his masters with the task of finding the men who would fight for them, Tshombe and his "Security Council" relied on a character named Major Michael Hoare, a 44-year-old British ex-Chindit officer who fought for Tshombe in 1961 in his bid for secession. Hoare had been in touch with Tshombe all along and found it easy to trick him and his "Security Council" into awarding him a contract to supply the men needed. He lied to Tshombe that he had 200 men on the ready, while in fact he had only about 30.

With the authorisation to show, however, Hoare was indeed able to find the men. A few advertisements in South

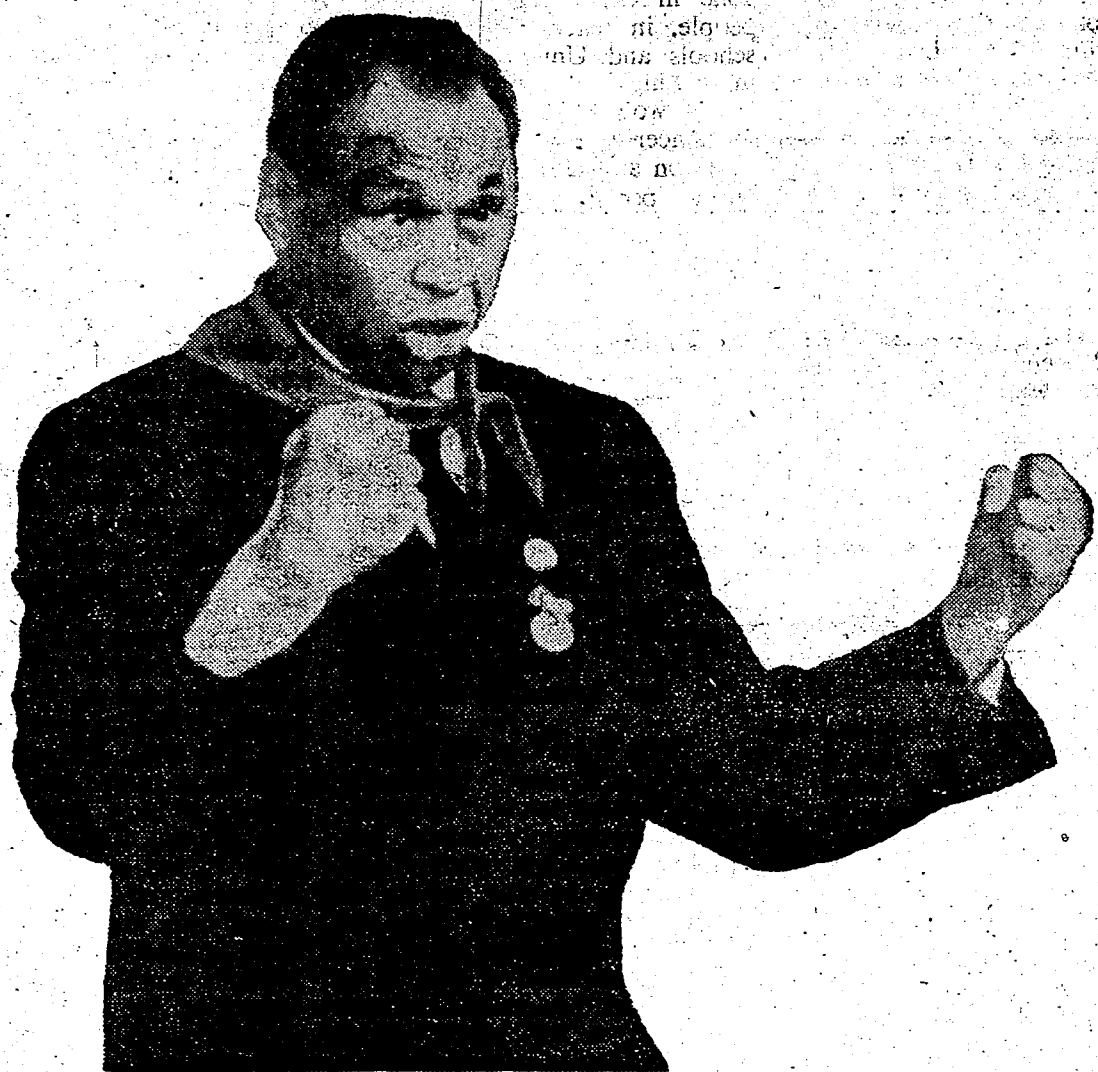


19th OCTOBER, MONDAY : NORTHERN RHODESIA : Speaking at a rally in Lusaka, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesian Prime Minister, declared that his country would follow the policy of non-alignment and would also adopt socialism after independence. U.A.R. Several people, including 10 women, alleged to have been involved in currency smuggling between Cairo, Kuwait and Beirut have been arrested by United Arab Republic customs police. They were alleged to have smuggled an estimated 45,000 Egyptian pounds, about £37,000, of which £12,000 had been confiscated by the police. MALI : President Modibo Keita of Mali arrived in Hanoi, Vietnam, by air today at the invitation of President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam. In reply to a welcome address, President Keita said the people of Mali would always stand behind the Vietnamese people and support their struggle against imperialism, for the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from South Vietnam and in realising the reunification of their Fatherland. 20th OCTOBER, THURSDAY : NIGERIA : Dr. Victor Allen, a British university lecturer, has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment on each of two charges at the Chief Magistrate Court in Lagos for attempting to jump bail and presenting a false certificate to immigration officials. Dr. Allen was awaiting judgment in another case together with three Nigerians for allegedly attempting to overthrow the Nigerian Government. NIGER : Four West African States bordering the Senegal River—Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea and Mali—have formed an organisation, with Guinea's Minister of Development, M. Ismael Toure, as President. The organisation will study and co-ordinate the development of the basin. Plans submitted by the four States include the building of four dams for irrigation purposes along the river. GHANA : Speaking at the Press Club in Accra, the resident representative of Popular Idea of Equatorial Guinea (I.P.G.E.), Mr. Jesus Mba Ovono said his country would wage a relentless war against the Spanish Colonialists, until independence is won within the shortest possible time. Mr. Ovono revealed that the unpopular Spanish regime headed by General Franco was increasingly intensifying its terrorist activities against the people of Equatorial Guinea. Mr. Ovono said the two main political parties in his country—the National Liberation Movement of Equatorial Guinea and the Popular Independence Movement of Equatorial Guinea—have now come together in a concerted effort to provide effective vanguard for the people's struggle to win independent Ghana. 21st OCTOBER, WEDNESDAY : GHANA : The Central Bureau of Statistics in an Economic Survey for 1963 issued in Accra

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Paul Robeson Writes . . . . .



OUR SONG

THE other day while I was out for a walk near my home here in New York, one of our folks—as it often happens—came over to pump my hand and said:

"Paul, it's good to see you; Man, where have you been, and what are you doing, and how are you feeling, and what have you got to say?"

We walked along together, chatting like old friends who haven't seen each other for a long time. While I was trying to answer all the man's questions, I recalled with an inward smile that the editors of many leading magazines have had their own long list of questions for reporters to ask me.

However, since my return home from Europe some eight months ago I have declined to give any interviews or to make any public statements.

RESTING

The fact is that I have been resting and recovering my health and strength after a rather prolonged illness.

But while I am not yet able to resume public life and activities, I think it is time that I said a few words about myself to the many persons who, like the friendly strangers in the street, have been wondering what has happened to me.

First, let me warmly thank all those who have expressed good wishes for my recovery; your kind concern has been the best of all medicines.

I am happy to say that I have regained the weight I had lost in my period of exhaustion, and I'm feeling better. My doctors assure me that I am on the road to recovery.

While I must continue my temporary retirement from public life, I am of course deeply involved with the great upsurge of our people.

Like all of you, my heart has been filled with admiration for the many thousands of Negro Freedom Fighters and their white associates who are waging the battle for civil rights throughout the country and especially in the South.

rights throughout the country and especially in the South.

SORROW AND WRATH

Along with the pride has been the great sorrow and righteous wrath we all shared when the evil forces of white supremacy brutally murdered Birmingham children and some of our finest heroes, like Medgar Evers and the three young men of Mississippi.

For me there has also been the sorrow that I have felt on returning home and experiencing the loss of persons who for many long years were near and dear to me—my beloved elder brother, the Rev. Benjamin C. Robeson, who passed away while I was gone; and my longtime colleague and co-worker Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, foremost statesman and scholar of our people, who died last year in Ghana.

And now has come deep grief at the death of Ben Davis, a precious friend whose indomitable courage and dedication to the fight for freedom has always been a glowing inspiration for me.

Many thousands gone... but we, the living, are more firmly resolved: "No more driver's lash for me!" The dedicated lives of all who have fallen in our long up-hill march shall be fulfilled, for truly "We shall overcome."

The issue of Freedom Now for Afro-Americans has become the main issue confronting this nation, and the peoples of the whole world are looking to see it finally resolved.

When I wrote in my book *Here I Stand* in 1958 that "the time is now", some people thought that perhaps my watch was fast (and maybe it was a little), but most of us seem to be running on the same time—now.

A REALITY

The "power of Negro action", of which I then wrote, has changed from an idea to a reality that is manifesting itself throughout our land.

The concept of mass militancy, or mass action is no longer deemed "too radical" in Negro life.

The idea that black Americans should see that the fight for a "free world" begins at home—a shocking idea when expressed in Paris in 1949—no longer is challenged in our communities.

The "long hot summer" as struggle for equal rights has replaced the cold war abroad as the concern of our people.

It is especially heartening for me to see the active and often heroic part that leading Negro artists—singers, actors, writers, comedians, musicians—are playing today in the freedom struggle.

Today it is the Negro artist who does not speak out who is considered to be out-of-line, and even the white audiences have largely come around to accepting the fact that the Negro artist is, and has every right to be, quite "controversial".

HEARTENING

Yes, it is good to see all these transformations. It is heartening to see that despite all differences in programme and personalities among Negro leadership the concept of a united front of all forces and viewpoints is gaining ground.

There is more, much more, that needs to be done, of course, before we can reach our goals.

But if we cannot as yet sing: "Thank God Almighty, we're free at last," we surely can all sing together: "Thank God Almighty, we're moving!"

assets of £71 million, has been from royalties paid by the copper producers.

ROYALTIES

After paying the Northern Rhodesian Government a 20 per cent tax, the Company received £80 million in mining royalties, rents and fees between 1956 and 1963. Dividends distributed to shareholders last year amounted to £8,140,000, compared with £1,210,000 in 1948.

In 1962 Copperbelt royalties to the B.S.A. Co. totalled £20,970,000—more than the state budget expenditure.

Zambia is now to appropriate these royalties, a settlement not having been reached. The Company wanted at least £15 million compensation. Zambia offered a token payment of £2 million and said that as the British Government, on a number of occasions, had guaranteed the Company's position, then Britain should make up any difference.

HARD UP

Coming on the eve of the General Election, this was enough to give Lord Dhorner, the Lord Chancellor, a popple—and he said "No". The B.S.A. Co. has been di-

A call to the African Youth

continued from page 4

tion about our brothers and sisters of the other parts of the continent. We shall know of their problems and how they set about them. Through this same process we shall be in the position to help with suggestions and directions whenever necessary. It will also afford us the opportunity to learn from each other's mistakes and move as a body against our common foes—racism and exploitation.

Apart from the information on current affairs this reading habit will help us to have an insight into how our brothers think and why they reason that way. This alone may go a long way to bridge some of the sharp rifts between our leaders because much of the difficulties confronting the O.A.U. now is due to lack of understanding as a result of different colonial backgrounds breeding diverse ways of reasoning. For example, French imperialism destroyed chieftaincy and adopted a policy of assimilation creating an elite class of evolve who are more or less French citizens and so look to France as their Motherland. On the other hand the English preserved chieftaincy and employed a system of indirect rule. This in short explains why some of our leaders still choose to lean on to their former masters thus paying lip service to African Unity.

We cannot superimpose this unity on disagreement. We have to build it up from scratch and when completed it must be capable of standing the test of time. We shall achieve this by laying a strong fraternal foundation among our people in trying to understand one another.

The African Revolution must succeed. Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique and Angola must cease. Ian Smith and Hendrick Verwoerd have to admit the short-

comings of their racist regimes, and Moise Tshombe will remember that he is an African whether assimilated or not, and the strife-torn Congo will be brought under control. The next summit of Heads of African States and Governments will come out with a real continental government based upon scientific socialism, the only suitable economic system for Africa.

This great assignment lies squarely on the shoulders of the youth, our hope for the future. The clarion call today therefore is a solemn one coloured with a sense of mission, sacrifice and dedication for them to remember their Motherland in the days of their youth when the evil days come not.

The role of the youth in nation building has been

stressed by many world leaders and philosophers including Plato, J. J. Rousseau, King Chaka, V. Lenin, and Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who said, "Place the young at the head of the awakening masses. You may not know what strength or magic influence the voice of the young have on the crowd. You may find in them apostles of the new social order, but the young live on movement grows great by emulation: Speak to them of country, of glory and of great memories."

The various youth movements of Africa should therefore be proud of this worldwide recognition given them and endeavour to steer all their activities towards the full realisation of the great hopes of their dear Motherland.

By TETTEH AMAKWATA

Who robs Zambia?

Continued from page 2

These negotiations took place in 1950, and a Labour Colonial Secretary A. Creech Jones, signed an agreement on September 14th, with the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the British South Africa Co., that the Company should "continue in undisturbed enjoyment, as now, of the mineral rights owned by the Company in Northern Rhodesia, until the 1st day of October 1986."

In return for that, the Company assigned 20 per cent of its revenue from mineral royalties to Northern Rhodesia, retaining the other 80 per cent "for its own benefit". Although no African was

invited to say anything about it, dear old H.M.G. bound any future government responsible for Northern Rhodesia "to observe the provisions of this Agreement".

THE LAST CHEQUE

But Zambia says "enough is enough". The Company is now drawing royalties of more than £7 million a year after tax, and after taxes over the years has received more than £70 million.

In a country where the average income per head is £50 a year, and not much more than £10 in the rural areas, such a situation is a knife in the country's heart and their September cheque is likely to be the Company's last.

Who Robs Zambia!  
The £SD of the  
Copper Business

NORTHERN Rhodesia has become an independent Republic within the Commonwealth under a new name, Zambia, the old African name for the territory. Colonies are noted for disproportion in their economies since their principal purpose is to supply the "mother country" with large quantities of raw materials and foodstuffs. But Zambia is outstanding: more than 90 per cent of its export values comes from copper.

Its output accounts for one-quarter of all the copper smelted in the world. It is sufficient to meet the needs of the Commonwealth, and leave some over for export elsewhere.

TWO GIANTS

This vast wealth is controlled by British, South African and United States capital, interlocked in two giant firms: Rhodesian Selection Trust (R.S.T.) and the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa (A.A.C.). Each has three mines on the Copperbelt which extends

along the frontier with the Congo (Leopoldville) and beyond. On the Congo side, the copper is exploited by the Belgian monopoly Union Minière, but the main mines are on the Zambia side. The Zambia Copperbelt is seventy-five miles long and about twenty-five miles wide.

The R.S.T. mines are Mufulira, Roan Antelope, and Chibuluma. The A.A.C. mines are Nkana, Nchanga and Bancroft. The A.A.C. operates on the Copperbelt through its subsidiaries, Rhodesian Anglo American, and the Rhokana Corporation.

Cross-profits last year: Rhodesian Anglo American, £29,389,000; Rhokana Corporation, £7,651,000; Rhodesian Selection Trust, £17,420,000.

Copper was worked for centuries in Central Africa on a primitive scale. The Zambia deposits were discovered by a European by accident in 1902, but commercial exploitation did not start until 1931 when the Roan Antelope mine at Luanshya was opened.

It was followed by Nkana in 1932, Mufulira in 1933, Nchanga in 1939, Chibuluma in 1956, and Bancroft in 1957.

R.S.T. is now developing a seventh copper mine, Chambishi, at a cost of £7,500,000.

Two other big British companies are vitally interested in the Copperbelt: the British South Africa Company, and Tanganyika Concessions.

The main revenue of the British South Africa Company, founded by Cecil Rhodes, which presently has

versifying, with property in British Columbia, and aluminium in Australia, in addition to its investment in South African gold mining, and U.S. and Italian industry, and forests, farms, property and prospecting in the Rhodesias.

So share prices have not fluctuated violently and there is no reason to feel sorry for the "widows and orphans", although one shareholder, Mr. Peter Bishop of Earl's Court, London, wrote to the Times on October 14th:

"Shareholders of the British South Africa Company would never agree to give away the royalties. Zambia may be hard up, but so are many of the shareholders."

Tanganyika Concessions (known in the City as "Tanks") has a 90 per cent stake in the Benguela Railway which transports copper from the Copperbelt of Zambia and the Congo through Angola to Lobito on the Atlantic coast. It also has—notoriously—a 14.5 per cent stake in Union Minière.

The Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, with headquarters in Johannesburg, is a giant among giants. It is headed by Harry Oppenheimer, the South African mineral magnate. He is a director both of the B.S.A. Co. and of Tanganyika Concessions.

A ROTHSCHILD

The B.S.A. Co. President P.V. Emrys-Evans, is a director of A.A.C.; Lord Salisbury, the former Colonial Secretary, was a director of the B.S.A. Co. until April 1961, but has retained his financial interests, and two B.S.A. Co. subsidiaries are named after him.

The B.S.A. Co. has a £5,500,000 holding in Rio Tinto Zinc, the Anglo-Australian Canadian mining giant. In turn, Rio Tinto Zinc has "substantial interests" in Nchanga and Rhokana Cor-

poration. Emrys-Evans is on the R.S.T. board, along with a Rothschild, Lord Bailleu, and six knights.

The Chairman of Rhodesian Selection Trust is Sir Ronald Prain. He is also a director of the Rhodesian board of Barclays Bank, D.C.O. the largest bank in the Commonwealth, and of Wankie Colliery. The R.S.T. group employs some 20,000 African workers at its three mines and at its refinery at Ndola.

And what do the Copperbelt workers earn? Recent statistics of the Chamber of Mines calculate an average of European salaries and African wages together, so the figure is misleading.

Thus, the Chamber claims that in 1962, the total earnings of all the 46,394 Copperbelt employees averaged £556. But this breaks down into less favourable figures: the average annual earnings of monthly paid employees were £1,253, of skilled employees £604, and of unskilled employees £207. The earnings include leave pay, overtime, bonuses, and cost-of-living allowances.

THREE-WEEK STRIKE

Before the great three-week strike of May 1962, which gained a considerable pay increase, African wages were 10 per cent of European. In 1961, 5,000 European miners earned £14 million, while 37,000 Africans earned only £6 million.

It has been deliberate policy to prevent too many Africans acquiring skills. At Roan Antelope, only 5 per cent of the skilled and supervisory jobs are held by Africans, compared with 32 per cent of the semi-skilled and junior supervisory jobs, and 65 per cent of the unskilled jobs.

The African Government has assured the producing Companies that they have "nothing to fear". But no country can achieve true independence while its natural wealth is exploited by foreign capital.



# Concept of Ownership

Continued from page 3

in many parts of our continent. It goes, without saying, therefore, that in advocating communal farming one is not trying to introduce an alien idea.

The ardent desire of every human being is to enjoy life, and this means living comfortably. In Africa, the greatest need is to achieve this comfort. This means that whatever we do, our goal is to achieve a rising standard in living, so that instead of the peasant eating a chicken only when either he or the chicken is sick he will be assured of one (or any other kind of meat) all the time. Therefore, the aim is to increase his income and hence his purchasing power. We want also to make sure that the future for both the living and the unborn is secure and promising, so that instead of the parents sacrificing everything and living on a semi-starvation diet in order to ensure their children a better future, it will be possible for them to entrust the society as a whole with this duty—a responsibility which is well-known and accepted by every African society. Similarly, we want to make sure that whatever happens, when someone falls sick he is not out of reach of either the hospital or the doctor. But since land is our biggest asset, it means that we can only succeed in defeating poverty, ignorance and disease, if we adopt a most productive use of it—and after the foregoing intensive discussion, I have chosen to suggest.

This I think, could work very well in Africa, because when closely examined, it will pass all the five criteria enumerated above, i.e., economic efficiency, provision of employment, regard of social values fit in with overall economic development and the ensuring of a rising standard of living.

It could also fit in well with our present social structure based on clans and extended families in whom land is usually vested. Professor Lewis wrote that this system of communal farming could

"work very well if the partners are not numerous; especially if they are related to each other or linked by mutual sympathy" (p. 64).

On the question of working as a group he wrote:

"Group work has its advantages, especially for people living on the margin of subsistence...for them each helps the other, and there may be a mutual protection or insurance in working together. It is quite common for peasants to form working parties to work each other's land, helping each other to build houses, or to clear the land or to harvest. But this form of organisation depends for its continuance on strong ties of group loyalty, resting in kinship." (p. 66).

Commenting on the advantages of a large unit, i.e. economic efficiency, he writes:

"Large scale agricultural operations are more efficient and show more rapid economic growth than small scale operations, if there is economy in mechanical cultivation, or in large scale control of irrigation, of seeds, of disease precautions, of processing or of marketing."

The question of efficient farming and increased productivity will also depend not only on the degree of good management, mechanisation etc., but also on the ability to raise capital for investment in the farm. Hitherto, and probably for a very long time to come, very few African farmers will be able to afford even a bullock plough, so that even if they had vested in them absolute ownership of

their small plots, they would nevertheless be unable to acquire the necessary capital. Miss Martin pointed out that, although as has been stated before, "the magic of property turns sand into gold", and that "give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock and he will turn it into a golden...", experience has nevertheless proved that:

"It is unfortunately true that a system of ownership lacks any guarantee that the farmer will be able to raise the capital that he needs and whose investment in the farm would benefit the community as a whole." (p.143).

One of the major socio-economic problems which have to be minimised as Africa transforms from a primarily agricultural economy to an industrialised one, is to regulate the movement of labour from the rural areas to the industrial urban cities. This, a communal type of farming, could help to minimise because once it has been well organised, it would provide employment and a steady source of income to many people who, although they would prefer life in the countryside might, nevertheless, be attracted to towns by the better economic prospects.

Generally speaking, African social values of freedom, dignity and democracy, are based on egalitarianism and communal life. It does not, therefore, call for any further evidence to prove that communal farming would not only strengthen and deepen these concepts but also through it the common man would be able to take a more active part in the affairs of his own country and society. In this way, we would be able to avoid the travesty of political democracy which is practised in the so-called "free world", where a poor man's vote merely gives him a choice of candidates

and policies which may be good enough for the largest corporations, but mean nothing for him—i.e. we would avoid fraudulent and corruptive "democracy".

The part which agriculture plays in the overall economic development of a country has already been fully discussed. Let us also emphasise that this communalism is the only effective means of self-help which African can adopt smoothly and peacefully. It would certainly hasten our economic, social and political progress. Moreover, by regrouping ourselves into properly planned and designed villages, other advantages, besides agricultural ones would include a cheaper and more effective provision of social services and utilities (e.g. health centres, schools, roads, water and electricity). The provision of such infrastructure is the basis of any economic development, and the part communalism could play is well illustrated by Mr. P. P. Agarwal (as quoted Dr. Hanson, p.318):

"First of all the Co-operative Organisation in a community can assist land survey party in collecting the relevant information. It can represent the community for signing the collective agreement with the power supply undertaking for obtaining the supply for the community and in its turn can sign agreements with individual consumers.

It can make available to the consumer the electrical appliances meant for processing agricultural products on hire purchase basis and train people in their proper and scientific use. The Co-operative can help in seeking markets for the products of the small scale and cottage industries coming up in the community due to electrification..."

After this, the prospects of a rising standard of living becomes self-evident.

Regarding the ability to lack of capital, Miss Edith Weatham writes:

"The problem of ensuring efficient land use is closely connected both with the supply of capital and its effective investment, and with the size of the farm. It is the poor farmer who is most likely to 'min' the soil in a desperate search for quick returns, and it is his farm which is most likely to be divided amongst the heirs on his death, since there will be no cash reserves from which one heir may compensate the others." (p. 150).

While depression in the whole economy might also bring the same results.

From this detailed discussion, we should no longer be in any doubt about the feasibility and economic advantages of a communal system of agricultural farming. In fact, many countries have benefited from it. Whether it is the Gajira Scheme in Sudan, the Co-operative farms in Egypt and Southern Italy, or Denmark, the collectives in socialist countries, or the Kibbutz in Israel—both individuals and the society benefit.

In Africa, we could organise communal farming on a village basis. Let a group of villages (if they are too small) or members of one large village be persuaded to concentrate their dwellings along a village road—for example, where they might own private individual plots for their own use—and let them communally farm the rest of the land as one large operational unit. In the case of areas like Kenya, it would be much more effective and beneficial to let land taken from the white settlers and foreign companies, be farmed on a communal basis by the former "labour" force on the particular farm, as has been done in Algeria, rather than parcel it up in small and uneconomic plots of five or even ten acres each. Because, whereas

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 as has already been pointed out, it might affect adversely the soil fertility.

The rest of the land should be farmed by the state as has already been discussed, so that we at least minimise the present under-utilisation of our land through leaving it idle.

However, it is probably fit to re-emphasise that, as has already been stated above, the success or failure of the communal system depends entirely on how much work is done in explaining it to the people, in teaching it at our schools and Universities, and in making it our way of life. A lot would also depend on the sincerity and genuineness; devotion and understanding of all the people who would be entrusted with its execution.

We all want to see a progressive Africa, but such an Africa will depend entirely on our willingness to sacrifice the present for the future, and on our readiness to accept changes—however drastic—as long as they point to what we consider to be the right direction.

We cannot eat our cake and have it.

Finally, let us remember that the African land belongs to the dead, the living and the unborn. This means that our fore-fathers, having appreciated the importance of land vis-a-vis the community, made sure that rather than let it benefit the "privileged few", it should be owned and used in such a manner as to meet the needs of each and every member of the community.

Hence, as we their successors are the living, we are duty-bound to fulfill our trusteeship in the interests of our "unborn" by readopting communalism—a system bequeathed to us by the dead for our own good and for the good of posterity.

## OBITUARY

### DESMOND BUCKLE

Mr. Desmond Buckle the veteran Ghanaian journalist, writer and political economist, died in St. Anne's hospital in London on October 25th at the age of 54. He played a prominent part in the Pan-African movement in Europe. He was also one of the first of the enlightened African intellectuals to become a Marxist.

Mr. Buckle who was born in Accra went to Britain at the age of ten. He was educated at Truro College, Cornwall. In his youth he was a keen and expert cricketer and football player and turned down an offer to turn professional. Desmond's student days were among the period of the fascist offensive in Europe which culminated in the victory of nazism in Hitler Germany and fascism in Mussolini's Italy.

At the same time the determined and resolute opponents of fascism proved to be the Communist parties of Europe with the mighty Soviet Union (then the lone socialist state in the world) at their head. It was therefore not surprising that the young Desmond decided to join the ranks of the revolutionary intellectuals who fought first against fascism and secondly against imperialism. Among those who fought against the first German and Italian fascist onslaught on Republican Spain in the years 1936-1938 were Desmond Buckle in his capacity as a gifted journalist. Among his British comrades who fell in glory to fascist bullets were three equally gifted young British intellectuals namely:—Christopher Cardwell, John Cornford and David Guest.

During the 2nd. World War, Desmond worked actively in the civil defence in the Victoria district of London where he lived. With the victory of freedom and democracy over fascism in 1945 Desmond intensified his anti-imperialist and socialist activities among the British and other colonial peoples then resident in Britain. As a life-member of the West African Students Union, Desmond worked tirelessly for the victory of the first post-war Labour Government.

Desmond Buckle identified himself actively with all the African and West African students and workers' organisations in Britain that fought for African freedom and independence, and campaigned for racial equality, tolerance, for socialism and world peace. Always self-effacing and unassuming Desmond was a typical example of the "back-room boy". He was efficient and meticulous in his work. In a tribute to Desmond, Palme Dutt describes him as a man whose "knowledge was encyclopaedic and his activity tireless."

Hundreds of young African students who went to study in Britain both during and after the 2nd World War, benefited immensely from the unrivalled knowledge of Britain and British conditions which Desmond knew and possessed so intimately.

After the establishment of the World Federation of Trades Union in London in August, 1945, Desmond Buckle became first a member of its Council and later a member of its Executive Committee. He later represented abroad the African Trade Unions of Transvaal, South Africa.

Desmond Buckle travelled widely in Europe and was

always a distinguished guest at numerous international youth students' and workers' festivals and congresses. Among his great and distinguished friends and compatriots are our own Kwame Nkrumah. Others were the late Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and the famous Afro-American actor and singer Paul Roberson.

Desmond Buckle's whole life was devoted to the total liberation of Africa from imperialism and unification under one continental government committed to the establishment of socialism. In his later years Desmond concentrated his activities on journalism. He worked up till his death with the Tass Agency in London. The Editor of 'The Spark' saw him at St. Anne's hospital few hours before he died. Desmond though in mortal pain talked about the new Africa, about the problems of African Unity, socialism and was proud of the glorious path that his beloved Ghana under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party is blazing for Africa. He talked of the unfinished book on the African struggle that he was still writing and his pleasant visit to Algeria about a year ago.

By the death of Desmond Buckle, Africa and particularly the African Revolutionary movement has lost a stalwart and courageous fighter. He was a man of the highest integrity, revolutionary, intellectual and internationalist who loved his country and Africa. His many friends and acquaintances in Africa, Europe, Asia and the Americas will miss the serene and re-assuring face of Desmond Buckle.

## Desmond Buckle on the African Struggle

One of the important of epoch-making developments in the years since the Second World War is the awakening of hundreds of millions of mankind in the countries for so long under imperialist domination. Nowhere has this been more striking or more remarkable than in Africa, long regarded as the "Dark Continent". The upsurge of the African peoples following so closely in the wake of the

successful liberation struggles of the Asian and Middle Eastern peoples confronted imperialism with a new and severe crisis. It threatened the imperialist strangle-hold on the one continent which the imperialist considered their last preserve—"a continent left in reserve by God". For many long years Africa has remained largely undeveloped; the imperialists have deemed it only

necessary to take the barest technical measures calculated to ensure a constant flow of cheap raw materials to the factories of Europe and America.

Today the peoples of Africa are determined not only to secure their political freedom but to extend and consolidate it by achieving also their economic independence.

'The Spark', Dec. 22, 1962.



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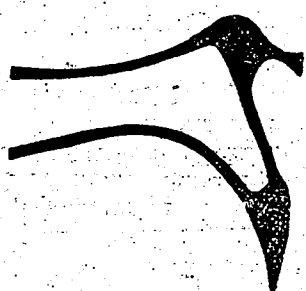


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# The 1964 British Elections

AFTER 13 years of Tory rule Britain now has a Labour Government. It has a majority of only four over the Tories and Liberals combined. Harold Wilson, the youngest British Prime Minister of this century, has led his Party to a victory fraught with complex problems for the future of the working class movement of Britain.

The election has been described as 'one without an issue'. Perhaps more accurately it was one in which the major Parties conspired to keep the issues away from the electors. Fundamental questions about Britain's future were carefully avoided by them.

The political basis and the enormous cost of so-called defence never emerged as an election issue. The Tories attacked Labour's intention of giving up the nuclear bomb and relying on the United States possession of it but the differences on this are superficial. Everybody knows that Britain has no means of delivering the bomb without U.S. permission, the Tories hang on to it for prestige and chauvinist reasons and on this issue they tried to lay claim to a monopoly of patriotism. The domination of Britain's foreign and 'defence' policy by the United States, Britain's membership of N.A.T.O. never came into question, in spite of the valiant attempts of Communist candidates to

bring this to the fore. Labour proposed no basic changes in foreign policy and the U.S. State Department has contemplated the possibility of Labour's election with equanimity.

Britain's role in the world politics therefore, was never debated and the electorate was firmly guided to concentrate all its attentions on domestic issues.

Housing, pensions, education, are rightly important to ordinary people, but Britain's expenditure of £2,000 million per annum on arms, her overseas colonial commitments and her support of the U.S. policy actually cost the British workers money which could be spent on schools, on houses,

on hospitals and on pensions.

A positive peace policy pursued independently of the United States and other imperialist countries would enable Britain to solve her social problems which are acute. The Communist Party has this cut in arms expenditure as a central policy issue, but with only 36 candidates and its exclusion from television by a Tory-Labour-Liberal carve up of the time among themselves, this policy reached only a small minority of voters.

Labour called for an extensive social programme. It was described by the Tories as 'a menu without prices' and the pertinent question was where was the money to come from. Failing cuts in arms, the answer provided by Labour was 'economic planning'.

Economic planning however, turns out to be a number of new Ministers and appointments of people with special responsibilities, but no central attack on the commanding heights of the economy. The Tory established National Economic Development Council is to be used to try to ensure a 4% increase in productivity. The political steps necessary to ensure such an increase, not yet reached are unclear. Labour will appeal to the workers to sacrifice, but they have not shown how they will force the capitalists to freeze their profits and dividends. Already the bosses are saying that they regard profits as sacred and that the Government should give tax and other relief to enable them to extend their operations. To plan Britain's shaky economy through the National Economic Development Council is to plan for failure. Only a thorough going attack on the powerful heart of the capitalist economy will guarantee increased production and prosperity.

The election campaign held special interest because there were new leaders for the Labour and Tory parties. Wilson had already taken decisive steps at the Labour Party Conference a year ago to establish himself firmly as the leader. His past reputation as a Left and his temporary tactical withdrawal from inner Party struggles between right and left, had strengthened his claim for leadership on the unexpected death of Gaitskell.

His election appeared initially as a minor defeat for the right, though they retained the key positions in the Shadow Cabinet. The Left hailed his election as their victory and their subsequent passivity in response to appeals for Party unity before the General Election has meant that Labour's policy has not provided the real alternative to the Tories. If they continue this passive policy of waiting to see what Wilson will do there will be a severe disillusionment and possibly rapid defeat for the Labour Government.

Sir Alec Home, arch-reactionary, Munichite and scion of an ancient aristocratic house, came over as a mere gentlemanly amateur in contrast to Wilson whose efficiency and grasp of political questions was undoubtedly impressive. The two performances on television and at public meetings certainly helped the British Press into thinking that a landslide for Labour was inevitable. After the poll on October 15th, the British public settled down to watch the results come in over television, expecting a respectable Labour majority at least.

The pundits forecast 30 as the first results came in; as the night advanced the lead dimi-

nished and Mr. Wilson now faces the House of Commons with a lead of four.

The Government has only a minority of the total votes cast in the election. This is a normal though curious feature of a so-called democracy. The North of England swung to Labour as did the South-East, including London. The rest of the country stayed Tory. To Smethwick in the Midlands goes the dubious honour of the dirtiest campaign probably ever fought in modern political history. Patrick Gordon Walker was defeated by the Tory as a result of a racist campaign against immigration. The grievances of backward elements were played on and the blame placed on the immigrants for social problems which are in fact the direct result of Tory policies. The Tory Party never repudiated this blatantly racist and chauvinistic policy of its candidates who expressed what many Tories really believe. They surely belong ideologically to the fascist thugs who provoked the Notting Hill riots.

Fenner Brockway, for long associated with the movement for colonial freedom, honour-ed for his fight against the Immigration Bill and for his efforts to make racial discrimination illegal, was defeated by 12 votes.

This is an ominous and dangerous trend. The people of Africa will look to the Labour Government to repeal the Immigration Act, make race discrimination illegal and conduct a vigorous campaign against fascists and racials.

The Wilson team must break away from colonial policies pursued by previous Labour Governments and set out, alongside the national liberation movements, to smash imperialism and all its manifestations.

Africa has the right to expect certain other measures to be taken by a Labour Government.

South Africa looms large on Labour's horizons. Wilson as Leader of the Opposition pledged that all arms shipments to South Africa would stop. This would be good, but not enough. The present regime can be brought down by a ban on its trade and the Labour Government must face up to this. It means challenging the right of British capitalism to continue its relations with the Verwoerd regime. On such a principal question there can be no get outs however difficult the tackling of this problem may be and Africa looks to the Labour Government to take this step. Such a policy would drive right to the heart of capitalist and imperialist relations and would be a test case as to who is to govern Britain... the capitalist class or the elected Government.

The United Nations resolution on colonialism still stands, unimplemented. The Labour Government must respond to its principles and its call for action here and now. The admission of China to the United Nations too is an outstanding question, not because this country has exploded an atom bomb, but because for 15 years millions have been excluded from the councils of the world to assist imperialism in hanging on to its majority in the U.N. Britain must defy the United States and insist on this being done and at the same time recognise the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

Southern Rhodesia will be the test of Labour's sincerity towards the people of Africa and Anthony Greenwood, a left, who now replaces Sandys can make a great contribution if he tackles the problem as a genuine socialist should on the principle of one man one vote and an end to minority domination. Appointed to the new post for Overseas Development is Mrs. Barbara

Castle, also known as a sincere fighter in the ranks of the Labour Movement for Colonial Freedom and against Apartheid. The term Development or Aid can cover a multitude of things and we know from our experience that this is a term behind which neo-colonialism hides and that such aid reflects the aims of the economic and social systems of the donors.

Will Mrs. Castle see the necessity for assisting the peoples of the developing countries to throw off imperialist economic relations? If she does it will entail a challenge to those same powerful monopolies which dominate the economic life of Britain as well as of many other African and Asian countries. Real aid and development must smash the power of the Unilevers, the Imperials Chemical Industries, the oil firms and the banking and finance Corporations who have sucked out the wealth of our countries and who control Britain too.

This is Labour's basic dilemma. To modernise Britain, capitalism must be smashed. With the decline of British imperialism sharper economic problems face the British Government. Labour takes over in the midst of a severe balance of payments problem.

So far the role of Labour Governments, admittedly few, has been to take over in times of acute crisis and on the basis of its mass support from the working class, tide the capitalists over their crisis, only to get pushed out by the Tories.

The British people and Labour Movement still have to face up to the central question of political power, the question of who really owns Britain and in whose interests it functions. Until the British people and especially the Labour Movement see that a majority in Parliament is not the same thing as political power, that there can be a Labour majority but that capitalism still dominates Britain including the Government, there will be no decisive change.

Until Labour shakes off its petty-bourgeois ideology and adopts a scientific socialist outlook the stability of Britain will always be in question. Until then, the only organised force presenting the fundamental alternatives.

In spite of Mrs. Castle's appointment the danger of neo-colonialism looms large and there are forces in some

African countries who, unable to co-operate with neo-colonialism when it was peddled by Home and Sandys will be only too anxious to use the Labour Government as a convenient fig leaf to hide their compromises and subterfuges. Of course the African people can deal with that problem but the future of the struggle can be made less complex to degree that Labour is capable, if it wills, of combining with progressive anti-imperialist forces throughout the world.

It is good that the Tories have been defeated; it is tragic that they have not been decisively defeated. The slender majority will enable right wing apologists to plead that the Labour Government has no mandate for thorough going changes. If the Labour Movement will certainly surge back into office with the bastions of capitalism unaffected. Wilson has announced that they will govern; they can only survive in the long run if they identify themselves with and govern in the interests of national liberation, peace and socialism. The next few weeks will indicate the trend of events and the people of Africa will be attentive observers.

As a result 74 missionaries—both Congolese and foreigners were rounded up and brought to Mr. Gbenye at Stanleyville as prisoners.

Mr. Gbenye realised the mistake and apologised to the Fathers and authorised them to leave the Upper-Congo capital.

**KENYA:** Speaking over the Kenya Television, the Afro-American Muslim leader, Mr. Malcolm X, attacked the United States Civil Rights Act as propaganda, saying that there were still little protection for Afro-Americans in the United States. Mr. Malcolm said, he did not see much to choose from between the Republican candidate, Mr. Barry Goldwater and U.S. President Lyndon Johnson.

**23rd OCTOBER, FRIDAY:** **KENYA:** Speaking in the House of Representatives during a discussion on legislation providing for the referendum on the proposed constitutional changes, Mr. Tom Mboya, Kenya's Justice and Constitutional Minister, suggested that the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) should discuss with the governing Kenya African National Union (KANU) the proposed constitutional changes to save the country from the cost of a referendum.

## African Diary

Continued from page 5

says the total volume of Ghana's external trade last year increased by £7.47 million or 3.2 per cent on the 1962 volume of £231.78 million.

The figure for last year was £239.25 million.

\* A congratulatory message has been sent by Kwame Nkrumah to Premier Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, on the occasion of "Kenya Day" celebrations, marking the twelfth anniversary of the Kenya leader's arrest by the colonialists during the struggle for independence.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The New British Government has rejected the plan of Ian Smith, the Southern Rhodesian white settler Prime Minister for testing majority opinion on independence for the territory.

The Commonwealth Relations Office in London announced that the British Government had told Ian Smith that it was not satisfied that his plan would adequately reflect the opinion of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

**U.A.R.:** A Ministry of Economics official in Cairo has said that the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) has decided to convene the next session of its economic and social committee in Cairo on December 12.

Representatives from 35 O.A.U.-member states are expected to attend the meeting.

**NIGERIA:** Mr. Olu-Jones Omokowaju, Minister of Agriculture in Western Nigeria Government has resigned.

In a letter to Chief S. L. Akintola, Western Nigeria Premier, Mr. Omokowaju recalled that he was in hospital when the N.N.D.P. was formed and he Omokowaju was made a Minister and his name associated with the party.

**BASUTOLAND:** A public order, giving powers to the resident British Commissioner in Basutoland has been proclaimed following disorders in which four people died last week.

The incident occurred at Potho, when members of the Basutoland Congress Party were ambushed by other people.

**MOZAMBIQUE:** The Mozambique liberation front (FRELIMO) has solemnly proclaimed the general armed insurrection

of Mozambique people against Portuguese colonialism for the attainment of complete independence of Mozambique" in a proclamation to the Mozambique People which was dated September 25.

**22nd OCTOBER, THURSDAY:** **NIGERIA:** Nigeria's major political parties were expected to meet in Lagos to discuss the conduct of the forthcoming general election to the 312-member House of Representatives.

This decision was taken at a meeting attended last week by Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Federal Prime Minister and the four Regional Premiers.

**CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE):** Mr. Christophe Gbenye, President of the People's Republic of the Congo with headquarters at Stanleyville has ordered his guerrilla troops not to kill foreign mercenaries but bring them alive to him at Stanleyville. Mr. Gbenye's words transmitted by radio-telephone were misunderstood by some guerrilla leaders who thought he said "missionaries" not "mercenaries".

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## EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

Of course the effects are not all one way. Events outside the United States influence events within that country. Because capitalism is a world system the activities of its strongest Government will necessarily have world wide repercussions, likewise the activities of anti-imperialist forces will affect its activities within its own borders.

The success of the liberation movements in the African continent bears directly on the movement of the Afro-American peoples for equal civil rights. They have drawn inspiration from the successes of their African brothers and the existence of new African states lends political force to their demands on a world scale. In the same way the existence of socialist states and their consistent support for peoples fighting for their freedom have helped the liberation movements and sections of the people in the metropolitan countries.

The world peace movement combined with the diplomatic offensive for peace and disarmament of the Socialist Governments have revealed to some sections of the American people the need to fight against the insane nuclear policies of their own Governments, this has given them strength and the consciousness of allies outside their own country.

It therefore follows that all those who desire to see changes in the United States need to understand the differences between the two candidates and what objectively they represent, while at the same time recognising that even in the desired event of a Johnson victory, basic political problems remain.

We in Africa have a role to play in influencing future developments. The increasing success of our national liberation movements, the strengthening of the fight against neo-colonialism on a world scale, will in turn assist the struggle for civil rights within the U.S.A. If the African states follow a determined policy of positive non-alignment and refusal to be forced up behind imperialist policies they will help to transform the United Nations, at present dominated by the United States, into a really representative and progressive world organisation. (One of the first steps in this process must be the admission of China to the United Nations).

The current U.S. elections emphasise the need for the alliance on a world scale of all anti-imperialist forces. The Socialist world, the national liberation movements, the working and progressive classes in the capitalist countries have a basic unity of interest because their advances and even their existences are threatened by a dying but dangerous system of imperialism whose outstanding representative is the United States of America.

The finest elements of the American people look to the growth and strengthening of anti-imperialist forces as one of the pre-conditions for their own development. They will resolve their own problems, they will win their battle for democratic rights and for peace and socialism in their own way, but they will win it in a particular world context, not in isolation from it. Soon the die will be cast and the American President elected. We hope for the defeat of Goldwater, but we also hope for the day, not too far distant, when the American electorate will have the basic and fundamental choice between two ways of life, two social and political systems and set out on the road to real democracy, peace and Socialism.