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An Open Letter to the U.S. Special Representative in Africa

So, Mr. Williams, if you in fact mean what

you say...

Dear Mr. Mennen Williams,

YOU were welcome to Ghana, but frankly speaking, Mr. Williams, we wish you would practise what you preach. We wish your deeds matched your words.

We find it hard to credit what you say about America's support for peace and freedom when we see what is happening in Vietnam, where the rich and powerful United States is waging a savage colonial-type war thousands of miles from its own shores against an Asian people who cannot conceivably constitute any threat to America and whose sole desire is to

decide their own future free from foreign interference.

What is more, we learn from Senator Wayne Morse that your government has prepared "Special Warfare Handbooks" ready for intervention in Ghana and a number of other African countries.

SECOND CONGO?

Under what circumstances will these handbooks for aggression be used, Mr. Williams? Do you want to stage a second Vietnam or a second Dominica in Africa? Or perhaps a second Congo?

Is that what you

meant when earlier this year you told students at Williams College, Massachusetts that "from time to time special measures may be needed to meet crisis situations"?

On the one hand, you talk about the right of Africans to choose the kind of institutions under which they want to live; on the other, the Pentagon draws up plans for action should our choice not be to Washington's (or Wall Street's) liking.

And please stop your friends talking about "Communist infiltration" into Africa; it isn't true, and even if it were, it is our business, not yours.

There are far more Americans in Africa in one capacity or another than there are Chinese or Russians. Your own embassy here in Accra is larger than those of the Soviet Union and China combined.

PERSONAL ATTACK

While we're on the subject of embassies there is just one point, Mr. Williams. An Ambassador is accredited to the Head of State of his host-country. Neither he nor his staff should engage in or in any way assist personal attacks on that Head of State.

But members of the U.S. Embassy staff in Accra helped organise the distribution of a recent issue of "Time" (already banned in some African countries because of its white supremacist attitudes) containing a vicious and insulting personal attack on President Nkrumah—an activity which constitutes a gross abuse of their diplomatic status.

You say, too, that your country supports "improved standards of living through trade and aid". If you mean what you say, help us to put an end to the foreign exploitation of our wealth which is the main obstacle to improving our living standards.

Some like to assure us that imperialism is dead; Americans like to tell us that their country never was imperialist because it never had a colonial empire.

But the essence of imperialism is foreign exploitation, and that still continues, with your own country one of the main offenders. That is why, as a U.N. report recently made clear, the gap between the rich and poor countries is widening.

FAIR TRADE

The sums U.S. and other foreign investors annually extract from the developing countries in Africa and elsewhere in the form of profit, interest and dividend far exceed anything these countries have received in the form of what you call "aid".

So, too, do the sums the developing countries have lost in recent years thanks to the unfavourable trade terms brought about by market manipulation, as a result of which the prices of the primary products they must sell to the developed countries have slumped to an all-time low while the prices of the industrial goods they must buy from the developed countries have gone up and up and up.

End foreign exploitation of our wealth and give us fair and equal

trade terms and we should have less need of your "aid"—"aid" which in any case merely increases the burden of interest payments, so that many developing countries are now obliged to take out new loans to pay the interest on the old ones.

For us in Ghana, trade on equal terms means a fair price for our cocoa. Your country could exercise a decisive influence, firstly in the fixing of a minimum price and secondly in securing the general implementation of the agreement reached by the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva last year on the removal by the developed countries of duties and excise charges on cocoa and other products from the developing countries.

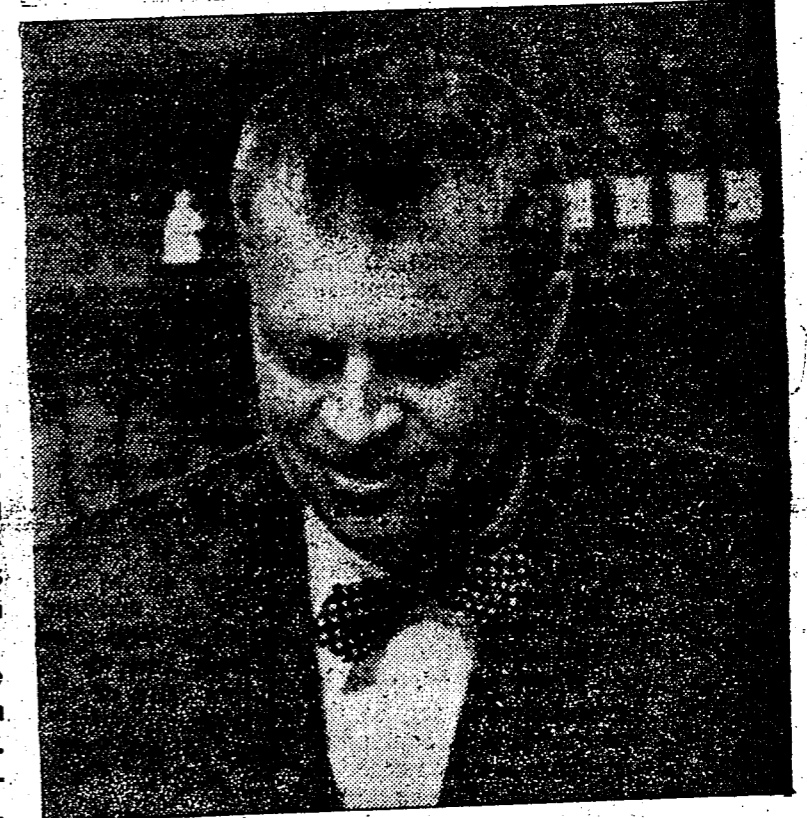
So, Mr. Williams, if you in fact mean what you say...

And, of course, your protestations of concern for our freedom and well-being would be a great deal more convincing if your government could guarantee the freedom and well-being of its own citizens of African descent.

BEAR BRUNT

Many of them even cannot exercise the most elementary freedom of all—the right to vote—without fear of violence; Civil Rights campaigners are assaulted—even murdered—and the guilty (some in police uniforms) go unpunished.

While you say you want to help us improve our standard of living, you haven't done so well by those of African descent in your own country. It is they who



Leaving Accra Airport U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr. Mennen Williams said his Government supports African Unity but his Government has done its best to wreck the Accra Summit.

bear the brunt of unemployment, job discrimination, ghetto housing and the like.

You say your government opposes racism and apartheid—but forty out of every hundred U.S. dollars invested in Africa are invested in Verwoerd's South African Republic. So U.S. Big Business has a big stake in apartheid.

'EMBARGO'?

Even the U.S. so-called "embargo" on arms to South Africa isn't all that it seems, either; Verwoerd now gets his U.S. arms via Israel.

The U.N., to which your country repeatedly professes its support, has called for a complete embargo on trade with South Africa.

How about it, Mr. Williams? If that is, you mean what you say, you mean what you say, what you say you could also do something to help the people of Portugal's African colonies get their freedom. Portugal is America's N.A.T.O. ally; she relies substantially on U.S.

trade and investment. Here again, U.S. deeds, as opposed to mere U.S. words, could be decisive.

Before you left Accra Airport, you said your government firmly supports the struggle for African unity. You have described support for the Organisation of African Unity as a "main pillar" of U.S. policy.

But once again it is a question of saying one thing and doing another. The O.A.U. Summit meeting will shortly take place in Accra—but no thanks are due to you.

OLD POLICY

You and your colleagues in the State Department (not to mention the Central Intelligence Agency) have made every effort to prevent the O.A.U. Summit by fostering every kind of divisive regional grouping and fanning every kind of difference, real and imaginary, between the African states.

Continued on page 4

THEY NEVER LEARN

ONE thing we learn from history is that the colonialists never learn from history. All over the world men whom they once called "terrorists", men whom they once threw into jail as "agitators" and "troublemakers" now occupy the seats of Presidents and Prime Ministers.

That has been the story in one African country after another: everywhere the champions of freedom and independence are labelled as "terrorists" and "agitators".

Now history is repeating itself in Aden, where the British Government has abrogated the colony's 1963 constitution, dismissed the government headed by Prime Minister Mackawee, dissolved the Legislative Council and imposed an absolute British dictatorship. According to a British Government statement, the Aden Ministers have been dismissed for "refusing to condemn violence". If that is a legitimate ground for getting rid of Ministers, then it is the British Ministers that ought to be sacked.

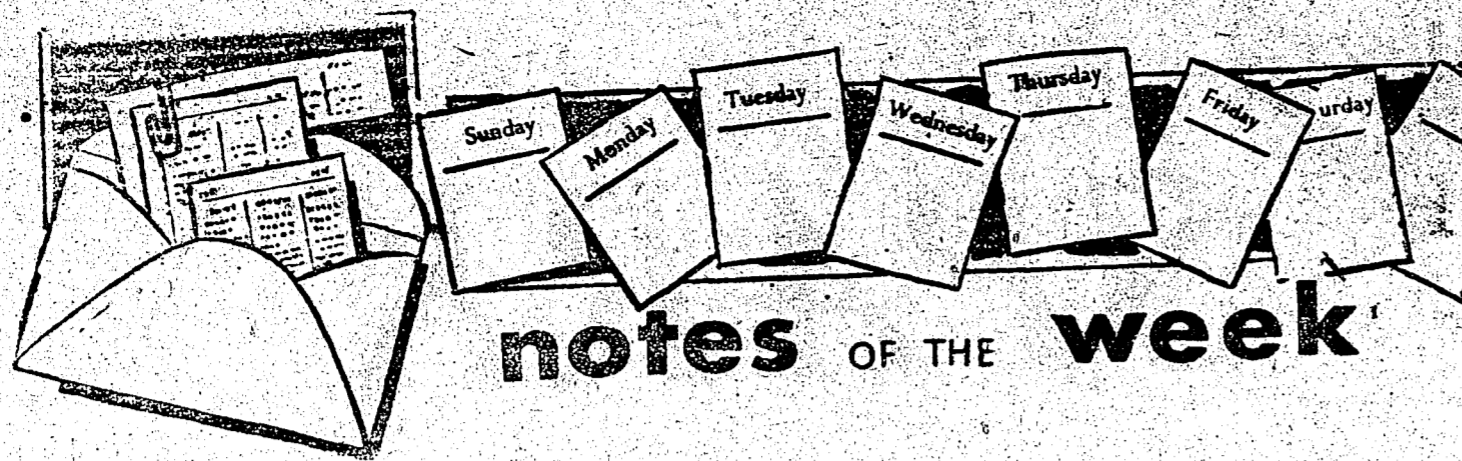
For it is they who are using violence in an attempt to hold on to the Aden military base. It is they who have authorised the use of bombers against South Arabian villages, and who have stationed some 22,000 British troops to protect the oil and strategic interests of British imperialism in the Middle East.

But the people of Aden want their independence, and the Aden Ministers refuse to act as British puppets. "We reject co-operation demanded of us as between master and servant", declared Mr. Mackawee.

So they have been removed, and the open, dictatorial rule of the British Governor imposed. The Governor, incidentally, has considerable experience of such situations: he was in Kenya during the national liberation struggle there.

This is not only defiance of the people of Aden but also of the United Nations. In December, 1963 the General Assembly called on Britain to grant self-determination with elections based on adult suffrage under U.N. supervision. The U.N. urged that the military base be closed down and all British troops be withdrawn.

By its actions in Aden, Britain's Labour Government once again demonstrated that its colonial policies in no way differ from those of the Conservative Party—we in Ghana very well remember that it was a Labour Government that jailed Kwame Nkrumah during our own freedom struggle.



THE cease-fire between Pakistan and India appears to be in an 'on-off-on' state of confusion. While U Thant lines up his mission to supervise the situation in Kashmir, reports trickle through of continuing military actions.

Since the first attack by India on Pakistan was launched on September 6th there have been millions of words poured out explaining or obscuring the issue, as the case may be.

In most cases with the honourable exception of the socialist press in all countries, there has been little if any mention of Kashmir itself.

* * *

The people of Kashmir fought bravely against British imperialism just as the people of India and Pakistan did. Unfortunately for her and for the peace of Asia, the British used her, as a pawn in the well known partition game.

The brave leader of the Kashmir peoples, Shaikh Abdullah is at present in gaol in India, but mere imprisonment of their leader will not prevent the people fighting on for their independence.

For 17 years they have been waiting for fulfilment of the promise made by the United Nations for a referendum, in which the voice of the people can be heard and their political future be established.

It is not enough now to demand a reversion to the position before September 6th. What is now needed is a firm decision to settle the Kashmir problem and reneve it as a source of contention and danger.

That can be done only by insisting on the referendum within a period of three months. The Kashmir Revolutionary Council and its radio has declared its determination to go on struggling for freedom.

Both President Ayub Khan and Premier Shastri have declared that there can be no actual military settlement. We believe they are right, and that they must rapidly agree to reach a political settlement, one which will be as final as humanly possible.

While ever this source of contention lasts the whole sub-continent will be an area for manoeuvre by the Western Powers in their attempt to hang on to an Asian foreign policy which is in danger of imminent collapse.

One of the minor effects of the Pakistan-India con-

flict, which has gone by without much comment, is the frank admission of the truth about the function of the Central Treaty Organisation.

The public reason given for CENTO'S existence in the past has been that it is among other things a peace keeping organisation and 'a defence against aggression'. Perhaps Pakistan was not being quite as naive as she appeared when she appealed for help from Cento to repulse India's aggression under a clause in the Treaty which provides for 'co-operation and security in defence'.

The request caused considerable embarrassment because as THE TIMES (London) confessed in a burst of frankness on September 8th "by general understanding the alliance was a barrier against communist thrusts in the Middle East".

Again on September 10th it pointed out a rather obvious lesson to anyone who can see through the lies about Communist aggression on which U.S. foreign policy is based.

"The regional defence pacts are now seen to have ignored the inner tensions of the area and the demise of the Central Treaty Organisation and the South East Asia Treaty Organisation is thought to be only a matter of time".

The Kashmir problem is another test case of the United Nations' effectiveness. If U.N. supervision is merely to go on being a form of stalemate, leaving basic political questions unsolved, then it will move into a crisis of virtual atrophy and paralysis and the sub-continent will be torn by military conflicts.

* * *

The people of Kashmir must be guaranteed not only the absence of war in their land but certain positive guarantees of their independence. The release of Shaikh Abdullah to enable him to form a provisional government which could run elections, is the first step towards settling the problem. The withdrawal of both Indian and Pakistani forces from Kashmir is the second.

The elected representatives could then decide whether to join India, or Pakistan or remain independent, acting as a bridge of friendship between the two states. These are surely not very revolutionary demands from people who have been waiting for a move from the U.N. for 17 years and who have been fighting for their liberty for generations.

It is a well known political, as well as military principle, that attack is an effective form of defence. Goldberg has learned this lesson well.

For all his shouting and accusations, every thinking person will remember that it is the United States which has troops, in increasing numbers, in South Viet Nam.

It is the United States, which by large doles of dollars keeps puppet regimes ruling in South Korea and Taiwan. It was the United States which intervened in Dominica, which threatened Cuba and which occupies a ring of bases in Asia.

* * *

The attempt to present China as the threat to world security is the smoke screen behind which the United States hopes to operate to defeat the attempts of the 20 countries, including Ghana and the Soviet Union, to see that justice is done and that China is represented.

Of course the United States has a lot to lose in this vote.

It is not only that she will resist China's admission because it is a Communist country. A vote for China will deprive the United States of an important fiction, which is that the 16 years old Government has no legal existence.

She needs this fiction because she hopes some day or other to intervene, either directly militarily, or through Chiang Kai Shek forces, on the mainland of China to try to overthrow the popular Government. United States capitalism suffered a severe blow, when the Chinese mainland won its independence, because American banks, trading firms and manufacturers had for half a century treat-

ed China virtually as its colony. The China Lobby in Washington, which represents their interests continues to bring pressure to bear against recognition.

The admission of China will not only cut away the legal fiction which the U.S. wants to retain to help her policy but it will be a vital move in breaking the grip of the United States on the United Nations Organisation itself.

* * *

The reason why the Organisation staggers from one crisis to another, is that the real balance of power in the world, which is moving more and more in favour of the Socialist and newly independent states, is not reflected in the Councils of the United Nations.

For more than ten years the United States found it possible to treat the U.N. as a sub-section of its State Department, because it controlled most of the votes, with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist states in a minority.

With the rapid development of independence and the growing material strength of the socialist world, the U.S.A. can no longer rely on a tame majority to support her attempts at world domination, but the machinery, which she was instrumental in setting up within the U.N. for her purposes still survives.

The presence of the Taiwan puppets is one of the biggest swindles imposed on the United Nations and it is now time it was brought to an end.

The peoples of Africa and Asia will look to the General Assembly in a very critical frame of mind and those who fail to vote for China's admission will be seen for what they are—imperialist stooges.

Fight for Principles

THE British Labour Party Conference being held this week in the seaside resort of Blackpool, noted for its bracing air, will no doubt be forced to review the record of the Labour Government since its election almost a year ago.

With a majority of one in the House of Commons the traditional right wing appeals to the militant left "not to rock the boat" by public criticism will no doubt be used repeatedly in the course of this week.

We hope, however, that the Left of the Labour will realise that the very thing which weakens support for Labour is the weak policies at present being followed by Wilson's Government especially in relation to The Immigration Question, Southern Rhodesia and the war in Viet Nam.

* * *

Their loyalty to the Party must be expressed by fighting hard for the principles on which it was elected by the people which included promises to defeat all manifestations of racism, to resist the white minority in Southern Rhodesia and to refuse to ally themselves

with war in Viet Nam. Real loyalty to Labour will be shown, if the delegates strongly challenge the betrayal of these promises by the Labour Government over the past year. In this way the prestige of Labour will be salvaged at least in part in the eyes of the people of Africa and Asia.

* * *

It is interesting to see that Mr. Michael Stewart, Foreign Secretary is not standing for election to the Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the reason is not far to seek. He is personally associated with support for the war in Viet Nam.

At the Oxford 'teach-in' he put the most reactionary case for open, unconditional support for the Americans in Viet Nam. The right wing leadership for the Labour Party is afraid that if he stands he will be resoundingly defeated and this will be interpreted as vote of severe criticism of the Government's foreign policy.

Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Secretary, has not exactly covered himself with glory in his term of office and he is still refusing to make a definitive statement of how the Government proposes to deal with the Southern Rhode-

sian imminent declaration of independence.

While Ian Smith and the Portuguese openly defy the British Government and while the racist Government starts its attack on partial de-segregation in some Rhodesian schools, Labour stands by, claiming helplessness, in strange contrast to the activity Britain was able to generate to get Dr. Jagan out of office in British Guiana.

Emergency resolutions were sent in only a few days before the opening of the Conference from constituency parties disgusted

and concerned at the Government's White Paper on the Immigration Act, dealt with in these columns last week.

Consistent steady pressure from the left, alone will help to save Labour's reputation, not the weak compromising policy at present being followed by the Government.

A fight for principle is absolutely basic to the effectiveness of any Party as Kwame Nkrumah demonstrated when he broke away from the opportunists and betrayers to create the Convention People's Party.

The opportunists in the Labour Party, which at present dominate it will plead for more compromises. It is not to them that we can look for real leadership in world affairs.

The Left of the Labour Party will in turn only win respect in so far as they are prepared to challenge the domination of their Party by the opportunists and defy the attempts to keep them isolated from other sections of the British progressive movement who fight in a principled way for socialism, for peace and for racial equality.



SEPTEMBER 17

CONGO (Brazzaville): Congo Brazzaville has been offered scholarships to more than 200 medical, nursing and laboratory technical students by Cuban government to study in Cuba, it has been announced in Brazzaville.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Britain is reported to have raised the question of the so-called Southern Rhodesia envoy to Portugal at a private meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Council in Paris, France. The envoy Mr. Harry Reedman arrived in Lisbon today to assume duty.

MAURITIUS: Constitutional talks on the future of Mauritius marked time for the third successive day today as delegates argued over future electoral procedures. The Mauritius Party leaders met British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Anthony Greenwood, today to explain their views.

NIGERIA: Eastern Nigeria Health Minister, Chief B. B. Okwu, talking as African Nationalist has declared in Port of Spain, Trinidad today that African nations will themselves correct the bad treatment of Africans in apartheid South Africa, racist Southern Rhodesia and the fascist Portuguese held African territories if the Western Powers continued to play politics because of economic interests.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Pretoria regime has now openly admitted preparing against guerilla warfare in which the enemy will be its own majority non-white population, according to reports in the South African press.

GHANA: Mr. David Busumtwi-Sam, Ghana's High Commissioner to Kenya has declared in Kenya that Ghana's one-party democracy which was introduced by President Kwame Nkrumah and now gaining popularity throughout the African continent was not a revolutionary idea but merely a return to Ghana's traditional system of Government which ensure free and full participation of all the citizens in the administration of the state.

* Mr. L. Abouafia, a financier from Switzerland, who arrived in Ghana ten days ago for talks with officials of the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Ghana, left Accra by air today for Geneva. He was seen off by the Chief of State Protocol, Mr. Krobo Edusei.

* Mr. Armando Entralgo Gonzalez, Cuba Ambassador to Ghana today presented a collection of 24 animals to President Kwame Nkrumah as his 56th birthday gift from the Cuban Premier Dr. Fidel Castro.

* A three-member Sierra Leone delegation led by Mr. K. I. Kaisamba, Minister of Agriculture, arrived here today by air from Freetown on a three-day goodwill visit to Ghana.

* A three-member delega-

tion of the second television team from Federal Germany arrived in Ghana by air from Mainz on a ten-day visit.

SEPTEMBER 17:

KENYA: The Governments of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have agreed on the terms of reference for a special commission to examine the frame-work of East Africa co-operation and recommend plans for the future, it was officially announced in Nairobi.

NIGER: Niger's National Workers' Union (U.N.T.N.) has called on all its branches to mobilise their members in support of President Hamani Diori, sole candidate for the country's Presidential elections to be held on September 30.

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah has today sent a message to Mr. Edger Kaiser, President of the Kaiser Group of Company in Calihm for the successful work done on the Volta River Project. The message said: "I am very happy today to be able to tell you that I have just officially switched on the first generator at Akosombo."

GHANA: A five-man Ghanaian delegation led by Dr. W. C. Ekow-Daniels, Deputy Attorney-General, left Accra by air today for New York to attend the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

* Professor J. H. Nketia, Director of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, will read a paper on "The artistic values of Asian and African Music" during the Commonwealth Arts Festival which opens in London today.

GUINEA: The Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of People's Republic of China, Marshall Chen-Yi, left Conakry, Guinea today for Algiers, Algeria, on his way home after visits to Mali and Guinea.

KENYA: The Kenyan Government has warned foreign nations to keep their hands off the country and also warned the people of Kenya that outside forces would try to use for their own purposes those consumed with fire of personal ambition and seeking prestige or power at any price.

ZAMBIA: The annual meeting of the World Health Organisation's Regional Committee for Africa ended in Lusaka, Zambia today.

* Prophetess Alice Linsina, leader of the banned Lumpa Church, will be freed today from detention and restricted in a remote part of Zambia, it is officially announced in Lusaka, Zambia today.

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah opening the new C120,000 Ghana News Agency building in Accra today said that the journalist is one of the major architects of the new Ghana and of the

New Africa for, through his eyes, his people are made to know about the machinations of imperialism and colonialism.

* A five-man Ghana delegation led by Mr. Kwasi Amoako-Atta, Finance Minister left Accra by air today for Kingston, Jamaica, to attend the Commonwealth Finance Ministers Conference.

SEPTEMBER 20:

UPPER VOLTA: In a pre-election address in Ouagadougou, President Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta declared that the successful achievement of African Unity depends on mutual tolerance by the various Heads of State.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Rhodesian representative to Lisbon, Portugal, Harry Reedman today presented his accreditation to Portuguese Foreign Minister Franco Nogueira.

SEPTEMBER 21:

UPPER VOLTA: President Maurice Yameogo would leave Ouagadougou tomorrow for Abidjan to attend the Ivory Coast Democratic Party Congress, it has been announced in Ouagadougou today.

KENYA: Mr. Oginga Odinga, Kenya Vice-President addressing a mass rally at Tawa during his two-day official tour of Machakos district, strongly warned against foreign interference in Kenya's politics. He said such an interference was likely to result in a Congo-like situation in Kenya.

SOUTH AFRICA: The current session of the plenipotentiary conference of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) today expelled South Africa from its meetings because of her apartheid policies.

KENYA: A Kenyan Member of Parliament Mr. A. S. Khalif, today gave notice in the House of Representatives in Nairobi of a motion calling for the Kenyan Government to intervene in the Indo-Pakistani conflict.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, may soon go to Rhodesia for what is termed "last-ditch talks" to prevent Minority White settlers in Rhodesia from unilaterally declaring the colony independent.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia today appealed to chairman Mao-Tse-Tung of the People's Republic of China to act in spirit of the Bandung principles over China's differences with India.

TANZANIA: President Julius Nyerere today repeated his warning that he would withdraw Tanzania from the Commonwealth if Britain granted Rhodesia independence on the basis of minority rule.

BASUTOLAND: A slither group from the banned Basutoland National Party today formed a new party—the Lesotho Unity Party. The leader of the new party is Mr. Leo Matlabe.

SEPTEMBER 22:

U.A.R.: The Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee on Angola resumed work today in Cairo on report it would present at the forthcoming O.A.U. Conference in Accra.

A challenge to U.N.

THE Chinese People's Republic celebrates its Anniversary on October 1st.

After 16 years of economic and social progress and political stability, its 650 million people, a quarter of the world's population, are still excluded from the United Nations.

The question of China's admission hangs over the 20th General Assembly of the United Nations now

meeting in New York, and the world is looking for justice to be done.

The United States will do everything possible to obscure the essential features of the crisis in Asia today, in her attempts to prevent China's admission and the expulsion of the puppet regime operating in Taiwan.

It was no accident, that Goldberg, the U.S. representative at the United Nations launched his main attack on People's China.

'A new kind of Journalist'

WE are gathered here today to inaugurate this new and modern building of the Ghana News Agency. These offices are vastly different from the humble quarters, in James Town,

has been seen to the reader in the most effective manner.

However, what is seen differs according to the viewer. Two persons witnessing the same event may actually see different things.

For example, the press of

newspapers and magazines it must sound in the voices and feelings of our news readers.

To this end, we need a new kind of journalist of the African Revolution. He cannot help in the building of the new Africa, unless he himself has founded his convictions on the rock of a scientific understanding of the world around him.

In the West, much is made of the theory of the so-called "neutrality" of the journalist and "freedom" of his press. According to this theory, the reporter is a dispassionate observer who reveals no opinions or prejudices.

He does not take sides but allegedly simply sets down the facts leaving it to his reader to draw his own conclusions. In this way he is deemed to be free to make impartial comments on national and international events.

DISTORTION

But, in fact, as we all know, this theory of neutrality is hardly ever put into practice. The big news agencies, papers, radio and television reflect the bias and prejudices of their publishers and proprietors.

This is shown in the choice of the stories which are published, the way the facts are arranged within each story, or the manner in which the stories are placed on the page.

African revolutionaries fighting heroically for the freedom of their country in so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere are called rebel bands, while the counter-revolutionary Cubans scheming in Miami and Caracas are called "Freedom Fighters."

Many events are hushed up or distorted. You know how Ghana has become a victim of distortion by a section of the Western Press, because of our irrevocable stand against the economic exploitation and political subjugation of Africa and its people.

We are emerging from colonialism, and we are being stifled by imperialism and neo-colonialism. We face a long, hard life-and-death struggle in which all of our people are engaged. How can the journalist be "neutral" in circumstances as these?

We are in a revolutionary period, and we have a revolutionary morality—in journalism as in all other walks of life.

We cannot be neutral between the oppressor and the oppressed, the corrupter and the victim of corruption, between the exploiter and the exploited, between the betrayer and the betrayed.

We do not believe that there are necessarily two sides to every question; we see right and wrong, just and unjust, progressive and reactionary, positive and negative, friend and foe. We are PARTISAN.

PARTISAN

There is a qualitative difference between our revolutionary journalism and the journalism of the imperialist countries. This difference lies mainly in the content of our journalism, the purpose for which our stories are written, and the audience towards which they are directed.

First, our choice of stories is often different for we pay little attention to cheap sensationalism, scandal, crime and gossip.

The popular press of the imperialist countries and neo-colonialist regimes is on the contrary full of articles concerning the private lives of exiled queens and dukes, movie stars and the wealthy play-children who make up

Kwame Nkrumah's address at the inauguration of the new G.N.A. building, Sept. 18, 1965

what is known as cafe society.

Secondly, our journalists view and analyse through the spectrum of our revolutionary ideology. Armed with our ideology, we can detect a trend in a seemingly minor event.

For example, we knew even if the imperialists did not, that the scattered shots fired in Algeria on November 1, 1954, sounded the death knell of colonialism in that country; and we who were present knew, even if the colonialists did not, that the fifth and the last Pan-African Conference held in Manchester by a handful of nationalists heralded the eventful triumph of the African independence movement.

Armed with our revolutionary ideology, we can detect a pattern in a series of apparently unrelated events; for we can see, even if the imperialists do not wish us to see it, the interconnection between the fighting in the Congo, the fighting in Angola and Mo-

zambique and in the Dominican Republic, and the fighting in Viet Nam.

The struggle against imperialism is indivisible.

The revolutionary journalist must have a clear conception of his social aims in writing each story.

The revolutionary journalist must write to inform the people, because in our African society, the destiny of all is linked up with the destinies of each. The journalist must inform the people of what their Government is doing, of what their compatriots are doing, of what other peoples in similar situations are doing throughout the world.

He must inform them of the plots and intrigues of the imperialists, the ceaseless attempts at bribery and corruption by intelligence agencies and of steps that are being taken to defeat them. Our journalists must write to educate the people.

The world of today is extremely complex, and

Africa, with its legacy of colonialism, must liberate itself with the light, knowledge and the open pen of truth.

The revolutionary journalist writes for the people. His audience is first and foremost Africa, and then the rest of the world. Therefore, he bears in mind the interests, education and psychology of this audience in everything he writes.

He is not writing for an elite. He is writing for the masses—for our workers, our farmers, our clerks and bus and taxi drivers—because all of our strength, all of our achievements spring from them.

The common man of Africa is our strength. The journalist, therefore, must be close to the masses, he must see the world through their eyes and interpret events in a way in which the masses can readily understand.

The role of the journalist of the African Revolution is no mean one. He must help to defeat imperialism and neo-colonialism, help with the speedy transformation of Africa as a united continent.

It is the privilege of the journalist to participate in

this historic movement.

The role of the journalist here in Ghana has been easier than in other countries. We have not been called upon here to make the blood sacrifices of the heroes of Stanleyville, the martyrs of South Africa, or the guerillas of Algeria or Angola.

But in the main, we have only to march forward confident in our strength and in our final victory.

Our journalists have the high responsibility of contributing to our victory, educating the people and inspiring them.

In this sense they are in the vanguard of our revolution. It is their duty and responsibility to hail those who advance the revolution and expose those who retard it.

These, fellow journalists, ladies and gentlemen, are some of my reflections on the role of the journalist in Ghana and in Africa, which I would like to share with you.

I hope that they may be of interest to those of you who are already established journalists, and to our youth who are preparing themselves for this exciting profession.



"The journalist is one of the major architects of the new Ghana and of the new Africa. It is by his work that our people can have some idea of what we are thinking and doing".

where I first inaugurated the Ghana News Agency only eight short years ago.

The growth of the Ghana News Agency since 1957 symbolises in many ways the gigantic strides made by Ghana in eight brief years of independence.

From humble beginnings, and bearing the heavy burden of a colonial legacy, we are developing with great speed into a strong, progressive state with the great goal of socialism.

The journalist is one of the major architects of the new Ghana and of the new Africa. It is by his work that our people can have some idea of what we are thinking and doing. It is by his work that our people may come to know something of the events in Africa and the world.

WILL OF PEOPLE

Through his eyes our people are made to know about the machinations of imperialism and neo-colonialism. It is by his pen that the will of the people can find expression and our determination to be free, to unite Africa, and to build a new society, is proclaimed to all the world to know.

The journalist writes about what is important, what is significant, what is striking, what is timely, what will interest a lot of people.

Today, in Africa what is foremost and important is the movement for the political unification of our continent. What is striking, what is timely, is the African revolution expressed in the search for the realisation of this great goal and objective.

It follows therefore, that our articles, our commentaries, our radio and television newscasts must be prepared and portrayed by revolutionary journalists—journalists who see the world through the eyes of the revolutionary African.

I think we may say that journalism is, in a way, the art of seeing—of seeing what makes news, what is significant and interesting and then conveying what

the entire world was present at Addis Ababa when the first Conference of all African Heads of State and Government was held in 1963. But what did most of the correspondents of the world commercial press write about that conference, what did they see in that conference?

They saw only the cold war between East and West. In each of our resolutions, in each of our decisions, they looked only for imaginary victories or defeats of the socialist world or the capitalist world. It did not occur to them that our conference might be an expression of the spirit of the new African.

They did not see the conference as a historic step towards the great goal of African Unity under a Continental Union Government. They saw the conference only through their own eyes, in the light of their pre-occupations and their interests.

A more recent example is provided by the events in the Congo Leopoldville. At the time of the imperialist aggression against Stanleyville, the Western Press shed tears only for the few so-called European hostages held by the revolutionary forces.

LITTLE SYMPATHY

This press showed little sympathy for the thousands of Congolese maimed and killed by neo-colonialist paratroopers and South African mercenaries.

Other examples could be given. What a journalist sees depends on what his past experience is, what his education has been, what his intelligence is, what political sense he has, and what his general outlook on the world is—in other words, on his political consciousness and ideological background.

The necessity for a clear ideology of the African Revolution must be to view problems in the right perspective so that they can write them with insight and understanding.

The drum-beat of the African Revolution must throb in the pages of his

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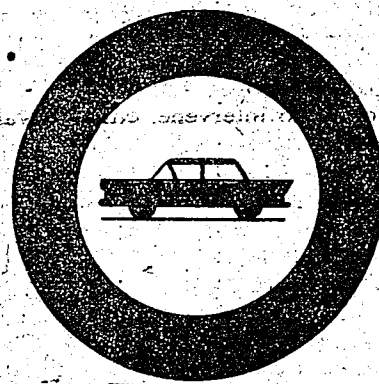
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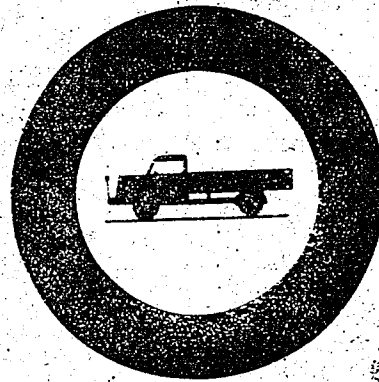
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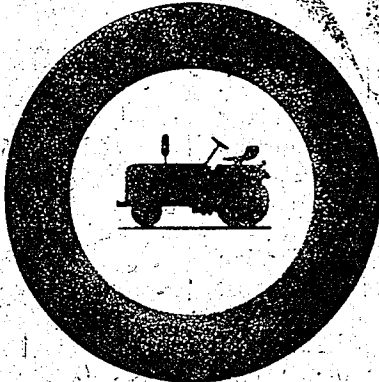
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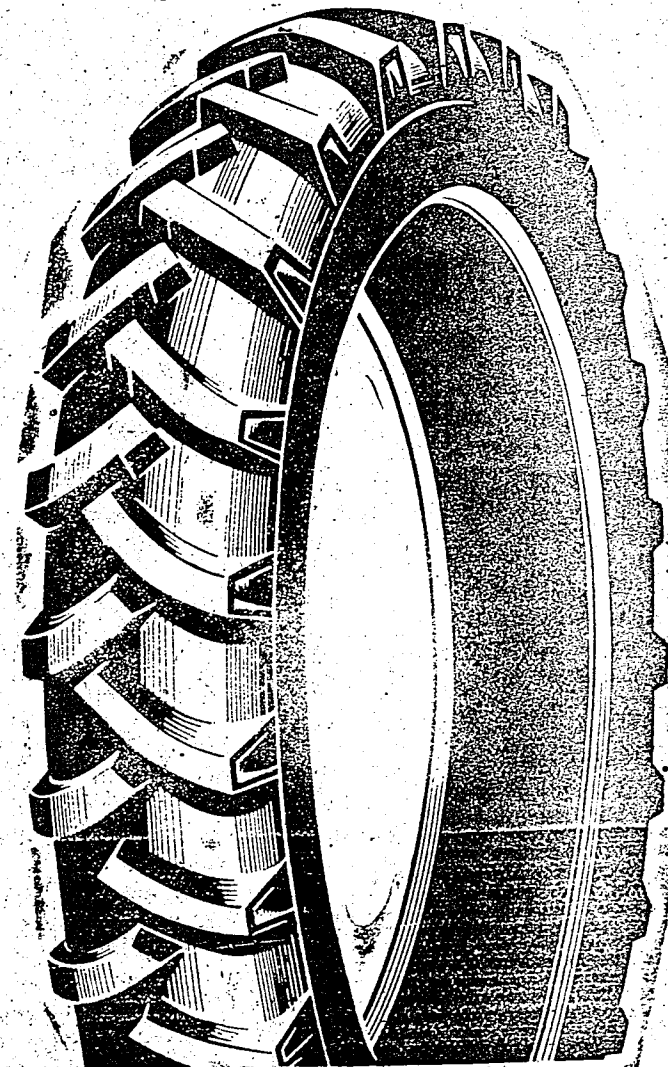


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LAND REFORM IN AFRICA

HAVING won political independence, the peoples of the long-suffering African continent have now directed their efforts towards the achievement of economic independence and radically changing the structure of their economy inherited from colonial times.

The colonialists stopped at nothing to impede the development of productive forces in these countries and turn them into agrarian and raw-material appendages.

As a result, the majority of African countries concentrated on one or two export crops. In Ghana, for instance, the main export commodity is the cocoa-bean, in the United Arab Republic cotton accounts for two-thirds of the country's exports, and peanuts make up four-fifths of Gambia's exports. A similar situation exists in many other countries.

This lopsidedness in the economy of the young states leads to economic instability, making them dependent on the fluctuations of world market prices for these goods.

EXPLOITATION

Capitalist monopolies lose no time in taking advantage of the opportunity for raking in maximum profits and spare no effort to depress the prices of raw materials, while simultaneously boosting the prices of manufactured goods.

In the past the production of export crops was carried on at the expense of food crops, which were reduced. So practically all the

African countries are now forced to spend valuable foreign currency very irrationally; 20-30 per cent of it is spent on the import of foodstuffs.

A considerable part of the imported food crops could be grown at home. Many countries are now developing agriculture in many branches not only for the purpose of reducing their port of foods, but so as to increase the variety of crops for export.

A multi-branch agriculture need not be set up at the expense of the principal exportable farm products which provide the main source of foreign currency.

The increase of exportable farm produce should be made by intensifying crop yields on the same acreage, particularly in countries where fertile land is scarce.

ENTERPRISES

The situation resulting from monocultural farming was all the more aggravated over a long period of time because the main exportable crop was shipped to Europe or the United States for processing.

In Ghana, which is the largest producer of cocoa-beans in the world, for instance, the producer had never tasted either cocoa or chocolate, because all the raw material was exported when the finished product returned home with the label "Made in Britain" or "Made in Holland" its price was far beyond the means of the ordinary person.

The young states are currently building enterprises for processing and canning agricultural products. A confectionery plant is under construction in Ghana for

processing 36,000 tons of cocoa-beans a year, a sugar factory for producing 24,000 tons of sugar annually is being built, etc.

The existing system of agrarian and social relations in the African countryside today presents many problems on the way to increasing agricultural production and implementing reforms. The young states are directing their activities at re-organising the system of landownership and farming which was formed during the colonial period.

CONCESSIONS

In North Africa and some of the countries south of the Sahara large tracts of land are owned by foreigners. In Kenya, for instance, the European settlers seized the best lands in the uplands, and in Liberia the American-owned Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company owns over 800,000 acres in concessions.

The Africans earn little for the exhausting labour at the enterprises of foreign firms, while the latter pump out fabulous profits. In 25 years the Firestone Co. paid the Liberian Government no more than 8 million dollars while it exported more than 160 million dollars worth of rubber out of the country.

On winning independence the Africa countries began to tackle these urgent problems. The government of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic implemented reforms on an exceptionally wide scale.

Before independence was proclaimed 61 per cent of cultivated land or of land that could be cultivated belonged to 22,000 European-owned farms, while there were no less than half a million landless peasants.

The implementation of the land reform began immediately after the heroic Algerian people won their independence. Within the first year about six million acres of the most fertile lands which had formerly belonged to foreign land owners were turned over to the Algerian peasants, their rightful owners. Nationalization was implemented mostly without compensation.

ATTACKS

This legitimate measure gave rise to venomous attacks from the monopolists. If the subject of compensation is to be broached, however, it is the colonialists who should return to Africans the wealth they amassed by the merciless exploitation of the African peasantry.

In the United Arab Republic and Tunisia all the lands belonging to foreign landowners and companies were also nationalized. Similar measures are being taken by the governments of Kenya, Tanzania, Somali and Morocco.

The abolition of foreign landownership was a great victory of the African nations in the consolidation of national independence and the elimination of the harsh consequences of colonial domination.

The colonialists not only exploited the peasants mercilessly, but brought pressure to bear on national governments, forcing them to shape their domestic and foreign policies in the interests of the imperialist powers.

The agrarian reforms were not restricted to the nationalization of land belonging to colonialists. The next step in the programme was the establishment of a size limit on the area of land owned by the big local owners. In the United Arab Republic, for instance, nearly a million

by
P. KUPRIANOV

dans of land was taken away from the landowners and turned over to hundreds of thousands of fellows.

In the majority of cases large state and co-operative farms are set up on the nationalized lands. In Algeria collective farms have been set up under self-management committees, in the U.A.R. and Tunisia some of these lands have been turned over to farm co-operatives.

Communal landownership prevails in the countries of Tropical Africa. Any member of the community has the right to choose a free plot of land and use it for cultivation. All the unused lands, forests and mineral resources are under the control of the chieftain and the council of elders who dispose of the land on behalf of the community.

Very often tribal chiefs rented or sold land to foreign companies or strangers from other regions in return for presents or bribes. In this part of the continent agrarian reforms are directed towards ending feudal-patriarchal relations.

In some countries (Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Tanzania, Senegal and others) the privileges of the traditional chiefs are either restricted by special laws or completely eliminated.

The introduction of state ownership of land will ensure its more rational use; it will be possible to control the activities of foreign enterprises and create the

necessary conditions for developing farm co-operatives and state farms.

Farm co-operatives in one or the other form are beginning to appear in many African states. The experience of recent years in the development of agriculture makes it apparent that this form of the re-organisation of farm production has obvious advantages.

Algeria, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, the U.A.R., Tanzania, Somali and other countries have chosen to develop their agriculture through farm co-operatives. There is every reason to believe that in the future the number of these countries will grow constantly.

A characteristic feature of the agricultural development of the African countries is the creation and growth of the state sector.

In the majority of countries state purchasing firms have been set up and this has significantly weakened the economic positions of foreign companies and commercial go-betweens. In some countries foreign companies have been deprived of the right to purchase farm produce, in others this is permitted under the control of state organs.

In the meantime practical measures are being taken to bolster State agricultural enterprises which are becoming more and more important in the reconstruction of agriculture in those African countries which have embarked upon the road of independent development.

The socialist countries are co-operating extensively with many African states in building up and reconstructing their agricultural

production. The socialist countries grant credits, send specialists and supply modern farm equipment to Africa.

In Ghana, for instance, the Soviet Union has helped in the organisation of three state farms, two for growing rice and one for growing maize. Each of these farms has about 5,000 acres of land.

In Somali too, three state farms are being built with Soviet assistance, one for the cultivation of oil-bearing plants, another for growing cotton and a third for grain production.

The U.S.S.R. granted Mali 10 million roubles credit specially for promoting the Office du Niger agricultural enterprise, by delivering farm and building machines, equipment and materials. Soviet machines are also used at the co-operative and state farms of Algeria.

The consistent growth of trade turnover between the African and socialist countries has become an important factor promoting agriculture in the African states. The prosperous and stable markets of the socialist countries guarantee African states the sale of their exportable products on mutually profitable terms.

The essence of the agrarian reforms which have been carried out in many African countries during the years of their independence lies in the measures taken to liquidate land ownership, patriarchal-feudal relations, and in creating and developing farm co-operatives and state farms.

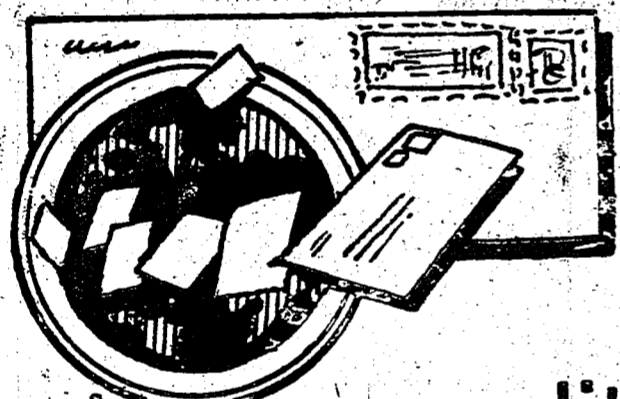
Letter to Mennen Williams

Continued from page 1

American policy in Africa has been the old familiar imperialist policy of "divide and rule"; its aims has not been the unification of Africa but the creation of a state of affairs like that which for a long time existed in Latin America, where the existence of a large number of "banana republics" ensured Yankee domination.

But we fought to win freedom from one

foreign yoke, and we will not allow it to be replaced by another. We will not allow the direct colonial rule of London, Paris and Brussels to be replaced by the indirect, neo-colonial rule of Washington, no matter how pious the phrases in which you clothe it.



Letters to the editor

Make U. N. Work

THE present situation in the United Nations represents the greatest challenge to the world organisation since its inception in 1945. The United Nations is now in such the same position as the old League of Nations which began to disintegrate as an effective collective security system in 1931.

What must now be faced is the possibility that the United Nations will lose its title of universality. The universal character of the U.N. was what gave it justification and its undoubted moral authority.

The sudden withdrawal of Indonesia from the World Organisation exacerbates an already potentially dangerous shortfall in U.N. representation.

China and Indonesia happen to occupy a region of the world in which the clash of rival interests could easily explode into World war, and in no sense does the U.N. now enjoy any restraining influence.

The attitude of the United States to People's Republic of China has always been a latent threat to the

U.N. As long as the 700 million people of China remain unrepresented in the U.N., the universality of the U.N. is in question.

Likewise, the continuing failure of the member-nations to accept and be bound by the resolutions of the U.N. is a challenge to its authority.

The U.N. as it looks now is a tool of the United States. It is ineffective and represents the interest of capitalism and imperialism.

The U.N. should move its headquarters from the U.S. to a neutral country, and put a stop to colonialism by member countries and force the U.S. to stop its military interference in other countries such as Congo, South Vietnam, Laos, Korea, China and Cuba.

Also, until it uses all effective means—force, if necessary—to stop extermination of Africans by the minority armed whites in South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and enforce its charter of equality of human race in the world despite colour, creed or race, the world organization will remain ineffective—a tool for Uncle Sam and John Bull.

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MARX AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

IN all his work, Marx showed an immense interest in the struggles of the colonial people to end their exploitation by foreign capitalism and to win their national independence. He followed closely the struggles of the colonial peoples in many parts of the world and never hesitated to show where his sympathies lay.

Marx looked forward to the coming revolutions in China and India and showed great sympathy and active support for all their struggles, writing constantly in the 1850's to condemn the atrocities of the British forces in these two countries, to expose the injustice of the British actions, and to uphold with passion the patriotic struggles of the Indian and Chinese people.

When the so-called "Indian mutiny" broke out in India in 1857, Marx and Engels immediately recognized its true character as an uprising of the people, as a national struggle.

TRIPLE FLAGS

In his first article on this question, dealing specifically with the revolts in the Indian Army (*New York Daily Tribune*, July 15th, 1857), Marx, after noting how Britain for 150 years had "contrived to retain the tenure of her Indian Empire" by the principle of divide and rule, pointed out how the army of 200,000 Indians, created by Britain to maintain its rule, had become simultaneously "the first general centre of resistance which the Indian people ever possessed." He remarked that in the 1857 army mutinies, the Mussulmans and Hindus "have combined against their common masters".

Almost ninety years later, it was again the unity of the Hindus and Muslims, this time united with the Indian Communist Party, and expressed in the triple flags of the Congress, Muslim League and Communist Party, which exploded in the great naval mutiny of 1946, thus forcing British imperialism to concede to India its national independence.

The 1857 mutiny, noted Marx, "has not been confined to a few localities", but has "coincided with a general disaffection exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations."

Marx and Engels noted carefully the process of the uprising, analysing its successes and its inevitable defeat.

In words of fire Marx exposed the atrocities of the British forces in India. The letters of the British officers in India, he noted, were "redolent of malignity."

When a spy reported to Sir John Lawrence that three Indian chiefs were plotting, Sir John sent a short message: "Hang them". The chiefs were hanged, Marx notes.

Another officer wrote: "Not a day passes but we string up from ten to fifteen of them". One exulting officer wrote: "Holmes is hanging them by score, like a brick."

Another, in reference to the summary hangings of a large body of Indians, wrote: "Then our fun commenced." "We hold court-martials on horseback," boasted an officer, explaining that every Indian they met "we either string up or shoot."

So indignant was Marx about these atrocities and so incensed at the attempt of the British press and Establishment generally to shout about the alleged "at-

rocities" committed by the mutinous sepoys, that he was moved to write a special article for the *New York Daily Tribune*, published September 17th, 1857, entitled "Investigation of Tortures in India", and accompanied the sack of Lucknow.

Similarly, when the British rulers in 1857 launched the Second Opium War against China, Marx and Engels immediately sided with the Chinese people.

As early as 1853, Marx had noted with relish the complaints of the German missionary, Gutzlaff. On returning to Europe after twenty years in China, where he witnessed the beginnings of the great Taiping Uprising, Gutzlaff was surprised to find people in Europe discussing socialism, and asked what it was.

When it was explained to him he asked in alarm: "Is there anywhere that I can escape that pernicious teaching? The very same thing has been preached for some time by many people of the mob in China."

This mob, explains Marx, were people of "the rebellious plebs", who "point to the poverty of some and the wealth of others, who demand a different distribution of property—and even the complete abolition of private property" (*First International Review*).

The launching of the Second Opium War by the British was a blow not only against Chinese sovereignty, but equally against the social revolution of the Chinese people against their own Imperial Court and feudal system.

Marx and Engels, in a number of articles, explained that the war of the Chinese people against the British invaders was "a popular war for the maintenance of Chinese nationality."

PALMERSTON

In an article on "The Coming Election in England" (*New York Daily Tribune*), March 31st, 1857, Marx attacked Palmerston and the "smooth-faced gentlemen", who supported him.

"Along with the holy bishops" he wrote, "and the unholy opium smugglers there go the large tea-dealers, for the greater part directly or indirectly engaged in the opium traffic and therefore interested in oversetting the present treaties with China."

It was in the interests of these capitalists that the war was launched against China.

Marx was outraged by the brutalities of the British forces, and whole-heartedly with the Chinese people. He exposed Palmerston's role in the bombardment of Canton in 1856 and rejoiced in the vote of censure passed against Palmerston in the House of Commons on March 3rd, 1857.

A few weeks later he wrote a special article for the *New York Daily Tribune* on the "English Ferocity in China" in which he exposed British responsibility for the outbreak of what he termed "this most unrighteous war."

He protested strongly against "the slaughter of the unoffending citizens and peaceful tradesmen of Canton", who, he declared, "have been slaughtered, their habitations battered to the ground, and the claims of humanity violated, on the flimsy pretence that 'English life and property are endangered by the aggressive acts of the Chinese!'"

How often have we heard such pretexts since!

Engels, in an article in the same paper, April 17th, 1857, similarly exposed what he called "the most horrible excesses" of the British troops, whose "spirit

of brutal ferocity" in China was, he considered, "a fitting counter-part to the spirit of smuggling cupidity" in which the war had originated.

Again and again, Marx and Engels returned to this question, explaining the origins of the war in China, and the responsibility of the British rulers, exposing the atrocities carried out against Chinese people, flaying, in article after article the monstrous traffic in opium which was degrading the Chinese people in the interests of a handful of British profiteers.

These articles, by Marx and Engels, and their exposures of the atrocities committed by the troops sent out to China by what Marx termed "the Christianity-canting and civilisation-mongering British Government" (article in *New York Daily Tribune*, September 20th, 1858), were real acts of solidarity as were their parallel articles on the Indian uprising of 1857.

One cannot read these articles of Marx exposing the atrocities of the British troops in India and China without thinking about the similar grim stories that have been told of the massacres in the Congo.

Here is one such account by a mercenary who fought in the Congo:

"It was just before dusk when we came. Unsuspecting women were hustling around, carrying water and going about the last of their day's chores. Children were playing in the dusk, laughing and shouting to one another.

"We paused for a few minutes, and then came the order to fire. There was a great crackle of shots from machine guns and our deadly new Belgian rifles. Women screamed and fell. Little children just stood there dazed, or cartwheeled hideously as bullets slammed into them.

"Then, as usual, we raced into the place, still firing as we went, some of us pitched cans of petrol on to the homes before putting a match to them. Others threw phosphorous hand grenades, which turned human beings into blazing inextinguishable torches of fire." (*News of the World*, November 22nd, 1964).

One can be certain that if Marx were alive today his anger would be directed against those who are responsible for such appalling massacres as have been committed by Western imperialist forces in the Congo and Vietnam.

MOOD OF PEOPLE

But, as with India, Marx and Engels were not concerned solely to expose. They also showed great interest in the course of the struggle of the Chinese people.

Marx, in an article in the *New York Daily Tribune*, June 5th, 1857, noted the difference between the mood of the people in 1857 as compared with the time of the First Opium War fifteen years earlier.

"Then", he wrote, "the people were quiet; they left the Emperor's soldiers to fight the invaders. But now... the mass of the people take an active, nay, a fanatical part in the struggle against the invaders."

He goes on to give a most vivid description of this truly "national war", in which "the very coolies emigrating to foreign countries rise in mutiny, and as if by concert, on board every emigrant ship, and

fight for its possession, and, rather than surrender, go down to the bottom with it, or perish in its flames.

"Even out of China the Chinese colonists, the most meek and submissive of subjects hitherto, conspire and suddenly rise in nightly insurrection, as at Sarawak."

Marx fully understood the significance of the struggle of the Chinese people. The death of the Old China was inevitable. Not only had British capitalism weakened the old society, but the Chinese people had now risen in revolt against the invader.

WORLD FORCE

Britain had been but the "unconscious tool of history". It would be the Chinese people who would put an end to the Old China and so usher in "the opening day of a new era for all Asia".

Marx, after the 1848 revolutions in Europe had failed to develop directly into proletarian revolutions and into the victory of socialism, increasingly turned his attention to the development of capitalism as a world force, and looked within that context for the mainsprings of revolutionary change.

In a letter to Engels, October 8th, 1858, Marx commented that the colonisation of Australia and California, and the opening up of China and Japan had meant, for capitalism, a second sixteenth century, a new lease of life—and that as long as this enabled capitalism to expand and grow, there was a danger of imminent social revolution in Europe being "crushed in this little corner."

But, dialectician as he was, he saw that the expansion of capitalism was only a temporary phase, whose "death-knell" would eventually sound, since the very expansion would create new points of revolt against the whole, expanded system.

"Can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia?" he asked in 1853. (*New York Daily Tribune*, "British Rule in India", June 25th, 1853).

In an article in the same paper, June 14th, 1853 significantly entitled "Revolution in China and in Europe" he pondered over the "effect the Chinese revolution seems likely to exercise upon the civilised world" and wrote:

"It may seem a very strange, and a very paradoxical assertion that the next uprising of the people of Europe, and their next movement for republican freedom and economy of Government, may depend more probably on what is now passing in the Celestial Empire—the very opposite of Europe—than on any other political cause that now exists."

In China, he noted, the "chronic rebellions" had now "gathered together in one formidable revolution". The question, he said, is "how that revolution will in time react on England, and through England on Europe."

Writing to Engels in January, 1858, at the time of the great Indian revolt, Marx declared "India is now our best ally."

In a letter to Kautsky, September 12th, 1882, in which he discussed the British workers' attitude towards questions of colonial policy, Engels commented

that the British workers think the same as the bourgeoisie.

But he then went on to make the significant remark that "India will perhaps, indeed very probably make a revolution... The same might also take place elsewhere, e.g. in Algeria and Egypt, and would certainly be the best thing for us."

In these pronouncements Marx and Engels showed how well they understood the relation between the struggle against colonialism and the struggle for socialism in the metropolitan countries: "India is our best ally..." Revolutions in India, Algeria and Egypt "the best thing for us..." "The next uprising in Europe" dependent on "what is now passing in China".

These ideas, of the common nature of the struggle were developed by Marx and Engels in relation to Ireland, for whom they had both battled so long and so well.

Engels himself visited Ireland twice—in 1855 and 1869. He studied the conditions of the Irish immigrant workers in Manchester. He learnt Gaelic in order to make a closer study of Ireland.

His first wife, Mary Burns, and his second wife, Lizzie, were both Fenians, and there is evidence that Fenian fugitives hid in their house in Manchester, though Engels, with the correct reticence of a true revolutionary, never mentioned it.

FIRST COLONY

Engels' description of Ireland in 1855 is a classic and terrible one. In a letter to Marx (May 23rd, 1856) he wrote:

"Gendarmes, priests, lawyers, bureaucrats, country squires in pleasing profusion and a total absence of any industry at all so that it would be difficult to understand what all these parasitic growths live on if the distress of the peasants did not supply the other half of the picture."

Ireland, he wrote, "may be regarded as the first English colony... one can already notice here that the so-called liberty of English citizens is based on the oppression of the colonies. I have never seen so many gendarmes in any country and the sodden look of the bibulous Prussian gendarmes is developed to its highest perfection here among the constabulary, who are armed with carbines, bayonets and handcuffs."

Ireland he found, was in ruins, ruined churches, ruined castles, and more recently, ruined peasant huts. "The land is an utter desert", he wrote, the consequence of the English wars of conquest from 1100 to 1850.

Added to the destruction of war was the economic destruction—the turning of Ireland from land of small-holdings into a land of large-holdings, the great famine of 1846-47, the mass evictions, and consequent mass emigrations.

In 1841 the population of Ireland was 8½ million. Twenty five years later it had shrunk to 5½ million—a loss of more than a third of its people.

The famine killed about a million. Emigration took millions more, then and in successive years. The Corn Laws of 1846 broke Ireland's corn monopoly. The Irish landlord and wretched peasant could not compete any longer with the great

feudal states of Central Europe and the young capitalist farms of the U.S.

The landlords turned from tillage to pasture—from corn to wool and meat. Thus Ireland became England's largest pasture, fulfilling her destiny, as Marx put it, "of an English sheep-walk and cattle-pasture".

While hundreds of thousands emigrated to America, Australia and England, a spirit of result grew at home. The Fenian movement, a mass agrarian movement, directed against the land monopoly, had, as Marx noted, a socialist tendency.

He and Engels warmly supported the struggles of the Fenians, and after the formation of the First International, in 1864, were able to rally wide support for the protest movement against the treatment of the Fenian prisoners.

It was in the midst of this campaign on behalf of the Irish prisoners, that Marx and Engels developed their ideas in relation to the liberation of Ireland and the perspective of the revolution in England.

TWO ISSUES

Marx, not only anxious to assist the Irish people, but keenly aware, too, that the English capitalist class was using the Irish question to confuse and divide the workers, arranged for the General Council of the First International to debate the whole question around two issues—amnesty for the Fenian prisoners, and the relations between the English and Irish workers.

The Council met in public session, in an atmosphere of great excitement. Opening the debate on the amnesty, Marx spoke for an hour, amid continual applause.

Only three speakers were against him—three reformist English trade union leaders, one of whom, Mottershead, in terms of which we have since often been made familiar, protested:

"Ireland cannot be independent. If we relinquished our hold it would only be asking the French to step in."

Marx easily dealt with him—and the amnesty resolution was adopted unanimously. It was sent to every one of the hundreds of trade union branches affiliated to the International. Only one small branch objected.

With 99.9 per cent support, most people might have stopped. But it says very much for Marx's leadership of the International and for the thoroughness of his understanding and work—that the Council sent a special delegation to that one small branch.

They explained, they discussed, they argued—and the branch was won over.

No step was too unimportant for Marx when it came to a question of his revolutionary duty, of convincing workers, and especially in the essential task of winning English workers away from any spirit of chauvinism or narrow nationalism and feelings of nationalist arrogance.

Marx's great educational role has seldom been better expressed than in this resolution he prepared in 1869 for the Council on the relations between the Irish and English working classes, a resolution which has such great significance for us today for two specific reasons.

Firstly, because of the historic advance of the national liberation movement throughout the world and the coming complete destruction of old colonial system of direct colonial rule.

And secondly because of the presence in our midst of 800,000 Commonwealth immigrants, whose work

here is such a valuable asset to our society, but who are being made the scapegoats for all the social and economic problems which have been created by the British capitalist class.

"The English bourgeoisie" ran the resolution "has not only exploited Irish poverty in order to worsen the condition of the working class in England by the forced transplantation of poor Irish peasants, but it has moreover divided the proletariat into hostile camps..."

Marx did not hide the fact of the feelings of hostility which the English workers had for the Irish immigrants. "In all the big industrial centres of England", ran the resolution, "a deep antagonism exists between the English and Irish workers. The average English worker hates the Irish as a competitor... He feels national and religious antagonism towards him..."

But there was, in the words of the resolution, no basic objective reason for this hostility:

"This antagonism between the proletarians of England is artificially cultivated and maintained by the bourgeoisie. It knows that in this antagonism lies the real secret of maintaining its power."

Explaining that the possession of Ireland by England was used as the excuse for maintaining a big standing army, which the capitalists can use against the English workers, the resolution then makes its historic pronouncement: "A people which enslaves another people forges its own chains!"

From this, Marx's resolution went on, the task of the International was clear. In order to speed the social revolution in England, "the decisive blow must be struck in Ireland..."

"the essential preliminary condition of the emancipation of the English working class is the turning of the present compulsory union, that is slavery, of Ireland with England, into an equal and free union, if that is possible, or into full separation, if this is inevitable."

In a letter to Engels in that same year, Marx wrote:

"It is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland... The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland."

TWO RESULTS

Thus, in all their writings and work, Marx and Engels increasingly drew attention to the great importance of the national liberation movement for the British people. They saw that the roots of British capitalism, of British reaction, lay in the colonial system.

The expansion of capitalism, the drawing of India, China and other territories into the sphere of capitalism—a process that was to be carried still further in the twentieth century, with the development of imperialism—had two epoch-making results:

First—the destruction of the former society and the impoverishment of the people in those territories;

Second, the birth of new class forces in these countries, and the eventual gathering of the "Chronic rebellions" into one "formidable revolution" whose effects would not be confined to the frontiers of the oppressed countries, but would react back decisively on the imperialist metropolis.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Canary Islands Step Up Freedom Fight

INDEPENDENCE has long been the dream of the people of the Canary Islands. About the middle of the last century there was an uprising aimed at securing independence from Spain, and Spain was obliged to concede a limited degree of autonomy.

In 1905, independence was again declared in the town of Laguna (Tenerife) and the people of the island for three days flew the flag with the seven stars—the flag of the independent Canaries.

In more recent years the example of the African peoples freedom struggle and also the experiences gained by the people of the islands during the Spanish Civil War led to the creation of a Revolutionary Movement with port workers, students and other revolutionary young people in the vanguard.

A study of conditions in the islands was carried out and the results, clearly showed that the Canarian people was a colonised people, very much exploited by the metropolitan country—Spain.

NO HUMAN RIGHTS

The people of the Canaries had no human rights and did not benefit from the wealth of their islands, which was taken by the Spaniards and the national bourgeoisie.

The Spanish Government tried continuously to kill our culture and impose Spanish culture and customs.

In January, 1961, a group of Canarian revolutionaries were able to win control of the official Transport Workers Union and with the support of about 500 members of this Union, to declare a series of strikes in the islands.

The Trade Unions in the islands are fascist Unions

formed by the Franco regime. Membership is compulsory and they are controlled by government officials.

Our trade unionists resolved to fight these official colonialist unions and to take up the defence of our workers against the attacks of the Spanish police and the official trade union bosses. Tenerife was the place where this struggle reached its highest point, because it was there that the best objective conditions existed.

In the other islands, especially in Gran Canaria, another method was used. Thousands of leaflets were distributed everywhere asking for total and complete independence. Already in 1961, the letters "C.I." (Free Canaries) were seen painted on the walls of the town. Port workers and peasants were soon preparing their own leaflets and chalking the word "Independence" all over the islands.

The main impact was on the dock workers and industrial workers owing to their longer tradition of struggle against capitalism.

On May 31st, 1961, the streets of Tenerife were invaded by demonstrators shouting the slogans of "Independence" and "Spaniards go home". This protest was organised by the bakery workers following mass dismissals because the Spanish Government had built a modern mass production factory and sacked the workers without any compensation or alternative employment.

The Spanish Government's reply to our protest was to send two battalions of police.

From July to December our propaganda increased in Las Palmas, with the offi-

cial unions our main target.

We achieved our greatest victory in September: we were able to bring 30,000 peasants to town to protest against their terrible economic conditions. This marked the beginning of the organisation of the peasants within our independence movement.

Madrid counter-attacked by sending a special squad of secret police to discover the leaders of the Independence Movement and to try to infiltrate it and destroy it.

INTENSIFICATION

In 1962 our organisation decided to intensify our propaganda and our street demonstrations. Our main effort was to convince the population that independence would not mean lower standards of living but that on the contrary independence would mean higher standards of living, much greater political freedom and political dignity.

Although the mass of workers and peasants were for independence, this was not the case with many middle class people, and merchants. It was necessary to convince them that independence had more to offer than the present state of affairs.

This has been achieved. Now the idea of independence and the expulsion of the colonialist Spaniards has gripped most people in the islands.

From January 10-13th 1962, our underground unions organised a strike in the Port of Tenerife closing it down for three days, and involving more than 2,500 port workers.

Although the colonial authorities resorted to their usual means, the workers kept up their struggle and

in the end we won a considerable victory when the employers, against the advice of the Government, were forced to grant a 100 per cent increase wages.

The revolutionary struggle also continued in several factories in Tenerife and Las Palmas where we have many supporters. Victories were won at a number of factories.

A study of the economic and social structure was undertaken by the economic services of the MPAIAC, the glorious Party leading our struggle for independence and for a socialist future for our people.

This analysis shows that industry and services depend mainly on agriculture. A large proportion of the population are peasants, because agriculture is still the basis of the wealth in the islands. Our main products are bananas and tomatoes.

As a social class, our peasants are still dominated by a religious fatalism and until very recently by acceptance of their living conditions, their poverty and their isolation.

The terrible repressions of the Civil War are still very much alive in their minds. The continuous political terror campaign waged by the police of the Spanish Government kept them in a state of lethargy up to 1962.

Another reason for the slow development of our movement is the fact that the Canarian peasant has traditionally left the islands and emigrated to Latin America, instead of remaining and fighting against his oppressors.

These emigrants, following traditional patterns, used to come back to spend their old age in the islands. Thus for his whole life the emigrant was cut off from the

life of the Canaries and therefore unable to help in the development of healthy political movements.

The archipelago is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. At the moment there are 159 inhabitants per square kilometre.

The islands also have one of the highest rates of natural increase of population. The population increases by 14 per cent each ten years. This is another factor contributing to the revolutionary character of the present struggle.

This enormous peasant mass is exploited by the landowning Canarian bourgeoisie and by the Spanish capitalists who control most of the trade and industries.

DETERIORATION

The small farms cannot compete with the foreign capitalists or the big Canarian landlords and there is a slow deterioration of living standards which compels many peasants to give up their holdings and become paid workers under practically feudal conditions, working in the big industrialised tomato and banana plantations.

Sometimes the small peasants are compelled to sell their land and go to the cities to swell the number of the underfed and underpaid proletariat working in the industries, especially in the ports of Tenerife and Las Palmas, where there are more than 6,000 of them working in unskilled jobs and earning subsistence level wages.

Agricultural production in the Canaries is typical of the single crop system. Spanish imperialism has always had a vested interest in

maintaining this situation, which yields great benefits in foreign currency to the Spanish colonialists.

Spanish capitalists and very often foreign capitalists (especially West Germans and French) are currently exploiting the wealth of the archipelago and extracting most of the profits.

As not enough capital is invested, there is a steady deterioration of living standards in the rural areas, leading to increasing emigration to the industrial areas, especially to the tourist industry.

The tourist industry is at present one of the most important sources of revenue for the Spanish Government and their foreign friends. By exploiting the workers it, is still possible to offer the tourist some of the lowest charges in the world.

Thousands fill the hotels to enjoy cheap accommodation worth a great deal more elsewhere. This is possible thanks to wages of about 5/- per day, and thanks also to the complete absence of any control over hours worked.

Working conditions are in general bad, but the hotel worker has a still lower standard. Very commonly the work is done by women who live in and who work under semi-feudal conditions. There are cases where a cook works 16 hours a day without any extra pay. This is in fact normal in small hotels.

Another big problem worries the people of the Canaries. This is the atomic base established by the U.S. Navy on the Island of Fuerteventura, the island nearest to the mainland.

The island also harbours nuclear submarines of the Polaris type. This is a real

threat to the whole of Africa; we cannot see how the U.S.A. can justify this display of nuclear power with its usual excuse of "defending the free world against Communist Russia", since the range of these rockets only covers West and North Africa.

MILITARY BASES

Our Islands are slowly becoming military bases serving the colonialist powers in Africa, especially Portugal and Spain. Already the number of aircraft of Portuguese origin landing in our island is greater than the number of Spanish aircraft. These aircraft transport men and supplies to the Portuguese colonies in Africa and help maintain Portuguese presence in Africa.

South African, Belgian, and American military aircraft are using our islands in growing numbers. Last year alone more than 400 South African aircraft landed in the Canaries.

In this way any blockade of South Africa can be evaded. Collaboration between Spain, Portugal and the NATO countries ensures unhindered transit for South Africa's ships and aircraft.

We in the Canaries cannot do very much to stop this situation. We live under conditions of colonialism, oppressed by a military fascist dictatorship and coerced by a political police trained by the infamous Gestapo of Nazi Germany.

While we remain a colonised country, South Africa or any other neo-colonialist or colonialist country fighting against the freedom movements of Africa will be aided by our colonial oppressors.

To help us in our independence struggle is not only a moral duty to all true African nationalists; it is also a matter of self-preservation for an united and progressive Africa.

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YOUR WINTER SCHEDULE (24th Oct. 1965—31st March 1966)

	GH 704 Mon	GH 702 Wed	GH 700 Sat	AZ 537 Mon/Fri
ACCRA	DEP. 1000	1000	1000	2355 Tue/Sat 0610
ROME	ARR. 1615	1705		
ZURICH	ARR. 1655			
AMSTERDAM	DEP. 1745			
	ARR. 1900			
LONDON	DEP. 1950			
	ARR. 1945	1820	1625	

