

THE SPARK



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EDITORIAL

IT'S JUST BAD

EARLY this week, Radio-Havana announced three piratical attacks on Cuba within 72 hours. Two boats shelled a metal processing factory in Pinar del Rio on the north Coast of Cuba and pipes used in carrying oil and sulphuric acid were damaged. It is alleged the attackers—anti-Cuban elements and U.S. mercenaries—are based in Nicaragua and Colombia—countries utterly servile to United States imperialism.

Dr. Fidel Castro has mobilised his army to defend his country.

Since January 1959, when the popular forces victoriously stormed their way into Santiago de Cuba and overthrew the reactionary military régime of Fulgencio Batista, reactionary forces backed by U.S. imperialism have been fighting against the popular government of Fidel Castro.

In October 1962, the whole world was nearly engulfed in thermo-nuclear war because of U.S. hatred for Cuba.

It is shocking that the U.S.A. is still giving mankind the impression that it would rather see the whole world perish than put up with what it does not like. We cannot live in the world that way. One nation must not always have its way to bully and bulldoze others.

It is the avowed aim of U.S. imperialism to clash everywhere with the social forces of progressive change. It must restore reaction on a world scale. Its great monopolists, concerned with the ever more difficult task of finding profitable investments for their great accumulations of capital into the four corners of the world must use their billions of surplus capital and arsenals of nuclear bombs at their command to blast away the specter of a world without the capitalist or imperialist.

Here lies the potential danger to peace. What the U.S. does not appreciate is that the destructive power stored away in the nuclear bombs is

WHAT HAPPENED IN CONGO (BRA)

THE REPUBLIC OF CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE) HAS GOT A NEW PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT HEADED BY MR. ALPHONSE MASSEMBA-DEBAT, A FORMER MINISTER AND SPEAKER OF THE REPUBLIC'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ABBE FULBERT YOLOU, HEAD OF THE TOP-LEVEL GOVERNMENT, HAD EARLIER RESIGNED HIS PRESIDENCY AND LEFT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE FOR A FRENCH ARMY CAMP WHERE HE IS NOW HELD. A SUCCESSFUL COUP D'ETAT HAS TAKEN PLACE.

The Congo (Brazzaville) coup d'état is the sixth staged in French-speaking Africa so far this year. The other five on the list are Togo, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Tunisia and Chad.

Notwithstanding the fact that some of these coups have not been successful, the high frequency of it all underlines a fundamental point, viz. that the political structure of the French-speaking African states is extremely unstable.

COMMON FEATURES

The governments are not broadly based and cannot claim to build their prestige on the conscious support of the masses. Nor have the governments enough power to tackle the pressing problems of their citizens. Some of the common features of the French-speaking African states could be enumerated as follows—

1. foreign policy, diplomacy and defence are controlled from Paris, through the U.A.M.;
2. economic development is carried out within the context of the European Common Market, its cardinal principle being to give French private

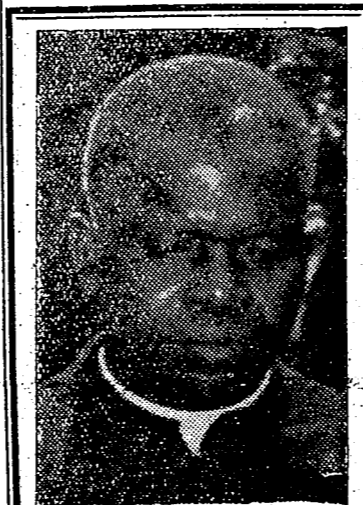
3. development grants from Paris are ploughed principally into scanty social services and not into economic production;
4. the annual budgets are balanced only with the help of subsidies from Paris;
5. the central banks and a high proportion of the commercial banks are owned by France and run from Paris;
6. the policy-making posts in the civil service are filled with Frenchmen;
7. some ministries, particularly finance and defence, are headed by Frenchmen;
8. the intellectual elite which together with French settlers and businessmen constitute the ruling class is wrapped up with France through business, social and cultural connections.

IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTION

As a result of all this, the life of the French-speaking nations of Africa is still governed by one principal contradiction—the imperialist contradiction. For two distinct socio-economic forces are at grips with each other.

On the one hand, there is a small privileged class of intellectuals and businessmen, which because of

its French origin and its French connections, serves the interests of French imperialism. Counterposed to this are the broad masses whose demand can only be



Abbé Fulbert Youlou

With the recent political crisis in the Congo (Brazzaville), the government of Abbé Fulbert Youlou came to an end.

Youlou, a defrocked priest of the Roman Catholic Church was firmly set on the way to serving mammon when in 1959, his Union Démocratique de Défense des Intérêts Africains (U.D.D.I.A.) came to power.

Burning with ambition, he had dreams of restoring the ancient Bakongo Empire with himself, of course, as the new emperor. Pursuant to this aim, he courted for some time the friendship of M. Kasavubu, across the river. He also toyed with the idea of participating in and ultimately dominating an independent Central African Federation. He dropped the idea just before independence; but that he still cherished such ambitions is found in his subsequent formation of the Brazzaville Group.

His ambitions were unrestrained and boundless and he was ready to go any length to feather them. Like the traitor he is, he was the closest friend of Tshombe and gave him considerable sympathy when the arch-traitor from Katanga was imprisoned in 1961.

While in power, Youlou was an avowed agent of neo-colonialism and a willing instrument in the hands of French Right-wing organisations. Paradoxically, it is his adherence to neo-colonialism that has cost him his presidential throne.

met through the overthrow of imperialism and a radical transformation of the present society.

Fulbert Youlou had to go because he had begun to look elsewhere for help. It is a known fact that Abbé Fulbert Youlou had, for some time, sought ways of loosening French grip on his country by developing ties with other nations.

At the Addis Ababa Summit last May, he showed marked enthusiasm for African unity. He visited nearby Congo (Leopoldville) and even proposed a union of the two Congos. To France such a move looked like surrendering to U.S. imperialism which, everyone knows, is in control of the Congo (Leopoldville).

In addition, there have been moves of late to get U.S. companies interested in the uranium deposits of Congo (Brazzaville).

The sequence of events in the Congo coup is revealing. The masses took to the streets demanding African unity, the break-up of links with France, social reforms and a socialist pattern of society. Crack French troops were moved in from the Central African Republic and the Gabon to reinforce the local garrison.

FRENCH AFFAIR

Although the masses were reported to have burnt some houses and cars, there was no dispute about French troops being in control of the business and administrative parts of the town. The masses could do no more than chant slogans in front of the Presidential Palace which was firmly held by French troops. Yet Fulbert Youlou had to sign a letter of resignation.

The Army dissolved the National Assembly and it is clear that the Provisional Government was one either chosen by or in any case acceptable to the French Army.

It must be deduced therefore that this Congo coup is essentially a French affair. It is meant to replace one stooge who has served his time with another stooge who is considered more in line with the dictates of the master in Paris.

What is the evidence for this view?

In the first place, the

trade union leaders who led the mass demonstrations and held talks with the Army on the formation of the new Provisional Government have all been excluded from the new administration. Newspaper reporters tactfully say that they refused to take office.

Secondly, even though the demonstrations called for a severance of links with France, the new government has announced that it will "honour all international agreements signed by the country's previous government". This of course means continued adherence to the arrangements of the Union of African and Malagasy states (U.A.M.) and to

the European Common Market.

Thirdly, the new government wants a "mobilisation of the Congo elite" as the basis for its actions. This means that reliance will be placed, not on the masses, but on the very privileged class which, we pointed out earlier, is the main tool serving French imperialist interests in Africa.

Fourthly, a new constitution is to be drawn up by the Provisional Govern-

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THE DANGER OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES



MANY Independent African States are involved by military pacts with the former colonial powers. The stability and security which such devices seek to establish are illusory, for the metropolitan Powers seize the opportunity to support their neo-colonialist controls by direct military involvement. We have seen how the neo-colonialists use their bases to entrench themselves and even to attack neighbouring independent states.

Such bases are centres of tension and potential danger spots of military conflict. They threaten the security not only of the country in which they are situated but of neighbouring countries as well. How can we hope to make Africa a nuclear-free zone and independent of cold war pressure with such military involvement on our continent? Only by counter-balancing a common defence force with a common desire for an Africa untrammelled by foreign dictation or military and nuclear presence.

This will require an all-embracing African High Command, especially if the military pacts with the imperialists are to be renounced. It is the only way we can break these direct links between the colonialism of the past and the neo-colonialism which disrupts us today.

We do not want nor do we visualise an African High Command in the terms of the power politics that now rule a great part of the world, but as an essential and indispensable instrument for ensuring stability and security in Africa.

KWAME NKUMAH

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BLACK ORPHEUS (4)

(Translated by G. L. Patterson from the original by Jean-Paul Sartre)

THERE emerges from Césaire like a cry of grief, love or hate, an objective image of negritude. Here again he follows the surrealist tradition which requires that poetry should produce objective forms.

The words Césaire uses do not describe, depict or reproduce negritude externally, as a painter does from a model. They create it, bringing it to life before our very eyes, so that it becomes a thing that can be seen and apprehended.

His subjective method fits in with the objective mode referred to earlier. While others seek to invoke the soul of black folk and become possessed by it, he exercises it, but in the end the net result is the same. Negritude exists in the distant beat of a tom-tom heard at night in the streets of Dakar, in the voodoo sounds that escape from a hide-out in Haiti and travel down the highway, or in a Congolese mask.

BLACK GRAIL

But it is present also in Césaire's poetry, spluttering, blood-stained, full of slime, like a severed worm writhing in the dust. This double spasm of absorption and excretion beats out the rhythm of the Negro's soul in every page of this collection.

What then is negritude, the sole concern of the poets represented in this anthology, the one subject of this book? It must at once be admitted that no member of the white race could ever properly describe it, first because he has no inner experience of the thing, and secondly because the languages of Europe have no words to represent it.

I ought therefore to leave it to the reader to discover it and form his own judgement, as he turns over these pages. But this introduction would be incomplete if, after indicating that the quest of the Black Grail was part of its original intention, and a truly genuine synthesis of revolutionary aspirations and poetic expression part of its method, I failed to point out that this complex notion is, at heart, pure poetry.

I shall therefore limit myself to an objective examination of these poems as a set of evidence, and to an assessment of some of their ruling themes. "The essential quality," says Senghor, "that imparts negritude to a poem, is not so much the theme as the style, the emotional warmth that makes the words live, transmuting symbols into active speech".

There could be no better warning that negritude is not a state nor a definite set of vices or virtues, intellectual or moral qualities, but a certain way of feeling in regard to the world. Since the beginning of this century, psychologists have ceased to pin any faith on these broad scholastic distinctions.

"We do not now believe that matters connected with the soul can be divided into will or action, knowledge or perception, sentiment or blind states of inaction. We know that a sentiment represents a definite individual response to the world, and implies a certain understanding of the universe.

It is a tension of the soul, a choice between oneself and others, a method of going beyond the crude facts of experience and, in a word, a premeditated thing like an act of volition. Negritude may be defined after the manner of Heidegger as "being in the world" of the Negro.

This is how Césaire puts it:

"My negritude is not a stone, striking deaf against the clamour of the day.

My negritude is not a pool of stagnant water over the blind eye of the day.

My negritude is not a tower nor a cathedral; it strikes straight into the red, earthly soil; it strikes straight into the stary firmament;

It pierces the impenetrable mystery of prostration by its unswerving patience."

ACTIVE PASSIVITY!

Negritude is pictured in these beautiful lines as an act, rather than an attitude. But this act is a resolution of the inner self. It is not interested in taking the world and all it contains in the palm of its hand and transmuting them. One must live in the world and the human relationship with the universe remains one of appropriation.

But such appropriation is not of the technical kind. As far as white people are concerned, possession means transformation. Of course, the white worker uses tools which he does not possess, but at least his techniques are his own.

If it is true that the major inventions of European industry are due to the existence of a staff recruited for the most part from among the middle classes, at least carpenters, cabinet-makers and lathe-turners regard their work as a true heritage, although the direction in which intensive capitalist production is moving, tends to deprive them also of their "joy in work". In the case of the Negro worker, it is not enough to say that he uses borrowed tools, it must be added that he uses borrowed techniques as well.

Césaire describes his Negro brothers as:
"Those who have given the world no compass or gunpowder,
Those who have never harnessed steam or electricity,
Those who have not explored the ocean or the skies".

But this proud claim to an absence of technical skill reverses the situation. What might be regarded as a disqualification becomes a positive source of enrichment. The technician's relationship with Nature reveals her as a pure quantity, something inert, outside himself. Thus Nature ceases to exist.

By proudly refusing to be a "home faber" the Negro gives Nature back to life, as though in the relationship between Man and Nature, passivity in one of the terms automatically implies activity in the other. In point of fact negritude is not passive, since "it pierces through to sky and earth". It is "unswerving patience", and patience does appear to be the active imitation of what is passive.

The Negro's action is tried out first upon himself. He stands up straight and still like a bird charmer, and objects perch upon the branches of the suppositious tree. The aim is actually to capture the world as in a snare, magically, through silence and repose. By exerting pressure upon Nature in the first place, the whiteman loses himself as he loses touch with Nature.

INTELLIGENCE AND INTUITION

By exerting pressure first upon himself, the Negro claims to win Nature, in that he possesses his soul.

They yield as in a trance to the essence of all things.

Knowing nought of size or space, caught in movement's whirling race, Careless of computing, bent on merely living; Nature's elder sons forsooth!

Pervious to every breath of life,

Flesh of this world's flesh,

All a throb with restless surge of vital motion".

You can hardly fail as

The truth is that the Negro is first and foremost a peasant. Agricultural technique is in fact an "unswerving patience". It waits in absolute reliance upon life. To sow grain is to impregnate the earth, then wait and watch. "Each atom of silence gives promise of a ripened fruit", each moment gives back the scattered grain a hundredfold; whereas, in regard to manufactured articles, the worker gets only just as much as he gives in.

MALE ON EARTH

Man, too, grows as the cornfields do. Every moment brings enhancement, the accession of an added grace. Keeping a close watch on the frail distending bosom, he intervenes only to protect. The ripe corn is a microcosm; because its growth depends upon the operation of sun, wind and rain. An ear of corn is the most natural thing in the world, and at the same time the most improbable of chances.

The white peasant has been contaminated by techniques, but the black peasant remains the big strong

cone-shaped drum beats out
Its plaintive moan,
Wherein is truly mirrored the essence of the Negro soul,
The deep-drawn spasms of a rutting male,
The viscous sobbing of a paramour,
Defiling the calm stillness of the night!

GOD, THE ENGINEER

It is a far cry from this to Bergson's chaste, a-sexual intuitiveness. What matters is not that we should strike a sympathetic chord with life, but that we should be enamoured of all its forms. So far as the European technician is concerned, God is an engineer first and last.

Jupiter brings order out of chaos and subjects it to the operation of given laws. The God of the Christians conceived the world through His understanding, and gave it form and fulfilment by virtue of His will. The relation between the creature and the Creator is never sensual, except in the case of a few mystics whom the church regards with intense misgiving.

IN the early fifties there were two intellectual age-groups in the French speaking countries of Africa. The first group was represented by Leopold Senghor, the great poet who is now the President of Senegal. The second group was represented by French speaking African students in Paris.

We are publishing series of articles on the views these two groups represent. The first five series are on Negritude. Though Leopold Senghor represents this ideology, Jean-Paul Sartre the great French philosopher, in his Black Orpheus did a lot to introduce the subject to the intellectual world.

After the three series on Negritude, we shall publish criticism of the subject by the second group of intellectuals. In certain parts of the second series, we shall discover the links between the Intellectuals of English speaking Africa and their counterparts in French speaking Africa.

Apart from the fact that the series provoke an intellectual exercise and show the development of intellectual ferment in French speaking Africa during the early fifties, we have decided to publish these articles because two things show clearly:—

1. How "Towards Colonial Freedom" by Kwame Nkrumah and the struggle of Ghana influenced some of the leaders of thought in French speaking Africa and
2. How, in French-speaking Africa, culture forms the basis of all discussions.

—EDITOR

you read those lines to recall the famous distinction Bergson draws between intelligence and intuition. And Césaire actually describes us as:
"Conquerors—omniscient yet naive"

The white man knows all about tools, but his knowledge is a mere tinkering on the surface, that leaves him ignorant of the quality that abides, the core, the life within. On the other hand, negritude is understanding by way of sympathy. The Negro's secret lies in this that the source of his existence and the roots of Being are one and the same.

If we wished to interpret this metaphysical in social terms, we might say that the poetry of farmers is here pitted against the prose of engineers. It is not really true to say that the Negro is absolutely devoid of technical skill.

The relation of any group of men with the external world is always in one sense or another of a technical kind. Conversely, I would say Césaire is unfair. St. Exupéry's aircraft ploughing the earth spread out beneath it like a carpet, is an instrument of discovery.

male on earth, the world-fertilising factor. His life revolves around the patient toil of the vegetable world. His work is a perpetual ritual, year after year, of the sacred act of union.

He creates and is replenished, because he creates. Ploughing, planting, eating, are all acts of courtship with nature. The thing that probably strikes one first in these poets is their sexual pantheism. It is in this that they achieve oneness with the dances and phallic rites of the African Negro.

"Hail, Congo, reclining in your forest bed,
Queen o'er captive Africa!

May the phallic mountains bear your flag aloft!

For by my head and tongue and bosom I swear it,

You are a woman".

So writes Senghor. And again we have this:

"Now once again shall I explore the gentle bosom of the sand-dunes,
and the red hot flanks of day".

Rabearivelo writes:
"The bleeding earth, the sweating stone,
The sperm-diffusing wind".

And Laleau has this:
"Beneath the sky the

This spermatic kind of religion is like a tension of the soul; achieving a balance between two complementary tendencies—the sense of power and dominance associated with an erected phallus, and the passivity and patient forbearance of the female, implicit in the idea of growth. And so, negritude is basically a hermaphrodite phenomenon.

"There thou art upstanding and stark nude,
Dust of the earth as thou rememberst;
But in effect the child of the prolific shade
That feeds on moonlit sustenance,
And gradually grows tall and straight,
On this low wall bestrewn with floral dreams
And summer scents in rich profusion.
To feel and think that thou are fastened to the earth
Where roots entwine and mingle and protrude,
Like thirsty adders making for some subterranean spring".

Césaire writes:
"Exhausted mother, leafless tree,
Flamboyant bearing nought but empty pods,
A calabash tree teeming with useless bowls".

PECULIAR DISTINCTION

This profound unity between vegetable and sexual symbols is undoubtedly the greatest single factor that gives Negro poetry its peculiar distinction, and this is particularly remarkable at a time when as Michel Carrouges has shown, the imagery used by poets of the white race tends for the most part to associate man with the mineral world.

Césaire, on the other hand, invests sea, sky and stones with vegetable and animal qualities, or to put it more accurately, his poetry is a constant pairing-off of men and women metamorphosed into animals, vegetables and stones, with stones, plants and animals metamorphosed into human beings.

And so the Negro bears witness to Eros in his natural state, and is himself his living embodiment. If we wished to discover a term of comparison in European poetry, we should have to go back to Lucretius, the peasant poet who celebrated Venus, the Goddess Mother, when as yet Rome was not much more than a large agricultural mart.

At the present time I can think of no one else apart from Lawrence who has had a cosmic sense of sex. And even so, in his case this sense is predominantly literary.

But although negritude may seem in essence to be a static thrust, a unity forged between phallic pungency and vegetable growth, this theme alone cannot exhaust its meaning. There is another theme running like a great pulse-beat throughout this anthology.

"Tis true that they have left the world no shot or shell
No Mariner's compass to illumine the uncharted seas;
But they have knowledge intimate beyond compare,
Of a land where suffering dwells".

As against the white man's absurd preoccupation with the utilitarian, the Ne-

gro brings a genuine knowledge gleaned from suffering. Having had the terrible privilege of sounding all the depths and shoals of misery, the Negro race is a race of the elect. And although from end to end these poems are anti-christian, negritude might for that very reason be regarded as a Passion.

The self-conscious Negro looks upon himself as the one man who has embraced the sorrows of the world, and bears them in the name of all men, even of those who are white:

"At Judgement Day Armstrong's trumpet shall proclaim
The sufferings of mortal man" (Paul Nizer)

It should be noted at once that there is absolutely no question here of the sorrow of resignation. I referred a moment ago to Bergson and Lucretius. I feel almost tempted now to mention Nietzsche, that great opponent of Christianity, and refer to his "dionysism".

Like the dionysiac poet, the Negro seeks to probe beneath the dazzling phantasms of his waking moments, and far below the surface encounters what is in effect man's universal lot, namely, a weight of suffering that nothing can dispel or expiate. If we wished to found a system, we might maintain that in so far as he represents a sexual bond with life, the Negro fuses completely with Nature, but asserts his rights as a Man, in so far as he represents the Passion of sorrow in revolt.

The basic unity of this double tendency is felt when we consider the growing intimacy, psychiatrists are postulating between, agonising pain and sexual desire. I know of only one proud surge of feeling that might well also be termed desire, which is rooted in suffering, or is itself a suffering thrust like a sword through a vast, pervasive cosmic urge.

THE RHYTHM

The "unswerving patience" of which Césaire speaks, is at once a vegetable growth and a patient enduring of grief. It is to be found in the very muscles of the Negro. It sustains the Negro porter as he travels mile upon mile up the Niger in the blazing sun with a fifty pound load neatly poised upon his head.

But if in a certain sense Nature's fertility may be compared with sorrow's ceaseless progeny, in another sense—and this too is dionysiac—this fertility by its very superabundance transcends grief, submerging it beneath a wealth of creative activity that issues in poetry, love and the dance.

Perhaps no one who has not seen the Harlem Negroes dance in frenzied capers to the rhythm of the "blues" which are the saddest tunes on earth, can really understand this indissoluble bond of suffering between eroticism and pleasure. In point of fact, it is rhythm that knits together the myriad facets of the Negro soul, clothing the ponderous dionysiac intuitions with a Nietzschean fluidity.

It is rhythm—the tom-tom, jazz, the pulsating beats of these poems—that typifies the temporal character of Negro life. And when a Negro poet predicts a better future for his brothers, it is in rhythmic form that he pictures their deliverance:

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THE U.N. AND THE CONGO

THE three-year experience on UN operations in the Congo demonstrated the almost unseverable connection between the UN troop manoeuvres and the strengthening of the colonisers' positions there. This conclusion, which has now developed into deep conviction in many African states proves the chief factor which accounts for the intended withdrawal of UN troops from the Congo before December 31 — (a plan which is being ascribed to UN Secretary-General, U Thant.)

In view of the pending restoration of the National regime in the Congo and the expiration of UN mandate, the withdrawal of the UN troops is widely considered in Africa as the inevitable step to be taken.

There is hardly anybody in the world today who could deny the fact that it is the "UN operations" in the Congo that have brought the country close to losing independence. These operations have brought to power a government in the African country which is afraid to face the people and parliament, while the same UN activities enabled the colonisers to consolidate their positions there.

A GOOD LESSON

The Congolese experiences have taught everybody a good lesson. One of such lessons assumes especially great significance for the Congo today. It boils down to the following: utmost vigilance and caution should be exercised at those moments when the development of events is in concert (at least outwardly) with the aspirations of the people.

Such moments are usually used by the colonisers when they change their tactics and regroup their forces. It is quite possible that such a situation is about to

develop in the Congo.

The UN troops are being withdrawn from that African country. But does colonialism intend to go? A retrospective look at events justifies the question.

COLLECTIVE COLONIALISM

Until recently the colonial locomotive has been steaming ahead in the Congo strictly along "neutral" UN rails. There is quite a tangible threat nowadays that collective colonialism will embark on a new stage of enthraling the country, having chucked the no longer needed services of the two ostentatious military and entrusting further enslavement of the Congo to civil experts and technical specialists who will be executing the will of the Western bloc under the canopy of the same blue flag.

For the Congo the withdrawal of UN troops is the first important step forward, though not the panacea of independence. Colonialism has entrenched itself in that country so deeply and merged with the UN administra-

tion so solidly that from now on it can be more than satisfied with a smoothly running system of UN representation which would take good care of its far-reaching aims.

Therefore, only then will Congo's independence be guaranteed when not only the UN troops leave the scene, but indeed the entire UN staff in the Congo also go. For what is this staff engaged in now? In actual fact it has established the trusteeship of Western representatives through the Currency Council over the entire financial, taxation, and foreign trade policies of the country.

UN advisers dictate Congo's policies and deprive the Central Government of even the least opportunity of restoring its sovereignty over the Katanga riches; the same advisers rule supreme in the Congolese army, estranging it to the people and turning it into their submissive weapon.

THE IMMINENT DANGER

In short, there is imminent danger that the Congo would prove the first country to fall under the power of quite a new and specific form of colonialism, i.e. the colonialism of a group of Western powers which are using financial and political levers so as to turn this World Organisation into a smoke-screen and at the same time executor of its policies.

This should be stopped. Facts demonstrate more than clearly that there are good grounds for apprehensions.

Back in July and August, 1960, the leaders of the UN mission in the Congo announced their plans for ruling that country. The plans had been approved by the late UN Secretary General Hammarskjöld.

NO ATTRIBUTE OF INDEPENDENCE

These declaration were noticed by many an observer. Shol-Latur put them down in his book *Rebellion in the Congo*. Later on Walter Lippman wrote about the plans of imposing UN trusteeship on the Congo for 25 years. He called it the general strategic line of the NATO member-countries in the Congo.

At the present time the American diplomats in the United Nations covertly insist that the Congo be the first country in the world over which "international trusteeship be effected under the aegis of the UN" and practically of the Western bloc.

In other words, what is wanted is that the Congo become a country with thousands of international (pro-Western) officials, while it should not have a single attribute of independence to speak of.

This is an obvious plan

of handing over the Congo to the international colonial consortium in the guise of expanding technical and other types of U.N. assistance, which has practically boiled down to the restoration of the former masters, i.e. the Belgian administrators. There is but one difference: the Belgians have to make room for the Americans.

That is why in connection with UN troops withdrawal it is quite timely to pose the problem of giving the Congolese people full freedom in the solution of its domestic issues and stopping any foreign interference in the affairs of the country.

It is high time that the Congo joined the system of African solidarity instead of being fully dependent on the United Nations, unless, of course, we want to face the recolonisation of the Congo and a drop in the UN moral prestige. Several things need to be done, to attain this end.

BACK-STAGE CAMPAIGN

To begin with, the very process of removing UN troops from the territory of the Congo (this has already been announced) should be placed under strict control of the African public opinion.

Rumours circulating at the UN have it that during the time still left before the actual withdrawal, UN troops can be provoked by the colonisers into carrying out drastic police measures so as to pave the way for pro-colonial elements at the 1964 elections.

Besides, the American mission at the UN headquarters in the Congo is reputed to be the initiator of a back-stage campaign aimed at leaving UN troops there after the dead-line set by Mr. U Thant. It should be pointed out that the United States would gladly "reinforce" the UN contingents at the expense of its allies from amongst the smaller countries thus leaving these colonial troops in the Congo in the guise of "symbolic" UN detachments.

THE U.S. PLANS

Information is also available to the effect that the United States is trying to place officers from NATO member-countries (which are part of the UN military contingent in the Congo) in the Congolese army, which the U.S. "wants to reorganise" and put under Western leadership.

Under U.S. plans, the army should become the chief political factor that would take care of the Western positions in that African country. Before completing this "reorganisation", the troops should be used for political reprisals.

Such are the plans of the United States and its allies. The very fact that certain quarters associate these plans with the presence of the UN Mission in the Congo, only justifies the opinion that the military contingents as well as the civil personnel, should leave Congo lock, stock and barrel.

This presents an especially burning issue since the position of the UN mission in the Congo becomes more and more autonomous, even dangerously so. It is falling under greater Western influence and rifts away from the UN Secretariat and even the Secretary-General himself.

It is this very rift between the various sections of the UN and the mission, it is this opportunity of influencing the mission, irrespective of the decisions taken in New York, which are being exploited by the colonisers. The UN mission in the Congo just interprets events, decisions and intentions of various political groups and takes actions as is advantageous for the Western bloc.

THE U.N. MISSION-TSHOMBE AGREEMENT

Examples are galore. It is a known fact, for instance, that from the first days of the Belgian invasion, officers from countries allied to the U.S. serving on the U.N. force co-ordinated their military operations not so much with the UN centre or the Congolese government, but with American Ambassador Timberlake.

It is now an established fact that the UN Mission on its own initiative concluded an agreement with Tshombe. It is an open secret that shortly before the appearance of the U Thant plan, the Swedish and other leaders of the UN Mission went out of their way trying to see through the plan of establishing a UN trusteeship over Katanga.

Originally it was an American plan. It failed to take into account the restoration

of the Central Government's sovereignty. The State Department functionaries serving in the UN had made an all-round effort to implement this plan contrary to direct recommendations of UN Secretary-General. They even fought U Thant's recommendations.

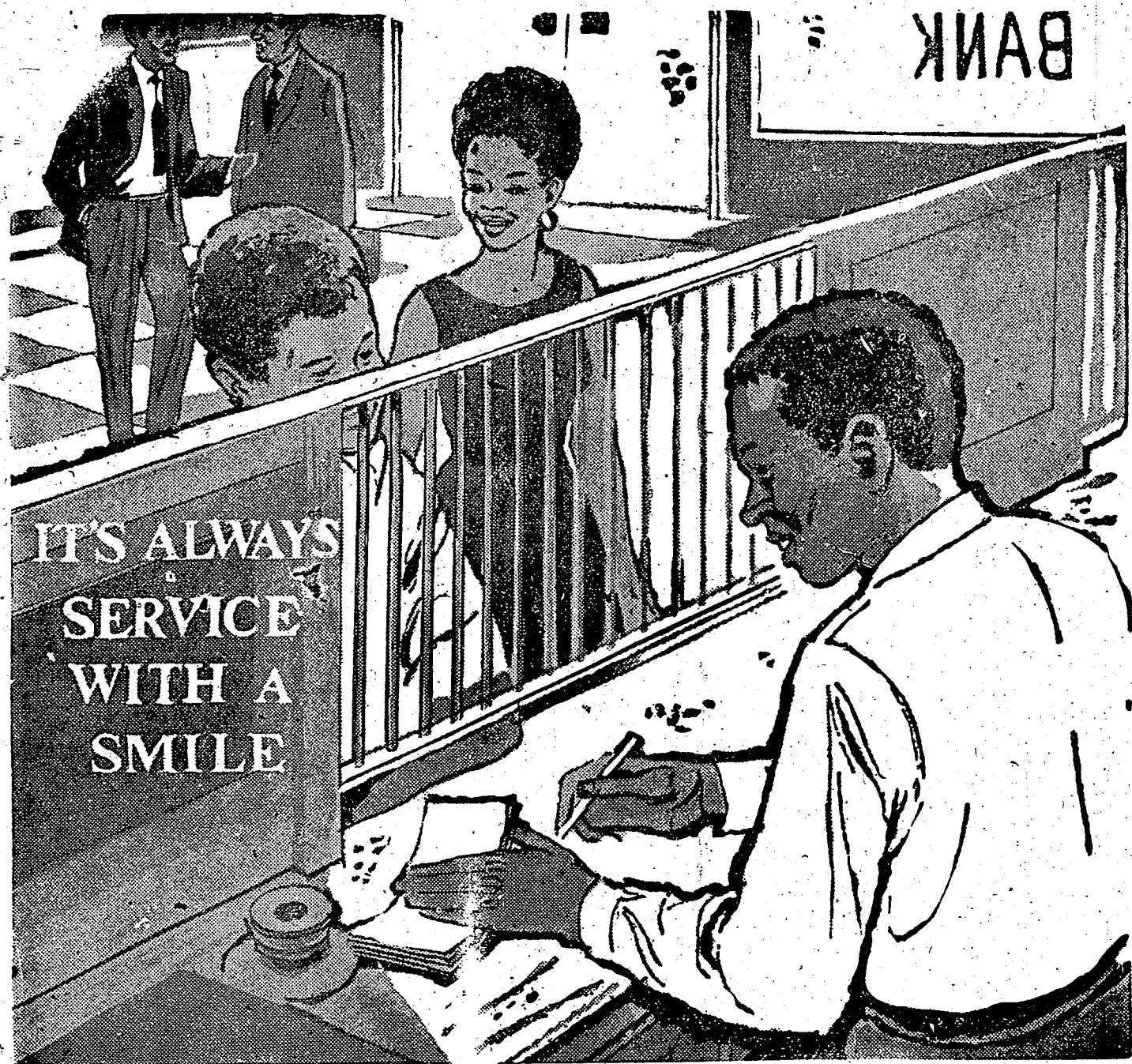
INTERNATIONAL SAGES

This is very much indicative of the fact that to leave the UN mission in the Congo would be tantamount to preserving a ready, well-trained, well camouflaged and not very scrupulous colonial apparatus there.

The strategy of the Congo lies in the fact that various regimes and policies have always been forced on the country. In order to solve the domestic problems of the Congo by the will of the people and to pave the way for general stability, the people of the Congo should be free from all types of foreign intervention, including the intervention effected on behalf and by means of the "neutral" United Nations Organisation.

In short, the criteria and scope of freedom and independence of the Congolese people should be the same used by other nations—members of the World Organisation—who do not live by the good graces and will of that Organisation.

No one has the right of forcing some "inferiority complex" on the Congolese people to justify the alleged need of governing them for the next 20 or 30 years using for that purpose some "international sages" hand-picked by the Americans or Belgians.



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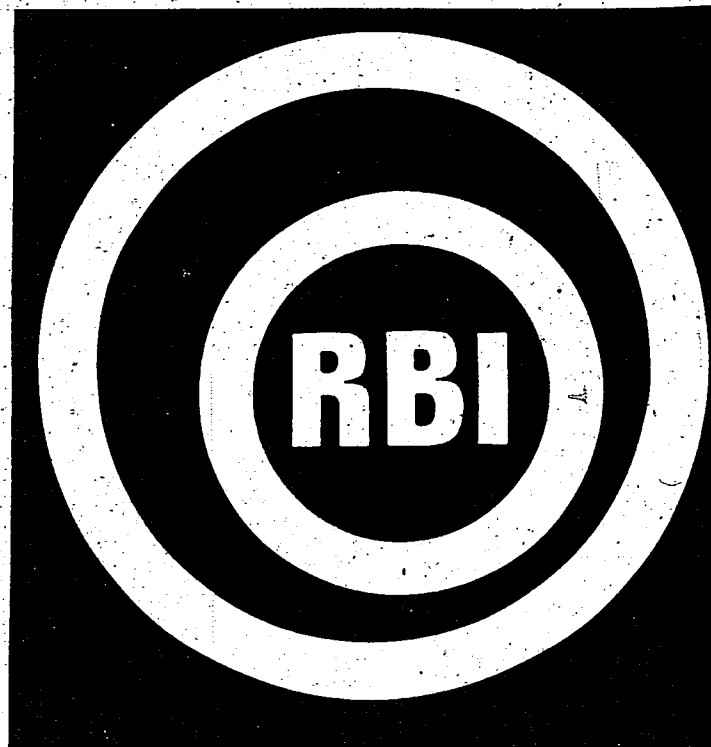
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The Struggle for Unity and Real Independence

TO the sound of millions of Africans shouting "freedom!", the wave of independence is sweeping across Africa. Thirty-two countries are independent. Kenya is on the brink. Before long other peoples will join them, helped by the work of the Pan-African movement. But does independence mean the same as freedom? Does self-government mean that the old colonial masters have lost their power, and that the peoples of Africa are free to choose their future? These are the questions which face the Pan-African movement, and which this article tries to answer.

The Pan-African movement gathered strength as soon as enough colonies had won independence of other colonies; but it aims further than this, towards a union of all African peoples, free from bonds with any other countries, joining in the progress of all the peoples of the world. How is this to be achieved?

Clearly, to help our brothers win their independence we must agree on a plan; but after independence we must have a plan, too, or else the Pan-African movement will break up. The question is, what kind of plan? Will political union or federation be enough, or must we consider social and economic union as well? Unless we have agreed on the answers to these questions, Pan-Africanism will be meaningless and freedom as far away as ever.

Already propaganda from abroad is trying to divide people from people, tribe from tribe, and English and French and Portuguese speaking countries from each other. We must remember that only in unity can we succeed and the greatest help to our unity will be a thorough understanding of the present state of Africa.

SOME FACTS

We all know of the struggle for democracy and independence against settlerdom in Kenya, of the fight against Federation and police state in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and of the brutal enslavement of the African people in South Africa. We can understand these as struggles for power; but there is a deeper cause for these struggles, which we can see if we look at other parts of the Empire.

To the East in the Seychelles and West in the Caribbean and British Guiana, colonies are refused their independence even though there are a few white settlers. In all these colonies the most important trade is in the hands of foreign owners. In the West Indies the sugar industry is owned by British companies like Tate and Lyle and Booker Brothers.

If we look more carefully into the affairs of these countries, we see how much power foreign business have. If you want to travel to West Africa, you will go by Elder Dempster Lines, a subsidiary of the United Africa Company, the African branch of Unilever. If you want to sell palm oil, you sell it to the United Africa Company's local agent. If you shop at the Kingsway store in Lagos, or Freetown, you are also using a branch of the United Africa Company.

In East Africa, if you shop at Gailey and Roberts, you are using another branch of the United Africa Company. Sedec in the Belgian Congo and SGOA in French West Africa are also branches of the United Africa Company. If you travel by ship or rail in Uganda or Tanganyika, you are using East African Railways and Harbours, which

operates as a Kenya Company.

If you buy something in British Guiana, it was probably imported by Booker Bros., and if you buy at the London and Blantyre in Nyasaland, you are also buying from a branch of Booker Bros. The list of foreign-owned businesses in Africa could be continued for many pages.

Financial control of some countries goes even deeper. The operation of Currency Boards is dependent on banking in England. Purchases with (hard currencies) are limited by Britain, though exports to them are unlimited: the resulting balance benefits British dollar reserves. Savings deposited in the Post Office are banked in England.

At the same time, health and education are neglected. In many parts of Africa, nearly half the children die before they are fifteen years old. Malaria is the cause of most of these deaths, yet only very few African countries have widespread malaria control, as it is in South America and in the Far East.

Malnutrition is another cause of death, and also weakness and poor growth, yet colonial governments feel that enough has been done when the people have been surveyed and lectured, even though the United Nations Agencies are prepared to supply supplementary foods free of charge. In many African countries schools are not free, and

are usually in the hands of the missions. In this way education is restricted and the division of people between Catholics and Protestants, which weakens their unity, is maintained.

Africans might improve their conditions if they could afford to buy more things, and pay for more education; but their wages are far too low. At the time of the Central African crisis, people were surprised that workers on the Kariba Dam were only being paid 42/- per week; but at the same time, the Colonial Secretary admitted that the average wage in Kampala, the main town of Uganda, was only 5/- per day.

Africans are faced with poverty, poor social services, and foreign domination, but only few know that these are related to each other. In order to win freedom from all these, we must understand how they have come to be related.

To begin with, we must understand that there are two kinds of goods: the first kind is of the things which people use, but which do not produce other things. These include food, clothes, one's own house, furniture, bicycles, and so on: they are a man's possessions which he uses in his everyday life.

The second kind of goods is those which are used to produce other things. These include machines, factories and mines; and also lorries and buses which provide transport and power sta-

by D. P. (London)

tions which provide electricity; and also the banks and insurance companies which collect and lend money. The first kind of goods is sometimes called consumer goods, and the second is sometimes called capital goods, or means of production.

The important difference between Capitalism and Socialism is in who owns and controls the second kind of goods, the means of production, the banks and factories and mines and machines which produce other things.

THE EVILS OF CAPITALISM

In a Capitalist country, the factories, mines, buses etc. are owned by private people or groups of people (companies) who run these means of production for their own profit. Many people pretend that this is a good thing: they say that it gives every man an opportunity to become rich; that producers who make what the people want will sell most; and that competition to sell things will keep prices as low as possible. But this is not true.

In the first place, when producers are in search of profits, they do not consider the real needs of the people. You can make a bigger profit from a cinema or from an office building than from living houses; so landowners spend their money on cinemas and offices, and the people find it difficult to get rooms to live in.

You can make a bigger profit selling things which the rich want, like expensive clothes. So ordinary people find it difficult to buy cheap clothes and so on: when profits are what the producer wants, the needs of the people will be neglected.

In the second place, an owner of a company which is successful, which makes

a big profit, spends some of this profit on enlarging or improving his business (that is, by buying more means of production) and so by increasing the production, he gets still more profit.

And the growth does not stop there, for with his increased profits the owner buys up, or forces out of business, other owners of companies; and so in the end he becomes the only producer in the business.

He has what is called a monopoly: he has no competitors, and so he can charge what prices he likes. So that in fact Capitalism results in less competition, and enables the successful owner to make even bigger profits. (Sometimes groups of owners get together and agree not to compete with each other, which has the same effect.)

But, you may ask, why all this objection to profit? What is the harm in making a good profit? The answer to this is that one man's profit is another man's work. A chair, a table, a bicycle, each is worth the cost of the materials (the wood or iron) plus the amount of work which the workmen in the factory have done to make these things.

Now the owner has to pay fully for the raw materials, the wood or iron: what he does not pay fully for is the work which the workers do, and the value of the work which is not paid for, goes into the owner's pocket as profit.

Under Capitalism a worker is never paid the full value of his work; the owner, who may do no work at all, takes away some of this value as his profit. As the worker has no share in owning the business, he has no control over what wages should be, and if jobs are difficult to get, he has to

accept the low wages offered by the owner.

If there is a strong trades union, the owners may agree to some increase in wages, but it is clear that the only power which the workers have over an owner is to refuse to work (to strike); for only in this way can they threaten what the owner wants most—his profits.

From this it is also clear that the higher the price of the things produced, and the less that the workers are paid for their work, the bigger will be the profits of the owners. At the same time as they are trying to sell their products at the highest possible prices, the owners also pay their wages—just enough, in fact, to keep them alive and working.

But in the end this leads to a breakdown: prices become so high and wages become so low that the people cannot afford to buy things. Then production becomes unprofitable and industries stop working. Goods are destroyed and wasted, and many workers are dismissed from their jobs.

This is called a slump, and has happened a number of times in Europe and in America, and results in great poverty and misery for the people.

Capitalism is greedy, selfish, inconsiderate of the needs of the people, and results in poverty, misery, and distrust.

CAPITALISM AND POLITICS

As Capitalism develops, and money collects in the hands of bigger businesses, there comes to be division of people into two classes. On the one hand there are the owners of the means of production, who live on profits; and on the other hand, there are the working people, whose work makes the profits of the owners.

Not only do the owners of the means of production control the industries of the country, but they also have

the greatest power and influence in the Government.

As they own the newspapers, they control the news which is printed and fill it with their propaganda; as they own the banks, and have money which the Government may want to borrow, they can influence the policy of the Government; and their influence extends even to the Churches, which nearly always side with the Capitalists against the workers, (there are exceptions in South Africa and Nyasaland).

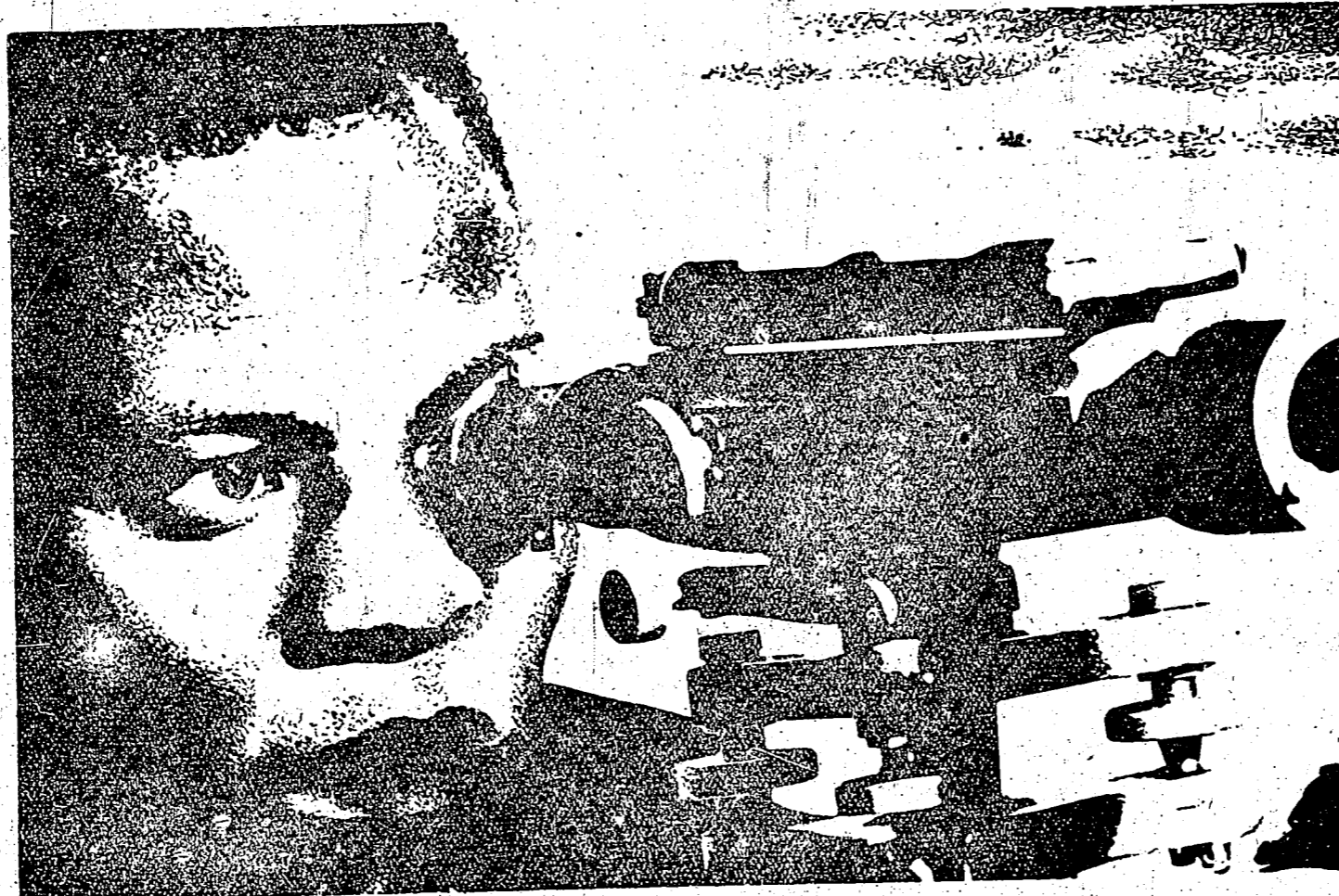
In some countries also, although elections are held, only the owners of land or businesses are allowed to vote, thus keeping the workers' voice out of the Government. Worse than this the owners of means of production will not stop at violence to protect their property and break up the organisations of the workers. They will pay groups of hooligans and ruffians to attack workers' leaders, to disturb meetings, and to break up strikes and picket lines.

What are some of the directions in which the owners try to influence the policy of a Government? Of course, they will always insist on the protection and sanctity of private property, especially when that property is their own factories or machines; but on the other hand, they will always resist any attempts to restrict the amount of work they may get out of a man, or to regulate the amount of wages they should pay for any work.

They will resist any controls the Government may try to place on them, or any attempt by the Government to undertake a profitable business (as they think that these should belong to themselves!); but they will be the first to cry out if the Government does not manage its unprofitable business, like education, roads and drains, and postal services, to their satisfaction.

Continued on Page 5

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SOUTH AFRICA'S MASSIVE RE-ARMAMENT PLAN

A RESOLUTION adopted by the United Nations Security Council calls upon all members to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa.

Britain was one of the two Governments voting against this resolution, and Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, has made it clear that Britain intends to go on defying it by continuing to supply arms to South Africa on the specious grounds that they are for external defence only.

According to the *Sunday Telegraph* (7.4.63):

"Contracts either placed or currently negotiated between Britain and South Africa total nearly £90 million over a two or three-year period which marks Phase One of South Africa's re-equipment programme. This covers purchase of frigates, aircraft, radar and electronics equipment.

"For Phase Two, she wants 200 jet trainers,

communications aircraft of the D.H. 125 types, more Buccaneer strike aircraft, submarines, completion of the air defence and communications networks and possibly anti-aircraft guided weapons."

With the help of Britain and other NATO Powers, which in the words of the Soviet Security Council representative "condemn the racist regime with words but bless it with their actions," the South African Government is in fact

undertaking a massive re-armament programme which constitutes a threat not only to the oppressed millions of non-Whites in South Africa itself but also to the newly-independent states of Africa.

South Africa's military budget for the year totals some £80 million—an increase of 40 per cent over last year, four times greater than that of 1960-61 and far in excess of the highest military expenditure undertaken by South Africa even during the Second World War.

PISTOL CLUBS

Defence Minister Fouché boasted in June last year that he could mobilise a quarter of a million men. The Government is planning to train 60,000 young men for the Citizen Force before 1966, and White

by
John Southwood

youths are being called upon for an intensive nine-month military training course.

NO DISTINCTION

Lord Home may see some clear distinction between weapons intended for defence against external aggression and those intended for the enforcement of apartheid: the South African authorities see no such distinction. A significant development during recent months has been the degree to which the police have become more of an army, while the Army has been increasingly adapted

to police work. Army-police co-operation has increased authority over the Army.

Last year, the police force numbered about 30,000 men—"one of the largest police forces in the world" the Divisional Commissioner of Police at Port Natal (Durban) has said.

The police, it was announced last year, are receiving basic military training, and two years ago, extra money was voted for the formation of special mobile units equipped with their own helicopters (British-made).

TIE UP

The South African Police also has its own "armoured division" of British-made Saracen armoured troop carriers.

These technically belong to the Army and are "on loan" to the police. They were used at the Sharpeville massacre in 1960.

To make the Army-police tie-up even closer, the eleven police divisions covering South Africa and South West Africa have been re-divided into sixteen commands to coincide with the Army commands. Joint procedures have also been worked out to ensure rapid effective collaboration.

There can be no doubt that any military equipment sent to South Africa will be used to strengthen the Vewoerd regime and help enforce apartheid. It is, as a speaker in the U.N. Security Council pointed out, "all the same to the African population, what kinds of weapons are used against them."

Hypocrisy

A lot of word it is, Philosophically and psychologically speaking. However, before I don my intellectual scalpel And treat you to an intellectual holiday, I hope you will get the message And don't miss the point And in plain English, Pure and simple, WHITE is Hypocrisy.

By Tetteh Tawiah, Accra, July, 1963.

Takoradi

Takoradi, My beautiful city, Once the rendezvous of vintage globetrotters; Hideout of adventure and fun seeking stowaways; Haven for all that was beautiful and ugly in Gold Coast society; Thy shores once crowded, garish and gay, Beaming with pregnant mischief, After thirteen long eventful years Age-old birthright sold to Tema! Now here—now there—Some lonely old coaster. Ghost City, Takoradi.

By Tetteh Tawiah, Accra, 15th July, 1963.

Unity and Real Independence

Continued from Page 4

COLONIAL CAPITALISM

In a country which is a colony or protectorate of another country, Capitalism brings additional burdens. For not only does the colony suffer from the development of Capitalism among its own people; it is also in the position of being a "worker" for the owning country.

The colonial farmer who grows crops which are exported, has to sell his crops to foreign companies. If there are more than one company buying crops, he may be able to choose the one offering the highest price; but usually there is only one purchaser, either the biggest company (like the United Africa Company buying palm oil) or the government marketing board (which always considers first the prices which the foreign companies are offering), so the farmer has no choice but to sell his crops at the price offered. Of course, the price will be the lowest possible, since this will increase the companies' profits; and, as with the power of the worker over the owner, the only power which the colonial farmer has over the foreign company is to refuse to sell his crops.

This can be very effective, as was shown in the Gold Coast cocoa strike in 1938, but all the same the colony can be severely hurt by slumps in the owning country. For instance, the recent fall in prices paid for colonial products like cotton, coffee, cocoa, nuts and metals has lost the colonies more money than all the "assistance" grants made to them since the war.

In just the same way that the owner of means of production gets his profits from the work of his working people, so does an "owner" country, make their profits out of the work of the people of the colony, whom they pay less than their fits out of colonial countries is called imperialist exploitation, and it makes possible

a high standard of living for the people of the imperialist countries, at the expense of the people of the colonial countries.

Besides paying high wages to foreign staff and low wages to colonial workers, the businesses from imperialist countries pay low taxes, so that their profits do not help the colony, but are sent home to the owners in the imperialist country.

There are many other ways in which imperialists get money out of the colonies: the colonial money is controlled by imperialist banks; surpluses and savings of colonial peoples are invested in the imperialist country; the purchases of the colony are severely controlled and usually restricted to goods from the imperialist country; and so on.

You may ask, why does the imperialist government ever grant independence to a colony? The answer is that when the system of colonial capitalism has become firmly established, and when there is a big enough class of African capitalists and employees of foreign companies in the colony to ensure that imperialist profits will not be lost, then it is to the advantage of the imperialist country to grant "independence".

But this does not mean freedom from imperialist exploitation: for instance, in Nigeria, the United Africa Company has far more power than the government, and will continue to exploit the people as before. However, if a self-governing colony tries to get rid of the exploiting companies, like British Guiana tried to get rid of Booker Bros., then "freedom" is quickly ended, and the soldiers march in.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

As Capitalism develops in the colonial country, the two classes, the owners and the workers, become divided in the same way as in the imperialist country; but when these two classes are of different races, then the division becomes more sharp.

The owners claim that their race is generally superior, and make excuse for paying lower wages to the people of the colonial race. This is done partly to prevent the people of the colonial race from rising into competition as owners, and partly because it greatly increases the profits of the imperialist.

While in the imperialist country, the working people have little political influence, in the colonial country, where all the people of the country are looked upon as workers, they have even less chance to influence the Government.

Indeed, if the colonial people try to get political power, or organise parties, or start strikes or boycotts, the imperialist government passes laws declaring these illegal, and deports the leaders or puts them in prison.

THE SOCIALIST ANSWER

In a Socialist country, the means of production (the factories, mines, buses, and so on) are controlled by the people of the country, through their government, and their use is planned to satisfy the needs of the people.

Look back over the list of evils which happens with Capitalism: under Socialism they cannot happen. As construction and production is planned for the good of all the people, it is clear that those things which the people need will be produced first. Houses and schools and hospitals will be built before offices and cinemas, and hotels; there will be plenty of the cheapest goods instead of mostly expensive ones; because production will be undertaken to satisfy need, and not for anyone's profit.

Under Socialism, private people are not allowed to own or control the means of production; so it becomes impossible for a man to collect great wealth just because he owns a factory or a mine. There can be no competition to force other producers out of busi-

ness, and no great monopolies in the hands of a few people.

No competition? But then, you may think, prices of things will increase. But this is not so: for the reason that prices increase in Capitalism is because the owners are always trying to make bigger profits. Under Socialism there are no profits. This means that prices will be as low as possible; and that, apart from the taxes needed to support the government and to build new industries, every man will be paid the full value of his work.

Because prices will be as low as possible, and wages will be as high as possible, there will never be the breakdowns that happen under Capitalism. Socialism is the surest protection against slumps and against sudden changes in the wealth of the people.

Some people pretend that private property is forbidden under Socialism; but this is not true. People are allowed to own as much consumer goods (furniture, clothes, bicycles, etc.) as they can afford to buy. What people are not allowed to own is capital goods, means of production which they might run for their own profit.

Socialism is considerate of others, is generous, and is concerned to satisfy the needs of the people and to safeguard the people from poverty and misery.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

But, you may ask, how is all this to be ensured? How can we be sure that a Socialist government will do its best for the good of all the people?

The answer is that Socialism depends on democracy: it depends on a government elected by the people of the country, which will seek to satisfy the needs of the people and which, if it fails, can be criticised by the people. Unless there is a freely elected government, a country cannot have Socialism: it may have a government which calls itself Socialist, but it will not be true Socialism.

In fact, only under Socialism is true democracy possible; for as there will be no "classes" of owners and workers, and as no one is allowed to own newspapers and radio stations, so the influence of one class over another will disappear. Under Socialism everyone has an equal opportunity to take part in the government of the country.

Now, you may ask, is every business and every industry to become a Government Department under Socialism? Not at all; for there are many different ways in which businesses can be run under government control without becoming Departments. They can be made corporations directed by the government; they can be companies set up by municipalities or townships or districts; they can be Co-operatives controlled by their members; or they can be owned and run by the people who work in them.

Because Socialism is based on a freely elected government, it ensures that the means of production will be used for the benefit of all the people.

SOCIALISM FOR AFRICA

And how does all this apply to Africa? The answer is clear, for three reasons. First, because Africa is still under the domination of foreign imperialist businesses; second, because capitalism is already growing among African peoples, and the voice of the people is being ignored; third, because Africa needs a tremendous increase in roads, factories, schools—in capital goods—to raise its standard of living.

For these reasons, the only road to freedom, democracy, and development is through Socialist planning. Pan-Africanism demands more than political union or federation: it demands economic intergration, and a plan to cover the free development of the whole continent.

A socialist government in a European country has only to take over the existing means of production and services and make sure

that they are used to satisfy as far as possible the needs of the people. In an African country, a Socialist government has to face the fact that many services are insufficient or do not exist, that the means of production are very few and also insufficient for the needs of the people, and also that many of the means of production (banks, mines, transport shops) are owned by imperialist countries.

Its first need then is for money, in order to build up the necessary factories and means of production to supply local needs; roads, schools, hospitals etc. But if it tries to get foreign investment, as the imperialist countries advise, then it will be no better off than a colony, with profits being taken out of the country: all the time.

In order to get enough for its development, a Socialist government will first have to make the most use of taxes on wages, exports and imports; and secondly it will have to borrow money, not from private banks and firms, but from governments and international banks which do not ask a high rate of interest. It will also have to make the greatest use of assistance from international services like the United Nations Technical Agencies.

NATIONALISATION AND DECENTRALISATION

As for means of production owned by foreign companies, a Socialist government will have to decide each case on its merits. A foreign-owned company can be of great benefit to a country, but only if it pays good wages, if it pays a reasonable tax on its profits, if it trains Africans to rise to the highest levels in the company. A company which is not prepared to assist the development of the country will have to be nationalised, that is, taken over by the government.

And what about the countries, the boundaries drawn by the imperialist when they were sharing out Africa among themselves, the boundaries which divide

peoples and make trade and travelling difficult? Must these remain for ever the same? Not in a Socialist Africa. Of course there will have to be regional governments, with representatives of all the peoples in the region, but there will be no need for national and national boundaries. Movement between regions will be free, and trade will be unrestricted and encouraged, so that the richer areas may benefit the poorer.

IS FREEDOM ENOUGH?

Unless the peoples of Africa win their independence from imperialist domination, they will never be able to create a Socialist Africa. Self-government is therefore the first, essential aim; and those peoples who have won their independence must do everything to help their oppressed brothers. Even if there is only one oppressor left, Africa is not free.

But independence from the imperialist governments is only the first step. It may call for great sacrifices, but it will not be the end of sacrifices. Wages will not go up at once, nor everyone be given a car or a refrigerator.

Self-government will mean the real beginning of the struggle to overcome starvation and disease, to build up industries and services to raise the standard of living, and to plan communication and trade between all the peoples of Africa.

Behind us lies the slave trade, the years of imperialist oppression draining away our strength; before us, planning the use of its resources to benefit its peoples and the peoples of the world, lies a United Africa, over which there shall be no flag save the African flag!

AFRICAN DIARY

1st AUGUST THURSDAY:

GHANA: Twelve African professional Boxing Organisations are expected to attend a conference to be held in Accra from September 18-20 to form an African Boxing Council.

Invitations are expected to be sent to presidents of the World Boxing Council, the European Boxing Council and the Commonwealth Boxing Council.

KENYA: Trade Unions in East Africa have decided to urge their respective Governments to sever diplomatic relations with Britain, the United States and their NATO allies if they fail to stop supplying arms to the South African Government.

GHANA: Mr. Doudou Gueye, General Secretary of All-African Association of Journalists has urged all African journalists to educate the people on the necessity of achieving a united Africa.

ALGERIA: Algerian ruling party, the National Liberation Front, has approved the draft of the country's first constitutional charter.

GHANA: Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kojo Botsio leaves Dakar for Guinea for talks with President Sekou Toure of Guinea.

* It is announced that one hundred and eleven out of one hundred and sixty-one candidates at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi were successful in the degree examination held in June this year.

2nd AUGUST FRIDAY:

ALGERIA: The Algerian Prime Minister, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, has left Algiers by air on a three stage journey to Ghana, Mali and Senegal.

3rd AUGUST SATURDAY:

U.A.R.: The United Arab Republic is to send more Egyptian doctors and agricultural experts to help the Republic of Mali.

KENYA: The Kenya's House of Representatives has unanimously adopted a motion tabled by Mr. Paul Nglei, President of the (Opposition) African People's Party, and a former Mau Mau detainee, to investigate and take appropriate action as a matter of national urgency to help people rendered destitute as a result of the Mau Mau emergency measures.

NIGERIA: Nigeria spent £6.3 million on palm wine in 1957. This figure is part of £15.6 million spent on drinks in that year, it is announced today in Lagos.

5th AUGUST MONDAY:

LIBERIA: A Ghanaian delegation headed by Mr. Kojo Botsio, Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivers a special message from Osagyefo Dr. Nkrumah to the Liberian President, William Tubman, inviting him to visit Ghana.

The Liberian President "gladly accepts" and expresses his desire to visit Ghana at a date to be arranged.

GABON: At a dinner in honour of visiting African President David Dacko of the Central Republic in Libreville, President Leon Mba of Gabon stresses the need of African Unity.

KENYA: An exhibition of photographs of famous West African works of art has been opened in Nairobi.

SIERRA LEONE: The Sierra Leone Parliament unanimously ratified the Charter of African Unity signed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, last May, by the African Heads of State and Government.

6th AUGUST TUESDAY:

SENEGAL: African Liberation Committee of O.A.U. propose to African Foreign Ministers' Conference at Dakar that Independent African States should contribute about £1½ million annually in aid of African Freedom Fighters' Movement in Africa.

7th AUGUST WEDNESDAY:

GHANA: The Ghana Government has decided to become a party to the nuclear test ban treaty signed in Moscow by the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain.

The treaty bans nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water.

NIGERIA: The Nigerian Federal Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, opens a debate in the House of Representatives on constitutional reforms to pave the way for Nigeria's becoming a Republic in October.

CONGO: Political leaders in Brazzaville have talks on the formation of a single national party in the Republic.

8th AUGUST, THURSDAY:

SENEGAL: Mr. Kwesi Armah, Ghana High Commissioner in London, and a member of the Ghana delegation to the African Foreign Ministers Conference, has urged the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) to draw up a constitution for a union Government of Africa.

GHANA: Mr. Ben Bella, Prime Minister of Algeria, declares in Accra that with the achievement of African Unity, Arab Unity will eventually be submerged.

SIERRA LEONE: A violent storm has left hundreds of people homeless, killed a 12 year old boy and swept a sick man on his way to hospital down a gutter into Kroo Bay.

The Lebanese Charge d'Affairs, Mr. Jean Hazon, has presented £500 to the Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai, for victims of the storm.

9th AUGUST, FRIDAY:

GHANA: Ghana and the United Nations have signed a £675,000 agreement for water supply and sewerage for Accra-Tema metropolitan areas. Under the agreement the U.N. will, after investigations and engineering studies, prepare a master plan for a long range water supply for the entire Accra-Tema-Akosombo areas.

SOUTH AFRICA: Severe pressure burst in a gold mine near Johannesburg has killed nine African mine workers and injured 23 others, including three whites.

SENEGAL: The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) unanimously approves a Guinean resolution urging dissolution of all regional groupings in Africa.

10th AUGUST SATURDAY:

NIGERIA: Dick Tiger, Nigerian World Middleweight boxer retains his title by stopping Gene Fullmer of the United States in the 7th of the scheduled 15 round-contest staged in Ibadan, Western Nigeria.

ALGERIA: The Algerian Prime Minister, Mr. Ben Bella, has said in Algiers that Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, President William Tubman of Liberia and Mr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, are to visit Algeria this year.

CONGO: Congolese troops from Elisabethville have captured and occupied the Northern part of Katanga, formally held by Moise Tshombe's uniformed gangsters.

12th AUGUST, MONDAY:

SOMALI: The Prime Minister of the Republic of Somali, Abdirashid Ali Shermarka, his minister of Information, Ali Mohamed Hirave and some officials have arrived in Moscow from Peking.

GHANA: Mr. Kojo Botsio, Minister of Foreign Affairs, declares in Accra on his return from Dakar that Ghana's stand throughout the conference of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) was based on the strong conviction that only "a very firm political foundation can support our organic and dynamic unity".

SENEGAL: The Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity has recommended in a resolution that member-states should sign the recent three-power partial nuclear test ban treaty.

NYASALAND: Mrs. Rose Chibambo, National Chairman of the League of Malawi Women, has been returned unopposed to become the first woman member of Parliament.

13th AUGUST, TUESDAY:

SOUTH AFRICA: An Israeli Cargo Ship, "Tsodek", has been held up in Durban Harbour following an urgent application in the Durban Supreme Court. The ship will not be allowed to leave Durban until the owners, Gold Star Lines Limited, Damages of about £125,000 being claimed by Fedmar Limited of Johannesburg.

NIGERIA: Chief Dennis Osadebay, President of the Federal Nigerian Senate (Upper House) has been appointed administrator of Nigeria's newest-region, the Mid-West.

BASUTOLAND: The Basutoland Government has opened an investigation into a complaint by Dr. Seth Makotoko, Secretary-General of the Marematlou Freedom Party, that he was hit in the face and body, kicked and then handcuffed and locked in a guarded room after he was stopped at a border post on his way back to Basutoland from South Africa.

SWAZILAND: Swaziland's new constitution, the first step towards self-government, is likely to be put into effect by an Order in Council in November.

14th AUGUST WEDNESDAY:

SOUTH AFRICA: An 18-year-old white South African police constable appears before a magistrate court in Johannesburg, charged with helping four African political detainees to escape from Police Headquarters.

NYASALAND: An African Ex-policeman with 20 years service, has been sent to jail for one year and fined £50 for using insulting language against Dr. Hastings Banda, Nyasaland's Prime Minister after his appeal against a six-month sentence in a local court.

15th AUGUST THURSDAY:

CONGO: Four people are now reported to have been killed and 15 injured in a crash between soldiers and angry demonstrators in Brazzaville, demanding Government reforms.

ALGERIA: Mr. Ferhat Abbas, Speaker of the Algerian National Assembly, has announced his resignation in a letter to members of the Assembly.

NYASALAND: Nyasaland Legislative Assembly approves a bill giving Prime Minister Banda, a permanent right of way on the territory's roads.

GHANA: Mr. George Magozi, Uganda's Foreign Minister has said in Accra before leaving for Uganda that the Uganda Government is to open missions in West Africa with Accra as a base.

THE WHITE PRESS AND DICK TIGER

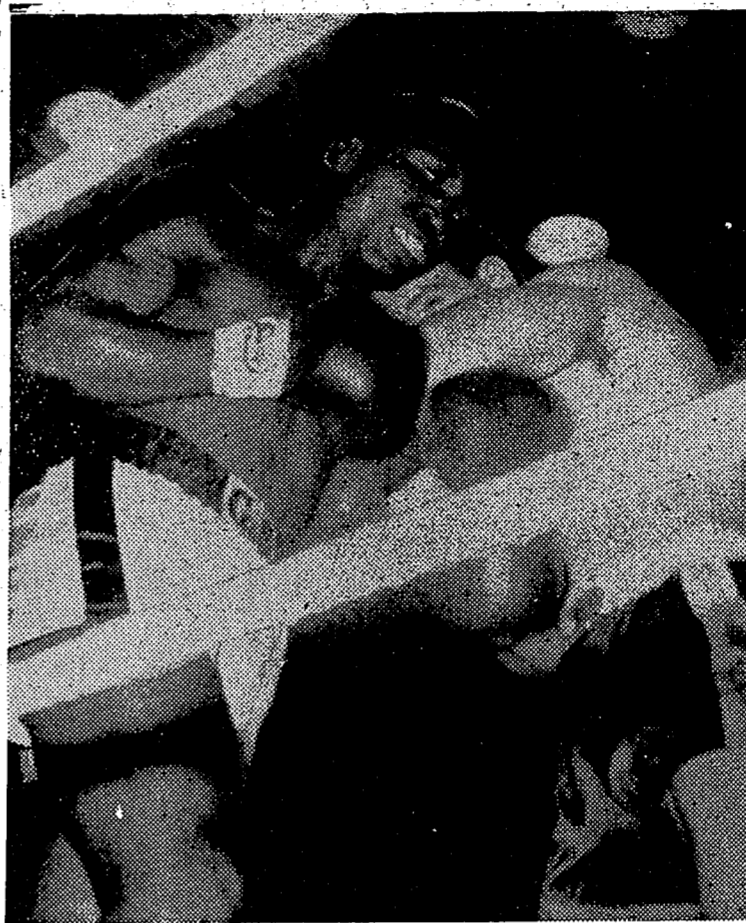
The world is yet to learn that there is nothing more barbaric, brutish and dangerous to the world in the world today than the essential weakness of some white men. To most readers this may come as a shock. But that is the misfortune of the world that it is much too ignorant of the truth and tends to be shocked when the truth is told. Yet for the sake of mankind the truth must be told however rudely shocking it may be.

Their weakness lies like an ugly monster thinly veiled by their white skin. The danger to the world lies in the fact that this weakness is monstrous.

Who would have thought that the white journalist would howl and yelp about the results of a boxing tournament? Yet so hopelessly demented is the white dog that it had occasion to attack after the Tiger-Fullmer world title fight.

Below are examples of the language which Desmond Hackeff felt constrained to use in the August 12, 1963 issue of the "Daily Express" in describing the "jubilations over Tiger's victory":

1. 'Dick Tiger' the warrior black prince, proclaimed himself middleweight champion of the world before his own people last night with a barba-



Tiger pummelling Fullmer into submission.

ric show of tribal ceremony'.

2. This was Africa of warring tribes, of people wildly chanting hymns of praise and inspiration to their great warrior chief'.

3. 'Sitting among them were the British officials in impeccable white tuxedos and black bows all with the splendid air of men who always dressed for dinner in the jungle'.

4. 'Even the howling tribes hushed before this slow destruction'.

Note the ugly vein of racial barbarity in the reporting: The "barbaric show of tribal ceremony was Africa of warring tribes, of people wildly chanting—Africa, the jungle with howling tribes", but "sitting among them were the British officials in impeccable white tuxedos".

It is such wanton outbursts of animalism that is the bane of the world.

May we ask what, in mid-twentieth century, is more barbaric than the Klu Klux Klan or the beastly show of racism in the U.S.

or the massacre of Angolans by Portuguese brutes or the monstrous policy of apartheid?

Are some of these white writers blind to all these hard facts? It would be far better for the world if they saved their words and used them in eradicating or at least taming this brutish tendencies in themselves.

What purpose does it serve to describe harmless jubilation in such repulsive fashion while real barbarisms are exhibited beneath the skyscrapers in the glare of florescent lights, to the click of television cameras?

It is the misfortune of the world that for the past 500 years it has been under the brutish rule of some of men.

It is the greater misfortune of Africa that most of her children, by their essential humanity and human kindness, fail to look beneath the thin veneer, that hides the animalism of some whitemen.

For the sake of the human species, however, it is the duty of those upon whom this essential truth has dawned to make others see it. When this truth is known, the world shall be free. It is a difficult task, but it is possible of accomplishment and worthy even of the supreme sacrifice.

In a hundred years from now we shall be sending civilizing missions from Africa into Europe and America!

One fact stands out clearly: Dick Tiger reduced Gene Fullmer to a mere lump of quivering jelly.

What Happened in Congo (Brazzaville)

Continued from Page 2

*"Nought else!
A rhythm, a night wind
soughing through the
trees,
A soul reborn,
A tintinnabulation,
A chant,
A potency,
A dilatation,
A vibrant note seeping
slowly
Through the marrow of
one's bones.
Bearing down a feeble,
flapping frame;
Bending it,
Piercing it, twisting it,
Until its every part,
Hands, loins, thighs and
the vital organs,
Quake with desire".*

But we must go still further. This basic experience of suffering is equivocal. And it is thus that the consciousness of black folk bids fair to become historic. Indeed, however intolerable the iniquity of his present condition it is not to this that Negro primary alludes, when he claims to have probed the depths of human woe.

He has the terrible advantage of having experienced servitude. For, these

poets, most of whom were born between 1900 and 1918, the phenomenon of slavery abolished half a century earlier, is their most vivid memory.

*"My present days look
back upon the past,
Staring wide-eyed in hate
and shame;
I still am dazed as once
I was,
By flail of knotted
chords, by bodies char-
red
Down from the toe up to
the dorsal spine;
By sizzling flesh, clinging
to red-hot brands,
By sundered limbs falling
beneath the whip's re-
lentless crack".*

So write Damas, a poet from French Guinea. The following excerpt is from Brierre, a Haitian poet:

*"... Often like mine, your
limbs ache and excruciate,
As they recall past cen-
turies of deadly life.
The ancient wounds
fester and open anew,
And blood streams
forth".*

Continued from Page 1

ment. And since there is no longer a National Assembly, it is easy to see that such a new constitution can only be one approved by the French Army and its real masters in Paris.

Fifthly, in order to allow for the criticism of some African intellectuals, the new regime has promised that "heads of departments and permanent private secretaries will be chosen for their competence and exclusively from among Congolese". This is a sop thrown to the small privileged elite class in order to rally it more solidly behind a pro-French government.

Fulbert Youlou wanted a two-legged neo-colonialist regime, the legs being French imperialism and U.S. imperialism. Alphonse Massamba-Debat's mission is to return Congo (Brazzaville) to a one-legged neo-colonialist regime, the one leg being French imperialism.

speaking African states must draw the correct conclusions from the Congo coup. They are in office at the mercy and pleasure of France. If they want to be real masters in their countries, they must sever their French links and become the leaders of the people.

But to create favourable conditions for such a fundamental transformation in the mechanics of politics in French Africa, these African states must terminate their defence, diplomatic and economic links with France.

In terms of organisations, they must withdraw from the U.A.M., the Franc Zone and the European Common Market. For these are the gallows, which they have helped to build and on which they will be hanged one by one except they resign themselves to faithfully serving French imperialism for the rest of their lives.

The leaders of all French-

by X-ray