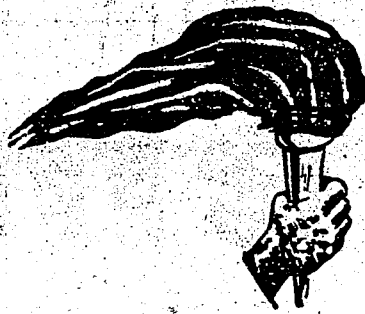


THE SPARK



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

EDITORIAL

Continental Peoples Movement (2)

THE general situation in Africa today, where the fundamental struggle is still a fight to free the continent from open and disguised colonialism demands a continent-wide peoples movement. To recognise this fact is one thing. It is quite another matter to give effect to the idea.

The starting point for building a continental peoples movement in Africa is to perceive clearly and describe accurately those social, economic and political forces that can support such a movement. Principally, there are three main forces which, when brought together, constitute the peoples movement which the situation in Africa demands.

In the first place, we have the African states of peoples political power which have taken the road of socialist development. These are the few governments and ruling political parties that have openly declared socialism as their goal and are boldly treading the path of non-capitalist evolution.

However, this force has got to be freed from two impediments. It must eliminate or relegate to the background all the right wing, capitalist-minded and inward-looking elements and groups within its fold. Again, it has to rid itself of confused thinking on what socialism is. More concretely, it must unfurl the banner of scientific socialism and stop chasing illusions like African socialism, Arab socialism, pragmatic socialism, democratic socialism and such other beautiful phrases that cover up a multitude of anti-socialist sins.

The second principal force of the continental peoples movement is made up of the popular organisations inside the regimes of neo-colonialism which fight against their 'client' governments and for radical changes in the status quo. These are the radical political parties, the trade unions, the progressive intellectuals and students and the popular organisations which demand an end to

Continued on page 6

JULIUS SAGO ON

The Committee of Nine

A VERY real danger threatens the national liberation movements in the African territories still under colonial rule. The support and solidarity which independent African states should render to freedom movements in colonial Africa are being undermined or rendered nugatory by the activities of the Dar-es-Salaam Committee of Nine set up at last May's Addis Ababa Conference.

Since 1957 when Ghana attained independence and quickly got down to the active implementation of the thesis that independence in one African country is meaningless until it is linked with the total liberation of Africa, the national liberation movement in Africa has surged forward at a great tempo. In barely four years, 24 African states gained their political independence.

From 1957 and especially in 1958 when the Conference of Independent African States and the All-African Peoples Conference were set up, imperialism took fright. For a new factor had added impetus to the colonial struggles for freedom. And the new factor was active assistance to colonial freedom movements from independent African states.

CLIENT STATES

Imperialism has fought this new situation in two main ways. Firstly, it has granted conditional freedom to many African states under its sway. In this way, it has set up client states of neo-colonialism. To use boxing terminology, this is the tactics of holding on in order to save oneself from further punishment.

In the second place, imperialism has grouped its client states into a diplomatic phalanx for launching strong counter-offensive against those African states of radical nationalism—Ghana, U.A.R., Mali, Guinea, Morocco and now Algeria—whose historical rôle has been that of a power house to the African Revolution.

The existence of two conflicting blocs in Africa—the Casablanca and the Monrovia blocs—did not and could not stop countries of the former bloc from giving effective material assistance to the liberation movements in the colonial territories of Africa. Nor was such assistance paralysed by diplomatic efforts to win over some of the Casablanca powers to the side of imperialism. When coups d'état, attempted assassinations, etc. failed to dissuade radical African leaders from their chosen course of action, imperialism reverted to diplomatic action among its client states in favour of a single African grouping. This of course, was inevitable in view of the soul-stirring call of the Casa-

blanca powers for unity as the most effective weapon in the fight against foreign control. What is more, this call was receiving more and more enthusiastic support among the peoples of Africa with each passing day. However, imperialism had its plans for using the concept of African unity as a cover for its strategy of holding on to Africa. One of the manifesta-

tion of the work of such a committee will enable imperialism either to cripple the liberation movements or to push them along lines that will permit the setting up of neo-colonialist regimes in the place of outmoded colonialism.

FOCAL POINT

Therefore, the Dar-es-Salaam Committee of Nine has become a focal point in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and the remaining colonial territories in Africa. Africa wants it to be an effective machinery for supplying liberation movements with the tools needed for the struggle. Imperialism wants

Liberation Committee of Nine is not above the conference of African Heads of State and Government. It is an instrument set up by the African leaders to carry out an aspect of their policy for liberating the rest of Africa. It is set up in only one of the 15 points embodied in the Resolution on De-colonisation. And its specific duties are two, viz:

1. to harmonise all aid for liberation movements in Africa and;
2. to operate the special fund set up for assistance to liberation movements.

Point eleven in the Resolution on De-colonisation by the African summit Conference states:

"Establishes a co-ordinating committee consisting of Ethiopia, Algeria, Uganda, U.A.R., Tanganyika, Congo (Leopoldville), Guinea, Senegal, Nigeria with head-

In the first place, the Liberation Committee has exceeded the powers given it by the Addis Ababa Conference. Three instances of this could be cited. The Committee has now assumed the responsibility for planning the strategy of the liberation struggle in all dependent territories. It now seems to lay down that all efforts at liberation must be concentrated on one central task—to get the occupying colonial power to enter into negotiations for the grant of independence. This is certainly an unrealistic general formulation. Conditions in the various territories differ and a successful strategy in one country may prove futile in another.

Therefore, the Liberation Committee should allow the leaders of the liberation movement in each territory to plan their strategy while confining itself to supplying assistance requested by

press of its own? Or is it hoping to requisition existing press and commandeer broadcasting time on existing radio stations? In either case, it will be wasting valuable funds which could be better spent on other items. The same argument applies to the organisation of conferences by the Liberation Committee.

Thirdly, the Liberation Committee, acting entirely outside its mandate, has transferred the primary rôle in helping liberation movements to the "neighbouring countries". Far from dealing directly with liberation movements as laid down in its mandate, the Liberation Committee has subordinated itself to the wishes and dictates of neighbouring states, that is, states adjoining the colonial countries.

'NEIGHBOURING STATE POLICY'

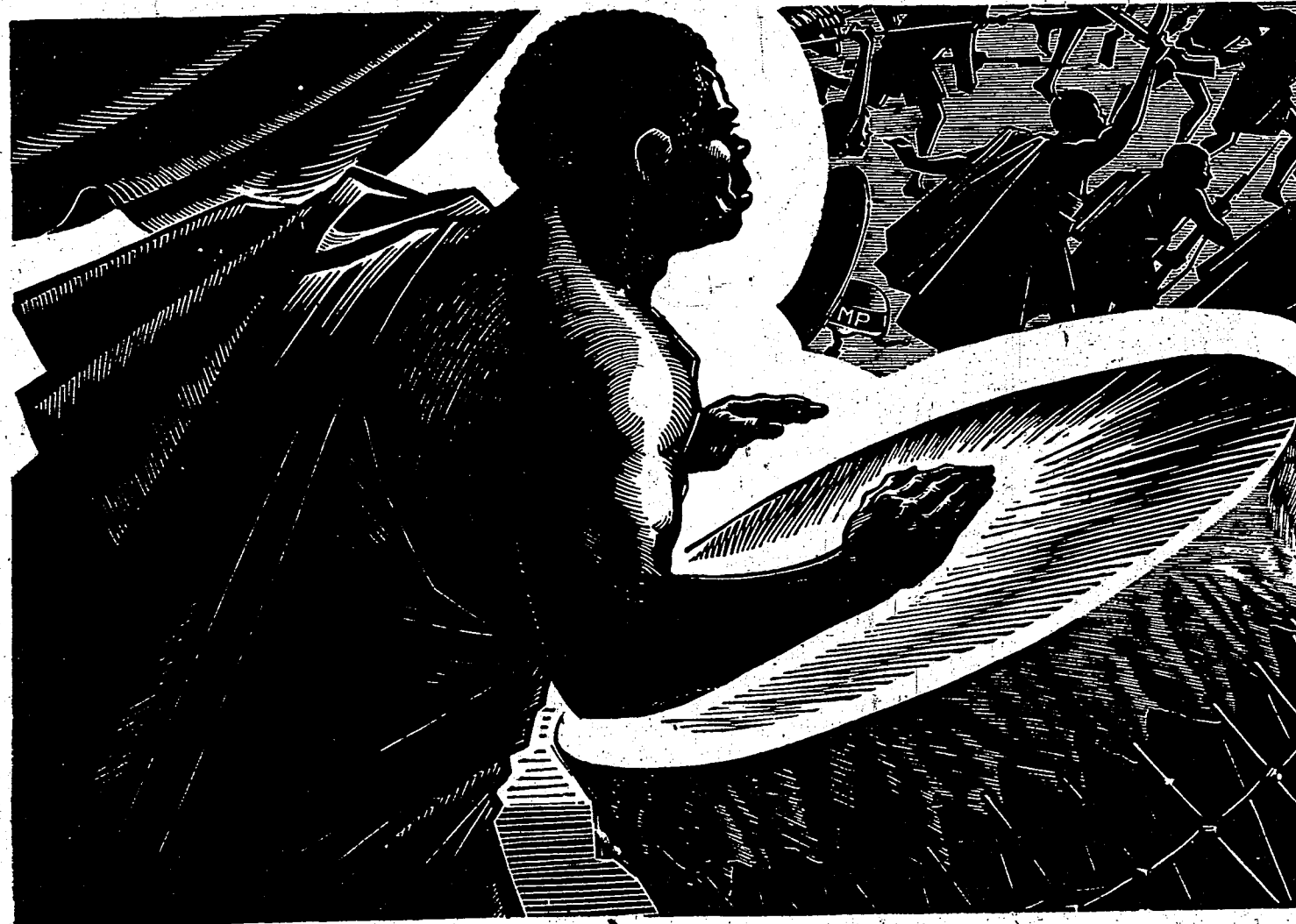
The effect of this decision is that all activities by the Liberation Committee as regards any liberation movement are subjected to the veto of the African state or states that are geographical neighbours to the country under consideration. This is a transfer of authority altogether out of keeping with the Addis Ababa spirit. If ever the Liberation Committee considered such "neighbouring state" policy necessary, it should seek a mandate from the African Heads of State and Government.

This decision is dangerous in three ways. It gives one or two countries the final say over assistance contributed by all African states. It enables this state to dictate to the various organisations that make up the liberation movement being assisted and robs these organisations of the right to be heard by all African states. It permits imperialist powers who greatly influence this neighbouring state to have a hand in determining the fate of the liberation movements.

A second set of criticisms of the work of the Liberation Committee relates to its Secretariat structure and its proposed budget.

Apart from an Executive Secretary with three assistant secretaries, the committee has set up three standing commissions on general policy, defence and finance. This secretariat will decide its own budget (p. 13 of official report), and run "on information service as part of the Executive Secretariat" (p. 15).

Continued on page 6



tions of this strategy has been the great effort being made by imperialism to obstruct and, if possible, stop the direct flow of all round material assistance from the independent African states of radical nationalism and socialism to the national liberation movements. And imperialism has seen its best opportunity in the Liberation Committee of Nine. Its line of reasoning here is simple. Since the Addis Ababa summit has set up a Liberation Committee to handle all assistance from independent African states to the depen-

quarters in Dar-es-Salaam, responsible for harmonising the assistance from African states and for managing the special fund to be set up for that purpose."

CRUCIAL POINTS

The first meeting of the Liberation Committee took place from June 25-July 4 this year. A secret official report of this meeting reveals several interesting points which are crucial to the whole struggle for the liberation of the rest of Africa.

it to become a dam holding back or diverting the flow of effective aid to the freedom fighters. On its activities and effectiveness hinges, to a great extent, the future of some 54 million peoples in Africa. And for the sake of these people, it is the bounden duty of Africa to examine closely and critically the activities of the Committee of Nine, boldly to demand changes in its style of work, or bravely to declare that it is well on the way to failure.

From the outset it must be emphasised that the

these leaders. It will be seen that, in the long run, this is the only workable formula in the present circumstances.

Secondly, the Liberation Committee has exceeded its powers by deciding to set up a commission for propaganda in the colonial territories as a wing of its Dar-es-Salaam Secretariat. This is at page 15 of its report: This commission is to use three principal media—press, radio and conferences. Is the Liberation Committee planning to set up a radio station and a

The Problem of Industrialisation In Africa (1)

AT the CENTRE of the preoccupations of the governments and people of the independent African States is that of economic growth. Now that some 200 million Africans live under sovereign African governments and no longer under the harsh tyrannical rule of foreign imperialists, they are setting their sights on the higher material standards and fuller life which were the main aim of the struggle for national independence.

To appreciate Africa's urge for economic growth, one needs only look at her present economic and social situation. Africa's 250 million people constitute 8 per cent of the world's population, and they inhabit a continent covering nearly a quarter of the earth's land surface. Africa has enormous mineral resources—copper, gold, diamonds, bauxite, chrome, manganese, cobalt, tin, uranium, iron, coal as well as a number of rare mineral ores essential to modern industry.

She has considerable energy resources—coal in the south, oil and gas in the north (the prospecting now taking place will probably unearth supplies of these in other areas of the continent, too), and water power, especially in the west, centre and east.

She has immense and varied timber resources and produces many valuable agricultural items, both foodstuffs and raw materials for industry—cocoa, coffee, palm oil, sisal, pyre-

thrum, tobacco, cotton, maize, tea, groundnuts and so on.

ENORMOUS PROBLEM

Yet Africa's share of world output is only 2 per cent. The net value of her annual output is only £9,200 million—about half that of the United Kingdom which has a population only one-fifth that of Africa's.

An analysis made in the mid-1950s showed that Africa possessed only 2 per cent of the world's

stock of tractors; and she received only 1 per cent of the world's supplies of nitrogenous fertilisers. Latest figures show that Africa produces only 2 per cent of the world's electricity. Africa's per capita income—£40 a year (32 if we exclude the Republic of South Africa)—is less than one-tenth that of the industrial countries.

These figures are sufficient to show the enormous problem that faces Africa. But for most African states, the task is even greater, for the figures for Africa as a whole do not sufficiently bring out the extent to which industrial developments have hitherto been concentrated in a few areas of heavy Western investment and considerable white settlements. One can take the figures for the distribution of electricity produced in Africa in 1957—a sure index of the distribution of industry in Africa:—

PRODUCTION OF ELECTRICITY IN SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

(In millions of kilowatt-hours)
1957

Belgian Congo	2,489.0
Nigeria	331.0
Sierra Leone	14.34
Kenya	268.0
Mauritius	43.3
Uganda	148.8
Northern Rhodesia	1,054.0
Nyasaland	9.5
Southern Rhodesia	1,363.0
Ethiopia	72.56
French Equatorial Africa	39.0
Madagascar	62.4
French West Africa	168.0
Ghana	282.0
Liberia	30.54
Angola	95.8
Mozambique	81.8
Sudan	60.1
Union of South Africa	18,947.0

(Source: Economic Survey of Africa Since 1950: UN, 1959)

These figures show that no less than 94 per cent of all the electric energy produced in Africa in 1957 was concentrated in four territories—the Republic (then Union) of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and the Congo (formerly Belgian). The Union of South Africa alone accounted for about 74 per cent of the total output.

TERRIBLE HERITAGE

With the low economic level existing in Africa it is not surprising to find that her illiteracy rate often reaches 95 per cent, or that disease, ill-health and malnutrition are widespread.

The independent African States are beginning to battle against this terrible heritage of colonialism, but it must be remembered that most of them only became independent in 1960, and

several even a year or two later. Therefore, one cannot say more than that the first steps (and sometimes not even that) are being taken to break the colonial pattern of the economy and lay the basis for rapid economic growth.

Under colonial rule Africa was converted into a huge plantation, turning out foodstuffs and industrial crops for Western consumption, and a rich mining base from which valuable ores were shipped to Western factories. The pro-

duction of minerals and agricultural items was based on low wages for the workers and low pay for peasant producers. Where crops were produced on European plantations and farms, these, too, were based on

low wages together with low prices for land. Thus a major aspect of Africa's colonial economy was the production of cheap raw materials for export.

For her manufactured goods, Africa was compelled to rely on imports from the industrialised Western powers—imports which were often manufactured from the very raw materials which Africa herself had exported.

Since the prices of Africa's raw material exports tend to rise more slowly than the prices of her imported manufactured goods (and sometimes raw materials prices even slump heavily), Africa loses millions a year through the unequal exchange, and the gap between Africa and the economically advanced countries becomes wider and wider. There are many examples which show that despite a considerable ex-

portation of raw materials produced and exported, the fall in prices has resulted in African States obtaining practically no benefit from their greater production efforts.

Thus, when Uganda became independent in October 1962, it was revealed that over the previous eight years, she had increased the volume of her domestic exports by 80 per cent, but the value of these exports had gone up by less than 5 per cent (*Guardian*: October 9, 1962).

It is therefore not surprising that Nigeria's Federal Prime Minister spoke bitterly at last year's Commonwealth Premiers' Conference of developing countries being 'caught in a vicious trap' as a result of the deteriorating terms of trade. He went on to point out that Nigeria's losses in this way exceeded the 'aid' she had received from the West.

The disastrous effects to Africa of the present warped division of labour between the imperialist countries and the economically developing countries are underlined by the incredible extent to which Africa has been made reliant on imports for even the most elementary of things. In a number of French-speaking territories in West and Central Africa, one can buy bottles of gum labelled 'Best Senegalese Gum. Made in France'. The raw material is transported all the way from Senegal to France, where it is processed and bottled—and then the bottled gum travels all the way back to Senegal for sale.

In Liberia, it is said that the new Ducor Palace Hotel in Monrovia was built entirely from imported materials (apart from some

local stones). Even the nails had to be imported. Liberia's limited industrial development, it should be stressed, is by no means an exception in Africa.

IMPORT SUBSTITUTION

As these examples show, industrial development in Africa has, in most cases, hardly started. The net value of Africa's total industrial output is under £1,000 million—or less than that of Sweden. But even this is only part of the problem, for one-third of Africa's 'industrial' output is accounted for by mining, most of it to assist overseas industries; and another third is estimated as originating from small-scale handicrafts. Thus, manufacturing on modern lines, i.e. factory production, produces only about £350 million a year for the whole of Africa (excluding the Republic of South Africa). This is a total value equal to less than 5 per cent of the national income.

While Africa's modern manufacturing sector produces goods to the value of only £350 million a year, her imports of manufactured goods come to over £1,800 million; and for decades the major share of these imports has been of consumer goods, very often manufactured from the very raw materials which Africa exports.

Import substitution by local manufacture is beginning to take place in the independent African States, notably in Ghana and Egypt. This is helping to save considerable amounts of foreign exchange which can be used to purchase machinery and other capital goods and thus assist industrialisation.

It is indicative of the changes taking place in Africa that machinery and equipment, which in 1950 accounted for only 3 per cent of African imports,

Continued on page 5

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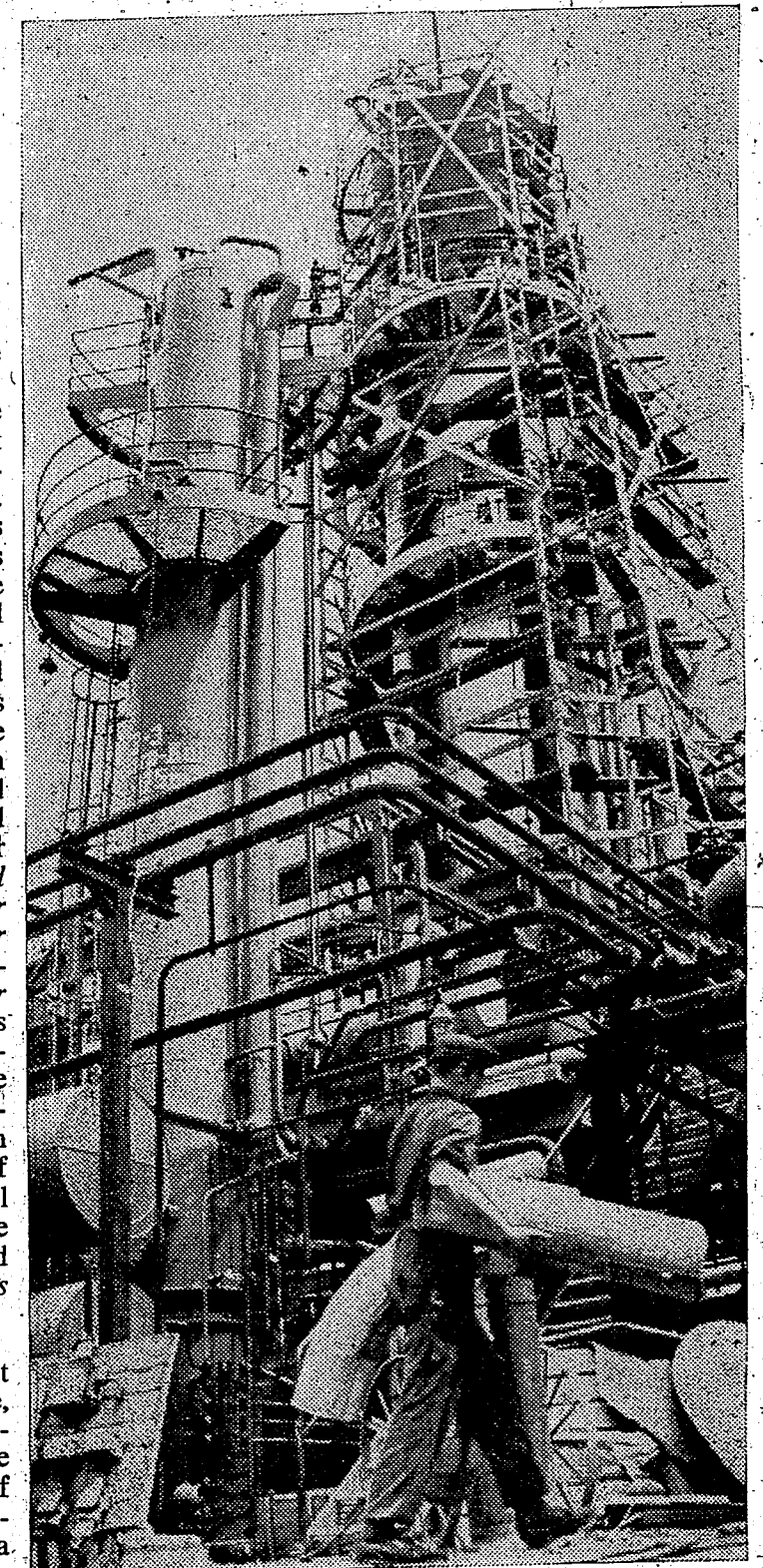
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HEAVY LOSSES

Figures recently released by the Nigerian Government are a striking demonstration as to how Africa suffers from this warped division of labour in the world.

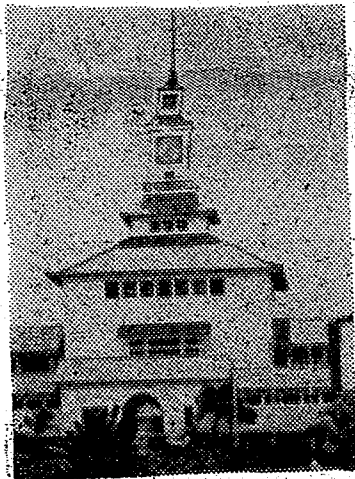
Nigeria is now the World's second largest cocoa producer, having recently overtaken Brazil. Yet she is now earning less from her cocoa exports than before, despite the huge increase in the actual volume exported. In 1954-1955, Nigeria exported under 84 thousand tons of cocoa, for which she received £30 million. In 1961-1962, Nigeria exported 186,000 tons, which earned only £29 million. In other words, Nigeria increased her export volume over this period by well over 120 per cent, yet her earnings dropped by over 3 per cent. If 1961-1962 prices had been the same as 1954-1955, Nigeria would have earned from her cocoa exports in 1961-1962 as much as £70 million instead of £29 million. Thus, the fall in cocoa prices on the world market represented a loss to Nigeria of no less than £41 million.

But even this does not represent the whole picture, for while the prices of Nigeria's cocoa exports have been falling, the prices of the machines and manufactured goods which Nigeria imports from the imperial-



OUR UNIVERSITIES (I)

LEGON



WHEN the British Government proposed a new University Institution in West Africa, we in Ghana were joyful for a number of reasons. First, there had been a long tradition of education in Ghana, and a University Institution here in West Africa was expected to bring down the cost of university education for the student, and thus make it available to larger numbers of Ghanaians.

Second, we hoped that our students acquiring higher education in our midst would not be cut off from their own society and that even in their student days, they would by their presence among us be able to communicate to the larger society something of the fruits of their fine education. Third, it was a matter of pride to us that in our surge towards nationhood, we should have one of the most important leavens of a developing society.

We were accordingly anxious that the Institution should be set up here on our soil, the more so because we in a geographical sense occupied the most central position in West Africa under British administration. The decision went against us.

THE FARMERS

While congratulating our neighbour, Nigeria, on bagging the Institution, now the University College of Ibadan, we still felt that the original considerations in favour of having a University Institution in Ghana continued to be valid.

Knowing full well that the British Administration would pay not a penny towards it, we nevertheless decided to establish a University Institution of our own. Our farmers, who had in the past fed us now proposed to educate us, and our first national government found the money for Legon.

But Legon did not like Athens from the head of Zeus spring forth ready made, complete with ribbons. The University College of the Gold Coast was housed in borrowed buildings which had belonged to Achimota School. Some of these buildings had been

put up during the war and were often no more than army huts or shacks. But the students knew why they were there. Physical comfort as such was recognised as not being crucial to a successful student career.

The teaching staff also patiently, if not gladly, put up with conditions bordering upon the ascetic and stoical. It was from those make-shift surroundings that the earliest and some of the best graduates were produced in the University College of the Gold Coast. It was not only the students whose commitment to university education was considerable and even passionate. There were also the farmers and Government of Ghana. As a tribute to the sacrifice of the farmers, a student Hall of Residence was named AKUAFO HALL.

OUR EXPECTATIONS

The aims of University education were clear in our minds. First of all, we expected our Universities to create and supply a steady stream of graduates in science to satisfy the needs of the nation. Some of these graduates were expected to go into our Secondary Schools, Technical Schools and Teacher Training Institutions to as-

sist in the establishment of a firm mastery of the elements of science. Others, the top-notch graduates, were expected to assist in the tracking and solution of the research problems facing our nation.

And, all, it was hoped, would, in general dedicate themselves to the eradication of superstition, ignorance and disease, as well as inculcate scientific modes of thought.

Second, we expected that in return for the vast sums of money invested in our universities, there would be created an intellectual climate which would identify itself with the ethos and valid aspirations of our people, that this intellectual climate, first forming in our universities, would rise, and, like some essence diffuse itself in the wider society which would be fertilised.

Our universities, we hoped, would become the pioneers and pilots of a vigorous and African orientated intellectual commitment. We hoped especially that they would release our otherwise educated citizens from the impotence of a jejune and anaemic intellectualism, which without contributing anything of positive value wastes itself in vicious slander, carping and sheer destructiveness, an intellectualism which is after all only learned buggery.

Third, we expected that our university institutions would rapidly set an example of unity within their walls, and by their continuity and identification with the nation as a whole, also help our people to reach national unity and African unity for the greater good of all. We expected that our universities by the famed academic horror of purely personal or section-

al gain and interest, would set noble examples of selfless service and classlessness. We expected in this connection to see a harmony and a fusion between students and teachers and workers, and resounding examples of the easiest of individual and group relationships.

SATISFYING RESULTS

Fourth, we expected not unnaturally, that the original assumption of the possibility and worthwhileness of academic institutions in Ghana would be confirmed by copious and regular publications. We expected that our university institutions would be rich not only in resources and material fruits of their labour but also in the academic fruits of their labour.

The question to what extent and degree our expectations and hopes have been justified and fulfilled is open to debate and difference.

In fairness, the University College of the Gold Coast—cum University of Ghana has turned out some surprisingly satisfying results. It has succeeded in attracting to itself, aided undoubtedly by the Government's generous scholarship policy, students in ever-growing numbers. And from a mere pittance of fifty or so in 1948, enrolment now stands at one thousand, five hundred.

It would be disingenuous however to ascribe this dramatic rise in student population exclusively to the efforts of the University itself. Our Government which is dedicated to the socialisation of education, of even higher education, has played a crucial part in this.

Before the University of Ghana emerged out of the University College of Ghana, our Government set up a Commission to investigate the nature and scope of university education in Ghana. Out of the findings of this Commission and the urges of the nation, it became possible to admit a wider spectrum of students than had been contemplated in the past.

HIGH COST

Physically, the University of Ghana has an even truly dramatic achievement. The buildings form one of the wonders of Ghana, especially because they were paid for entirely from internal resources, even when we were under British administration.

The buildings include lecture rooms and laboratories, student dwellings, academic staff dwellings, and service staff dwellings.

There is one thought however which tinges our pride in the physique of the University of Ghana with justifiable sorrow. The buildings cost far too much, much more, it is certain than they need have done. Even without a complete analysis of figures, it is really a lesson to us that Mensah Sarbah Hall, ready for occupation is much less costly than Akuafu Hall and Commonwealth Hall which were not as virginal as Legon Hall.

At the State Opening of Parliament, the President

Focus on
SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA
PART SEVEN

THE web of circumstances in the history of our times has inexorably patterned out the course of development which emergent nations should follow. This course is socialism. It is the only way by which a young nation can hope to build up a firm foundation for rapid development: politically, economically, socially and culturally.

It is this course of socialism which Ghana, under the inspired leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has chosen to pursue.

We continue in this issue, the series of articles tracing the progress of socialism in Ghana in the economic, social and political fields. After that we hope to follow the trend of socialism in other African countries also.

In response to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's sessional address to the Parliament of Ghana on October 15, THE SPARK is turning its search-light on the universities in Ghana. This is part one of our series.

We believe our article will stimulate discussion and help the authorities to greater activity, tightening the loose ends and putting right what is amiss.

We must emphasise that THE SPARK believes that our education must be completely in harmony with the prevailing conditions of our society.
—EDITOR.

informed us that we were all going to cut our coat in the future to fit our cloth. This no doubt goes for our universities as well. Fortunately, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology now has an expanded Faculty of Architecture and Building, and it should really be possible, and is desirable, that the professional services of that Faculty be used in consultation to the full. This way, apart from the very real saving in foreign exchange as well as native capital, a genuine beginning will have been made in University Co-operation and brotherliness. It is heartening to know that in fact the Vice-Chancellor of the University in Kumasi has made a similar suggestion in the past. It only remains for it to be taken up.

Both the University of Ghana in Legon and the University College of Cape

Coast can usefully and economically employ such services. No doubt problems and difficulties will be alleged, but what is a university if it is frightened of problems and is shy of them? But if the problems really stretch our Universities, something not to be contemplated, then no doubt the Government can lend its experts to help the Universities through.

CO-OPERATION

If our University Institutions had learnt to co-operate in the past, the University of Ghana in Legon and the University College of Cape Coast would probably not now be in the housing predicament in which they find themselves.

I have personally been so used to the exclusiveness of university teachers and their self-confinement within their walls, that the know-

ledge of university lecturers actually living in town in Airport area flats and Lido flats truly represents a phenomenon to me. I am not saying that our university teachers have anything against the Airport area or the Lido, and perhaps this is even a good thing, good old gown coming to town at last.

What worries me, however, is the fact that payments in the way of rent are bound to be high and the thousands of pounds must, I am sure, be in their teens.

The thought forces itself into one's mind whether, relying on local skill, our university institutions cannot quickly select housing designs, and if necessary by a system of credit, have their housing needs met. Monies paid in rent are not monies satisfactorily disbursed.

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from THE INSIDE... U.S. RACE PROBLEM

THE August 28 Afro-American March on Washington is still a subject of U.S. Government propaganda all over the world. U.S. Government information agents are peddling the idea that all is becoming well in America. But less than a week after the march on Washington for jobs and Freedom, American racists bombed the home of an Afro-American leader, Arthur Shores, in Birmingham, Alabama.

An Afro-American girl was foully murdered in an integration fight and at least two Afro-Americans were killed and many injured by gun fire when racist bombs wrecked the home of Negro leader Arthur Shores. A crowd of 1,000 Afro-Americans poured into the streets, fought back with stones and rocks and bottles while helmeted and heavily armed policemen fired round after round into the air from shot-guns and carbines to terrify them.

Alabama's racist governor, George Wallace has alerted nearly 4,000 militiamen and police against the Afro-Americans in Birmingham.

According to October 21 issue of the widely circulated American journal, *Newsweek*, "The whiteman (in America) is eternally torn between the right that he knows and the wrong that he does. And for most Americans, it is as hard to give up prejudices as it would be to deny openly the democratic ideal of equality."

PATERNALISM

The *Newsweek* reveals that public opinion analyst Louis Harris who sent expert interviewers all over the U.S. "to plumb a scientific national sampling of white Americans," has found out that the white American "will patronise the Negro, when he meets him or sees one whom he knows by name".

At the office, or in the kitchen, he may affect a hearty camaraderie toward a Negro, but he will find it difficult to carry on a conversation with him (or her), and he will feel uncomfortable while he's trying.

He may make a show of inviting a Negro out for a drink, or even for lunch, or even to his home in the evening. (If he does that, he will wonder if the neighbours saw). He doesn't want him living next door, and preferably not in the neighbourhood... He knows him as shoeshine boy, postman, waiter, janitor, porter, ball-player, entertainer, gardener, chauffeur—but not as friend. He sees the Negro often, everywhere; but the Negro remains a stranger."

Louis Harris' analysis reveals that:—

"(1) Whites, north and south, do not want the Negro living next

North Carolina, feels that "the Caucasian race is superior to Negro biologically and mentally."
"LIFE International"—published by *Time* carried a thorough examination of the passion of Afro-American

were so stupid, ignorant and incapable of learning. They even forget what their ancestors were doing when the Benin Bronzes were being made.

BLACK MUSLIMS

One cannot help but agree with Malcom X, spokesman of the Black Muslims of America that "America wants the whole world to bow down to her. But the majority of people on this earth are dark people... and the yardstick by which they measure this whiteman is in his treatment and attitude toward the 20 million so-called Negroes."

Those who are under the impression that the race problem in the United States is just the attitude of American whites to American blacks must correct their stand. Apart from the glaring fact that the issue is economic, the pools have also indicated that the whole problem is the general attitude of some whitemen in America to black men. The racial harmony which some of them preach in Africa is just patronage to an inferior.

Their attitude has led to the growing strength of the extremist anti-white segment—the Black Muslim. They see the devil in the whiteman because he deprives the blackman of everything. They see him as a devil whose days are numbered. You cannot blame them altogether.

EQUALITY

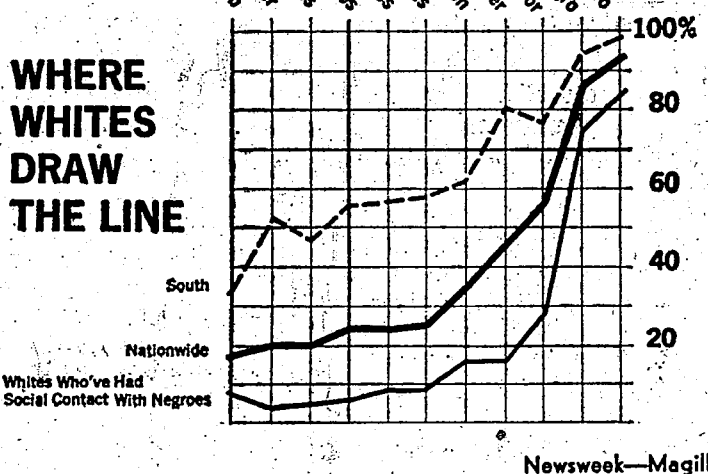
Malcom X says "the blackman has been sitting on the hot stove for nearly 400 years. And no matter how fast the brain-washers think they are helping him advance, it's too slow for the man whose behind is burning on that hot stove!" They did not participate in the August 28 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" because they held the view that it "is a tricky delaying action."

"The Spark" repeats its advice to the U.S.:

It is the honest view of many friends in America that she needs political changes of a far-reaching

Own teenage daughter dating a Negro
Close friend or relative marrying a Negro
Own children going to school with Negroes
Having own child bring Negro home for supper
Using same room as Negro
Using same car as Negro
Sitting next to Negro at lunch counter
Working next to a Negro on the job

WHERE WHITES DRAW THE LINE



door. A majority would support Federal measures to provide "good" Negro housing. But most are opposed to any Federal law that would enforce integrated housing.

"(2) Most whites fear and shun social contact with Negroes. Ninety-three per cent would be concerned if a teenage child dated a Negro, and 87 per cent would object if a relative or close friend married a Negro.

"(3) By margin of 2-1, white Americans say the Negroes are moving 'too fast'..."

INFERIOR MEN?

It is amazing that the poll revealed that 61 per cent of whites in the south believe that "Negroes are inferior to whites", and 50 per cent of the whole white population of America believes that "Negroes have less native intelligence".

Bobby Coasts—a white policeman in Raleigh,



Malcom X, spokesman of the Black Muslims of America.

character. The strained relations between various racial groups; the sharp increase in crime and violence; the constant upheavals in every field, social, educational, political and economic—all these are the signs and proofs that things cannot continue as they are.

All people of America irrespective of race and colour should have equal share in government, exercise their rights through duly elected and accredited representatives meeting as a sovereign assembly of equals.

America must move forward towards a multi-racial democracy. In the growth of this lies the best guarantee for a peaceful America. It is the best guarantee for racial harmony.

WHITE STEREOTYPES OF THE NEGRO

Percentage of Whites Who Believe That:	Nationwide %	South %	Whites Who've Had Social Contact With Negroes %
Negroes laugh a lot	85	94	77
Negroes tend to have less ambition	75	88	55
Negroes smell different	71	88	56
Negroes have looser morals	69	89	49
Negroes keep untidy homes	61	72	38
Negroes have less native intelligence	50	73	27
Negroes want to live off the handout	49	71	29
Negroes breed crime	44	58	24
Negroes care less for the family	39	60	24
Negroes are inferior to whites	36	61	17

Newsweek—Magill

The Bonn-Lisbon Axis in Action

AT long last, Dr. Adenauer has entered the pastures reserved for retired Chancellors to enjoy excellent grazing there. And well-deserved grazing, too! But let there be not even the smallest trifle of envy to befall us.

The material and other consolations conferred upon Dr. Adenauer to sweeten his lot of a pensioner, are greatly different from those which are usually conferred upon a plain man.

Let's take, for example, the highest Portuguese Order of Tower and Sword with Cross Band which is now trimming the sunken breast of Dr. Adenauer. It came as a special token from Mr. Salazar who apparently couldn't help cheering up his old friend and to prove the veracity of the proverb that "birds

of the same feather flock together".

Dr. Adenauer and Salazar have much in common not to mention their senility—and the placing of the Order of Tower and Sword on Dr. Adenauer's breast is the most symbolic proof to it.

SECRET DEALINGS

Besides, it was pinned up to this place soon after a West German parliamentary delegation had completed an extensive visit to Portugal—the result of which hasn't been announced to the world through a Bonn-Lisbon communique because the secretive character of this axis doesn't permit that much publicity. Yet, the nature of Bonn-Lisbon relations might easily be revealed to everyone's eyes by pointing at some high-lights of these relations.

It has never occurred in West Germany that some of her political leaders—and least of them Dr. Adenauer himself!—would

have raised a protest against Salazar's claim that Angola and Mozambique were the "integral parts" and "provinces" of Portugal. Which means, according to this strange geography, that the West German parliamentarians visited Portugal not only in Lisbon but also in Luanda and Lourenco Marques.

This is both stupid and bad, but much worse is the latest news that the Portuguese colonialists have made an offer to grant Bonn's NATO army the right to set up training grounds in Portugal. In the first phase, air bases for interceptor jet units—for instance, an airfield near Beja—are to be put at the disposal of the West German army.

This is the Portuguese payment in return for the increased military and economic aid of which Salazar had been assured by leading Bonn politicians and officers of Portugal during their recent visit to London.

economic aid of which Salazar had been assured by leading Bonn politicians and officers of Portugal during their recent visit to London.

BOOT MUSIC

Since the Bonn-Lisbon allies have such a harmonious view on geography concerning Angola and Mozambique as the "integral parts" and "provinces" of Portugal, it should be expected that the boots of the West German soldiers might soon be heard stamping the streets of Luanda and Lourenco Marques which would be the sweetest music to the ears of Messrs. Verwoerd, Welensky and Co.

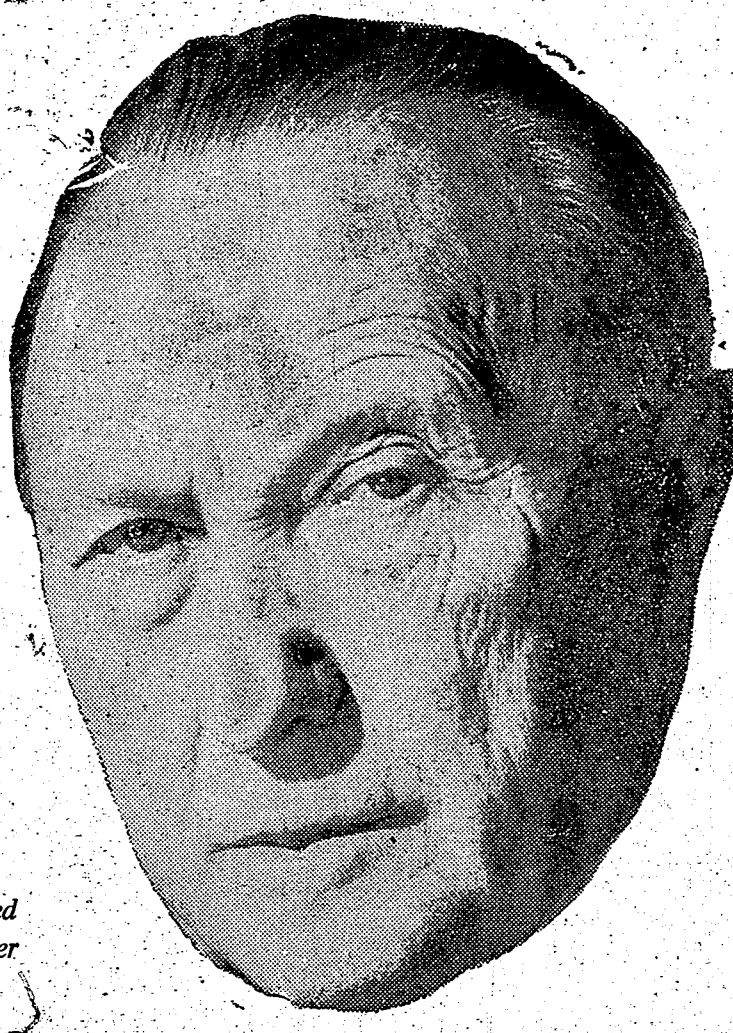
And now, let's enjoy a brief look at the history:

The first German bedizenized with the Order of

Tower and Sword was the emperor Wilhelm II, the ruler of Germany and her colonies in Africa up to 1914. The second bumpitious holder of Portuguese medals was Hitler, and the third one is now pensioner, Adenauer.

The pages of the history of Africa are swiftly turning by the powerful wind of change which will soon blow off the remnants of colonialists to the waste-heap of their own "civilisation".

No ground is going to be left to their neo-colonialist successors of whatever origin and denomination either.



Dr. Adenauer, the retired Chancellor with the Order of Tower and Sword.

Socialism and Science

BY insisting that a socialist society must place the emphasis on science in the education of its future citizens, both Mr. Harold Wilson at Scarborough and President Nkrumah at the opening of the National Assembly in Accra, issued almost identical political challenges on the academic level.

The political consequences of the kind of education fostered by imperialism both at home and abroad throughout the colonies, are coming under examination simultaneously in Britain and in Ghana with a great deal of urgency. The connection between scientific education and decolonization is becoming clearer every day.

Decolonization, except for the bigger portion of the African continent, no longer means relinquishing political control but abandoning privileged economic positions. It is this latter which the Tories are not prepared to do, and which the socialists must do to make Britain viable in a world without colonies. At this point Mr. Wilson's strivings for a socialist Britain and President Nkrumah's efforts to rid Ghana of neo-colonialism run parallel, with the same type of imperialist education proving a similar obstacle to both.

RADICAL CHANGES

The kind of education which served imperialism so well in its hey-day cannot serve socialism even in its earliest stages. Without radical changes in education there cannot be any hope of breaking the hold of the Establishment on the civil

service in Britain, or lessening its influence over the professional and administrative section of former colonial peoples. The issue, of course, is essentially political, but its roots go deep into the philosophical and cultural fields where the educationalist has virtual independence.

By insisting that the issue is wholly non-political, the educationalist... deliberately or unconsciously, takes up a political attitude which is always in favour of the status quo.

In Britain, non-political education works entirely in favour of capitalist conservatism. In Ghana, it works in favour of neo-colonialism.

Education, however, cannot become subordinate to political programmes and political parties without standing in danger of ceasing to become education. Propaganda and indoctrina-

tion are not education, as they teach men to conform rather than to search for the truth. The academic search for truth must include the truth about the society in which that search is conducted and the relationship between education and politics. The socialist quarrel with capitalist education is no longer so much that it indoctrinates with a bias for capitalism, as that it is outmoded as a search for truth. To its normal vice of escaping from unpleasant realities, it has now added an anti-scientific spirit.

ANTI-SCIENTIFIC

For capitalism, with its basic motivation of retaining a privileged economic and social class, every exploration in the mental realm presents one problem: how to keep the intellect moving in philosophy, literature, art and science without stepping in the direction where everyday human affairs are decided and administered. In other words, men, intelligent and capable about everything else, must remain idiotic about the bread they eat, the clothes they wear, and the houses they live in. These are regulated by politics, and politics must remain the monopoly of a ruling class, or it is no longer a ruling class.

It is far easier to make an escapist, out of the phi-

losopher, writer and artist than out of the scientist. That is why although capitalism needs and uses scientists and must provide a great deal of scientific education, it remains basically anti-scientific.

In Britain, the anti-scientific attitude of the Establishment has various forms. By not affording scientists the social prestige and remuneration which capitalist society without an Establishment like the U.S.A. offers, there is a constant migration of scientists away from Britain.

By recruiting its top civil service personnel from the non-science universities, (Oxford and Cambridge), it isolates scientists from the policy-making levels of government. By giving the science universities (Redbrick or provincial universities as they are called) an inferior social status and less academic standing, they attract the brighter scholars of all classes to Oxford and Cambridge. This robs the trade unions and labour movement of their natural leaders, and makes scientists in Westminster (even in the Labour Party) very conspicuous by their absence.

by
H. M. Basner

It is this pattern which Harold Wilson promised to break, in his first policy speech as leader of the Labour Party at an annual conference, when making science his election theme. Among Labour leaders — himself educated at Oxford — he is the first to understand the disgust and indifference of Britain's scientists with British politics on its present party programmes.

In doing this, Mr. Wilson risked a great deal at Scarborough. He risked the displeasure of the powerful trade union chiefs, who still regard science as a major cause of unemployment. To make his point, Mr. Wilson called them Luddites—that is the machine wreckers of the early days of the industrial revolution. He risked the displeasure of the left wing, which still confuses the white coats of the scientists with the white collars of the undependable middle classes.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION

Mr. Wilson, however, met with overwhelming approval at Scarborough. His party recognized that the scientific revolution must

complete the industrial revolution to bring socialism to power in Britain. President Nkrumah, on the other hand, risks no open opposition in his call for an emphasis on science in education. The material advantages of scientific training in a developing country are too obvious for that. But while risking no open opposition, he must risk as much passive resistance as Mr. Wilson, if not more.

Colonialism, where it afforded higher education at all, accentuated for the colonies the vices of its home system. The sons of chiefs, as the sons of the Establishment, became the exclusive product of Oxford and Cambridge.

With the exception of the medical profession, there was no call for scientific education in the colonies as industrial development was initiated. In the lower ranks of education, the missionaries were neither capable nor interested in wakening interest in science; in the higher ranks, the educators were recruited from the universities of the Establishment. It was this pattern of education which the African Revolution took over, and it is a pattern which has persisted with so much damage to independent Africa.

The industrial revolution in Ghana makes scientific education imperative. But

where are the educators to come from? On this point, too, the ideas of Mr. Wilson and President Nkrumah run parallel. Mr. Wilson made the point that Britain must start exporting her science and technology to the developing countries. This runs contrary to the capitalist form of foreign aid, and is, of course, fatal to neo-colonialism.

SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

Will Ghana stop putting a premium on degrees from Oxford and Cambridge, where according to Mr. Wilson scientific education is considered a sign of inferiority? Will it recruit from the Redbrick Universities? Will it insist that members of the peace corps who can't teach science are useless to Ghana? Will it insist that the scientific spirit must be fostered in the grades, as the religious spirit is fostered at that early age?

On the need of science in our educational programme, President Nkrumah has expressed himself no less clearly than Mr. Wilson for his country. A socialist Britain can lend an impetus to Ghana's needs in education in a way that no other Western country is capable of doing. The advent of a socialist government in Britain must, therefore, be a consummation speedily to be wished for in the whole of English-speaking Africa.

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIALISATION IN AFRICA

Continued from page 2

reached 12 per cent by 1960; their volume increase in those ten years was seven-fold.

Africa spends enormous sums every year importing foodstuffs. Sierra Leone last year, for example, spent over £5 million—about 16 per cent of her total imports—on food. Ghana still has to spend a similar percentage. Obviously, there can be no manufactured import substitution for food—yet, all the same, industrialisation can help enormously to solve this kind of problem.

It has been estimated that if grain to feed India's additional population over the next five years were imported, the cost would be about £350 million. But this is only the beginning. If, instead of importing fertiliser, a new fertiliser factory were to be built each year in India, to produce 350,000 tons of ammonium sulphate, the foreign exchange cost would be reduced to only £40 million. And the foreign exchange costs of a heavy machine-building factory to manufacture machinery to be installed in such a fertiliser plant every year would be about £8 million. Thus, by an initial and single expenditure of £8 million, India could save hundreds of millions of pounds otherwise spent on importing grain.

ENORMOUS ADVANTAGES

The same report contains similar calculations for mining machinery plant and heavy electrical equipment, resulting in vast savings. For £110 million, including £60 million of imported machinery, India could install a million-ton steel plant with an annual product value of £30 million. But if the £60 million were invested in a heavy machine-building factory, then, allowing for imports of about £40 million a year,

it could produce each year roughly £60 million worth of machinery or the equivalent of the imported machinery needed to set up a million-ton steel plant. Once such a heavy machinery plant went into production, it would be possible out of India's resources to start a new million-ton steel plant every year!

The above examples demonstrate only too clearly the enormous advantages to be gained by industrialisation and the speed with which the whole economy can march forward if the basic heavy industry is there. It is therefore completely understandable that Guinea's economic plan should stress that industrialisation is the basis of her economic independence, and the surest way to progress because it is in that sector that the productivity of labour is highest. It is therefore industrialisation which will facilitate a rapid development of the country's wealth, without which the nation would be condemned to stagnation.



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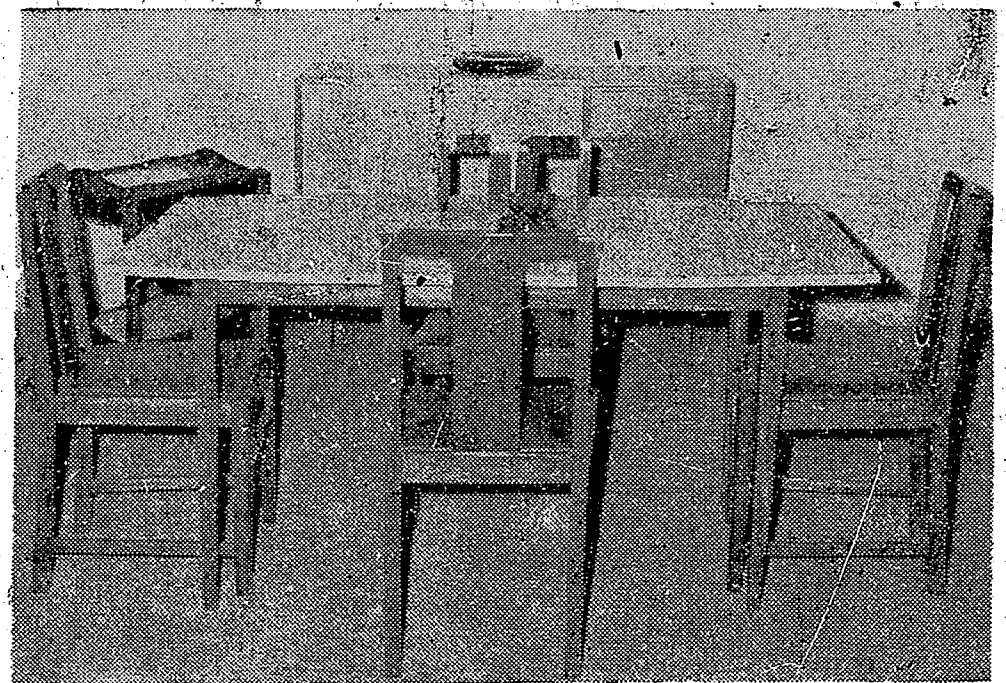
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COMMITTEE OF NINE

Continued from page 1

11th OCTOBER, FRIDAY:

GHANA: Mr. Johnson Appiah, Ghana's delegate on the United Nations General Assembly's Foreign Economic and Financial Committee says in New York that the creation of an African Common Market is the most effective way to develop the rich continent of Africa.

Such a market, he says, can only function properly if African States pursue a policy of economic inter-dependence.

NIGERIA: Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of Nigeria's opposition Action Group, jailed last month for ten years on charges of plotting the overthrow of the Government, files 11 further grounds for appeal against the sentence.

Chief Awolowo had already filed a 23-point appeal in a Lagos Court.

GUINEA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia arrives in Guinea to begin a four-day state visit.

12th OCTOBER, SATURDAY:

ALGERIA: The Algerian Press Service announces in New York that President Ahmed Ben Bella is expected to address the United Nations General Assembly on October 21.

GHANA: Mr. Kojo Botsio, Ghana's Foreign Minister, arrives in Paris by air on a European tour.

Mr. Botsio is expected to hold discussions with the Ghana Ambassador in France, Mr. S. O. Jantuah, and will possibly meet the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Maurice Couve de Marville.

NIGERIA: Mr. A. O. Olariwaju, Minister in charge of Police Affairs, leading the campaign for the Midwest People's Congress Party, for a vacant seat in the Nigerian Federal Parliament, had to be guarded by police from angry crowd throwing stones and sticks.

About 20 people were injured—five of them seriously.

14th OCTOBER, MONDAY:

ZANZIBAR: The Prime Minister of Zanzibar, Sheik Mohammed Shante Hamadi, says in Cairo, United Arab Republic, that his country will follow a policy of non-alignment after its independence on December 10.

SOUTH AFRICA: Dr. Alan Walker, an Australian evangelist, calls apartheid a "colossal failure" and warns that South Africa is heading straight for disaster.

U.A.R.: Agreement on the need for a conference of non-aligned states next year is announced in Cairo in a joint communique by President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

15th OCTOBER, TUESDAY:

GHANA: A 27-year-old Ghanaian engineering student Mr. Benjamin Owusu, wins the coveted ward of a solid silver engraved medallion, for the outstanding aeronautical student for 1962 at the Airwork Services Training Establishment, Britain's air university, near Perth in Scotland.

NIGERIA: Commenting on the walk-out at a Lagos dinner by African diplomats, the "West African Pilot" in its editorial says, that Nigeria has no excuse to offer for maintaining friendly ties with Portugal.

GHANA: Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, announces in his sessional address, at the State opening of Parliament that the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity is "already being overtaken by events." This, he explains, is due to the tempo of development in Africa since the Addis Ababa conference.

16th OCTOBER, WEDNESDAY:

NIGERIA: Alhaji Isa Wali, head of Nigeria's External Affairs Ministry, says, as far as the Nigerian government is concerned, there had never existed in Nigeria any Portuguese Embassy.

Dr. Carlos Coelho, describes as an "unofficial Portuguese Charge d'Affairs" in Nigeria and his Portuguese staff may be ordered out of Nigeria shortly because they have no diplomatic standing.

SOUTH AFRICA: Dr. Jan Steytler, leader of South Africa's Progressive Party, says that the parallel between Germany under Hitler and South Africa under Prime Minister Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd is now complete.

He continues to say that Hitler used Jews and Communists as scape goats in precisely the same way as Dr. Verwoerd is using the non-whites.

MOROCCO: King Hassan II of Morocco, in a broadcast speech to his countrymen, says he is still prepared to enter into direct talks with Algeria to liquidate the frontier dispute created by colonialism which threatens the integrity of their national territory.

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

These three sets of foreign control of national life and a decent life for the masses.

It is important, however, to emphasise the point that the proposed continental peoples movement does not need all and every group opposed to the neo-colonialist government. In particular, it does not need those reactionary groups whose only complaint against the 'client' government is that they are not the clientele.

The third set of forces to be grouped in the continental peoples movement consist of the national liberation movements in the colonial territories and in South Africa, more especially the revolutionary wings of such movements.

These three sets of forces cannot be mobilised at the governmental level for the simple reason that only a few African governments qualify for membership in the proposed movement and the greater part of the forces involved are non-governmental. The link has got to be forged at another level—at the level of political parties and peoples organisations.

Here the initiative should be taken by the ruling political parties in the few African states that have taken the road of socialist development. This is a duty which history has imposed on these parties. And the discharge of this historical assignment permits of no further delay.

This structure is unduly elaborate and expensive. Since the main function of the Liberation Committee is to harmonise aid for liberation movements and operate the special fund, one standing committee acting for the Committee of Nine is all that the situation requires. The Executive Secretary could then act under constant guidance by and consultation with this standing committee which in effect will be a sub-committee of the Liberation Committee itself. The power given to the Secretariat to decide its own budget is contrary to accepted practice. The effect is that the secretariat is self-animating and could thus become a frankenstein monster vis-a-vis the Liberation Committee itself. There is insufficient control in the hands of those who set it up—the Liberation Committee and ultimately the Conference of African Heads of State and Government.

THE BUDGET

The approved budget for the six months July to December 1963, does not reflect any real understanding of what the situation requires. The Committee's report (at page 4) shows that its funds stand at £120,000 secured and another £148,930 promised. Yet it budgeted for a total of £727,000 for a period of only six months with no provision whatsoever for the support of the armed struggle in the colonies. This huge figure does not include the administrative expenses of the Executive Secretariat which are not given.

The sum of £250,000 is to be spent in setting up seven "housing centres and training centres" in the independent African states that are geographical neighbours of the colonial territories. Another £150,000 is to be spent on running these centres in only six months and included in this sum is a monthly pay of twenty-six shillings for each "trainee" (i.e. freedom fighter). Each centre is to be equipped with a van and a liaison car" (p. 14).

Another £27,000 is to be spent on "external missions" of the liberation movements. And the staggering sum of £300,000 is earmarked for propaganda in 12 colonial territories.

A break down of this budget reveals the following pattern:—

- all capital expenditure is to be made outside the colonial territories in erecting housing and training centres;
- 37 per cent of recurrent expenditure is spent outside the colonial territories;
- 63 per cent of recurrent expenditure is spent on propaganda; and
- not a mite is spent on military equipment even though according to the report "many of the Nationalist leaders who appeared before the Committee requested military aid" (p. 8).

SECRECY

The Liberation Committee has shown little regard for considerations of secrecy and has accordingly diminished from its ability to supply effective military assistance to the liberation movements. Perhaps this is due to its apparent relegation of military assistance to the background.

What evidence is there for this view?

At page eleven of its report the Committee openly sets out the two types of military formations to be used. Each formation consists of eleven men (a "chief", and "assistant chief" and nine men).

The first formation contains a chief with automatic pistol, a compass, a pair of field glasses and 200 cartridges. He is supported by an assistant chief with one rifle and 200 cartridges. The rest of the formation is made up of seven men, each with a rifle and 200 cartridges, and two men, each with a machine-gun and 500 cartridges. The second formation contains a chief with automatic pistol, compass, field glasses and 200 cartridges; an assistant with a machine-gun and 500 cartridges; 9 men with 8 rifles and one machine-gun.

And so without even engaging in a skirmish, the enemy knows the size, the composition and the equipment of units of the liberation army!

At page 4 of the report, Barclays Bank in Dar-es-Salaam is made the bankers to the Liberation Committee. What about the possibility of the Committee's accounts being known to the enemy? According to the report an "assurance was given by the Chairman as to the reliability of the Barclays Bank in keeping accounts secret and its unquestioned integrity and fine record in the past." Assurance indeed!

CONTROL OF AID

All aid is to be collected for the liberation movement by the government of the "neighbouring" independent state. The representative of the Liberation Committee in the neighbouring country must work in close collaboration with the government of the country. And the neighbouring country must be granted the right of supervision over all aid meant for liberation movements in the nearby colonial country.

On paper, all these provisions look quite harmless and even helpful. In practice however, things are bound to be quite different. These powers could be used to obstruct groups of freedom fighters unacceptable for one reason or the other to the government of the neighbouring independent African state.

And what if the "neighbouring" state is a client state of one of the imperialist powers? The whole strength of the liberation movement is known to the enemy and favourable conditions are created for active repression of the nationalists or for the colonial power bargaining with them from a position of strength.

Military intelligence is a vital arm of military action. The carefree approach to the problem of military assistance shown by the Liberation Committee means that the liberation movements can have no secrets unknown to the enemy. It is like fighting a war with a powerful enemy fifth column operating in your rear.

It has been shown that the work of the Liberation Committee so far is riddled with serious defects. Its mandate has been exceeded. It has surrendered powers at vital points to individual African states without authority to do so. Its

headquarters organisation leans on the side of bureaucracy. Its first budget shows little concern for the liberation struggle inside each colonial territory. And its disregard for secrecy, if persisted in, would greatly sap its effectiveness.

However, a close study of the official report leads strongly to the conclusion that these errors of the Liberation Committee arise not from ignorance but from fundamentally incorrect views on how the national liberation movements are to be helped forward. These wrong notions reveal themselves in three main concepts.

WRONG NOTIONS

Firstly, there is the thesis that the struggle for independence is to be conducted by way of negotiation with the colonial powers. In the case of colonial territories "where the colonial power has accepted the principle of representative government and independence" then "those members of the Committee and of the Organisation of African Unity who have special relationship with the colonial power concerned should use their good offices to hasten the achievement of representative Government and Independence by peaceful and constitutional means" (p. 17).

This thesis is defective in at least three aspects. In the first place, it is founded on the exploded doctrine that colonialism seeks to prepare the peoples under it for full self-government.

In the second place, it is completely oblivious of the lessons of history, namely, that if the colonial power "guides" the colonial territory to freedom the end result is not complete independence but neo-colonialism.

In the third place, this thesis introduces the concept of African groupings by the back door contrary to the spirit of Addis Ababa. For in effect it is saying that the liberation of say Southern Rhodesia is something which the African members of the British Commonwealth have to negotiate with Britain.

It is admitted, rather reluctantly, that some colonial powers have to be brought to their knees by positive action. Even here, the military action envisaged is merely for the purpose of compelling the colonial power to negotiate.

FEAR OF MASSES

At page 11 of the official report under heading IV, we read:—

"The Armed struggle—which is to be actuated by:

- A subversive action creating an atmosphere of insecurity for the foreigners.
- With an economic incidence—sabotage is to be translated into political action. This means to help with—Possible contacts; negotiations being held; possible negotiations."

Here we see a complete lack of faith in the ability of the people to liberate themselves. It is a solution that betrays deep-seated fear of the masses. For why cannot the masses, once arms are to be used, go on to a total defeat of the forces of colonialism in the field? It is this fear of the masses that is responsible first for the relegation of armed struggle to the background and secondly for the supply of minimal arms requirements even where the necessity of armed struggle is admitted.

The second fundamental misconception by the Liberation Committee relates to the doctrine of "common action front" in each colonial territory.

No doubt, a common action front by all freedom fighters is desirable. But it is not always practicable. It is usual to have a radical revolutionary wing of the national liberation movement side by side with a moderate vacillating wing. If no agreement is possible between these two wings, which wing should be entitled to support?

The practical line of the Liberation Committee on this vital issue leaves much to be desired. Their formula is: "In case of failure to get a Common Action Front, the Committee should reserve the right of selection and recognition of the movement entitled to assistance" (p. 7). This formula is arbitrary and could lead to a slowing down of the liberation movement.

The correct solution in such an eventuality is to seek the views of the peoples inside the colonial territory about the various wings of the liberation movement and to render assistance to the most popular wing. Here it must be emphasised that popularity must be gauged not by numbers or connections of freedom fighters outside, but by popular support inside the country.

ANGOLA SITUATION

The handling of the Angola situation has in fact given cause for concern. The Leopoldville administration unilaterally recognised Roberto Holden's Provisional Government. Through the formula of the "neighbouring" independent state having the big say in how the liberation movement next door is to be aided, the Liberation Committee succumbed to the blackmail of the Adoula Government. The result has been the virtual crippling of all revolutionary liberation movements in Angola and the forcible acceptance by all revolutionaries of Holden's (and U.S.A.'s) main line of negotiation with Portugal. It is relevant to draw attention to the fact that for the first time in history, Portugal last week started talks with U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant, about self-government for her colonial territories. One need not be a soothsayer to prophesy the result. Angola will be given conditional independence under which both Portuguese and U.S. imperialisms will be accommodated.

The third fundamental misconception of the Liberation Committee is the theory of making the "neighbouring" independent African state the operational base for action by military units of the liberation movements. At page 10 of the official report, the functions of the neighbouring state are enumerated. These are to provide "convenient and non-expensive purchasing possibilities for equipment to be found on the spot"; to allow setting up of "food stores", "armament stores" and "first aid institutions, schools, mess-halls and centres for re-orientation"; to help in "management of housing and transit camps"; to help with "repair shops and parking of vehicles".

Such an arrangement is bound to have serious military and diplomatic repercussions. Suppose the aircraft of the colonial

power attacks any of these installations? Will the independent African state open hostilities against the colonial power? Or will all African states declare war on the colonial power? What is most likely is that a heated debate will ensue at the U.N. whose observers will be posted to the border areas to check on military traffic. The entire liberation struggle in the colonial territory would have been cut off from its base.

A second argument against this theory is that successful revolutions and wars of liberation are never fought from outside. While neighbouring territories could be used for movement of supplies, the base of the revolution must be inside the country concerned.

MERCENARIES

A third argument against the method advocated by the Liberation Committee is that it could easily lead on to the creation of a force of mercenaries. And mercenaries, divorced from the people and engaged in hit and run tactics, would fail to mobilise the masses to the detriment of the revolution. At worst, it would put into office a government with rather weak roots with the people. In short, it could topple a foreign government and put bankrupt local stooges in its place. And such a band of stooges at the helm of affairs is the political condition for neo-colonialism.

African freedom fighters and leaders of the African Revolution must appraise the present situation and events surrounding the Dar-es-Salaam Liberation Committee accurately and incisively. There can be no doubt whatever that imperialism has cast its net around the Liberation Committee. And making use of the "neighbouring" state doctrine, imperialism has sought to give de facto control of Africa's effort to liberate the rest of the continent to a few states which are strongly under its influence.

The whole strategy has two guiding principles:—

- The African States of radical nationalism and socialism should be stopped from giving direct assistance to the national liberation movements; and
- the unified assistance of all Africa to liberation movements should be controlled by "client states" and channelled to the moderate wing of the liberation movement in order to pave the way for replacing colonialism with neo-colonialism.

This is the time to make a serious re-appraisal of the working of the Liberation Committee. If its work could be rectified, well and good. If not, the African States of radical nationalism and socialism must not hesitate to find new ways of giving assistance to the radical wings of the liberation movements throughout Africa. These states might be accused of by-passing a decision of the Addis Ababa Conference. Provided their assistance reaches the liberation movements and they do not use the ineffectiveness of the Liberation Committee as an excuse for inactivity, these would be working for the fuller realisation of Addis Ababa which is to eradicate both colonialism and neo-colonialism from the African Continent.