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The All African Peoples Conference in 1961

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I. Summary and Conclusions

1. This paper describes the activities and developments of the All African Peoples Conference during 1961. From those activities and developments it is possible to draw the following conclusions.

a. The AAPC is at the present time directed by a group that controls the AAPC Secretariat and Steering Committee and that represents the entire gamut of Communist thought (i. e. militant Chinese, orthodox Soviet, and Yugoslav nationalist).

b. The work of the AAPC is expanding and is now aimed not only at influencing political parties and trade unions, as originally planned, but also at subverting mass organizations of youth and women.

c. The AAPC activities and propaganda policies are being coordinated with those of the Communist-controlled Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization through individuals holding official positions in both organizations and through consultations between the two permanent organizations. These regular consultations provide a channel for exerting Sino-Soviet bloc influence within the AAPC, from which organization the Sino-Soviet bloc is necessarily excluded.

d. The effectiveness of the AAPC has been considerably strengthened by the establishment of a Freedom Fund liberally fed from bloc sources.

II. Introduction and Background

2. The All African Peoples Conference was organized to create a mechanism through which the independent countries of Africa could assist the dependent territories to gain their independence. The Accra conference of 1958, although dominated by the moderate representatives of both free and colonial areas (e. g. , Kenya, Tunisia, Liberia), contained a strong radical minority led by the Guinean and UAR delegates. This minority, in which Ghana has <sup>now</sup> gained influence at the expense of the UAR, has, since the appointment of Abdoulaye Diallo as secretary general in mid-1959, taken over control of the organization and is guiding the AAPC in a violent anti-western, anti-United States, anti-neocolonialist policy that supports the current Sino-Soviet line in Africa.

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3. The All African Peoples Conference, convoked by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, met for the first time in Accra in December 1958. There, some 200 delegates from political parties in both sovereign and dependent areas discussed ways and means to aid the liberation movements of the dependent countries of Africa. The conference was dominated by its conservative elements, e. g., Tom Mboya of Kenya and Taieb Slim of Tunisia. Ghana's Nkrumah, who at that time was supporting the moderate position of non-violence, also aligned himself with the moderates. There was, however, a nucleus of radicals under the leadership of delegates from Guinea and the UAR which was strong enough to force a compromise on the ~~important~~ important question of whether the use of violence was justified in the struggle for independence. The final resolution on this subject, which approved the use of peaceful methods in areas where "democratic means are available" but pledged full support to those in other areas "compelled to employ violence in order to meet the violent means by which they are subjected and exploited," embodied the fundamental justification for violence that has long characterized Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

4. A group of Communist sympathizers was elected to the Steering Committee of the permanent organization set up by the conference. The conference could not agree, however, on the election of a secretary general. The pro-Communist group nominated Abdoulaye Diallo of Guinea, former vice president of the World Federation of Trade Unions. As he was unacceptable to the moderates and as his supporters were adamant, the position was left open to be filled at a later date.

5. The AAPC Steering Committee met three times between the close of the 1958 Accra meeting and the opening of the Second All African Peoples Conference in Tunis in January 1960. During this time the pro-Communist clique on the committee, by a series of adroit organizational maneuvers, finally installed Abdoulaye Diallo as secretary general, thus greatly weakening the position of the moderate group. Furthermore, Nkrumah changed his position and by the opening of the Tunis conference was giving full support to Diallo. The Tunis conference underlined the changes which

had taken place. Most delegates at Tunis accepted without question the use of violence as a legitimate method to be used in the winning of independence. Neo-colonialism was introduced as a major enemy and the United States was singled out for adverse criticism.

6. The Tunis conference also amended the constitution to increase greatly the authority of the Steering Committee and the secretary general. The Steering Committee received "full authority to act in the name of the organization in accordance with the purposes and objectives of the conference." The secretary general was made an ex-officio member of the Steering Committee and although responsible to the committee he was empowered to "take any action which he deems to be in the interest of the purposes and objectives of the conference."

### III. Communist Bloc Influence

7. Bloc countries have sent observers to all AAPC meetings. Bloc observers to the Accra Conference in 1958 included an eight-member Soviet delegation headed by Dr. Azimov and Professor Potekhin (Dr. Azimov is a member of the Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity; Professor Potekhin is the head of the African Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences); a representative from WIDF (the international Communist women's front); the Soviet and Chinese representatives on the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Organization; and newspaper reporters from Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Communist China, East Germany, and the Soviet Union.

8. At Tunis in 1960 the bloc observer list was even larger. Observers came from the USSR, Communist China, Poland, the AAPSO, the WIDF, the WFDY, and the WFTU. Although bloc observers were not allowed to take an active part in the proceedings of the conferences they were busy behind the scenes making contacts. Abdoulaye Diallo, for example, was known to have spent considerable time at the hotel suite of the Soviet delegation both before and during the Tunis conference. Bloc observers also issued invitations to African delegates to visit or study in bloc countries with all expenses to be paid by the Communists.

9. The AAPC, reciprocating bloc attendance at its meetings, is regularly represented at meetings of the World Peace Conference and other international Communist fronts.

IV. Relations with the AAPSO

10. The most frequently used channel of Sino-Soviet influence on the AAPC, however, is the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization. At the present time five persons hold office in both organizations, including Ismail Touré of Guinea and Fouad Galal of Egypt, who are acknowledged leaders in both groups. AAPSO representatives attend meetings not only of the full AAPC but also of the Steering Committee, and regular conferences take place between officials of the two permanent organizations. Further emphasis was placed on these conferences at the Third All African Peoples Conference in March 1961, which directed its permanent secretariat to "hold constant consultations with the organs of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization for realization of our common objectives."

11. The AAPSO-AAPC channel has also been used by the Sino-Soviet bloc to finance the African liberation movements. For example, at the third AAPC meeting in March 1961, Fouad Galal, president of the conference and member of the AAPSO Executive Committee, announced that the AAPSO had contributed 500,000 pounds sterling to the AAPC Freedom Fund. In view of the known poor financial condition of the AAPSO treasury it is probable that this gift originated in a bloc country.

Structure of the AAPC

2. In addition to what the chart below shows, the Cairo conference of March 1961 charged the Steering Committee with the establishment of a permanent Cairo office with branches in Conakry, Casablanca, and Tunis. The duties of this office are not clear.

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The Conference  
(meets annually)

Composed of:  
Political Parties  
Labor Federations

The Steering Committee (meets at least  
semi-annually)

Composed of: Secretary General  
22 members elected annually  
by the conference  
(7 additional members may be  
coopted by regular members)

Freedom Fund Committee  
(meets quarterly)

Composed of: Secretary general  
3 members elected by the Steering  
Committee from representatives  
of dependent countries.  
3 members elected by the Steering  
Committee from representatives  
of independent countries.

The Permanent Secretariat (permanent  
session)

Composed of: Secretary General (elected by  
the conference for a three-year term)  
8 secretaries (nationalities designated by  
the conference. National AAPC affiliates  
then designate individuals)

13. The Steering Committee elected at the Cairo Conference in March 1960 follows. The names marked with an asterisk denote those whose past records show that they have generally supported Communist regional projects and objectives in Africa. *These names identified with a double asterisk have been identified as Communist sympathizers.*

Secretary General	Abdoulaye Diallo * *
Algeria	Ahmed Boumendjel *
Angola	Mario de Andrade * *
Basutoland	Ntsu Mokhele *
Cameroun	<del>Leandre</del> <sup>Kingue</sup> Abel * *
Congo (Leopoldville)	Antoine Kiwewa *
Ghana	Kojo Botsio *
Guinea	Ismael Touré * *
Kenya	Tom Mboya
Liberia	T. O. Dosomu Johnson
Mali	Modibo Diallo *
Morocco	Mahjoub Ben Seddik *
Niger	Djibo Bakari *
Nigeria	Tunji Otegbeye *
Nyasaland	Kanyama Chiume *
Somalia	Ali Abdullahi *
South Africa	Tennison Makiwane *
Southern Rhodesia	Joshua Nkomo
Tanganyika	B. Munanka
Tunisia	Abdel Magid Shaker
Uganda	John Kakonge
UAR	Mohamed Fouad Jalal *

14. Under the terms of the constitution the duties of the annual conference are to review the activities of the AAPC during the previous years, proposals for activities during the year to follow, and proposals for amendment to the constitution. The annual conference also elects the members of the Steering Committee annually and the secretary general every three years.

15. The Steering Committee is authorized to act on behalf of the conference, and to prepare a draft agenda for each annual conference. Its decisions are subject to ratification by the following <sup>next</sup> conference. The Steering Committee also elects members of the Freedom Fund Committee and prepares the organization's budget.

16. The secretary general is responsible to the Steering Committee for the general administration of the AAPC. He is responsible for maintaining contacts with affiliated organizations, for collecting materials for subjects which are to be discussed by the conference, and for issuing publications. The secretary general prepares the agenda for the Steering Committee and is empowered to call emergency meetings of the Steering Committee at any time he deems necessary. He is also charged with making arrangements for conference meetings including the setting up of a preparatory committee in conjunction with the host country.

The secretary general is assisted by the Secretariat, which, under the terms of the constitution, is located in Accra, Ghana.

17. The secretary general, through the extensive powers assigned him by the constitution and through his three positions<sup>Y</sup> as head of the Secretariat, presiding officer of the Freedom Fund, and voting member of the Steering Committee, is clearly the most powerful single official in the organization. Perhaps his most significant way of influencing and controlling the policy of the organization, however, is his role in the affairs of the Steering Committee. Although the Steering Committee formally contains twenty-two designated members, only ten are required for a quorum. The secretary general, using his prerogative of calling an emergency Steering Committee meeting at any time, would need the support of only five other members to coopt additional supporters up to seven. This tactic of packing the Steering Committee with coopted members was in fact used in Conakry in 1959 and resulted in the installation of Diallo as secretary general in spite of the substantial opposition to his appointment which had earlier been manifest. <sup>Abdoulaye</sup> ~~Abdoriage~~ Diallo's term as secretary general runs until 1963.

VI. Major Events of 1961

A. Third All African Peoples Conference

*30000  
people  
attending* 18. The third meeting of the All African Peoples Conference <sup>convened</sup> in Cairo on 25 March 1961. Internal organizational problems, e.g., the writing and ratifying of a constitution and the selection of a secretary general, which were major occupations of the first two conferences (Accra 1958 and Tunis 1960), had been resolved. Furthermore, control of both the Steering Committee and the Secretariat was firmly held by pro-Communist members, who consequently were able to fix the agenda, appoint the committees, and compose the resolutions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Cairo Conference was appreciably different from its predecessors and devoted itself to measures in support of the current themes and objectives of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

19. The speeches that took up the first three days of the conference echoed Moscow's propaganda diatribes against the neo-colonialism of the United States and against U. S. domination<sup>Y</sup> of the United Nations. The following excerpts <sup>from</sup> ~~on~~ delegates' speeches illustrate the tone of the conference.

a. Antine Kiwewa, delegate from the Congo: "Supported by 100 million



dollars contributed by the U. S., and thanks to the astute combined efforts of American Ambassador Timberlake; Ralph Bunche, representing Dag Hammarskjöld; Croquez, Kasavubu's French lawyer; and the Belgian government emissary, Van Bilsen, Kasavubu betrayed the nation and became the slave of the imperialist cartel.

b. Hag Mohamed Nov, Popular Movement Party of the Somali Coast:

"We fight against the universal imperialism in its various forms, represented in NATO headed by the American imperialism, which is in fact the most dangerous enemy threatening mankind in our present era."

c. Ronald Ngala, Kenya (KADU): "A new form of colonization by other white imperialists, other than the British, is coming to Kenya. Today we see the United States of America and other European countries sabotage our independence. The U. S. A. which is still oppressing 25 million negroes is imposing their African stooges on us as our leaders through the use of dollars.... We have seen the U. S. A. in Congo, Angola, and Algeria, The Portuguese have no money but the U. S. A. gave them dollars. The same thing <sup>is</sup> now happening in Kenya." The resolutions passed by the conference were similar in tone to the speeches. They were violently anti-imperialist, violently anti-West, and violently against the United Nations. In some instances they called for direct action on the part of <sup>the</sup> independent African states. Other resolutions called for the establishment of organizations under the aegis of the All African Peoples Conference to lead <sup>the struggle</sup> against the neo-colonialists.

The following excerpts from specific resolutions illustrate the mood of the delegates.

a. The resolution on the United Nations. "The UN's actions in the Congo has clearly proved the ineffectiveness of its present set-up...and its subjection to imperialist powers.... The UN has therefore become an instrument of neo-colonialism under whose cloak colonial powers re-enter independent countries.... [The conference] calls for the reorganization of the general secretariat and the revision of the United Nations Charter."

b. The Resolution on Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde islands "denounces the conspiracies of the Portuguese colonialism... in these countries in collaboration with some African traitors and the support of American imperialists and West Germans."

c. The resolution on South West Africa "calls on the African states to press for and impose sanctions on South Africa--economic, diplomatic, and otherwise."

d. The resolution on Nyassaland and Rhodesia "calls upon the All African Peoples Conference and the independent African states to redouble their aid and support to the Africans of Central Africa against British imperialism; calls upon all African independent states to see that:

(1) "No independent African state should import anything to or from this federation [sic].

(2) "Airlines [of the Central African Federation] should not be allowed to use African independent states' territorial air space nor be accorded landing facilities.

(3) "Afro-Asian states should raise the issue of Central African Federation at the forthcoming general assembly."

21. Opposition to the resolutions was weak and ineffectual. Only Liberia and Sierra Leone actually voted against some of the texts. Such moderates as Tunisia and Ethiopia did no more than abstain. There was no acknowledgement by the conference of any opposition; in fact, the resolutions were publicly announced as unanimous. It is also notable that, although there was some revision of the extreme texts by the full conference, the effect of these moderating efforts was promptly negated when the committee drafts were distributed to the press as final texts without provoking any protest.

22. The resolutions were drafted by the five committees listed below:

a. Committee on Liberation of Dependent Territories, chairman, Ahmed Boumendjel (Algeria),

b. Committee on Neo-colonialism and the UN, chairman, Mehdi Ben Barka (Morocco).

c. Committee on Reorganization of Structure and Liquidation of the Remnants of Imperialism, chairman, Leon Maka (Guinea).

d. Committee on Democratic, Economic and Social Development, chairman, James Gichuru (Kenya). Although Gichuru was nominally the chairman, he apparently did not take an active part in the committee's work, and the extremist resolution



~~B. Trade Unions~~

26. The most important of these organizational efforts is obviously that in the trade unions since trade unions are envisioned as providing at least half of the member organizations in the AAPC. It is also clear that this effort is intended to insure that the AAPC will always retain a progressive, proletarian character and thus serve as an obstacle to the growth of non-socialist, African nationalist political influence. This approach has been made most explicit in the key documents of the UGTAN,\* which not only provide the tactical formula with which the three divergent trade union forces in Africa are to be mobilized in support of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist political trade unionism but also clearly endorse the application of the formula of trade union unity on an all

Africa basis.

~~B~~ ALL AFRICAN Trade Union Meeting

27. A constituent assembly of the All African Trade Union Federation was held in Casablanca from ~~the~~ <sup>30</sup> 25 to ~~20~~ May 1961. This meeting, which ratified an AATUF constitution and elected permanent officials, was the culmination of three years of effort on the part of the AAPC leaders, particularly AAPC secretary general Abdoulaye Diallo and John Tettegah of the Ghana Trade Union Congress.

28. The All African Peoples Conference in Accra in 1958 recommended officially for the first time the organizing, as an adjunct of the AAPC, of an All African Trade Union Federation. Plans for the projected AATUF were furthered at the AAPC Steering Committee meeting of October 1959 in Accra. This meeting authorized Abdoulaye Diallo as the AAPC secretary general "to take the necessary initiative for convening as early as practicable a conference of all bona fide African trade union representative organizations for the formation of an All African Trade Union Federation." Acting under this authority Diallo organized a preparatory conference in Accra in November 1959 to discuss the establishment of an AATUF. This meeting set up a preparatory committee consisting of nineteen persons representing the following trade union organizations: Ghana Trade Union

(\* See Sekou Toure, Report to the General Congress of UGTAN 15-18 January 1959

pp. 54-58. Presence Africaine Paris, 1959.)

Congress, Nigerian Trade Union Congress, Gambia Workers Union, South African Congress of Trade Unions, Council of Labor of Sierra Leone, Uganda Trade Union Congress, Egyptian Confederation of Labor, Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens, Union Marocaine du Travail, and ~~the~~ Union Generale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire.

29. A central office of the preparatory committee was set up at Accra and the following were elected as an executive secretariat: President: Mahjoub Ben Seddik (Morocco), Secretaries: Joe-Fio Meyer (Ghana), Molid Assad Rageh (Egypt), Abdoulaye Gueye (Senegal), W. O. Goodluck (Nigeria), Maachou Abdelkader (Algeria), Diallo Seydou (Guinea).

30. The Accra conference also called for the convening of an AATUF constituent congress in Morocco in May 1960.

31. What has proved to be the main controversial question involved in the formation of the AATUF ~~that~~ of the international affiliation ~~was~~ brought up at Accra. The delegates were unable to reach an agreement on this subject and no stand was taken. It is also notable that Tom Mboya, leader of the Kenya Trade Union Federation, who violently opposes the Ghana-Guinea leadership of the AATUF, did not appear at Accra but chose rather to attend a meeting of the ICFTU going on at the same time in Lagos.

32. The January 1960 All African Peoples Conference ratified the decisions of the Accra AATUF meeting, but was still unable to resolve the differences among the delegates on the issue of international affiliation. The battle over this issue continued despite efforts by John Tettegah, Sekou Toure, and Gogo Chu Nzeribe to win over a majority of the delegates to a policy of non-affiliation. The constituent conference, therefore, which had been scheduled for May

1960 was postponed. On 2 December 1960 a second meeting of the AATUF preparatory committee was held in Accra. This meeting resulted in general agreement on other organizational points but none on affiliation. The press release, however, confirmed the May 1961 date for the constituent conference.

33. The Casablanca AATUF Constituent Conference (25-30 May 1961) was dominated by the radical group <sup>but</sup> ~~which~~ controlled the preparatory committee, i. e., Ghana, Guinea, Mali, UAR, Morocco, and Algeria. Where the preparatory committee was confronted with two or more trade union bodies in a particular country, the invitations were addressed to the organization most likely to support the policies of the sponsors. Numerous complaints were made concerning the invitation list. For example, when the conference opened, three representatives of Liberia's Congress of Industrial Workers carried cards reading "Liberia is in Africa" in protest against having been invited as observers instead of as voting delegates. The Union des Travailleurs du Maroc (UGTM) protested because it had not been invited at all by the Union Marocaine du Travail (UMT), which was one of the sponsors. In other cases, e. g., Mr. John Reich of the Uganda Federation of Labor, voting delegates represented organizations which existed in name only.

34. Other such devices were employed during the course of the conference: a steering committee was appointed by the sponsors before the convening of the conference; there was no credentials committee; and no systematic procedure for voting was set up.

35. The effectiveness of these maneuvers was evident in the results of the conference. The constitution was adopted by acclamation--but only after the departure of the important unions, the Union Generale Tunisienne des Travail (UGTT), the Kenya Federation of Labor (KFL), and the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria.

36. The only apparent concession given in the constitution concerned the highly controversial disaffiliation clause. The principle of disaffiliation was in fact adopted, but members were allowed ten months within which to disaffiliate from their existing international ties. It was also agreed that the AATUF should have permanent headquarters at Casablanca and regional working secretariats in Accra, Cairo, Nairobi, Bamako, and Conakry. Finally, the following permanent secretariat of eight members was elected, seven of whom had served on the preparatory committee:

President: Mahjoub Ben Seddik (Morocco)

Secretaries: John Tettegah (Ghana)

Mamady Kaba (Guinea)

Assad Rajeh (UAR)

Abdelkader Awab (Morocco)

Tom Mboya (Kenya)

Maachou Abdelkader (Algeria)

Lazare Coulibaly (Mali)

37. The inclusion on the permanent secretariat of members known to be out of sympathy with the dominant pro-Communist group, e.g., Tom Mboya, is further evidence of the desire on the part of the majority to present a facade of unity for the trade union movement in Africa.

38. The peculiar concept and character of pan-African trade unionism which now dominates the AATUF have not only been supported from the start by the pro-Communist African Trade Unions (i.e., UGTAN in Guinea and the GTUC in Ghana) but also have been clearly desired by the WFTU. Although the AATUF constitution is consistent with that of the AAPC in its dedication to a unitary revolutionary democratic struggle for completing the winning of full African independence, it goes beyond the AAPC constitution in providing a bridge for future Communist actions when it dedicates itself to the creation of a democratic and socialist Africa. It is clear that when the extension of Communist influence encounters organized and effective opposition, the AATUF will emphasize the struggle for democracy even as Communist trade unions do elsewhere in the world. On the other hand, when the Communist strategy for Africa succeeds in creating a favorable basis for "skipping the stage of capitalist development" the AATUF can extol and defend the application of "socialist democracy," a phenomenon which has already made itself apparent in Africa in the political evolution of Guinea and Ghana since 1958. This already is occurring elsewhere. In Cuba the application of socialist democracy is clear, and Communist trade union forces throughout Latin America are engaged in popularizing Cuban successes and mobilizing for the defense of Cuba.

39. The policy of non-affiliation with international organizations is in fact only likely to affect African trade union links with the pro-Western ICFTU. In spite

of the policy of non-affiliation the constitution of the AATUF and the actions of its leaders clearly show that cooperation with the WFTU and its affiliates is to be expected. Joint projects between African trade unions and the WFTU are consistent with the AATUF charter and have been undertaken, as in the case of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa. There is also evidence, in one case, of the active participation of an African trade union group in WFTU affairs (the acceptance by the Confederation Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée of an invitation to the 5th WFTU Congress in Moscow).

40. The following statement from the Draft Program of Trade Union Action submitted to the Fifth World Trade Union Congress to be held in Moscow from 4-16 December 1961 exemplifies the WFTU position on the AATUF.

"The World Federation of Trade Unions considers the creation of the ~~the~~ <sup>All-</sup> African Trade Union Federation to be a great success of the forces fighting for the unity of the Trade Union Movement in Africa. The fight of the African Trade Unions for unity on the basis of anti-colonialism, against the new forms of colonial oppression, against imperialism, feudalism and reaction, inflicts heavy blows on the disruptive forces represented by imperialism and the ICFTU. . . . The All-African Trade Union Federation and the African workers have. . . a sincere friend--The World Federation of Trade Unions." ("On the First All-African Trade Union Congress," by B. Pela, African Communist, No. 7, September 1961.)

C. Youth MEETING

41. The organization of an All African Youth Conference with similar Communist objectives is also well under way. A preparatory committee met in Accra from 13-14 October 1961. The meeting was attended by delegates from fourteen African countries and by observers including <sup>a</sup> representative of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The chairman was Z. B. Shardow, national organizer of the Ghana Young Pioneers and a secret member of the WFDY <sup>executive</sup> bureau. The preparatory meeting agreed on the convening in Conakry in <sup>early</sup> ~~April~~ 1962 of an anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist youth conference "dedicated to uphold the African personality and to the attainment of total independence and immediate unity of the continent of Africa."



42. The preparatory committee also drew up a draft constitution for the All African Youth Conference, the most important points of which follow.

a. The Pan African Youth Conference is the organ for coordinating African Youth activities.

b. Membership in the PAYC is open to all African youth organizations which support the conference and its aims.)

c. The PAYC consists of a conference, an executive committee, and a permanent secretariat. The conference is to meet biennially and will determine the policy of the organization. At the conference each country will be restricted to six voting delegates. The executive committee will be composed of twelve members elected for a two-year term. The permanent secretariat will consist of a secretary general and two assistant secretaries.

43. The preparatory committee further agreed to ask all independent African countries, trade unions, and private foundations all over the world to help finance the PAYC. The committee also decided to ask UNESCO to accept the <sup>Pan Africanism</sup> congress and help finance it. It decided, however, to reject financial help from either WAY or WFDY. This stipulation clearly resembles the disaffiliation clause in the AATUF charter and is further evidence of the Communist desire to cut the ties between African mass organizations and their western counterparts while leaving the door open for informal ties with Communist groups.

44. Finally, a working committee was established. At first it was to consist of one member each from the AAPC secretariat, the Ghana Young Pioneers, and the Guinea National Youth Union. At the suggestion, however, of Dr. M. A. Allam, the UAR delegate, a decision was reached to allow a member from any country "able to maintain a delegate in Accra" to work on the committee.

D. Women's MEETING

45. The Steering Committee of the AAPC announced on 5 October 1961 that an All African Women's Conference would be held in Darfes Salaam in July 1962. No other preparations have been made for the organization of this conference.

*Pan African Youth Conference*

E. AAPC Steering Committee Meeting

46. The Steering Committee of the AAPC met in Conakry in early October 1961. The following persons attended the meeting.

Ismail Toure (Guinea)	Fouad Galal (Egypt)
John Tettegah (Ghana)	Ali <sup>b</sup> Adullahi (Somalia)
Djibo Bakari (Niger)	Joshua Nkomo (Southern Rhodesia)
Tennyson Makiwane (South Africa)	F. A. McEwen (Nigeria)

47. There were also unidentified delegates from Nyasaland, Ethiopia, Mali, Liberia, and Cameroun. The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization sent as observers to the conference the Cameroun member of the AAPSO permanent secretariat, Osende Afana, and a Soviet AAPSO official, presumably Valid Bey Atamali, who has frequently been associated with AAPSO programs in aid of African nationalist movements.

48. The meeting confirmed the decision to hold the fourth All African Peoples Conference in Bamako in February 1962 and elected a committee to make preparations for the conference. Representatives of Guinea, Niger, South Africa, Egypt, Ghana, Angola, and Nigeria were chosen to serve on the preparatory committee.

49. It is worth noting also that a discussion of the new unions of states, i. e., the Monrovia and Casablanca groups, was included for the first time on the agenda of an AAPC meeting. General agreement was apparently reached that the Monrovia group should not be designated a force in opposition to African interests. Ismail Toure, however, objected to any mention of either the Casablanca or Monrovia groups on the grounds that recognition of them would be tantamount to an admission that there was a divergence among African states the existence of which would be injurious to the African solidarity promoted by the AAPC.

50. Finally, more than 10,000 pounds sterling was contributed to the AAPC by Guinea, Ghana, and the UAR.

51. The Fourth All African Peoples Conference will take place in Bamako in February 1962. This meeting, in view of the character of the AAPC leaders and in view of the environment of the pro-Communist host country, can be expected to hew closely to the present Communist line, i. e., it will attempt to mobilize forces throughout Africa in an attack on the neo-colonialists and their African stooges who, guided by the United States, are trying to put the African countries into a new form of colonial bondage.