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# REVOLUTION

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## in africa

Quarterly Vol. 1 No. 1

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Quarterly Vol. 1 No. 1  
**REVOLUTION**  
in africa

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As this issue goes to the press warm assurances of collaboration have been received from all but three members of the board. It may be assumed that difficulties of correspondence have delayed the other replies.

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*Glimpses of  
West Africa*

By Feng Chih-tan

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# To the Militants of Africa!

Revolution in Africa believes that the revolutionary people of the continent need to master all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, and that the militants of Africa must have active support in their just wars of national liberation.

Revolution in Africa is your source book and guide. Your own leaders are members of its editorial board and in their own words will sound the call for socialist revolutions.

Revolution in Africa will be a handbook for the tacticians of revolt. Its articles will be uncompromising and brutally frank. They will reveal the hypocrisy and incompetence of the present so-called leaders of Africa and lift the paper curtain of words and more words which is used to hide their true nature and deceive their peoples. Our articles will give praise where praise is due—to the numerous, growing Marxist parties, to guerrilla fighters throughout the continent and to all those in Africa whose devotion to Marxism-Leninism is reflected in deeds.

Revolution in Africa comes into being to rescue the militants of Africa after a vile betrayal. In May and June of 1963 a certain Verges published African Revolution at Algiers, but because of lack of cooperation from Ben Bella moved to Paris where the magazine was continued under the name of Revolution: Africa, Latin America, Asia. Then one issue was seized by the reactionary French authorities because it contained an article on the Last Overseas Territories of France. The cringing Verges went to the authorities and assured them that he would refrain from printing any material on French imperialism and would even destroy an article already prepared on French Somalia.

This betrayal by Verges of the revolutionary struggle and his desertion of the cause of Marxism-Leninism to become the servant of the colonialists and neocolonialists aroused a storm of indignation, especially within the ranks of the militants of Africa. To me has fallen the honour of leading the development and growth of Revolution in Africa that will resolutely oppose provincial nationalism and sterile revisionism, and will support all wars of socialist liberation and all efforts to build a united socialist Africa.

**Ahmad M. Kheir**

## REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES IN AFRICA

**Note from the Editor:** Under the above heading **Revolution in Africa** will provide its readers with information about the founding, activity and progress of the militant Marxist parties in Africa. Forthcoming articles will cover Sawaba (Niger), Parti Démocratique de Guinée and the Parti Africain de l'Indépendance (Senegal). Certain so-called Communist parties which for the time being remain under the control of the revisionists, such as those of Nigeria, and South Africa, will not be included.

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As is quite well known, in 1946 the CPF (France) established the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, first on the Ivory Coast and then in other areas of French colonial West Africa. Through its willingness to yield to opportunism and its failure to train leaders and cadres, the CPF lost control of this promising movement. However, an atmosphere favorable to political activity even under repressive colonial conditions was established and resulted in such positive offshoots of the movement as the Parti Démocratique de Guinée, Sawaba, and the Union Soudanaise. After the People's Republic of China began to support liberation movements in Africa, certain other parties were able to benefit from such

interest and guidance. Further, the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France—on the initiative of France—made it more difficult than before for the regime of General de Gaulle to object to close Chinese-African collaboration in the former French colonies. The party described in the following pages emerged under the situation noted above and today it enjoys friendly, fraternal Chinese support.

### **Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)**

The UPC first began activity in April 1948 as the Cameroun section of the RDA and from its founding it has been relentlessly militant in opposition to the colonialists and their successors the neocolonialists.

*Ernest Ouandie — leader of the guerrilla fighters in Cameroun and our esteemed collaborator.*

In this opposition and in support of the socialist cause it has contributed numerous martyrs, including those innocent souls shot down in the demonstrations at Douala in 1955.

In August 1955 the colonial regime in Cameroun declared that the party was illegal and was dissolved. This order also was applied against the Union Démocratique des Femmes Camerounaises and the Jeunesse Démocratique du Cameroun. The party responded by appealing directly to the peasant masses and began an armed peasant struggle in certain parts of the Cameroun. Today this struggle continues in full force in the regions of Bamileke and Saraja. With sorrow it must be recorded that in



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1958 Rufus Um Nyobe, Secretary General of the UPC, gave his life while leading an armed band whose plans had been betrayed to the reactionary police.

In 1959 the president of the party, Dr. Felix Moumié, visited Peking where he was warmly received and given assurances that selected party members would be given training in guerrilla warfare in China. Not only was the promise kept, but today graduates of these courses are leading their comrades on Cameroun soil. In 1960, when Dr. Moumié was visiting Geneva, poison was introduced into his food, and he too died as a martyr to socialism. Despite protests from many parts of the world,

the Swiss government failed in its duty of tracking down the instigators of this foul crime.

Following the death of Dr. Moumié, the remaining members of the Executive Board of the UPC assembled. It was decided that Abel Kingue, the Vice-President, should direct party activity, leaving the post of president vacant in honor of the memory of Dr. Moumié. Ernest Oudanié, a member respected by all his comrades, was assigned the vital task of penetrating into Cameroun to assume leadership of the armed bands. Osendé Afana was sent to Cairo as permanent representative of the UPC to the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization. Reports indicate that he



*Within Cameroun: a training camp of the U.P.C.*

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has been most successful in arousing general indignation against the tyrant Ahidjo among the members of the secretariat.

Abel Kingue went to Accra after receiving personal assurances from Nkrumah that he would enjoy complete freedom of action and have Ghanaian support in the revolutionary struggle. In his enthusiasm Kingue may have been guilty of some lapses of judgment and discipline. He established an Administrative Secretariat at Accra and included as members several younger Camerounis who had been members of the CPF during their student days in France. These new members sought out a revisionist embassy in Accra and were instructed in how to prepare a plot that would discredit the party militants. On September 6, 1963 a bomb was thrown into a meeting of the militant group and the victims themselves were arrested by the Ghanaian police because they were carrying arms. While the militants were held in prison, the revisionists formed a so-called Revolutionary Committee which sent delegates allegedly representing the UPC to the Afro-Asian Peoples' Conference at Moshi and to a later meeting at Nicosia. This splitting effort was praised from abroad in an article published in a modern revisionist periodical: the article

was signed by a certain Njiawué Nicanor, who also uses the name of Aboulayé Koné, writing on behalf of the so-called Revolutionary Committee.

After the damage to the party had been done the militants were released from prison. It cannot be denied that the Ghanaians acted in an arbitrary manner, and that the attachment of Nkrumah to the cause of Marxist-Leninism in Cameroun was brought into question. Discussions between Kingue and Nkrumah continue with the UPC demanding certain, definite promises before it will agree to keep its base of external operations in Accra. The militants of Africa eagerly await the outcome of these discussions, hoping that Nkrumah will not choose to turn his back on the great cause of militant socialism.

Meanwhile Revolution in Africa has received word from our collaborator Ernest Oudanié that the armed struggle within Cameroun will not cease. While additional arms from Ghana will be most welcome, the aroused peasants are perfecting their guerrilla tactics and are capable of maintaining their present hold over large areas, as well as preparing to broaden the base of the war against the tyrannical regime.

Long live the militants of the UPC!

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## **AFRICAN SOCIALISM: A Bourgeois Illusion**

Certain servants of neocolonialism who deny the reality of the class struggle in Africa and who secretly serve the foreign capitalists in their relentless exploitation of the continent, attempt to dupe the masses by advocating something called African socialism. Such individuals include Julius Nyerere, Leopold Senghor, Kenneth Kaunda, Mamadou Dia, Habib Bourguiba, Jacques Rabemananjara, Maurice Adoum, David Dacko, Chabi Mama, and Jean-Marie Sawaddogo. Thus, the supporters of a bourgeois illusion have succeeded, for the time being, in mudding the atmosphere in Tanzania, Tunisia, Senegal, Zambia, Malagasy, Chad, Central African Republic, Dahomey and Upper Volta, and, unfortunately, this list does not include all the countries where this folk-myth is being propagated.

Clearly the time has arrived to condemn so-called African socialism and to expose its false dogma. All African political activists should be aware of the statements made by the true Marxists of Africa.

Modibo Keita, admired winner of the Lenin Peace Prize, has given his view that there are two kinds of socialism, scientific socialism and democratic socialism and that the latter is to be equated with African socialism. He states that the ad-

vocates of African socialism include certain leaders who are unable to meet the wishes of the people and adds, "the people's passivity is not permanent. That is why I think the African revolution will have to be violent to permit the creation of democratic states without an exploited class." In a similar vein Kwame Nkrumah emphasizes that Ghana has taken the road of scientific socialism, while his position is developed by the Ghana weekly *The Spark* which writes of "the false theory of an 'African' or 'Pan-African' socialism," adding that, "the ideas of scientific socialism will win the hearts and minds of millions of Africans," and concluding that there is need for unrelenting war against the view (of the advocates of African socialism) that there are no classes in Africa.

It is very heartening to learn that the militant political parties of Africa are in the vanguard of the struggle against the bourgeois African socialism illusion. Thus, the Parti Africain de l'Independence (PAI) has stated: ". . . The protagonists of African socialism think they can use their theory to intoxicate the African working class and the working masses, to retard their realization of class-consciousness and thus slow down the development of the only authentic



socialism, Marxist-Leninist socialism." Very similar Marxist views are also expressed by the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), the Ivory Coast Liberation Committee, the Malagasy Popular Front, the Sawaba Party in Niger, and a number of other groups.

However, it is now time to examine the false dogma attached to this African so-called socialism. First, as noted above, this dogma denies the existence of the class struggle in Africa by the naive expedient of denying that classes exist. Thus, Senghor has stated, "There are no classes in our society," while Houphouet-Boigny wrote, "The class struggle, which lies at the base of Communism, has no meaning in a classless society." Even Sekou Toure, who usually follows a correct Marxist-Leninist line, parrots a similar line when he writes about the so-called "communautaire" society of Guinea. As would be expected, Nyerere spouts similar nonsense, clothing his words with mythical references to "Ujamaa," or "familyhood," allegedly the closely knit association of the families of like clans and

tribes. Nyerere, Toure and others shy away from the word "Communism" and seek vainly to try to find something indigenous to the primitive societies of Africa which is *better* than Communism. They have even discovered something called "negritude" which is alleged to be the cementing force of the classless society but which is nothing more than a clumsy attempt to rationalize the primitive mumbo-jumbo of a backward Africa that still dances to the colonialist tune.

No one but a fool—and there are too many fools in posts of leadership in Africa—would deny that such features of class society as self-centered family structures, serfs, castes, chiefs and princes abound throughout the continent. Thus, it is pure illusion and deception to state that primitive collective traditions and groupings can form the base for the development of a modern socialist structure. Until the organisms of family, clan and tribe are ruthlessly broken up, efforts to develop socialism will be useless and ridiculous to a pathetic degree. This effort must be accompanied by a wiping out of the

**Special Notice.**

As this issue went to press word reached the editor that Algeria and the U.A.R. have decided to use the modern revisionists as their intermediary in sending arms and equipment to the freedom fighters of the Congo. We deplore this decision which, in effect, pits self-seeking intruders against the real Africans, the original inhabitants of the continent, and their real friends of the new China.

parasitical bureaucracy. Nor can any faith be placed in the opportunist industrial proletariat. The class struggle must find its focal point in the militant, revolutionary development of the countless people of the countryside. Fortunately, it is the Marxist parties, including those named earlier, who operate within the peasant milieu to arouse a class consciousness.

The second feature of this false dogma is the pretense that African socialism is the equal of scientific socialism. It should be known to anyone who even speaks the word socialism that the only peoples to achieve socialism are those who went about it in a scientific manner on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Suggestions that the peoples of Africa can achieve socialism by means other than Marxism-Leninism or that the content of what they achieve will be a different socialism from Marxism-Leninism is nonsense. In the final analysis Marxism-Leninism consists in the means of production being the common property of all without reference to the primitive tribe or to an outdated family system. This is a fact and a truth which no single African leader has been willing to admit, and it is this denial which will bring on their downfall. As a very specific example, African leaders should take a firm stand against capitalistic monopolism by barring foreign entrepreneurs from their countries, but none of them—even such men as Nkrumah, Keita, and Toure—has done so.

It is axiomatic that the masses of Africa must carry on an intensive

ideological struggle to open the way of their emancipation. This struggle surely deserves the support of all Marxists and it is most startling to find that the modern revisionists are actually hampering a correct ideological development. A certain Professor I. Potekhin, who is identified as the Director of the African Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. published an article called "African Socialism" in the first issue of 1963 of International Affairs. This article is very difficult to understand for the poor professor was trying to carry water on both shoulders, trying to explain the truth and deny it at the same time, writing for Marxists in one paragraph and in the next paragraph attempting to deceive the Africans. He finally concluded with the statement that with regard to the need to abolish the exploitation of man there may be no open conflicts between the advocates of scientific and "African" socialism.

Let us be frank and forthright, once and for all time, to refute the ridiculous efforts of both the modern revisionists and the tribal minded "thinkers" in Africa: the path to socialism in Africa can be achieved only by the elimination of the bourgeois puppets who now masquerade as nationalist leaders. The African proletariat can and inevitably will seek out and destroy all those false leaders in a great revolutionary uprising. This will take time, but time is on the side of the Marxists-Leninists of the world who will assist and guide the African revolution.

Demba Diallo

## A Tribute to Pierre Mulele

No moment in the long history of Africa and its modern awakening could be more suitable than the present to pay tribute to Pierre Mulele, martyred leader of the struggle for the freedom of the Congo, by bringing our readers the first authentic account of his years of sacrifice and service.

I was privileged to meet Pierre Mulele in 1963 soon after his return to Europe from Peking. Not long before he had completed a two months training course at the Academie Militaire on the outskirts of the city of Peking and he was bubbling over with enthusiasm about his experiences. He pointed out that Mao's study of the military art formed the solid base for the training which he and other Africans had received in the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare, as well as for the ideological aspects of such warfare. He said: "Every morning I was awakened before dawn and driven to the Academie where the group of which I was a member worked until well into the evening. The first month of training was devoted to the nature of various kinds of explosives and the use of bombs and grenades in sabotage operations. The second month included training in the use of arms in guerrilla warfare, including those of Chinese and Russian makes, and to the conduct of this warfare."

Mulele was especially eager to tell me how eminently suitable the Chinese method of guerrilla warfare, as developed by Mao, was to the situation in the Congo. He pointed out that it was based on the encirclement of the towns by the countryside, since it is in the towns that the reactionary elements maintain their garrisons. In this warfare the principle of the annihilation of the enemy must be carried out even in the smallest fight. The enemy must be lured into the countryside where he is vulnerable: many means are available for this purpose, such as violating his women on the outskirts of the towns and blocking roads and trails. Through these methods the enemy loses all sense of discipline and caution and the morale of the soldiers is greatly impaired.

Mulele quoted for me the Chinese proverb, "Obstacles are the mother of success," and pointed out that the development of a revolutionary movement depends on fight, defeat, fight, defeat, and fight until the final victory is won. As he applied this theory to the situation then prevailing in the Congo, he said that once operations began they would require a rapid development and expansion, since local areas of guerrilla warfare would have to be transformed into revolutionary bases which could be held against hostile incursions. We can see how prophetic these words have been.

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Finally, he said that the establishment of revolutionary bases leads to the formation of the People's Army, directed by the Communist Party, and capable of taking power through accelerating violence against the reactionary regime.

When I asked Mulele about his background he replied that it must be approached after an understanding of his present position as the leader in the struggle against the servants of imperialism in the Congo and as the standard bearer for the cause of socialism. In his own words, "Those who know me well have always heard me say, that freedom is never given to a person or to a country, but must be fought for and won." Mulele went on to remark that he had fitted himself to be the rightful and sole successor of the martyred Lumumba, pointing out that all others, such as Gizenga, Diaka and many more, who claimed to be faithful to the ideals and aims of Lumumba had desecrated his memory, some through sheer inability and others through their willingness to please the usurpers of authority. "These same traitors are now spreading slanders against me in order to try to cast doubt on my right to leadership in the struggle for freedom, and it is for this reason that I welcome an opportunity to tell my story."

Pierre Mulele was born in Orientale Province in 1929 and had his earliest schooling at Kikwit and Totsi. Then he went to the Little Seminary of Gizanbi and to the Intermediate School at Leverville before going on to higher studies at the Advanced Agricultural School at Yiseka in Equateur. After two years of military service, in 1952 he entered the colonial service and rose to be Commis adjoint principal aux Batements Civils at Leopoldville. In these years he suffered many humiliations at the hands of the "white masters," but did not bear them with resignation. As he remarked, "I looked about me for supporters of the blacks and found my first friend in the person of the consul of Czechoslovakia at Leopoldville. He told me how members of the socialist camp had fought for freedom and gave me books on revolutionary methods."

Mulele's activity and strong personality had attracted a wide following and in August 1959 he was chosen as Secretary General of the Bureau of the Parti de la Solidaire Africain. Before the end of the year he left Leopoldville with funds provided by the Czech consul to visit Cameroun, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali, and Guinea. This first trip out of the Congo lasted for four months. The greater part of this time was spent in Guinea following a special course for Africans in Marxism-Leninism, and as a reward for his outstanding study he was awarded a quick trip to Moscow in company with Gizenga. Of this trip he said only, "We were both quite naive at that time and made a silly show of wearing Russian fur hats, acquired for the Moscow winter, in the heat of the Congo."

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A few months after Mulele's return to Leopoldville he went to Bruxelles as a representative of the PSA to the Conference Belgo-Congolaise sur les problemes economiques, financiers et sociaux, but left in May before the conference ended to engage in the electoral campaign and was chosen as a national deputy from Kwilu. In June 1960 he was named Minister of Education and Arts in the cabinet of Lumumba. The value of his services in that post are well-known.

Mulele emphasized the point that he was the sole person to assume leadership in trying to halt the tragic course of events which followed the illegal dismissal of Lumumba as head of government. In his words, "My urgent appeal for support against the imperialists brought me funds from Dr. Ghaleb Muhammad Morab, ambassador of the U.A.R. at Leopoldville which I turned over to Maurice Mpolo to use in supplying his armed bands and by way of equipment I obtained a large quantity of arms from the Czech representative in Leopoldville. Unfortunately these efforts went for nothing as that fool Mpolo spent the few critical days in strolling about in a general's uniform instead of in fighting."

Mulele went on to say that one event of these sad weeks caused a radical shift in his thinking. This was the result of a letter Gizenga had written to the People's Republic of China demanding personnel, arms, funds, and food. In reply Chan Hian-Kang, the Chinese ambassador at Cairo, sent a long letter full of feelings of friendship and brotherhood. Shortly after this letter came Mulele went to Stanleyville with Gizenga to set up the Free Republic of the Congo, and held the post of Minister of Education in this government. However, Pierre Mulele soon came to realize that Gizenga was incapable of establishing a government surrounded by loyal forces and capable of withstanding the onslaughts of the neocolonial forces. The time had come for a tactical retreat in order to establish a separate base for revolutionary action. What was Mulele to do? He told me, "I thought first of Ghana but in his correspondence with Lumumba Nkrumah had proved to be all talk and no deeds.

I thought of the Soviets but our experience had demonstrated that they were not solidly grounded in the realities of the Congo. Indeed, it was after N. S. Khrushchev had said, 'Bas les mains devant le Congo' that I realized that the Soviet Union would do nothing to promote our war of liberation. Thus, it seemed clear that it was the Chinese, free from any traces of white racism, who offered the best hope."

So it was that on December 16, 1960 Mulele left Stanleyville and traveled to Cairo by way of Khartoum, arriving in Egypt before the end of the year. He was given a warm welcome by Chan Hian-Kang who assured him that the People's Republic of China would recognize him as the diplomatic representative to the U.A.R. of the Free Republic of the Congo, once he had persuaded key figures in the U.A.R. to extend such recognition. For some months Mulele lived with his family in a very small apartment until, at the insistence of the Chinese ambassador, a larger and more convenient one was assigned to him. At this point in his story Pierre Mulele said that he was obliged to refute accounts that had circulated about his extravagant living in Egypt and that he spent freely from seven and a half tons of gold that he had taken from Stanleyville to Cairo. "How could any sensible man dream," he said, "that such a weight could be transported through the Sudan. Indeed, had any such sum been in my possession guerrilla warfare would have been initiated in the Congo long before it was."

At Cairo Mulele established good relations with members of the socialist camp of peace-loving nations, especially with Richard Gyptner of the East German People's Republic. However, the attitude of the authorities of the U.A.R. was discouraging as they declined to supply adequate funds for a cause which they so warmly praised. Finally, he asked Chan Hian-Kang for his advice and was told that the so-called friends of the Congo would help him only if they saw some advantages for themselves and that Mulele must realize once and for all that it was only the People's Republic of China that actively supported wars of national liberation. The ambassador added that Mulele should accept some of the invitations extended to him by the Communist parties and make his own judgment.

So it was that Mulele went to Moscow again in March 1961, and again was well received but met only with excuses when he asked for aid for the Stanleyville government.

By the end of 1961 it appeared certain that Mulele could do nothing for the cause of the freedom of the Congo in Cairo so he stored his files at the Chinese Embassy and left the country in January 1962. His first stop was in Paris where he talked with leaders of the French Communist Party about aid in the preparation of pamphlets and in preparing for an uprising. Returning briefly to Cairo to replenish his funds, in March he set off for Prague where he asked for aid in organizing sabotage, assassinations and terrorism in the Congo. To convince the Czechs of the seriousness

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of his purpose he asked for training in the use of explosives. He then went on to Moscow and found the Russians as gracious as ever. As he said, "They even put me on a plane to Baghdad so that the Arabs of Iraq could have a first-hand look at an African socialist. Unfortunately since that time the Iraqi Arabs, just as volatile, emotional and unreliable as their brothers in Egypt, have turned against socialism."

At Moscow the Chinese representatives asked if he had reached a decision and he replied that he was ready to go to Peking and to take every advantage of this opportunity.

Returning to the lessons of his stay in China, Mulele went on to say, "Perhaps it is only the Chinese who know the secret of hard work and it is one which every leader of a national movement of liberation must learn. Our Congo, quite in contrast to much of China, has abundant natural resources, but the greatest enemy of material progress is the lethargy of its people which stems from the ancient tribal society. In many ways this society is more evil than colonialism itself. China shows the world how a socialist country must be founded on a new order of society, a society in which family and tribal ties have no place. Communal living and communal work must take priority over selfish personal ambitions. It follows from this that the Congo can never be truly free as long as it is split into provinces whose only reason for existence is the presence of certain tribes. It is well-known that all are brothers under socialism, but brothers in work and achievement and not because of ties of family and tribe. I am fully committed to creating disorder in the Congo, because it is only by means of destroying the authority of the so-called provinces and the power of the tribal leaders that the ground can be swept clean for building national unity. To those who might question the possibility of achieving this goal, let me point to the People's Republic of China where ethnic rivalries no longer exist and where ancestor worship has been wiped out. I would not deny that this goal has been won at a considerable cost of human lives—and that this process will be repeated in the Congo—but after all human life is almost too abundant and what may be the loss of one generation will be the gain of the next."

Mulele's eyes shone as he emphasized that his great mission as the successor of Lumumba was to build socialism in the Congo. He added that his mission was to inform the people of the Congo of the main themes of scientific socialism: popular leadership exerted through the communist party, equal rewards for equal work, state ownership of the means of production and distribution, etc. In addition, scientific socialism demands the destruction of the outmoded social order of the Congo and the neutralization of chiefs, politicians, entrepreneurs, members of the so-called traditional elites and all others whose attachment to the reactionary ways of life and thought brand them as enemies of the new order. "Once more I say that this is the reason for the fighting which now rages and which will continue, spreading through the

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bush like an inextinguishable flame, until the present social order and its lackeys have been wiped out."

Sending his greetings to those now active in the struggle Mulele pointed out that this period will be a time of testing for many of them. "The bravest warriors in this battle will receive the greatest rewards: they will be among the founding members of the Communist Party of the Congo and will receive high positions in the People's Army and in the administration of the socialist government."

Somewhat inspired by Mulele's own optimism and enthusiasm, I asked what vision he had of a larger role of the future Congo in the African scene and his reply was most revealing. "Just as socialism has nothing to do with tribal boundaries, so it condemns the boundaries of states that were drawn in an arbitrary fashion by the colonial powers and shamefully accepted by corrupt politicians. It is clearly apparent that the People's Republic of the Congo will ignore such boundaries and liberate the Bantus and others wherever they may be found. The Congolese socialists will take over the task of liberating the Angola and attaching it to our republic along with Brazzaville and certain parts of the Sudan and of Rhodesia. Looking toward an even larger scene, we have heard much of Pan-Africanism, but can have little faith in such a vision if it continues to be directed by a so-called emperor. If Pan-Africanism is to have any reality it must be in terms of close collaboration among the Communist parties of Africa which will more and more draw their inspiration and guidance and material support from the great People's Republic of China."

As I thanked Pierre Mulele for his clear and convincing outline of the future of the Congo, he, as a true socialist, thanked me. As we parted he said, "Who can say when we shall meet again? As a leader I should not risk a life which is of such value to my people, but when I hear of their noble deeds I am determined to share in their sacrifices and their victories."

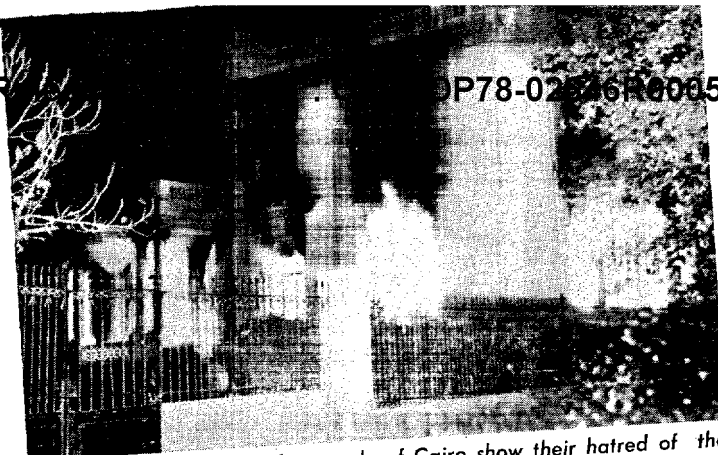
As is well known, in the summer of 1963 Mulele went to Congo (B) to provide inspiration and give instruction to elements of the National Liberation Army then in training to the north of Brazzaville. He then boldly made his way into Leopoldville itself and then on to Kwilu province where scores of militants flocked to join him. Villages and even towns fell before their advance and Leopoldville itself was threatened. Then tragedy struck, swift and relentless. While intervening in a petty dispute of the division of spoils, Pierre Mulele was accidentally killed by his own followers.

The loss of Lumumba seemed irreparable, the loss of Mulele seems irreparable, and yet their places must be taken by men who will never weaken in the face of danger and never flee from any enemy.

Long live the memory of Pierre Mulele!

Y. J. P.





The people of Cairo show their hatred of the American imperialists and the intervention in the Congo by burning the Kennedy Library.

**DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST IMPERIALIST INTERVENTIONS AND FAVORING CHINA'S FREEDOM BOMB**



Chinese students lead their African friends in the demonstration at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow: the revisionists were unable to object to the Chinese solidarity.

## 1. Malawi

Malawi, known as Nyasaland before gaining independence on July 6, 1964, is some 520 miles in length and varies in width from 50 to 100 miles. The land area is approximately 37,000 square miles. Malawi is landlocked, the southern tip of the country being 130 miles from the sea. It is bordered by Mozambique on the south, Tanzania on the northeast, and by Zambia on the northwest. Malawi's elevation varies between 2,500 and 7,000 feet above sea level. Because of this, and in spite of the fact that the country lies within the tropics, Malawi has an equable climate during most of the year. Rainfall is seasonal and occurs in the summer months, from November to March. The fall varies from 120 inches in the mountains to 15 inches in the low lying areas. The lush foliage, high peaks, and large lakes make this nation one of the most beautiful in all Africa.

The population of Malawi is estimated at about four millions, including approximately 11,000 Asians and 9,000 Europeans. The inhabitants of Malawi are called Malawians. The name of the na-

tion is taken from that of the Malawi people, who in the 17th century inhabited much of the territory that is today Malawi. Other tribes which migrated to present day Malawi were the Yao from the west and the Angoni from the south.

Zomba is the capital of the country. It is located at the foot of 6,842 foot high Zomba Mountain and covers an area of approximately two and one half square miles. It has a population of approximately 6,500 persons. The history of Malawi from the time of the arrival of the first European imperialists in the nineteenth century has been closely connected with the attempts of powerful foreign individuals and companies to establish the form of government, which would give them the most effective control of, and greatest opportunity for, ruthless exploitation of both the human and natural resources of Nyasaland. Until 1953 all administrative systems imposed on the Nyasaland peoples by the white minority were merely devices to protect and foster the growth of the foreign based, capi-

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# NEW NATIONS *of* AFRICA

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*Malawi: view of the countryside from the air.*

talistic monopolies. So it was that in 1953 the imperialist exploiters adopted the idea of a federation of the territories of Southern and Northern Rhodesia with Nyasaland as a means of entrenching imperialist control by a white minority, denying the brave Malawian people free access to their land, maintaining a vast pool of cheap, exploitable, enslaved African labor, and delaying the drive of the stalwart Malawian peoples for self-determination and independence. But, the revolution could not be stopped and the Federation collapsed in 1963, another instance of the decline of colonialism and imperialism in post World War II Africa. The nationalistic drive which ended the Federation and the brutal domination of Malawi by a white minority is merely another example of the inspiration given to African nationalists by the glorious example of the socialist countries.

The drive for self-determination and independence ended on July 6, 1964 when the rule of the British imperialists ended and Dr. Hastings Banda became the first Prime Minister of independent Malawi. Unfortunately, the Malawian peoples have been betrayed by one of their own, for Dr. Banda has proven to be a stooge for the imperialists, capitalists, and neocolonialists. Even on the very day of the independence celebrations, the South African and Portuguese imperialists were invited and occupied positions of honor. Dr. Banda has insisted on remaining on friendly terms with these white supremacist governments, even though they are the very enemy which true African nationalism has vowed to destroy utterly. He has even spoken well of the brutal oppressor of the Southern Rhodesian nationalists, his personal friend, Mr. Field, and stated that they would undoubtedly



*Malawi: foreign countries continue to exploit the natural resources as in the operation of this iron mine.*

do much business together. Contrary to the resolutions of the O.A.U., Dr. Banda has seen fit to appoint a Portuguese security agent as Malawian Consul in Mozambique. This cruel betrayal of the people shows that he is merely a tool and puppet of the Portuguese imperialists and their reactionary Western supporters. Dr. Banda retains his position of power only by terrorizing the people with his

private gang of Western-armed thugs. The true friends of the people, former cabinet ministers of the government, have been forced into cruel exile. When these patriots voiced to Dr. Banda the desires of the Malawian people to have friendly relations with their socialist comrades, the enemies of imperialism, the People's Republic of China, he labeled them plotters and falsely accused them of accepting

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bribes from the People's Republic of China for opening the door for friendly, fraternal relations. The use of bribes is a tactic of the Western imperialists, not of national, fraternal socialism.

Dr. Banda has allowed the country to remain economically dependent on foreign controlled capitalist monopolies, and has even been seeking additional imperialist investment capital abroad, mainly in the United States, where he has recently spent considerable time. He has proposed several completely absurd schemes, among them the construction of a useless road along the lakes and the transfer of the capital to another location. Even Dr. Banda's most abject Western apologists find it next to impossible to rationalize his actions unless rumours circulating in Malawi are true that the so-called "Kamuzu" suffers from a softening of the brain caused by past sexual excesses and attendant diseases. How

else could one explain the actions of this "Saviour," as he has hypocritically caused himself to be called, in turning away the hand of friendship from the socialist camp? How else can one justify his paranoid dismissal of his nation's most devoted servants and his simultaneous lavishing of money, land and graft on a few sycophant lickspittles, including his degenerate mistress?

This cruel oppression and betrayal of the people cannot and will not last for long. As the people threw off the imperialist chains with which the British reactionaries bound them in slavery for one hundred years, so will they end the betrayal of their new independence by Dr. Banda. The examples of other African nations and the People's Republic of China point out to them the way to deal with this betrayal and advance to true socialism.



Malawi: should Dr. Banda expect to use Malawians  
to beat and kill their own brothers?

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## Colonial Boundaries and the Principle of Self-Determination

Until the present time the O.A.U., dominated by power seekers, has refused to take up one of the most basic problems of Africa—the revision of colonial boundaries. Piously mouthing the praises of a still-born movement called Pan-Africanism, these politicians, kings and opportunists seek to keep their grasp on areas to which they have no just claims. Throughout Africa national liberation can be achieved only if population elements are inspired by sentiments of nationalism and it follows that each distinctive major ethnic group must be privileged to exert its right of self-determination with regard to political and administrative units.

The many colonial boundaries which have become sources of contention resulted from the rapacity and greed of the imperialists. Some boundaries mark areas conquered and held by the force of arms, some are the results of temporary treaty agreements between competing foreign powers, while other follow minor topographical features in a most arbitrary and haphazard manner. Still striving to maintain their exploiting interests, these same powers strenuously oppose any local, just revision of these so-called boundaries. Yet, radical surgery is required if the future development of Africa is to follow true nationalist channels. To the objection, voiced primarily by these same imperialists, that the extensive redrawing of national boundaries would result in the fragmentation of Africa, we assert that the goal of socialist union and unity throughout the continent can be attained only through the federation of popular units which can preserve their own dignity and identity within a larger framework.

The space here placed at my disposal does not allow for an exhaustive discussion of the subject and I will limit myself to a few specific examples. These include the areas of Somalia, the Sudan and Congo (L).

Somalia, through no fault of its own, suffers grievously from the hostility of all its neighbors. The chief offender is Kenya which refuses to recognize the fact that the former Northern Frontier District is totally inhabited by Somali tribes: these 300,000 people are not Negroes and they

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are Somalis. The hostile attitude of Jumo Kenyatta is well reflected in his statement: "They can pack up their camels and go back to the Somali Republic if they don't wish to remain within Kenya." It should be pointed out that Kenyatta is stubbornly determined to repress the right of self-determination of not only the Somalis, but of the Masai who want to join Tanzania and the Teso who properly belong within Uganda. Ethiopia has also refused to realign the common frontier so as to award Somali occupied areas to our nation. Finally, the continued existence of so-called French Somalia remains a festering sore where our brothers suffer under colonial oppression. Somalia and its people will not rest until all its territories are wrested from the usurpers.

In the case of the Sudan, although we are Moslems ourselves we cannot be silent about the treatment accorded the tribes of the southern Sudan by the series of ruling cliques at Khartoum. The action of the faceless regime in Khartoum in throwing thousands of southern Sudanese long resident there into concentration camps cannot be too severely condemned. However, just as serious in its implications for freedom in Africa has been the recent action of the Communist Party of Sudan. This party claimed earlier to advocate equal rights for the southern Sudanese as well as partition between north and south according to the principle of self-determination. Now it has reversed its position following instructions from the modern revisionists. Its masters who seek to use the countries on the northern fringe of Africa as tools for its penetration of the sub-Saharan regions, have made the claim that dictatorial control over the southern Sudan by the Khartoum regime will make easier the shipment and delivery of arms to the Congolese and other freedom fighters.

The problem of the Congo (L) is one which concerns all Africa. Tshombe and his masters, the white mercenaries, supplied with weapons of mass destruction by the colonial powers, will never succeed in crushing the desire of the Congolese for freedom. On the other hand, it must be recognized that unity in the Congo (L), even under a people's government, is impossible because the region is presently enclosed within artificial boundaries which serve only to separate vast communities from their blood brothers in adjacent countries. The Congo (L) must be reduced in size and number of components and this could be done after the areas involved had expressed their wishes according to the principle of self-determination.

**Ali Mohamed Herave**

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*The victorious UMMA forces patrol the streets of Zanzibar.*

*Militant supporters of Pierre Mulele at the height of his victorious progress in Kwilu province.*



## **FREEDOM FIGHTERS of AFRICA**

*President Gbenye is carried in triumph through the streets of Stanleyville. Photo by Hsinhua N.A.*



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A group of the Jeunesse of Gbenye take part in the victory parade at Stanleyville.  
Photo by Hsinhua N.A.



Simbas of Gbenye's forces cross the frontier from Burundi and enter the eastern Congo (L).

Members of the Youth of the Union of the Angola Populations ready to go into battle.



## The Application to Africa of Mao's Precepts on Popular Revolution

The People's Republic of China still recognizes the importance of wars of national liberation even though it has developed its own atomic bomb and is no longer subject to nuclear blackmail. In its role as vanguard fighter in wars of national liberation, China acknowledges its obligation to lead the revolutionary movements throughout Africa against the feudal rulers and the neocolonialists who finance these lackeys. With the objective of leading the popular revolts, China has provided training facilities, weapons, cadres, and guidance in the tactics and strategy of people's wars.

New China has always supported revolution in Africa from whatever the source or political grouping—socialists in Algeria, monarchists in Morocco, militarists in the U.A.R. To wait for the gradual evolution of a proletariat in impoverished, backward feudal states when, in the words of Chou En-lai, "prospects for revolution are excellent all over Africa," is to turn one's back on the course of history.

Because the imperialists and their stooges will not voluntarily give up their

control of a country, the only means by which they can be destroyed is revolution. Two approaches to revolution may be distinguished. One is the revolt by workers in towns. This approach, employed in capitalistic countries, will not work in African countries, most of which do not have a significant working class. A second approach, which has been successfully employed by the Chinese, is based on the peasants. The revolutionaries penetrate behind the enemy lines, win over the peasants, and encircle the towns. Lines of communication are cut, the individual towns are isolated, and the enemy loses effective control of the nation. This approach has been followed by the Chinese in their guidance to local African revolutionary movements.

The first step in transforming a bourgeois-national uprising into a true Marxist-Leninist people's revolution lies in the formation of a strong Communist Party. Experience in China, North Korea, and Vietnam has revealed, in the absence of a proletariat, the value of the peasantry as a sturdy foundation on which to build a party. Because the peasants cannot produce the competent early leaders

usually found among the industrial proletariat, however, these leaders must be sought among the intellectuals and particularly among the students, who can provide the requisite zeal as well as intelligence. Many of these future party leaders will be found among the thousands of African students being given general academic and technical training in the People's Republic of China.

The Communist Party is an elite party, made up of individuals with revolutionary courage, disinterest in personal gain, no fear of criticism, and a willingness to confess to the party all their innermost thoughts. Such a party, by its rigid standards, must be a minority party. Consequently, it will be necessary for the party to rally around its lead a united front of anti-imperialist allies, including even bourgeoisie, feudal classes, monarchists, and militarists.

During the revolutionary period the party's platform must contain something that appeals to each ally and nothing that may be objectionable to any of them. The political objectives must appear to coincide with the aspirations of the people even if they do not while the real intentions of the party must be secret from the allies. Control over the allies is attained by confronting them with the party's superiority in organization, discipline, doctrine, policy, and leadership. The party alone must lead; forceful leaders among the allies must be eliminated. The party alone must expand; the allied parties may be permitted only to stagnate. As soon as the allies

are no longer needed, the party will expose their true exploitative nature, will reject them one by one, and will use the remaining allies to help crush those already singled out for liquidation.

In addition to the formation of a united front under its direction and control, the party must obtain the active participation in the revolution of the population at large. Mao colorfully described the relationship of the revolutionary activist under conditions of war to the population by linking the revolutionary to fish and a friendly population to the sea in which the fish makes its home. The sympathy of the population is not enough; what is needed is the complicity of the people in the revolution. Persuasion can win over a minority of the population; force and selective terror will insure the support of the rest. The application of violence serves a twofold purpose: first, to eliminate any elements of the population deemed actually or potentially hostile and, second, to set up the liquidation of these reactionaries as an example of what will happen to other deviationists.

It may seem possible to seize power by means short of war. However, such attainment of power is a hollow victory which subsequently will be diluted and lost through concessions and compromise. The true victory can only be won by force through armed struggle. Mao Tse-tung has wisely said, "Every Communist must grasp the truth: 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.'" When

power is gained after an armed struggle, victory is complete, authority is absolute. Combat has polarized the population, revealing friends, disclosing enemies. As a result of armed struggle, the party has been enabled to strengthen its position. A natural process of selection has culled out the weak and purified the leadership. With a firm political base and a reliable military establishment, the party is now ready to sustain the newly seized power. Finally, because a local war of national liberation is part of the continuing worldwide fight against imperialism and colonialism, every local defeat of the imperialists weakens their will and contributes to their ultimate over-all defeat. Mao summed up the true nature of armed struggle with these thoughts: . . . "the main form of struggle is war, the main form of organization is the army . . . without armed struggle there would be no place for the proletariat, there will be no place for the people, there will be no place for the Communist Party, and there will be no victory in revolution."

In the application to Africa of the theoretical principles underlying wars of national liberation, many problems have arisen. That these problems have been faced, overcome, and even turned to advantage is a tribute to the correct Marxist-Leninist thinking of the representatives of the People's Republic of China on the scene in Africa and to the thorough training and preparation of local party cadres.

In many African countries, the absence

of an aroused proletariat, a militant peasantry, and a progressive student group has made difficult the preparation of a proper ideological base on which to construct a Communist Party. Yet in Zanzibar, a small cadre of Chinese-trained activists led by Mohamed Babu was able to organize and control a popular nationalist movement and to lead this united front to a glorious victory over the Arab forces of imperialism and reaction. After two days of bloody violence from the 11th to the 12th of January 1964, the people's revolution was successful and the socialist states led by the People's Republic of China quickly recognized Babu's new revolutionary regime as the true government of Zanzibar. Thus, a score of properly indoctrinated party activists, leading about 500-600 allies, were able to gain control of a state with a population of 150,000.

Whereas in Zanzibar a popular Communist-led revolt succeeded in spite of the absence of a true Communist Party, in the Congo this absence has caused the temporary setback of a people's revolt. Here, a small cadre of activists, again under the leadership of Chinese-trained Party members, such as Gaston Soumialot, were able to seize control of what was initially nothing more than a continuation of ancient native ethnic and tribal rivalries. With the MNC-Lumumba (National Congolese Movement-Lumumba), a somewhat inadequate indigenous substitute for the Communist Party, as a base, first a Committee of National Liberation and then a People's

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Republic of the Congo were set up at Stanleyville under the titular leadership of Christophe Gbenye. In spite of initial success, Stanleyville had to be evacuated under the bombs of the imperialists.

The lack of true party discipline was revealed in an atavistic appeal by the leaders to primitive native fetichisms, in the misconceived use by advisors of drugs to provide so-called "immunity" for soldiers of the People's Army of National Liberation, and in the murder of thousands of people by the undisciplined camp followers, or "jeunesse." Once having tasted blood, they not only performed the necessary liquidation of administrators, school teachers, and bourgeois pseudointellectuals, but they eliminated workers, peasants, and even party members with whom they disagreed. Although it is true that in the construction of a new Marxist order there is no room for the squeamish, the assassination of some of the few reliable trained party members was a contemptible betrayal of the Congolese revolution. A purging of these antiparty elements must be undertaken before further progress toward freedom can be made in the Congo.

United fronts could have served as useful tools in the Portuguese colonies of Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique. Because of a lack of firm party leadership, however, the lackey rightists, Holden Roberto and Eduard Mondlane, have been able to capture temporary control of the popular revolts in Angola and Mozambique with the inevitable stagnation and setback to these movements.

The Congo fiasco is another example of what can happen when Communists do not control the revolutionary united front. On the other hand, Zanzibar, as noted earlier, stands out as a shining example of how quickly and satisfactorily a revolution can develop and mature when well-trained Communists control the undisciplined united front rabble.

Babu and his enlightened cadres are now poised to capture control of the united front in Tanzania just as they did in Zanzibar. Then the revolution will spread to Kenya and Uganda. Nationalist reactionaries such as Nyerere, Kenyatta, and Obote, who try to speak out of both sides of their mouths at the same time, will suffer the fate of Jamshid, former Sultan of Zanzibar, and his stooge Shamte/Muhsin Government. It is imperative that Marxist-Leninists, to achieve victory in all of East Africa, first gain control of the united fronts as Mao has taught. We are too few alone. Then when we have the upper hand, we will know how to deal with the deceivers of the people, the imperialist tools Nyerere, Kenyatta, and Obote. Their personal aggrandizement will not be soon forgotten. Their oppression of the people will be avenged.

Babu, at the present time a State Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, has written on the necessity for armed struggle in Africa: "only armed struggle can succeed and this cannot stop with half-way measures." Thus far, armed struggle has taken two forms in the African revolution: short, intense, and suc-

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successful in Zanzibar; prolonged and indecisive in the Portuguese colonies and in the Congo.

As the people's revolution comes to each African country in its turn, which of the two forms will it take? In East Africa, if the voice of the people were heeded, the armed struggle could be quick and decisive in the Zanzibar tradition. But these countries are far too rich in resources for the imperialists to give them up without a bloody and protracted struggle. One has but to recall the British intervention of January 1964 to realize that the neocolonialists stand ready to plunge East Africa into a Congo-like blood bath before they will respond to the just demands of an oppressed population. Consequently, when the popular forces strike for freedom in Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda, they can expect no mercy and will show no mercy.

Party theoreticians have argued that the local Communist Party must achieve control of its country through native efforts. The attainment of power by foreign intervention, it is further argued, will only result in weakening the local party and leaving it incapable of resolving future threats without continuing external support.

No one can fault this argument when it is applied to countries with a well-established party. Inasmuch as much of Africa does not yet have strong indigenous Communist parties, it is only through external assistance that popular African revolutions can be established and sus-

tained. The record of the People's Republic of China with regard to assistance to African activists glows brightly in contrast to the efforts of all others. In fact, China has provided help to all progressivist parties throughout Africa. Thus, recipients of comradely Chinese aid have been the UPC in Cameroun, the MPLA in Angola, the MNC-Lumumba in the Congo, the UMMA in Zanzibar, and numerous others. No progressive party is so small or mean that it cannot qualify for friendly support. For example, the Free Eritrean Movement, dedicated to the overthrow of the arch-reactionary, Haile Selassie, and to the establishment of a People's Republic of Eritrea, is small, with fewer than 10,000 members, and weak, operating out of exile. It is not too small or weak for its able leaders, Idris Muhammad Adum and Woldeab Woldemariam, to receive Chinese training and financial assistance. And some day this party may be the spearhead of an Ethiopian revolution.

Just as Communist Parties must deal with bourgeois nationalists and even feudalists in the organization and operation of a united front which the party can dominate initially and take over eventually, so must Communist nations form united fronts with nationalistic and even reactionary states for the ultimate objectives of the international. Thus, China has supported monarchists in Burundi, nationalists in Eritrea, and irredentists in Somalia. Through these countries, China can help the downtrodden masses in the Ivory Coast, the Congo,

Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Kenya. For example, Chinese military assistance to the Greater Somalia drive first will pave the way for people's revolutions in Ethiopia and Kenya and then will permit an advanced base for penetration of Somalia.

Of course, there are always obstacles encountered in the use of nations in united fronts. Many African leaders speak loudly but do little. Thus, Ben Bella of Algeria announced, "We will send arms and volunteers to our Congo brothers, as we have already done." In fact, although he had plenty of Chi-

nese weapons and although the People's Republic of China offered to replace in his inventory any weapons that he sent to the Congo, at the time of greatest need he only made a single small shipment and even that not accompanied by volunteers. Those African leaders who fail to support national wars of liberation may one day find that their own people will turn on them, accusing them as accomplices in the murder of their brothers.

Colonel Kan Mai

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## CHINA and AFRICA

### 1. African Visitors to China

In November of this year M. Keita received a hearty fraternal welcome at Peking and elsewhere in the New China. A member of his party, M. Gologo, Minister of Information and Tourism of Mali, gave an interview to the Shanghai paper *Wen-hui Pao* which included his praise for China's successful explosion of an atomic bomb. In his words: "China's first nuclear explosion . . . is an honour for us and makes us strong." It is needless to add that Gologo was speaking for all Africans who regard the growing might of the People's Republic of China as a mighty force for peace and national liberation.

In October Theresa Kanyonga, Queen of Burundi, made her second visit to China and was warmly welcomed by old friends, including Hsu Kuang-ping, Vice-President of the National Women's Federation. At an elaborate state banquet held for the Queen she spoke of the contrast between the austerity in her own country and the rich way of life of the leaders of China and kindly added: "The purpose of China's development of nuclear weapons is to break the nuclear monopoly."

### 2. China Speaks to Africa

In a statement released by the New China News Agency on December 3, 1964 Liao Cheng-chih, Vice Chairman of the China Peace Committee

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and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, condemned the act of the Senegal Government in sentencing Abdoulaye Ly to two years' imprisonment on the trumped up charges of inciting troops to disobedience, spreading false news and committing acts compromising public safety. Praising Ly, Liao Cheng-chih said: "It is the right and the duty of militant African Marxist-Leninists to conduct violent struggles for national liberation and China and its people view with scorn and anger the reactionary regime in Senegal."

The remark of M. Gologo quoted above provides a welcome opportunity to clear up certain misunderstandings that have arisen relative to the position of China and its people prior to and after the explosion of its first nuclear bomb.

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◀ Chairman Mao Tse-tung receiving delegates to the World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. Editor Ahmad M. Kheir stands in the front row on the left and his wife is seen just above Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

In Premier Chou En-lai's open letter of August 2, 1963 to the heads of all governments of the world he offered a number of constructive proposals, including one that all countries should "Cease all nuclear tests, including underground nuclear tests." However, the Premier intended this proposal to apply only to those countries which already possessed nuclear weapons and not to the People's Republic of China itself. This was made quite clear in a lengthy statement issued by a Chinese spokesman on August 15, 1963. The spokesman said: "The greater number of socialist countries possessing them (nuclear weapons) the better. . . ." He pointed out that China had made this realistic decision in the face of the threat of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, adding: "Socialist countries do not want nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government and people have always stood in the forefront of the fight to prohibit them."

As has now become known, as far back as June 20, 1959 the Soviet Government refused to honour its promise to provide China with a sample of an atomic bomb and technical data concerning its manufacture, giving as a reason the so-called fact that if China attempted to manufacture nuclear weapons it would result in a great strain on China's economy. This falsehood was exposed by a statement made on September 1, 1963 by a Chinese spokesman, in these words. "Is not China very poor and backward? Yes, it is. The Soviet leaders say, how can the Chinese be qualified to manufacture nuclear weapons when they eat watery soup out of a common bowl and do not even have pants to wear? . . . But in any case, even if we Chinese people are unable to produce an atom bomb for a hundred years, we will neither crawl nor kneel before blackmail." Comrade Mao Tse-tung made this position clear as early as November 18, 1957 in his speech at the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties when he said: "If the worst came to the worst and half of mankind died (in an atomic war), the other half would remain while imperialism would be razed to the ground and the whole world would become socialist; in a number of years there would be 2,700 million people again." Thus, the position of the leaders and people of China has not changed. We recognize that the victory of socialism demands sacrifice, even the sacrifice of unestimated numbers of human lives. But imperialism cannot be destroyed by any other means, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung

has so correctly pointed out. Socialists in Africa and throughout the world must, therefore, welcome China's ever growing nuclear strength.

It is true that the Communique of the People's Republic of China, issued on October 16th immediately after the first nuclear explosion did contain the statement: "The atom bomb is a paper tiger." However this statement must be understood in its proper context, that is with reference to the famous statement of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that "Imperialism is a paper tiger." In the hands of the imperialists whose strength declines with each passing day, the atom bomb is a paper tiger, but in the hands of the Communist Party of China the same bomb is a tiger whose fearful force can reach any corner of the world.

### 3. Africa Speaks to China

At a recent spontaneous demonstration held before the United States Embassy in Congo (B) shouts of "We hate you" and "We love China" were heard. Leading this people's protest was Alphonse Moandat-Zahoud, member of the National Revolutionary Movement (N.R.M.), recently returned from Peking where he had visited on the invitation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association.

On October 20th Chairman Liu Shao-chi received the following message from Diallo el Hadj Saifoulaye, Minister of State, Republic of Guinea. "We have learnt with real pride the news of the great victory of the Communist Party of China. China's bomb is a freedom bomb."

At Addis Ababa on October 16th Kebede Asfaw, Assistant Information Minister of Ethiopia, congratulated Ting Po of the Chinese Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe on the occasion of the explosion of the first atomic bomb.



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