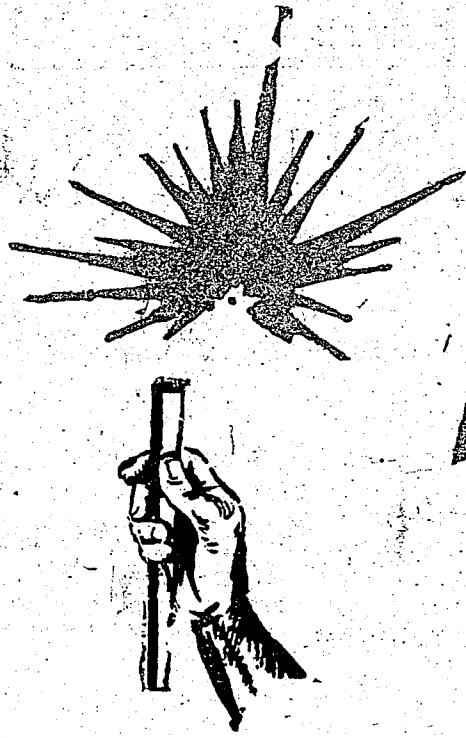


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Neo-Fascism in U.S.A.

EDITORIAL

HOPES AND FEARS

THE world is faced with a distasteful situation in South East Asia. The atmosphere is charged with what can send the whole world to the brink of a world conflagration.

The United States of America claims that North Vietnam has committed "acts of aggression" against U.S. ships on the high seas which "defy rational explanation except as part of a larger pattern with a larger purpose."

The Soviet Union counter-charges the U.S. with "acts of aggression" in straffing North Vietnamese coastal emplacements.

A Chinese Government statement describes the U.S. action as "first step over the brink of war" and states clearly that she cannot sit idly by without giving a helping hand.

What is happening in the world today is not unrelated to the trend of development in the United States of America. The hope of a slow but steady improvement in East-West relations flickered like a candle in the wind when the assassin's bullet struck down John Kennedy. It is not extinguished; but many must feel, as we do now that the world seems slightly more dangerous.

The world must wince at the result of the Republican Party's Presidential nomination Congress in San Francisco. Senator Barry Goldwater, who two years ago, was a joke in Washington will contest the U.S. Presidential election with President Johnson in November. He may or may not be the President of the United States after November.

What is significant to the world and therefore a tragic measure of U.S. politics today is that America is about to place its faith in a man who is obsessed with military power and dedicated to intensifying the cold war. He says he is prepared for immediate war with North Vietnam, a subsequent war with Cuba and an ultimate war with the Soviet Union.

President Lyndon Johnson told the U.S. people in a television broadcast that he consulted Mr. Goldwater before he took the decision over North Vietnam. It is quite obvious that Goldwater pressured President Johnson into this decision.

Unlike John Kennedy who, faced with the supreme test in Cuba, demonstrated that balance of power should be matched with balance of intelligence and imagination, President Johnson has forced the world to a brink of thermo-nuclear war.

The turn of events in America today evidently epitomizes the crisis of monopoly capitalism in the United States. And as it is aptly said, "monopoly capitalist crisis must produce an aggressor."

After the Second World War, the United States of America which suffered least in the war and gained much from it became the mainstay of monopoly capitalism but it assumed this role in a period of fundamental crisis of imperialism.

Today America realises that if imperialism must be restored, her economic and military power must clash everywhere with the social forces of progressive change.

But the evidence of history shows that moribund ruling classes usually over-estimate their own strength and underrate the power of their progressive antagonists. The fascists imperialists of Germany made this mistake. Today others among the victors of the last war are supplying evidence of the same arrogant blindness.

GOLDWATER is not a flash in the pan. Nor is he the 'lunatic fringe' of the American conscience. Goldwater is the political manifestation of a strong neo-fascist trend with deep roots in American life. Goldwaterism, as some U.S. columnists now refer to this brash political movement led by the hard-bitten Arizona Senator, is not just a passing aberration of the American mind. It can upset the peace of the world by turning the existing mood of easing tension into a mad renewal of nuclear diplomacy. Goldwaterism is a phenomenon of world significance.

It would be unwise to depict Goldwaterism as lacking in power within the Republican Party, as devoid of mass appeal, or as a movement of knifewits. Goldwater was chosen on July 5, as the Republican Party's candidate for the November 1964 U.S. Presidential elections. He won the ace by a landslide, winning the nomination on the first ballot. And to underline his strength in the Party machinery he got fellow rightist William Miller of New York state chosen as his running mate thus refusing to offer any consolation prize to the moderates made up of Governors Rockefeller of New York and William Scranton of Pennsylvania. In addition, Goldwater won the chairmanship of the Republican Party for 36-year-old Dean Burch, who is deputy campaign chairman of his election machinery.

CREDO WITHOUT CONTENT?

The demonstrations mounted by Goldwater supporters in all big towns and cities en route to San Francisco where the Party convention was held; the fantastic scenes of youthful support inside the convention hall; and the exuberance of the placard-carrying pavement-walking crowds in San Francisco town all in support of Goldwater—these things certainly do not add up to lack of popular appeal for the Goldwater platform.

If in a jingoistic mood, we dismiss the movement as possessing a "philosophy" made up of "self-cancelling propositions" or as "a credo without content", we run the grave risk of permitting this near-fascist trend to take root. History would repeat itself. And the same indifference and unconcern that marked the early years of Hitler's political career could help to create a much more dangerous Hitler because this would be a Hitler of the nuclear age. Goldwater has youth,

intellect, connection and money behind him. Look at some members of his team of experts—Roger Ailan Moore, 32, Boston lawyer, expert on procedure and constitution of the Republican Party; Bill Middendorf, 37, Wall Street broker in charge of fund raising; Mrs. David Fernald, a Republican Party activist; Peter O'Donnell, a leading organisation man of the Republican Party in the Southern States who works under John Grenier, 33, lawyer and head of Goldwater's Southern agents; legislators like Chicago's man in the House of Representatives, Edward Derwinski, 37 and Kansas representative Robert J. Dole, 40, and civic leader Luke Williams Jr., 41.

Here, to appreciate more fully the extent of Goldwater's pull in American politics, it should be borne in mind that the man has not just imposed himself on his Party, after the fashion of John F. Kennedy in the 1960 presidential race. The general view is that Goldwater was "captured" by his supporters. In other words, he is not the creator but the creation

by
JULIUS SAGO

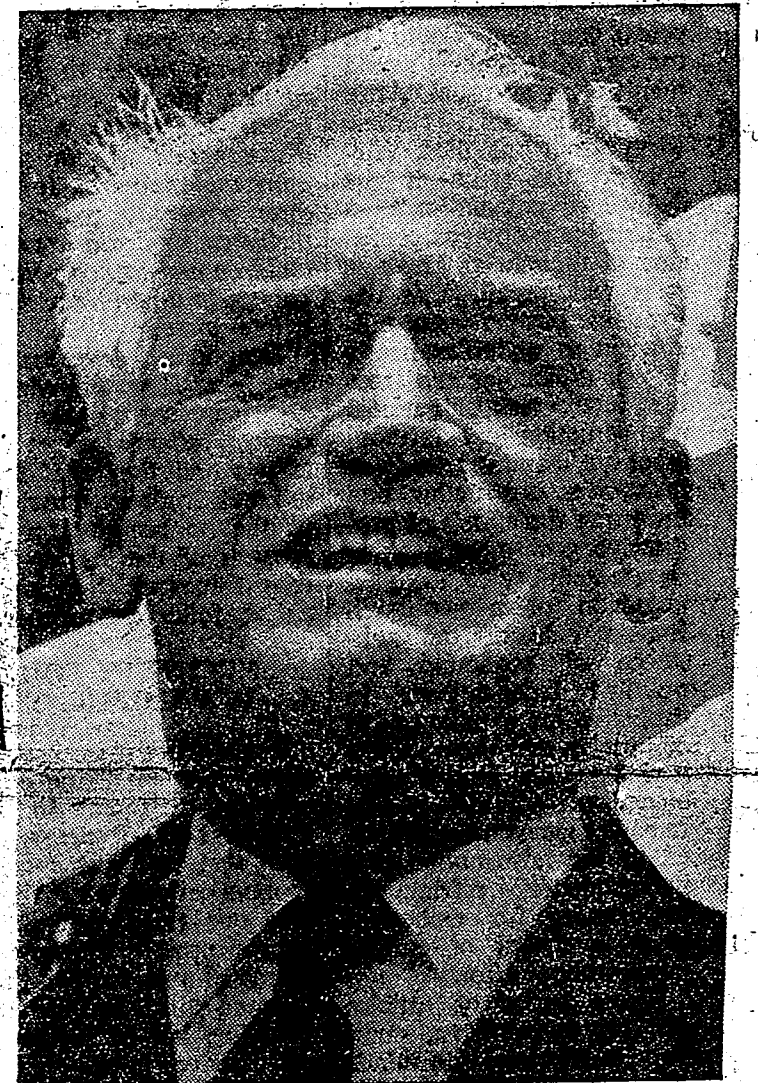
of the new Republican platform. Therefore he is not an upstart; he is the standard bearer of the growing ultraright-wing of the Republican Party which this year took over control of the party from the moderates who have run it for some 20 years now. The U.S. magazine "Newsweek" (July 27, 1964) describes the Goldwater victory at the San Francisco convention as "stunningly total and unconditional". The report goes on: "It was no lightning coup. It was an authentic party revolution, born of deep-seated frustration with the existing order, executed by a new breed of pros with a ruthless skill unmatched in recent history except by John F. Kennedy's Irish Mafia."

THE "MODERATES"!

All we need do to get a clearer appraisal of what is happening to the Republican Party is to remember that its so-called "moderates"—Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Governor William Scranton and former U.S. representative in the U.N. Cabot Lodge—are all men strongly committed to that philosophy of rugged individualism founded upon unfettered capitalism which is erroneously labelled liberalism. To be on the right of such people, and to snatch the Republican Party machine from their control into the bargain—can only prove that U.S. big business is heading strongly for open fascism.

What picture does one get on considering the platform of Goldwaterism?

On civil rights the 1960 Republican platform of "vigorous enforcement" of civil-rights laws has been abandoned for "full implementation and faithful execution of the Civil Rights Act of 1964... while opposing Federal ally-sponsored 'inverse discrimination' whether by the shifting of jobs, or the abandonment of neighbouring schools, for reasons of race". The enforcement of the Civil Rights Act could



Senator Barry Goldwater
... obsessed with military power?

easily be construed by the Goldwater team as "inverse discrimination".

On financial policy, Goldwater pledges "prudent, responsible management of... fiscal affairs to protect the individual against the evils of spendthrift government... a reduction of not less than 5,000 million dollars in the present level of Federal spending..." The same platform promises more employment but opposes "Federal handouts that erode away individual self-reliance." The reference of course is to unemployment and other benefits. These portend a big slash in state-subsidised services which is a canon of the affluent society. It is a massive attack on the foundations of the welfare state which experience elsewhere has shown to be a not-altogether-satisfactory answer for the dross of unbridled capitalism.

Goldwater has even sought to piece these scattered policy promises into something that looks like a philosophy. In his acceptance speech at San Francisco, the Republican Party Presidential nominee spoke of "the ultimate and undeniable greatness of the whole man". He saw his objective as "government limited by the laws of nature and of nature's God." Through the Democratic Party, he lambasted the

"an absolutely wrong view of man, his nature and his destiny". Typical of the totalitarianism of fascism and true to its sublimation of reason, Goldwater attacks all those who think that "earthly power can be substituted for divine will".

Goldwaterism is therefore not just a programme for a government. It is, to its authors at least, a philosophy. The fact that it is groping as it were, and is caught up with contradictory propositions and "stale jargon of ultra-rightist movements in Europe a quarter of a century ago" notwithstanding. Not infrequently, dangerous movements, drawing heavily on the human emotions of their times, turn into instruments of pitiless dictatorship even though at the onset they were no more than "moods in want of a doctrine."

What is more, the Goldwater steamroller is determined to enforce its views. It has its own doctrine to guide its actions. It condones the Klu Klux Klan (a long-standing terrorist organisation) and will permit the John Birch society (a society that imposes its views through physical torment). The Goldwater bandwagon, one infers, would not hesitate to employ these methods in furtherance of its objectives, which to it are liberty and "justice". And just to make

Continued on page 6

INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER (I)

An analysis of the Economic Determinants of our Policies by OBOTAN AWUKU

LET us make no mistake about it, there are large numbers of people in most of the newly independent countries who tend to be disillusioned about independence! There are people who actually wish we were back under colonial rule! These are to be distinguished from the class of compradors and petit bourgeoisie who actually opposed independence. There are some of the masses who struggled for independence who are disappointed!

But these are to be pitied instead of condemned, for they are ignorant. Their disillusionment springs from a confusion of thought, a failure to distinguish between means and ends. To these people, (and it is not only the illiterate), independence itself was to be "the be all and the end all" of all our headaches; independence was immediately to see the end of poverty, disease, and all the ills and deprivations that subject peoples are heir to.

As soon as independence was achieved, they imagined, we would rush up to the white man's bungalows, share up his property, occupy his positions in office (commonly called European posts) and that would be the end of it. Things would then go on as usual. After all that is what is done when some one dies. Why not do the same at the demise of colonialism?

This is an obvious confusion of thought as grave as it is widespread. This unfortunate but persistent misconception underlies nearly all our difficulties and troubles in the task of national reconstruction and development. It manifests itself as resistances obstructing and thwarting the efforts of progressive governments or as a susceptibility to the phenomenon of neo-colonialism—a sale of the substance of economic and political independence in exchange for a paltry mess of pottage and the outward trappings and frothy semblance of political power. In each case men are actuated by the false notion that independence offers an opportunity for embezzlement, a means of enrichment without effort.

These series of articles purport to help in a small way to disabuse the minds of our people of this fatal misconception by examining the purpose of independence, by presenting scientific analysis of the bane of colonialism and neo-colonialism and by demonstrating the why and how of economic development.

PURPOSE OF INDEPENDENCE

To a colonial people independence is indeed an "open sesame", the golden key to a newer world of freedom from want and deprivation, of social justice and of splendid opportunities. Independence offers a matchless opportunity for development and the fullest expression of life. This is a historical necessity, for no subject people can ever hope to attain real freedom and the highest development of which their resources, human and natural, will allow unless they become free. Hence the maxim of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added unto you".

But independence is just that—an opportunity, a chance to use our capacities, a means to an end, not an end in itself.

The misguided think that independence would by itself bring them what they require not that it would offer them the opportunity to acquire what they desire. This is their mistake. They demand the fruits of plants that are not yet sown.

Every normal person desires the benefits of economic development. And this is a noble desire. For it is necessary for the progress of man and for the existence of nations.

Economic development gives man command over his environment. It invests him with power to banish famine, plague and pestilence, to eradicate many diseases and to put many more under control. It lends man power to reduce the incidence of death upon his children and to postpone its cold grip upon himself to a later date.

Economic development, by increasing abundance, also increases our range of choices, affords us greater leisure and the relief from toil and drudgery, providing us the opportunity for the pursuits of the arts and all those things which make life richer, fuller and deeper.

NECESSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT

Apart from these benefits to the individual, the constellation of forces in our time and in all times dictates that we must develop economically if we shall retain our freedom and independence. In the onward march of man through time, to stand still is to falter and fall. The law of the jungle still survives in the civilised world of our day. It survives in the naked struggle for power, in the arms race and its cold war. In this twentieth century of so-called enlightenment, it is still a matter of survival of the fittest! To keep alive you must be strong.

For our good then, both individually and collectively, we must develop economically. And this calls for sacrifices over and above those made in the struggle for independence. The sacrifices made in our epic struggles have their own reward, the reward of independence. For the economic benefits that we desire, we must make further sacrifices.

This is only natural. It is a pity that a great many people get confused over this. If you want a piece of land, you pay a price for it. That price is for the ownership of the land. If after that you want to build on it or cultivate it, you must of course pay further sums of money to employ labour, capital and raw materials.

By the sacrifices in the struggle for independence then we buy back our land which was stolen from us by the marauding forces of imperialism. But we don't just wrench back the land to leave it fallow. We may with a wretched piece of land, but not with a nation, not with a beloved fatherland. We must develop it or lose it. Hence, the sacrifices and hence the denial to share the "spoils" after the robbers have left. For this will be the spoliation of our own heritage.

Economic development then is imperative, but it is no easy task. To succeed we need a progressive government and good planning. For we inherited from our colonial masters a land overgrown with thorns and thistles. Yet in Africa at least, underneath the forest of prickly verdure the soil is black with fertility. Our seeds will quickly explode into rapid growth and blossom into a harvest of plenty. Let us first examine this land.

CHARACTERISTICS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Our countries which constitute the less developed third sector of the world are belaboured with a host of limitations which inhibit economic development. Among those listed by Professor Leibenstein as being pertinent and endemic in our societies, the most basic and most universal perhaps are these:—our economies are all agricultural, they are all characterised by low productivity, low per capita income and hence low rate of saving and shortage of capital. So interwoven and mutually interacting are these characteristics that they have been dubbed the "vicious circle". And the most vicious element of this "vicious circle" is the paucity of per capita income. A notion of this therefore adequately conveys the situation existing in the less developed countries as the following table shows:—

	World income per cent	World population per cent	Income per capita \$
High income countries	67	18	\$915
Middle income countries	18	15	\$310
Low income countries	15	67	\$54

We see from this that two-thirds of the people in the world have annual income ranging between 50 and 60 dollars. Obviously we in such areas are condemned to a life of chronic poverty, abysmal squalor and rampant disease. This has been our lot with no change except for the worse for about two hundred years. Meanwhile the remaining third has leapt into affluence, thus widening the gap between their standard of living and ours.

The pertinent question is this: How did this come about? Are we really an inferior species of man? This is the argument capitalist exploiters advanced, urged their scientists into a frantic search of proving and cajoled us into believing, for all the years of unremitting exploitation until our chains were broken and the scales fell from our eyes. The fallacy of this notion has now gained acceptance everywhere, though racists fondly cling to this broken straw.

But if our economic inferiority is not a matter of race, what is then the cause? To answer this correctly, a recall of the salient features of capitalist development is called for. Capitalism, it is universally accepted, developed from feudalism. And it is widely accepted too that a period of decay of the feudal order preceded the emergence of the capitalist.

Very simply and briefly,

the process of disintegration may be considered to have proceeded in this manner. First, there was slow but appreciable increase in agricultural output accompanied by intensified suppression of the agricultural population and their massive displacement and consequent rebellion. (This led to the emergence of a potential labour force.

Secondly, there was a growing division of labour and with it the evolution of a class of merchants and artisans accompanied by the growth of towns. Finally, there was the speedy accumulation of capital in the hands of the rising merchant class and wealthy peasants.

CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

All of these factors may not have developed everywhere to the same degree in the pre-colonial era in the now less developed countries of the world. But everywhere, in all developed feudal communities, one or two were in the process of development or in the embryonic stage though their maturing and ripening might have been delayed either through deliberate policies or other social forces.

A case in point is the story of an Ashanti king who told a questioning visitor that he allowed Arabs to control the trans-Saharan trade because wealthy Ashanti citizens grew too proud and tried to overthrow his dynasty.

Clearly the forces were at work in Ashanti. But capitalism did not emerge before the onslaught of British colonial rule because it was the confluence of all three forces in a ripened state and a great number of

the demands of maritime commerce—we have the greatest impetus for scientific discovery and technological progress.

However, Western Europe's advance need not of necessity have prevented our own development. They came to copy and then overleaped us. Why did we fail even to imitate them? For as Marx says, "the country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future." History is but one long story of imitation and progress, through trade and contact.

But we failed, not because we are inferior but because the cheats, thieves, pirates, marauders and murderers did not come to trade. They came to loot, to plunder, to murder. Is there any that can deny this? What manner of sin have these apparitions with "capitalism in their bones" not committed? Piracy, robbery, arson, plunder, massacre, genocide, they committed all in their rapacious drive for wealth.

Where extermination was possible, they killed whole races and took their land. (I refer to the "doubting Thomas" to the history of America and Australia). Where resistance was weak and conditions for settlement favourable they subdued the people and took their land. Where resistance was too strong and/or conditions for settlement unfavourable, the plundering offsprings of plunderers set to looting and plundering and to extract the largest possible gains without any "compunctious visitings of nature" and carry the blood-soaked booty home. And "the treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement and murder flowed back to the mother-country and transformed themselves into capital",—Marx in Capital.

It was these ill-gotten gains which swelling their national incomes, multiplying their economic surplus and falling into the hands of capitalists in a concentrated form that boosted in an unprecedented manner the development of Western European countries.

But to us the transfusion itself and in particular the manner of its perpetration had the most telling and crippling effect. They jolted our development in a most violent way and drastically affected its subsequent course. In the words of Professor Paul Baran of Stanford University, "they burst with explosive force into the glacial movement of (our) ancient societies and tremendously accelerated the process of decomposition of (our) pre-capitalist structures".

This violent contact with Western capitalism disrupted our agricultural economies and forced shifts to the production of exportable crops from which we did not benefit. (This will be proved later). By outright seizure of our lands for settlement, for plantations or for other purposes the capitalist system impoverished us. And by exposing our handicrafts to the withering competition of industrial exports many more of our people were impoverished. Thus was created an inexhaustible pool of labour, a pool from which it drew without respite and sweated the labour to the bones.

But this is only one side of the picture. While it accelerated with irresistible power, the maturing of some of the essential elements for a transition from feudalism to capitalism, Western capitalism in our lands atrophied or eliminated with equal force the growth and ripening of others.

Let us not talk of the inhuman slave traffic in Africa and all its unimaginable horrors and untold economic consequences. Let us only consider the serious setbacks that the removal of accumulated capital and the disruption of the means of accumulation must have had on subsequent accumulations and development. Wherever in our less developed countries there was any possibility of industries fledging, the exposure to the withering competition smothered them.

The expansion of commodity circulation, the pauperization of a great mass of people and the consequent creation of a labour force, the contact with Western technology, all these on the surface may be considered to have provided a powerful stimulus to the development of capitalism. But this development was frustrated not only by the brutal nature of the contact but also by the sharply calculating rapacity of the system of monopoly capitalism whose instruments the colonial governments were.

Two TWILIGHTS
"Thus", as Professor Baran put it, "the peoples who came into the orbit of Western imperialist expansion found themselves in the twilight of feudalism and capitalism enduring the worst features of both worlds, and the entire impact of imperialist subjugation to boot. To oppression by their feudal lords, ruthless but tempered by tradition, was added domination by foreign and domestic capitalists, callous and limited only by what the traffic would bear."

Their exploitation was multiplied, yet its fruits were not to increase their productive wealth; these went abroad or served to support a parasitic bourgeoisie at home. They lived in abysmal misery, yet they had no prospect of a better tomorrow. They existed under capitalism, yet there was no accumulation of capital. They lost their time-honored means of livelihood, their arts and crafts, yet there was no modern industry to provide new ones in their place. They were thrust into extensive contact with the advanced science of the West, yet remained in a state of the darkest backwardness."

The imperialist powers waded and still waded through slaughter to affluence and shut the gates of liberty on mankind. To have light they put us in darkness. They give us death so that they might live.

Truly has it been said of India as of all other less developed countries: "Verily the moisture of India blesses and fertilizes other lands". This can even more be said of Africa. For the picture of India is a portrayal of a destruction whose main facts are known. But who can tell of the despoliation of Africa? King Leopold said, when the Belgian state was taking over the control of the Congo from him: "They can have the Congo but they must not know what I have done there".

With those words he burnt a mass of documents relating to his heinous crimes in the Congo. This is true of all Africa.

How far we would have gone if we were not subjected to all these inhumanities, none can say with any degree of exactitude. But we can legitimately speculate what we would have been if we look at Japan. Japan is the only non-European country which escaped the scourge of colonialism, and which succeeded in attaining a high degree of economic advancement through capitalism. Surely this was no accident.

The answer to Japan's unique success is at once very simple and very complex. The basic and simple reason is that Japan succeeded only because it was never colonised. But the reasons for its escape from colonial domination are found in a constellation of historical circumstances; and this is a complex matter.

Basic among the factors whose felicitous confluence so blessed it were the backwardness and poverty of the Japanese people and the scantiness of their country's natural resources. "Japan had very little to offer either as a market for foreign manufactures or as a granary of raw materials for Western industry," says E. Herbert Norman in his book, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State*.

Thus Japan's poverty did not hypnotise the imperialists as did the gold of Latin America, the varied and inestimable wealth of Africa, the fabulous riches of India, or the supposedly bottomless markets of China. Besides, in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Western penetration of Asia had reached its zenith the hands of the leading Western European countries were too full.

Furthermore, and more important still, was the fortunate ripening of another characteristic of imperialism; the increasing rivalry among the old imperialist powers and the arrival on the scene of a new whale, the United States. Jealous of each other, and cognizant of the strategic importance of Japan by its proximity to China, the imperialist whales closely watched each other lest any one of them won pre-dominant influence over it, let alone colonise it.

The ever-present fear of Western domination acted as a powerful stimulus to Japan's development. Being spared the ravages of the pillage and the burden of the yoke, Japan was able to invest its surplus in its own economy. And the constant fear was a permanent catalyst in the process of development. While the danger grew, the development was intensified until Japan "was transformed into an integrated industrial economy able to sustain modern warfare and at the same time capable of meeting the onslaught of foreign competition."

This then, is how Japan did it. It was not due to any racial peculiarities as the apologists of imperialism, the progeny of the marauders, would have us believe. We might have done the same, if not better, but for the ruthless pillage and the oppressive yoke.

(Next week we make a scientific analysis of the colonial system).

AID AND NEO-COLONIALISM (I)

LIKE Democracy, Freedom and similar terms, the term Aid is also subject to multiple definitions which differ according to the ideological, political and economic premises of various groups in the world today. But whether certain grants, loans etc., shall be regarded as aid or not will depend on many factors among which are: the degree of sacrifice made by the donor, secondly, whether the balance of benefit accruing from it are unilateral or mutual, i.e., whether it is only the recipient who benefits while the donor gets nothing out of it.

It will also depend on the past and even present political and socio-economic relationship between the donor and the recipient. For example, is the recipient's economy regarded as complementary to the donor's or not? What political and economic stakes has the donor got in the donee's country? Another fact which has never had much consideration when discussing this question of "aid" is that of reparation. For example, when Britain gives "aid" to Kenya, or Belgium and the USA to Congo, or France to Algeria, should that be called aid or reparation just as West Germany's payments to Israel and other European countries which she conquered and exploited during the war are classified?

However, that the question of aid is of crucial importance in the world today is very well known. But that this same 'aid' has also become the greatest form of camouflaging the imperialistic interests of some of the 'donor' countries is less apparent to many people especially in Africa. But as we all know, every piece of propaganda is mobilised to publicise every grant however small and even unproductive; every simple trade and commercial agreement, every sale of military equipment to the poverty-stricken countries of the world who, out of sheer desperation will quickly stretch out their hands to receive even a lump of poison which has been carefully coated with honey, as 'aid' without strings!

AFRICAN VALUES

According to African values, to publicise the amount of help you have rendered to a friend is regarded as bad manners. But since a poor man has no choice, many African leaders have to live through embarrassment which they suffer under the glaring publicity of "aid" to their nations. In some cases, the slogan, 'do not frighten away private capital' has become the greatest piece of blackmail and weapon wielded against the masses. To speak of the Africanisation (nationalisation) of the economy is to frighten away foreign investments, to demonstrate against neo-colonialism, to attack corruption, nepotism, bribery etc., to speak of socialism, to demand better wages and good working conditions, to demand better social services, to demand Africanisation of services; all these are in one way or another denounced as capable of frightening away foreign investors. In other words, aid is becoming the most elaborate form of neo-colonisation of Africa.

AID WITHOUT STRINGS?

But can there be such a thing as "aid" without strings? My answer is definitely NO! All 'aid' has strings (conditions) of some sort. The only difference which every honest donor will admit is that some strings are harmful while others are not. For example, the strings that might be attached to aid from capitalist countries will not be the same as those attached to one from a socialist country. The harmfulness or the non-harmfulness of such strings will depend on the purpose, nature and character of the aid given. For example, experience has now shown that capi-

talist countries will, in practically all cases give aid only in return for some political, economic or military advantages granted by the recipient country. The intention of such aid is not so much to lead to genuine economic sovereignty and hence independence, but rather in order to strengthen the economic and other ties between the donor and the recipient. That is in order to try and integrate the economies etc., of the two countries. But such integration only results in perpetuating the dominance of the stronger economy of the donor over the weaker economy of the recipient i.e. the continued colonial economic relationship. These are obviously harmful conditions.

On the other hand it is a fact that a true socialist country will not render aid if that aid is going to be used to strengthen the reactionary and parasitic elements in the recipient country; i.e. socialist aid might not be used to prop up anti-progress forces or to build up capitalism. Thus their aid will be given to the state, and it will be in concrete forms aimed at leading to further economic progress and therefore to eventual economic independence.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

The obvious string here is that such aid will be given for the purpose of creating public ownership of the means of production i.e., of building a socialist sector. Now whether such a string is harmful or not, will depend entirely on the economic policy of the recipient government. If its intention is to build a capitalist economy then it is obviously a bad string, but if the aim is to establish the basis for the public sector which is a necessary prerequisite for socialist construction, then the string is harmless.

It is a fact that socialist countries never use their aid to other countries in order to secure military bases, or political alignment with a non-Marxist state. So that there is nowhere in the world today where socialist countries have bases, flying, staging or training facilities. Nor has, for example, the Soviet Union or China got any military pacts or alliances with any country within the so-called non-aligned group, despite the amount of aid they have given to some of these countries.

It is true, they have given military aid, but such aid, unlike similar aid from capitalist countries has not been rendered in order to tie the recipients to the Soviet Union or Chinese defence systems, or in order

to enable the reactionary leadership to protect Soviet or Chinese economic vested interests; the sole aim has been to enable the recipient to build up an independent national army and to defend her own sovereignty. Furthermore, despite concerted efforts to prove that socialist countries can also, contrary to socialist principles become imperialists, the reality proves nothing of the sort.

SOCIALIST AID

On the contrary, there are examples for every one to see: it is countries which receive socialist aid today which appear to be effectively tackling the problem of economic underdevelopment. And where there has been a failure, this can be explained to causes other than the character and nature of aid. In fact, it is because of the progressiveness of the Socialist aid, that the capitalist countries are now being forced to "liberalise" their aid conditions.

Another question which I should try to answer is: Is aid from socialist countries not also a form of foreign investment? My candid answer here is that it is not. Because first of all, and as we shall see, foreign investments are made out of surplus capital which is sent abroad to earn higher returns than it would have earned at home. Another major aim is to create markets for one's industrial surplus produce. But as the whole world knows and as the socialist countries have themselves emphasised, they have no surplus capital to invest overseas, indeed their well known economic difficulties are a good proof to this. Furthermore, it is also a well known fact that in the trade between socialist countries and the developing countries, no foreign exchange is necessary, the means of the exchange is the product itself. For example, you supply them cocoa or cotton or coffee and they supply you with what they produce. Their loans are usually given either at a very low rate of interest or interest free, and on very long term basis.

From the foregoing it can be seen that to accuse aid from socialist countries as being a form of foreign capital investment in the sense discussed in this essay, is like accusing Ghana or Algeria's aid to a sister African state of falling in the same category. But as we shall see, this could not be the truth.

However, perhaps the only motive that could be imputed with a good justification from the aid rendered by socialist countries to the so-called non-aligned countries is that, in order to break the backbone of imperialism whose existence depends on the exploitation of the "third world", the socialist countries consider it their international and humanitarian duty to aid members of this "third world" to build their own sovereign national economies which would serve the interests of their own people and thus break the economic iron grip on them by the imperialist powers.

But what is wrong with this? However, it is also

by
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Ugandan Journalist

important to point out here that when the socialists render aid for this motive, it cannot be a disinterested aid, because as we all know, the socialists and the so-called non-aligned countries have a common enemy—Imperialism. So that the victory of the developing countries over imperialism is of vital importance to the security and success of socialism the world over. And there is no doubt that socialism is the only hope for the future of the whole world.

From the above arguments it is probably clear now why in this essay I have been concerned with aid from the west rather than from the east. This however, does not therefore mean that everything from the west is devilish and everything from the east is clean.

There are of course other problems which are created by aid from the east, but they are of a different nature than what I have discussed here. For we should remember that wherever two people meet—even if they are twins—there must always be problems.

Certainly, no one can dispute the fact that the developing countries need aid in order to try and solve their present economic problems. But the important point for us to understand is that, all that glitters is not gold. Because history knows very well how an otherwise good idea or philosophy has been distorted and used to serve interests and motives which it was never intended to serve. So that although aid as aid is a good thing, it cannot, nevertheless naively be held to be immune from such negative forces.

SHORT-TERM POPULARITY

It is now well known that most of the aid "poured" into Africa is anything but productive. As William Clark (quoted elsewhere in this essay) stated: "The lack of a clear plan on the part of the recipients of development aid is more than matched by the lack of any plan by the donors of aid. The current 'scramble for Africa' amongst the donors is a degrading spectacle. Each (donor) country is trying desperately to find a project with maximum short-term popularity to which it can attach a sign saying 'Courtesy of West Germany or USA'. Even international organisations and agencies of the UN are in competition. The quack with the phoney scheme and the carpet-begger with the phoney goods fill the best hotels."

But why all this competition and struggle? Is it for the love of the African people? Some people—even Africans—think so. But this is far from the truth. The real reason behind this new 'scramble for Africa' is given in an introduction to a book with the title of *Underdeveloped Areas: A Book of Reading and Research*, by Lyle W. Shanon of the University of Wisconsin, USA (p.1) where it is unequivocally stated: "Underdeveloped areas containing either vast natural resources needed by major world powers, millions of potential workers or soldiers, or

It may be said with some validity that every government in the "third world, i.e. the newly independent and less developed countries of the world, is committed to a policy of development aimed at bridging the yawning gap between the standard of living of its people and that of those in the developed countries.

In this task it is beyond doubt that no young nation can "go it alone" without outside help, except at tremendous sacrifices in a few cases which even may only make failure certain. Aid is therefore of crucial importance to our young countries whose economies in most cases are not viable.

But the paradox is that aid is often the back door which lets in the imperial exploiters who have ostensibly granted independence to the young countries. In this and a subsequent article Mr. Chango Machyo, an eminent Ugandan journalist, gives an able analysis of aid and its complications and implications in this age of imperialism.

having strategic locations from a military viewpoint, will be of particular interest from a stand-point of their importance in world affairs."

Let us also note that there is productive and unproductive aid. Aid which does not lead to further economic progress however big and 'generous' it might be, is unproductive and therefore in the long run, useless. For example, aid given by Britain or France to their former colonies (which continue to be under their economic domination) to meet the expensive compensation, pensions and other financial inducements to former colonial officials—besides being the most callous and shameless way of pushing their own legal obligations and burdens on to their dominions through blackmail and duress is anything but productive. Because all of it returns to Britain or France and leaves the recipient countries poorer than ever, with a huge National Debt for which no means of repayment have been established! It will not be very long before the disastrous effects of such iniquitous "aid" are felt by the former colonies.

Since they have not been invested in productive enterprises, where is the money to repay them going to come from?

This short essay was written for one simple reason, that is that it might be of some use to those of our people who are not fully conversant with what it contains. Thus it is meant for those who do not know but who, at the same time want to know. For those who already know it will obviously have no appeal.

My conviction is that whereas we should seek aid for obvious reasons, we should nevertheless be fully aware of what we might get in for unless we take special care to minimise some of the problems and consequences involved. It is better to go with a fair knowledge of what you are likely to be confronted with, than to remain ignorant, only to say afterwards, when it is too late, "I wish I had known!"

UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

Naturally, an essay of this length cannot pretend to be exhaustive. There is much more to the subject discussed here than has been stated in the following pages. But I hope the reader will find it of some use however small.

To many people in Africa and in the West, the achievement of political independence is the end of the struggle for freedom. So that to them, to state that we have as yet to be free you just sound ridiculous or you are labelled a communist. At least, according to Arthur Bottomley, a British Labour M.P., it is the communists who are teaching Africans about the "theory of unfinished revolution"—i.e. that independence is incomplete unless

accompanied by economic independence."

Obviously he naturally finds it impossible to believe that Africans are capable of observing and interpreting for themselves!

However it is apparent to a number of Africans that the independence we are achieving is merely a change in form of foreign domination and as such the struggle for freedom has to continue. As Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has stated, political independence is just the first step in the arduous struggle for true independence. Hence his dictum: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and the rest shall be added unto you"

Our present political independence is a mere change in form because the causes which led to the colonisation of Africa are still very much alive. Furthermore, from the examples of such countries as the Philippines and the Republics of South America, it is quite obvious that a country could be politically independent and yet continue, in fact, to be a dependent state.

COLONIALISM

It has been said that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. Thus, as long as the capitalist system remains active, colonial powers can never dream of granting real independence. Independence in this case is granted with the sole hope of splitting the liberation front, and thus diverting attention from economic imperialism.

This is why it is true to say that the whole process is a mere change of form, rather than a revolution—a transformation. This will become clear later.

In this paper I will deal with three main topics. First, the causes of colonialism. Second, Neo-colonialism. And lastly, how aid is used to foster neo-colonialism.

Many of us have, in the past, been told that the European colonisation of Africa was inspired by philanthropic motives. We have been told that the white man conquered Africa because he wanted to save us from slavery and to civilise us. Thus, the slogan "The white man's burden". But all this is absolute nonsense. Whatever humanitarian motives some missionaries, for example, might have had, were secondary. The real cause was economic. As Cecil Rhodes—one of the most ruthless British Empire builders—put it: "The empire was a matter of bread and butter."

At first, European powers were slow in thinking of colonising Africa. At that time Africa was still considered as a "dark continent", and was only valuable as a source of slaves. It was the end of slavery as a profitable business, the spread of industrialisation, and America's start to "compete in the world's markets, and to utilise her own resources primarily for the needs of her own industry"

that led Europe to turn to Africa. Thus to quote Lugard, another notorious British Empire builder: "One of the more immediate causes which led to the opening up of Africa was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870." Crippled by her defeat, France saw the colonisation of especially West and North-West Africa as her only way to rehabilitation. At that time, Lugard stated, the "colonisation in tropical Africa was believed to be both possible and desirable"

He continued to point out that "Germany, on the other hand, found herself with a great and increasing industrial population in urgent need of raw materials and additional food supplies". She therefore "not unnaturally desired to have colonies of her own", although she was welcome to British colonies. However, the major motives which led to the colonisation of Africa could be summed up as follows:

- the search for new markets;
- the search for raw materials and investment of surplus capital;
- the search for areas to which the surplus of European population could migrate;
- European Nationalism engendered by capitalist conflicts, and therefore national competition for prestige and power, and then the military factor which naturally resulted from nationalism. Military bases were necessary to defend colonial acquisitions against another European nation's covetous eyes.

MANY TACTICS

Thus, as Lugard stated, one of the German's motives in wanting to acquire her own colonies was "the creation of naval bases and world-wide wireless stations, and the raising of negro armies for world conquest"

To achieve their goal of the colonisation of Africa, the imperialist powers employed many tactics. Among others, they included outright forceful conquest as in the case of the Ashantis and the Matabeles; the so-called treaties and agreements with the chiefs under which the chief was promised "protection" from a European power in return for land and mineral concessions to the "protecting" European power; or, as the Germans did in South-West Africa, it was an outright purchase, where an agent of a German commercial firm "succeeded in acquiring some three thousand square miles of territory in exchange for a number of rifles and a quantity of toys" While in the case of Egypt, it was the failure of Ismail, the ruler of Egypt in 1869 to pay back enormous sums he borrowed at a high rate of interest from the French and English Banks, in order to modernise his country which led the British to colonise the country.

Continued on page 4

Aid and Neo-Colonialism

Continued from page 3

It is important to note that most of the colonisation of Africa was originally undertaken by private commercial companies. The colonial governments usually came in later only to establish "law and order", in order to guarantee a peaceful and stable atmosphere for the economic activities of the commercial firms.

INTENSIVE COMPETITION

The intensive competition that followed the scramble for Africa coupled with the resistance of the Chiefs that emerged as they came to realise too late that they had sold away their freedom, led to the convening of the infamous Berlin Conference. At this conference the final partition of Africa was agreed upon by the various colonial powers. Of the things that the imperialists agreed upon at this Berlin Conference, one—in the words of Lugard—was "the restriction of the export of arms of precision to the natives, theoretically as a check to the slave trade, but with the practical result of rendering the African more powerless than ever to resist conquest by Europeans".

After the Conference, the effective political and economic power passed into the hands of the European colonial officials and businessmen. The African Kings, Chiefs, or Council of Elders, were tolerated as long as they did not challenge European rule or colonial plunder. For all intended purposes, they were mere puppets.

The real motive behind colonialism was very well summed up by a French Colonial Secretary, who put it thus:

"What is the use of painting the truth? At the start colonisation was not an art of civilisation, nor was it a desire to civilise. It was an act of force motivated by interests. An episode in the vital competition which, from man to man, from group to group, has gone on ever increasingly; the people who seize colonies in distant lands were thinking primarily of themselves, and were working for their own profits, and conquering for their own power."

BREAD CRUMBS FROM RICHMAN'S TABLE

Thus, the fact is that all the so-called advantages which Africans are supposed to have derived from colonialism were never meant for us. Whether roads, railways, communications, hospitals, schools or towns, they were all meant to bring maximum benefits to the colonial powers. And, whatever scanty advantage and benefit accrued to us, they were no more than the bread crumbs from the rich man's table which Lazarus shared with the dogs.

It is also important to point out some of the major effects of colonialism on our development. First, indigenous cottage industries and commerce were destroyed as they could not compete with cheap and apparently better quality manufactured goods from the colonial powers. Second, our cultural and social progress was put at a stand-still. Instead, efforts were made to substitute our values and way of life by alien values and a European way of life, through the so-called education.

One of the great aims of colonial education was to produce enlightened servants and not socially-conscious and responsible peo-

ple. Thus, emphasis was placed on obedience and religion was given a prominent place in the curriculum. Independent thinking was discouraged. All that was expected of a student was that he memorised his notes and reproduced them more or less instantaneously without thinking. Thus to be clever meant the ability to cram.

The process of colonial education discouraged technical education. To protect their interests it was important that technical skills were not imparted to the colonised. Thus, everywhere in the colonies Europeans formed themselves into impenetrable enclaves. Africans were discouraged from studying engineering, geology, economics and similar courses. Very often we were told that these professions were too difficult for us!

Another effect which is usually not appreciated is that colonialism retarded development of various allied ethnic groups into nationhood. Just as Germany, France or Italy were created by the subduing by one powerful leader of the various tribes, and moulding them into a nation, so would, for example, a man like Chaka have done in South Africa. But such nation-building would not have served imperial interests. Thus, they had to adopt the technique of "divide and rule". Tribal consciousness and antagonism were encouraged, and thus inter-tribal political, economic, cultural and social contacts brought to a complete halt.

END OF COLONIALISM

When the European colonised Africa, the idea of especially the negro or negroid people ever rising up to demand their freedom was something that was never even contemplated. The only people that were expected to rebel against white rule—and for religious reasons—were the Arabs and Hamites. As Sir Harry H. Johnston, another notorious Empire builder, put it:

"It is difficult to conceive that the black man will eventually form one united negro people demanding autonomy, and putting an end to the control of the white man, and to the immigration, settlement and intercourse of superior races from Europe and Asia."

This conclusion was deduced from his belief that "the negro has no idea of racial affinity", and that he will "equally ally himself to the white or to the yellow races in order to subdue his fellow black..."

However, without going into unnecessary details, it is, I think, correct to sum up that among the various factors which led to the disintegration of colonialism were the October Revolution in Russia—which established the first socialist state, whose policy was anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist; the effects of World War II, which led to the spread and strengthening of the socialist camp, the weakening of the European imperialist camp, and the independence of India in 1947 and to the awareness of freedom, especially by our ex-servicemen.

In addition, we should count the various Pan-African conferences which were organised outside Africa by the late Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, to demand self-government for the African people; then the Egyptian Revolution which brought revolutionary forces into power and the independence of Ghana, which led to the

historical All-African People's Conference held in Accra in 1958. Apart from these factors, it is also important to note that within the imperialist camp itself the anti-imperialist forces were growing in strength, and they certainly did a lot to rouse public opinion in these countries in favour of freedom for the colonised peoples.

CAPITALISM STILL KICKING

But the causes of colonialism are not dead. The need for "essential raw materials", for new fields of investment, for markets and for military bases is as great as ever i.e. capitalism is still alive and kicking. Nevertheless, classical colonialism has now been discredited. It is now a shameful thing to be counted as a colonial power. Moreover, since the colonised can no longer submit to any form of alien rule, the colonial possessions can only be maintained by force, and therefore at a much greater expense than before.

The question which faced the imperial powers at the beginning of this revolution then was: Is it possible to grant political independence and yet retain economic domination? In other words, is it possible to change the form of colonialism? The U.S. experience in her colonies, like the Philippines, and her semi-colonies in Latin America proved to them that this was possible. For example, after the seizure of the Philippines from the Spanish, the U.S. employed all the imperialist oppressive machinery to suppress the liberation movements in these South East Asian islands. She, however, discovered that she could avoid the blame and responsibility for so many innocent lives, and yet secure her dominance "by buying native rulers and paying the cost of native governments", under terms which were acceptable to her vested interests.

This new form of colonialism, whereby a people although in theory free, but in practice continue to be foreign dominated through economic control and other means, is what is known today as "Neo-Colonialism".

The exact definition of neo-colonialism was given by the All-African People's Conference, which was held in Cairo in March 1961. It was defined as:

"The survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in the emerging countries, which become victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical means..."

The Conference emphasised that this form of domination is the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence, or those approaching this status. U.S., Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Holland, South Africa and France—and one must add, Japan, Switzerland and Sweden—are well-known perpetrators of neo-colonialism.

MANIFESTATIONS OF NEO-COLONIALISM

It is important to emphasise that in essence neo-colonialism is one and the same thing as colonialism. Because its aim is to safeguard and perpetuate the colonial interests and privileges which the imperialist powers enjoyed under colonialism. The only big difference lies in the fact that neo-colonialism is much more subtle and less easy to appreciate as it acts in-

directly, sometimes through local "leaders", and very often wears different masks under different conditions.

Briefly, however, the manifestations of neo-colonialism as described by the Cairo conference are as follows:

- the establishment of puppet governments and exaltation of feudal and reactionary elements;
- the regrouping of states into federations of "communities" linked to imperialist powers, e.g. the British Commonwealth and the French Community;
- the balkanisation or deliberate fragmentation of states—majim-bos;
- the perpetuation of political and economic dependence after political independence;
- integration into economic blocks which maintain the colonial and under-developed character of the African economy, i.e. the perpetuation of a colonial type of economy whereby we continue to serve as producers of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods;
- new economic penetration through capital investments and loans;
- direct monetary control whereby the finances of a former colonial country remain in the hands of the former colonial power;
- military bases and various "scientific research stations" or "training schools"; all of which are meant to ensure the powerlessness of Africans to resist European Economic domination.

ECONOMIC DOMINATION

That the whole basis of neo-colonialism is economic control can be clearly deduced from the statements of many Western leaders. In December 1960, Sir Charles Arden Clarke, the former Governor-General of Ghana, writing in *Optima* posed the question that since South of the Sahara... European political leadership was in the main ending; would economic leadership also end with it? Chester Bowles, one of the so-called American liberals and at one time a member of the late President Kennedy's Administration, after emphasising America's need for Africa's raw materials, wrote:

"A powerful navy, a staff of competent, tough-minded colonial administrators, and a relatively small number of European-led 'native' troops were sufficient to assure the colonial powers economic, political and military domination over two thirds of the world".

But since this was now becoming impossible with the ending of colonialism, he suggested that only "a sensitive diplomacy and enlightened use of America's economic advantages can alone enable Americans and their associates to continue their domination of these new nations". (own italics) (11).

William Clark, the British Director of the Overseas Development Institute, with headquarters in London and financed by the Ford Foundation and British Industrial and Commercial Enterprises in a paper "After Independence in East Africa", which he read to a joint meeting of the Royal African Society and the Royal Commonwealth Society on 1/2/62,

stressed the point "that the future of the British role in East Africa is not necessarily in the hands of the British government". Britain, he pointed out, "will be represented not by her pro-consuls but by her businessmen and technicians, her teachers and traders". He therefore emphasised that "it would be tragic if as seems possible this form of influence were to decline with political control".

But here Clark was merely echoing Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, who stated that abroad the British no longer ruled, they had something more difficult to do—to influence or guide. And H. V. Hodson, the Provost of the Ditchley Foundation, writing in the *Times* of 12th December, 1961, made it very clear that Britain's motive in the Commonwealth idea is similar to that of the United States in the Caribbean and Latin America. Thus, when it comes to especially East and Central Africa, "national independence and African majority rule will be entirely compatible with the presence of a stable white population, many of whom will own land and mineral rights, run industries and commerce, and hold posts of authority in

the armed and civil services."

One could go on and on to cite many such utterances from other countries like France and West Germany, to prove beyond doubt the vicious aims of the imperialists in Africa; but if this will do, we need not go further than this. However, as has already been pointed out, neo-colonialism is just another form of colonialism. The question which we should therefore now turn to is: how is "Aid" used to foster neo-colonialism?

THE METHOD OF ECONOMIC AID

Before tackling this question let us first look at what "aid" means. One of the most difficult things to define, however is "aid". The definition varies with different blocs. Thus the UN has its own definition, the imperialist camp its own, so has the socialist camp, and probably the non-aligned camp might also have one. But, generally speaking, there are two main definitions: one by the UN and another as understood by the so-called donor countries. According to the UN, "economic aid consists only of outright grants and long-term lending, for non-military purposes, by Governments and

International organisations". But the so-called aid-giving countries include in the term "Aid", "private capital investment and export credits, even for relatively short periods", as well as loans for military purposes. As Professor Benham remarks, this concept of Aid is quite understandable because, "it is pleasant to feel that you are helping your neighbours, and at the same time increasing your own profits". In other words, the manner in which the question of Aid is part of psychological warfare whereby the "poor" nations are made to feel completely dependent and helpless, and therefore at the mercy of the rich nations.

If the concept was to be as defined by the UN, we would probably have less reason to associate it with neo-colonialism. But as it is virtually based on the concept of the "donor" countries, I think it is correct to regard it as nothing more than the export of capital—i.e. as a form of foreign investment by the "donor" countries. For, as we shall see later, this is what it in fact is. Let us also not forget that the term "Aid" began to be employed as colonialism began to end. Before then, what is today called "Aid" was known as "foreign investment". This is what we should now bear in mind.

(TO BE CONTINUED)



Alexandria, was devastated by an explosion, President Ben Bella warned that executions by firing squad would go on in Algeria until the Socialist revolution was triumphant.

1st AUGUST, SATURDAY: KENYA:

Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya, reporting to the House of Representatives on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, said Kenya should feel proud to belong to a group which recognised the need for racial harmony in the world.

He said the Kenya delegation played a significant role in both the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference and the O.A.U. Conference held in Cairo, U.A.R.

TOGO:

In a joint Communiqué published in Lome, President Grunitzky of Togo and President Tubman of Liberia said, African countries should approach unity through the negotiation of a series of economic, cultural and technical pacts.

The two leaders denounced all forms of racial discrimination and proclaimed their support for oppressed and non-independent peoples of Africa.

GUINEA:

Mr. M. Diallo Telli of Guinea, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, (O.A.U.), in a farewell statement to the General Assembly's Special Committee on Apartheid of which he was the Chairman, pledged the collaboration of the O.A.U. with the U.N. body.

Mr. Diallo said he hoped this co-operation would be "at an institutional level", and predicted that he and the Committee members would meet frequently as they continued their joint search for a solution for the apartheid problem.

KENYA:

Senator S. I. Mbeo-Onyan-go told the Kenya Senate at the week-end that over 139 people, 113 Somalis and 26 Kenyans were killed during the border clashes between the two adjacent territories.

2nd AUGUST, SUNDAY: NIGERIA:

President Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria in a reference

to a Nigerian newspaper has denied that there was an arrangement to make him Executive President after the forthcoming Nigerian General Election.

He appealed to those who made the announcement to cease embarrassing him and the nation.

SOUTH AFRICA:

A total of 2,448 white emigrants left South Africa during the first four months of this year as compared to 2,346 who left the same period last year.

Political observers believe that the increase was attributed to intensified repressive measures being dished out to the white settlers by the fascist regime of Verwoerd.

NORTHERN RHODESIA:

The death toll in the week-long disturbances by the Lumpa Church in Northern Rhodesia has reached 112 including 3 policemen, 101 Leshina followers and 8 non-Lumpa villagers.

Dr. Kenneth Kaunda has appealed to the Lumpa sect to surrender peacefully to the police.

UGANDA:

Mr. Tom Aston, Acting British High Commissioner, has said in Kampala that the last British military Officers would leave the country before the end of this month, following an agreement reached by Premier Dr. Milton Obote and the British Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys.

NIGERIA:

The UNESCO Conference on natural resources being held in Lagos has accepted Ghana's resolution moved by Dr. J. Yanney-Ewusie, Secretary of the Ghana Academy of Sciences, calling for a maximum Co-operation between UNESCO and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), in Scientific research.

3rd AUGUST, MONDAY: ALGERIA:

Speaking after his tour of the harbour area at Bone, Eastern Algeria, where a UAR arms ship, "Star of

NIGERIA:

Leaders of the Joint Action Committee of Nigeria's Trades Union Movements are meeting in Lagos today to discuss the possibility of calling another general strike.

This move is being taken in view of what the Committee considers the "disappointing attitude" of the Employers' Association on the implementation of the agreed salaries and awards of the Morgan Commission.

NIGER:

Speaking at the end of a seminar for high-ranking officials at Niamey, President Hamani Diori of Niger pledged Niger's loyalty to the Organisation of African Unity.

He said his country wanted a Niger strong and free and only the O.A.U. could guarantee that for Niger and the whole of Africa.

SWAZILAND:

Three African nationalist political party leaders of Swaziland have petitioned the British Government for annulment of the constitution of the Southern African Protectorate and the elections held under it last June.

The petitioners are J. I. Nkuku (Swaziland Progressive Party), Dr. A. P. Zwane (National Liberation Congress) and Dr. A. M. Nkumalo (Swaziland Democratic Party).

GHANA:

In a message dispatched to the Pan-African Students conference being held in Kenya, the Secretary-General of the All-African Trade Union Federation, (AATUF) Mr. John K. Tettegah, called on the youth of Africa to unite their efforts towards the realisation of a Continental Union Government of Africa.

He told the students that he believed the present generation of African students would uphold the virtues in African culture and press for the liberation of African countries still under foreign rule.

Continued on page 5

A Few Lessons from the Recent Foreign Interventions in Africa

IT IS perhaps not too late to make a modest attempt to draw at least a few lessons from the series of armed interventions in Africa, from Libreville to Dar-es-Salaam.

The first striking fact is that Western forces came from places far away from the actual scenes of intervention. Thus, Her Majesty the Queen's paratroops were sent straight from their home bases in Wiltshire to Nairobi, where the Royal Air Force brought them in within less than 10 hours. On the other side of the continent, 5 or 6 hours were enough for French reinforcements based at Dakar to be flown in to Gabon, while it did not take more than 30 minutes for the French vanguard coming from Brazzaville to land.

NEW ASPECTS OF MODERN STRATEGY

Now if troubles of that kind were to happen in Dakar, it has been officially made clear that with the same efficiency French reinforcements based at home in Brittany would be on the spot within a few hours. And we should not forget to mention that from Cyprus, British airborne troops could reach several African countries with the same quickness.

From this, every sound observer can clearly see some of the new aspects of modern strategy: the bases from which African independence is threatened are no longer located necessarily on this continent. Foreign forces in Africa are supported by reserves standing at readiness far away, in England, in France, eventually Cyprus, not to mention Aden, which is closer to the continent.

Therefore, if African peoples want to ensure their own security, they cannot have recourse to the policy of isolationism adopted by

the U.S. during their first century of existence. In fact, Africa for her safety, has now to watch closely all what is going on outside Africa.

Especially it is necessary to follow the course of events on the non-African Mediterranean's shores, and in Western European countries. This does not mean that the fight for the evacuation of foreign troops and foreign bases from Africa no longer matters. On the contrary it has to be carried to the finish, but as a part of a wider struggle for the security of Africa and for peace.

Now, a second fact deserves some more thinking. Actually not only the Air Carriers have been allowed to fly freely over several African countries, but they have found unprotected modern airfields to land in the countries where they went on a mission of intervention. In other words, the mutineers did not even try to block airfields in the places where they had got control (like Libreville), nor did they try to oppose landing troops ashore (as in Dar-es-Salaam).

This fact led to the consideration of the kind of military training these soldiers had been given, especially as to whether their training had been given by foreign officers or by nationals previously trained in foreign armies. This question of course doesn't apply only to the three or four countries in which upheavals have occurred in recent times but to many African countries as well. Perhaps, it would be advisable to think not only of the army in general, but to define more accurately the kind of army needed.

The third lesson is however more comforting, to some extent at least. We have to bear on mind that, in spite of their wishes and in spite of their strength,

the general imperialist armies can no longer act exactly as they like, or when they like. They must wait for the moment where subtle political manoeuvres have paved the way for armed action.

Of course, the so called appeal from the 'already overthrown Gabon Government is highly doubtful. But it is undeniable that the calls sent by East African Governments were genuine appeals for help. Nevertheless some kind of scenery has to be devised and set up before action can take place. And here, political and technical lessons are converging, because we might wonder what would happen if the mutineers had offered a protracted resistance.

We have reason to presume that an armed intervention already started would not be stopped just for this reason. But it still remains true that in such circumstances, imperialist calculations are founded on the hope that resistance is not going to last more than a few hours. In other words, they act on the assumption that the execution of such operations would be so swift as to offer no opportunity for African and world opinion to mobilize against the intervention.

FOREIGN MILITARY BASES STILL IN AFRICA

There is unfortunately another factor which tends to favour imperialist interventions: this is the anxiety of several African Heads of State, who, conscious of their unpopularity among the masses of their people, resort to foreign intervention to keep them in power. Mr. Tsiranana, President of Malagasy Republic, was, we must take note, exceptionally open when around November 1962, he stated openly that presence of strong French forces in his

country was strongly requested himself and his government. But several of his colleagues are likely to feel the same.

Anyway, the French Information Minister, did confirm this viewpoint when he disclosed previous French interventions in Mauritania, Cameroon (Ahidjo), Congo (Brazzaville), Chad and Niger. Official denials released in Mauritania and Chad are far from being convincing, and we have every reason to believe that French interventions disclosed by the gaullist Minister did actually take place.

Such then is the situation less than one year after Addis Ababa. The foreign military bases are still in Africa while worse than that French generals and officers are here and there serving African governments and thereby strengthening French positions in countries they are supposed to have left.

At the same time, Africa is also threatened, like every other country, by nuclear submarines, crusading all along the shores, by air-

borne troops, by rocket bases all along the Mediterranean Sea and by the very policies of imperialist countries.

RESTORATION OF NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

In England, the Labour M.P.'s themselves have come to provide the world with fresh evidence of their support for the Tory Government's defence policy. Mr. Denis Healey, a prominent Labour M.P., said in the House of Commons recently that British troops now engaged in police operations overseas were contributing more efficiently to Europe's defence than if they were manoeuvring in Germany.

This obviously implies that Europe's defence, i.e. defence of Western Europe and U.S. capitalism is linked up with the defence or restoration of neo-colonialist regimes in Africa.

But again, even to run to Africa to protect the so-called "free world", the British or the French, or eventually the Americans (whose nuclear submarines have their nests at Rota on

the southern coast of Spain, not far from the African shores), have to find a convenient political crisis inside the country to be "protected".

It is therefore obvious that African states should not only be united to be in a position of strength to oppose foreign interventions, but they must also ensure that no internal crisis offering a pretext to intervention arises.

This cannot be effectively ensured except through a regime actually supported by the masses themselves. Only in such a regime will the army be given no opportunity to think that the salvation of the country lies on them alone.

In the present circumstances it might be unplea-

sant, but it is also understandable that when the people's organisations are suppressed and their aspirations to independence and socialist progress frustrated, some should come to think that only the army can effect the necessary change.

Of course, military coups are not the proper means to liquidate neo-colonialism. Experiences in Congo (Brazzaville) and Dahomey have once more shown that only organised mass political action can overthrow these foreign-inspired regimes.

Therefore, anti-imperialist unity of African states can be achieved only on genuine popular regimes in which the mass political life will exert its influence both in the army and in every phase of national life.

In this Strange World

In this strange world where it would be easier to be happy, and pleasanter in the end, men torment themselves with the whips of greed and division,
It is true, in one sense, that tyranny hurts the tyrants most, nailing peculiar masks across their ravaged faces, and gives the oppressed the chance of an enhanced humanity.
But that is no excuse for tyranny all the same. The world deepens into a single perspective. Now every African suffering under apartheid and taps on my windowpane as he passes through the night towards our common dawn.

JACK LINDSAY
a poet against Apartheid

POETS' CORNER

Two Quotations . . .

"The Federal Republic of Germany is siding with the Salazar regime in the criminal war against Angola. The 80,000-strong Portuguese colonial army is not only supplied with Federal German weapons but also has Federal German instructors at its disposal"—said the head of the Angolan Government in exile, MR. ROBERTO HOLDEN in an interview in Cairo.
"It is believed that West German and N.A.T.O. troops are fighting on the side of Portugal in Mozambique"—says a statement which was issued by the African Independence Party of "Portuguese" Guinea in Dakar few days ago.

. . . and One Comment

Now, let's have the pastime to ponder
Over the question: Are we or aren't we to wonder
Over these two ugly news?
Are they a surprise or just two new proofs
That the old Bonn-Lisbon axis
In quicker rotation puts into practice
The West German policy
Of conquest-war-hypocrisy?

Well, we know that birds of a feather
Are of the habit to flock together,
And so do the old fascist sharks.
So it's no surprise to find the odd marks
"Made in West Germany" on bombs and guns
Handled by Portuguese and their kin-chums
In a concerted lust to hold sway
Over an African prey
Of fatten on blood, sweat and toil
Of those who live on their Africa's soil.

And so they're creeping like murderous pests
From Bonn, Lisbon and other nests
With weapons—to gain a new wealth.
But let them mind their fascist healths!

Gone are in Africa the olden times
Of white robbers' rule and endless crimes!
So let them warn, before it's late,
Remember the Hitler's fate!

LANDLORD

ONCE in mine eyes wast thou kind,
Goody and warm-hearted,
Furnishing for me and mine
A flat at modest rent,
Wherein to rest my weary bones
And calm my war-torn brain.
Having fought for thee and won
Against a fascist reign.
Traucherous smile,
False ray of hope,
Why did I feel secure?
Like a lamb unto the slaughter
Or a stag unto the lure.

—John Richards.

Who poisons the International Atmosphere?

"THE boycotting measures taken against Portugal and the South African Republic are disturbing. They poison the international atmosphere and disregard the freedom of speech and opinion"—was written in the West German paper "Frankfurter Allgemeine", of April 10th, 1964, relating to the joint position of the Afro-Asian countries and the socialist States against the regime in Lisbon and Pretoria at the World Conferences on Trade in Geneva.

Does it not mean to stand things at their head? According to the opinion of the West German paper, the international atmosphere is not poisoned by those who are killing women and children in Angola and cramming hundreds of thousands just like cattle into kraals, but by those who express their disgust at it in the name of humanity?

But, obviously, this strange "logic" of the West German papers is in the line with the official policy of the Bonn Government. When, last year in August,

the Vice-President of the West German Bundestag, Herr Dr. Richard Jaeger, returned from an "inspection trip" to the Portuguese colonies, he declared: "It is not Portugal but its opponents, who are endangering world peace." Is this policy not precisely reminding of the old trick: diving into a person's pocket and at the same time pointing one's finger at another person and exclaiming: "Hold up the thief!"?

Anyway, it is a fact, that just now, when all honest people are intensifying the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists and racists in South Africa, the Federal Republic once again demonstrates its affection towards Salazar and Verwoerd. Only recently the Charge d'Affaires of the exiled revolutionary Government of Angola in Cairo, Florentino Duarte, disclosed that West German officers are training Portuguese personnel in Angola and that they are going to be followed by men with "special orders". "We received news from reliable sources that soldiers of the West German Bundes—we are watching the ore and diamond mines in the central part of Angola", said Florentino Duarte. And only

recently it was learned too, that the Verwoerd regime, upon the consent of the West German Foreign Office, had distributed 20,000 brochures, in which it glorified the policy of apartheid.

Political circles in Bonn reproach the Afro-Asian countries and the socialist States to be "unfair" by boycotting the representatives of Portugal and South Africa, just as they did at the World Conferences on Trade in Geneva. "One should have an open ear for everybody and speak to everybody, also to one's opponent", they say.

But, permit the question, why then, does the West German Government categorically reject any talk with the Government of the German Democratic Republic on mutual understanding, disarmament and on the ban on nuclear weapon? Why do they grant the fascist Verwoerd a high proportion of fairness and, at the same time, denying it the anti-fascist Walter Ulbricht?

May be, these are undesirable questions to the persons responsible of the Bonn policy, but in the name of truth and justice, one cannot but put them. And they also give the answer to the question: Who poisons the international atmosphere?

AFRICAN DIARY

Continued from page 4

GHANA:
Speaking at a press conference in Accra, an African Nationalist leader, Mr. C. D. Dlamini, Secretary-General of the Ngwane National Liberation Congress of Swaziland has paid glowing tribute to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah for championing the African cause and for dedicating himself to the complete independence and Unity of Africa.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:
The Southern Rhodesian white minority leader, Ian Smith has paid an unexpected visit to Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi to discuss matters of mutual interest, and trade agreements between the two countries.

4th AUGUST, TUESDAY:
NIGERIA:
The Nigerian External Affairs Minister, Dr. Jaja Wachuku, has described as "false and absolutely untrue" charges levelled against him by Chief T. O. S. Benson, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, to the effect that Dr. Jaja Wachuku had misled the Nigerian Federal Government on the decision about the siting of the Secretariat and appointment of the Secretary-General for the Organisation of African Unity.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE):
About 800 (well armed) revolutionary forces were reported advancing towards Stanleyville and Bukavu regions of the Congo regions.

Meanwhile it was reported that small groups of light-armed troops of the revolutionary army have outflanked the National Army's Defences and have taken Bukavu, capital of Central Kivu Province and Lubongol, 80 miles from Bukavu.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:
Rev. Sithole, President of the Zimbabwe African National Union, who was reported to have issued a so-called subversive document has again been remanded in custody to appear before an Umthali court on August 24.

MALAWI:
The only white Minister in Dr. Kamuzu Banda's Government, Mr. Colin Cameron, has resigned.

Mr. Cameron who was Minister of Works said he "had no option" but to resign after a matter raised in the Cabinet which he could not support. He declined to comment on the subject.

KENYA:
Kenya's Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, Mr. Richard Achieng Okeno, has left Nairobi by air at the head of a 15-man goodwill mission to China and the Soviet Union.

U.A.R.:
Mr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the African Party for the "Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) has accused Britain, the United States, France and the Federal Germany of supplying the Portuguese Government with arms.

Mr. Cabral said even after victory, "Portuguese" Guinea "would not forget that these countries supported the Portuguese colonialists in their attempt to destroy his country."

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AN INSULT!

"TWO pounds and two months imprisonment". This is the judgement imposed by a London magistrate on one of the two thugs accused of assaulting Kenya Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, during his visit to Britain to attend the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference. The other accused was fined £25.

This judgement, to say the least, is a direct insult to the African heads of state who attended the Conference. Judging from the outrage felt by the people of Kenya and of all Africa over this scandalous episode, it is difficult to understand the contemptuous levity with which this matter has been treated. Is the British Government's protestations of regret over the incident a true reflection of the British attitude? May we not read in this the all-too-evident ungraceful condescension and patronage which most Britons profess to be affection and respect for their ex-colonials?

This judgement can either be interpreted as a travesty of justice, a deliberate outrage against the African peoples or an unconscious display of the contempt with which most Britons hold the African.

One cannot help but wonder what sort of judgement would have been given if a private visitor to Britain were so manhandled. One cannot help but wonder

whether the same judgement would have been given if, say the Prime Minister of Canada were so assaulted. One cannot help but wonder what the British press and people would have felt like if the Prime Minister of Britain were subjected to a similar indignity anywhere.

Yet a British magistrate considers it sufficient to impose such a penalty on the assailants of a head of state and an honourable guest of the British Government and people. And this after the people of Kenya have protested in the most vehement terms and threatened to withdraw from the Commonwealth. One wonders with dismay whether racism in Britain is only confined to the lunatic fringe of the British society—the members of the Nazi Party and the delinquent Teddy boys. One wonders whether this cancer has not corrupted the whole society.

The levity of this judgement is shocking in the extreme. It is a spit in the face, not only of the African members of the Commonwealth but also of all other members. For it means that no head of state is safe in Britain, unless of course it is a show of contempt only meant for the African. This demonstration is enough to show those African heads of state who take British protestations seriously how hollow these professions of friendship are.

NEO-FASCISM

Continued from page 1
certain no one misses this point, Goldwater himself propounds a philosophy to justify such means.

Making his acceptance speech, the President-elect said: "I would remind you that extremism in the defence of liberty is no vice; And let me remind you that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." The reports agree that this remark shocked the moderates at the Republican Party convention, but drew wild applause from the packed auditorium. Bells were rang in the faces of the few negroes present, as if to help these unfortunate citizens catch the point. Could it not possibly be the case that while Goldwater might have hurt the American intellect, he aroused applauding emotion in the American heart?

Goldwaterism is a threat to the world firstly because the phenomenon enjoys cross-section support in America and secondly because its foreign policy is a real threat to peace and concord. Support for Goldwater has been reported from the intellectuals and egg-heads of the East (the Ivy League ideologies) who, as prophets of the "new conservatism" are impatient of the moderation of the old hierarchy of the Republican Party; from the party organisations in the South; from hard-headed Congress politicians of the Mid-West; from the armament industries on the Pacific coast; from the businessmen of the new towns and rural areas that view state-assistance as a threat to individual drive; and from large sections of the people who yearn "for a free Enterprise Eden".

Again, the foreign policy of Goldwater is to put it mildly, dangerous. On defence, he "will maintain a superior not merely equal, military capability as long as the Communist drive for world

domination continues". We are back to the strategy of brinkmanship. For to American ruling circles, any change of government anywhere in the world which is unacceptable to them is part of the "communist drive for world domination".

On foreign policy, the stand is "victory for peace". And according to the Goldwater platform "there can be no peace, there can be no security until this goal is won.... It is accommodation, not opposition that encourages hostile nations... to remain aggressive... Republicans reaffirm their long-standing commitment to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America". This list of course includes all radically-minded states like Ghana, Algeria, U.A.R. Guinea, Mali and of course Cuba.

The United Nations is to become even more so a tool of American foreign policy. The relevant portion of the Goldwater platform reads: "Republicans support the United Nations. However, we will never rest in our efforts to revitalise its original purpose... We will press for a change in the method of voting in the General Assembly... that will reflect population disparities... We will never surrender to any international group the responsibility of the United States for its sovereignty, its own security and the leadership of the free world".

By this one stroke, Goldwater has cast doubt over the possible continuance of the policy of easing world tension. He has undermined the doctrine of peaceful co-existence. And he seems bent on using the



John Kennedy... East-West relations flickered like a candle in the wind when the assassin's bullet struck him down.

military might of the U.S.A. to lead the big capitalist nations into a "crusade for making the world safe for imperialism."

He hopes to attack and destroy the socialist states. In addition, he hopes that U.S.A., at the head of the Atlantic Alliance (U.S.A., Canada, Western Europe) will "guide the emergent nations of the world". Here of course "guide" should be read to mean "continue to exploit".

This is imperialist jingoism par excellence. It calls for a serious re-appraisal of accepted concepts and views on international relations. It does not make the doctrine of "peaceful co-existence" outmoded. But it certainly calls for a

serious re-thinking on how to give effect to this doctrine. In the light of this rumour in American politics, can one seek "peaceful co-existence" through a policy of appeasement with a U.S.A. led by Goldwater? Isn't it more realistic to approach "peaceful co-existence" via a global mobilisation of the forces opposed to imperialism and war? The world—that is the socialist countries, Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working class movements in the imperialist countries—must take seriously the view of the Goldwater platform that "it is accommodation, not opposition, that encourages a hostile nation... to remain aggressive." Some observers still

believe that Goldwater cannot win the 1964 U.S. Presidential Election. We hope they are right. However, it must be pointed out that Goldwaterism, whether or not, it is victorious at the November polls, will remain a threat to the world. For even if it does not capture the White House, Goldwaterism will exert a great pressure on Lyndon Johnson's Democratic Administration. The result will be a marked shift of the axis of American politics further to the right. Johnson, faced with this tidal wave of ultra-conservatism, may be forced into taking a more bellicose line in foreign affairs.

Already evidence of this is amassing. Congo has been subverted by U.S. imperialism and President Johnson has openly announced U.S. support for Moise Tshombe. In South East Asia, U.S. planes and warships have been given presidential orders to bomb and bombard North Vietnam. America is supporting that neo-colonialist regime known as Malaysia. And the pressure by U.S. big business on Cuba has been mounting in recent months.

The era of Kennedy is over. And to mark this the Republicans have given the world a Goldwater while President Johnson moves towards a "no Kennedy administration" by dropping the New Frontiers men.

It seems the world is heading for a dangerous new era in which nuclear blackmail will be employed to buttress and extend imperialist positions the world over.

The answer to this is not pacifism. Rather, it is a realistic policy of uniting all oppressed nations with all the socialist forces of the world into a mighty revolutionary movement that will deter U.S. imperialist adventurism.

WELCOME TO GHANA

STUDENTS have always played significant roles in all revolutionary struggles. Nor can their contribution be ignored in Africa's struggle against imperialism. Hence it is all the more regrettable that student activities in some progressive African countries have at times not only fallen below expectation, but been quite reprehensible and downright reactionary.

It is, therefore, always gratifying to see African students who are alive to the realities of our struggle and are aware of their responsibilities. The members of the Federation of African Students in France (FEANF) seem to have this awareness. The people of Ghana, therefore, are happy to welcome them into their midst, and sincerely hope that their enlightenment and ideological

maturity will grow with their growth in knowledge and trust that they will bear their full share of the task of creating a solid continental union Government in Africa.

Below is an extract of an article on Ghana published in The Student of Black Africa, organ of the Federation of African Students in France (FEANF)!

GHANA LEADS A COURAGEOUS FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF AFRICAN PEOPLE

THE most daring initiative aimed at the unity of the African peoples—as distinct from the unity of state apparatus—have been initiated by Ghana. In 1958, she convened two conferences of African independent states which were held in April and December of that year in Accra. Both of them took significant decisions aimed at organising the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle. The first conference saw only the gathering of the heads of state of the eight then independent countries: Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya,

Morocco, U.A.R., Sudan (Khartoum) and Tunisia. But the December conference was a Peoples Pan-African Conference where alongside with the heads of state were gathered the representatives of the parties and nationalist movements of the still dominated countries.

However, such a political line, which could have led to the Unity of action of the peoples themselves, aroused misgivings of the imperialists and of their African lackeys. Thus, the Pan-African Conference

was unable to have any real life; Liberia and Ethiopia deserted the conference of Independent countries, and took sides with Nigeria, which was to reach formal independence in 1960, in order to isolate Ghana. At the same time, the U.A.M. states made unceasing endeavours to attract Guinea and Mali, one way or the other, still in order to isolate Ghana, —and the to some extent succeeded. Only the action led by independent Algeria to "strengthen the courageous African policy of Dr. Nkrumah.

De-Colonisation and Neo-Colonialism in Relation to International Law

by Rais A. Tuzmukhamedov and Emmanuel B. Mensah

AN epoch-making social renovation of the world is now going on. National liberation revolutions, following socialist revolutions and influenced by them, take pace in this stormy process. These revolutions practically involve the whole of the so-called "third world".

Speaking at the conference of African fighters for freedom on June 4, 1962, President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana said that it was absurd for the colonialists to think that they would be able to retard the progress of history for ever. This process, he said, being an inevitable expression of objective law of the development of human society, raises many acute political questions in international relations, primarily those connected, firstly, with relations between states of the two diametrically opposite socio-economic systems and, secondly, with the position and the role of the colonial peoples and the young states. In a series of articles the authors have set themselves the task of discussing a number of international legal problems arising in connection with the second group of questions.

Like all other problems of international relations, the problems of the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism can be viewed from the positions of international law and only with due regard for this specific branch of the law.

To reveal the essence of modern international law it is sufficient to refer to its major source, the Charter of the United Nations, a significant feature of which

is that an unprecedented number of states (112) representing both the two socio-economic world systems and the three major political groups of the modern world, are parties to it. This imparts to it a special importance and great authority. The Charter of the Organisation of African Unity refers to the UN Charter too.

The UN Charter has consolidated the creation of the United Nations whose efforts are aimed first of all at "saving the coming generations from the scourge of war." (Preamble, Paragraph 1.)

In view of this, the authors of the Charter have confirmed three purposes of the United Nations: "to maintain international peace and security" (Ar. 1, par. 1), "to develop friendly relations among nations" (Ar. 1, par. 2) and "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." (Ar. 1, par.)

These aims—peace, development of friendly relations and international co-operation—are a component part of what is cal-

led peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence of states of the two opposite social-economic systems and its ensurance are the foundation and the purpose of modern general international law. Peaceful co-existence presupposes obligatory abolition of colonialism.

It appears from the Charter of the United Nations and from the documents of important conferences in Bandung (1955), Belgrade (1961) and Addis Ababa (1960-1963) that the principle of peaceful co-existence, as the most general principle of modern international law, includes: prohibition of the threat or use of force, settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, political independence and territorial integrity, sovereign equality and non-interference in internal affairs. (Ar. 2 and others of the UN Charter.)

At the insistence of the Soviet Union, the UN Charter confirmed the principle of self-determination of peoples. (Ar. 1, 55, 76.) This means that the principle was advanced as a necessary condition for ensuring peaceful co-existence, which is impossible, in its turn, without equality and self-determination of peoples.

The period of disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, set in after the enforcement of the UN Charter, demanded a clear revealing of the content of the principle of self-determination. It should be noted that as far back as September 1941, at a conference in London, the So-

viet Government proclaimed a special declaration in which it said that under the rights of the peoples to self-determination it understood the right of every people to establish freely such a social system and choose such a form of administration as it considers expedient and necessary for ensuring the economic and cultural prosperity of their country.

In the documents of the Bandung and the Belgrade conferences as well as in the historic Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the right of the peoples to self-determination is interpreted as, above all, the right of every people not only to separation but to a free choice of social and political systems, to free economic and cultural development.

Proceeding from this major right of the peoples, the representatives of 90 states, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, unanimously decided at the 15th session of the UN General Assembly on December 14, 1960 to proclaim international ban on colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

Thus, from the point of view of modern general international law, the problem of the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism can be viewed only in the light of the principles of peaceful co-existence and based on the absolute observance of the principle of self-determination of peoples and, consequently, international prohibition of colonialism.