

IN THIS ISSUE

SPEECHES  
AT THE  
LAUNCHING  
RECEPTION OF  
'NEO-  
COLONIALISM'

(See page 3)

# THE SPARK



Notes of the	
Week	2
Review of	
Fani-Kayode's	
Book	4
Parks and	
Gardens	5

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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

No. 161 2p.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1965

## TO FREE ZIMBABWE AND END INTERVENTION

# BUILD AN AFRICAN FORCE NOW

### EDITORIAL THE DANGER

IT IS now over a week since Ian Smith seized power in the name of the white settler minority—but still the African states have been unable to take decisive action to dislodge him.

Every hour that he remains in power strengthens the hand of those who are seeking to force acceptance of his regime's existence on an unwilling world.

Every hour that he remains in power enables him further to consolidate his links with his white supremacist accomplices in Africa south of the Zambezi.

For the Rhodesian ultras' seizure of power marks a new and dangerous stage in the implementation of a long-nurtured Imperialist "Grand Design"—the establishment of a white bastion in Africa south of the Zambezi, a bastion from which they hope white domination can eventually be restored over our entire continent.

As long ago as 1961, the then British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, looked forward in a confidential letter to "the creation of a Central and East African Federation to include Bechuanaland, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and conceivably parts of Mozambique and Katanga."

British spokesmen tried to dismiss the letter as a forgery—but there are already indications that it painted a true picture of the aims of die-hard imperialist elements in the south of our continent.

With a basis already laid for close military and economic co-operation between the Smith regime, the Portuguese colonialist authorities and Verwoerd, the imperialists hope to secure the "Zambezi line", thus preserving the southern tip of our continent for white domination.

But imperialism's plans are even more ambitious. They hope to extend their power still further north. Uganda, Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya, Congo (Brazzaville)—these stand high on the list of targets for imperialism's counter-offensive.

The installation of Tshombe in Leopoldville and the assault on Stanleyville marked a new stage in this counter-offensive. As the Paris "Tribune des Nations" wrote (19.2.65), the landing of paratroops in Stanleyville was only part of N.A.T.O.'s strategic plan. The aim was "a much vaster intervention which would transcend the frontiers of the Congo."

This was borne out in the months that followed, which were marked by a wave of assassinations of progressive leaders, plots to overthrow popular governments, military action to intimidate such governments, new attempts to divide the people by beating the drum of anti-Communism and new attempts to disrupt the O.A.U.

And in the background there functions the invisible empire of the monopolies that already stretches from the Cape to the Congo.

Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, Tanganyika Concessions, British South African Company, Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, De Beers Consolidates Mines Ltd.—these are the names that spell foreign domination throughout Africa south of the Equator.

A glance at the map will show that Zimbabwe occupies a key position in the centre of the white supremacists' northward thrust.

That is why Smith must be crushed, and crushed immediately. If he is allowed to consolidate his power, his regime will constitute a mortal threat not only to the freedom and very existence of the four million Africans of Zimbabwe itself, but to the cause of freedom and genuine national independence throughout Africa south of the Equator.

That is why the African states must act now to oust Smith. Either we act together to oust Smith now, or face the threat of each being picked off separately in the next stages of imperialism's counter-offensive. Here lies the danger.

EVENTS in Zimbabwe, where the rebel white supremacist regime of Ian Smith has seized power and is now busy consolidating its position, clearly demonstrate the vital necessity of the creation of an all-African military force.

Ian Smith—thanks to the weapons handed over to the settler regime by Britain—has at his disposal one of the largest, best-trained and best-equipped military forces in southern Africa.

Not only did Britain provide the weapons and the aircraft; she also vetoed a Security Council resolution proposed on the initiative of Ghana and supported by all African States which would have effectively prevented the arming of the white minority.

The dispatch of British forces to Zimbabwe would quickly lead to the collapse of the rebel forces which, strong though they are, will not be able to withstand vigorous and effective action by Britain.

### REBELS

Were Mr. Smith and his fellow rebels not white men, such effective and vigorous action would have been taken long ago—the British authorities are usually not slow in resorting to force against rebellious colonies.

But Britain has so far refused to use force to put down this rebellion by the white settler minority. One reason for the refusal is that there are powerful elements in the City of London and in Whitehall who have strong sympathy for Mr. Smith's racist regime.

The white supremacists also have influential sympathisers in the British Army. According to Andrew Wilson, Defence Correspondent of the London Observer:

"It is becoming clear that if Mr. Wilson had bowed to African pressure and committed British troops to suppress the Rhodesian rebellion, a considerable number of British officers would have resigned their commissions. They include a

number of officers at a battalion commander level."

In other words, if ordered to suppress the rebellion, some British officers would in effect have mutinied.

### "CURRAGH MUTINY"

The incident provides a revealing commentary on the alleged "non-political" role of the British officer caste: like the famous "Curragh Mutiny" before World War One, when British officers made clear their refusal to take action against die-hard Tories who were threatening armed rebellion if Ireland was given Home Rule, it demonstrates that the loyalties of this caste are in the ultimate analysis not to their country but to their class.

So far the British ruling class has succeeded, however, in avoiding an open split, a direct confrontation of factions such as that seen, for example, when the French generals came out openly against moves to secure an Algerian settlement.

Nevertheless, the tensions within the British ruling class, as reflected in the openly discussed possibility of British officers refusing to obey orders to suppress the rebel settlers, have been sufficient to block any effective action against Smith's regime.

As a result, the four million Africans of Zimbabwe remain under the settler dictatorship.

### EFFECTIVE ACTION

What is more, Britain has not only so far refused to take effective action herself—she has also made clear that she will do her best to prevent anybody else taking effective action. As Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart told the Security Council:

"The British Government is resolved that attempts to use military force in Rhodesia would not only bring misery to millions but would hinder

a right and strong solution of the problem."

Mr. Stewart, it will be recalled, has been one of the most zealous champions of America's use of force in Vietnam; he is also the member of a government which is using force in Southern Arabia and in Malaysia.

Clearly, Mr. Stewart has double standards—one for white men and another, quite different one for Africans and Asians.

British spokesmen at the United Nations have already hinted that Britain will make use of the veto to block any effective action to oust Smith.

And, speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Wilson, who from the very outset made it clear that he was referring the issue to the United Nations only because if he didn't somebody else would, made a revealing remark about what he described as the possibility of "the Red Army in blue berets"—in other words, of a United Nations force which would include troops from the socialist countries.

### CONCERTED PLANS

Mr. Wilson might not object to a U.N. force made up of troops from the imperialist countries and countries associated with them—but he is not prepared to tolerate a force which includes troops from the countries which have been the most vigorous and consistent champions of the African liberation movement in the United Nations and elsewhere.

The position is therefore, that Britain refuses to act herself, and is determined to block action by the United Nations.

This being the case, the African states themselves must act to free Zimbabwe.

This fact is winning growing acknowledgement among the African states. Ghana has already declared its readiness to make troops available for

the restoration of law and order, and Kwame Nkrumah has called for a meeting of the Defence Ministers of the member-countries of the Organisation of African Unity to prepare concerted plans.

President Sekou Toure of Guinea has announced that his country is already raising a military contingent, and has likewise urged fellow African nations to prepare for collective military action.

The African states, he declared in cables to all African Heads of State, should consider themselves in a state of war with the rebel regime in Salisbury.

Zambia, Zimbabwe's northern neighbour, has deployed troops along the border and warned Smith, who has massed troops on his side of the border that if Zambia is invaded "we will not hesitate to meet force with force."

### SANCTIONS

The Nigerian Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, has declared that there can be no other remedy for rebellion than to crush it by force—"a rebellion is rebellion and you cannot put it down by sanctions alone... other measures must be applied as well."

President Nyerere of Tanzania has likewise expressed doubt that sanctions alone will be effective, and has declared that if the United Nations does not accept the responsibility "the African countries must be prepared to take action on their own."

President Massemba-Debat of Congo (Brazzaville), also declaring sanctions to be inadequate, described the use of force as a "humanitarian action" to save the four million Africans of Zimbabwe.

Clearly, the implementation of Ghana's proposal for the convening of a meeting of O.A.U. Defence Ministers constitutes the urgent next step.

### NEO-COLONIALISM

DR. Kwame Nkrumah's book 'Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism' exposes the way in which monopoly capitalism, driven out of its colonialist strongholds, seeks to perpetuate the imperialist relationship.

The apologists of capitalism can scarcely deny the predatory nature of the system, because for generations, the peoples of the world have suffered at its hands, especially the working people and the colonial peoples.

These apologists now try to answer the kind of exposure which Kwame Nkrumah's book typifies, by pretending that capitalism is now different.

Over the past decade we have seen a series of books dealing with modern capitalism which seek to prove that in these days, the real controllers of the economy are the managers, or that capitalism is no longer an exploitative system because it is 'welfare capitalism' or that it is changed because there is no mass unemployment in the main capitalist states and there they enjoy 'the affluent society'.

Now the latest claim is that capitalism is being planned and that because of this the differences between socialism and capitalism are fast disappearing.

We believe there are those in Africa, who are tending to accept these arguments, because they fail to understand the basic features of the systems. They are seeking to smuggle capitalist values, economic theory and practice into our societies.

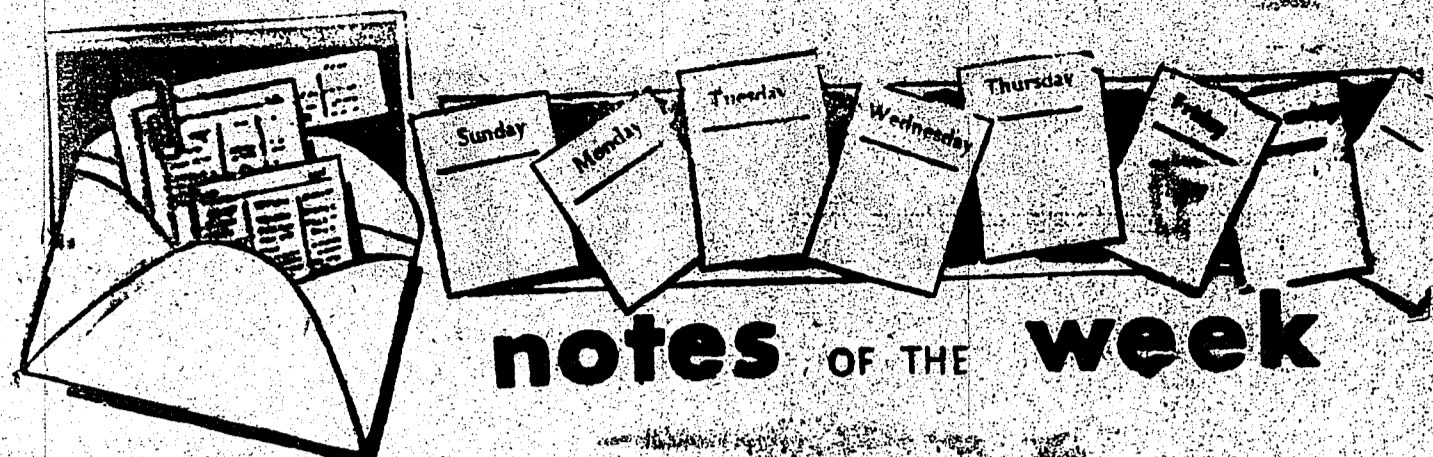
Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has gone a long way to explode the myth in 'Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism'.

We have invited Mr. R. Bellamy, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Economics at the University of Ghana to write a series of articles dealing with the questions as they are presented in such books as Galbraith's 'Affluent Society', and Andrew Shonfield's recent book 'Modern Capitalism' which was mentioned in the review of Kwame Nkrumah's book by R. Palme Dutt.

The series will show the fallacy of the theories of planned capitalism and expose these efforts to discredit the validity of scientific socialism. We urge our readers to make sure now of their copies of 'The Spark' which will carry the first of these articles next week.

—Editor

Continued on page 4



notes of the week

PRESIDENT Johnson is feeling an increasing number of pressures from inside the United States as well as from outside.

Courageous protests from peace lovers are mounting to try and bring an end to the war in Viet Nam. The obviously contradictory situation in which 2 million dollars a day are spent on the war, while sections of the American people, especially the Afro-Americans see poverty as their daily companion, is presenting him with difficult choices.

American strategy at present is to try and share the burden of Vietnam, both its military burden and its political burden. The Johnson Administration wants to try and demonstrate to the American people that it is not isolated in its continuing aggression in Viet Nam and to this end is agitating for its allies to send even token forces to join the American troops.

To try and still demands to deal with the poverty and unemployment problem, it is rumoured that President Johnson is to transfer Mac Namara, the present Defence Secretary, with big responsibilities for the Viet Nam War, to the sphere of trying to rebuild the image of the affluent society. Mr. Johnson is hoping to present a New Deal image to the American people who are becoming increasingly concerned at the growing numbers of American casualties in Viet Nam, the lack of military success and growing political isolation.

To underline the importance of the Viet Nam war in world affairs and the way in which all kinds of apparently unrelated consequences flow from it, we should keep a close eye on present moves and contacts between the new West German Government and the United States administration.

Seeing Johnson's embarrassments the West Germans are seizing the opportunity to press their claim for control and possession of nuclear weapons as part of the NATO multilateral force. If Johnson cedes to these demands it will release a new and dangerous source of tension in world affairs, which are already dangerous enough. The West Germans will give support to the war in Viet Nam and in return will extend their grip on NATO. They hope to gain control of nuclear weapons as a threat to the German Democratic Republic and the Socialist states, in the hope that they can regain the territories stolen for them by Hitler but lost in their defeat.

Sometimes we fail to see the interconnection of events in the heart of Western Europe and what takes place in other continents. It is evident that the fight of the Vietnamese against imperialism, the fight of the Americans against waste and poverty, the fight of the people against the possession by the West

of nuclear weapons, and the fight to defend the socialist world are all facets of the same struggle for freedom from domination, political, economic and social by monopoly capitalism. The fight of the ordinary man and woman for freedom and peace, and plenty no matter where he fights, is the fight against imperialism.

of nuclear weapons, and the fight to defend the socialist world are all facets of the same struggle for freedom from domination, political, economic and social by monopoly capitalism. The fight of the ordinary man and woman for freedom and peace, and plenty no matter where he fights, is the fight against imperialism.

Building Unity

A MEETING of delegations from the Communist Party of South Africa and the Communist Party of Great Britain held recently in London represents a new landmark in the long-standing relations of friendship, understanding and practical co-operation between the two parties.

The British delegation, said a communique issued after the meeting, saluted the courageous stand and leadership of the heroes of the South African liberation movement, both Communist and non-Communist, who have faced imprisonment, torture and even death in the struggle for freedom.

It recalled the bravery and integrity of such leaders as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and scores of others who, from Verwoerd's jails, continue to inspire the struggle of the South African people for democracy and national liberation.

Proud tribute was paid to the memory of Vuyisile Mini, Zinakehe Mkhabela, and Wilson Khayinga, who went to their deaths rather than betray their comrades.

The British delegation pledged that the Communist Party of Great Britain would do all within its power to rally ever more thousands of the British people to demand an end to British imperialist support for Verwoerd's shameful regime.

The South African delegation expressed its great appreciation of the many acts of solidarity and practical help shown by the British Communist Party towards the struggle in South Africa.

It noted in particular the special measures of support which followed the 1960

Sharpeville massacre and the valuable role being played by the British Communist Party's press and its paper the Daily Worker. The South African representatives, whose party is obliged to work underground, gave a detailed review of the situation in their country and explained the conditions of their struggle.

They noted that the decision of the liberation movement to prepare for the armed overthrow of the white supremacy state remained basically correct and stressed that the basic task was still the strengthening and coherence of the united front of national liberation in the form which it had achieved in many years of struggle, the Congress alliance.

Both delegations expressed complete opposition to the continued rule of Southern Rhodesia by the white settler, minority and expressed their complete solidarity with the struggle of the four million African people and their demands for the suspension of the existing Constitution, the release of the political prisoners, and the drawing up of a new Constitution based on majority rule.

Imperialism has tried hard to isolate the African liberation movement from its allies, the enemies of imperialism in the imperialist countries themselves. It has tried especially hard to isolate the national liberation movement from the Communist movement.

The meeting between the South African and British Communists marks a new step forward in the drive to strengthen the unity of the anti-imperialist front.

OPERATION PROTEST

THE response of the people to Smith's illegal declaration was expressed in demonstrations throughout the world.

In Bulawayo the transport boycott of the industrial workers was charged and batoned by Smith's police—a grim foretaste of things to come unless we break Smith here and now.

Young people, especially students, moved out onto the streets in Moscow, London, Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam, and Accra, showing the generous response of young people everywhere when the people are being oppressed.

Socialist Government throughout the world has condemned Ian Smith's action. In the German Democratic Republic, the German-African Society has issued a detailed statement condemning the act and characterising it as a threat to world peace.

London has seen almost daily demonstrations organised by the students, the Movement for Colonial Freedom and the Young Communist League.

In British provincial towns the call to protest has also been taken up and the main streets of the cities echoed with the calls for

support of the people of Zimbabwe.

In Accra, the demonstration of the youth was supplemented by the march of the National Council of Ghana Women to the British High Commissioner's Information Centre.

The staff at the University of Ghana expressed its opposition to Smith in a resolution.

The London Communist Party celebrating the 48th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, presented a resolution to the audience over a thousand strong, protesting to the British Government and presenting demands which would bring independence to the majority. The resolution was taken by several hundred people to 10 Downing Street, home of the British Prime Minister.

While it is the actions of the people of Zimbabwe themselves, which will win their freedom, we are sure that every action on their behalf, showing the support of the youth, the women, the workers, the intellectuals throughout the world will be a source of inspiration and encouragement; Smith will try to cut the people off but our cries in support of their demands will be heard.

DIARY

OCTOBER 26:

GHANA: Presidents Modibo Keita of Mali, Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon and Mokhtar Ould-Daddah of Mauritania, left by air for their respective countries today after attending the third African Summit in Accra.

ZANZIBAR: Zanzibar newspaper "Zanzibar Voice" has published an article urging the liquidation of British war bases in the territories of independent African States.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Directors of African Studies at ten Universities in the United States have called on the U.S. Government to urge Britain to obtain peaceful independence under majority rule in Rhodesia.

TUNISIA: President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia will pay a three-day official visit to Niger in December at the invitation of President Hamani Diori of Niger.

ALGERIA: After an all-out drive to win a postponement of the Afro-Asian Summit Conference due to be opened in Algiers in November 5, the People's Republic of China indicated, "she would not attend the meeting of Foreign Ministers" due to start on October 28.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): Premier Evariste Kimba, the newly appointed Congo (Leopoldville) head, disclosed today that his government's decision to expel mercenaries hired by Tshombe would not apply to foreigners bound by contract to the national Congolese army. ZAMBIA: A Conference of 12 East African countries and Great Britain was due to open in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia today.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Premier Harold Wilson today concluded the first round of talks with the minority settlers' spokesman, Ian Smith, on the white minority's threat to seize independence.

GHANA: Ghana has stepped down in favour of Nigeria's offer to house the Headquarters of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Lagos.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, now in Salisbury for talks with the white minority settlers' spokesman, Ian Smith, on the white minority's threat to seize independence, today met the two African Nationalist leaders, Mr. Joshua Nkomo and Rev. N. Sithole.

BASUTO-SWAZI-BECHUANA-LAND: The United Nations General Assembly's fourth committee has held brief session in New York to discuss British protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland and adjourned until today when a general debate was expected to open.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA: Apartheid spokesman has told the International Court at the Hague, Holland, that the case brought against her by Liberia and Ethiopia was part of a joint political campaign by independent African states to secure independence for South-West Africa.

NIGERIA: Nigeria's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Nuhu Bamali, has said in Paris, France today that "the people of Nigeria and France should be told that Nigeria still condemns France's atomic bomb test and added that "only military grounds we can never condone them".

\* Agumbiame Bamihe, head of the United Progressive Grand Alliance Bureau of Information in Western Nigeria and Ayo Ojewumi, editor of the Nigeria Tribune—mouthpiece of the Action Group, have appeared before the Ibadan High Court charged with seditious publications.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Southern Rhodesian nationalist has been jailed for five years by a racist court for allegedly "intimidating" African women into going to the Salisbury airport to meet the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson last Monday.

SOMALIA: The Republic of Somalia and Ethiopia have agreed to discontinue hostilities and press propaganda against each other, it is announced in Mogadishu.

NIGERIA: Alhaji Isa Wali, Nigerian High Commissioner in Ghana, left Accra today by air for Algeria, to join his country's delegation to the Afro-Asian Foreign Ministers' meeting opening in Algiers tomorrow. \* President Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, has commended President Nkrumah's desire to sustain and make stronger the bonds of friendship and understanding between Ghana and Nigeria.

GHANA: President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, speaking to newsmen during a tour of industrial projects at Tema today, praised Ghana's economic advancement since independence in 1957.

GHANA: President Sekou Toure of Guinea before flying home declared that, the fact that most of the proposals at the conference of African Heads of State and Government were accepted unanimously showed that African leaders had realised the importance of working in concert. \* President Kwame Nkrumah has urged the United States to work harder towards the maintenance of world peace and security.

GHANA: Ghana has re-affirmed its opposition to the proposed multilateral nuclear force for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation countries as proposed by the United Nations.

UGANDA: The Uganda Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote, has said that his people would continue to associate and co-operate fully with "our neighbour in East and Central Africa through the Organisation of African Unity, the East African Common Service Organisation and the various Commonwealth organisations".

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: While 44 Afro-Asian states have in a resolution at the United Nations, called on Britain to use force if necessary to enforce African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, British Premier Harold Wilson has made it clear to the territory's nationalist leaders that, Britain will never use military force on white settlers in the event of unilateral declaration of independence.

OCTOBER 29: NIGERIA: The Nigeria Government owned "Morning Post" has praised Ghana for stepping down for Nigeria's bid for the sitting of the U.N. conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) headquarters in Lagos. U.A.R.: President Gamel Nasser of the United Arab Republic left Accra today by air for Mali for State visit as part of an African tour. He was seen off at the Accra Airport by President Nkrumah.

SUDAN: The President of Sudan's Supreme Council, Mr. Ismail Al Azhari announced the resignation of his National Unionist Party Ministers from the four-month-old coalition government headed by Mr. Mohammed Armed Mahgoub.

OCTOBER 30: GHANA: The Government of Ghana has condemned the proposed appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the best means of consulting the Rhodesian people on the proposed constitution, describing "a betrayal of the four million unrepresented African inhabitants of the colony."

CAMEROON: President, Kwame Nkrumah's proposals for a Union Government of Africa at Accra Summit of the Organisation of African Unity has been

strongly supported by the bulletin of the Government owned Cameroun Press Agency in Yaounde.

CONGO (Brazzaville): President Alphonse Massemba-Debat of the Congo (Brazzaville) in a nation-wide broadcast to his people on his return from the Accra Summit declared that the conference "has given Africa a reason to believe in its unity and its vitality".

SOMALIA: Somalians want to see no more American Peace Corps volunteers on their soil, Mr. Ali Journals, chairman of the National Socialist Congress Party of Somalia, announced this, at a public meeting in Mogadishu.

U.A.R.: President Gamel Nasser of the United Arab Republic was today due to arrive in Guinea from Mali for a three-day state visit, according to Radio Conakry.

CONGO (Brazzaville): The Brazzaville Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. David Charles Ganao, today announced that the two Congo Republics had agreed on the creation of a joint commission to study ways of sorting good relations between the two countries.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The formation of the Royal Commission has been condemned and rejected outright by the two nationalist leaders, Joshua Nkomo and Rev. N. Sithole representing the African majority in a state of inflation.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA: Mr. James Kozonguizi leader of the South-West African National Union, speaking to newsmen today at Accra airport before flying to London after attending the O.A.U. Summit Conference said that his party had been tremendously inspired by the outcome of the conference.

SOUTH AFRICA: South African apartheid regime's extravagant spending on war materials including planes, submarines, and the building of a nuclear reactor at the cost of £1,800,000 (4,300,000 cedis) has put the country's economy in a state of inflation.

MALAWI: Dr. Kamuzu Banda, the Malawi Prime Minister, today paid a state visit to President Jomo Kenyatta at his home in Gatundu, 30 miles from Nairobi.

ALGERIA: Military delegations from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are among guest from about 60 countries who were to watch a military parade in Algiers today to mark the 11th anniversary celebrations of Algeria's revolution against French colonial rule.

\* The Afro-Asian Summit Conference today appeared to be off following an agreement in principle among Foreign Ministers and delegation heads for adjournment.

UPPER VOLTA: President Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta has said in Ouagadougou that a rejuvenation of his country's National Assembly (the building is 30 years old) had taken place in order to inject dynamism into the country.

ALGERIA: The Afro-Asian Foreign Ministers meeting in Algiers have officially postponed the Afro-Asian Summit Conference indefinitely.

U.A.R.: President Gamel Nasser of United Arab Republic has stated in a message to President Nkrumah of Ghana today that he was sure the success of the O.A.U. Summit would eventually lead to African Unity and to the prosperity of the people of Africa.

GHANA: President Nkrumah today speaking at the Ghana Air Force Day at Takoradi stressed that Ghana expected her Armed Forces to be in the front line of her socialist revolution—"a revolution which has as its basic and overriding aim, work and happiness of the people of Ghana".

# Speeches At A London Reception To Mark The Publication Of Kwame Nkrumah's 'Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage Of Imperialism'

## 'He Relies Solely on the Awakened People'

by Professor W. E. ABRAHAM  
(Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana)

IN every age and clime, history throws up men whose lives are dominated by a few compelling themes. Kwame Nkrumah is such a man. Throughout his life, he has combined a supreme self-discipline and an unshakable conviction in the energetic pursuit of the great themes of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, freedom, unity and development, themes which for us, the dispossessed of the earth, are of compelling urgency. Driven by these themes, Kwame Nkrumah has today become the foremost apostle of African unity and of the full socialisation of wealth.

In what must be regarded as a barrage of writing including *Towards Colonial Freedom, What I mean by Positive Action, Ghana, I Speak of Freedom, Africa Must Unite, Consciencism*, and now *Neo-colonialism*, there is a palpable organic connection, through which Dr. Nkrumah starting with an analysis of colonialism, which until recently conditioned the life of every African and Asian, postulates positive action as a means of overcoming it.

In this way, he laid a claim to freedom and made for it a bid which has become successful almost all over the African continent.

Of course, I exclude this morning's gross act of rebellion in Southern Rhodesia. On the night of Ghana's independence, Dr. Nkrumah made the statement that the independence of Ghana would be meaningless unless it was linked with the total liberation of the African continent.

He felt that no single once-colonised country in Africa relying on its own ability could prevent a re-colonisation of itself, or a continued domination of its leading organisations and policies by a power which only recently colonised it, or indeed a re-colonisation by any marauding great power, anxious to move into other men's vacated shoes.

Only a combination of the freedoms of independent African countries can be successfully pitted against neo-colonialist assault.

The prime reason for this is not hard to find. Since colonialism is characterised by economic exploitation of the subject territory, organs of exploitation soon become strong enough to be able to dispense with the on the spot protection of their metropolitan governments.

The attainment of a formal independence by a territory does not therefore in itself mean that the characteristic economic nexus whereby its wealth was siphoned away has now been corrected.

Dr. Nkrumah writes: "...the essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside."

It is clear that a state which is so subjected can have no real autonomy of policy and action.

Due to the foreign control of its economy system and political policy, it becomes unable to impart a direction and a momentum to the development of its people, it is unable to decide how they wish to live and at what pace they propose to live.

Such a state is not a state which acts on behalf of its own people, but acts really on behalf of foreign interests.

Dr. Nkrumah exposes diverse ways in which colonialism in its classical expression merely gives way to neo-colonialism. In actual fact, neo-colonialism occurs in a combination of ways.

Thus, the same country may find itself militarily garrisoned by foreign troops; its imports controlled and regulated by

foreign agencies; its foreign exchange earnings manipulated by foreign treasuries and banks; its investment dominated and dictated by foreign consortiums; and metropolitan citizens ensconced in the upper reaches of its civil administration.

It is evident that a state which finds itself thus taken over has no claim to any autonomy of policy or action from the point of view of the harmonious development of its people.

For the reasons and motivation of neo-colonialism are the same as those of colonialism, both of which are, with a single-minded dedication, aimed at the impoverishment of their victims in order that soaring dividends can continue to be declared at home.

In this way, the people of a territory which is independent in name come to be cruelly cheated out of any prosperity which independence might reasonably be expected to bring.

Even the pattern of foreign investment in neo-colonised territories proves that financial oligarchies suffer from a power complex and galloping greed in their bid, to use the author's words, for "the monopoly of actual and potential sources of raw materials and outlets for manufactured goods."

This investment seldom pays over-riding heed to the needs and prosperity of the people, and results notwithstanding its theoretical independence, in a state being prevented from deciding the purposes of investment within its territory, prevented from directing the modalities of the investment.

It is considerations such as this which lead Dr. Nkrumah in his book to describe neo-colonialism in its working as power without responsibility, and exploitation without redress.

In chapter after chapter, Dr. Nkrumah follows the far-flung connections between industry after industry, concern after concern, firm after firm. Like a fascinating piece of detection, he leads the reader through the most intricate mazes and brings us back to the same nerve centres.

The revelation is terrifying. World economy is shown to be controlled and masterminded by a relative handful of individuals, who indeed wield power over the world and control its destiny without being responsible to the world or accountable to it.

This financial and economic totalitarianism has spread local desolation in Africa.

Africa is today full of trade accounts which won't balance, soaring deficit budgeting which cannot be serviced, increased efficiency in the production of raw materials which brings lower earnings, indigenous factories which are grinding to a halt, a frenzied disembowelment of its mineral entrails which foreign industrial oligarchies baton on, and an intolerable paralysis of poverty which is the new slavery.

Africa is today more than ever, the burden bearer of the world.

And yet, we find apologists of neo-colonialism who deny the existence of poverty, dismissing it, not as the oppression of exploited people, but as a mere statistical segment of world society almost, for example, like a toe-nail.

In the description of exploited peoples as a mere statistical segment, such apologists really seek to blind us to the real causes of poverty, namely the exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few; they seek to gloss over that corrective application which should eliminate poverty and restore true autonomy with prosperity; after all,

when all is said and done, only the wealthy are truly free.

And, yet, Africa is by no means poor. It is Africans who are poor. Africa herself is a wealthy continent, the repository of much of the agricultural and mineral bounty which God has planted in this earth.

It is indeed this sheer wealth which provokes its present-day colossal depredation and mesmerises the financial oligarchies, who mercilessly suck the richness from her veins.

Today's empires are not political, but economic. As Dr. Nkrumah writes:

"Here is 'empire': the empire of finance capital, in fact if not in name, a vast sprawling network of inter-continental activity on a highly diversified scale that controls the lives of millions of people in the most widely separated parts of the world, manipulating whole industries and exploiting the labour and riches of nations for the greedy satisfaction of a few. Here resides the mainspring of power, the direction of policies that stand against the advancing tide of freedom of the exploited people of Africa and the world. Here is the adamant enemy of African independence and unity, braced in an international chain of common interest that regards the likely coming together of the new nations as a major blow at its continued domination of the resources and economies of others."

That economic empire which today rules Africa and distorts Africa's economy is assisted by a policy of fragmentation. Africa is divided into states, none of which can seriously pretend to be economically viable. They are all sinking in a mire of public indebtedness.

Not one of them has the economic size to create and sustain a modern economy. All of them respond in varying degrees to pressures to become client states. A few of them have capitulated altogether. Most of them are small enough to be tormented by tribal rivalry. Many are riveted by small time politicking.

For all, as long as this condition persists, they will continue to depend on private financial oligarchies, and they will comport themselves in such a manner as to deserve the reward of the crumbs which fall to them from the massive exploitation of the resources of their own continent.

Dr. Nkrumah does not stand against financial and industrial association. Indeed, he himself is an advocate of such associations between African states. He also recognises the inevitability of African countries having economic relations with similar foreign associations.

"It is impossible," he says, "for any of us to avoid dealing with monopoly in some form or other. But it is in the nature of our arrangements with the monopolies that the freedom or otherwise of the African states lies."

He writes further: "...The struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed."

Unless the relation is creative, and brings prosperity to the African States themselves, it will eventually be self-frustrating, for it will rocket up the indebtedness of the African States to such proportions as to make further commitment impracticable."

A malaise which can today be corrected by an understanding adjustment will, if not put right, become radical, and lead to acts of desperation.

This is a tragedy which can be foreseen, and must be prevented. The danger to peace springs not from the action of those who can assist by making the terms of trade equitable, by assuring African States of just returns on the exploitation of their own resources; those who can assist today by such steps to arrest the growing poverty and impoverishment of Africa will, if they do not, be tomorrow as guilty of the consequences as those who actually provoke such consequences then.

"The danger to world peace," says Dr. Nkrumah, "springs not from the action of those who seek to end neo-colonialism but from the inaction of those who allow it to continue."

Dr. Nkrumah argues that African States can themselves improve their position by taking certain definite steps. Their great weakness consists in the economic unviability of each one of them.

If the African States combined they would be bringing to their marriage not their manifold economic weaknesses but a combined economic strength.

The economic fibre which runs through all of them has been grown by the financial and industrial oligarchies which operate in Africa.

There is therefore already a basis economic and financial connectivity in Africa which justifies union and makes it feasible.

The greater single scope which a united Africa can offer to foreign investment should be a successful inducement for reaching more equitable and more deeply rewarding arrangements.

We live in an age of mass societies, an age in which the masses are emerging as the real determinants of history. Mr. Harold Wilson in 1953 called, in a book quoted by Dr. Nkrumah, for a war on poverty. President Truman, had earlier also called for such a war, a war, he said, "against man's ancient enemies... poverty, disease, hunger and ill-trace."

Dr. Nkrumah urges that whatever wars may have been won since 1951 none of them is the war against poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy. This, nevertheless, is the war of the peoples, the war of mankind; the war which alone, if won, can bring tone freedom and dignity to the peoples of the earth.

Mankind has the resources, the skill and the ingenuity to win such a war. All that is lacking is the will to break the mesmerism of mere words and get down to the task itself.

Neo-colonialism gives us a depressing catalogue of those economic subtleties which increases the gap between the poor and the rich; but the book is as a whole one of optimism. It tells us that the gap can be breached by united action and purposeful action. It tells us that in Africa this united and purposeful action lies within our grasp.

Dr. Nkrumah has always emphasised the primacy of political action in social affairs. He calls for a political decision on the part of African leaders, whereby they can combine the strength of their states to bring an end to exploitation and mass injustice.

For the effectiveness of political action, he relies solely on the resolution and power of an awakened people, a people able and willing, themselves, to cancel the bonds which hold them back; he says, "when all is said and done, it is the so-called little man, the fighter for independence who decides. And he invariably decides for freedom."

## Political Theory Backed With Action

By Dr. EKOW DANIELS  
(Deputy Attorney-General)

THE publication of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's monumental book on neo-colonialism is further testimony of his wisdom, perspicacity and foresight. The contents of this classic work portray him as a man of indomitable character.

When you have merely scanned the book, you are left in no shade of doubt that Kwame Nkrumah is sincere, fearless and realistic.

He is a man who has always backed his political theories with positive action. As he observed in *Consciencism*: "Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty".

Indeed anyone who has watched Ghana's progress under the leadership of this great statesman cannot fail to acknowledge the fact that every political step taken by him has had its basis in sound political theory.

### THE TACTICS

Thus the tactics he has used to fight against colonialism owe their foundation to the thesis propounded in his *Towards Colonial Freedom* (1948). This great little book, which was an effective theoretical tool against imperialism has since been supplemented by *Consciencism*—the philosophy and ideology for de-colonisation.

When Ghana attained her independence in 1957, Osagyefo through the pages of his autobiography, *Ghana* pledged to use the independence of our country to help free the other African dependent countries.

No one can overlook his positive contribution in that direction. The facts are there. Around 1961 the liquidation of colonialism in Africa was well under way, and without delay the author, through the medium of his fourth book *I Speak of Freedom*, called attention to the necessity for the consolidation of independence.

*Africa Must Unite* takes us a stage further. In that book he advocates the early formation of a continental Union Government of Africa. He sets out to prove very convincingly that it is only through the creation of such a machinery that Africa will be truly free.

Now that Africa is on the march to secure real and genuine continental unity, she is being plagued by the threat of what the author has described as neo-colonialism.

The imperialists have a tendency of rejecting outright any political theory, which exposes their system however scientific that may be. Thus when in 1916 Lenin, building on Marxism, exposed capitalism as the highest stage of imperialism he was described in certain circles as a political upstart. If we are true to ourselves we must admit that events in recent years have confirmed his thesis.

Similarly with the rapid disintegration of colonialism the "colonial powers" wrongly assumed that once they handed over legal sovereignty to the nationalists, all would be quiet and that the label "colonialist" would no longer stick.

This is why when Osagyefo started preaching against neo-colonialism they did all they could to silence him. One of the culprits is a former British Prime Minister, who in an address to the Nigerian Parliament in 1964 made the following remark:

"Neo-colonialism has no place in Britain's political dictionary. It is a slander which should be allowed to evaporate like the hot air which it is."

Kwame Nkrumah was not daunted by such a sweeping and inaccurate statement for in the pages of his latest book, *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, he, with his powerful analytical mind and a remarkable flair for supporting his theories with concrete examples, has once and for all proved beyond doubt that the evils of neo-

colonialism do in fact exist. The book falls into three main parts. Firstly, we are given an insight into the essence of a mechanism of the problem. Secondly, incontrovertible facts and figures are supplied to illustrate the workings of the system and lastly, solutions are offered for its final liquidation.

Neo-colonialism is really the prolongation of colonialism, by other means, but not wholly economic. It is also the worst form of imperialism.

"For those who practise it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress".

To-day the greater portion of Africa is independent, yet when one looks behind the veil of their legal sovereignty one is shocked to notice that dying colonialism is attempting to rule from the grave.

For example by the stringent doctrine of state succession, newly independent states have had to inherit a legacy of obligations sprung on them through the actions of the departing colonialists.

These obligations are usually sustained by a number of unconscionable treaties entered into between two or more colonial powers on behalf of their dependent countries which were never consulted.

Thus the arbitrary boundaries fixed by them have tended to become barriers instead of links. It must be reiterated that so long as Africa is divided by artificial boundaries so long will the neo-colonialist be able to thrive therein, so long will Africa's economy become vulnerable.

### BY TRICKERY

Who in his right senses can deny the fact that the border disputes in Africa to-day owe their origins to the designs of the colonial administration?

Who can dispute the fact that most of the agreements between the colonialists and Africans were brought about as a result of duress?

The trouble in Southern Rhodesia is a vivid example of acquisition of land by trickery. It is an "excellent example of the workings of neo-colonialism and of the practical difficulties to which the system gives rise".

More pernicious is the system which enables a colonialist administration to leave Africa by one door and return by the other. These methods of exodus and re-entry are so well expressed by the author that I may be permitted to quote him *in extenso* (page 246):

"The first is retention by the departing colonialists of various kinds of privileges which infringe on our sovereignty; that of setting up military bases or stationing troops in former colonies and the supplying of 'advisers' of one sort or another. Sometimes a number of 'rights' are demanded: land concessions, prospecting rights for minerals and/or oil; the 'right' to collect customs, to carry out administration, to issue paper money, to be exempted from customs duties and/or taxes for expatriate enterprises; and, above all, the 'right' to provide 'aid'. Also demanded and granted are privileges in the cultural field; that Western information services be exclusive; and that those from socialist countries be excluded".

Nevertheless, we are yet to be convinced that in the year of our Lord, 1965, it is the buyer and not the seller who should have the right to dictate his prices.

Can you see the logic in this: In 1954/5 when Ghana's production was 210,000 tons her 1954 earnings from cocoa were £85.5 million. This year (1964/5) with an estimated crop of 590,000 tons the estimated earnings will be around £77 million.

Add to it the fact that for over a decade the general level or primary products (excluding oil) has fallen by 33 per cent while the prices of manufactured goods have risen by 4 per cent.

Businessmen should be told that the manner in which they are exercising their purchasing power is immoral. It is also unconscionable because it increases the gap internationally between the haves and the have-nots.

If developing countries are not being given fair prices for their primary products how else can they finance their development projects? How else can they provide education, good houses, and health services for their nationals?

It is a cardinal feature of neo-colonialism that when any independent country is faced with such a situation she should fall back on the ex-colonialist for aid.

The conditions attached to the granting of such aids are admirably summed up by the author as follows: "I quote: 'Nor is the whole story of 'aid' contained in figures for there are conditions which hedge it around: the conclusion of commerce and navigation treaties; agreements for economic co-operation; the right to meddle in internal finances; including currency and foreign exchange, to lower trade barriers in favour of the donor country's goods and capital; to protect the interests of private investments; determination of how the funds are to be used; forcing the recipient to set up counterpart funds; to supply raw materials to the donor; and use of such funds—a majority of it, in fact—to buy goods from the donor nation. These conditions apply to industry, commerce, agriculture, shipping and insurance, apart from others which are political and military'" (p.243).

It is wrong that foreign capital should be used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world.

It is the increasing gap between the rich and the poor countries that threatens international peace. In the considered opinion of the author and I agree with him—foreign capital

"must be invested in accordance with a national plan drawn up by the Local Government, with its own interest in mind".

Indeed what prevents the United Nations Organisation from drawing up standard contracts for foreign investments?

Enough has been said to illustrate the evils of neo-colonialism. The author has proved that it is not a sign of imperialism's strength but rather of its last hideous gasp.

He also warns that it will be suicidal for anyone to entertain the hope that neo-colonialism will die a natural death, or that its threat will be eradicated through the good-will or generosity of those countries responsible for the system.

On the contrary it is by the total mobilization of all our forces that victory over neo-colonialism can be assured. This can be done effectively if there is established an all-Union government on the much divided continent of Africa.

This is the message of the author and I commend the book for your study and serious consideration.



# The SPARK on Fani-Kayode What is Blackism?

IN modern times perhaps because of the development of relatively cheap printing there is an urge for everybody to rush into print, to present personal panaceas for all problems.

The result is that the credulous, believing that everything between the two covers of a book must be true, are sadly taken in and frequently subjected to large doses of crackpot theories.

Even, a publisher will turn, in the end it seems, and this book "Blackism" by Remi Fani-Kayode appears without even a publisher's imprint, leading us to assume that the contents of the work are too much for any publisher to tolerate its appearance with his blessing.

The book is prized at 75 pesewas; it is 99 pages long, but the reader should not be deceived into thinking he is getting his money's worth even in terms of length. Of the 99 pages 12 are devoted to photographs which in themselves are not particularly interesting or relevant to the text, and a further 27 consist of reprints of resolutions and documents which are easily obtainable anywhere, in any work dealing with Pan-Africanism.

The economics of the book work out at 1½ per half quarto page, this is a lot to pay for trash, especially if it does not intend to be amusing. This book is an emotional outpouring about colour. If it were merely the work of a crank, we could dismiss it, but it takes its place among a growing number of books about and for Africa, which are presented in an attempt to divert the attention of the people from real socialist and scientific solutions to their problems.

For purposes of avoiding any real analysis of ethnic problems the author decides that everybody who is not

white is black. This is a convenient escape hatch for him, because he evades the problem of the imperialism of a non-white country, namely Japan, by adopting this definition of colour. He also avoids the obvious query which arises as to where the Africans, north of the Sahara fit into his 'blackism' scheme for a united Africa, as they are obviously not black. However, if we decide that they are not white, then they must be black. Thus this problem can be hastily got round by word chopping, even though the argument is ludicrous in the extreme.

The most coherent ideas in the book are expressed as quotations from Mr. John Gunther's book *Inside Africa*. Mr. Gunther, by now has been pretty well 'inside' every continent, looking at everything, understanding not very much. We are awaiting with interest his next book on *Inside Outer Space*.

Can we really take seriously a book which draws its main theories and justifications from a journalistic work?

Even more sinister than these quotations are those from racialists. Mr. Fani-Kayode uses Nazi race theories to justify his own rabid racist opinions, and his vision of Continental Government has all the overtones of Hitler's 'Greater Reich' with the same appeal to brute strength and power.

Motivating the book however, is a deeper reason that racialism. Those advocates of Pan-Africanism, who are opposed to socialism, are in a terrible dilemma. Unless they see the fight for Pan-Africanism, as scientific socialists see it, namely as an anti-imperialist and pro-socialist struggle, then they have to attack socialism while going through the motions, at the same time, of attacking imperialism.

It is always easy to write a book if you invent your own terms and definitions, irrespective of the reality of life. This is what happens in *Blackism*. Just as the author sets up his own definitions of what constitutes 'black' he sets up his own private definition of imperialism. Imperialism to him is Western Europe, which he claims is being challenged by the Soviet Union for world power, (though no evidence is given for this), and which is trying through the European Common Market, to get unity because of the leading role of the United States in world affairs.

The intellectual muddle lying behind this formulation is so chaotic that one is almost at a loss about the best method of untangling it. However, as to a lesser degree this view is shared by others, we must subject it to some analysis.

To see the European Common Market in terms of 'white hegemony', or as an attempt to form new political institutions to strengthen Western Europe against the United States is to misread the situation completely.

True, the European Common Market is an attempt at collective imperialism but it is supported by the United States, who wants Britain in it so that Germany will not become too powerful there.

The European Common Market is designed to promote imperialism's strength in Africa, and to provide a common economic basis for the anti-Communist Alliance of the Western European states with the United States of America. America is also trying to penetrate areas in Africa traditionally dominated by France and Britain—so is West Germany.

If people believe that the European Common Market holds positive lessons for Afri-

can Unity, then they should think again. The United States, also favours a Common Market in Africa which will suit their investment policies; we favour a Common Market which will advance the economic strength of the African states in their struggles against imperialism.

Of course, if you fail to recognise the United States of America as an imperialist state, you go hopelessly wrong, and the ideas in this book could not be more wrong.

If the book had any rational core to it we would be puzzled to find out how the author manages to attack white supremacist ideas, while at the same time suggesting that Africa's salvation may lie in trading not with Western Europe, but with America and Canada.

The author sees countries and states, as single homogeneous units, without any contradictions or internal struggles. The Western Europe he sees is that of the de Gaulles, the British Tory Party and those Tories operating inside the Labour Party. At the same time he can look back at America's Marshall Plan and praise it as a piece of benevolent aid to Western Europe. He must know that it was expressly given on a condition that the Communists, (who because of their great resistance record to the Nazis, occupied important positions in the Governments of France and Italy) were driven out of office.

The book never loses an opportunity of attacking the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and consistently misunderstands the role of the United States.

When we read that the author is a Deputy Prime Minister of a Nigerian state, we find it difficult to believe that he is even serious in making attacks on the European Common Market, as our in-

formation is that Nigeria is rather anxious to get in on it. We see how it is possible for such massive American Aid to be poured into Nigeria: it is the level of understanding as to the U.S. role in Africa: is prevalent.

There are photographs showing the lynching of Afro-Americans in the United States; it would seem that Fani-Kayode sees this as a phenomenon quite separate and distinct from the United States Government or the economic system there.

We do not recall a single instance in the book of any serious analysis of social systems; the word 'socialism' is never mentioned, neither is the word 'capitalism'.

If Mr. Kayode would only examine a little more seriously the real life around him, he would understand that it is not the colour of the skin which is basically an explanation of the politics, but the position one holds in production relations. We seem to recall that Nigeria is committed to the ideals of the free market economy; does this mean that there is no exploitation of one Nigerian by another in his society; and how is the similarity of their complexions arising to solve the problems: going to the existence of rich and poor, of luxury and squalor? Only socialism, the abolition of exploitation of man by man can do that.

Of course, the nationalist

movements of newly independent African states, now face a basic challenge: Having won their political independence, what kind of societies are to be constructed? The only real solution is the building of socialist societies; even cranks cannot openly advocate the possibility of capitalism and so they seek some forms of non-socialist alternatives. The alternatives they scramble round for cannot be economic solutions, and they emerge as mere emotional mouthings, bearing no relation to the realities of the lives of the African peoples.

Perhaps we could make some recommendations to Mr. Fani-Kayode for his own future reading. We hope he will take our advice before he launches into print again.

We suggest a careful study of the world press so that he can get a realistic picture of what is really happening, as distinct from his facile glosses on events. Secondly we believe that no-one can understand Africa, or any other part of the world unless he has read Lenin's *Imperialism*, and with it as a companion volume, Kwame Nkrumah's *Towards Colonial Freedom*. A valuable new book is of course Kwame Nkrumah's *Neo-Colonialism* and with it might go a study of some of the main aspects of scientific socialism.

Please Mr. Kayode, renounce the superficial, im-

pressionistic work which seems to have been your main intellectual diet of late and get down to some serious study; after all, even if you are a firm believer in empiricism and your education in Britain may probably have inclined you to those modes of thought, even empiricists can learn something from what is going on around them.

Face the facts, that Imperialism is still a dominant world system; face the fact that it uses racialism and all the horrors that go with it to facilitate its drive for profits; face the fact that at some stages it will operate the principles of 'divide and rule' and at others it will seek to unify its potential victims.

Pan-Africanism is the answer to Africa's problems of poverty and illiteracy and dependence, but *Pan-Africanism must have content* and a racialist content is a treacherous possibility to hold out.

The content of Pan-Africanism must first be anti-Imperialist and we must recognise clearly *what imperialism is and who are the imperialists*. Until Mr. Fani-Kayode learns these first steps to the beginning of political wisdom we recommend our readers to seek elsewhere for enlightenment and wait for his next book, which we hope, if our advice is followed, will be more rational, more coherent and more realistic.

## African Force

Continued from page 1

From such a meeting came an African "General Staff" entrusted with the immediate mobilisation of an African military force, with outside assistance if necessary, which would oust Smith and his fellow-rebels.

Smith's settler forces may be strong—but the independent states of Africa, given the will and the determination, can muster a joint force which is far stronger.

### SMITH'S ALLIES

Smith would hope to be able to rely on aid from his South African and Portuguese allies. But while Lisbon and Pretoria undoubtedly have the greatest sympathy for the rebels in Salisbury, a feature of the crisis to date has been their unwillingness to come out in open support of them.

They are watching and waiting; if they see that no effective action is being taken against the rebels, if they see that Smith is being allowed to get away with it, then they will come down off the fence openly on his side.

But if they see that the independent African states are united in their determination to oust Smith, they will hesitate to become involved; they have no wish to share his fate.

What is more, the establishment of such a joint force would serve warning on all those who still see Africa as an arena for foreign military intervention.

With an African military force in being, there would be no more Stanleyvilles.

Alone, no single African state can protect its sovereignty against imperialist

intervention and aggression.

The burden of military expenditure is too heavy for each individual African state to bear on its own, especially faced as they are with pressing tasks of economic development.

### DEFENCE PACTS

The only alternative to unified African defence is the conclusion of military pacts between individual African countries and foreign powers—pacts which, as experience has abundantly shown, provide the conditions for continued interference by non-African Powers in African affairs.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "If we do not unite and combine our military

resources, for common defence, the individual states, out of a sense of insecurity, may be drawn into making defence pacts with foreign powers which may endanger the security of us all."

The creation of a joint African military force would make it possible to do away with the foreign military bases still to be found in many parts of our continent, and which constitute an ever-present threat to our security and independence.

There can be no doubt that the mobilisation of such a force is vital if the people of Zimbabwe are to be saved; there is no doubt also that such a force is vital for the future peace and security of our continent.

### Diary

Continued from page 2

**NIGERIA:** Britain has threatened to reconsider her treatment of Nigeria imports, if Nigeria discriminates against British trade.

**CONGO (Leopoldville):** The Tanzanian news paper "Uhuru" today appealed to President Joseph Kasavubu of Congo (Leopoldville), to arrest the former Congolese Premier Moise Tshombe for causing the murder of thousands of innocent Africans.

**SIERRA LEONE:** Sir Albert Margai, Sierra Leone Prime Minister, has declared in a radio and television broadcast to the nation that the sooner a Union Government for Africa is achieved, the more effective would be Africa's impact on international affairs. He described the proposed royal Anglo-Rhodesian Commission as a 'sell-out' of the right of the Africans, adding that Britain's attitude on Rhodesia was nothing short of mad.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The Rhodesian white settlers spokesman, Ian Smith, has declared

NOVEMBER 4:

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, today reaffirmed his Government's right to accept or reject the Projected Royal Commission on Rhodesia in the wake of United States President Lyndon Johnson's warning to settlers spokesman Ian Smith, that a unilateral declaration of independence would create a grave situation.

**GHANA:** A Nigerian journalist has condemned the detractors of President Nkrumah and said that "these people who close their eyes at the good things President Nkrumah is doing for Ghana and Africa, criticise him with a tongue that cuts most cruelly and injudiciously".

**SOUTH AFRICA:** In open defiance of United Nations resolutions, the first consignment of seven "British Buccaneers" can be seen at the airfield in the dangerous South Africa apartheid air force from Britain have landed at a military air field near Pretoria.

## OUR UNIVERSITIES

AT our three Universities, the students have assembled for the new Academic Year. The Seven-Year Plan envisages a rapid increase in the number of students, and especially in the numbers of scientists, both those who go directly into research or the application of their studies 'in the field', and those who will become science teachers, helping to lay the necessary basis for future expansion.

If Ghana is to catch up in a relatively short historical period, on the most advanced industrialised countries, we must apply the most modern, scientifically developed productive techniques to our agriculture and industry.

Socialism constitutes that stage of human history which, on the basis of new production relations, achieves a vast expansion of material wealth, created, controlled and enjoyed by the mass of the people.

This is why the development of science teaching in our schools, colleges and universities is a central problem of our economic and social development.

Our economic prosperity depends on our ability to produce skilled workers of all kinds and to plan the allocation of labour, just as effectively as we allocate material resources. The labour power, the skills, the knowledge of our men and women is one of our most precious possessions.

The tradition in our educational system, which still persists strongly is geared to the humanities and to elitist concepts.

We are, of course, for expanded education in the arts but not at the expense of the sciences.

Our old educational system established by the British was intended to produce administrators; able to fit smoothly into the workings of colonial rule.

It is not only the balance between arts and sciences which must change if we are to build socialism, but the philosophy of scientific socialism, of Nkrumaism must become the basis of our intellectual life at all levels.

The intellectual whose outlook is based on Nkrumaism, is an intellectual of a new type, with new characteristics.

He understands the scientific laws of social development, and the complex relationship between social formations and ideas. He recognises the basic role of labour in human societies and the

significance of production relations.

He understands, scientifically, the necessity for Socialism as the latest historical stage of human society and identifies himself with the building of it. The new intellectual identifies himself fully with the workers and farmers of our country as the decisive force in the building of a new social order.

A first stage in this transformation of our intellectual life is the rejection of old-fashioned elitist concepts. A higher education, the acquisition of a skill is a privilege.

It must not be a means of separating off the specialist from the rest of the people, but a means of helping him to make a vital contribution to social well-being.

At present some intellectuals exploit their scarcity value. They must recognise that in the very near future, this scarcity will disappear and it will be the most skilled and devoted who will win recognition and respect from the people as a whole.

Our students in Ghana, enjoy facilities which are not to be equalled even in the most advanced capitalist states. It is necessary to remind them that these facilities are the products of the skill, labour and sacrifices of the workers and farmers of our country, who expect to see coming out from the Universities, men and women devoted to the cause of socialism and the cause of liberating our country from poverty, disease and illiteracy.

That this sense of identity between our intellectuals and our people is growing is to be seen in the splendid response by the students to the announcement of Smith's unilateral declaration of independence. They turned out in their numbers to express their disgust at Imperialist policies and to support their brothers in Zimbabwe.

The application on a vastly extended scale of the scientific principles of Nkrumaism to all aspects of our intellectual life, is a considerable challenge. One thing is certain, it is a job which must be done.

It demands a high level of knowledge both of particular fields of intellectual activity, and a knowledge of the laws of scientific socialism. The synthesis of these two is required now as a powerful factor in the further socialist construction of our country.

# Making Parks and Gardens for the People's Leisure

**THE** Ministry of Parks and Gardens, founded as a separate Government Department in February 1965, headed by Mr. Nee Ocansey, has already established itself in the affections of Accra citizens.

Among the most important features of the preparations for the O.A.U. Heads of State Meeting, was the creation of new parks and the planting of shrubs and flowers along the road sides, in open spaces, on traffic roundabouts and before major public buildings.

The beauty that has been created in this way, has given new pleasure to the people as they move about the city, and a new sense of pride. We have

lished there.

Our industrialisation programme in Ghana is geared to the provision of electricity which will help us to avoid the smoke and grime of the older forms of power, but we still have to make sure that we do not make mistakes in our town planning programmes.

The rapid urbanisation going on in Ghana today, brings with it problems of overcrowding, of "mushroom" growth of buildings and housing, which

by A Spark Correspondent

flowers and shrubs which are familiar in European gardens, were in fact taken originally from our continent and acclimatised to give new beauty to northern and colder areas.

With us in Africa, the flower garden, the development of flower beds and even horticulture is only recent. It reflects the new quality of our social life which could come only

is an interesting experience for the layman. The Ministry is not a mere office but a centre of practical activity.

Surrounded by intensively cultivated land, specialists and gardeners combine in an excellent example of collective work, with an atmosphere of mutual respect and comradeship between all sections of the workers, from Minister to

cause of creating beauty for the people.

The Department employs a labour force of 750 labourers alone in Accra, and it envisages further expansion in the next financial year to extend the work which is already going on in the Regions.

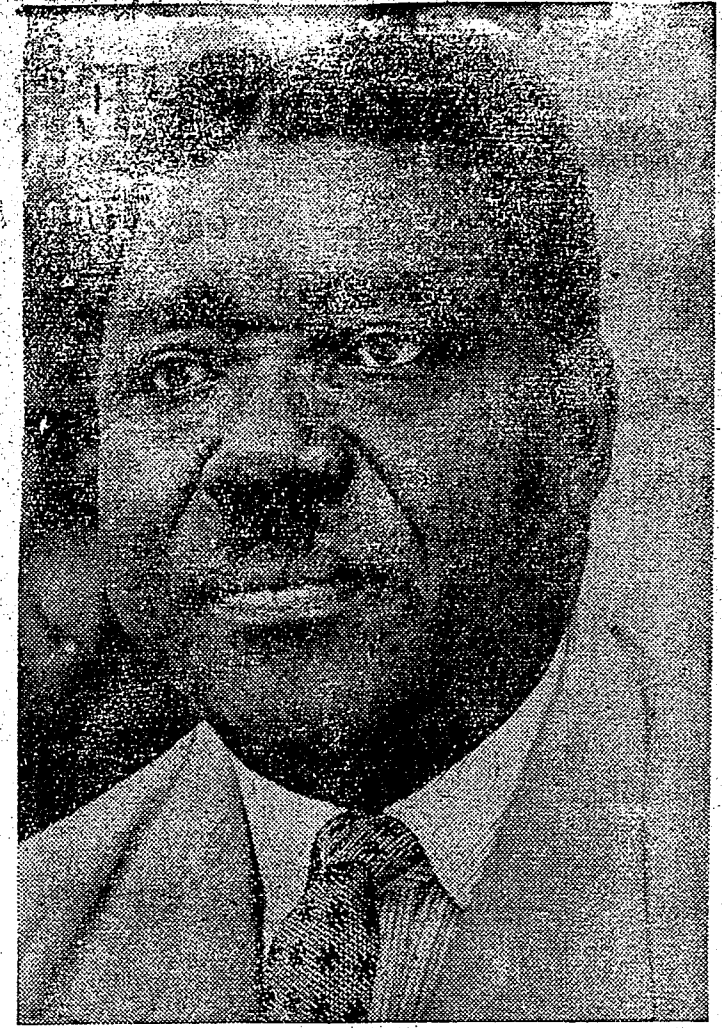
Ministry Nurseries are maintained in practically every Region. There are 12 in all producing plants, seedlings, experimenting to find the most suitable flowers, shrubs and trees for specific places.

What is not generally appreciated is that landscaping is an important part of the work. The laying out of the garden is the first job that has to be undertaken before ever a plant or seed can be put in the soil.

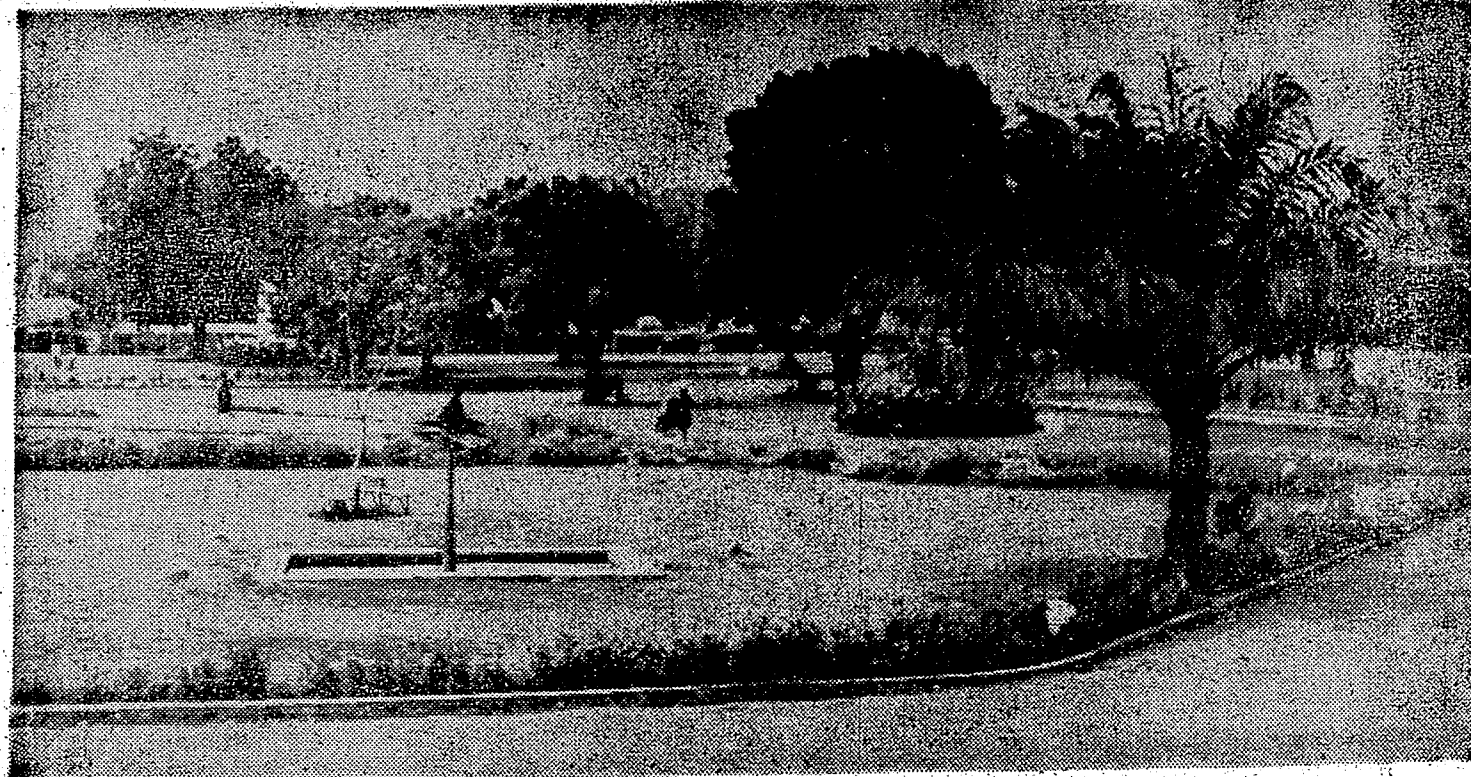
The Senior Training Officer in the Landscape Design Department is a woman, playing an important part in preparing new specialists in the work who can help to extend the Ministry's activities.

At present there are not enough specialists to carry the work through as extensively as is required, but eleven students are now training at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and some are training abroad at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew and at the Edinburgh Botanical Gardens, in Britain.

The number of people wishing to train for this work is increasing and there is every prospect that the Ministry will be able to depend quite soon on a steady flow of trained personnel.



Mr. Nee Ocansey, Minister of Parks and Gardens



begun to see the realisation of a garden city here in our capital.

The perspectives of the new Ministry are not geared only to Accra, or to a short-term programme drawn up for the Conference.

On the contrary, it has an important part in the general expansion of the welfare of our people and the growth of cultural opportunities and leisure facilities.

The effects of industrialisation in other countries, especially in Europe and the United States have been devastating to town life. The names of major industrial towns are synonymous with dirt, ugliness and squalor.

It has always been emphasised by socialists that one of the most terrible consequences of capitalist industrialisation at its inception was the horror of the crowding of millions of workers into unplanned, overcrowded cities.

Here the people were accommodated in dreary streets without even the most elementary facilities for relaxation in any kind of beautiful surroundings.

It has been as a result of the struggle for better conditions in these older industrialised capitalist states that parks and gardens, play centres and botanical gardens have been esta-

are constructed to meet an immediate pressing need but which fail to conform to the high standards of public amenity and beauty.

The work of the Ministry is therefore closely linked with the planning of our towns to ensure that adequate open spaces are preserved as "the lungs of our cities" and that they are utilised to enrich leisure and provide places where our people can relax in beautiful surroundings.

These parks and gardens will be needed more and more as our towns and cities grow, and increasing numbers come to live in them, and as the intensive pressures of industrialisation inevitably impose a new tempo of life.

Men and women have always acted on their environment to get the necessities of life from nature, their food, their shelter, their clothes and other necessities, but they have also always tried to impose new patterns on nature, to improve it and to organise their surroundings into more satisfying forms.

The arts arise from this need; the art of cultivating flowers and trees to create new forms of beauty is not the least of them.

It is a curious fact that many of the most beautiful

with independence and the achievement of a government which serves the people, seeing them as ends and not means.

Of course, in the villages the planting of trees has always been common. The trees in the centres of the village where the elders gathered, where the

labourers.

The sense of common endeavour and enthusiasm is strengthened by the personal example of Mr. Ocansey, who is frequently to be seen "on the job", going out with the workers to see for himself the nature of their problems, the

**THIS IS WHAT  
GHANA IS  
DOING**

people met for discussion, for gossip, for social activity, became, almost the symbols of the collective life of the people. The planting of flowers and the creation of gardens, however, is a new thing in Ghana, reflecting a new individual and collective prosperity.

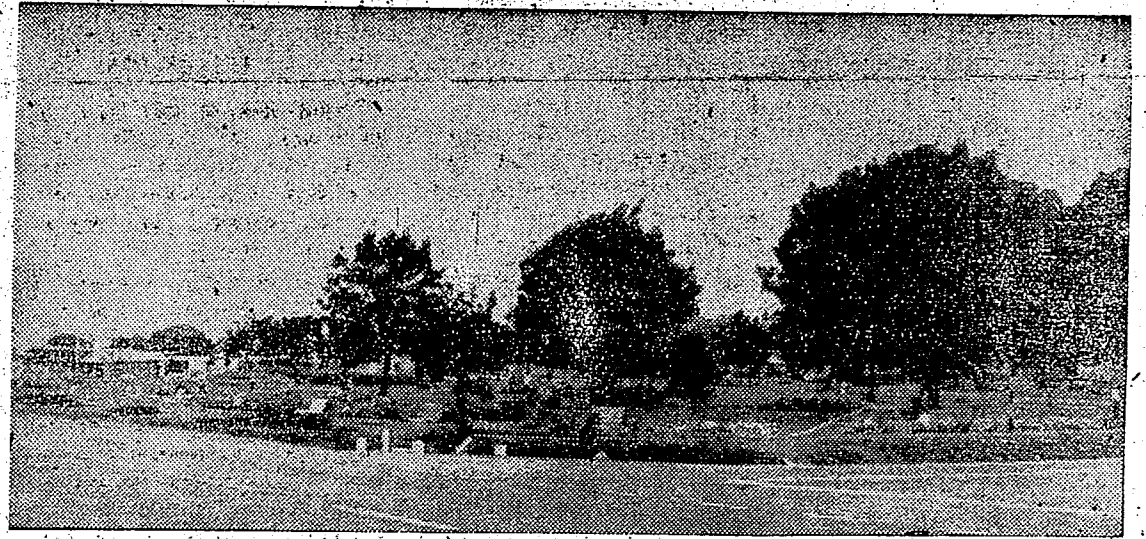
The planting of gardens and flower beds, is not merely a matter of seizing a spade and putting in the plants.

A visit to the Ministry itself,

work and their achievements.

It seems to us that this direct personal identification of the Head of the Ministry with the workers themselves is an example of a really socialist attitude to leadership and work.

The example of the Minister is echoed in the attitude of the other specialists and administrators in the department, who help to create an atmosphere of real dedication to the



This growth is urgently needed as the Ministry is not only expanding the number of parks and open spaces and flower beds which it maintains, but as new roads are built; they are responsible for creating boulevards, tree-lined roads, which will give shade and beautifying such roads as the Ring Road and other new streets which will be constructed.

In addition, the number of public buildings is increasing. Already the Ministry is responsible for the upkeep of the gardens outside the Ministries, the Supreme Court, the Assembly, the National Archives and the Library.

as a recreational centre, as well as a source of power, the demand grows for the further development of the town of Akosombo and the surroundings of the dam.

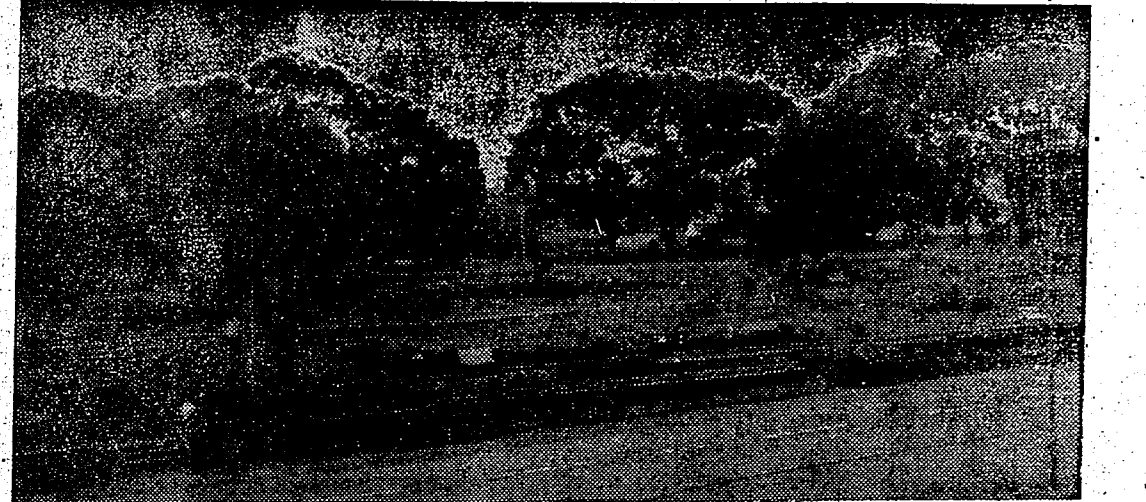
In response to this need, the Ministry is at present at work on planning the landscaping of the project, with a view to planting trees, shrubs and flowers in gardens and other suitable places.

Increasingly popular with people from Accra, especially, are the Botanical Gardens at Aburi. Hundreds of people visit the Gardens each week and the maintenance of the Gardens as a place of recrea-

Soon the rest stops and refreshment bars will be opened to add to the existing amenities.

We have a splendid opportunity, now in our country, as new towns are growing, as urbanisation develops, to prove that we can industrialise the economy and at the same time create towns and cities which are a pleasure to look at and to live in.

The aim of the Ministry is to beautify all the principal towns and cities in all Regions. The approaches to the cities, over a length of two miles, will be lined with floral trees and shrubs, in the villages too, parks will be provided for



Increasing numbers of Corporations are submitting requests for similar work to be done to beautify their surroundings and premises.

New gardens are at present being constructed opposite the new Hotel Continental on Independence Avenue, at the Y.W.C.A. and at the Cathedral.

Sections were given over to the City Council by the Ministry of Works and Housing to maintain some two years ago

tion is part of the Ministry's responsibility. The scientific work carried on is mainly in the breeding of plants.

The specialists there are in correspondence with all the known gardens in the world which deal with tropical plants, exchanging information, results of experiments and specimens.

It is pleasant to think that the flowers and plants developed in our gardens at Aburi, are also contributing to the

both adults and children.

The many telephone calls, personal calls and letters which the Ministry has received, congratulating it on its achievements in connection with the Summit Conference express the feelings of all the citizens of Accra.

Throughout the country generally its work is being more widely appreciated as its contribution to the pleasure and satisfaction of the people grows.

# VIEWS ON NEO-COLONIALISM: THE LAST STAGE OF IMPERIALISM

by JULIUS SAGO

THE review of Kwame Nkrumah's latest book in the November 12 edition of "Tribune" (a British weekly closely linked with the leadership of the British Labour Party) makes interesting reading—interesting because of the point of view from which it is written. The reviewer, Peter Lyon, writes from a point of view basically anti-African. With obvious glee he sees the results of last October Accra Summit "as a long way to go before he (Nkrumah) can see a realisation of the ideas (African Unity) expressed in the book." And he could hardly conceal his wish that Nkrumah "like Bolivar his main hopes will be disappointed."

This polite but basically hostile attitude of the "Tribune" reviewer has not come as a surprise. Nkrumah's theory mercilessly exposes the under-pinnings of the welfare state as neo-colonialism in the new nations. Now Britain is a welfare state. And the British Labour Party of course prides itself in being one of the architects of the welfare state. It is easy to see why the same party, at least at heart though not outwardly, must be in sympathy with neo-colonialism. If we recognise this basic truth, then the view of the "Tribune" towards "Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism" is quite understandable.

Apart from this fundamental conflict in social-political philosophy between him and

the author, the reviewer has not always been accurate with his facts.

In the first place, the reviewer thinks that Nkrumah's theory puts forward an "African Union Government" as the "only effective way to challenge" neo-colonialism. There is an error in evaluation here. Nkrumah sees neo-colonialism as a "world" and not merely as an "African" phenomenon. Therefore it has to be fought on a "world scale" and not just on a "Pan-African basis". Hence, in Nkrumah's view, an African union government can only be one element (admittedly an important element but one element nonetheless) in a global strategy against neo-colonialism. The other elements are the popular and patriotic forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the socialist sector of the world; and the progressive forces in the metropolitan centres of imperialism.

Secondly, Peter Lyon describes Nkrumah's concept of neo-colonialism as control of a sovereign state by an alien power "principally by economic means". Here again we are not given the whole story. What is left out is very significant—indeed crucial—to Nkrumah's theory. This is the

military and political control exercised over an independent nation by an alien power. Alien control exercised through economic, military and political means is the central thesis in Nkrumah's theory of neo-colonialism. These are the three props on which a neo-colonialist regime is founded.

Peter Lyon's view that in "Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism" there is "nothing about possible future trouble from China or from Russia" is an unnecessary red-herring. The book treats the incidence of international finance capital in the lives of young nations. It is not a treatise on the role of diplomacy in the development of the newer nations.

Nkrumah's theory sees the "socialist forces" of the world as playing an important part in the anti-imperialist struggle. But by this same theory, nation-building in the new states to proceed under the most favourable conditions, should be guided by a policy of non-alignment between the world power blocs.

Two opinions put out by the "Tribune" review are clearly wrong. It is held that the case for African Unity made in "Neo-colonialism:

The Last Stage of Imperialism" carries the argument "no further forward" than is contained in an earlier book "Africa Must Unite". The earlier book saw African unity as an instrument for consolidating the new nations of Africa. In the latest book, the concept is put in a world setting. It becomes one component of a world strategy against imperialism in the present historical epoch. Nkrumah shows Pan-African Unity not merely as important to Africa but as equally important to all oppressed peoples and to mankind.

The other wrong opinion is contained in the subtle attempt to belittle the new book by asserting that it belongs to the category of "later lesser Leninist writings". This opinion exposes the reviewer's lack of grasp of the subject under discussion. His evaluation is completely and effectively destroyed by the view of Professor Macrae of the London School of Economics who, at the London launching, described Nkrumah's latest book as "the most significant political document to appear since the beginning of the century."

For Kwame Nkrumah African Unity is not just a dream, as Peter Lyon thinks. His is not a sentimental approach to the problem. For him African Unity comes out of the very logic of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is a scientific formula arrived at after a scientific study of the nature and operation of neo-colonialism.

## Big Business Counts Cost of Patriotism

From A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

BRITISH Big Business and the City of London have been busy trying to estimate the effect that Mr. Wilson's economic and financial measures against Rhodesia will have. The first reaction was to point out that the measures fall far short of a total trade embargo and oil sanctions are not at present contemplated.

The ban on the export of capital was considered to be a minor matter, and the City was mostly concerned about what would happen to the £200 million which the City has at present invested in Rhodesia.

Hundreds of British firms are involved including some of the biggest monopoly concerns like Tate and Lyle, Imperial Tobacco, Unilever, Dunlop, Rio Tinto, Imperial Chemical Industries, Shell, British Petroleum and many others.

The Overseas Director of the Confederation of British Industries, Mr. Whitehorn, said "naturally" we regard this as a tragedy, and disclosed that a committee representing the 200 to 300 British firms with interests in Rhodesia was already in existence.

With Rhodesian tobacco accounting for two-thirds, or £23 million of Rhodesia's

sales to Britain, the ban on further British purchases of tobacco could hit Rhodesia's European farmers very hard, as it would mean the loss of the British market at a time when there is a world glut of tobacco.

A spokesman of Imperial Tobacco, however, did not seem unduly worried, when he declared: "Since the company has adequate stocks of Rhodesian tobacco in this country, this situation will have no effect on normal supplies."

Similarly, Rhodesia's £4 million sugar exports will be hit by the withdrawal of Commonwealth preferences.

A Tate and Lyle spokesman said Britain imported about 50,000 tons of Rhodesian sugar a year, which was about 2½ per cent of Britain's total sugar imports, but the ban "will not threaten the supply in any way as there is a general world surplus of sugar anyway."

Removal of Rhodesia from the sterling area, while being embarrassing to Rhodesia's currency leading to possible devaluation of some 25 per cent, would not have an immediate effect. The Bank of England, commenting on the special exchange control restrictions, said there would be no big

interruption of normal financial facilities and it would not mean a drastic hold-up of settlements.

A Treasury announcement said that payments will be allowed to Rhodesian accounts in Britain on contracts entered into before U.D.I., on pensions, interests and dividends, on wages and payments to Rhodesia on permitted imports, and on freight and insurance connected with permitted imports between Rhodesia and Britain.

If in fact all trade were stopped, Rhodesia would lose a quarter of her entire export markets, immediately, more than £30 million a year and would find it difficult to negotiate alternative markets.

Britain would lose about £35 million exports a year in machinery, manufactures, cars and chemicals. In addition the City would lose a large chunk of Rhodesian business in banking, insurance and freight worth about £30 million a year.

Economists calculate that a total trade embargo by countries other than Portugal and South Africa would wreck Rhodesia's economy. But Mr. Wilson's sanctions fall far short of such an embargo.

# Escalation in the Jungle

BY the massive commitment of U.S. combat troops in South Vietnam, the war there has changed its character. Instead of being primarily fought with South Vietnamese ground troops under a joint U.S.-Saigon command, it has literally become an all-American war, fought primarily with U.S. ground troops aided by South Vietnamese "advisers" and solely under an all-American command.

What is left of the Saigon puppet army, virtually ceases to count and the war becomes more and more specifically a war of aggression waged by the U.S.A. against the entire Vietnamese people—north and south of the 17th Parallel.

As far as the South is concerned, the almost daily raids by the giant eight-engined B-52 bombers are a good example. At first they were used to drop their huge loads of bombs on an alleged "Vietcong stronghold" about 30 kilometres from Saigon, flying 3,600 kilometres from their bases in Guam to do so. Patrols sent in to check up on the results, repeatedly reported back that they found only cratered ricefields, and mangled patches of jungle and rubber plantations but no "Vietcong" dead.

### BOMBER FLEETS

The bomber fleets started pattern-bombing in the Mekong delta, where there is about the world's highest density of population. This represents indiscriminate mass murder of peasants and fishermen.

Flying at the height and speed they do, it is absolutely impossible for navigators and bombardiers to distinguish even between Saigon-controlled regions and those that are liberated. In the official communiques, of course, the target is always a "Vietcong stronghold."

Now and again the B-52's come back to the Saigon area, bombing within 15 and 20 kilometres of the capital, more as a psychological warfare weapon against the Saigon inhabitants than for any

specific military purpose

On occasions, when the Americans bomb in Tay Ninh Province, for instance, the explosions can clearly be heard in Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, causing people in the streets to clench their fists and curse these 20th-century barbarians.

Apart from the few actions undertaken by American units—with their Australian, New Zealand and South Korean allies—the war, as far as Saigon is concerned, is being waged exclusively from the air.

The response to any partisan attack is the immediate dispatch of scores of aircraft to pound the whole area of action with bombs and rockets, the Saigon command then claiming a paper victory of so many "hundreds of Vietcong killed."

### WARNING

The absurdity of these claims, stepped-up since the commitment of U.S. ground troops, prompted the *New York Times* correspondent in Saigon, Charles Mohr, to warn his readers in the September 30 issue that

"statistics on Vietcong losses have long been a matter of controversy in this war, as they would indicate that the Vietcong forces have been destroyed many times over, but the total number of Vietcong also continues to go up by official estimate. The confusion was compounded today . . ."

Mohr was referring to an action in which two Liberation Front battalions, supposed to have been "destroyed" a few days earlier, suddenly launched vigorous attacks against two puppet battalions near the Phuoc Pass in Binh Dinh Province.

In the same article, Mohr put the total number of Americans killed in South Vietnam at 680 and wounded at 3,696—figures that you will not get by adding up the lachrymose communiques on American casualties.

Generals Maxwell Taylor and Westmoreland seem to have drawn some correct conclusions from the battle of

by WILFRED BURCHETT

An Australian journalist who has recently been in South Vietnam with the Liberation Army.

Binh Gia, fought at the turn of the year in what had been regarded as one of the "safest" areas for the U.S.-Saigon command, to the east of Saigon, in the region of the strategic road linking the capital with Cap St. Jacques, where the U.S.—South Vietnam Joint Command has its headquarters.

Conclusion (1): The Liberation Army had grown up to the point where it could engage and wipe out crack battalions of the strategic reserve in classic day-time battle with elements of war of movement and positional warfare. Intervention by U.S. air power could not alter the tide of the battle. At Binh Gia on December 30, 1964, the 33rd Ranger Battalion was wiped out to a man and every weapon captured; two days later the 1st Marine Battalion suffered the same fate. What could happen to them could presumably happen to the rest of the "elite" battalions of paratroopers, marines and rangers that constituted the strategic reserve.

Conclusion (2): The U.S.-Saigon command could no longer count on the support of any sections of the population. The Binh Gia area was settled by Catholic refugees from North Vietnam; it was considered the most "pro-Saigon" of any place in South Vietnam. Yet the local population had completely collaborated with the "Vietcong", carried food and supplies to them during the battle; carried off and hidden the wounded after. They turned out to help prepare the ambushes and battle positions, but not a single one informed any of the Saigon military posts that were thick in the area.

Conclusion (3): Considering the complete political chaos in Saigon, another few defeats similar to Binh Gia

would bring about complete collapse in Saigon and a real possibility of a pro-neutralist coup aimed at negotiating peace with the "Vietcong".

If they had shown a grain of honesty and realism, the two generals would have arrived at one further conclusion: The game is up.

### PRETENCE

But instead what did they do? Pretended despite their own intelligence reports that all their griefs and defeats came from one source—arms and men from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Their master conclusion? The war must be "escalated" north of the 17th Parallel. If the supply routes could be cut—all would be well.

And so an absolutely new and shameful element was introduced to international affairs: aggression by terror bombing raids, without a declaration of war, against a peaceful country that had not raised a finger in anger against the U.S.A.

What were the concrete results of these attacks as far as the war in the South was concerned? The process started at Binh Gia was stepped up in scope and tempo.

### ANNIHILATION

If, during the whole of 1964, the Liberation forces were able to wipe out eight battalions, during the first six months of 1965 they wiped out 20 battalions, including nine of the eleven elite battalions that constituted the entire strategic reserve at the end of 1964.

The strategic reserve means those mobile forces not tied down in fixed garrison duties guarding bases, cities or stationed in fixed tactical areas.

These were the shock troops to be thrown in as reinforcements in emergency situations. By mid-1965, in

fact, the Saigon army had been cut to pieces and by forces native to the soil and very localities in which they were fighting.

The Liberation Army made a special point of drawing these elite battalions into combat, by attacking key posts which they knew the U.S.-Saigon command would make desperate efforts to defend by committing the strategic reserve troops.

Thus at Ba Gia (Quang Ngai Province) on May 31, 1965, two elite battalions, the 39th Rangers and 3rd Marines, were sent in to try and save the 1st and 2nd Battalions of Saigon's 51st Regiment. All four were wiped out and their weapons seized.

In the Dong Xoai battle, north of the Bien Hoa air base and at the junction of strategic highways Nos. 1 and 14, on June 9-12, the Americans refused to commit another elite battalion after the 7th Parachutists had been cut to pieces in a vain attempt to reinforce the doomed Dong Xoai garrison.

### A CEASE

By that time, the "strategic reserves" had virtually ceased to exist, the Liberation Forces having also concentrated their attention on wiping out the "Special Forces" training camps where American "counter-insurgency experts" trained the "elite" battalions.

Within six months of the bombings having started, another million or so population had been added to the Liberated Zones, and Saigon had under its control barely 4,000,000 of South Vietnam's 15,000,000 population.

### RESIGNATION

The succession of "Binh Gia's" that followed the bombing attacks shattered General Maxwell Taylor's concept of "special war" and he "resigned" his post as "super-ambassador" to Saigon. The idea that "native" troops could win Washington's wars was finished. This was a good chance for America to pull out.

But, as was predictable with such a Pentagon-ridden regime, the chance was thrown away. The decision was to replace the Saigon army by the U.S. army and with a haste that bordered on panic, the numbers to be committed skyrocketing upwards after each confab of the Pentagon specialists. A decision which meant, in fact, escalation from "special" to "limited" war.

### WAR DIFFERENCES

There are several differences between "limited" and "special" war, as conceived by General Maxwell Taylor, the main one being that the former has to be fought principally with U.S. troops.

But another important difference is that "special war" is waged ostensibly by a compliant government which "invites" intervention and theoretically runs the war through its own War Ministry and General Staff. But one cannot conceive the Americans placing their divisions under the control of a South Vietnamese Supreme Commander or General Staff or War Ministry. "Limited war", in fact, is conceived as being waged without reckoning with the War Ministry and General Staff of the country concerned.

One of the most ardent advocates for the full commitment of U.S. combat troops in South Vietnam is Mr. John Mecklin, from 1961 till mid-1964 head of the United States Information Service in Saigon.

### QUICK WAR

In his book *Mission in Torment*, after admitting the failures of U.S. military and political policies in South Vietnam up to mid-1965, Mecklin answers his own question. What to do?

"Introduction of U.S. combat forces. . . . The moment had come to do this, to go to war, as quickly as possible. With every day of procrastination the danger mounted of a sudden upheaval such as a neutralist coup d'etat, which would make it more difficult. . . ."

(p. 304). Mecklin goes on to say: "There would always be soft, troubled countries like Vietnam that were vulnerable to subversion. We would be again obliged to

defend such countries through local governments as bad or worse than the Diem regime. We could never escape the possibility that conditions would once again leave us no choice but to send our own troops to defend such distant frontiers. . . ." (p. 313).

So we go back to the concept of classical imperialism with its expeditionary forces. The blueprint as presented in Mecklin's book seems to have been accepted wholly by Washington or perhaps was dictated on to Mecklin's typewriter after the policy had been decided.

### DEFENCE

One of the fantastic points he makes in justifying all this to the American public is that "in Vietnam, the U.S. has never sought anything more than to defend the status quo ante, i.e., an independent South Vietnam as provided by the Geneva Agreements of 1954. . . ." (p. 297), and, in justifying all-out U.S. intervention:

"Our mission would be rigidly limited to surgical intervention to enforce the Geneva Agreements of 1954 in support to the legitimate government of South Vietnam, hopefully at the invitation of this government. . . ."

Now if there is one thing that the Geneva Agreements do not mention, it is any reference to an "independent South Vietnam." On the contrary, the Geneva Agreements specifically stipulates that there is one single, independent and unified Vietnam and that the line temporarily drawn along the 17th Parallel to separate the combatants shall in no way be considered as permanent boundary.

### DISAPPEARANCE

The temporary demarcation line would disappear after July 1956, following the elections to unify the country. Obviously, there is also no word about a "legitimate government of South Vietnam."

But this is the criminal hoax now officially foisted on the U.S. and world public to justify America's twin aggressions against the two halves of Vietnam.