

THE SPARK



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EDITORIAL

The Great October Revolution

FORTY six years ago, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) was founded by the genius of our time, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In October 1917 (November, new calendar) the first socialist state was born when the workers and soldiers of autocratic and capitalist Russia stormed the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) and rose in arms against the Czar and the entire exploiting classes which he personified.

Imperialism was quick to fathom the immense threat offered it by the emergence of a state of workers and peasants. Accordingly, it organised the war of intervention and supported the reactionary classes in the civil war. The bravery of the heroic Soviet people, the correct leadership of Lenin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union guided by Marxism-Leninism, and the massive support of revolutionary working class movements of the entire world combined to secure the triumph of socialism over one sixth of the earth's surface.

For seventeen years after the death of Lenin, the young socialist state battled against imperialist encirclement abroad and counter-revolution at home. With no previous experience to go by, the young Soviet state transformed itself from a backward imperialist country into a happy multi-national state with a modern agriculture and a powerful socialist industry. The essential correctness of its programme and path of construction was vindicated in a crucible of fire unprecedented in the history of man which Hitler let loose on the Soviet Union in 1941. The superiority of the Socialist system was dramatically demonstrated in the way the Soviet people absorbed the shocks of the German army and finally rallied to destroy the greatest war machine history had known up to then.

The post-war period saw events that again proved the dynamic vitality of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Vast areas of the world and large populations accepted the socialist way of life. The Soviet Union made good the war ravages in its agriculture, industry and culture at a rate that staggered the imagination. Twenty-five million people were rehoused and one third of its land area which had come under fascist occupation and plunder was rehabilitated. Simultaneously, massive assistance was given to the new socialist countries of Europe and Asia to permit a rate of economic growth higher than that of the capitalist countries. A beleaguered Soviet Union in the twenties and thirties had blossomed into the world socialist system embracing half of the world's population.

This success story of phenomenal progress has not yet come to an end. Soviet science has impressed its supremacy on the entire world. From a backward country importing textile looms in the twenties, the Soviet Union has become a first class world power whose technological achievements have left the capitalist states bewildered and perplexed.

For us in Africa, the Great October Socialist Revolution is significant in many ways. In the short space of only two generations, it has abolished illiteracy among 200 million people; it produces scientists and scientific workers at the rate of over 800,000 a year; its military might is a major factor for world peace; and together with other socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America, it constitutes a beacon of light to guide our paths in the march of Africa to complete independence and modernity.

On this memorable occasion, we salute the valiant peoples of the Soviet Union. We salute the

The Politics of Neo-Colonialism

NEO-COLONIALISM has been described as empire-building without the flag. It is a system under which a technically sovereign state (with its flag, national anthem, coat of arms, representation at the U.N., its army, its diplomatic service etc.) binds itself to an imperialist power through a chain of pacts and agreements ostensibly for aid and protection that provide a facade behind which the newly independent state continues the classical relationship of a colonial economy to its metropolitan patron i.e. provides primary products and exclusive markets for the latter's industries and goods.

Neo-colonialism has been correctly described by President Kwame Nkrumah as "the greatest danger at present facing Africa". The Africa Charter, drawn up at Addis Ababa (May 1963) recognises this truth and makes the "fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms," a fundamental objective of the Organisation of African Unity. Some 155 million people in Africa today live under one form or other of neo-colonialism. In other words, nearly 60 per cent of Africa's entire population is under the grip of neo-colonialism.

Although neo-colonialism is now becoming generally known as a client-patron relationship existing between some independent African states and the former colonial power, the working of the system has not been generally understood. We can recognise the system. But how does it work? What is its inner logic?

Generalising on experience in Africa, particularly in the French-speaking states and some of the English-speaking African states, neo-colonialism is reared on four foundations. These are:—

1. Political power is left in the hands of reactionaries who necessarily depend upon foreign support for existence;
2. Foreign control of the army;
3. Foreign control and

direction of the secret arms of state power, especially the Secret police and intelligence service; and

4. Control of key economic institutions is left in the hands of foreign interests.

BRAND OF POLITICS

Upon this foundation is reared a brand of politics which is distinctive both in its methods and its objectives. The genetic characteristics of the politics of neo-colonialism can be summarised as follows:—

1. The economic strategy of the client State is to concern itself only with what is called the "infrastructure" which leaving economic production to private capital;
2. A divided trade union movement;

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And we call for renewed loyalty to the ideals and spirit of the Great October Socialist Revolution which gave birth to the Soviet Union and, coupled with the revolutionary initiative of the common people all over the world, has put mankind well on the road to an era of happiness and universal brotherhood in which imperialism and the exploitation of man by man shall be banished for ever.

involved a very limited growth of local business strata.

However, after political independence, the rate of growth of the business class has increased. This has been due to two main reasons. The new wielder of political power have used their links with the state apparatus to establish themselves as wealthy entrepreneurs. Secondly, imperialism has striven to create a local class of capitalists (through business partnerships) because it sees such a class as its bridgehead or operational base in the client state.

TRANSFER OF POWER

Political power was handed to this group through several stratagems. It was only where on the eve of independence, the national liberation movement was firmly led by radical politicians that imperialism found it impossible to hand over to its local proteges. A good example of this is Ghana. Wherever the national liberation movement was weak, or was led by the so-called "moderate" constitutional wing or was deeply divided between moderate and radical wings, imperialism succeeded in creating neo-colonialist Regimes. No better evidence can be adduced in support of the view that imperialism happily transfers political power to reactionary groups that serve its interests after independence in the French-speaking African states:

January, 1960	—	Cameroon
April 17, 1960	—	Togo
June 20, 1960	—	Senegal and Mali
June 26, 1960	—	Malagasy
August 1, 1960	—	Dahomey
August 3, 1960	—	Niger
August 5, 1960	—	Upper Volta
August 7, 1960	—	Ivory Coast
August 11, 1960	—	Chad
August 13, 1960	—	Central African Republic
August 15, 1960	—	Congo (Brazzaville)
August 17, 1960	—	Gabon
November 28, 1960	—	Mauritania

It is obvious that some policy-makers in Paris had come to the conclusion that neo-colonialism could

serve French imperialism even better than direct colonial administration. British imperialism caught the point and followed suit in some of its African territories. The final transfer of power was made to a government put in office by imperialism either through decree or manipulated elections.

The second foundation of neo-colonialism is foreign control of the army. In the English-speaking countries, this control is achieved through military pacts, military bases, military missions, expatriate commanding officers and monopoly control of supplies for the army. At times some of these elements of control are in the hands of non-British nationals; but in any case such military personnel are supplied by one or other of the allies of Britain is NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation).

For example, Nigeria, whose army is firmly in British hands, uses U.S. experts in the field of radar communications and satellite research and West German officers in her special airborne commando units now being organised.

CONTROL OF ARMY

In the French-speaking African states, the control of the army is achieved through a somewhat different arrangement. Military bases, military pacts and military missions do exist. But the armies are usually small garrison units almost entirely officered by Africans formerly in the French army. These operate on the directives of Defence Bureau largely staffed by French 'experts' and civil servants. And behind these token military

units is a much bigger and much more powerful

Continued on page 6

The University of New Africa

I AM very happy to be with you on this occasion and to welcome you to this official opening of the Institute of African Studies.

I regard this occasion as historically important. When we were planning this University, I knew that a many-sided Institute of African Studies which should fertilise the University, and through the University, the Nation, was a vital part of it.

This Institute has now been in existence for some time, and has already begun to make its contribution to the study of African history, culture and institutions, languages and arts. It has already begun to attract to itself scholars and students from Ghana, from other African countries and from the rest of the world.

The beginning of this present academic year marks, in a certain sense, a new development of this Institute. Already, the Institute has a team of seventeen research fellows and some forty post-graduate students—of whom about one-third come from Ghana and the remainder from countries as diverse as Poland and the United States of America, Nigeria and Japan. We hope soon to have students and fellows from China and the Soviet Union.

This Institute is no longer an infant, but a growing child. It has begun to develop a definite character of its own; it is beginning to make itself known in the world. This, therefore, is a moment for taking stock and to think afresh about the functions of the Institute, and of the University within which it is set.

What sort of Institute of African Studies does Ghana want and need to have?

In what way can Ghana make its own specific contribution to the advancement of knowledge about the peoples and cultures of Africa through past history and through contemporary problems?

For what kind of service are we preparing students of this Institute and of our Universities?

Are we sure that we have established here the best possible relationship between teachers and students?

To what extent are our universities identified with the aspirations of Ghana and Africa?

You who are working in this Institute—as research workers and assistants, teachers and students—have a special responsibility for helping to answer these questions. I do, however, wish to take this opportunity to put to you some of the guiding principles which an Institute of African Studies situated here in Ghana at this period of our history must constantly bear in mind.

COLONIAL STUDENTS

First and foremost, I would emphasise the need for a re-interpretation and a new assessment of the factors which make up our past. We have to recognise frankly that African Studies, in the form in which they have been developed in the universities and centres of learning in the West, have been largely influenced by the concepts of old style "colonial studies", and still to some extent remain under the shadow of colonial ideologies and mentality.

Until recently, the study of African history was regarded as a minor and marginal theme within the framework of imperial history.

The study of African social institutions and cultures was subordinated in varying degrees to the effort to maintain the apparatus of colonial power. In British Institutes of higher learning, for example, there was a tendency to look to social anthropologists to provide the kind of know-

ledge that would help to support the particular brand of colonial policy known as indirect rule.

The study of African languages was closely related to the practical objectives of the European missionary and the administrator.

African music, dancing and sculpture were labelled "primitive art". They were studied in such a way as to reinforce the picture of African society as something grotesque, as a curious, mysterious human back-water, which helped to retard social progress in Africa and to prolong colonial domination over its peoples.

AFRICAN PROBLEMS

African economic problems, organisation, labour, immigration, agriculture, communications, industrial development—were generally viewed from the standpoint of the European interest in the exploitation of African resources, just as African politics were studied in the context of the European interest in the management or manipulation of African affairs.

When I speak of a new interpretation and new assessment, I refer particularly to our Professors and Lecturers. The non-Ghanaian, non-African Professors and Lecturers are, of course, welcome to work here with us. Intellectually, there is no barrier between us and them. We appreciate, however, that their mental make-up has been largely influenced by their system of education and the facts of their society and environment. For this reason, they must endeavour to adjust and reorientate their attitudes and thought to our African conditions and aspirations. They must not try simply to reproduce here their own diverse patterns of education and culture. They must embrace and develop those aspirations and responsibilities which are clearly essential for maintaining a progressive and dynamic African society.

One essential function of this Institute must surely be to study the history, culture and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa in new African centred ways—in entire freedom from the propositions and pre-suppositions of the colonial epoch, and from the distortions of those Professors and Lecturers who continue to make European studies of Africa the basis of this new assessment. By the work of this Institute, we must re-assess and assert the glories and achieve-

ments of our African past and inspire our generation, and succeeding generations, with a vision of a better future.

STUDY OF AFRICAN DESCENT

But you should not stop here. Your work must also include a study of the origins and culture of peoples of African descent in the Americas and the Caribbean, and you should seek to maintain close relations with their scholars so that there may be cross fertilisation between Africa and those who have their roots in the African past.

The second guiding principle which I would emphasise is the urgent need to search for, edit, publish and make available sources of all kinds.

Ghanaian scholars who at an early period were actively concerned with the study of Ghana's history and institutions and helped to prepare the way for the creation of this Institute—such as Carl Reindorf, John Mensa Sarbah, Casely-Hayford, Attah-Ahuma,

Such a library would include editions, with translations and commentaries or works—whether in African, Asian or European languages—which are of special value for the student of African history, philosophy, literature and law. I can think of no more solid or enduring contribution which the Institute could make to the development of African Studies on sound lines during the second half of the Twentieth Century, or to the training of future generations of Africanists.

Here in this Institute of African Studies, you have already made a useful beginning with the collection of a substantial body of Arabic and Hausa documents. This collection has revealed a tradition of scholarship in Ghana about which little was previously known, and I hope that it will throw a new light on our history as part of the history of Africa.

IMPORTANT WORKS

I also regard as important the work which you are doing in the collection of

There is no dearth of men and women among us qualified to teach in the Law Faculty. This applies equally to other Faculties. Only in this way can the Institute of African Studies fertilise the Universities and the Nation.

The magnitude of the changes taking place in Africa to-day is a positive index of the scale and pace necessary for our social reconstruction. Our Universities should provide us with the force and impetus needed to maintain this reconstruction.

After years of bitter political struggle for our freedom and independence, our continent is emerging systematically from colonialism and from the yoke of imperialism. The personality of the African which was stunted in this process can only be retrieved from these ruins if we make a conscious effort to restore Africa's ancient glory. It is only in conditions of total freedom and independence from foreign rule and interferences that the aspira-

mic, a society in which equal opportunities are assured for all. Let us remember that as the aims and needs of our society change, so our educational institutions must be adjusted and adapted to reflect this change.

THE GATEWAY

We must regard education as the "gateway to the enchanted cities of the mind" and not only as a means to personal economic security and social privilege. Indeed, education consists not only in the sum of what a man knows, or the skill with which he can put this to his own advantage. In my view, a man's education must also be measured in terms of the soundness of his judgement of people and things, and in his power to understand and appreciate the needs of his fellow men, and to be of service to them. The educated man should be so sensitive to the conditions around him that he makes it his chief endeavour to improve those conditions for the good of all.

As you know, we have been doing a great deal to make education available to all. It is equally important that education should seek the welfare of the people and recognise our attempts to solve our economic, cultural, technological and scientific problems. In this connection, it will be desirable for your master's degree courses to be designed with such problems in mind. It is therefore important and necessary that our Universities and the Academy of Sciences should maintain the closest possible liaison in all fields.

This will result not only in the efficient planning and execution of research, but also in economy in the use of funds and resources. Let me emphasise here that we look to the Universities to set an example by their efficiency and their sense of responsibility in the use of public funds. They must also set an example in loyalty to the Government and the people, in good citizenship, public morality and behaviour.

MAXIMUM BENEFIT

In order that the students may obtain the maximum benefit from their education in our Universities, it is imperative that the relationship between them and their teachers should be as free and easy as possible. Without this close interaction between mind and mind and the common fellowship of a University, it will be impossible to produce the type of student who understands the larger issues of the world around him.

Are we really sure that our students are in touch with the life of the nation? That they and their teachers fully appreciate what is going on in our society? The time has come for the gown to come to town.

In this connection, I can see no reason why courses should not continue to be organised at the Law School in Accra for Lay

Magistrates, Local Government staff and other officers both in Government and industry, who wish to acquire a knowledge of the law to assist them in their work. The staff of the Law Faculty in this University should be able to organise such courses for the benefit of the people in the categories I have mentioned.

It should also be possible for individual Lecturers and Professors on their own initiative to give lectures on subjects of their own choosing, to which the whole University and others outside it are invited. This would make possible the greatest freedom in discussion and the widest contacts between our Universities and the general public. I would like to see this become an established practice in our Universities.

Furthermore, I would stress the need for the Institute to be outward-looking. There may be some tension between the need to acquire new knowledge and the need to diffuse it—between the demands of research and the demands of teaching. But the two demands are essentially interdependent.

SOCIALIST SOCIETY

And in Ghana the fact that we are committed to the construction of a socialist society makes it especially necessary that this Institute of African Studies should work closely with the people—and should be constantly improving upon its methods for serving the needs of the people—of Ghana, of Africa and of the world. Teachers and students in our Universities should clearly understand this.

What in practice does this mean? In part this objective—of serving the needs of the people—can be achieved by training this new generation of Africanists—equipping them, through our Master of Arts and Diploma courses, with a sounder basis of knowledge in the various fields of African Studies than former generations have had. It is because of the great importance that I attach to the training of well-qualified Africanists who can feed back this new learning into our educational system that—in spite of the serious shortage of secondary school teachers—I have agreed that teachers who are selected for these post-graduate courses should be released for two years to take them.

An Institute of African Studies that is situated in Africa must pay particular attention to the arts of Africa, for the study of these can enhance our understanding of African institutions and values, and the cultural bonds that unite us. A comparative study of musical systems, for example, or the study of musical instruments, drum language, or the oral traditions that link music with social events, may illuminate historical problems or provide data for the study of our ethical and philosophical ideas.

In studying the arts, however, you must not be content with the accumulation of knowledge about the arts. Your researches must stimulate creative activity; they must contribute to the development of the arts in Ghana and in other parts of Africa, they must stimulate the birth of a specifically African

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Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

Attobah Coguano, Anthony William Amu—understood how much the development of African Studies depended on the recovery of vital source material. Indeed, the search, publication and our interpretation of sources are obviously processes that must go hand in hand.

HONEST STUDENT

Among non-African students of Ghana's History and institutions, one of the most distinguished was undoubtedly Captain Rattray. By his intellectual honesty and diligence, he was able to appreciate and present to the world the values inherent in a culture which was, after all, foreign to him. It is impossible to respect an intellectual unless he shows this kind of honesty. After all, Academic Freedom must serve all legitimate ends, and not a particular end. And here the term "Academic Freedom" should not be used to cover up academic deficiencies and indiscipline.

I would therefore like to see this Institute, in co-operation with Institutes and Centres of African Studies in other African States, planning to produce what I would describe as an extensive and diversified Library of African Classics.

stool histories and other forms of oral tradition—of poetry and African literature in all its forms—of which one admirable expression is Professor Nketia's recently published book entitled *Folk Songs of Ghana*, and Kofi Antubam's latest book on African culture. Other Ghanaians have done equally admirable work in this field. I may mention here Ephraim Amu whose work has created and established a Ghanaian style of music and revived an appreciation for it. Our old friend, J. B. Danquah, has also produced studies of Akan culture and institutions.

Much more should be done in this direction. There exist in our Universities, Faculties and Departments, such as Law, Economics, Politics History, Geography, Philosophy and Sociology, the teaching in which should be substantially based as soon as possible on African material.

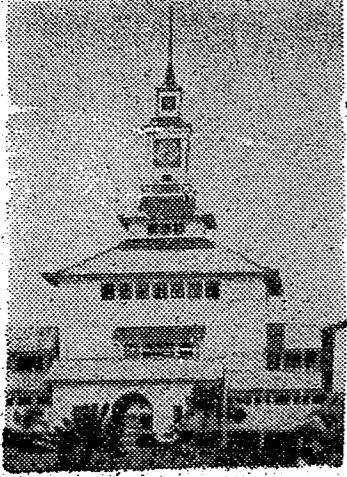
Let us take an example. Our students in the Faculty of Law must be taught to appreciate the very intimate link that exists between law and social values. It is therefore important that the Law Faculty should be staffed by Afri-

tionals of our people will see real fulfilment and the African genius find its best expression.

AFRICAN GENIUS

When I speak of the African genius, I mean something different from Negritude, something not apologetic, but dynamic. Negritude consists in a mere literary affectation and style which piles up word upon word and image upon image with occasional reference to Africa and things African. I do not mean a vague brotherhood based on a criterion of colour, or on the idea that Africans have no reasoning but only a sensitivity. By the African genius, I mean something positive, our socialist conception of society, the efficiency and validity of our traditional statecraft, our highly developed code of morals, our hospitality and our purposeful energy.

This Institute must help to foster in our University and other educational institutions the kind of education which will produce devoted men and women with imagination and ideas, who, by their life and actions, can inspire our people to look forward to a great future. Our aim must be to create a society that is not static but dyna-



OUR UNIVERSITIES (3)

LEGON

LAST week, I pointed out that there were ways in which the University of Ghana could effect considerable savings. The Government and corporations and other statutory bodies of this country owe it to our people to use money in the most economical way compatible with efficiency. The President has already set a brilliant example in this, not merely by cutting down the national budget from one-eighty-seven million pounds to one-forty-four million, but by ordering further cuts wherever possible.

It is the duty of all to exercise the greatest restraint in the use of public funds. In his speech to the University a fortnight ago, the President said that he was looking to the Universities to show a sense of civic responsibility in the use of public funds. In particular, he has ordered that the offer of the Kwame Nkrumah University of the common use of architectural services should be taken up. That alone would effect considerable savings, for the University of Ghana in Legon and the University College of Cape Coast both have an extensive programme to devise and carry through.

What is actually being done? The University College of Cape Coast have been using the Services of an Italian firm of consultants who have done brilliant work in Brazil. But they are expensive; and they are unnecessary. In building the Kwame Nkrumah University it was not necessary to incur wasteful expenses involving foreign exchange. The admonition clearly given by the President is not being followed.

WASTE OF PUBLIC FUNDS

Since the President's statement, the University of Ghana have actually taken further steps to bring in different groups of architects from Europe who will be flown into Ghana at public expense to come and study the lie of the land in Legon and the existing buildings. So will the foreign referees who will be brought from Europe. After that the different groups of architects will then submit designs which will be examined and assessed by the foreign referees. Each competitor will of course have to be paid for taking part in the competition at all. So far this will cost up to £25,000.

The winning entrant will then be entitled to a percentage of the cost of actually putting up the building. This will mean hundreds of thousands of pounds just for the international competition. The President, knowing that this will be a criminal misuse of funds, has asked that such work be undertaken locally. The Kwame Nkrumah University can with minor increases in the establishment of the Faculty of Architecture successfully do the required work. Furthermore, African members of the University Council have opposed the move to bring in an international competition, as this will involve a criminal misuse of funds. Against the strongly expressed opinions of the African members who should know and understand our in-

terests, in spite of the President's admonition, the University of Ghana in Legon is taking steps to perform the international competition. Someone surely owes the citizenry of Ghana an explanation?

AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

I shall take this opportunity and develop my remarks on the Faculty of Agriculture. The University of Ghana which has had a lavishly equipped Faculty of Agriculture for several years must be seen to associate itself with the agricultural revolution taking place in Ghana. For its success, this revolution depends not only on the use of tractors and combine harvesters but also in a fundamental way on scientific know-how. The Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Ghana has in the past taught very few stud-

ents. Its teaching staff has therefore had ample time to engage in agricultural research, and I believe that a great deal of such research has been successfully completed. One would therefore expect that, that faculty would be able to feed our state farms and our collective farms with scientific information. In fact very little such information has been forthcoming from Legon though its Faculty of Agriculture alone costs something getting on to £100,000 a year.

Indeed, one can justifiably wonder what the value of the results of its researches is. These results have not filtered into the content of the teaching, and there is reason to believe that the researches have in the main been undertaken by expatriates who only want the experience that will fit them to teach in colleges of tropical agriculture in their own country.

PLANT BREEDING

Plant breeding which will make necessary the study of Ghanaian seeds and strains has been ignored almost completely and in any case there are only two or three plant breeders in the whole of Ghana—a

tragedy for a country intending to carry out an agricultural revolution.

The University of Ghana should with its Faculty of Agriculture be able to meet its own needs in plantains, potatoes, yams, meat, fowls, and eggs, etc. Though it has a kind of farm now, that farm is inadequate, it is too small and consequently uneconomical to run. What the University should do is to increase the acreage of its farm to an economic level, and feed itself.

It could also turn its shop, its buttery as I am told it is called, into a co-operative shop open to all members of the University, open to workers, students, teachers, administrators. This shop should be open for purchases to everyone and to outsiders on a much larger scale than now. The co-operative shop could then open branch shops in the Halls of Residence and thus help maintain prices there at levels compatible with student pockets.

The University of Ghana is already introducing courses leading to the Master's Degree in Arts and Science and Agriculture. The opportunity must be seized as the President pointed out to relate the content and inspiration of

Focus on SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA PART NINE

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

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

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

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

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

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

such courses to our human, scientific, technological, economic, industrial and cultural problems. A practical way of ensuring this is in the present case of agriculture to encourage post-graduate students to work on some of our agricultural problems.

AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

This will of course entail some restriction in the choice of research questions. This however, happens in any case, for post-graduate students are always restricted by considerations of the availability of personnel qualified to supervise their work in a particular area of research.

Besides, research questions suggested by students have to be approved in each case before a programme can be undertaken.

There, therefore, already exists machinery in the University of Ghana adequate for ensuring that national agricultural problems are tackled by our best agricultural students. This is a service which the University owes to Ghana through its Faculty of Agriculture.

That faculty includes among its staff Ghanaian graduates who have been engaged in the civil service and in other ways in the supervision of farms and in practical agriculture. All of them should be encouraged

to devise such research programmes. I am sure that they would be willing to do so if enabled to.

In the West Indies, something similar to what I am suggesting has been the practice for a considerably long time. The result is that for some of their agricultural problems the people of the West Indies often have five or six different solutions. Why can our University in Ghana not respond to the needs of our society in the same way as the College of Agriculture in the West Indies does?

I see, I Hear

I SEE strugglers
prisoners of Imperialism
tortured, hanged, murdered;
unmerciful acts of terror.
I hear cries
of mothers for their sons,
who sacrificed innocent lives —
patriotism unequalled —
yet my shameless brothers see and not
see,
hear horrifying sounds in streets and
not hear,
I can see,
I can hear,
we're to revolt.
I see a light,
a light of glory,
our revolution glimmers
faintly in the distant.
I hear a sound,
a dim reverberation,
our revolution's near
the sound is inevitably heard
tho' brothers you cast a blind,
you lend a deaf ear to the truth.
I can see,
I can hear,
the revolution.
I see rallies,
conscious workers,
banners raised to freedom
'tis a new life to once oppressed.
I hear songs,
songs of strugglers
loosed from bondage
capitalist's reign of terror,
but hypocrites you're ashamed to march,
you keep dumb when others shout
'Freedom'.
I can see,
I can hear,
the struggle's began.
I see fields
yielding plenty,
to feed once starved,
clothing their naked bones.
I hear people speak,

of Marx and Lenin,
their glorious works,
which bring to mankind's poor
a new life brothers you cannot see,
a sound of progress you dare not hear.
I can see it,
I can hear it,
It's reality.
I see factories,
the people's property
to produce our needs,
to employ long unemployed.
I hear speeches,
by once literary dumbs
they speak with wisdom
of Socialist progressivism.
but you pessimists are blind
you are deaf to the sounds of truth.
I can see,
I can hear,
the revolution's neigh.
— by Horace M. Lashley.

The Setting Sun

YET another day is done,
'tis but many years since it began
and a new page of mankind added
to his history, oppression's reign.
The setting sun Capitalism
descends the horizon fate,
its meteorite descent inevitably
intensifies bourgeois' proletariat hate.
Down, down, slowly down,
thy strength fails thee, wounded.
Proletarian moon-light glimmers
from East. Ye Socialist freedom
fighters, Capitalism still glows West,
but Castro hoists struggle shutters
to brake capitalism's blinding glare.
Cuban peasants hail Freedom!
Castro's liberating freedom banner.
Hail the Setting Sun!
— by Horace M. Lashley.

Nigger Wakes

Haunting sounds,
violent wierd foot-steps reverberate
master shudders, trembles,
screams, advancement haunts him, —
he scents nigger wakes —
awaken nigger's filled with revenge
for lasted oppression
long years he worked to bone free
when mother earth
his hated bed of comfort had been
his pillow dry rocks
the open sky his canopy of hope
twinkling scants stars
like aristocratic decorated ceiling —
what luxury —
nature his only unfeigned friend was
years, long years
nigger caressed the soil, bare-footed
crude opiate tools
he was sovereign master only too
sowing, reaping,
ploughing mother earth like bullock,
nigger slept on,
but now nigger wakes to face day
a new, his only day
nigger wakes, the world fears to know
he wakes with strength
he wakes with energy, hope, education,
rule the world nigger!
you slept long past slavery years
now you wake
raise banners nigger, shout nigger
tell incongruous world
nigger's awake to sleep no more
in odious oppression.
— by Horace M. Lashley.

from THE INSIDE NEW WEAPON OF IMPERIALISM

IN the middle of last year an important seminar with far-reaching consequences for newly emergent nations was held in Strasbourg, France. It was attended by both high ranking officers of the French army and top French politicians and diplomats. The theme of the seminar was the role of the army in the politics of the newly emergent states of the world.

Soon after this most significant seminar, things started happening here in Africa. Olympio of the Republic of Togo was deposed and assassinated. Then Fulbert Youlou's administration in Congo (Brazzaville) was overthrown. Last week, ex-President Maga's government in Dahomey was toppled. In all these coup

d'etat, the decisive role has been played by the army, though trade union and popular organisations have been given temporary freedom to demonstrate their disapproval of the measures of the outgoing government.

It is not being contended that army coups started with the Strasbourg semi-

nar. The military junta in the history of Latin America dates back many decades. And clashes between army groups have always underlain the oil politics of the Middle East.

The new and disturbing element is that imperialism seems to have decided to use the same technique in maintaining its hold on the newly emergent nations of Africa and Asia. Furthermore, the new technique is not being confined to the

overthrow of progressive governments. It is being used to replace one reactionary group with another reactionary group, with the determining factor being suitability of each group as the instrument of the foreign policy of imperialism.

THE NEW TECHNIQUE

Last week, the new technique was much in evidence in South Vietnam where

President Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu were deposed and done to death. It is significant that both the Army and the Security Police in South Vietnam are controlled by U.S. imperialism. Leading U.S. newspapers and magazines admit openly that while the U.S. Defence Department controls the South Vietnam army, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has been spending some 130 million dollars a year on the South Vietnam secret police.

In carrying through the South Vietnam coup, there has been complete disregard of those freedoms which the Western nations claim to be their main contribution to human civilisation. Freedom of speech was suppressed by the ousted President and the new military junta promises 'death on the spot' for all caught distributing propaganda leaflets. The U.S.-backed Diem government desecrated Buddhist temples; and now the new junta chased the Ngo brothers into a catholic church

where they were captured. The points to be emphasised are two. Firstly, imperialism—be it French, British or U.S.—has finally decided to keep its grip on newly emergent nations through military coups. Secondly, in their efforts to maintain client administrations in these states, the imperialists are trampling underfoot the wishes of the people and the basic human freedoms.

The lesson for Africa is clear. We must take the control of our armies absolutely out of the hands of imperialism. And the people must be mobilised to resist the high-handedness of an army operating on the orders of foreign interests.

From the Platt Amendment to Fifth Point

IN 1898, when the Cuban rebel forces had the Spanish troops at the verge of defeat, the United States entered the war. It did so because it felt that the long-desired Cuban "apple" had at last ripened.

Back in 1823, the true author of the Monroe Doctrine, John Quincy Adams, who was then U.S. Secretary of State, had written in a letter to Hugh Nelson, Ambassador to Madrid:

"There are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation; for if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only toward the North American Union, which, by the same law of nature, cannot cast her off from its bosom."

Throughout the nineteenth century, the United States patiently waited for the apple to ripen. Meanwhile, it did everything necessary to prevent Cuba from escaping from Spanish control, whether to win its authentic liberation or to fall into the control of England, the great colonialist rival of the United States.

Thus, in 1826, the United States opposed Cuban independence, demanded by Simon Bolivar in the Congress of Panama, and four years later Secretary of State, Van Buren communicated to the Spanish Government his agreement that "Cuba should remain in the situation in which it is at present."

THE WAR OF 1868

When the War for Independence broke out at Yara in 1868, the attitude of the United States was that of hindering all preparations in its territory, forbidding United States citizens from participating as volunteers, and imprisoning Cuban patriots, whom President Grant termed as "delinquents deserving the full weight of the law" and "persons inclined to evil."

And when the second great movement for liberation began in 1895, Richard Olney, U.S. Secretary of State at that time, offered the Spanish Government his aid in achieving "the immediate pacification of the island in accordance with a plan that while leaving Spain its rights, of sove-

reignty would assure the Cubans all the rights of self-government they could reasonably request."

During the following years, 1896 and 1897, President Cleveland declared the United States "neutral" in the conflict. He ignored the fact that the Spanish government has appointed Valeriano Weyler as Captain General of the island, and that Weyler's plan of "total war" and reconcentration decree had caused the death of tens of thousands of Cubans.

When, the following year, 1898, the United States declared war on Spain, it made the absurd claim that it was doing so on behalf of Cuban independence, which it had systematically opposed throughout the century. The absurdity is evident when we bear in mind that the United States declared war not only on Spain but also on the Cuban Liberation Army, refusing to recognize the forces of the Liberation Army and ignoring the Government of Cuba in Arms, the sole, legal and true government.

THE GROWING POWER

But, looking beyond the phrases with which the falsified version of history is written, what was it that caused the United States to take active part in the conflict? First of all, there was the constantly growing power of the Cuban patriots whose armies, under the command of Antonio Maceo, Maximo Gomez and Calixto Garcia, had practically defeated Spain. Imperialists, annexationists, and autonomists feared, fundamentally, that the end of Spanish colonial domination would mark the beginning of 'Re-translated from the Spanish'. An independent, liberal and democratic government that would open the way to the participation of modest professionals, peasants, Negroes and segments of the rising working class in Cuban public life.

This was not the only reason. Also exerting influence was the fact that England, entangled in it, inter-imperialist conflict in the Far East, found itself forced to leave the United States a free hand for com-

pleting its expansion into the Caribbean and the Pacific.

There was no lack of pretexts. A personal letter written by Dupuy de Lome, Spanish Ambassador to the United States, found its way into the *New York Journal* on February 8, 1898. In it the Spanish diplomat called McKinley, who was then the President of the United States, "weak, vulgar, and a petty politician."

WRECKAGE OF U.S. SHIP

But as this was not considered sufficient to be a "casus belli," little more than a month later the U.S. ship *Maine* was mysteriously blown up in Havana. As a curious "coincidence," at the moment of the disaster only two U.S. officials, both of low rank, were on board with the 264 crew members, all of whom perished.

It was then (April 16, 1898), that the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives approved the Joint Resolution, which recognized — President McKinley would make short shrift of that recognition later—that "Cuba is, and of right ought to be free and independent."

And the United States intervened in the war, a war that ended in a few months despite the lack of military skill of the inexperienced U.S. soldiers. Playing a decisive role in the defeat of Spain was the strategy of Calixto Garcia, the Cuban general who was the author of the campaign's plan of military operations, as well as the bravery and fighting capacity of the troops of the Liberation Army whom facilitated the U.S. landings.

And yet the U.S. command refused to admit General Calixto Garcia, architect of the victory, into Santiago de Cuba after its fall, nor did it allow him to participate in the signing of the Spanish surrender.

This was only the prelude to the U.S. imperialists' plans for absorption and domination. Later would come the imposition of the Platt Amendment. And

with the Amendment, Guantanamo

The Platt Amendment was presented to the U.S. Senate by Orville H. Platt, on February 25, 1901, it was an amendment to the draft law granting funds to maintain the U.S. occupation army in Cuba (the Army Budget Bill)

The Cubans, particularly the patriots in the Constitutional Assembly, were presented with an ironclad alternative: either the Amendment was approved, without changing one word, or U.S. occupation troops would remain in Cuba, for an indefinite period of time.

IMPOSED CONSTITUTION

The Amendment—after a painful process in which the opposition of the majority of the Cuban delegates to the assembly was overcome—was imposed as an appendix to the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba, which had been approved on February 21, 1901. This not only established that "the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene" in the internal affairs of Cuba, but also awarded the U.S. government the faculty of establishing itself on Cuban territory.

Article Seven says: "That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defence, the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points to be agreed upon with the President of the United States."

To impose this curtailment of Cuban sovereignty, the government of the United States had to ignore the Joint Resolution of the U.S. Congress that recognized the independence of Cuba as well as the commitment it had assumed in the Treaty of Paris, in December, 1898, formalizing peace with Spain, where it contracted certain obligations in respect to Cuba, derived from "the fact of its occupation" and only as long as this occupation should last.

The Amendment was so abusive that Senator Morgan told the U.S. Congress that it was imposing "an act of despotism that we have never dared to impose on a tribe of Indians in the United States."

And Juan Gualberto Gomez, one of the most valiant delegates to the Cuban Constitutional Assembly, argued in opposition to the Amendment that it was equivalent to "delivering the key of our house (to the Americans) so that they can enter it at any time, whenever they wish, day or night, for good or evil purposes."

Referring specifically to the "coaling or naval stations," he added that "this clause is nothing but a consequence of the third, the ("right" to intervene)" showing that "the dangers to which our people would be exposed, by the existence of such naval stations are so great that plain common sense prevents us from subscribing to the idea of selling or leasing our lands for that kind of installation."

DEMONSTRATIONS

Juan Gualberto Gomez ended by saying "The idea of renting or leasing part of our national security so wounds the sentiments of our country, that of all the clauses of the Amendment, the one which has most offended our people is the one referring to the naval stations. The cry of 'no coaling stations' has dominated all popular demonstrations held against the Amendment under discussion. It is impossible to recommend that clause, which mutilating our territory, involves a constant threat to our internal peace."

U.S. Secretary of War, Elihu Root, the true author of the Amendment, answered the objections presented by the delegates to the Assembly with the statement that "the withdrawal of the (U.S.) army from Cuba will only take place when a Government has been established under a Constitution that contains, either in its body or in its appendix, certain definite dispositions, speci-

fied in the Statue." After resisting as much as possible, the delegates to the Assembly approved the Amendment by the meagre majority of four votes. Cuba had had little to choose between. Its "consent" had been obtained at the point of a shotgun.

THE RIGHTS

With the "RIGHT" of intervention assured, on the 16 and 23 of February, 1903 the agreement—also ordered by the Platt Amendment—was signed by which Cuba leased the United States the bays of Guantanamo and Honda "for the time required."

In accordance with the best U.S. diplomatic tradition, this despoiling received the appropriate formal treatment. Thus, "While on the one hand the United States recognises the continuance of the ultimate sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba over the above described areas of land and water, on the other hand the Republic of Cuba consents that... the United States shall exercise complete jurisdiction and control over and within said areas."

Three months before the treaty was signed, the Cubans had to resist the U.S. demand that it be sold not only Guantanamo and Honda Bays but also Nipe and Cienfuegos.

In July, 1903, rules were established under the February treaty, providing for the United States to pay Cuba two thousand gold pesos annually during the time that Cuban territory would remain occupied, and that Cuba on its part should reimburse those whose property was expropriated.

And something else was provided—which has a strange timeliness today: "Fugitives from justice charged with crimes or misdemeanors amenable to Cuban law, taking refuge within said areas, shall be delivered up by the United States authorities on demand by duly authorised Cuban authorities; and it was also agreed that "material, merchandise, stores and munitions of war shall not be transported from said areas into Cuban territory."

With the opening of the Panama Canal, Honda

Bay lost importance and was abandoned in exchange for an enlargement of the area occupied at Guantanamo. That enlargement, carried out indeed, without any control, took on appearances of legality with the new Treaty signed on May 29, 1934.

If the 1903 Treaty was signed under the threat of the indefinite stay of U.S. occupation troops, the 1934 treaty constituted an imposition of the "Good Neighbor", Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who, forgetting the commitments of non-intervention, he had assumed a year before in the Montevideo Conference, made good use of a Cuban government (that of Carlos Mendieta), that was a mere product of U.S. Manoeuvring, imposed on Cuba through the presence of U.S. naval units in Havana Bay.

CUBAN DEMANDS

Many years have passed since those members of the Cuban Constitutional Assembly were forced to accept the imposition of the Base. Since 1959—when the Cuban Revolutionary Government refused to accept payment for that cession of sovereignty supporting itself on the unanimous sentiment of the people, it has denounced to the world the encroachment on its sovereignty represented by the presence of U.S. forces on the free soil of Cuba.

And the world, which has changed radically today, supports the clear Cuban demands. The resolute solidarity of the socialist countries has been joined by the countries not aligned in military pacts—which, in September, 1961, held the Belgrade Conference—in recognising the right of Cuba to exercise sovereignty over its entire territory.

Therefore, the Fifth Point set forth by Fidel Castro on October 28, 1962, demanding "withdrawal from the Guantanamo Naval Base and the return of the Cuban territory occupied by the United States", has been echoed widely. And this echo will grow stronger as the yearning for redemption and national independence of the peoples of the earth grows and strengthens: History will give the final verdict. And it can be only one thing: Guantanamo will be Cuban.

Continued from page 2

literature, which, exploring African themes and the depth of the African soul, will become an integral portion of a general world literature. It would be wrong to make this a mere appendage of world culture.

I hope that the School of Music and Drama, which works in close association with the Institute of African Studies, will provide this Institute with an outlet for creative work, and for the dissemination of knowledge of the arts through its extension and vacation courses, as well as through regular full-time courses. I hope also that this Institute, in association with the School of Music and Drama, will link the University of Ghana closely with the National Theatre movement in Ghana. In this way, the Institute can

University of New Africa

serve the needs of the people by helping to develop new forms of dance and drama, of music and creative writing, that are at the same time closely related to our Ghanaian traditions and express the ideas and aspirations of our people at this critical stage in our history. This should lead to new strides in our cultural development.

There are other fields in which a great deal remains to be done. In addition to publishing the results of its research in a form in which it will be available to scholars, the Institute must be concerned with its diffusion in a more popular form among a much wider public. While there are many channels through

which this new learning can be spread—including radio and, in the very near future, television—I am particularly anxious that the Institute should assist the Government in the planning and production of new text-books for use in our secondary schools, training colleges, workers' colleges and educational institutions generally.

THE PRINCIPLES

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the principles which should guide the Institute in its work. It is for you to develop, amplify and apply these in relation to the actual possibilities that present themselves to you. Of one thing I am sure, that Ghana offers a rich and exciting field of work and a friendly and sympathetic environment for scholars and students from any part of the world who wish seriously to devote themselves to a study of Africa and African civilisations.

Hence it will, I hope, be possible to say of this Institute—and, indeed, of our Universities—as the historian Mahmut Kati said of another famous centre of learning—16 Century Timbuktu—I quote, "In those days Timbuktu did not have its equal... from the province of Mali to the extreme limits of the region of the Maghrib, for the solidity of its institutions, its political liberties, the purity of its morals, the security of persons, its consideration and compassion towards the poor and towards foreigners, its courtesy towards students and men of learning and the financial assistance which it provided for the latter. The scholars of this period were the most respected among the Believers for their generosity, their force of character, and their discretion."

Finally, I would hope that this Institute would

always conceive its function as being to study AFRICA, in the widest possible sense—Africa in all its complexity and diversity, and its underlying unity.

Let us consider some of the implications of the concept of African unity for the study of African peoples and cultures, and for the work of your Institute.

It should mean, in the first place, that in your research and your teaching you are not limited by conventional, territorial or regional boundaries. This is essentially an Institute of African Studies, not of Ghana Studies, nor of West African Studies. Of course, you are bound to take a special interest in exploring the history, institutions, languages and arts of the people of Ghana, and in establishing these studies on a sound basis—as indeed, you are already doing.

INVESTIGATIONS

But these investigations must inevitably lead onwards—to the exploration of the connections between the musical forms, the dances, the literature, the plastic arts, the philosophical and religious beliefs, the systems of government, the patterns of trade and economic organisation that have been developed here in Ghana, and the cultures of other African peoples and other regions of Africa. Ghana, that is to say, can only be understood in the total African context.

Let me illustrate this point.

As you know, Ghana has always been one of the great gold-producing areas of the world. Much of the gold from our mines was exported by our people, who conducted this trade as an exclusive state enterprise, to Jenne on the Niger, whence it was transported by canoe down the Niger to Timbuktu—the great entrepot and meeting-place

of river-borne and desert-borne traffic. At Timbuktu the gold was transferred to the camel caravans, which carried it across the Sahara to the commercial centres of the Western Maghrib—whence part would be re-exported to Western Europe.

It was normal for African trading firms to have their agents in Jenne and Timbuktu, in Marrakesh and Fez, with trade connections stretching southwards to modern Ghana and northwards as far as England. Thus, in the early nineteenth century we find in Timbuktu, the home of the University of Sankore, merchants visiting their business colleagues in Liverpool, while merchants from North Africa took part in trade missions to Kumasi.

Another distinct commercial network had grown up around the Kola trade, linking Ghana and its neighbours with the Hausa States and Bornu, and thus—by the central Saharan trade-routes—with Tripoli and Tunis.

CONTACTS

These commercial contacts were naturally reflected at the level of culture. The languages, literature, music, architecture and domestic arts of Ghana have made their impact, in a great variety of ways, through these ancient links on the wider African world, and beyond.

Very few of you may know, for example, that Baden Powell based the idea of the Boy Scout Movement including the left-hand shake, on the concept of Ashanti military strategy and youth organisation.

Consider a Ghanaian writer like Al-Hajj 'Umoru, who lived from about 1850 to 1934, some forty of whose Arabic works, in poetry and prose, have so far been collected by the Institute of African Studies.

Al-Hajj 'Umoru belonged to a family of Hausa traders and scholars—his great-grandfather had taken part in 'Uthman dan Fodio's revolution, born and educated in Kano, he travelled along the kola route to S'qala where he settled as a young man and built up a school of Arabic and Koranic studies; at the time of the Salaga wars, he migrated to Kete-Krachi; well-read in classical Arabic Literature, he collected around him students from various parts of West Africa, and described in some of his poems the disintegration of African society consequent upon the coming of the British.

Similarly, we cannot hope to understand adequately the medieval civilisations of West Africa—ancient Ghana, Mali, Songhay, Kanem, Bornu, Oyo—without taking full account of the civilisations which emerged in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa—Moroc, Aksum, Adal, Kilwa, Monomotapa, Mogadishu, Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Pemba, Chang'Amir—exploring the problems of their interconnections, their points of resemblance and difference. In North Africa, too, powerful enlightened civilisations had grown up in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

DEVELOPMENTS

These cities, states and empires developed their own political institutions and organisations, based on their own conceptions of the nature and ideals of society. These institutions and organisations were so efficient and their underlying ideas so valid, that it is surely our duty to give them their place in our studies here.

Nor must the concept of African unity be thought of in a restrictive sense. Just as, in the study of West African civilisations, we have to examine their relationships, by way of the Sahara, with North Africa and the Mediterranean

world, so, in studying the civilisations of Eastern and Southern Africa, we have to recognise the importance of their relationships, by way of the Indian Ocean, with Arabia, India, Indonesia and China.

The 11th Century Arab geographer, Al-Bakri, who gave the first full account of the ancient Empire of Ghana, also gave the first description of the Czech city of Prague.

When we turn to the study of modern Africa, we are again confronted with the necessity of thinking in continental terms. The liberation movements which have emerged in Africa have clearly all been aspects of a single African revolution. They have to be understood from the standpoint of their common characteristics and objectives, as well as from the standpoint of the special kinds of colonial situation within which they have had to operate and the special problems which they have had to face.

So, while of course, no single institution can possibly attempt to cover the whole range of African Studies in all their multiplicity and complexity, I hope to see growing up here in this Institute a body of scholars with interest as many-sided and diversified as our resources can allow. We should in time be able to provide for our students here opportunities for the study of the history, the major languages and literatures, the music and arts, the economic, social and political institutions, of the entire African continent—so that, though individual students will necessarily have to specialise in particular fields, there will be no major sector of African Studies that will be unrepresented here.

RESEARCH

This is not, I think, too ambitious an aim. And I am glad to know that the Institute is already taking steps to develop research and teaching both in North African and in East African History—with their prerequisites, Arabic and Swahili.

At the same time, we must try to ensure that there is the same kind of diversity among the student body. While we are glad to welcome students from Asia, Europe and the Americas, we have naturally a special interest in developing this Institute as a centre where students from all parts of Africa can meet together and acquire this new learning—and thus take their places among the new generation of Africanists which Africa so urgently needs; where the artificial divisions between so-called "English-speaking", "French-speaking", "Portuguese-speaking" Africans will have no meaning.

The *Encyclopaedia Africana*, sponsored by the Ghana Academy of Sciences, should provide a forum for African scholars working together and setting forth the results of their research and scholarship.

Scholars, students and friends: the work on which you are engaged here can be of great value for the future of Ghana, of Africa and of the world. Here let me pay tribute to your Director, Thomas Hodgkin, for the energy and thought with which he has carried out his work. It is to his credit that such a firm foundation has been laid at this Institute.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I now have great pleasure in declaring the Institute of African Studies formally and officially open.

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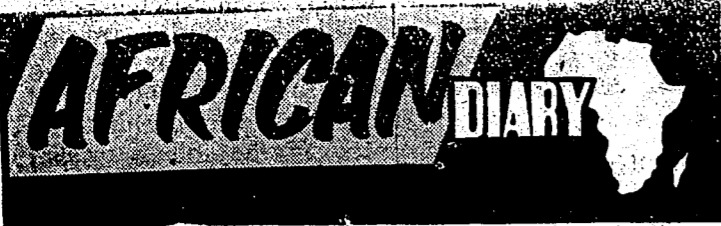
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NEO-COLONIALISM

22nd OCTOBER, TUESDAY: ALGERIA: The Algerian Government requisitions all hotels and empty dwellings in Algiers to accommodate thousands of guests...

GHANA: Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghana's Permanent Representative at the U.N. proposes at the United Nations main Political and Security Committee...

Continued from page 1

French army manned and officered by French men. This force is dispersed as follows—40,000 troops based in Corsica...

ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

The fourth foundation of neo-colonialism in Africa is the control of key economic institutions in the client states...

POLICE CONTROL

In the French-speaking states, the head of the Police Bureau in the President's Office is usually a Frenchman...

CARDINAL PRINCIPLES

Flowing logically from the cardinal principles of neo-colonialism, there is a brand of politics distinctly neo-colonialist...

With these exceptions, and barring a few pilot projects run by the state, economic production is left entirely to private entrepreneurs...

CONFESSION

It must be added here that the attack on communism is not always direct and frontal. While the French-speaking states tend towards a forcible suppression of socialism...

DIVIDED TRADE UNIONS

A third feature of neo-colonialist policies is a policy of keeping the trade unions divided. The upper classes and their imperialist allies are fully aware that strong and united trade union action could make a big inroad into their profits...

CONFUSION

It must be emphasised however that a necessary condition for the success of this policy is that each neo-colonialist country should have at least two, possibly more, rival groups of reactionary politicians whose ideologies (if they find having one necessary) vary from autocracy...

their own experience, see these self-styled defenders of national independence as the forces responsible for the subordination of the African state to foreign control and direction.

CONFUSION

It must be added here that the attack on communism is not always direct and frontal. While the French-speaking states tend towards a forcible suppression of socialism...

CONFESSION

It must be emphasised however that a necessary condition for the success of this policy is that each neo-colonialist country should have at least two, possibly more, rival groups of reactionary politicians whose ideologies (if they find having one necessary) vary from autocracy...

CONFUSION

Under the existing conditions in Africa, the fight against neo-colonialism—that is, the struggle for complete independence and socialism—cannot be led by one or other of the groups of upper class politicians. These movements for complete independence, must be radical in temper, with a leadership springing from the masses...

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