

THE SPARK



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EDITORIAL

Kenya and Zanzibar —The Way Ahead

NEXT week some seven million people on the Eastern part of this great continent will break for ever with colonial rule and don the mantle of full nationhood. Zanzibar will attain independence on December 10. And two days later, on December 12, the Union Jack will cease to fly over Kenya.

This is an occasion of great rejoicing. And we join the millions of voices on this continent and beyond to congratulate our brothers in Kenya and Zanzibar. We wish them well.

With the lowering of the Union Jack for the last time and the hoisting of new national flags symbolising their emergence from colonial slavery, Kenya and Zanzibar are entering a new and more complex phase in their national evolution. Outwardly, the colonialist is gone. But, in truth, he plans to continue in existence by employing new tactics and subterfuges.

Experience elsewhere has shown that imperialism certainly will not retreat honourably from Kenya and Zanzibar. It will strive to exist and even grow stronger by using less obvious tactics and more devious techniques.

Briefly, imperialism will try to push its interests through three main channels. It will try to foment inter-tribal and inter-racial animosities. It will seek to secure a stranglehold over the national economy through investments. And it will try to dominate the whole of East Africa through military bases and arrangements, through technical assistance, through the spread of Western influence in the universities and centres of higher learning. The meeting point and vehicle of all these neo-colonialist policies is the East African Federation.

Kenya and Zanzibar must learn from the experience of other countries on our continent. In the face of the exorbitant burdens and perplexing situations of the new era of political independence, these East African States will come to realise that, in the long run, true independence lies along the road of continental political union. The brandishments of imperialism are transient. They are meant to lure us into economic bondage and into perpetual existence as the economic appendages of Western Europe and U.S.A.

The only way to break this vicious circle of foreign aid leading to increased economic dependence which in turn calls for more foreign assistance is to seek strength through a union of African States. And the greatest contribution the people of Kenya and Zanzibar can make towards African Unity is to make absolutely sure that their countries break all bonds that subordinate them to foreign control and influence. Once we are truly independent politically, economically, militarily, administratively and culturally, the road to African political union will be a straight one and progress along it will be smooth and swift.

The situation calls for a far-seeing, courageous and dedicated leadership enjoying the confidence of the masses. We have no doubt that such leadership exists even now. For with men like Jomo Kenyatta, the Burning Spear, and his loyal lieutenants we are sure the right type of leadership will emerge.

We salute Kenya and Zanzibar!

Long live the African Revolution!

U.S.A. AFTER KENNEDY ...

Twelve Months Moratorium?



President Lyndon Johnson

WILL President Lyndon Johnson continue the policies of late President John F. Kennedy? This is the question on every lip the world over. And it is an accurate reflection of the state of mind of the peoples of the world since the tragic event of November 22. It shows how nervous many people are about the possibility of a return to pre-Kennedy politics in the United States of America.

The later years of Harry Truman's administration coupled with eight years of Republican rule under Dwight D. Ike Eisenhower had put the peoples of the world in a state of mounting nervous tension. There was a freeze in progressive policies inside the U.S.A. with expenditure on free education and free medical care marking time, with a total neglect of the Negro problem and with widespread witch-hunting that reached its climax in MacCarthyism. Abroad, U.S. policy was dominated by a dangerous brinkmanship which found its fullest exposition and application when John Forster Dulles ran the State Department.

Against this background, John Kennedy's regime came as a big relief to most Americans and to the greater part of the world. After a few incidents which could be seen as a carry over from the previous administration, Kennedy's policies, comparatively speaking, brought a period of reduced tension abroad and sober optimism at home. It was like a day of sunshine and warmth after a night of storms and unsettled weather.

By asking if Lyndon Johnson will continue the policies of John Kennedy the world is not pretending that Kennedy's policies were perfect. Rather, the question reveals a general uneasiness about the possibility of a relapse to the tension-ridden, nerve-racking pre-Kennedy era.

It underscores the fact that no one is expecting

President Johnson to improve on Kennedy; that everyone will be happy to see Johnson faithfully follow in the footsteps of the late President.

AFRICA'S MIND

It is natural that we in Africa will tend to judge the new President by his foreign policy and by the way he handles the Negro problem inside the U.S.A.

President Johnson's public utterances about pressing on with Kennedy's civil rights programme seem to indicate that the Texan Democrat may yet spring a surprise. For it will indeed be a surprise—though a welcome one—for the choice of Southern Democrats to master mind a major break through on the Negro problem.

The new President has granted an interview to the Rev. Martin Luther King.

by
Julius Sago

Reports of this encounter seem to suggest that the new Chief Executive of the U.S.A. wants his hands strengthened by popular pressures in dealing with Congress over the Civil Rights Bill. It remains to be seen if President Johnson will use federal institutions—especially the army and the Attorney-General's office—to the same extent as John Kennedy did.

Judging from President Johnson's past performances in Congress, particularly the fact that he is a past master in the political art of leaning both ways, the outlook indicates a slow down on civil rights in the next twelve months. The barking will be kept up; but there will be little biting.

Turning to the international scene, it seems most likely that the new man at the White House will pursue Kennedy's line of peaceful co-existence. But even here some allowance has got to be made for the powerful group interests (the military bosses and big business especially) who generally prefer Dulles' "brinkmanship" to any talk of co-existence. However, there are strong grounds to believe that the new Presi-

dent will hold out against these pressures at least for the next twelve months.

Peace is always an issue that evokes deep emotions among the American people, like common people all over the world. And the next presidential elections are due in exactly a year from now. It will therefore be bad strategy for a presidential aspirant like Lyndon Johnson to damage the Kennedy image of peaceful co-existence and to put in its place an image of bellicosity or war-mongering.

GREAT EFFECT

Another factor which is bound to have a great effect on President Johnson is the likelihood that he will be confronted with a "liberal" Republican contestant like Nelson Rockefeller who now seems to be putting together a strong platform in collaboration with Richard Nixon, former U.S. Vice-President and the man who did a neck-to-neck race with John Kennedy in 1960.

The acid test for President Johnson will be Cuba and the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.). Will the new President resist hysterical outcries and sustained pressures from big business for an armed invasion of Cuba? The whole world expects the U.S.A. to hands off Cuba which, since the Caribbean crisis, now symbolises the readiness of the two nuclear powers—U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.—to respect world opinion, preserve world peace and use peaceful negotiations as the main instrument of international policy.

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Closely connected with Cuba will be President Johnson's attitude to the C.I.A. The sad events of the Bay of Pigs are still fresh in peoples' minds. Particularly the fact that much of that drama was enacted by the C.I.A. without the prior sanction of the U.S. President. The crux of the matter will remain whether the C.I.A. can serve the Executive or whether the Executive will allow itself to be stamped by the C.I.A.

The eclipse of the C.I.A. in South Vietnam may be a pointer to the new subordinate role that organisation will have to play. If this view is right, then the world will breathe a sigh of relief. However, there is the danger, if South Vietnam serves as an account pointer, that the eclipse of the C.I.A. and its cloak and dagger technique is making room for open control by the military (Pentagon). In the interest of world peace, it is most unsafe to allow military men in a powerful state like the U.S.A. to dictate foreign policy or even to exercise too great an influence over it.

There are three areas in which the whole world would like to see a change in U.S. policy. In the first place, there is the problem of apartheid in South Africa.

African opinion, to say the least, demands an end to the policy of U.S. backing for apartheid both economically and militarily. It is about time a halt is

Continued on page 6

Britain and the Commonwealth

UNTIL the 1964 General Election the political situation in Britain will be extremely unstable. The new Prime Minister and his Cabinet are not bound by constitution to declare a General Election before October 1964, but growing opposition to Tory policy may force him to do so long before then. The longer the election is delayed, the more difficult it will become for the present Government.

The conditions under which Lord Home was "chosen" as Prime Minister have brought Tory influence in Britain and in the Commonwealth down to its lowest level since the Tory defeat in 1945. For many months before his resignation, the position of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, had been undermined by the failure of the Government's economic policy, the attitude of Britain on the Common Market, divisions within the Cabinet on nuclear strategy, and the Profumo scandal—which led to the resignation of the War Minister.

Long before the Tory Conference in October, strong pressure was being brought upon Mr. Macmillan to resign. Within the Tory upper circles, there were all kinds of intrigues and manoeuvres around the choice of a successor. During the Conference, Mr. Macmillan was forced to undergo an emergency surgical operation, preventing him from making the final speech to the Conference. This led to even sharper rival groupings within the Tory upper circles, and more secret pressures to influence the choice of a successor.

UNPOPULAR CHOICE

The choice of the 14th aristocratic earl, Lord Home, by Mr. Macmillan (and accepted by the

Queen), served to arouse an even greater measure of popular indignation. To make matters worse, Lord Home was not even a member of the House of Commons. To become a member he had to renounce his aristocratic title (and is now known as Sir Alec Douglas-Home), and contested the by-election in Kinross, Scotland, on November 7—a constituency with a "safe" Tory majority of 12,000 in the last General Election. To serve Sir Alec's personal convenience, the new session of the House of Commons (which had not met since last July) was postponed from October 29 to November 12.

Sir Alec's political record is extremely unpopular in Britain and throughout the Commonwealth. He

was Private Secretary to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, and was with him in Munich in September 1938 when Czechoslovakia was betrayed to the aggression of Nazi Germany. This gave the green light to Hitler to launch the second world war.

Chamberlain is dead. Many who supported him then have since recognised their serious blunder. But not Sir Alec. Without a blush of shame, he still tries to justify the Munich betrayal. His open contempt of the United Nations, defence of colonialism, and his attacks on some of the independent states within the Commonwealth, is equalled by his anti-Communist spleen. Sir Alec is the outstanding exponent of the most blatant, reactionary, and aggressive circles of British monopoly capitalism. It is not surprising that Sir Roy Welensky, spokesman of white settler domination in Central Africa, was among the first to welcome the new British Prime Minister.

PROBLEMS

Sir Alec and his new Cabinet are not only faced with rising political opposition in Britain, but also with increasing conflicts and divisions within the Commonwealth. This was already evident in 1963, in relation to the attempt to join the Common Market, the economic problems of the newly-independent states, and the "defence" plans of British imperialism. There is every prospect that these divisions will become more acute during 1964.

Britain's plan to join the Common Market was a fiasco. However, the first step taken by Mr. Butler, new Foreign Minister, was to attend a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Western European Union (WEU), and there are obvious moves being made for closer economic and political relations with the six countries of the Common Market.

Despite Britain's exclusion last year from the Common Market, the trend of British monopoly is still towards closer relations with the United States and the countries of Western Europe. With them, Britain's trade is increasing, in contrast to its declining trade with the Commonwealth countries. In relation to the apartheid system in South Africa, and the domination of the white-settler minority in Southern Rhodesia, there are sharp conflicts between Britain and the independent states in Africa.

All the propaganda about the "close" links of the Commonwealth cannot hide these conflicts. In contrast with previous years, there was no Conference of Commonwealth Premiers in 1963, and no decision has been taken for a Conference in 1964. While the Commonwealth "links" still

by
IDRIS COX

exist, they are becoming weaker than ever. The Commonwealth is unable to act as a "unified force" on any decisive aspects of world affairs.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

The root problem of British monopoly capitalism is its weakened position in the capitalist world. This arises from the crisis facing imperialism, with the growth of the socialist world and the advance towards national liberation, and is expressed in the increasing number of independent states within the British Commonwealth. Alongside this is the relatively stronger position of the United States and Western Germany, and their increasing penetration within the Commonwealth, at Britain's expense.

Economic relations within the Commonwealth have always been unequal, but far more so in recent years. They are based on the interests of British monopoly capitalism in securing cheap food, primary products, and raw materials from other countries of the Commonwealth. The gap between the declining prices of these products and the increasing prices of capital and manufactured goods, the Commonwealth countries have to purchase from Britain is becoming wider every year.

Before Indian independence in 1947 more than 86 per cent of the Commonwealth population was in the colonial countries. Since then 14 of these countries have won their political independence. From the standpoint of "constitutional" relations, they are now "equal members" of the Commonwealth, but from the economic standpoint they are still undeveloped, suffering from the heritage of colonialism, and the living standards of their peoples are far below those in Britain.

COMMONWEALTH POPULATION

Apart from the older members of the Commonwealth—Canada, Australia and New Zealand—the newly independent states now comprise nearly 90 per cent of the total Commonwealth population. The remaining colonies constitute less than 4 per cent—mainly the territories in Central and Southern Africa. The newly independent states and their estimated population are as follows: India, 450 million; Pakistan, 100 million; Ceylon, 10 million; Malaysia, 10 million; Cyprus, 600,000; Ghana, 7 million; Nigeria, 40 million; Sierra Leone, 3 million; Tanganyika, 9 million; Uganda, 7 million; Kenya, 9 million; Zanzibar, 300,000; Jamaica, 2 million and Trinidad, 1 million.

Even before the second world war, the United States had advanced its economic position in Canada at the expense of Britain, and Canada came into the "dollar area".

There was a far greater and more rapid advance into all Commonwealth countries after the second world war, and in recent years, Western Germany and Japan have made a big penetration into Britain's traditional markets, particularly in Africa.

In the five years 1958-1962 the economic position of the Commonwealth has declined in relation to that of the rest of the capitalist world. The value of world exports rose from £34,100 million to £44,300 million—an increase of 30 per cent. The value of Commonwealth exports went up from £8,400 million to £10,200 million—and increase of only 21 per cent. The share of the Commonwealth in capitalist world exports declined from 24.6 per cent to 23.1 per cent.

RISE OF IMPORTS

World capitalist imports rose from £36,000 million to £47,100 million—also about 30 per cent, and total Commonwealth imports rose from £10,300 million to £12,200 million—only 19 per cent. The Commonwealth share of world imports declined from 28.9 per cent to 25.8 per cent.

Trade within the Commonwealth countries also declined sharply during these five years—from 39 per cent of their total exports in 1958 to 34 per cent in 1963, and from 35 per cent of their total imports in 1958 to 31 per cent in 1962. Clearly, the economic position of the Commonwealth within the capitalist world has steadily declined in recent years.

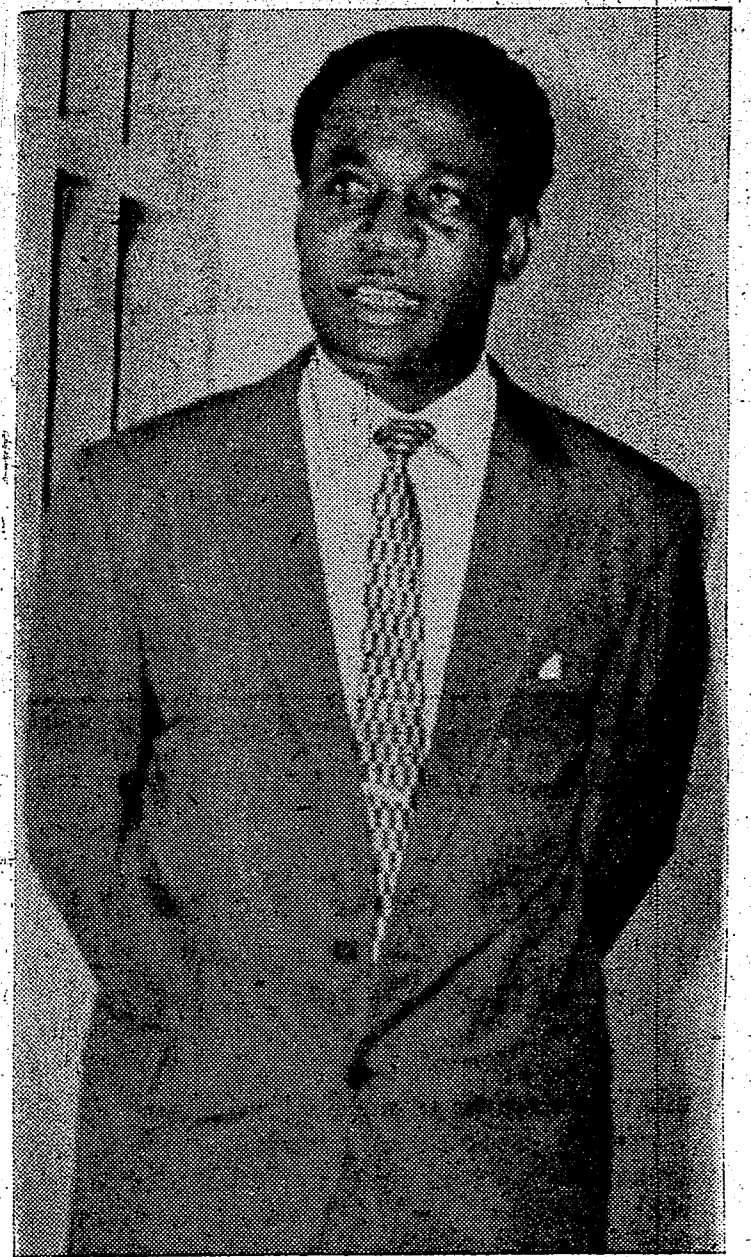
Within this framework of declining intra-Commonwealth trade, the decline in British trade with other Commonwealth countries is most striking. Britain's share of imports from other Commonwealth countries declined from 24 per cent in 1958 to 21 per cent in 1962; and the Commonwealth share of exports from Britain fell from 34 per cent to 31 per cent.

During this period, Britain's share of Australia's exports fell from 30 per cent to 20 per cent; New Zealand's exports fell from 56 per cent to 49 per cent, and Nigeria's exports fell from 60 per cent in 1957 to 42 per cent in 1962.

Imports from Britain into Commonwealth countries show a similar trend. Australia imported 40 per cent from Britain in 1958, but only 31 per cent in 1962. New Zealand dropped its imports from 53 per cent to 42 per cent, and Ghana from 44 per cent to 34 per cent.

The most rapid decline in Britain's trade with Commonwealth countries was in the last year of this five-year period 1961-1962. The value of British exports to India went down 23 per cent, to Ghana 26 per cent, to Nigeria 15 per cent, to Rhodesia 12 per cent, and to New Zealand 14 per cent. The biggest decline in Commonwealth imports into Britain was 20 per cent from Malaya (mainly rubber), and 6 per cent each from India, Nigeria and Rhodesia.

In contrast to this declining trend within the Com-



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana.

monwealth, the value of Commonwealth trade with the United States went up from £1,688 million in 1958, to £2,134 million in 1962—an increase of 26 per cent—while that with Britain went up 19 per cent. Commonwealth imports from the United States rose from £2,018 million to £2,652 million—an increase of 32 per cent, and British imports from U.S. by 36 per cent.

While the value of British exports to Commonwealth countries declined, it rapidly increased with the countries of Western Europe. In 1962, the total value of British exports to Western Europe stood at £1,360 million, which was £133 million more than to the whole Commonwealth. British trade with Western Europe increased by 11 per cent in 1960, by 16 per cent in 1961, and by 14 per cent in 1962.

BRITAIN'S CONTRIBUTION

The six countries of the Common Market received 53 per cent of British exports to Western Europe, amounting to £780 million—more than the total of British exports to the United States, Canada, and Latin America put together. This trend grew in the first half of 1963 when exports to Common Market countries rose by 17 per cent, as against 8 per cent to the "sterling area", and Western Germany became Britain's third largest market following the United States and Australia.

Despite Britain's inability to enter the Common Market, it is to the six Common Market countries that her exports have increased most rapidly—by 69 per cent from 1958 to 1962, compared with an increase of 44 per cent to the seven countries of the "European Free Trade Area".

All this serves to emphasise that British monopoly capitalism by no means gives first place to its economic and trading relations with the rest of the Commonwealth, but primarily with the United States and Western Europe. At the same time, imperialist Britain exploits the resources of the Commonwealth—especially the newly-inde-

pendent States—to bolster up its imperialist system, maintain its colossal arms programme, and resist any weakening of its position in face of the growing pressure of United States imperialism.

PRICES AND PROFITS

The operations of British overseas monopoly firms are so vast in character that they are not confined to the Commonwealth. Nearly two-thirds of Britain's overseas profits come from within the "sterling area"—which does not include Canada, but does include some small countries outside the Commonwealth.

The 1962 annual balance of payments reveals that the total of British private investments abroad for the four years 1958-61 was £1,271 million, but total profit for the same period (after payment of tax) was £2,654 million—more than double the total new investments. In the sterling area it was more than three times the total new investment.

Equally important is the fact that it is the biggest British monopoly firms which invest overseas and derive these huge profits. A recent investigation in Britain (reported in the *Board of Trade Journal*, April 19, 1963), revealed that 73 per cent of British overseas profits in 1961 went to 230 monopoly firms, each making a minimum profit of £250,000—and these firms represent only 13 per cent of the 1720 British monopoly firms engaged in overseas exploitation.

Most recent figures are in the March 1963 annual report on Britain's balance of payments giving a total of £5,645 million from British property income received from abroad between 1958 and 1962—an annual average of £1,129 million. This figure is before payment of taxes, for under another heading "Interest, Profits and Dividends" (after payment of tax) the total for this period is £3,518 million—an annual average of £704 million, reaching its highest point in 1962 at £765 million.

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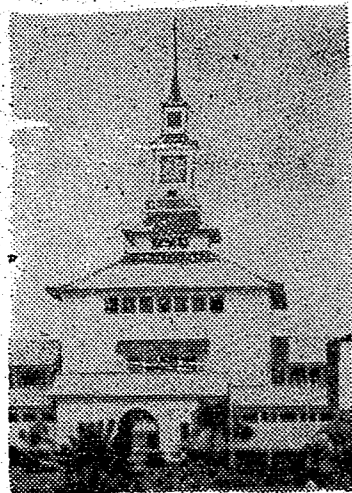
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OUR UNIVERSITIES (6)

LEGON



WHEN I suggested that the University can endeavour to feed itself more than it did, I was told in the university's reply that its primary functions were those of instructions and research. In the light of this statement, I should like to draw attention to a serious anomaly concerning the University Bookshop at Legon.

The prime reason for the existence of that bookshop is to ensure that the books which the University's staff and students need for their work are constantly available. In order to ensure this however, the University may have to stock volumes which are not strictly speaking required. The reason for this is that its work will become worthwhile, more efficient, and really easier, if it can cater to the needs of a somewhat wider public than a university one. By raising its turnover, it can raise the funds required to improve its own efficiency.

The University bookshop exists then to serve the book needs of the university. It does not exist primarily as a private commercial organisation seeking to maximise its profits at public expense.

LIMITED FUNDS

Students of the University

are only given limited funds for the purchase of books. It is therefore important that the prices of books should not be arbitrarily high. What is the actual practice in the University at Legon.

The bookshop there for some unknown reason is a member of the Booksellers' Association of Ghana.

What does this mean? A Booksellers' Association is an excellent organisation provided it offers true service in the public interest. The Booksellers' Association of Ghana recently ordered its member bookshops to raise their prices by scandalous margins. Such an association does not exist to enable its members to increase their profits. In some cases the price of an individual book has risen by as much as ten shillings. Of course, one wishes to know the reasons for this! What I am told is that freight charges have gone up, and so have postages. But this is not a satisfactory explanation, for in the first place booksellers in Ghana hardly ever import books as freight cargo, they do so almost always through the

Post Office. In the second place the increase in postage in Ghana cannot significantly affect the postage costs of books coming into Ghana from outside.

FILMSY EXCUSES

These reasons are flimsy. There may of course be others which we have not been told for whatever the reasons are, it is clearly wrong for a university bookshop to place itself in a position that its policy is determined not by the university itself but by outside members of a booksellers' association. Some of the members are in fact highly interesting. The Association includes jacks of all trades who sell books at the beginning of the school year, sell mackintoshes in the rainy season, phensic in the cold season, and smoked fish when the Fisheries Corporation is successful! Persons like these have votes and exercise their votes in determining the

Focus on SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

PART THIRTEEN

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 six 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

policy of the University Bookshop. Surely this is a considerable anomaly.

The University Bookshop should never have joined the Booksellers' Association. That it does not have to do so has been proved by the Book Centre of the Institute of Public Education which is not a member, and has therefore not increased its book prices.

For some reason, earlier

on the book distributors in Britain refused to deal with the I.P.E. book centre on the ground that it was not a member of the booksellers' association of Ghana. This kind of private monopoly cannot be tolerated in a socialist society. Subsequently, they agreed to make books available to the I.P.E. bookshop.

I seriously suggest to the University to remove its

bookshop from the Booksellers' Association, and determine its own policy regarding book prices.

It is disturbing that prices of books should be raised at all, and that calculations for raising them should be based on U.K. published prices when the bookshops including the University bookshops are given discounts of from 15% to 50%.

RUTH FIRST

IT is generally known that the blacks in South Africa are the butt of apartheid persecution in Dr. Verwoerd's regime. What is not generally known is that some whites who throw in their lot with the blacks in South Africa are also submitted to the cruelest forms of torture, degradation and denial of elementary human right.

In Johannesburg on Friday, August 9, members of the security police went to the university and there arrested a woman. Ruth Slovo—dark, brilliant-eyed, in her late thirties—thus joined the scores of men and women imprisoned without charge or trial, under the "90-day clause" that is Balthazar Vorster's latest weapon against people so innocent that not one of his existing barrage of laws could be used against them. When her 90 days was up she was told to pack her things and prepare for release. Then she was told to unpack. She was being re-detained. How many more "90 days"?

A few facts reveal her extraordinary courage. Ruth First, as a girl studying social science at the University of the Witwatersrand, was among the handful of whites who helped the African Mine Workers' Union to organise the great strike of 1946. Late at

night, evading the police, she would drive African union workers out to the mine compounds, help to distribute leaflets, and return to the city for the next round. The strike was violently crushed by the authorities. When the Government arrested the entire

committee of the Communist Party in Johannesburg Ruth became its acting secretary. (The party dissolved itself in 1950 in anticipation of the Suppression of Communism Act). For 17 years she was Johannesburg editor of successive Leftwing newspapers: week after week, with remorseless facts, exposing the injustice and inhumanity suffered by non-whites.

Since 1947, when with Michael Scott and a remarkable African peasant, Gert Sibande, she helped neo-slavery on the notorious Bethal farms, she became an authority on African labour conditions whether in rural areas or on the mines and in the towns. In that situation where the cruelties inflicted by the

system take on an appalling monotony, somehow her sensitivity was not blunted. Nor was she intimidated, in spite of the series of restrictions imposed by the Government, who forbade her to attend gatherings or belong to certain organisations under threat of severe penalties, and confined her to the Johannesburg area.

SLOVO'S FAMILY

Meanwhile, the Slovos had three daughters—Shawn, Gillian, and Robyn—born in 1950, 1952, and 1954, and they moved into an attractive bungalow on the edge of Johannesburg, looking across the veld to the hills behind Sophiatown. Somehow, Ruth combined her mothering with her work, racing from the "New Age" office to the schools to pick up the children, take them to their dancing and music classes, providing a rich home life

with a thread of normality through the stresses and dangers facing anyone militantly opposing the South African Government.

In 1956, at dawn the children were abruptly deprived of both parents when Ruth and Joe were arrested and charged with high treason. Affectionate grandparents were informed and hurried to look after them until their parents were released on bail. In time the charge was dropped. But police raids and watches on the house increased.

The Slovos gave parties—good food and wine, jazz or classics, conversation or kwela dancing undeterred by the habit of the security police who would wait in cars outside, taking the car registration num-

bers of the guests, later visiting those car owners who were white and trying to frighten them out of their friendship with the Slovo family. In 1957, Ruth had been able to state that she scarcely noticed her outcast position in white society. In 1962, this was no longer so: her few non-political white acquaintances were fast dwindling.

RESTRICTIONS

Early in 1962, when the restriction to Johannesburg had momentarily lapsed, there was a relaxed and happy visit to a village on the Indian Ocean, with Ruth vividly elegant on the beach, or catching her excitement looking like the sister of her daughter,

Shawn. But on return to Johannesburg the restrictions came fast: first both the Slovos were again confined to the Johannesburg area; then "New Age" and also "Fighting Talk", the party literary magazine Ruth edited, were outlawed; then Joe, whose reputation for successful defence in political cases had grown rapidly, decided to leave the country; then Ruth was prohibited by the Government from writing at all. Ruefully, she went back to university, to learn a new trade, that of librarian. It was in the quiet library of the university that the police arrested her on August 9. How long will this fine spirit be confined in Pretoria gaol?

ECUADOR

Continued from page 3
he was a Minister of the

Government.
"I refute the slanderous accusation of Donoso Vela-

Latin America

Continued from Page 3

trappings of constitutional democracies are moving generally to the right; and Santa Domingo, Columbia, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico have become subservient to U.S. imperialism, forces are growing towards the direction of full independence.

THE SPARK is of the opinion that Africa must learn the history of Latin America. Despite differences in language and

even in pattern of rule and cultural affinities, the similarities in the distortion of our economies, the common history of our struggle against colonialism and modern imperialism and our single common enemy today, are enough factors which bring together the mass struggle of our peoples.

THE SPARK will focus a search light on incidents in Latin America.

—EDITOR.

zeo". I have not offended the armed forces. I specifically pointed out the responsibility of some officers of the high command who did not fulfil their duty to the fatherland. Ponce Henrriquez Government destroyed the armed institutions under difficult circumstances for Ecuador in the international order. And we brought this question before the Council of Ministers and the Chamber of Deputies.

THE REAL MOTIVE.

Araujo Hidalgo adds that the real motive of his being persecuted is because he intervened in 1960 in the popular movement that crushed the Government and the Ecuadorian oligar-

chy and for his irrevocable position of solidarity and admiration for the Cuban Revolution.

"This—he adds—is what the Ecuadorian oligarchy and the North-American imperialism will not forgive of me. And I don't need for them to forgive it. I will not rest as long as I have energy to struggle for the freedom of my country, especially now that it is humiliated and outraged by the foreigners".

Finally, he declared that today the struggle in Ecuador is of a political and patriotic character and that soon there will be a great movement of national liberation that will lead the people towards freedom.

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LATIN AMERICA

Venezuela Ecuador Cuba

LATIN America is one of the richest regions of the world. It has more cultivable, high yield tropical soil than any other continent. It possesses tremendous potential energy in oil and hydro-electric power, while vast mineral reserves—iron, copper, tin, gold, lead, zinc, almost every known metal—lie buried in Latin America. Chile's copper deposits are known to be larger than in any other part of the world; Venezuela is the world's biggest exporter of oil; Brazil has 25 per cent of the world's iron-ore reserves.

In the midst of this wealth, the 200 million Latin Americans live in object poverty. More than 100 million people in this region are undernourished and illiterate, owning nothing but their simple clothing and rickety household possessions. In Brazil half the population goes barefoot; in every sixth person has goitre; one in three has intestinal hook-worms, and life-span is forty-six years compared with seventy years in the United States.

The United States of America takes 44 per cent of all the raw materials produced in Latin American countries. Latest figures indicate that the U.S. obtains from Latin America as a percentage of her total imports (reckoned by cost), 51 per cent of petroleum and petroleum products; 47 per cent of copper; 48 per cent of lead; 63 per cent of iron-ore; 24 per cent of non-ferrous ores and metals; 79 per cent of coffee; 52 per cent of cocoa; 27 per cent of meat; 20 per cent of unmanufactured wool and 100 per cent of bananas.

PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE

Foreign Policy Bulletin, published in New York stated in its April 1961 issue that: "Most of the countries are heavily dependent on the production and exchange of ore or two commodities... (which) provide most of the foreign exchange needed for the purchase of imported industrial goods... It is well recognised that market instability inhibits economic growth... Latin American countries have long and unsuccessfully tried to interest their customers—that is, the industrial countries—in co-operative efforts to minimise market fluctuations... International commodity agreements to meet the problems of instability have consistently been resisted by the United States."

Under the canopy of the Organisation of American States which is described by Juan Jose Arevalo as "TWENTY SARDINES OVERAWAY BY ONE BIG SHARK", the U.S. has successfully kept out the other imperialist interests. The U.S. is the main supplier of imported goods as well as of the "farm surplus". Britain's present share of Latin American imports is only 5 1/2 per cent, while West Germany now sells £100 million worth of goods more than Britain there—mostly motor-cars. Over one-third of the foreign investments of the U.S. are in Latin America. The total is 9,000 million dollars. In recent years Latin American payments of profits, dividends and interest to the United States averaged 482.5 million dollars a year, which is 182.5 million dollars more than Latin America received from U.S. big business in capital. U.S. investments in Venezuela represent 60 per cent of all foreign investments in Latin America. And 85 per cent of these invest-

ments are in oil. An examination of Venezuela's balance of payments during 1953-60 indicates that the profit of the oil companies in this period amounted to 13,286 million bolivares, while capital investments amounted to only 477 million.

For years the U.S. has been boasting about her aid to the under-developed countries of Latin America. But U.S. aid channelled through the so-called "mutual security programme" and distributed by a number of organisations such as the International Co-operation Administration, the Development Loan Fund, Export-Import Bank and agencies that dispose of U.S. "surpluses" in under-developed countries, has military aid as its basic element. The recipients are expected to increase their own expenditure on "defence" to an extent considerably more than what they get from the U.S. The twelve Latin American countries with "mutual aid and defence" agreements with the U.S. spend from 9 to 10 dollars of their own for every "aid" dollar received. Thus, the bulk of the cost—at least 85 cents of every "military aid" dollar—is poured back into the U.S. economy.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Latin America is enveloped in a crisis. SCIENCE AND SOCIETY puts it clearly: "Latin America is currently undergoing its third major crisis of the twentieth century. In general terms, the present disturbance can be attributed to the excessive vulnerability to external factors of an economy dependent on the export of raw materials and import of manufactured goods."

The present crisis, which was intensified by the 1958 recession in the U.S., has now reached unmistakable proportions. The situation is aggravated by three main factors:

1. There are no possibilities for Latin America's "normal" markets. The post-war boom has spent itself; technological changes are affecting the consumption of "traditional markets" and the European Market is a real threat to Latin America.

2. The general weakening of the world colonial and semi-colonial system has given a new colour to the present crisis in Latin America. There exists not only the need to change the structure in Latin America but the possibility of

doing it, as Cuba has shown.

3. Though the Latin American situation is set in motion by external forces, it has been more severe the "recessions" in the United States and has not followed their "recovery".

The U.S. has offered a remedy for the crisis through the "Alliance for Progress" programme—an offer of 20,000 million dollars in foreign "aid" over ten years. This is simply an attempt to ward off the new alternative. The *Financial Times* wrote after the first Punta del Este Conference:

"The U.S. has proposed to the Common Market countries that tariff preferences on all tropical products should be abolished—a suggestion that will not be welcome to the African states associated with the Common Market or the Commonwealth."

INTERNAL REFORMS

"Perhaps more important than this is the need to ensure that the recipient countries carry out internal reforms which would enable them to make effective use of the funds which the U.S. is providing, and also ward off the threat of violent left-wing revolution. How can this be done without giving appearance of interference in internal Latin American affairs? The answer is that the U.S. must choose the political leaders with whom and through whom it is to work in Latin America with Great skill—avoiding association both with the old-style 'strong-arm' dictators like the late Generalisimo Trujillo of the Dominican Republic and with the doctrinaire revolutionaries. Instead, it must throw its weight behind the moderate reformers, the men who can jerk Latin America into the mid-twentieth century while steering a middle course between reaction and violent revolution. It is by supporting these men that the U.S. can ensure that its huge investment in Latin America pays economically as well as politically. Moreover, by doing so it will help to project the image of the U.S. as a liberal, progressive force throughout the world..." (30/8/61).

Fortunately a different situation is developing in Latin America. The maturing of the position of the working class in the revolutionary process, is one of the main reasons why the Cuban revolution has become the turning point, the watershed that divides the national revolutionary from the national reformist forces in today's Latin America.

Though today Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay and El Salvador, are utterly servile to U.S. imperialism; Argentina, Honduras, Peru, Venezuela and Chile, the formal

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from THE INSIDE..

VENEZUELA

Despite the harsh press censorship in Venezuela, the newspaper "Hoy" carried in its recent issue, a commentary on incidents in that oil-rich Latin American country. We have been given the permission to reproduce the commentary.

IN the San Carlos Military Quarters a group of renewed patriots, whose parliamentary rights have been violated by a so-called "democratic representatives" government, has taken that attitude so that the whole world will fix its attention on the drama of blood of that country.

Jesus Faria, Custavo and Eduardo Machado, Guillermo Garcia Pomce, Jesus Villavicencis, Jesus Marfa Casal and others are now doing what Julio Antonio Mella did when he was imprisoned by the Cuban tyrant Machado.

While the men who the workers and the people elected to the Chamber and the Senate, now in prison loftily and with integrity denounce Betancourt, in all Venezuela, the governmental terror and the revolutionary struggle of the masses, increase at the same time. Betancourt multiplies to the maximum degree the tortures, the assassinations, the searches and the imprisonments.

THE GIANT PRISON

Venezuela is giant prison. Caracas looks like a city in midst of a civil war, darkened, with armed patrols roaming the streets at every hour, in midst of a deathly silence, frequently interrupted by the rattle of machine guns and the explosions of bombs set by the Combat Tactical Units in the stores and enterprises owned by the imperialists and dens of the Yankee and Betancourt tortures.

In the mountains the heroic National Liberation Armed Forces consolidate their forces and carry out more important operations each time while the attacks by Betancourt's henchmen against them are useless. The U.S. military missions who direct the governmental troops, suffer the same defeats as they did in Cuba during the days of the Sierra Maestra and later at Playa Ginda.

Under the circumstances, the Denver "Post" in United States, assures that a high official of the Pentagon revealed that there exists an agreement, made by Kennedy in September, to send marines to Venezuela. The danger of an intervention of the South-Vietnamese type, is apparent in the Latin-American territory! The Post assures that for a week now, there have been two marine regiments armed for combat, ready to be sent to Florida—and thence to Venezuela.

In spite of the lukewarm denials by Betancourt of a similar report—which mentioned the possibility of marines being sent to pro-

tect the tyrant from a coup by the military "guerrilla" it wouldn't be surprising that they would carry out that new disgraceful act, the only one left in his lock of monstrosities: To open Venezuela's doors to the Yankee military occupation. Betancourt's own answer, then, did not exclude this possibility, seeing as how he explained that the North-American intervention would not be carried out in view of the fact that the high officers of the armed forces supported his regime... that is... accepted Washington's orders to support it, and that there was a complete political understanding between his government and these officers, or in other words...? Why a military "guerrilla" coup when I am more than militarily "couped"? The lackey did not utter a single word in respects to the least resistance should the oil corporations force the sending of marines, as has been done at other times in the history of America. And when Betancourt is seen praising the armed intervention against free Cuba, it isn't at all surprising that he also uses such a crime in search of what is already the impossible: The saving of his putrid and tottering regime.

THE PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY

The popular, working, revolutionary, democratic forces of the whole world are mobilising in solidarity with the fraternal people who carry out, under very difficult conditions, the glorious battle of national and social liberation, and that would more bravely arise with more unity yet, and with Bolivar's impetus, to face the military intervention of the United States. This solidarity must extend and increase urgently. "Let us demand the ceasing of Betancourt's terror and the freeing of the legislators and the thousands of political prisoners".

"Stop the tortures and assassinations of the Nazi DIGEPOL and the bands of Betancourt's armed gangsters.

Hold back the intervention that Washington carries out in Venezuela, and the threat of sending marines as the most rabid warmongers in the Pentagon are planning!"

ECUADOR

"My country is not governed from the Presidential Palace any more; it is governed from the North American Embassy, Section Point Four, where all the decisions put into practice by the Military Board of Ecuador, are made", declared doctor Manuel Araujo Hidalgo, ex-Minister of the Ecuadorian Government, who is now in Cuba after spending almost three months of political asylum at the Bolivian Embassy in Quito.

my country and the continent. On my trip to Cuba I read in the North-American magazine "Vision", some cynical declaration by the ex-Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, in which he brazenly declares that North America should revert to the Theodore Roosevelt "big stick" policy in respects to the Latin-American peoples"—Here, then is clearly stated the ideological position of the United States Government and the reason for the chain of military coups, the continent is experiencing! Here, also, is the origin of the chains that shackle our people!

ACTUAL SITUATION

In respects to the actual situation in Ecuador, explains Araujo Hidalgo—who participated in the Peoples' Assembly held in Havana in 1962—the citizens are beginning to react against the brutal repression. "It is a free and rebellion people and at the moment that I left their form of expression was one of open despise against the Board, which was born out of ignominy and insult". He added that following Newton Moreno's assassination—valuable lawyer and farm leader—the citizens of Quito accompanied his hearse to the cemetery in an act of protest against the political order that prevails in Ecuador.

REFUTES ACCUSATION

In respects to the Armed Forces he explained that they are realising the ignominy to which the tyranny carries them and that "the day will come when they will support the people in the recovery of their national dignity". Concerning this he explains the persecution to which he was subjected, claiming he was accused by the Secretary General of the Governmental Administration of Ponce Henriques of having offended the Ecuadorian Armed Forces when

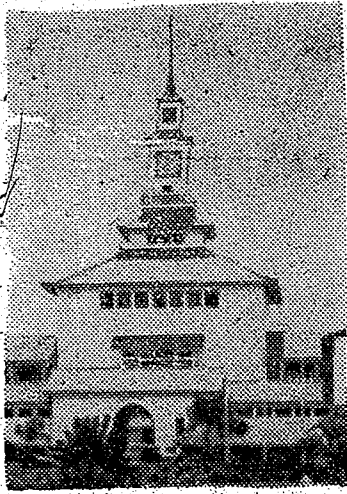
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CUBA

Algiers:—President Ben Bella reiterated his decided and irrevocable support of the Cuban Revolution and announced that he would even sacrifice himself to defend it.

In an interview held with the French newspaper "Le Monde", Ben Bella declared: "I am ready to sacrifice myself for Cuba and the Cuban Revolution if it were trampled or suffocated. If such a situation would arise, it would be desperate because it would mean that there is no place in the world anymore for justice and Dignity". Ben Bella added that thanks to the books edited in France

he had learned to know and love the Cuban Revolution and he has told Fidel Castro so. In referring to the conflict with Morocco, he said he had hopes of arriving at a solution through conversations without resorting to force or other military means for which the African States are not prepared. Further on, he referred to the 1st of November National festival claiming that the presence of many foreign delegations constitutes an appreciable diplomatic support and a proof of the growing friendliness towards the Algerian Revolution and the hopes which it carries. "That, of course, worries many, but we have the courage to continue forward," said Ben Bella.



OUR UNIVERSITIES (6)

LEGON

WHEN I suggested that the University can endeavour to feed itself more than it did, I was told in the university's reply that its primary functions were those of instructions and research. In the light of this statement, I should like to draw attention to a serious anomaly concerning the University Bookshop at Legon.

The prime reason for the existence of that bookshop is to ensure that the books which the University's staff and students need for their work are constantly available. In order to ensure this however, the University may have to stock volumes which are not strictly speaking required. The reason for this is that its work will become worthwhile, more efficient, and really easier, if it can cater to the needs of a somewhat wider public than a university one. By raising its turnover, it can raise the funds required to improve its own efficiency.

The University bookshop exists then to serve the book needs of the university. It does not exist primarily as a private commercial organisation seeking to maximise its profits at public expense.

LIMITED FUNDS

Students of the Universi-

ty are only given limited funds for the purchase of books. It is therefore important that the prices of books should not be arbitrarily high. What is the actual practice in the University at Legon.

The bookshop there for some unknown reason is a member of the Booksellers' Association of Ghana.

What does this mean? A Booksellers' Association is an excellent organisation provided it offers true service in the public interest. The Booksellers' Association of Ghana recently ordered its member bookshops to raise their prices by scandalous margins. Such an association does not exist to enable its members to increase their profits. In some cases the price of an individual book has risen by as much as ten shillings. Of course, one wishes to know the reasons for this! What I am told is that freight charges have gone up, and so have postages. But this is not a satisfactory explanation, for in the first place booksellers in Ghana hardly ever import books as freight cargo, they do almost always through the

Post Office. In the second place the increase in postage in Ghana cannot significantly affect the postage costs of books coming into Ghana from outside.

FILMSY EXCUSES

These reasons are flimsy. There may of course be others which we have not been told for whatever the reasons are, it is clearly wrong for a university bookshop to place itself in a position that its policy is determined not by the university itself but by outside members of a booksellers' association. Some of the members are in fact highly interesting. The Association includes jacks of all trades who sell books at the beginning of the school year, sell mackintoshes in the rainy season, phensic in the cold season, and smoked fish when the Fisheries Corporation is successful! Persons like these have votes and exercise their votes in determining the



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 six 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

policy of the University Bookshop. Surely this is a considerable anomaly.

The University Bookshop should never have joined the Booksellers' Association. That it does not have to do so has been proved by the Book Centre of the Institute of Public Education which is not a member, and has therefore not increased its book prices.

For some reason, earlier

on the book distributors in Britain refused to deal with the I.P.E. book centre on the ground that it was not a member of the booksellers' association of Ghana. This kind of private monopoly cannot be tolerated in a socialist society. Subsequently, they agreed to make books available to the I.P.E. bookshop.

I seriously suggest to the University to remove its

bookshop from the Booksellers' Association, and determine its own policy regarding book prices.

It is disturbing that prices of books should be raised at all, and that calculations for raising them should be based on U.K. published prices when the bookshops including the University bookshops are given discounts of from 15% to 50%.

RUTH FIRST

IT is generally known that the blacks in South Africa are the butt of apartheid persecution in Dr. Verwoerd's regime. What is not generally known is that some whites who throw in their lot with the blacks in South Africa are also submitted to the cruelest forms of torture, degradation and denial of elementary human right.

In Johannesburg on Friday, August 9, members of the security police went to the university and there arrested a woman. Ruth Slovo—dark, brilliant-eyed, in her late thirties—thus joined the scores of men and women imprisoned without charge or trial, under the "90-day clause" that is Balthazar Vorster's latest weapon against people so innocent that not one of his existing barrage of laws could be used against them. When her 90 days was up she was told to pack her things and prepare for release. Then she was told to unpack. She was being re-detained. How many more "90 days"?

A few facts reveal her extraordinary courage. Ruth First, as a girl studying social science at the University of the Witwatersrand, was among the handful of whites who helped the African Mine Workers' Union to organise the great strike of 1946. Late at

night, evading the police, she would drive African union workers out to the mine compounds, help to distribute leaflets, and return to the city for the next round. The strike was violently crushed by the authorities. When the Government arrested the entire

committee of the Communist Party in Johannesburg Ruth became its acting secretary. (The party dissolved itself in 1950 in anticipation of the Suppression of Communism Act). For 17 years she was Johannesburg editor of successive Leftwing newspapers: week after week, with remorseless facts, exposing the injustice and inhumanity suffered by non-whites.

Since 1947, when with Michael Scott and a remarkable African peasant, Gert Sibande, she helped neo-slavery on the notorious Bethal farms, she became an authority on African labour conditions whether in rural areas or on the mines and in the towns. In that situation where the cruelties inflicted by the

system take on an appalling monotony, somehow her sensitivity was not blunted. Nor was she intimidated, in spite of the series of restrictions imposed by the Government, who forbade her to attend gatherings or belong to certain organisations under threat of severe penalties, and confined her to the Johannesburg area.

SLOVO'S FAMILY

Meanwhile, the Slovos had three daughters—Shawn, Gillian, and Robyn—born in 1950, 1952, and 1954, and they moved into an attractive bungalow on the edge of Johannesburg, looking across the veld to the hills behind Sophiatown. Somehow, Ruth combined her mothering with her work, racing from the "New Age" office to the schools to pick up the children, take them to their dancing and music classes, providing a rich home life

and for his irrevocable position of solidarity and admiration for the Cuban Revolution. "This—he adds—is what the Ecuadorian oligarchy and the North-American imperialism will not forgive of me. And I don't need for them to forgive it. I will not rest as long as I have energy to struggle for the freedom of my country, especially now that it is humiliated and outraged by the foreigners".

THE REAL MOTIVE

Araujo Hidalgo adds that the real motive of his being persecuted is because he intervened in 1960 in the popular movement that crushed the Government and the Ecuadorian oligar-

chery and for his irrevocable position of solidarity and admiration for the Cuban Revolution.

Finally, he declared that today the struggle in Ecuador is of a political and patriotic character and that soon there will be a great movement of national liberation that will lead the people towards freedom.

Shawn. But on return to Johannesburg the restrictions came fast: first both the Slovos were again confined to the Johannesburg area; then "New Age" and also "Fighting Talk", the party literary magazine. Ruth edited, were outlawed; then Joe, whose reputation for successful defence in political cases had grown rapidly, decided to leave the country; then Ruth was prohibited by the Government from writing at all. Ruefully, she went back to university, to learn a new trade, that of librarian. It was in the quiet library of the university that the police arrested her on August 9. How long will this fine spirit be confined in Pretoria gaol?

RESTRICTIONS

Early in 1962, when the restriction to Johannesburg had momentarily lapsed, there was a relaxed and happy visit to a village on the Indian Ocean, with Ruth vividly elegant on the beach, or catching her excitement looking like the sister of her daughter,

with a thread of normality through the stresses and dangers facing anyone militantly opposing the South African Government.

ECUADOR

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Government. He was a Minister of the

"I refute the slanderous accusation of Donoso Vela-

Latin America

Continued from Page 3

trappings of constitutional democracies are moving generally to the right; and Santa Domingo Columbia, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico have become subservient to U.S. imperialism, forces are growing towards the direction of full independence.

THE SPARK is of the opinion that Africa must learn the history of Latin America. Despite differences in language and

even in pattern of rule and cultural affinities, the similarities in the distortion of our economies, the common history of our struggle against colonialism and modern imperialism and our single common enemy today, are enough factors which bring together the mass struggle of our peoples.

THE SPARK will focus a search light on incidents in Latin America.

—EDITOR.

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Britain and the Commonwealth

Continued from page 2

However, this does not include an annual average of £648 million shipping credits during this period, and oil and insurance profits are totally excluded. Despite all measures to conceal the full scale of profits from abroad, it seems clear that the total is not far below £2,000 million a year.

One of the most lucrative sources of these increasing profits arises from the favourable terms of trade for the imperialist countries—the declining prices of primary goods and raw materials exported by the colonies and newly-independent countries, and the increasing prices of capital and manufactured goods sold back to them.

In the African countries the volume of exports has nearly doubled in the past decade, but their value (due to the declining prices on the capitalist world market, has increased by less than ten per cent. Some countries, depending on their export products, suffer worse than others. Between 1954 and 1960 Uganda's volume of exports increased by 85 per cent, but its income from exports increased by only 5 per cent.

PERCENTAGE OF EXPORTS

Compared with 1954-55, Nigeria's cocoa export increased in volume by 120 per cent, but export values declined by 3 per cent. When addressing a meeting of the World Bank in Washington, early in October, 1963, Mr. Goka, Ghana's Minister of Finance pointed out that in the previous five years Ghana's volume of exports had gone up by 85 per cent, but her export earnings had dropped by 42 per cent, while prices of imported manufactures had increased considerably.

This situation creates serious problems for the newly-independent states in their efforts to build the foundations for a new and independent balanced economy which will provide higher living standards. Though they produce more wealth a greater share goes abroad, and a smaller share



Dr. Julius Nyerere, President of Tanganyika.



Dr. Azikiwe, Governor-General of Nigeria.

is available to transform the old economy.

Nor are the newly independent states able to solve their problems by loans from the World Bank and the imperialist countries with their high rates of interest. In their attempts to do so they have sunk deeper and deeper into debt. In November, 1962, the monthly journal *Overseas Review* (published by Barclay's Bank, which operates in most parts of the Commonwealth) made this comment:

"It has been estimated that 34 countries, with populations representing 70 per cent of the underdeveloped world, doubled their external debt between 1956 and 1961; during the same period their total export earnings increased by only 15 per cent."

Repayment of interest and capital has now become such a burden that many new states can no longer afford to contract for new external loans. The 1963 report of the World Bank estimates that "in 32 less-developed countries together, these payments now absorb 7 per cent of export earnings, compared with 3 per cent in 1958". (*Economist*, 10.8.63).

Faced with this situation all that the British Government intends to do in the matter is to make a "forward-looking economic survey of the Commonwealth, made up from the plans and forecasts of individual member countries, as a way of helping them to expand trade within the Commonwealth" (*Financial Times*, 26.9.63).

PRESSURE

Far from assisting the new independent states the more likely aim of this survey is to bring pressure to bear upon them to slow down their economic plans. This is designed to protect the slender reserves of the sterling area, and to maintain London as the financial centre with power to extend or restrict all financial operations. This seems apparent from the emphasis of "Lombard", the *Financial Times* expert:

"For it would be most unfortunate for all if a weakening of the basic position of sterling on this account were to be underlined by a combined movement by overseas sterling countries into serious payments deficit arising from over-hasty implementation of development programmes or other factors." (*Financial Times*, 4.10.63).

This warning is in line with imperialist aims (both before and after colonies win their independence) to



Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda.

restrict the growth of industrialisation and a balanced modern economy in the newly-independent states. In an attempt to conceal their exploitation of the new states, the British Government has adopted new legislation, changing the former "Colonial Development Corporation" into the new "Commonwealth Development Corporation".

However, the aim remains the same. To extend loans at current interest rates to provide public services and other forms of aid to the overseas monopoly firms. In introducing the new Act, Mr. John Tilney, Under-Secretary of State for the Commonwealth, pointed out that "private enterprise has undoubtedly done a fine job" and that "meanwhile, private funds should be the main contributor to development in the independent Commonwealth" (House of Commons, 19:6:63).

INTERNAL CONFLICTS

Imperialist economic exploitation is the basis of growing conflicts within the Commonwealth. These express themselves in contradictory economic aims and in the striving of independent states to extend their trade beyond the economic boundaries of the "sterling area". They are apparent in the obvious contrast between living standards in Britain (as also in Canada, Australia and New Zealand), and the shocking mass poverty in the newly-independent states. It takes the economic form of racial discrimination (prosperity for whites and poverty for coloured peoples), and politically is intensified by the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act which gives preference to European immigrants to Britain as against coloured immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean territories in the West Indies.

Most members of the Commonwealth (apart from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand), refuse to be associated with Britain's "defence pacts"—NATO, CENTO and SEATO—and adhere instead to a policy of positive non-alignment. This does not mean that they are neutral in the struggle against imperialism. On the contrary, the African national movements and the governments of the independent states of Africa are determined to advance to a new stage for the liberation of the whole African continent, more particularly the African peoples of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique. These are the centres of white settler domination, and the British Government is extremely anxious to bolster up its position in these territories.

The African liberation movements have now reached the stage of planning to give the utmost assistance to end colonial rule in their territories, even to the extent of armed struggle. In the General Assembly of the United Nations sharp condemnation has been expressed of white settler domination in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and demands that all United Nations members should stop sending arms to South Africa, break off diplomatic relations, and boycott all trading relations.

Britain is more isolated than ever also within the United Nations in relation to its plans to transfer sovereignty to the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia, and the transfer of armed forces and aircraft to them from the Central African Federation when this is dissolved on December 31, 1963. In the Security Council on September 13, the vote was eight against Britain and two abstentions (United States and France), with Britain alone voting against, thus using the veto rights of a permanent member of the Security Council to prevent the adoption of the resolution.

Britain also stood alone with Portugal and South Africa in the United Nations demand for the African right of independence in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in Africa, and was also opposed to the United Nations resolution in favour of the British Government negotiating independence for British Guiana in the West Indies.

DIVISIONS WITHIN COMMONWEALTH

Of the 16 member countries of the British Commonwealth, more than two-thirds are opposed to British imperialist policy in its most decisive aspects—"defence", colonialism, economic development of independent states, racial discrimination and the colour bar. These are the independent states of Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. The operation of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (up for renewal in December 1963), is mainly directed to the exclusion of immigrants from these countries, and has aroused indignation from the independent states of Jamaica, Trinidad, etc., which on other matters are on terms of close co-operation with the British Government.

Even the "white" members of the Commonwealth find it difficult to support Britain on all important issues within the United Nations. An influential British weekly journal *The Economist* made this comment on the vote on Southern Rhodesia:

"Neither Australia nor Canada, nor any of the continental Europeans, feel able to back Britain's present policy in Southern Rhodesia" (12.10.63).

FUTURE PROSPECTS

In April, 1963, the Commonwealth Relations Office, situated in London, organised a week-end conference at which problems of the Commonwealth were under discussion. All those attending were staunch upholders of the Commonwealth, but several of them expressed serious alarm about the future prospects. The main conclusions of the conference were published in a booklet entitled "The Future of the Commonwealth: A British View".

The report of the "Political Sub-Committee" was given by Richard Gould-Adams, Chairman of the Council of the Institute of Strategic Studies in which it was admitted that:

"In the last few years the validity of our formal ties with the Commonwealth has been weakened to some extent

by the political distrust of our (British) policy which has grown up in some of the new members of the Commonwealth. (page 8).

"We are to some extent discredited in our relations with the underdeveloped and uncommitted nations of the world, of whom many are in the Commonwealth, by virtue of our participation in the Atlantic partnership." (page 9).

In relation to the situation in Africa, one of the speakers in the discussion quoted a statement of General Smuts long ago that "the experiment of Commonwealth may be smashed to pieces in the cockpit of Southern Africa", and Mr. Gould-Adams himself, referring to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, warned: "On both these issues it was felt that the Commonwealth could be torn apart" (p. 16).

Faced with this situation Mr. Gould-Adams expressed the view that "the danger of a swing towards Communism on the part of African opinion was real", and that "this Communist danger is something that strikes at the root of the problem of dealing with the two parts of the Commonwealth, the old and the new" (p. 16).

ECONOMIC AID

There is no doubt that this fear has increased by the expansion of socialist economic aid to the independent states of the Com-



Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya.

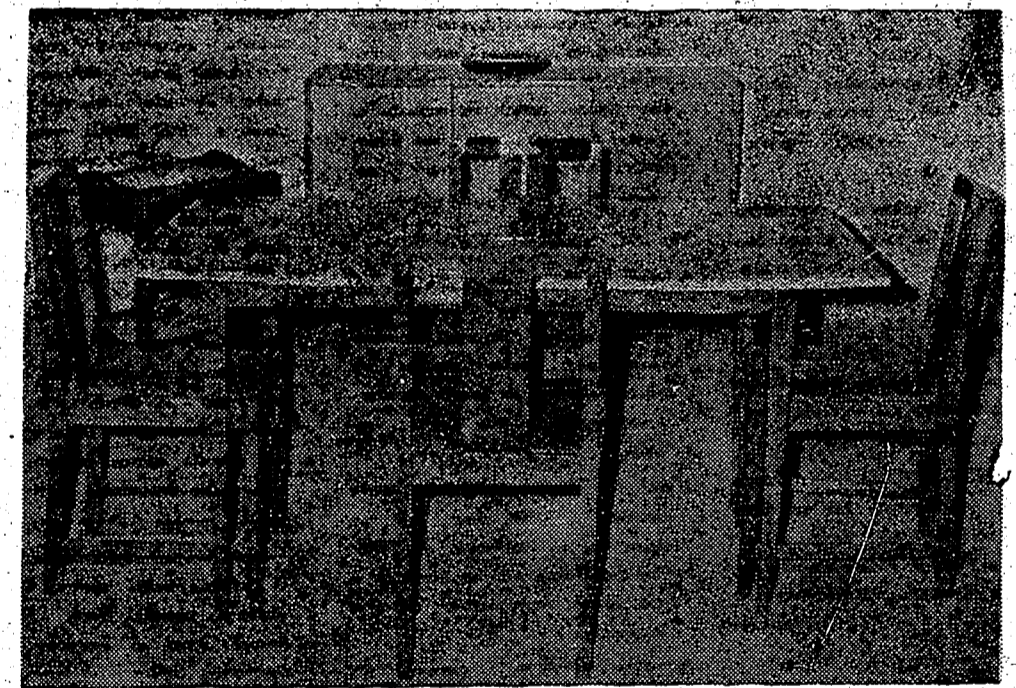
monwealth, by the granting of loans at low rates of interest (2 and 2½ per cent) and by the export of machinery to assist the transformation of their backward economies.

The gigantic changes in the world are making a big impact on relations within the British Commonwealth. Two years ago, the newly independent states forced the pace for the expulsion of South Africa. If the British Government persists in its present attitude to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, a situation may arise when some of the new independent states will them-

selves decide to abandon their membership of the Commonwealth.

A great deal will depend upon political developments in 1964, the outcome of the forthcoming General Election, the struggle in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean against new forms of colonialism, and the advance of the socialist world. One thing is clear. The Commonwealth is no longer in a position to exert a decisive influence in world affairs and this will serve to weaken the main prop of British imperialism and to advance the cause of peace and socialism in Britain.

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AFRICAN DIARY

27th NOVEMBER, WEDNESDAY:

TANGANYIKA: Tanganyika will celebrate its first Republic and second independence anniversaries to coincide with Zanzibar and Kenya's independence which fall on December 11 and 12 respectively.

NYASALAND: The registration of voters for Nyasaland's (Malawi) pre-independence elections begins on "the last day of the federation" December 30 and continues till January 19.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Saboteur trial of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, and nine others is adjourned for six days to enable the defence to prepare its case.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: The Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone, denies rumours circulating on the copper belt that Northern Rhodesia's currency will be devalued in the new year.

* Mr. Nelson Longwe, 29, an African Member of the United National Independence Party, defeats a white councillor by seven votes to three to become Northern Rhodesia's first African Mayor.

ALGERIA: An Algerian village is renamed maillot, to honour an Algerian Communist of French descent, tortured and killed by the colonialist army in 1956, when he was a guerrilla fighter—Meanwhile, trade and finance negotiations have been opened in Algiers, between Algerian and French experts.

MOROCCO: After having been detained for a few hours, the Algerian counsels of 108 left-wing Moroccan militants brought before the Court, are deported from Morocco. But the trial itself is unexpectedly interrupted and adjourned, pending a decision of a higher court on some procedural matters.

MAURITANIA: A U.A.R. delegation arrives in Nouakchott, with a message from President Nasser.

GHANA: The Parliament adjourns for Christmas recess, after the Budget has been passed.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Tshombe, still free, is once more in Paris after visiting Franco's Spain.

ANGOLA: Roberto Holden, Head of Angolan provisional government in exile, states before the UNO trusteeship Committee that he is ready to enter into negotiations with Portugal in order to achieve an agreement on Angola's self-determination.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Once more, Welensky is in London, but for the last time as an official, since the British imposed Rhodesia Nyasaland Federation is to be disbanded shortly.

28th NOVEMBER, THURSDAY:

TANGANYIKA: Chief Frasto Manganya, chief Tanganyika delegate at the U.N. deposits the instrument of ratification and a cheque for about \$11,560 with the United Nations for the establishment of an African Development Bank.

CONGO (Brazzaville): The people of Congo will go to the polls on December 8 to vote on the proposed Independence Constitution and to elect 55 members to a new National Assembly.

KENYA: The Governor of Kenya, Sir Malcolm MacDonald, empowers units of the Kings African Rifles to assume police duties in Kenya's Northern Province, following a series of attacks on Police Post by Somali raiders in recent weeks.

MOROCCO: The opposition Istiqlal Party, newspaper, Al Alam says, Morocco will soon reopen diplomatic relations with Tunisia.

The Moroccan Embassy in Tunis was closed down in November 1960 after Tunisia supported Mauritania's application to join the United Nations.

* King Hassan II of Morocco will pay a visit to Senegal next January, during which he will inaugurate the great Mosque in Dakar.

CONGO: The acting commander of the Congolese National Army, Major Yangu, says Northern Rhodesia authorities have agreed to arrest in future and return all former gendarmes crossing into Northern Rhodesia from Katanga and hand them over to the Congolese Central Government.

ALGERIA: The Tunisian-Algerian talks on common economic problems, with special reference to Saharian oil, have ended—in France, gaullist Minister de Broglie threatens Algeria in regard to the oil problem—U.S. States Secretary Dean Rusk has been officially invited to Algeria.

MOROCCO: King Hassan II sends a message (content is not known) to Emperor Haile Selassie, now in Madrid, where he is to meet Franco.

MAURITANIA: In Nouakchott, President Moktar Ould Daddah, unlashes a strong attack against Moroccan policy, and declares that he supports the Algerians in the border dispute.

DAHOMEY: A plot aimed to overthrow the Provisional Government and set up again French control has been discovered. Trade-Unionists and the whole people ask strong action against French diplomats and former Maga's counsellors.

In the evening, Colonel Soglo calls the Dahomean people to exert stringent vigilance.

CENTRAL AFRICA REPUBLIC: Elections are to be held on 5th January, 1964, to choose a President. Mr. Dacko, now President, is the only candidate.

SPANISH-DOMINATED AFRICA: Franco's fascist regime decides to grant a token autonomy to its African colonies, Rio Muni and Fernando-Po. Under the new law, the Governor-General will retain real power.

29th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY:

NIGERIA: The independent "Daily Express" (Newspaper) says that the Nigeria Government must state clearly its official policy on South Africa's membership of the United Nations.

U.A.R.: The first U.A.R. built warship (20,000 ton) will be launched at the end of 1965. The new ship will be built at a new naval construction yard in Alexandria.

SOUTH AFRICA: Nearly 100 taxi drivers were dismissed in Capetown, because of the racial discrimination which the racist authorities have extended to the workers of all modes of transport.

KENYA: Back benches of the Kenya Government accuses the Government of betraying African Nationalists.

The accusation was made during a debate on the Kenya Citizenship Bill in the House of Representatives.

CONGO: More than 200 South African Political Refugees are waiting at Francistown, (inside the Bechuanaland border) to be transported to friendly African countries.

NIGERIA: The House of Commons today passes through all its remaining stages a Bill to ensure that laws which affect

ed Nigeria as a Dominion will continue, now that she is a Republic.

The Bill now goes to the House of Lords after which it will receive the Royal assent and become law.

ETHIOPIA: The Provisional General Secretariat of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) confirms that the seven-nation commission on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier dispute will meet in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, on December 2.

U.A.R.: Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda arrives in Cairo from Accra, Ghana, on a four-day visit to the U.A.R.

ALGERIA: Mr. Guillaumat, former gaullist War Minister, now Managing Director of the French Oil Company U.G.P. is in Algiers for talks with President Ben Bella and other Algerian Ministers, on Saharian oil problem, which seems to make the French Government feel uneasy.

* A delegation from Kuwait is in Algiers, and offers a 10 million dinars loan.

U.A.R.: It is reported that all private trade agencies are to be closed and nationalised.

SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. B. A. Hepple, whom the racist authorities wanted to use as a prosecution witness in the Mandela and others trial, after having escaped from Verwoerd apartheid kingdom, has reached safely in Dar-es-Salaam.

30th NOVEMBER, SATURDAY:

ALGERIA: Algeria and Tunisia have agreed to pool natural gas and oil resources of the Sahara for the joint benefit of the two countries.

* The Union of African News Agencies will hold its first general assembly in Algiers, Algeria from December 16-18.

GHANA-DAHOMEY: A Dahomean official delegation arrives in Accra, Ghana, they will have friendly talks with President Nkrumah.

U.A.R.: It is reported that China's Prime Minister, Chou-En-Lai, will pay a state visit to U.A.R. in the middle of December, and later on, visit other African countries.

RUANDA-BURUNDI: Some border incidents are reported. The Burundi Government appeals to UNO to send an international police force to the border.

SOUTH AFRICA: While the Security Council continues to debate apartheid problems, the racist South African Foreign Minister bluntly turns down a 1962 UNO resolution; requesting UNO observers to be sent to South-West Africa. This refusal is announced officially by Louw.

1st DECEMBER, SUNDAY:

GHANA: Ghana Black Star (National Team) beats Sudan by 3 goals to nothing to snatch the Gold Cup donated by Osa-gyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah for the Africa soccer competition. In all six countries took part.

FRENCH-DOMINATED SOMALI: French forces manoeuvres starts in Somali, with several French warships taking part. French Army Chief of General Staff, General Silleret, arrives in Somali. He is expected to go to Dakar and Fort Lamey, for "inspection".

2nd DECEMBER, MONDAY:

TANGANYIKA: The African Liberation "committee of nine" begins its second major meeting in Dar-es-Salaam.

UGANDA: The Prime Minister of Uganda, Dr. Milton Obote arrives home after a four-day visit to the United Arab Republic.

DAHOMEY: Two former Ministers, Messrs Arouna Mama and Oke Assogba in the Government of ex-President Maga have been placed under close arrest in connection with the discovery of an alleged plot against the States.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Congolese Foreign Minister, An-

guste Kelanda has been arrested and accused of undermining the security of the State. Prime Minister Adoula takes over his portfolio.

SENEGAL: Ten people were reported to have been killed and about sixty injured during demonstration marking Senegal's first Presidential and Parliamentary elections since independence.

President Leopold Senghor and his ruling Senegalese Progressive Union Party won the elections.

MOROCCO: U.S. forces have evacuated their air base of Ben Guerir.

3rd DECEMBER, TUESDAY:
IVORY COAST: The Committee set up at Addis Ababa last month in order to investigate the problem of Morocco-Algeria border dispute, meets in Abidjan. According to Senegalese Foreign Affairs Minister, Doudou Thiam, the Committee shall go "into the heart of the matter".

DAHOMEY: After a long meeting of the Provisional Government, it is announced that, former President Maga has resigned from the Provisional Government. He is confined in a village.

MALI-GHANA: It is announced that Mali President Modibo Keita would pay an official visit to Ghana on the 9th December.

CAMEROUN: Meeting of the International Federation of Senior Police Officers begins in Yaounde.

NIGERIA: Sir Ahmeadu Bello is to visit India on the 6th of December.

Moratorium?

Continued from page 1

put to the double-faced policy of condemning South Africa in speeches while refusing to take any concrete steps towards the elimination of apartheid.

SECONDLY, THERE IS NEED FOR A MORE REALISTIC POLICY TOWARDS THE CHINESE PEOPLES REPUBLIC.

The non-inclusion of this great republic of some 700 million people in the United Nations renders practically all arrangements for the preservation of world peace tentative and incomplete. Can the spread of nuclear arms be effectively stopped by the U.N. if China is not a party to such agreement? What are the chances of peaceful settlement of problems involving China if that nation has no seat in the U.N.?

Thirdly, the national liberation movements. While taking steps to reduce the dangers of nuclear war, imperialism is busy suppressing national liberation movements by force of arms. There is urgent need for a re-existence of this policy of putting back the hand of the clock in the newly emergent nations of the world. And there should be a greater realisation of the

truth that such a policy of forcibly resisting the march of history in the emergent nations could lead to a disturbance of world peace.

How is President Johnson likely to shape up to these major problems? Some analysts think he will forge ahead with Kennedy's policies. Others think he will reverse these policies. Neither group of analysts is likely to be correct.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

The overriding factor in any assessment of the post-Kennedy Democratic administration is the 1964 presidential elections. Lyndon Johnson would like to be elected President of the United States on his own ticket. Therefore, above everything else, he must keep the democratic Party together. To do this, he must at one and the same time sustain the enthusiasm of the progressives for 'Operation New Frontier' and reassure the die-hard southern democratic leaders that there is no intention of pushing the Negro problem to breaking point.

As the choice of the South for the presidency in the 1960 Democratic Party

Convention, it will not be difficult for the new President to gain the confidence of the conservative elements in Dixieland. It will be more difficult to keep the support of the progressives. This will explain why President Johnson, at least in his public statements, will tend to sound like a real New Frontiersman in the months ahead. He must maintain the Kennedy image of progress at home and peace abroad while enjoying the confidence of the conservative elements within the Democratic Party.

This is the "internal logic" that will dictate President Johnson's actions for the next twelve months between now and the 1964 presidential elections. It is a game of walking the tight rope in which the new President distinguished himself as Chairman of the U.S. Senate.

There is therefore the likelihood that the next twelve months will see a moratorium placed on major U.S. policies. We shall probably have a mark-time administration. And any dramatic new departures will most likely await the 1964 presidential elections.

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