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CONSCIENCISM - Ideological Manifesto of the Revolution

EDITORIAL

THE MONSTER

IN LANGLEY, Virginia, about ten miles outside Washington, U.S.A. on the banks of the River Potomac, stands an ultra-modern building.

This two-storey building, with five connecting 6-floor towers, has a floor space of 1,135,000 square feet and cost 42,000,000 dollars to build. It accommodates an estimated 11,000 workers ranging from top nuclear scientists, philologists and researchers to soldiers, typists and messengers.

Its other features are a parking space for 3,000 cars, a cafeteria seating 1,000 persons and a 500-seat auditorium. The incinerators alone cost 105,000 dollars and its radio antennas 50,000 dollars. It costs 1,776,000,000 dollars a year to maintain.

Ninety per cent of the ills in this world are hatched in this building; it is the nerve centre of America's Central Intelligence Agency, known briefly as C.I.A., which is the physical symbol of one of the most malevolent forces of modern times.

Unprecedented machinations have characterised the operations of this agency in the last decade. Its main purpose is to make the world "safe" for finance capital and the giant monopolies that operate behind the imperialist governments.

To that end, the C.I.A. promotes immense hate crusades, supporting and opposing sundry contestants for world domination so as to ultimately achieve its goal. Ignorance of the true nature of such a treacherous organisation is no longer permissible.

Today the C.I.A. is involved in a conspiracy against African labour. Through its main agent—the I.C.F.T.U.—and other agencies in West Germany and in the United States, attempts are being made to disrupt the work of the All-African Trade Union Federation.

Funds are being made available to buy over African labour leaders to the cause of neo-colonialism in Africa.

At the AATUF conference in Bamako, the I.C.F.T.U. paid out 20,000 German marks to Mr. Nelson Ravagase from Ruanda to obstruct the work of the conference.

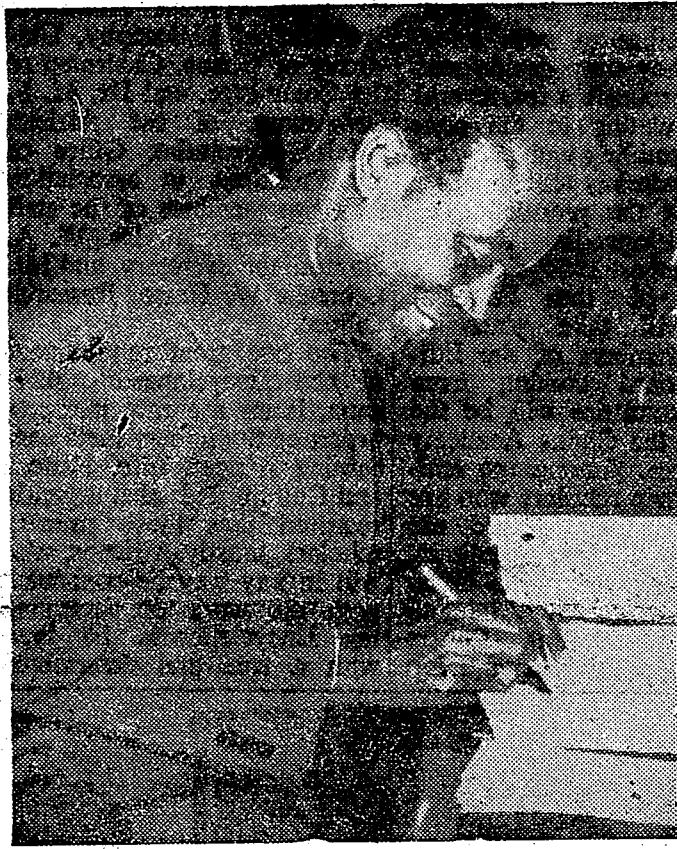
Documents just unearthed by the AATUF reveal underhand plots being formulated by the I.C.F.T.U.

There is increased C.I.A. campaign, directed through the I.C.F.T.U. and its agents in Africa to detach African trade unions from Africa's struggle for complete independence and socialist reconstruction. There is a prolific output of books, journals and studies of African labour by self-styled "experts" and research scholars from America.

Last year George Meany, the American Labour boss, who controls the I.C.F.T.U. was bold enough to say that 23 percent of the AFL-CIO annual income is used "on front lines of the cold war."

As a wing of the C.I.A., wherever it finds it difficult to infiltrate into a country, the I.C.F.T.U. uses its agents to foment disorders in that country. The incidents in British Guiana is a case in point.

The role of the I.C.F.T.U. in Africa has to be viewed with apprehension especially in the context of a new strategy of U.S. infiltration into Africa. While directing its main opposition to the I.C.F.T.U. and the reactionary trade union centres in Africa, the



OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKUMAH
—Great Statesman and Philosopher

Kwame Nkrumah's "Consciencism" (12/6d—Heinemann, London 1964) claims to do no more than attempt to formulate "a Philosophy and ideology for decolonization with particular reference to the African Revolution." This is in itself an epoch-making task, but in fact the book does much more. The first chapter, "Philosophy in Retrospect" is an entertaining, profound, and critical review of philosophy from the standpoint on an African dialectical philosopher. In this chapter his most important contribution for us is his examination of the philosophical meanings of materialism.

"HARD FACTS"

At a minimum, he points out, materialism says that matter exists independently of the mind; but materialism may go on to "assert the primary reality of matter." This primacy, however, has to be maintained in the face of certain "hard facts". The chief of these is the distinction between consciousness and self-consciousness. Then there is that between quantity and quality and that between energy and matter. Nkrumah's key with

which to explain these problems is "categorical convertibility"—the possibility of a thing so changing its nature as to be grouped in a new category. This categorical convertibility is nothing but the well-known self motion. All the other materialisms step short of "categorical conversion," but "when materialism becomes dialectical, it ensures the material basis of categorical conversion."

INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Next the writer shows the relationship between philosophy and ideology, paying special attention to the Greek philosophers. Speaking for non-European students of European philosophy he summarizes this part of the enquiry: "It is my opinion that when we study a philosophy which is not ours, we must see it in the context of the intellectual history to which it belongs, and we must see it in the context of the milieu in which it was born. That way, we can use it in the furtherance of cultural development and in the strengthening of our human society."

So the decolonising nations need a philosophy and an ideology arising out of their own milieu. Nkrumah formulates this philosophy and this ideology specially for Africa, but although it has the ring of authority, there is nothing dogmatic in his

A.A.T.U.F. must also make it a serious point to expose the influence of imperialism and big business behind the I.C.F.T.U.

The task ahead of the A.A.T.U.F. is not easy. In order to maintain its unity, it is essential for it to understand and grasp fully the bases upon which its fight in Africa rests.

BARELY five months since its launching, "Consciencism", is making a serious impact on the world. After being exposed to the rigours of the British press, it has started to attain maturity by rightly contending for its existence among hostile and rival ideas.

Through our columns we shall continue to encourage all serious contributions on the book.

In this issue we publish a review of CONSCIENCISM which appeared in the leading newspaper in British Guiana, "Guiana Graphic" by Sydney King.

Mr. King is a well-known journalist in Latin America. He was a cabinet minister in the 1953 government of British Guiana and was interned after the suspension of the constitution then. Latterly he has been out of direct politics and has been trying to make people of African descent in Latin America conscious and proud of their African heritage. In furtherance of this he was instrumental in founding of ASCRIA (Association for Cultural Relations with Independent African States).

It is King's view that "Consciencism", "apart from putting forward a fresh and refreshing socialist ideology warmed by the soul of Africa and yet uncompromisingly socialist, contains an entertaining and original criticism of philosophical thought that is challenging.... It is something new in socialist scriptures.... It is a book that will rise to endless discussion and to a host of pamphlets, reviews, articles, books, and doctrines. It deserves to become the ideological Manifesto of the African revolution."

Next week we shall carry another review of "Consciencism", published in the popular French journal "Le Monde Diplomatique."

—EDITOR.

treatment. The method can with benefit be examined and applied to other continents of world society.

In "Society and Ideology" we find a fascinating treatment of the interaction between ideas and social life and between the realities of social life and ideas. Many will read with delight the restatement in African terms of the relationship between traditional communism, capitalism and socialism and applied to these categories the "opposition between reform and revolution". In this chapter the author brings a fresh and refreshing criticism of capitalism, feudalism and socialism; and he does not try to disguise the fact that his criticism is not merely scientific but highly ethical. He claims that socialism has its roots in the traditional African society. "But because of the continuity of communalism with socialism, in communalistic societies, socialism is not a revolutionary creed, but a restatement in contemporary idiom of the principles underlying communalism.... the presupposition and purposes of capitalism are contrary to those of African society. Capitalism would be a betrayal of the personality and conscience of Africa—for it is "but the gentlemen's method of slavery."

THREE SEGMENTS

"Philosophical consciencism" takes into account three main segments that comprise African society. First, the traditional "egalitarianism" of African way of life; next the Islamic tradition; and third the Christian tradition and culture of Western Europe. These are compelling ideologies, but a society has a decisive ideology. Hence,

Consciencism, which however, is not a philosophical resultant of competing philosophical forces, but the application of enlightened human thought to African conditions. It is "deeply rooted in materialism, but is not necessarily atheistic."

ETHICS

A society may change its ethical rules without changing its ethical principles. For example, "Asses were of such overwhelming importance in

designed to give us a similar rule today he would not doubt forbid us to covet our neighbour's motor car, hardly his ass. Here God would be giving a new ethical rule, designed at giving effect to an unchanging ethical principle, but taking full account of modern times."

CHIEF PRINCIPLE

Philosophical consciencism in the sense of traditional African egalitarian society would be non-revolutionary, restating its egalitarian principles in modern idiom. In capitalist societies it would be revolutionary as it is basically socialist and "any change of ethics constitutes a revolutionary change." The chief principle of consciencism is "to regard each man as an end in himself and not merely as a means."

This book, apart from putting forward a fresh and refreshing socialist ideology warmed by the soul of Africa and yet uncompromisingly socialist, contains an entertaining and original criticism of philosophical thought that is challenging. It is done in a style of penetrating humour that can only come with maturity. It is something new in socialist scriptures.

It is a book that will give rise to endless discussion and to a host of pamphlets, reviews, articles, books and doctrines. It deserves to become the ideological manifesto of the African revolution. It will teach all decolonising peoples how to solve their ideological problems and how to advance to a modern humanist society without exploitation and not to lose their personality in the process.

Consciencism in Algeria

Four hundred copies of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's latest book "Consciencism", in Arabic and French, are in the library of Algeria University.

The books were presented by a Ghanaian delegation here last Tuesday.

Algeria is the latest country to obtain copies of the book, which expounds the philosophy and ideology for decolonisation and the development of African States.

It is understood that discussions on "Consciencism" will be held at the University next term.

Israel that God found it necessary to regulate human relations by an ethical rule mentioning them specifically. Thou shall not covet thy neighbour's ass. If God

Encyclopaedia Africana

By
E. K. ADDO

WHILE African politicians, freedom fighters and statesmen, notably among whom is Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, are engaged in an untiring and heroic crusade against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and their concomitant evils; while the patriotic statesmen of Africa are inextricably wedded to the noble task of a realisation of the political unification of Africa, there has been a corresponding growing need for Africanists everywhere to help in building the spiritual and cultural foundations for the unity of Africa.

There is a general agreement, certainly among Africans, that it is useful that the existing knowledge concerning Africa and its peoples are assembled, organised, and published in an encyclopaedic form. It is also strongly felt that this noble task of making an Encyclopaedia Africana should be based as far as possible, though by no means exclusively, on the scientific research of African scholars.

Undoubtedly this compendium of knowledge about Africa would be of great value to Africans in their present renaissance, as well as to peoples of the Western world long schooled to believe that Africa is a continent without a history—until the coming of the Europeans. It will and ought to provide students and scholars a reliable and scientific reference work on all kinds of subjects relating to African history and culture.

It will have to reassert once and for all, the truth about the history of African peoples and to correct some of the lies and unscientific statements made about Africa.

Above all the importance of the work of the Encyclopaedia Africana lies in the fact that it is a realisation in practice of the work of a United Africa on the cultural level.

It will be a general contribution not only to scholarship in general but also towards a general objective of achieving a kind of unified approach to economic, political and social problems by all states of Africa, which is necessary for progress.

GHANA'S ROLE

It is not at all surprising that Ghana should be the home of the Encyclopaedia Africana, for the man who has done so much towards the realisation of this noble enterprise is Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana. The man who has done so much towards the realisation of the political unification of Africa is also so much endeared to the notion of intellectual and scholastic renaissance of the African past. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, whose energetic efforts and keen interest in the correct and objective presentation of the history of the African peoples precipitated the establishment of the Secretariat for an Encyclopaedia Africana in Accra in 1962 has long realised some of the inaccuracies which permeated and still permeate the works of some Western scholars writing on Africa and its peoples.

Thus when opening the Africanists Congress Conference held in December 1962 at the University of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah said: "The history of a nation is unfortunately too easily written as the history of its dominant class. If the history of a nation cannot be found in the history of a class, how much less can the history of a whole continent be found in what is not even part of it—Europe. And yet, this is precisely what many a European historian has done in the past. The history of Africa has with them been European centred, Africa was only the space in which Europe swelled up. The African past was ignored or dismissed in these tendentious works as not contributing to, or affecting the European expansion and presence in Africa."

In the mind of Osagyefo, therefore, was a growing burning desire to establish and organise a secretariat for a compilation of a true scientific and objective knowledge of the African past and present for he believes as he told the Africanists Congress in

December, 1962: "we (Africanists) have made a contribution to the fund of human knowledge by extending the frontiers of art, culture and spiritual values."

In stressing the need for a cultural and spiritual renaissance in Africa which is part of the work to which the Encyclopaedia Africana is committed, Osagyefo said at the same Africanist Congress meeting held in December 1962:

"If we have lost force with what our fore-fathers discovered and knew, this has been due to the system of education to which we were introduced. This system of education prepared us for a subservient role to Europe and things European. It was directed at estranging us from our own culture in order the more effectively to serve a new and alien interest."

Thus it is clear that both the content and form of the colonialist education and presentation of historical facts concerning Africa and its peoples has done much to pervert our cultural history and heritage.

This is the time the fore-long over-due of course—when African scholars should rewrite and correct some of the mistakes and fallacies in this Western oriented and biased history of Africa. Thus Osagyefo writes:

"In discovering and revitalising our cultural and spiritual heritage and values, African studies must help to redirect this new endeavour. The educational system which we devise today must equip us with the resources of a personality and a force strong enough to meet the intensities of the African presence and situation. This obviously is the intellectual, spiritual and cultural underpinnings of the political unification of Africa."

To translate this idea of rewriting in its correct perspective and in an organised form, the political, social, economic and the general cultural history of the African peoples, into reality, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, invited the late Dr. W. E. Du Bois to Ghana, in 1960.

PERSONAL INTEREST

It is of course to be expected that the centre and headquarters of what is to be essentially a work of and by Africans should be situated in Africa. The personal interest of President Nkrumah in the fulfilment of the work on an Encyclopaedia Africana undertaken many years ago by Dr. Du Bois led to the establishment of the Secretariat in Accra in 1962.

It was not a mere chance that the task of directing the work of the Encyclopaedia should fall on the late Dr. Du Bois, for he was a veteran Pan-Africanist whose interest in this enterprise goes back to 1909 when he first attempted to launch an Encyclopaedia Africana while still teaching history at Atlanta University in Georgia, U.S.A. The project of launching an Encyclopaedia Africana by late Dr. Du Bois in 1909 had to be abandoned because the financial backing for the project was not solved. But all through his life time late Dr. Du Bois unflinchingly devoted himself to the cause of Pan-Africa-

nism. He might have been very happy indeed therefore when the Ghana Government invited him to be the First Director of the Secretariat—a work which he was so much familiar with and which had occupied the whole of his intellectual life, and especially so when the Ghana Government underwrote the cost of starting the work.

THE GOAL

Thus 1962 saw the beginnings of the work of the compilation of a 10-volume Encyclopaedia Africana. The production of a 10-volume Encyclopaedia will require a considerable sum of money for staffing, printing and equipment. At the moment the Ghana Government has underwritten the cost of the project but it is learnt from the Secretary of the Secretariat, Dr. W. A. Hunton, that some method will be found to secure the co-operation of some African governments in sharing the cost of this work. The whole project of compiling the 10 Volumes might take up to a minimum of 10 years to complete but it is going to be a continuous work after that, since the work of the Encyclopaedia will have to be kept up to date.

What is the goal of such an enterprise? The work of the Secretariat for the compilation of the Encyclopaedia is geared towards a scientific and authentically African compendium of the known facts concerning African Life, History and Culture.

In outlining some of the aims and the needs for such an Encyclopaedia the late Dr. Du Bois, the First Director of the Secretariat for an Encyclopaedia Africana, said in an address to the opening Plenary Session of the Conference on the Encyclopaedia Africana held in the University of Ghana—December 18, 1962:

"It is true that written scientific records do not exist in most parts of this vast continent, but the time is now for beginning. The Encyclopaedia hopes to eliminate the artificial boundaries created on the continent of Africa by colonial masters. Designations such as 'British Africa', 'French Africa', 'Black Africa', 'Islamic Africa' too often serve to keep alive differences which in large part have been imposed on Africans by outsiders."

To those sceptics who think the work of the Encyclopaedia is premature, the late Du Bois had this to say:

"Some of you, however ask if an Encyclopaedia Africana at this time is not premature. Is this not a too ambitious undertaking for African Scholars to attempt? Is there enough scientifically proven information ready for publication? Our answer is that an Encyclopaedia Africana is long overdue"...

In the same address late Du Bois pointed out that in the early stages there would be the need of the practical skill in research which had been largely developed in other parts of the world. Already, he pointed out, to a most gratifying degree there had been the unstinted co-operation and assistance of the leading institutes of African studies outside Africa, but, and he minced no words on this, "it is African scholars themselves who will create the ultimate Encyclopaedia Africana." This is a singular challenge to the growing number of African scholars—a challenge to correct the ill-painted picture of Africa, a challenge to show the rest of the world that the African intellectual genius has

come to stay.

The principal function of the Secretariat is to prepare detailed recommendations on the content and organisation of a comprehensive encyclopaedia of African life and history, which will be authentically African in its point of view and at the same time a product of scientific scholarship.

It will be the responsibility of an Editorial Board, the establishment of which followed upon the formation in various African countries of groups of scholars united in national co-operating Committees for the purpose of collaborating in various aspects of the work of the planning and production of an Encyclopaedia Africana, as requested by the Secretariat in Africa. The choice of the representative or representatives of each country to serve on the Editorial Board was made by its co-operating Committee. There are at present Co-operating Committees established representing 27 African countries and the representatives of these countries nominated to serve on the Editorial Board now number 39 persons.

The Editorial Board will meet together at such intervals as they may decide and will be responsible for several policies relating to the contents, assembling and preparation of materials and to other aspects of the production of the Encyclopaedia Africana. In September 1964 the First Meeting of the Editorial Board will take place in Accra. Members of the Editorial Board coming from African countries will be the guests of the Ghana Academy of Sciences. Among the eminent African scholars who are on the Editorial Board are Professors William Abraham, (Ghana), Mr. Joseph Ki-Zerbo (Upper Volta), Mr. Abdullah El Tayib (Sudan), Others include Mr. Abdoulaye Diop

(Senegal) Dr. Onwuka Dike (Nigeria), Mr. Mohammed El Fasi (Morocco) and Dr. Serew Sellassie of Ethiopia.

Matters which will be discussed at this September meeting include the plan of the Encyclopaedia Africana, its scope, general contents, length, arrangement and the list of proposed subject-entries. There will also be a discussion of the procedure to be followed in deciding upon contributors of articles and in securing expert advice when required.

The September meeting will also consider the most suitable means of obtaining contributions to meet the financial costs of the entire project.

Early in September, 1963, by direction of the President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who is President of the Ghana Academy of Sciences, a Working Committee for the Encyclopaedia Africana Secretariat was established for the purpose of assuming responsibility for some of the functions exercised by the late Director of the Secretariat, Dr. W. E. Du Bois.

The Committee consists of Professor William Abraham, Professor of Philosophy, University of Ghana, Chairman of the Committee, and Dr. M. F. Dei-Anang, of the African Affairs Secretariat, Office of the President, in association with two members of the staff of the Secretariat, Dr. W. A. Hunton, the Secretary, and Mr. Lebrecht W. Hesse, Research Officer.

The one great requirement of the Encyclopaedia Africana, is an accurate interpretation of the known facts concerning African Life, History and Culture. It is also urgently required that those eminent scholars, mostly Africans, who will in any way be connected with the work of compiling the Encyclopaedia be fired with a true and determined



The late Director of Encyclopaedia Africana
Dr. W. E. Du Bois

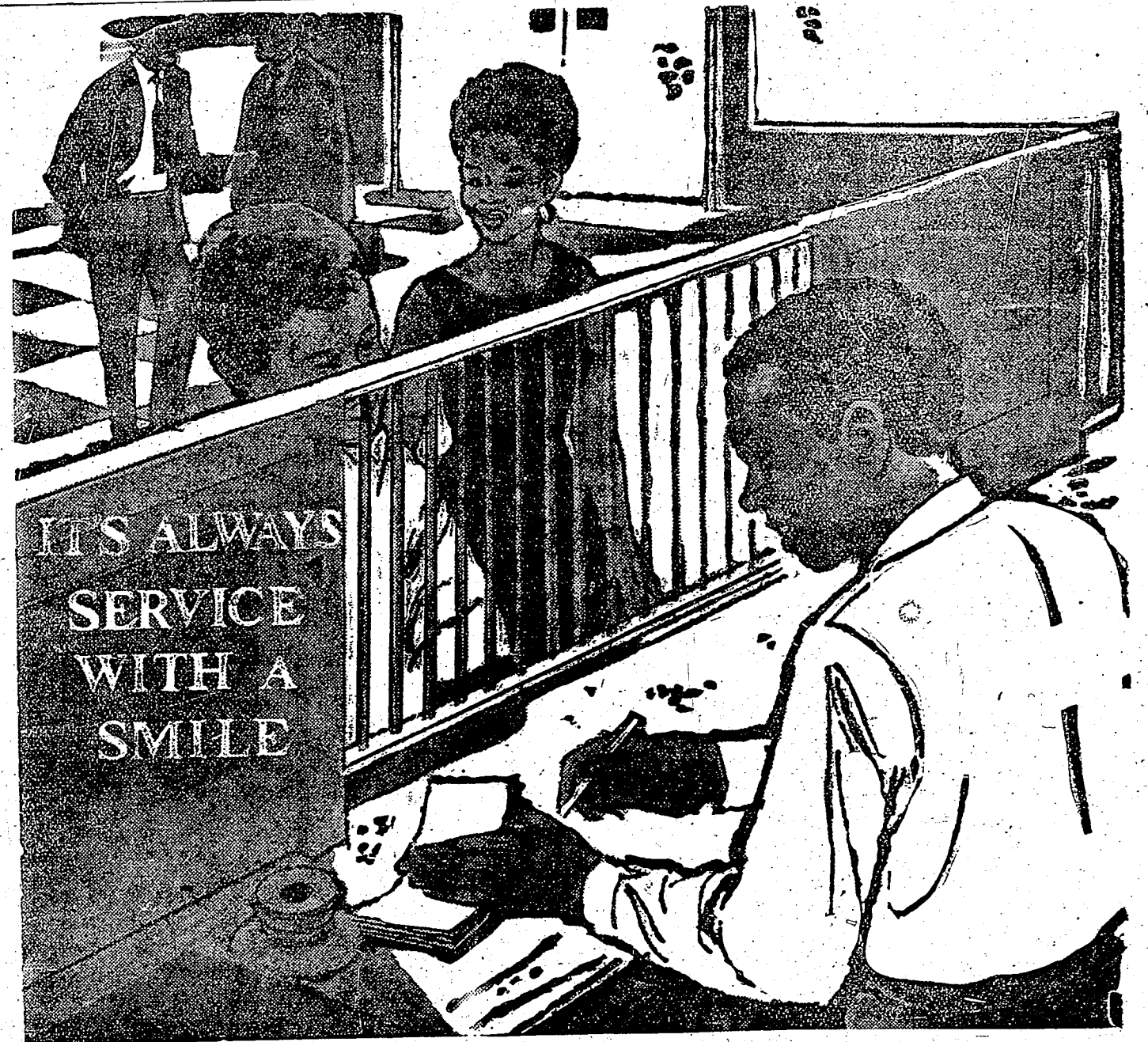
will to serve the cause of true scholarship not only for Africa but mankind at large.

Some Western authors writing on several aspects of African Life and History have bent the truth of Africa to their own whims and caprices and subjected objectivity in interpretation to their own sentimentalities and vested interests. Some, indeed most of them, painted a picture of Africa not as a true reflection of the image of Africa, but as they wanted it to be. The greatest challenge to the Encyclopaedia Africana there-

fore and to subsequent works of African Life, and History undertaken by African scholars will be to correct this and put Africa and its cultural history in its proper perspective.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah put this succinctly when he was opening the First Africanists Congress Conference in December 1962 at the University of Ghana. He said:

"Your efforts mark a renaissance of scientific curiosity in the study of Africa and should be directed at an objective impartial scrutiny and assessment of things African."



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Independence and After (II)

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM

by Obotan Awuku

AKIN to the misconception about the real import of independence is the exasperation shown by some so-called intellectuals about the methods and policies of progressive governments. These seem to understand or rather are highly opinionated about their understating of the significance of independence. A distinguishing characteristic of this class is its profound non-chalance about our colonial past and any examination of it. A person with this cast of mind winces with highbrow cynicism at the mention of such words as colonialism, exploitation, neo-colonialism, etc.

Not that there is any virtue in the trumpeting of these words but that too many of us in our antipathy for them tend to be apathetic too about their significance. Too many of us tend to be oblivious of the fact that the conditions that determined our fate still hold us in chains. It much too often escapes us that imperialism is a live phenomenon which changes its outward manifestations according to the prevailing circumstances—a veritable chameleon—while retaining its real nature—exploitation.

The rapacious ravaging and pillaging mentioned in the first article were characteristic of the precolonial era. When the times change i.e. when there were no more stores of wealth to loot rational systematic exploitations of natural and human resources was substituted for the wanton despoliation. This is colonialism.

With the increasing impossibility of political subjection after this Second World War, there was another change in the form of imperialism into neo-colonialism but retaining still the same old purpose of exploitation.

It must be understood that colonial rule *per se* was never the primary aim of imperialist expansion. The history of colonialism clearly reveals that domination was only imposed later on to ensure safe, thorough and monopolistic exploitation of defined territories. This cardinal purpose still subsists.

ANALYSIS

It is very essential that we understand this, because such understanding promotes a healthy suspicion of the protestations of capitalist adventurers, an apprehension of the methods they are likely to employ and an appreciation of the consequent policies of progressive governments.

Apropos this, we shall in this article attempt an analysis of the colonial system. The aim here is to see just how contact with Western imperialism put us in the two twilight of decaying feudalism and monopoly capitalism. That is, we shall study how the introduction of the advanced form of capitalism (monopoly capitalism) into our countries caused the existing feudal system to decay and yet prevented its natural development into capitalism.

The most crucial factor in this connection is that Western capitalism did not industrialise the colonies. In fact this was a deliberate policy, since the quintessence of underdevelopment: low incomes and therefore cheap labour and primary production, was necessary for industrial growth at home, and this fact dictated the relationship between the colonies and the metropolitan countries.

Their undeveloped conditions turned the colonies on the one hand into sources of cheap raw materials to feed the growing industries at home while enlarging, on the other hand, the markets for their finished products. In this relationship the metropolitan countries gained in both worlds while the colonies lost in both, as shall be made clear in this article.

The most important aspect of colonial rule perhaps, was the establishment of industries for the exploitation of primary products. Contrary to all expectations and to the noisy arguments of the apologists of imperialism this development was baneful to the colonies despite the railways, roads, harbours, schools and hospitals. Because in reality these

only served to facilitate the calculated exploitation.

The enterprises so established, with their complete export orientation, led to the development of what economists call technological dualism. That is to say, the enterprises led to the development of two different sectors in the economy of a colonial territory; an industrial-export sector extracting primary products for export and a rural sector producing necessities for local consumption.

Now the export sector became in reality a foreign enclave within the colonial territories. That is, it formed part of the colony only in the geographical and physical sense, economically it was part of the metropolitan country. Let us examine, this concept of technological dualism a little further.

It is expounded by economists by the use of models. There are two such models which we can discuss in a simple manner without confusing diagrams and frightening formulas. In the first model we consider a country with two distinct sectors: (1) an industrial export sector and (2) a rural sector. The industrial sector created by foreign capitalist investments employs quite a sizeable amount of capital. Labour, the other important factor, is used in fixed proportions with capital in the process of production. Moreover, relatively large amounts of capital are used in conjunction with relatively small amounts of labour. Furthermore, employment in this sector increases very little as investment and output expand.

Now it is maintained by most economists that the introduction of an industrial sector into a subsistence economy leads to population explosion. Thus we see that while the export sector may lead to an unconscionable increase in population, it can only employ a very small amount of the labour force it has helped to create.

DISGUISED UNEMPLOYMENT

In the rural sector factor proportions are not fixed as in the industrial sector. Therefore the proportions actually used will depend upon the availability of each factor. It follows that all the available labour surplus will be absorbed into this sector. This gives rise to what is called disguised unemployment, a condition in which a large number of those engaged in the agricultural or rural sector is actually redundant. This is particularly true of densely populated regions like India, Java etc., where good land grows increasingly scarce.

This condition powerfully inhibits growth since it discourages investment and innovation. With redundant supply, labour as a group has no incentive to increase its effort. Thus production methods remain archaic and labour intensive, while productivity and

economic and social welfare remain low. Worse still, this condition tends to be aggravated with increased technical progress in the export sector.

The second model presented by Prof. Hla Myint in his article "An Interpretation of Economic Backwardness" published in *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (June, 1954) is particularly applicable to Ghana and some other African countries.

Here, again very simply and briefly, the "opening" up of the country to economic relations with the outside world takes the form of the extraction of its natural resources for export. This is carried out by foreign private capital with government assistance and protection.

As regards the original feudal economy of the native population, it is completely disrupted. Demand for imported products is greatly stimulated among the inhabitants and heavy taxes are introduced. The effect of these measures is to cause shifts from subsistence production to the production of cash crops and to the hiring of labour for wages.

NO SPECIFICATION

Thus we have again an export sector consisting of mines, etc. operated by foreign private capital and of native cash crop production, as distinct from the rural sector which is still engaged in subsistence production. Development in such a dualistic economy requires no high degree of specialization on the part of the native population. Although the equipment used in the "foreign export sector" are highly specialised as well as the personnel who man them, the bulk of the native population who supply the unskilled labour have no specialization apart from their natural adaptability to the tropical climate.

Moreover, in the "native export sector" i.e. where new cash crops are introduced, production is such as to require no special skills or any appreciable investments of capital. In other words cash crop production by natives is carried on in the same archaic, labour-intensive manner, e.g. cocoa production in Ghana.

Nevertheless, one effect of this "opening up" process is to create a new "elite" who accept Western values and standards. Professor Myint also draws attention to the fact that in such a model, "The disequalizing factors must be considered as operating not only between the backward and the advanced countries as aggregate units, but also between the backward and advanced groups of peoples within the same backward country itself."

We may say further that the same situation is generated between different regions of the same country. For example "development" in Ghana under colonial rule was wholly concentrated in the South leaving the Northern Territories completely "undeveloped." Thus the "disequalizing factors" were at work making it more and more profitable to establish enterprises in the south instead of the north. This caused the more economically useful age group of the northern population to migrate to the south. Thus the cumulative forces set in motion increased the north's

disadvantages in every sphere.

We now may proceed to study the general characteristics and consequences of the dualistic economies irrespective of the model. One predominant characteristic was the fact that the industrial sector was foreign-owned and was operated under the canopy of the government so as to escape the scorch of competition from other foreigners as well as possible rebellion or enlightenment of the colonial peoples. The conspiracy of forces in this situation ensured that the exploitation was done in a superb manner. There was a continuous flow of profits from the colonies to the metropolitan countries.

GIANT PROFITS

Indeed it was far more profitable to do business in the colonies than at home. The following facts will dispel any doubts. We quote an extract from the article "Background for Point Four: Samples of Profitable British Investments in the Underdeveloped Countries" by J. F. Rippey, published in *Journal of Business of the University of Chicago* (April 1953). Rippey sums up his findings on British investment overseas thus: "The facts presented may be summarized in a few words: (1) of the more than 120 companies whose dividend records have been presented in the various tables, only 10 failed to make average annual returns of more than 10 per cent over periods of from one to several decades on the face value of their ordinary shares, and only 17 failed during their most prosperous five years to pay aggregate dividends at least equivalent to their capital; (2) 70 companies made aggregate payments during their most flourishing half-decade amounting to more than twice their capital, and more than a fourth of the group recouped their entire capital in a single year or less; (3) the returns 1945-1950 suggest that the years of lush dividends have not vanished."

The following figures showing dividends paid by (1) Dutch corporations operating in the Netherlands and those paid by (2) Dutch corporations doing business in the Netherlands, East Indies speak for themselves:—

Year	Dividends of Group 1 (%)	Dividends of Group 2 (%)
1922	4.8	10.0
1923	4.2	15.7
1924	4.5	22.5
1925	5.0	27.1
1926	5.2	25.3
1927	5.6	24.8
1928	5.6	22.2
1929	5.4	16.3
1930	4.9	7.1
1931	2.2	3.0
1932	2.1	2.5
1933	2.2	2.7
1934	2.1	3.3
1935	2.0	3.9
1936	3.3	6.7
1937	4.5	10.3

This is also true of U.S. business activities as the following figures testify:—

Year	Ratio of Earnings to Book Value in Underdeveloped Countries (%)	Ratio of Earnings to Book Value in United States (%)
1945	11.5	7.7
1946	14.3	9.1
1947	18.1	12.0
1948	19.8	13.8

Again U.N. report in *The International Flow of Private Capital, 1946-1952*, has this to say of Belgian investments in the Congo:—"Net profits of corporations operating mainly

in the Congo averaged 16.2 per cent of their combined share and reserve capital during the years 1947-1951, as against 7.2 per cent for corporations operating in Belgium."

TRADE AND COMMERCE

It must be remembered that in their efforts to bring the system of exploitation nearer perfection, the colonial powers saw to it that imperial capitalists controlled not only industrial activities but trade and commerce also. A good example of this is found in the monopolistic and monopsonistic powers enjoyed by a few foreign firms in trade and commerce on the West African coast.

Through their monopolies, they controlled the whole distributive trade in manufactured goods which they imported through their sole agencies. Similarly they were in monopsonistic positions in the purchase of the agricultural products produced by the peasants, e.g. the purchase of Gold Coast cocoa by a few foreign firms U.A.C., U.T.C., etc. In 1949 about 45 per cent of all Nigerian non-mineral exports was purchased by one foreign firm.

The entrenched positions enabled these foreign firms to sell the imported products at fantastic profits while they bought our products at their own extremely low prices. Thus with the connivance and assistance of the colonial governments they were able to squeeze us, as it were, between the teeth of a pair of pincers.

Another characteristic of technological dualism was that very often even the middlemen between the European capitalists and the indigenous populations were foreigners. There were the Syrians, Lebanese and Indians in West Africa as well as the *petit blanc* (small white men) in the French territories. There were swarms of Chinese in South East Asia and hordes of Indians in Burma. These people engaged in various activities ranging from retail trading to diamond dealing and money lending.

In the activities of the foreign enterprises, since the motivation was the maximisation of profits, deliberate policies were adopted to reduce the cost of labour to the barest minimum and to prevent the imparting of any skills.

This was quite easily done by the observation of a few conditions. First was the payment of low wages. Because the colonial economies were on subsistence level, although the wages paid in the capitalist enterprises were abysmally low compared with the accrued profits, they were nevertheless much higher than what labour would fetch in the rural sector and therefore quite attractive. Secondly, investments in the industrial sector were not large in absolute terms in relation to population growth. Thirdly, employment in the industrial sector was only a small proportion of the total employment in the country.

The observation of these conditions transformed the colonies into veritable "widow's cruses" of cheap labour made up of people from the farms, casual workers, petty traders, domestic retailers and actual population growth. Moreover, in some cases e.g. East and South Africa, Ceylon, South East Asia, Fiji and the West Indies, there was actual importation of labour from India and China.

To "make assurance doubly sure" that the cost of labour was reduced to the barest

minimum, and that no skills were imparted to the colonial peoples, it was the normal practice to import highly skilled personnel from Europe and to introduce wherever possible, labour-saving devices.

That the colonial powers deliberately adopted policies that would inhibit our economic development all but the most bigoted apologists of imperialism now agree. A prominent economist Professor Gunnar Myrdal, has stated categorically in his *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions* that colonial powers often "took special measures to hamper the growth of indigenous industry". There are hosts of others who have expressed very similar views.

RUINOUS CONSEQUENCES

But besides these deliberate policies the very phenomenon of technological dualism had several ruinous consequences. One of the gravest is the fact that as a result of the large-scale structural unemployment that it generated, it created a huge parasitic class of people consisting, in the words of Professor Baran, of a "staggering multitude of merchants, dealers, peddlers, trading-stand operators, and people with nondescript occupations" who could neither be employed in the industrial sector nor in the rural sector. We are all conversant with the so-called letter-writers loitering around or dozing at public houses, the noisy ice-water sellers and so forth who are only the urban counterparts of the disguisedly unemployed in the rural areas.

The economic significance of this class is that while they make no contribution to speak of to the social output, they are nevertheless supported out of the economic surplus generated in the economy. Although their incomes as individuals are very low, since they make such a large class, their upkeep constitutes a very significant drain on capital accumulation. A prominent economist has said that the crucial factor in economic development is not so much the size of the economic surplus but what is done with that surplus. In most less developed countries our surpluses are squandered by parasites.

Another evil consequence of the economic relationship with the advanced countries which condemned us to the provision of raw materials (hewers of wood and drawers of water) for their manufacturing industries is an ever deteriorating terms of trade.

This contention has been vigorously denied by some economists as without foundation. One of the most vehement of these antagonists is Professor Goffried Haberter of Harvard University who writes:—

"The theory has become popular that the terms of trade have shown a secular tendency to deteriorate for the underdeveloped countries, the so-called 'peripheral' world; more precisely for the raw material producing or rather exporting countries. This alleged historical trend is supposed to be the consequence of deep-seated factors and hence capable of confident extrapolation into the future. To my mind the alleged historical facts lack proof, their explanation is faulty, the extrapolation reckless and the policy conclusions irresponsible to put it mildly."

What are his grounds for this bombast? He says, "This argument, as it is usually presented, rests on a confusion of absolute and relative prices." Because, he continues, "there is no evidence that (industrial

progress in the developed countries) has changed relative prices as between industry and agriculture or between finished goods and raw materials."

Professor Harberler condemns too the explanation in terms of Engels Law which states that as incomes rise the demand for foodstuffs rises more slowly than the demand for finished industrial products. And hence the proportion of world total income spent on agricultural products diminishes with the rise in world income. Although he concedes that Engel's law is "one of the best established empirical generalisations in economics", he feels that "it cannot bear the heavy burden which is placed on it by the theory under review" "For although it applies to food generally it doesn't apply to every kind of food and it is not certain that rising incomes leads to a relative decline in demand for primary products."

However, as Professor Benjamin Higgins of the University of Texas says, Haberler only succeeds in demonstrating that the contention "is not necessarily so." "He has not proved definitely," Higgins adds, "that the thesis could never be right." On the other hand Dr. M. K. Atallah, definitely proves that it is very likely so.

The conclusions to which Dr. Atallah's scientific analysis leads him are that: "In agricultural countries where technological progress is insignificant and where output is just enough to keep body and soul together as population increases, there is some possibility that the terms of trade of agriculture will improve through time. But even here we are by no means certain that that will occur. In 'mature' developing countries, with all good agricultural lands occupied it is almost certain that the terms of trade of the rural sector will decline."

DETERIORATION OF TERMS OF TRADE

We may then ask with pertinence: What was the importance of the rural sector in these colonial territories? We have already seen that the industrial sector was only an enclave in the colonial territories and that economically it formed a real part of the metropolitan country. This was generally only a small island of development in a sea of misery. We have also seen that the industrial sector, by its very nature, offered only very little employment opportunities. In short, the country in reality was the rural sector. In view of this, the reservations shown by some economists to accepting the scientific conclusions of Dr. Atallah are surprising.

But let us examine exactly how the terms of trade may deteriorate. Let us imagine a country exporting copper and plantation products in its industrial sector, importing textiles, other consumer durables and tinned foodstuffs producing yams, fish, and handicraft products in the rural sector, and trading in these.

Prosperity in the industrial sector will not increase demand for the output of the rural sector. In fact, any increase in the incomes of the indigenous workers in the industrial sector may result in a fall in the demand for rural products as these income earners substitute "superior" imported consumer goods for home produced ones. Who has

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AID AND NEO-COLONIALISM (2)

FOREIGN investment has been defined as "consisting of that part of the property of a country and its inhabitants, situated abroad, from which its owners expect to derive an income (13)." Causes of foreign investments are in almost all cases economic, political and strategic. Economically, the ordinary investor will be motivated purely by direct money income which will accrue to him from his capital.

In some cases the investor will also consider other indirect incomes, for example the fact that an investment in the rubber plantations in Malaya, sisal in Tanganyika, or in Katanga copper mines, might increase his income from other investments by reducing the cost of production of some other commodity, or by increasing the demand for that commodity. For example, investment in a mine will increase the demand for mining equipment, while cheap rubber from Malaya will reduce the cost of rubber products like motor tyres etc., and hence the production cost of motor vehicles and other machinery which utilises rubber.

Here it should be also mentioned that indirect income could also be earned by shifting the burden of high wage costs and taxation in the industrialised countries onto the workers and peasants in the primary producing countries, through ownership of the source and therefore control of the production cost of raw materials and the monopolisation of the market source in these countries for manufactured goods from the investing country i.e. what the economist call vertical integration. This is probably one of the reasons for the present decline in prices of primary commodities, while the prices of manufactured goods have actually been rising.

GIANT MONOPOLIES

However, the supreme motive of foreign investments remains the expected amount of income. Thus, as Benham points out, although "private capital usually benefits in various ways the country in which it is invested", the fact remains that "it is made primarily for the benefit of the foreign shareholders, who believe that their capital will yield them a higher return there than elsewhere."

Nowadays, however, private investments are very rarely undertaken on an individual basis except in cases of giant monopolies like I.C.I., Ford, Rockefeller, etc. Most investments are institutionalised, i.e. they are undertaken either by Banks, Insurance Companies, co-operatives, Building Societies, Churches, Government Corporations, the Stock Exchange etc., or by the so-called international organisations, for example the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The indirect control of private investors through such institutions is clearly underlined by Benham when he writes that

"The World Bank charges a fairly high rate of interest, normally 1 1/2% above the rate at which it borrows in the market from private investors on its own bonds... It will lend only on specific projects, which it is satisfied will yield enough revenue to meet interest and repayment charges, which in any event are obligations of the borrowing government."

He also points out that the same situation is true of money provided by National Government. He cites the example of the British Colonial Development Corporation (now Commonwealth Development Corporation) which "charges full market rates for the money it borrows from the Treasury". He continues to state that when the C.D.C. lends, it "charges market rates of interest, and when it engages in direct investment it expects to make the current rate of profits". Thus,

in fact, there is no difference between the so-called private and public loans or investments to or in the developing countries. It all rotates around the question of what is the return on capital, i.e. the degree of marginal efficiency of capital. And what is true of Britain is true of any other capitalist country.

The following examples will demonstrate the profitability of foreign investments to the so-called "donor" countries. The current British foreign investments as published by the Bank of England are valued at £12,821 million. The total profits from these investments is about £1,300 million per annum, i.e. 11 per cent return! It is certainly far greater than they would have earned at home. In 1959, American private and state investments in Africa were valued at about 2 billion dollars, the annual profits earned from them was 400 million dollars, per annum, i.e. a return of 20 per cent. It has also been estimated that in the last two years the Latin American countries received loans totalling 603 million dollars from the US Government. At the same time, these countries paid back debts amounting to 350 million dollars and another 142 million dollars as interest and commission. This, therefore, left 111 million dollars in the form of so-called aid to these countries. But during the same period, US firms which in fact dominate the whole of Latin American economy, made a profit of 1,600 million dollars out of their investments in these countries.

"ECONOMIC COLONISATION"

This ruthless plunder of Latin America was confessed by the late President Kennedy himself in an interview with a French journalist, Jean Daniel, when he stated thus:

"I believe there is no country in the world including all of Africa, including any country under colonial rule, where economic colonisation (neo-colonialism: B.C.M.) humiliation and exploitation were worse than in Cuba... as a consequence of US policy during the Batista regime."

And what was true of Cuba is still more true of the rest of Latin America. Very often, and more so nowadays, political and strategic motives have a very great influence when governments are thinking of investing in a particular area. As an American professor candidly stated:

"International politics lie at the heart of foreign aid, and, indeed are the very reason for its existence. Thus pressure of regionalism have encouraged countries to accept projects in which their own technicians and economists had little interest WHILE within indi-

vidual countries the political stresses of the cold war have directly influenced the shaping of aid programmes regardless of economic factors..." (own italics).

So that even if a country is economically unprofitable, but happens to be situated in a part of the world where political and strategic advantages are considered to be much greater; for example Laos and Formosa, and today India, then a lot of "aid" will be poured in regardless of what it can achieve in terms of material welfare for the people of the so-called recipient country. significance, e.g. the textile industry.

EFFECTS OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Today more than ever there is ample evidence of what effect foreign investments can have on developing countries. It is however true to admit that to the ordinary people in the "donor" or investing countries, there exists a genuine humanitarian interest in giving aid to developing countries in order to enable them to raise their standards of living.

As the Swedes have put it: "This means the abolition of hunger and mass poverty, the elimination of epidemic diseases, the reduction of infant mortality, and, in general the creation of acceptable living conditions". But what in fact does not happen in practice, and something that the masses in the "donor" countries never appreciate or even get to know, due to the propaganda that usually praises the wonders of their aid to "poor nations", is that "the aim of such foreign aid has been to promote, in the recipient countries, a course of development that closely coincides with political and strategic aims of the donor country". And above all to the vested interests of the capitalist classes within the donor and recipient countries.

General Clay's report on US Foreign Aid Programme was very frank on this question. In their opinion, "A foreign aid programme is one instrument among many which America and other countries adequately can afford and vigorously must use in the defence and advancement of Free world interests."

BANKRUPTCY

Nevertheless there is no doubt that if conditions of "aid" continue to be as they are today, sooner or later some of the borrowing countries will find themselves in a position where they will be unable to repay their debts. This sentiment has already been voiced in the case of India and Pakistan. Facts have proved that the more foreign investment or aid is "poured" into a country, the more progressively will that country lose its freedom and eventual colonisation result, as happened in Egypt in 1869. There is no doubt that where capital is properly used with the sole object of securing the development of the borrowing country's resources for the benefit of the people of that country, as for example the French capital did for Sweden in the 1770s, it will certainly create favourable conditions for a "take off". But history shows that foreign capital has always been

used for exploitation purposes in the worst sense of the word. Whether it is in Asia, in Africa or in Latin America, European and North American capital has proved to be a hangman's rope round the necks of the masses in these countries.

RUIN

What C. K. Hobson pointed out as far back as 1914 is still very true, even to this very day: "Capital has been employed in numerous instances to drain countries of their resources, to weaken them economically and to degrade them morally". He correctly stated that "the danger is especially greater when highly organised communities are brought into contact with primitive peoples of a lower education..."

Because of this, Hobson wrote: the "uncivilised, or half-civilised peoples have been ruined for the... benefits of countries with a more material development"

Foreign aid can easily lead to loss of freedom, because once the lender has sunk a lot of capital in a particular country—just as if a Bank or insurance company has loaned an enormous sum of money to a particular company—the tendency will be to extend even further credits to a weak and financially unsound government with the hope that the initial mistake may be rectified, and thus all the loans repaid. But, as the indebtedness increases, the lender—even if he was unwilling—eventually finds it irresistible to begin actively influencing the affairs of the borrowing country. Furthermore, there is also a tendency "for the lender to support the borrowing state where the loan has been spent contrary to the public will, on the ground that the service of the loan is thus rendered more secure".

FOREIGN CONTROL

Once complete economic domination has been secured over a country in this manner, then no government—however democratically elected—can stand unless it has the approval of the foreign vested interests. The history of Latin America bears this out, and Congo is another classic example. Everything will be done, either to overthrow it by some means, or to assassinate the leader or leaders. In fact, the donor country through intimidation and blackmail will begin dictating as to who should rule and who should not. India had to sacrifice Menon before America gave her "Aid"; Pakistan was forced to let Mohammed Ali Bogra, the US protégé, become Prime Minister before the US government could promise them wheat.

Thus as George F. Kennan, former US Ambassador to Yugoslavia, is reported to have said, America has to be ready to take over entirely any area which they consider to be vital to US interests but whose inhabitants are in US's own judgment unable to help themselves. In this case the US should "be ready," stated Kennan, "to face the charges of colonialism" (The Observer—10/11/63). In fact, this has happened in the Congo. And aid is the main weapon that is employed by the USA in taking over former European colonies.

Furthermore, like under a colonial regime, the economy of the country will be managed in the interest of the foreign investors. "Aid"

will be refused if such aid is to be used in building industries which might compete against the home industries. Thus whether it is the British, the French, the West Germans or the US, in other words the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development camp, they will resist any industrialisation schemes in the so-called "source countries" as long as those industries are likely "to constitute a threat" to their own traditional markets. The only industries that might perhaps be permitted are those which are subsidiaries of the home industries and which are established purely for the purpose of cutting down on transport and other production costs, e.g. Pepsi-Cola, beer, or canning and tyre industries. Or otherwise they must be of the kind that has already lost its significance, e.g. the textile industry.

DEVELOPMENT DIPLOMATS

Thus Mr. Dillon, the US Secretary of Finance, was quoted in the Newsweek of January 30th, 1961, as having stated that: "He will take a strong stand against any use of US Aid money to build factories abroad, when these factories are designed to produce for the American market". And Dr. A. H. Hanson quotes a French Minister who stated that investments in French colonies or even former colonies "need cause no alarm among metropolitan industrialists, because most of them have been established by French businessmen whose main concern is merely to organise initial processing near the point of production".

Another point is that just as under colonialism, a country dominated under neo-colonialism will be compelled to lower protective tariffs on goods originating from the dominating nation; so also in many cases will it be obliged to import some primary products from the dominating country, even at the expense of its own products.

Pakistan's importation of US cotton is a typical example of this, so is the export of US chicken to Congo. The finances of the dominated country will also be manipulated to suit the interests and requirements of the investors from the dominating countries. Coupled with this will be the control over policy through the so-called "expert" advisers or as Eugene Black calls them, "Development Diplomats", whose power to influence the economic policies of the country in which they are serving is beyond investigation. Whether it is in Latin America or in Pakistan these "experts" are known to have frustrated the development of local industries in order to enable US firms to capture and monopolise the markets.

SOCIAL DOMINATION

The field of influence will also be extended to cultural and social life of the people. Schools, universities and technical colleges will be brought under the control and influence of the dominating power. Here I might cite one example which took place some time back. A University in one "independent African country" invited a well-known author from Britain to go and give a talk at a seminar which the University authorities claimed to be organising. After some exchange of letters on the question of expenses, the next thing the author received was a letter from an

American University informing him that they were pleased to learn that he had accepted an invitation to address a seminar which they were organising and promising that his ticket would be sent to him as soon as the author had been cleared by the State Department. In fact the author never went to Africa—he failed to be cleared!

Remember that Selwyn Lloyd spoke of the difficult task of influencing and guiding. And from what I have already said you will now see that "Aid" has become the best way of exercising this task of influencing and guiding. The agents are the carefully selected University and Secondary school teachers, who are sent to us under the so-called technical aid programmes. It should be emphasised here that the struggle to continue the domination of schools and universities is very vital to the success of neo-colonialism, because it will mean the perpetration of a colonial type of education, whereby the decolonisation of the mind will be unsuccessful and therefore the youth will grow up with no national consciousness, pride and responsibility—all of which are essential characteristics of a truly emancipated people.

MASKS

In addition, there are army and police instructors, who are there to make sure that our army and police are not trained in a manner that might endanger colonial vested interests—Berlin Conference Agreement; expatriate civil servants, who have "decided" to stay; the Peace Corps, Cross Roads and the like. In this way, like colonialism, neo-colonialism provides a great number of jobs to many people from the "donor" countries. Imagine the thousands of Americans engaged in such services both at home and abroad. Would they not increase the 46 million poor? But, the important thing to bear in mind is that all these people are just wearing different masks. Like their predecessors, the colonial officers, they come to serve not our interests but their respective countries' interests. So that whatever knowledge and skills they might impart, all are calculated to preserve our colonial status. "Aid" is used to divide us into blocs as African unity is inimical to neo-colonialist interests.

We are thus condemned forever to the status of producers of the "essential raw materials"; and to provide facilities for their military bases, whose purpose is to protect colonial plundering against any national challenge, and which are also aimed against the USSR and China. In each case we are just used; in each case we are consolidated in a position of a third class human being, so that in the end we shall remain nothing but drawers of water and hewers of wood. In the end we shall be blamed for our failure to progress, while the system, which is the sole cause of our backwardness in the 20th century, will be lauded to the skies.

QUISLINGS

Before I conclude, I would like to mention one important point. Unlike colonialism, neo-colonialism finds a much more fertile ground, because of the quislings and Tshombe among our peoples. Where as I do not agree with Harry Johnston's thesis of

by
Chango Machyo
Ugandan Journalist

the inability of Africans to that from what has so far unite, I nevertheless feel happened and from the behaviour and attitude of what one would consider to be some of the well-educated Africans, I come to feel that it is a very difficult thing for a people who have been subjected under foreign domination for years to accept their freedom as a fact, and furthermore to be able to use their newly acquired "independence" intelligently and constructively to the maximum interest of their own people and nation.

SOLD BACK!

I have come to fear that just as the Chiefs sold our people away to slavery and later sold our countries to colonialism in exchange for a few guns, toys and other childish ornaments, or by entering the so-called treaties for "protection" against some fictitious enemies, even today we are likely to be sold back into serfdom under neo-colonialism by our leaders, who are proving to be more after power, superficial wealth and cheap publicity, than after national reconstruction and development.

Haiti is a classic example of how the struggle and victory of the masses could be betrayed and eventually its aims frustrated by a small stratum of people who aspire to lead an alien way of life, and who are therefore prone to corruption.

On 14th August, 1791, the African slaves in Haiti rebelled against their European enslavers. After 12 years of a bitter war against a superior army of the Spaniards, they liberated Haiti. After this war, the African cult of voodoo and the African gods gave the fighters the courage, toughness and faith which were necessary to inflict upon the first Consul Napoleon Bonaparte his first defeat in history—despite the fact that, as today, the Africans were virtually unarmed in comparison with the well-drilled and trained European army.

DEDICATED

After the struggle and the historical victory, the educated stratum among them very rapidly took possession of the offices of the newly won state. This was inevitable since they were the only ones who could read and write. But they were entirely dedicated to European doctrines and a European way of life. They considered themselves immensely superior to the masses who had fought for freedom not so that they might be re-enslaved by their own people, but in order to be free to work for genuine progress. However, the wishes, beliefs and aspirations of the masses were arrogantly disregarded.

In the constitution, the country was declared to be Catholic, although Rome had lost all influence. Voodoo was outlawed—but the populace never gave up their belief in Voodoo. To this very day Haiti remains one of the most backward countries. Why? Is it due to the inability of the negro to progress? Senator Ellender.

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'THE TRAGEDY OF THE CONGO'

—A Review

by Our Special Correspondent

WHEN in 1960 the Congo was proclaimed an independent Sovereign State, by Belgium, it was clear that Congo could not stand on her feet both politically and economically without much trouble. For no sooner had her independence been proclaimed that neo-colonialist intrigues set out to work.

Added to the general deplorable state of economic development in which her former colonial masters had left her; added to her tragic medical services and the general inefficiency in the public services, which Congo had inherited, Congo fell victim so soon after independence to neo-colonialist intrigues.

The low-level of economic development which Independent Congo had tragically inherited was aggravated by a general breakdown of law and order which had been precipitated by neo-colonialist agents and capitalists.

There was an avid desire to loot and plunder the wealth of the Congo for the enrichment not of the Congolese themselves but for the mono-colonialists in France, Britain, Belgium and United States. This mad rush for exploitation of Congo's wealth blinded these Western neo-colonialist big time capitalists backed by their Governments, into doing anything possible in furtherance of their wicked aims—even murder—for they had a hand in the murder of the one whose ideas they feared most—late Patrice Lumumba a nationalist, a true patriot and son of Africa.

Bribery and corruption, direct political interference in the internal affairs of an Independent Congo, diplomatic trickery were some of the means these hard-core capitalists backed by their governments who preached one thing and practised another employed in furtherance of their vested interests in the Congo.

Little wonder, therefore, that an Independent Congo—but was it actually independent?—should present such a deplorable picture of economic decline, political instability and general arrest of the forces making for a harmonious social order.

LUCID ACCOUNT

In the booklet "The Tragedy of the Congo", just published in Lagos by the Lagos Study Circle, there is a concise, factual and lucid account of the Congo—its economic potentialities, and its wealth. There is an account also of the competition between U.S., Britain, France and Belgium in amassing as much wealth as possible from the Congo.

A searchlight is thrown on the American influence on the U.N.O. activities in the Congo and an inkling into the extent of the duplicity of American policy concerning the Congo is also given.

As is to be expected, a chapter is devoted to "The Lynching of Lumumba" and the other activities of the U.N.O. in the Congo namely an attempt to find a suitable person (s) after Lumumba's death who combined simultaneously mass appeal and who would also incline to the West or in fact be pro-American in the political storm that was already blowing in the already strife-torn State. Attempts were made to bribe politicians and military officers, mass arrests of true nationalists who commanded mass appeal and support were made and all these under the very eyes, nay with the tacit acquiescence of the U.S.—influenced United Nations officials.

What lesson has the Congo to teach Africa and the world?

What answer is there for the solution of the Congo problem? These are some of the general themes discussed in this interesting book from Lagos.

I will now dwell on them one by one.

The Congo is rich, but its people are poor, this, clearly is an irony. For how can a people in a nation which produces 60 per cent of the world's output of copper and 4 per cent of the world's output of zinc together with 50 per cent of the 98 per cent of the world's output of diamond which Africa produces be said to be poor, for it is hard, says this book, to find any other country in Africa, Asia or Latin America which has such rich and varied mineral resources. "It has been estimated by specialists" writes the book, "that if the agricultural resources of the Congo were utilized rationally, and to a full measure, this country alone could meet all the requirements of the entire African continent in food".

PLUNDER AND EXPLOITATION

If the Congo is potentially a rich country with such a vast amount of natural resources why should the people be poor? The answer is clearly given in this publication by the Lagos Study Circle.

Thus another theme which is developed in the book and which forms some sort of an explanation for the deplorable economic situation in the Congo, can be summed up in these words—"monopolistic capitalists' plunder and exploitation of the riches of the Congo for the enrichment of Western big time capitalist concerns." The book tells the story of the participation of Rockefeller and other capitalist tycoons in Britain, France, Belgium and United States in the shares of mining corporations in the Congo.

The wealth of the Congo does not serve Africa since it is controlled by the monopolists from Western Europe and the U.S.

The most important among them are "Tanganyika Concessions", "Societe General de Belgique", "L'Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga" and others. The owners of these corporations have invested millions of dollars in the mining of diamonds, gold, copper and cobalt. But their profits are still greater. Thus as it is pointed out in the book "Trusts in the Congo" published in Brussels in 1961 the shareholders of the "L'Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga" pocketed the tidy sum of 30.5 million dollars in 1961 alone, a bad year for the firm due to military operations in Katanga.

These monopolies are engaged in a savage struggle for the possession of the Congo's wealth. It is no wonder therefore that one of the potentially richest countries in Africa would ironically display such a low level of standard of living.

In this monopolistic competition among the neo-colonialist capitalists they often played up one political leader against the other and indulged in much distasteful propaganda of political and diplomatic mudslinging against the nationalist leaders who combine the true spirit to lead with mass appeal. Thus as the booklet clearly shows the

free competition where the best man wins (meaning, of course, the most powerful and ruthless capital).



Patrice Lumumba... victim of capitalist intrigues

secessionist tendencies of Tshombe of Katanga was backed by the U.S. capitalists, backed in turn by the U.S. State Department. This was done in order to safeguard American share and profit in the "L'Union Miniere du Haut Katanga".

"While power in the Congo was wielded by Belgium, the U.S. had a slim chance of penetrating into this African country. However with the liquidation of the colonial regime the situation underwent a radical change", this book observes. "In the opinion of Rockefeller and other American tycoons," the book states, "an independent Congo became as it were an arena for

This was what the Americans thought but there was a new factor which interfered in the struggle.

The kind of government to emerge in Independent Congo and what it stood for.

BITTER PILL

Lumumba's election as a premier of a Centralized Congolese Government did not so much embarrass and frustrate Washington as the ideas he stood for and the policy he was going to pursue.

It was clear that the Americans will make a counter move and this, they did. Patrice Lumumba, a true nationalist, a devoted statesman who was

ready to sacrifice his life for the honour and independence of the Congo, held that the appetites of foreign monopolies should be restricted through higher taxation and the enforcement of control over their activities.

This was a distasteful and bitter pill for the Americans to swallow; they must find a way out by fair or foul means. The American business men were especially upset, as this booklet clearly shows, over the fact that their long-standing plans for the acquiring of a large holding of "L'Union Miniere" shares are being frustrated since this corporation was to become the property of the Congolese Government. Something must and in fact was done to change things illegally and unconstitutionally.

What happened to Lumumba and his patriotic and nationalist colleagues at the hands of puppet governments sustained and directed by U.S. and influenced by U.N. officials working hand in hand and in fact controlling the arch-traitors of the Congo—Tshombe, Kasavubu and Mobutu—is so glaringly given in this book.

The United Nations was called into the Congo by the lawfully constituted Government headed by the late Patrice Lumumba to restore order but in the language of this booklet, "In all the intrigues against the Lumumba Government, Washington leaned upon the U.N. Secretariat and its representatives in the Congo who supervised the United Nations troops and Administration".

Conor O'Brien's book "To Katanga and Back" depicts some of the intrigues of the U.S.-influenced U.N. men. Thus Ralph Bruce Heinz Wiescholf and Andrew Cordier, American Advisers to Dag Hammarskjöld made up the so-called "Congo Club" which determined the U.N. policy in the Congo. Thus the booklet states:

"The 'Congo Club' saw to it that the United Nations was never fully informed about the developments in the Congo. All the correspondence received by the U.N. Secretariat from the Congo which could provide a fruitful picture of the developments in that country was handled by members of the 'Congo Club'. They supplied the U.S. State Department with detailed information on the subject leaving the representatives of other U.N. member-states in the dark. As a result, neither the General Assembly nor the Security Council disposed of information necessary for the adoption of correct and timely decisions".

This is the extent of American interference in the Congo. A flagrant violation of the respect for the sovereignty of other states.

GRIM PICTURE

Lumumba should be done away with if American policy in the Congo is to hold sway. The rest of the book gives a grim picture of the plots hatched against Lumumba, for no other reason than that he loved his people and not only stood for a centralized government for the Congo but was also a thorn in the flesh of American policy.

His arrest, his confinement, indignities suffered and his death under the very aegis of the United Nations which he had invited to weather the political storm in the country is fully and picturesquely described by the Lagos Study Circle.

The remaining part of the book also brings into sharp focus the questionable diplomatic tactics of Dag Hammarskjöld and his American U.N. Advisers and the attempts made by the Americans after the death of Lumumba: to help create puppet governments and put people in power who were politically and diplomatically inclined to Washington.

What lessons has the Congo tragedy to teach? This is the last theme of this very interesting booklet.

We are asked to beware of the false alarm often raised

by Washington against the threat of "International Communism".

ALARM

We are also asked to note that Congo shows that each time the Americans raised the alarm in connection with the threat of "International Communism" to an African State one should be prepared for one or another form of American aggression. The Communist threat fabrication has become a sort of shield for the United States to cover up its intrigues against Countries which are striving for their independence.

The second lesson to be learnt as the book makes out clearly is that Africans should not place such great faith in the U.N. and should on no account entrust it with the destiny of any African State.

The functions which have been assumed by the U.N. troops and administration in the Congo could fully well have been discharged by the African themselves. This is what the Lagos Study Circle thinks and this is what many African Politicians and statesmen think also. This brings to the fore, the importance of the unification of Africa which has so often been stressed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana.

"It is necessary," the book concludes, "to take all non-African troops and foreign military advisers out of the Congo, while the functions of the U.N. if such a need arises, can be transferred into the hands of the Organisation of African Unity".

This book sets out in clear and concise outline the tragedy that was Congo's. It gives an interesting analysis of the political and economic tragedy in which Congo was plunged and sounds a warning note indirectly to African Heads of State of the danger of flirting with neo-colonialism in all its manifestations. The Statesmen of Africa should take note: either we unite now or perish under the ever increasing, unending and systematic intrigues of neo-colonialism in all its diverse forms and manifestations.

INDEPENDENCE & AFTER: The Colonial System

Continued from page 3

not seen the labourer taking to drinking tea, morning, afternoon and evening and visiting the cinema house every night as soon as his income rises a wee bit?

Again, for the same reasons any favourable development in the rural sector increases demand of the rural worker for imported goods instead of demand for output of that sector.

An even funnier thing may happen. As yams are the staple food of the people in the rural sector, a large proportion of everyone's income is spent on them. With improvements in yam production resulting in increased output and a fall in prices, the people may tend to spend less on the cheap yams and buy more of other foodstuffs and manufactured goods which they consider superior. This is what economists call "Griffen's paradox". "Thus improvement in the cultivation of yams benefits the rest of the world more than the people and the country producing them."

There are yet other factors which tend to deteriorate the terms of trade of countries producing primary products.

Some of these are the following:

(a) Technological improvements have a tendency towards economising in the use of raw materials. Thus demands for raw materials instead of increasing with technological development tend to fall. A similar tendency is the practice of producing filled-in chocolates instead of whole blocks, a method which obviously uses less cocoa.

(b) The substitution of synthetics for raw materials. The least rise in the prices of raw materials goads manufacturers into a search for synthetic substitutes, the materials for which are found in the advanced countries.

(c) The advanced capitalist countries have been experiencing creeping inflation since the last war. The prices of their manufactured products have therefore tended to rise, while prices of primary products such as cocoa have shown steady decline.

(d) Response of supply to changes in price tend to be long delayed in the case of agricultural products. This means that the effects of these responses are felt long after the change. This tends to aggravate situations.

A case in point is the repercussions of the all-time high price of cocoa in 1954. The high prices led manufacturers to seek for substitutes and to economise in the use of cocoa butter thus substantially reducing demand. On the other hand it gave such impetus to cocoa production that by 1961 the volume of Ghana's cocoa export for example, had increased very substantially. But, and this is the tragedy, the price of cocoa in 1961 was much less than it was in 1954.

Finally, with the demand for its products outside the country, an agricultural economy is unduly susceptible to fluctuations in foreign economies. And, what is more, these fluctuations tend to be magnified in the agricultural country. A depression abroad causes a decline in the demand of these exports which being primary products suffer large price and value declines. On the other hand, prosperity abroad may greatly increase the demand for these exports. Thus the amplitude of the difference between high and low prices is very great. A U. N. study of this for 18 major commodity exports from de-

veloping countries between 1901—1950 amounted to about 37 per cent. That is, export proceeds during that period fell from 100 to 63 and rose again to 100, during an average fluctuation cycle of four years duration. A similar study of yearly fluctuations in mineral proceeds gave an amplitude of 27 per cent.

The grave effects of this can be readily appreciated if it is remembered that a great many of the developing countries have mono-cultural economies. That is, their export earnings are precariously hinged on the export of one primary product. Thus in 1950 petroleum exports accounted for 97 per cent of Venezuela's export earnings, in Egypt 90 per cent of foreign exchange receipts accrued from cotton exports, cotton contributes to 90 per cent of Salvador's export receipts, in Cuba sugar and sugar products account for 90 per cent of total exports, while cocoa has always been the mainstay of the Ghanaian economy.

By the very fact that these countries are foreign-trade orientated it means that a large proportion of government revenue is derived from

export duties. The preponderant mono-culture of the export sector and the wide amplitude of fluctuations imply that such economies are most unstable and economic planning in most cases is virtually impossible.

Increased production only tends to depress prices and reduce export earnings, thus defeating the very purpose for which output is expanded. This is the dilemma of all less developed countries, producing, as the overwhelming majority of the produce, agricultural products for export.

A progressive government, such as that of Ghana, committed to a policy of rapid and effective development is faced not only with the task of resolving this paradox but also with the burden of undoing the harm that colonialism has done. To achieve these policies, measures which will inevitably affect imperialist interest drastically may have to be adopted. Hence the exacerbation displayed by imperialists and their agents over the policies of progressive governments.

(Next week we shall study government measures in the solution of these problems).



Aid and Neo-Colonialism (2)

Verwoerd, Verwoerd, They Cry

5th AUGUST, WEDNESDAY.

CONGO (Lepoldville): The third largest city of the Congo Republic, Stanleyville, was today reported to have fallen to the guerilla forces of the Congolese Liberation Movement after a night of bitter fighting with troops of the Central Congolese Army.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Premier of Northern Rhodesia has issued an order providing for up to seven years imprisonment for anyone assisting in the management of the Lumpa Church, acting as a member or indicating his membership in public or attending a Lumpa Church meeting.

NIGERIA: Thirty-four persons who arraigned before a court in Lagos last week for shouting insulting slogans at the Nigerian Federal Premier, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, were sentenced to three months imprisonment.

The incident occurred during Sir Abubakar's recent drive to the Ikeja Airport on his way to Northern Nigeria.

KENYA: The East-African Postmaster-General has announced the establishment of improved telephone communications with Ethiopia.

GABON: The Sao Thome and Principe Liberation Committees have formally established their headquarters in Libreville.

KENYA: The Kenya Government has declared four Britons prohibited immigrants and has ordered them to leave Kenya within 24 hours.

The four Britons are Richard Kisch, Walter John Edward Whitehead, Vordon Thomas Peter Hender, and Ian Stewart Mcwalter Henderson.

LIBYA: The general centre of the Libyan Labour and Professional Unions has applied for membership of the All-African Trade Union Federation.

The application was embodied in a letter from the headquarters of the centre in Tripoli sent by Mr. E. Ghadamsi, Vice-President, to the Secretary-General of the AATUF, Mr. John K. Tettegah.

GHANA: Osagyefo the President has received a message from President Gamel Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic thanking him for a message of sympathy sent to the U.A.R. Leader following an explosion in the "Star of Alexandria", a U.A.R. naval ship.

6th AUGUST, THURSDAY:

CONGO (Lepoldville): Stanleyville Radio today broadcast an appeal from a guerilla leader, proclaiming himself as the "new Lumumba".

The guerilla leader, Mr. Gaston Goumialot, said in the broadcast:

"I am the new Lumumba. Lumumba said someone stronger than himself would come to complete his work. That man is me".

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The two African nationalist parties of Southern Rhodesia—the Zimbabwe African National Union and the Zimbabwe African People's Union have decided to attend a reconciliatory talk in Lusaka next Thursday.

* Sir Roy Welensky, former Federal Prime Minister of the defunct Central African Federation, has met the opposition members for over an hour.

Observers believe that Sir Roy intends to return to active politics in Southern Rhodesia following his meeting with the opposition Rhodesian National Party.

KENYA: Addressing about sixty students attending the Pan-African students Conference in Nairobi, Dr. E. Mondlane, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front, said that the only way "to rid" his country of the Portuguese was to shoot them out.

* Two British assailants who attacked the Kenya Premier, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta during last month's Commonwealth Prime

Ministers' Conference in London were found guilty at a Bow Street court.

One of the accused, Allen Webster, a 21-year-old clerk was sentenced to two months imprisonment.

The other accused, John Hutchings Tyndall, a 30-year-old political organiser, was fined £25.

NIGERIA: The Nigerian Federal Premier, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa has said in Lagos that Nigeria may one day have a one-party system of Government.

He said Nigeria hoped to have a national Government until such a time that one-party system of Government would be suitable.

7th AUGUST, FRIDAY:

GHANA: In a statement issued in Accra today, Mr John K. Tettegah, Secretary-General of the All-African Trade Union Federation (ATTUF) exposed the persistent interference of Western Organisations and some American individuals in the affairs of the African labour movement.

Mr. Tettegah declared that some trade unionists in East Africa had been paid large sums of money by Western agents to carry out anti-African missions and blamed the State Department and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) for the split in the African labour movement before the Bamako Congress.

NIGERIA: Following a press controversy which bordered on tribalism in Nigeria and brought in the person of President Nnamdi Asikiwe, the Federal Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Chief T. O. S. Benson has asked the Nigerian Press to show a "mature discretion" in matters affecting the nation and its Head of State.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Flags flew at half-mast throughout Northern Rhodesia in mourning for over 326 people killed in two weeks of violent clashes between security forces and members of the outlawed Lumpa religious sect.

CONGO (Lepoldville): The United States and the Congolese Government have been holding discussions about additional military equipment for the armed forces of the Congo.

8th AUGUST, SATURDAY:

NIGERIA: Units of the Nigerian police have been drafted to the plateau tinmine field in Northern Nigeria where the strike by 45,000 workers entered its third day yesterday.

Reports from Jos said the Employers Association has given today as a dead line for return to work, but Mr. Benjamin Oma Ajade, General Secretary of Nigeria Mines Workers Union has said the workers would not return to work till the implementation of the agreement of the Okotie-Eboh Committee on the Morgan recommendations.

KENYA: The six-day Pan-African Students' conference just ended in Nairobi adopted Ghana's proposal to site the movement's Secretariat in Algeria and also agreed that the post of Secretary-General should go to Algeria.

10th AUGUST, MONDAY:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Ian Smith has said in Salisbury that if his administration was faced with the choice of letting Southern Rhodesia go the same way as Northern Rhodesia, he would declare unilateral independence.

He said he felt that "his Government" would be duty bound to "save the country and all its people".

SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. David Evans, former acting Secretary of the Liberal Party in Durban has been arrested and confined by police thugs of Verwoerd's South African administration.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: It is reported from Lusaka that the Lumpa Church members in the

(Continued from page 4)

and those like him will say "yes", but the real cause was the betrayal of the masses by the black bourgeoisie. And what happened to Haiti could happen to Africa.

The historical fact is that so far no non-white economically backward country has developed from aid from capitalist countries. The aim of the capitalist aid is not to help develop independent national economies, but to own and control the economy of the developing countries in their own interest.

Thus aid serves as a new form of redivision of markets—a new scramble for Africa—between the capitalist countries as new colonial bilateralisms are forged between the new states, and the various imperialist countries, but very much in favour of those capitalist countries who claim to have had no colonial possessions in Africa either at the time e.g. the U.S., Japan, Israel and Switzerland, or in the immediate past like West Germany, Sweden or Holland.

But, as Guy Hunter pointed out, to let foreign private investors invest in an underdeveloped country on terms acceptable to them within a decade the economy of that country would be completely owned and controlled by these foreign firms.

THE SYSTEM

What is wrong, however, is not the people but the system. As long as capitalism exists, imperialism will exist and any so-called "aid" from capitalist nations, unless it finds a really strong mass supported democratic government, will just end up under neo-colonialism. This is why our leaders should think twice before they are sentimentally carried away with the already monotonous cries for "foreign private investors" and so on.

The statement of the Chairman of the Barclays Bank (DCO) proves that the end of political domination does not necessarily affect colonial modes of exploitation. Political trends have in no way checked the expansion of their business, i.e. exploitation has in fact increased. But he revealed one important point which we should all bear in mind, that is that as already

Lundazi District were holding 28 women and children in hostage.

NIGERIA: The veteran Nigerian Trade Union leader, Mr. Michael Imodou, has launched a new political party, the Labour Party, in Ibadan. His party, he said would sooner or later take over power.

The Party's aims include the organisation of the working classes, peasants and other toiling masses of Nigeria systematically for victory over capitalism and for the establishment of a socialist society.

11th AUGUST, TUESDAY:

NIGERIA: Twelve Ghanaian Journalists on a two-week tour of Nigeria today called on Federal Premier, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and the Federal Information Minister, Chief T. O. S. Benson.

Sir Abubakar expressed the hope that the visit by the Journalists would serve a useful purpose in centring Ghanaian—Nigerian relation.

KENYA: Mr. Tom Mboya, Kenya's Justice Minister has suggested in Kampala that the

pointed out, above all most of the "aid" poured into our continent is meant for political reasons.

To buy votes at the UN, to stop us from trading with the socialist countries, or recognising the existence of the 600 million people of China, and the German Democratic Republic. Thus, as the Chairman states candidly: "Some of it, in fact, can hardly be called aid in the proper sense but is more in the nature of a political stunt; some of it is so hedged about with conditions as to nullify its value". (Times 9/12/63). These things are well known to our leaders, but they do not want to admit them because in some cases they have already acquired personal stakes—under the table arrangements.

GENUINE AID

Our main discussion is Economic Aid and Neo-Colonialism. But lest I am misunderstood, I should remind you that at the beginning I mentioned that we would probably have nothing to quarrel with "Aid" which falls within the UN definition. For no one can condemn genuine aid. Our criticism is against disguised aid—aid which is used to recolonise rather than to help positive development.

It now remains for me to conclude by stating that as Africa becomes progressively free from the colonial yoke, those who are in a position to enquire and learn more, should not relax but should now turn to the study of what type of independence is that we have got; what is the meaning of true freedom, independence and justice; how can these be achieved? The new tactics being pursued, we should try to distinguish them; they are meant to thwart our struggle for true independence. And each one of us in his individual capacity should try and think of what he or she can do to contribute towards the struggle for a truly free, dignified, self-confident and respectable United Africa.

name of the British Commonwealth should be changed and be known simply as the "Commonwealth".

Speaking at a diplomats' course at Makerere University he said that since no country dominated the last Commonwealth Premier Conference in London, it has definitely become more appropriate to call the body just the "Commonwealth" rather than the "British Commonwealth".

He added that he thought it worthwhile remaining in the Commonwealth just "for the influence it allows us to exercise."

MALAWI: Two cabinet Ministers, Mr. Kanyama Chiume Malawi's External Affairs Minister, and Mr. Oscar Kambona, Defence Minister of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar are to meet at Fort Hill in Northern Malawi on Thursday to discuss ways of bringing African Nationalists in Southern Rhodesia together to form a Common front. They were given this mission at last month's Cairo Pan-African Summit.



The Price of "Dirty War"

U.S. "aid" to South Vietnam, that is, the financing of the "dirty war" against the Vietnamese patriots, has cost the American taxpayer the colossal sum of \$3,000 million in ten years, writes the New York Herald Tribune. Some officials, however, say the sum has topped the \$5,000 million mark.

According to official patently minimised figures, the average annual expenditure between 1954 and 1961 came to \$256 million. The intensification of the liberation struggle waged by the patriots forced the Americans to increase allocations: They spent \$287,200,000 in 1962 and \$397,600,000 in 1963.

Official figures for 1964 have not yet been published but Senator Wayne Morse said on May 18 that the United States was spending \$550 million a year to support Saigon's puppet regime.

In an interview with the American journal, Minority of One, President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam said that as a result of the disgraceful U.S. aggression in South Vietnam more than 160,000 Vietnamese had been killed, 680,000 wounded and tortured, and 370,000 thrown into jail. There were many old people, women and children among the victims.

—International Affairs



No doves for you, Verwoerd,
The doves won't fly
There's only blood
In the African sky

A twist of bones
And a smell of death
Blood in the dust
Of the wild wind's breath.

In the compounds of the Kimberleys
The diamond miners say,
'These diamonds glitter with our blood,
White, white as death are they.'

In the hot, white streets of Africa,
Black, black with bullets' rain,
The ghosts who died at Sharpeville
Rise up to die again.

The brave, young men of Africa
Come marching out to die,
Their footprints thudding in the dust,
'Verwoerd, Verwoerd,' they cry.

Come marching for you Verwoerd,
Down freedom's angry road,
Cry 'Evil' on you Verwoerd
For whip and gun and goad.
Cry 'Evil' from the sky.
The bloody skies of Africa
Where even doves won't fly.

Cry 'Evil' on you Verwoerd

A bullet in a flogger's neck
To hold a head awry,
An Echo on an angry wind,
'Verwoerd, Verwoerd,' they cry.

For death and whip and hunger pain
Down in your diamond mine,
They're coming for you, Verwoerd
And all your craven kind.

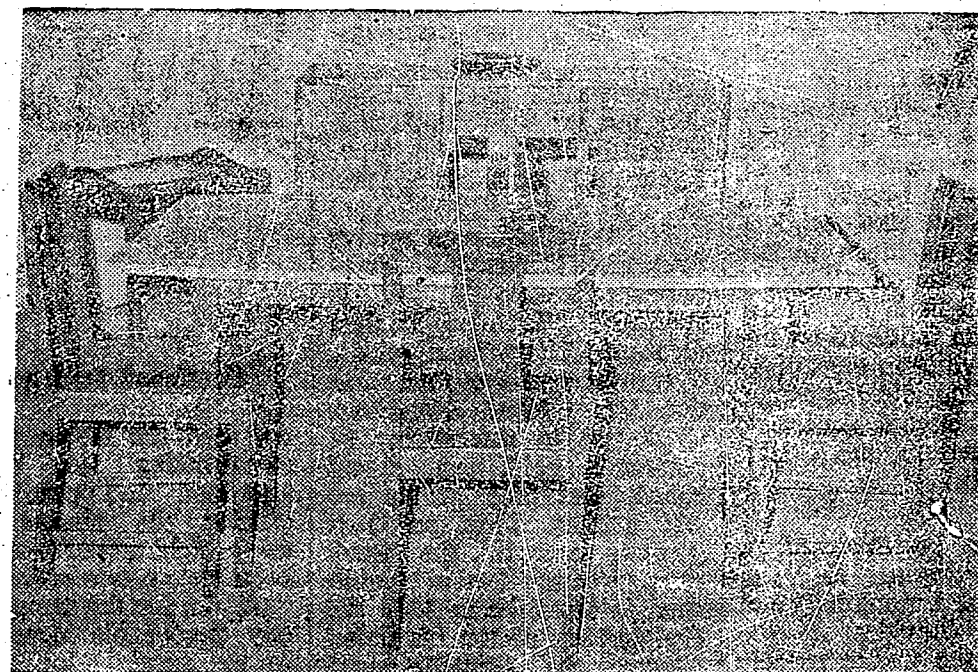
And all the roads of Africa
Are thick with marching men.
For every man that's shot to death,
A man will rise again.

There's doves for us, Verwoerd,
They wheel and fly,
Red with the dawn
In the African sky.

White is our bone,
Red is our death,
To make us a song
For the wild wind's breath.

Dorothy Hewitt
a poet against Apartheid

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