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CONGO: Can we be Hopeful?

EDITORIAL

The New Offensive (2)

ANGLO-U.S. imperialism is busy pushing schemes directed at the division of Africa. Ironically, these schemes are being hatched under the name of Pan-Africanism.

While pretending to support Pan-Africanism, Anglo-U.S. imperialism opposes African political union. It accepts only inter-African functional co-operation. Its organisational model for inter-African functional co-operation is the Organisation of American States with one difference. Instead of one African state serving as the "big power" just as the U.S.A. does within the Organisation of American States, Anglo-U.S. imperialism itself is to serve as the king-pin of the Organisation of inter-African functional co-operation.

This is the formula for neo-colonialism, the arrangement under which imperialism could continue its exploitation of Africa while pretending to respect African political independence.

In line with this strategy, imperialism is anxious to keep Africa on the path of capitalist development. It knows that all round development at a fast pace (which is what the 280 million people of this continent demand) just cannot be achieved through a weak and embryonic African capitalist class. Accordingly the path of capitalist development in Africa today must lead inevitably to dependence on private investments from the imperialist countries. The path of capitalist development thus stands exposed as the economic formula for neo-colonialism.

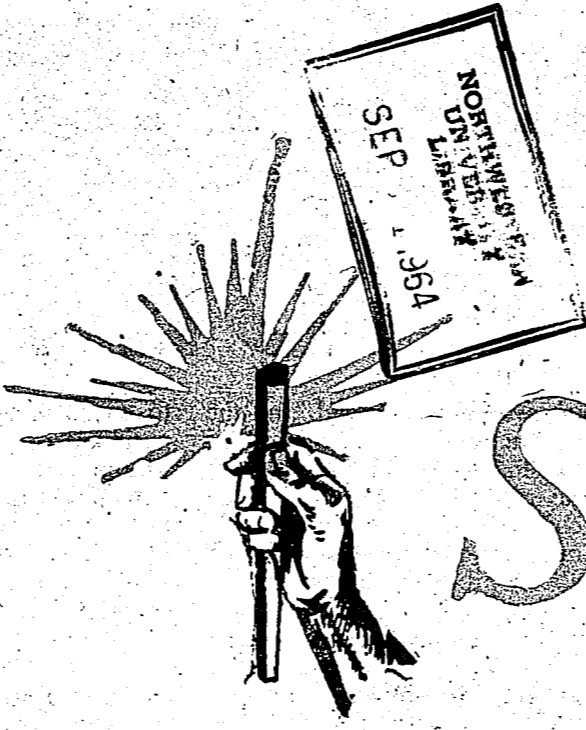
But imperialism is now fully aware of the undeniable fact that the capitalist line of development is unpopular in Africa because it does not and cannot solve our problems. Everywhere the African leaders who accept this view are estranged from the masses and are hanging on to power by the grace of one or other of the imperialist powers.

For the new imperialist strategy to succeed, it has become necessary to follow a capitalist line of development without openly admitting this. Better still, to follow the path of capitalist development under the cover of socialism. This involves creating a convenient brand of socialism. Hence "African socialism".

The neo-colonialist content and perspective of "African socialism" are revealed by the history of the concept.

In December 1962, a distinguished gathering of statesmen from the Western world and carefully selected scholars from Africa took place in Dakar, Senegal. It was organised by the Italy-based Congress Mediterranean de la Culture. Its theme was "African ways to Socialism". And among the leading participants were James Callaghan and Fenner Brockway of the British Labour Party; Guy Mollet and Pierre Mendes-France, both of France and architects of the European Common Market; Mr. Sharett, Foreign Minister of Israel; several West German delegates; and Mr. Harrod Wofford, personal representative of the late President John F. Kennedy of the U.S.A.

These distinguished leaders of the imperialist world found it useful to confer and give birth to the queer ideological brew which goes by the name of "African socialism". Their findings have now been collated in a book by Fenner Brockway



by Our
Political Correspondent

AT LAST a decision has been taken on an aspect of Africa's cauldron of upheavals and intrigues. The Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity has decided to set up an ad hoc commission with Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya Prime Minister, as Chairman. The principal function of this commission is to help the Congo achieve national reconciliation and to bring about normal relations between the Congo (Leopoldville) and the neighbouring states of Congo (Brazzaville) and Burundi.

This decision is included in an eight-point resolution adopted by the O.A.U. Foreign Ministers during an emergency session of the Organisation over the Congo which lasted for about five days. The Conference, among other things, has:

1. appealed to the Congo Government to stop forthwith the recruitment of mercenaries and to "expel as soon as possible those mercenaries who are in the Congo" so as to facilitate a solution to the present crisis;

2. noted a solemn undertaking given by M. Moïse Tshombe, the Congolese Prime Minister, to guarantee the security of combatants laying down their arms;

3. requested those now fighting to cease hostilities so as to seek with the aid of the Organisation of African Unity, a solution "that would make possible national reconciliation and the restoration of order in the Congo".

LANDMARK

With these steps on the Congo, the O.A.U. has, so soon after its consolidation in Cairo, built yet another significant landmark on its journey towards African Unity. The present position has in some measure ameliorated the scandal and bitterness felt over Tshombe's return to the Congo and his incredible ascent to power, an occurrence (we wanted to say a phenomenon) that deeply but heart-rendingly underlined the urgency of unity and the enormity of the dangers we face in hesitation and in philandering with neo-colonialism.

The decision of the O.A.U. ministerial meeting must only serve to awaken us to the task

that is our responsibility. Every African, not to mention the leaders, must realise in the Congo the chosen spot for concentrated action of world monopoly capitalism. Of course it was the prayer of the imperialist powers that the conference should fail. And that prayer will be fulfilled unless the resolutions adopted are implemented with expedition and success.

M. Tshombe has said that the result of the conference was "a victory of Africa over herself—one of the most difficult and greatest victories."

One would wish M. Moïse Tshombe to mean what he said. But what are the implications of Moïse Tshombe's statement?

"A victory of Africa over herself"—a difficult and a great victory? What does it really mean? A victory of unity over disunity? of patriotism over treachery? of sovereignty and progress over neo-colonialism and exploitation?

Evidently the cardinal factors in the successful implementation of the resolution are what M. Tshombe means by this statement, how far he will keep his word and guarantee the safety of the nationalists who lay down their arms, how faithfully he will implement all the terms of the resolution and how far we can succeed in preventing foreign interests from nosing in the Congo. On these factors

hang not only the destiny of the Congo, but of all Africa. One would wish that in the Congo today there is nobody who is the paragon of a clientelle, who symbolizes the internal threat to unity, to progress and to sovereignty in Africa.

The subtle forces of neo-colonialism have no use for the blatant, swash-bucklers in white suits and feathered helmets. They achieve the same end of exploitation far better through puppets and compradors.



M. Diallo Telli of Guinea, O.A.U. Secretary-General. Can we be hopeful?

with the title "African Socialism". This, it should be noted, is the first ever book written on this subject. It comes from a non-African. But it purports to present something distinctly African! Indeed another example of the imperialist arrogance of thinking for Africa!!

The new propaganda offensive of Anglo-U.S. imperialism therefore strives to sell capitalism and neo-colonialism under the label of "African socialism and inter-African functional co-operation. This offensive is bitterly anti-Ghana for the simple reason that Ghana is a citadel of the New Africa founded on the two cardinal principles of continental political union and a genuinely socialist path of development.

There are now two battle fronts in the ideological war being fought in Africa. On the first front, continental political union grapples with inter-

African functional unity. On the second front, a socialist path of development is at grips with a neo-colonialist path of development. There is a close organic link between the two fronts.

The African Revolution upholds continental political unity and a socialist path of development. Imperialism, its agents and hangers-on in Africa uphold inter-African functional co-operation and the neo-colonialist line of development euphemistically referred to as "African Socialism".

The ideological war must be fought with vigour. It must be resolved in favour of the African Revolution. For without such a complete victory, there is real danger that the African Revolution would peter off into neo-colonialism and fail to achieve its historic goals of the total liberation of Africa and the complete emancipation of her peoples.

ticular. For one thing (and this is one of the flimsy excuses given), the world is now so small and what happens in one part vitally concerns all. But only a simpleton will believe that the U.S. chooses to intervene in African affairs for humanitarian reasons.

The more important excuse thrown up by the U.S. Government is that they must intervene in the Congo to prevent Communist infiltration into Africa. Whether the spread of Communism should be prevented anywhere on the globe is another matter. What is pertinent here is that there is not an iota of truth in this transparent excuse. There has never been any indication of Communist influence whatsoever in the Congo since it became independent four years ago. Neither the U.S.S.R. nor any socialist country has ever opposed the unity of the Congo, interfered in her internal affairs or sent military mission into the country. Russian action in the Congo has strictly been humanitarian—deliveries of flour and medical supplies. Contrast this with the intrigues and subterfuges of the Western powers, the flood of Western mercenaries and the open military intervention of the U.S.

These wishy-washy excuses deceive none but the Americans themselves. The cry of wolf is only a cover for manoeuvres at control over the Congo. The purpose is clear! A U.S. journalist, John Gunter, has said that Africa is the richest booty in the world. The choicest morsel of this booty is the Congo.

The Congo with its incalculable wealth has long been the centre of attraction to American capitalists. Attempts to seize this treasure trove go back to the beginning of the 20th century. Having been foiled in this bid by Anglo-Belgian alliance, America had hoped that the independence of the Congo and the expulsion of the unholy alliance will open the doors for her unhindered entrance.

But then came Patrice Lumumba, a patriot with radical views, who would brook no continued bleeding of his country. His stand earned him the wrath of Wall Street and subsequently cost him his life. For ruthless capitalism that is the U.S. would neither brook hindrances and interference, as Kennedy was also to learn his cost.

Although independence did not usher in the unhindered control of the U.S. over the Congo, it did see the beginning of active U.S. intrigues to pocket this richest part of the richest

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Independence and After (III)

SPARKING OFF DEVELOPMENT

by
Obotian Awuku

ON attainment of independence, economic development becomes an imperious necessity to an ex-colonial country. This urgency for development does not only arise out of economic and social considerations but also out of reasons political. As has already been stated, it is the only sure guarantee for political independence.

The obvious and pressing question is: How do we develop? What do we do to initiate development? In view of the characteristics of less developed countries outlined earlier, it would appear the obvious answer to this question is the elimination of their limitations i.e. the breaking of the vicious circle which binds these countries.

The links of the circle we know to be low productivity, low real income, low saving, low investment, and therefore capital deficiency and hence low productivity. The crucial point here is obviously shortage of capital. This recognition has led most economists to regard capital as the key to economic development. This notion is further strengthened by a number of apparently valid economic considerations which become evident upon analysis of the process of development.

Development, we have noted, brings with it an increase in population and in the labour force. Since land is fixed, the land/labour ratio must decline. An increase in output per worker, therefore, would appear to call for an increase in capital/labour ratio. Here then, capital is acting in some measure as a substitute for land. Capital can also substitute for labour to a very great extent.

ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT

Again, given a capital/output ratio of some sort, capital formation leads to more output which provides a surplus for further investment and for further increases in output. It seems relevant in this connection, to quote in brief the analysis of economic development by Celso Pardo published in *National Economic Papers No. 4, 1954*. He says: "At bottom the process of development consists of a series of changes in the manner and proportions in which the factors of production are combined. Through those changes people try to work out more rational combinations of the factors of production, subject to the limitations of current technology, with the aim of increasing the productivity of labour... In an underdeveloped region there is always underemployment of the factors of production within the limits of known techniques. Such underemployment however, does not necessarily spring from a faulty combination of existing factors but usually from scarcity of capital." He concludes by saying: "...the increase in the physical productivity of labour is in the main, the fruit of capital accumulation." (Italics mine).

In other words, the process of development consists either in a new combination of factors at existing level of development or in the introduction of new techniques. In a developed country all factors of production are employed and increase in productivity can only be achieved through the introduction of new techniques. In a less developed country, however, growth consists in the assimilation of existing techniques. In each case there must be injections of additional doses of capital into the economic system.

In the view of capital/output ratio and similar theories then, the process of economic development is one of replacing primitive means of production with advanced and more productive and efficient means.

From the concept of vicious circles we know that capital is also regarded as strategic. In all stagnant economies capital formation hovers perilously

around 4 to 5 per cent of national income and may even be nil or negative. When it reaches about 10 to 15 per cent of the national income, however, the process feeds on itself and growth becomes automatic. "The rich get richer and the poor get children". Taking still another strand in our previous arguments we will recall that capital per head is high in economically advanced countries and low in those which are relatively less developed.

From all these considerations, it seems reasonable to affirm that capital is the key to economic growth. But it appears we need to study the problem more closely, for there are certain objections which raise doubts as to the validity of such a conclusion. There are instances where there have been large importations of capital into a country without the expected economic growth. Cases in point are Argentina before 1914, Venezuela up to recent times and the Congo (Leopoldville) until independence.

"Rich" colonial or, ex-colonial territories which, we will remember, suffer from the disadvantages of technological dualism may have apparent savings and investment rates reaching 10 per cent and above without being precipitated into economic development. Examples are Congo (Leopoldville) 1951 with a ratio of net capital formation over net domestic product at 21.7 per cent; Southern Rhodesia (1950), gross capital formation over gross domestic product 45.5 per cent, (1952) gross capital formation over gross domestic product, 45.4 per cent.

Further investigations strengthen our doubts still more. Firstly, the increase in the rate of savings from 4 or 5 per cent to 10 to 15 per cent which sparks off economic development is often (but not always) abrupt. To explain it, one has to go further than the geometric growth type of model in which capital leads to growth in income which in turn leads to more capital.

Secondly, the growth takes place at rates which are higher than can be explained on the basis of capital formation alone.

Thirdly, as economic growth picks up, the rate of capital formation levels off, which requires more explanation than a theory which gives the central role to capital.

SIGNIFICANT CHANGES

Fourthly, "many aspects or features of an economy undergo significant changes as the economy develops. Capital formation takes place, the physical composition of the stock of capital changes and the relative prices of capital and labour alter. Economic development is also accompanied by other economic and social changes, such as urbanisation, increase in trained or skilled personnel, or the increase in the ton-miles of goods transported by rail or road. But it would be a confusion of cause, effect and symptom to argue that economic development can be promoted merely or solely by bringing about any of these changes."—Bauer and Yamey. Fifthly, a rise in the level

of capital formation demands a radical shift in the society's effective attitude towards fundamental and applied science; towards innovations in productive technique; towards the uncertainties of risk-taking; and towards the discipline that conditions and methods of work in industrial societies demand.

Lastly, economic development is almost always attended by a heightened spirit of enterprise (an urge to do and dare), capital formation, improvement in methods of production, a change for the better in economic qualities and the productive capacity of labour.

It is difficult to isolate any of these factors as the prime motivator in the process of economic development and change. Productivity of resources depends upon availability of complementary resources and of markets for output. Large-scale injections of capital in the form of modern equipment may not benefit some countries, since lack of training, acquired skills and other essential qualities may curb their effective use. Capital formation alone is insufficient in the process of production or of economic development for that matter. Correct decisions have to be taken in the utilisation of capital, and personnel with managerial ability, drive and initiative are therefore of very great importance.

Factors of production are very closely related to each other and it is very difficult to allocate the precise effectiveness of any one of them. They act and react upon each other; every act of innovation necessitates capital formation; entrepreneurial talent is only productive when combined with capital formation; every act of capital formation requires entrepreneurship to direct, organise and take the decisions involved. The process of growth therefore, is an extremely complicated one.

CAPITAL FORMATION

In sum, economic development depends not only upon the availability of capital but demands also a structural change. The problem of economic development is in fact only one aspect of the general problem of social change. Economic development demands a radical change in the political and social structure, a complete re-orientation of the society.

Notwithstanding, in the words of Prof. W. W. Rostow of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "we can conclude by agreeing that in the end, the essence of the transition (from stagnation and backwardness to growth and development) can be legitimately described as a rise in the rate of investment to a level which regularly, substantially and perceptively outstrips population growth; although, when this is said, it carries no implication that the rise in the investment rate is an ultimate cause."

In our enquiry then, it seems proper to study how governments of the less developed countries can raise the savings ratio of their countries and examine further the economic aspects of the structural change necessary for development.

We may begin by studying the question of capital formation. This is possible only when a society produces a surplus of consumer goods sufficient to satisfy the wants

of workers engaged in the production of capital. The surplus is made possible by savings which may be either consumption goods produced but not consumed, or capital goods produced and offset by savings of their producers.

Savings in a community may be done by business, by households, by the government or they may come from a foreign country in the form of investments or aids.

The rate of saving is a function of the level of income and its distribution; the prevalence of institutions which make for savings e.g. the existence of banks, the habit of life insurance, the practice of amortizing mortgages; the horizontal family in which each generation is expected to provide for its own security; and the existence of incentives and opportunities for social advance through economic betterment.

Capitalist economists advocate unequal distribution of income and the creation of conditions conducive to high rates of profits by private enterprise as the secrets of increasing the rates of savings. Such measures, however, are repugnant to socialist societies and since most less developed countries tend to adopt the socialist mode of development, these considerations need not detain us here. It seems more worthwhile to consider the problem which faces all economies, the necessity to divert resources from the production of consumption goods to the formation of capital and at the same time to see to it that these producers of capital are enabled to consume.

CHANGES THROUGH POLICIES

A government can achieve significant successes in this regard by proper and effective use of political, fiscal and monetary policies.

The motivation for material advancement among a people is of incalculable value in the process of economic development. A government which is able to remove social barriers and to heighten the spirit of enterprise among its people, therefore, can reasonably hope to increase the savings ratio in the economy. Hence the need for the creation of the proper atmosphere i.e. peace, security, etc and the required savings institutions which may induce producers to save and lend their savings to the government.

Extensive and effective use of fiscal policy can have four significant effects upon the rate of development, namely, in relation with (1) the allocation of resources, (2) the distribution of income, (3) the accumulation of capital and (4) the prevention of inflation.

In general the pattern of government revenues and expenditures affects factor mobility among industries etc. attracting factors of production into the sectors in which government makes heavy expenditures and repelling them in the sectors not so favoured.

Government may siphon off increased incomes through taxation and use the revenue obtained for capital formation. The limiting factors here are: (a) the poverty of income recipients and (b) unwillingness of the population to restrict consumption and the ambition of borrowers and the government in investment.

DEMONSTRATION EFFECT

It is important to note that in all these, the good use of revenue by the government e.g. in the development of infrastructure—roads, schools, hospitals etc. will act as a demonstration effect to the people and encourage them

to save, invest, innovate, experiment or lend or pay taxes to the government.

Capital accumulation, can also be effected through deficit financing. This however, is likely to cause inflation. But inflation itself can be the means of capital accumulation, especially where it is difficult to induce voluntary savings or where compulsory reduction of consumption by taxation is likely to be unpopular. Inflation creates the illusion that the standard of living is rising and before the public realizes the mirage, capital formation has already taken place.

The protagonists of inflation bring a number of arguments in support of it and cite the case of Japan which used it in the pre-war years with great success. Such, however, is the array of disadvantages marshalled by its antagonists that it seems a dubious instrument.

Government through its monetary policy can accelerate development through the control of credit and inflation and by maintaining balance of payments equilibrium. Proper monetary policy will help in channelling actual and potential savings into productive investments. Instead of favouring foreign enterprises as under colonialism, a more imaginative monetary policy will make credit facilities available for peasants, small industry and small traders. Through this the pattern of investment and production can be shaped.

To conclude the question of capital formation, mention must be made of the importance of foreign capital in economic development. In some cases the vicious circle in which less developed countries are generally entrapped is only broken, in so far as the shortage of capital is concerned, by foreign aid or investment. Foreign capital, however, is generally complementary to local efforts at capital formation and its influx is often determined by evidence of local successes, granting that the necessary securities and guarantees are offered. The inflow of international governmental capital, however, is controlled to a far greater extent by political considerations, especially where Western capital is concerned.

UNDOING THE HARM

Intertwined with the question of capital formation is the problem of undoing the harm that the colonialists did. This on a wider scope encompasses, apart from the evils of the colonial political system, the baneful effects of the economic, social, cultural and spiritual policies adopted to create an atmosphere conducive to efficient and unhampered exploitation. These policies were aimed at making the colonial subject hold the "white man in awe"; they were developed to cast his mind in a mould that made him co-operate in his own exploitation and look down on everything he could call his own. It is a decrepid, slavish attitude of mind aptly described as "colonial mentality".

In short the colonialists brainwashed their subjects so that they disowned themselves. One problem of a government in an ex-colonial territory is to rewash the brains of the people so that they can accept themselves. A positive step in this direction is "the projection of the African personality" introduced and popularised by the President of the Republic of Ghana, Ogyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

In our present essays, however, we shall restrict ourselves to the economic aspects of the question. Specifically we shall attempt a study at

how a government can combat the evil of technological dualism whose characteristics, we may recall, are: foreign ownership and control of industry, trade and commerce; foreign trade orientation; structural and disguised unemployment both in the export and rural sectors; low productivity in agriculture; unfavourable terms of trade and balance of payment difficulties.

MONOPOLES

From earlier considerations it seems clear and quite justifiable that a government in a newly independent country should see to it that monopolistic control of industry, trade and commerce by foreigners should cease. Monopolistic power by fellow countrymen is very likely to be used to harm the consumer grievously, but when it is held by foreign investors it becomes callous and inhuman.

A government which has the welfare of the country at heart, even where it is not socialist, must take positive measures to break such foreign monopolies. This can be done through greater control of the banks and through them effecting checks on the enterprises. Discriminatory practices against indigenous entrepreneurs should be eliminated and credit facilities made available to them. In fact as soon as possible the tables should be turned against the foreigners. Their sole agencies can be rendered useless by the encouragement of imports from sources other than their own. Specifically the state can encourage imports from places such as the socialist countries and Japan which in the colonial era had generally been barred from trading in the colonies. Even where the foreign firms are still allowed to operate without let and hindrance, they can be undersold if the imports from the new sources are cheaper.

Their monopsonistic power in the purchase of peasant cash crops for export must likewise be broken. The best method in this respect is that adopted by Ghana and some other countries viz: the establishment of marketing boards with the sole right of sale of produce abroad. The foreign firm may buy from the peasant at stipulated prices and sell to the board. Better still, the state can establish its own buying agencies and drive the foreigners completely out of the field. This is what obtains in Ghana now.

The advantages of such a policy are quite obvious. Reasonable prices can be fixed by a government which is at least indigenous. The profits made by resales abroad can be used for capital accumulation. Moreover, the prices can be so pegged as to save the peasant from the effects of the wide and frequent fluctuations in world prices. The government on its part, through the accumulation of profits, saves itself from the adverse effects of the fluctuations. With such a policy, development planning becomes no more so much of a hazard.

"BUFFER SYSTEM"

A further step in this direction is the "buffer system" which the establishment of marketing boards affords. This entails accumulation and reduction of the stocks of the produce according to the climate of the world market. When world prices are high implying a shortage of the product, the stocks are released while they are withdrawn from the market when prices fall.

There are generally arguments between the governments and the manufacturers

in respect of the heights which the prices may be allowed to rise before the release of the accumulated supplies and the depths they may be allowed to fall before supplies are withdrawn from the market. This method prevents gluts in the market when harvests are good, and great scarcity when harvests are poor. The amplitude of the fluctuations is greatly reduced therefore, by the creation of such "floors" and "ceilings" of prices.

Still another benefit of such control over the purchase and marketing of local produce is the opportunity it offers in extending the markets abroad. A case in point is the extension of the world market for Ghana's cocoa to the socialist countries since independence.

As regards the characteristic of foreign trade orientation, economic policy should by no means be aimed at autarchy. It is impossible, any way, in the shrunken world of our times with its mutual interdependence of states. What is at issue is not foreign trade *per se* but the KIND of trade that exists between the less developed world and the developed one.

We realized in our earlier enquiries how, despite the apparently unassailable theory of specialization and trade, based on comparative advantage, the less developed countries of the world have suffered gravely as a result of the "opening up" to the outside world and to foreign trade. The primary causes of this, we discovered, were the mono-cultural nature of the economies and the primary nature of the products exported.

Obviously the answer lies in diversification and industrialization. A sure way of combating the world market fluctuations is to diversify the economy—i.e. to correct its dependence on the export earnings of only one or two primary products.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

Better still, the country must industrialize. There have been much hue and cry over this proposition. Readers may recall the terms of trade arguments which are only one aspect of this problem. The antagonists of industrialization submit that the poverty of the less developed countries does not subsist in the fact that their economies are agricultural as such but that it is the primitive nature of the agriculture that is the trouble. In support of this they cite New Zealand which they present as a very prosperous but predominantly agricultural economy.

Such arguments are only superficially plausible. In the first place, we have already noted that increased production in such products as cocoa only serve to depress prices. Obviously specialization in such production and the adoption of improved techniques in the face of the inelastic demand will be gravely detrimental to such an economy. Improved techniques and increased output will only benefit the producing country where demand is elastic or where it is quite great and no substitutes exist. Such is the case of wool and dairy products; but the same cannot be said of Brazil's coffee or Ghana's cocoa which have very strong competitors in the host of beverages constantly being manufactured.

Again, it seems pertinent to take note that the adverse effects of trade between primary producers and manufacturing countries are suffered not by the industrial countries but by the less developed countries.

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PUERTO RICO— An analysis of neo-colonialist tactics in an American Colony

From THE INSIDE

By Dr. Livia Cordero

I WONDER, how many of my readers know where PUERTO RICO is? Why should Puerto Rico be of any interest to the readers of the "Spark"? Neo-colonialism is a colony. What does it mean? A play on words? I hope all these questions will be answered. In this article I hope to show:

* Some of the general characteristics of modern imperialism in its neo-colonialist form.

* That the United States (of America) is an imperialist power.

* New and confusing trends in North American imperialism as employed in Puerto Rico.

* The VITAL IMPORTANCE of an understanding of the above to Ghana (and Africa). In order to avoid misunderstanding, I will define the terms as I will use them in this article.

Colonialism is the direct political control by a nation of countries or territories outside of its own national territory. This control being utilised of course, for the benefit of the controlling or colonial nation. In other words, exploitation of the colony by the colonial nation. Colonialism existed before capitalism.

As I am sure you all know, colonialism under capitalism has historically shown various manifestations. I will mention them very briefly.

Actual Plunder of the wealth of the colonies (e.g. American colonies, India, African slaves), seen in early capitalism.

Colonization by settlers. Direct super-exploitation of land and labour of the country (or slaves). (It has been said that the wealth obtained from sugar plantations based on slavery in the Caribbean made possible the industrial revolution in England).

Mercantile Colonialism.—Where the profits from the colonies were made primarily by utilizing them as markets for manufactured goods in exchange for raw materials, seen with the rise of industrial capitalism in Europe 18-19th century.

And Imperialist Colonialism.—Imperialism as defined by Lenin "is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital, as distinguished from the export of commodities, has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; and in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed". Under imperialism then, the

exploitation of the colonies is carried out primarily through the export of capital. This is terribly important and must be stressed. We will return to it.

Colonial Africa illustrates beautifully these different manifestations of capitalist colonialism. Colonialism in Africa has varied from area to area; and has, in the same area, varied at different periods of time. Relevant questions that would have to be answered to understand this complex picture would be:

What was the nature of capitalism in the colonial country at the time when it first came to the colony? What was the further development of capitalism in the colonial country? What were the initial relevant factors in the physical-social nature of the colony? And what has been the nature of the anti-colonialist forces developing in the colony? This type of analysis would make a fascinating thesis and is a subject which should recommend itself to the Marxist Forum for further discussion.

The nature of neo-colonialist imperialism. We are primarily concerned with imperialism, the modern form of capitalist colonial exploitation as represented by the United States.

Why is North American imperialism so important? Because it is the most powerful and without doubt represents the imperialism of the future in Africa.

EXPANSION OF COLONIALISM

AS LENIN CLEARLY DOCUMENTS, by the end of the 19th century the major capitalist countries: England, France and Germany had entered the phase of imperialism. It was at this time that the whole of Africa was finally divided; the period of maximum colonial expansion. (In 1876 only 10 per cent of African Territory was a Colony, by 1900, it was 90 per cent.)

By the 20th century, when the United States emerged as an important imperialist power, the world was almost totally shared between the other imperialist powers. The United States had made an attempt to expand territorially (e.g. annexation of Texas from Mexico) and to develop a colonial empire. (Here is where Puerto Rico comes into the picture. In 1898, as a result of the war between the United States and Spain—clearly a war for the control of the remaining Spanish colonies—Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines became North American colonies. Cuba achieved its independence from Spain and came under "The protection of the United States").

But it was TOO LATE for United States to develop a significant colonial empire unless it wanted to embark on wars with the other imperialist powers.

What then for North American Imperialism?

By 1913 the United States had 173 million dollars invested in Latin America; by

1924, it was over 2,000 million and by 1961 it had risen to over 10,000 million dollars. In 1913 16 per cent of Latin American trade was with the United States, by 1929 31 per cent and by 1961 60 per cent of all trade by Latin America was carried out with the United States. (It was actually higher than 60 per cent as a lot of trade between Latin American countries was actually carried out with American companies in these countries). Profits on investments were estimated in the year 1959 at 775 million dollars of which 575 million was sent back to the United States. This was in one year alone—775 million dollars in profits!

SEMI-COLONIALISM DEFINED

Lenin defined semi-colonialism as the SUBJECTION TO IMPERIALISM OF POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT states. He felt that it was a step IN TRANSITION towards full colonialism. I am going to dare to postulate here that he was WRONG that SEMI-COLONIALISM IS NEO-COLONIALISM; but that it is the new and most efficient form of imperialist exploitation.

Let us first look at the general characteristics of imperialist neo-colonialism in Latin America. WHAT HAVE THE ABOVE INVESTMENTS DONE FOR LATIN AMERICA?

First let us look at those figures so beloved of the economists; per capita gross national product. We know that the estimation of G.N.P. in some countries is not accurate, but we have to use what is available.

Even if we take these figures with a grain of salt, it is clear that Latin America is more "developed" than Africa and Asia. Its average per capita GNP is 2½ times that of Africa or Asia. Is this what Africa needs? Let us look more closely. Development through imperialist investments in Latin America has been characterised by:

1. **Distorted economic development**—Imperialists naturally invest in what will give them the most profits NOT in what the country needs in order to develop a balanced, strong and growing economy.

FOR INSTANCE, IN 1961 THE PROPORTION OF EXPORTS FROM DIFFERENT LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES WAS AS FOLLOWS: (U.N. STATISTICAL REPORT)

Brazil	Coffee represented	74 per cent of her exports.
Chile	Copper	63 " " " " " "
Costa Rica	Bananas	60 " " " " " "
Venezuela	Oil	95 " " " " " "
Dominican Republic	Sugar	60 " " " " " "

Investments have been in raw materials and their partial processing, in banks, in utilities in railroads and only to a minor extent in manufacturing. Sections of the economy develop while other sections stagnate.

Neo-colonialist "development" is also characterised by:

2. **Ownership of the wealth by foreign investors.** There is no need to say who owns the copper in Chile, the oil in Venezuela... etc.

3. **By escape of the profits needed for national development.**

4. **By imperialist control of trade with a resulting unfavourable balance of trade.** Imperialist investments are largely dependent on market of the imperialist country. By investing, the imperialist power also obtains preferential trade agreements to sell its manufactured products in the semi-colony. The difference between the prices paid for raw materials and the prices of manufactured goods creates a negative balance of trade against the colony; ANOTHER form of exploitation.

5. **By indirect political control by the imperialist power.**

Political control is necessary in order to help and to protect imperialist investments. In a colonial situation it is exercised DIRECTLY. In a neo-colonial situation it is exercised indirectly, but not less effectively.

How is this indirect control exercised? Let us spend a few minutes on this. THE IMPORTANCE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT TO THE ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY is the weapon used.

PER CAPITA GNP LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA 1958 (U.N. STATISTICAL REPORTS)

Average Highest (Country)		Lowest (Country)	
Africa	121	S. Africa	38
S. America	304	Venezuela	96
North and Central America excluding US/Canada	303	Puerto Rico	86
Asia	106	Israel	50
U.S.	2,324	Haiti	
		Nepal	

A "compradore" bourgeoisie develops which is closely linked with, and economically dependent on the foreign investors. They will make every effort to perpetuate imperialism. In Latin America, this group, together with the land-owning class, the army and the church has managed, with North American help to stay in power. Large segments of the professional-technical, white collar workers are also susceptible to this type of economic bribery. Their interests become those of the imperialists. A neo-colonialist mentality is created.

When truly reformist leaders come into power they are

vestors, which they must do to carry out reforms. If they persist in their folly they are overthrown by the neo-colonialist forces in the country. And are the truly revolutionary anti-imperialist forces crushed by the United States? No, by the local bourgeoisie. (When they cannot manage, the United States intervenes directly. Recent clear examples of direct United States intervention of this nature are Guatemala, Cuba and the Dominican Republic).

The lesson to be learnt is that ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY INEVITABLY CREATES POLITICAL DEPENDENCY. And that BEING POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT DOES NOT PROTECT ONE AGAINST POLITICAL DEPENDENCY.

Neo-colonialism in Latin America has also been characterised by:

Guatemalan would have an average life expectancy of 44 years, while a North American can expect to live 67 years.

The true picture is actually much worse. Health indices in most Latin American countries and specifically Venezuela and Guatemala represent only conditions in the major cities and almost totally exclude the Indian population.

DREADFUL PICTURE

Conservative estimates are that over half of the population of Latin America is illiterate, that over half suffers from malnutrition. (F.A.O. estimates of calorie and protein consumption would place it closer to two-thirds) WHY THIS DREADFUL SOCIAL PICTURE? Because imperialism and the local bourgeoisie have NOT HEEDED social reform. They spend money only in what is necessary to them:—roads, limited development of electric power, epidemic disease control, lim-

misery.

To summarize briefly, when an independent country DEVELOPS economically through foreign investment it ends up with AN ECONOMY THAT DOESN'T BELONG TO ITSELF, and whose profits CANNOT be utilized RATIONALLY for the development of the country and the welfare of the people. It also ends up being controlled politically by the foreign investors.

If independent Africa chooses the road of separate DEVELOPMENT through foreign investment, there is NOTHING that would keep it immune from this same type of NEO-COLONIALIST EXPLOITATION.

Is there any reason to believe that the bourgeoisie and middle class that would develop in Africa would behave any differently from that of Latin America? Is there any reason to believe that some of Africa's leaders would be less corruptible? Africa's colonial experience with imperialism provides the answer, the most shocking example of course being the Congo (Tshombe).

Imperialism's greatest hope for survival is for Africa to choose the road of neo-colonialism. The great wealth of Africa can keep imperialism alive for a long time to come.

Continued on page 5

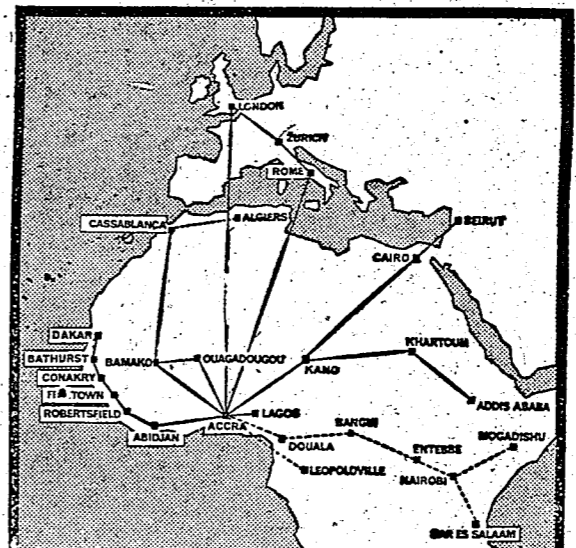
6. INADEQUATE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT (U.N. STATISTICAL REPORT)

Country	Per Capita GNP 1958	Infant mortality in 1,000 live births	Life Expectancy in years
U.S.	2324	25.4	67 years ('61)
Venezuela	715	51.4	(?) Brazil 39 years ('59)
Guatemala	164	84.8	44 years ('58)

If these figures were accurate Guatemala would have 3 times the infant mortality rate of the United States. A



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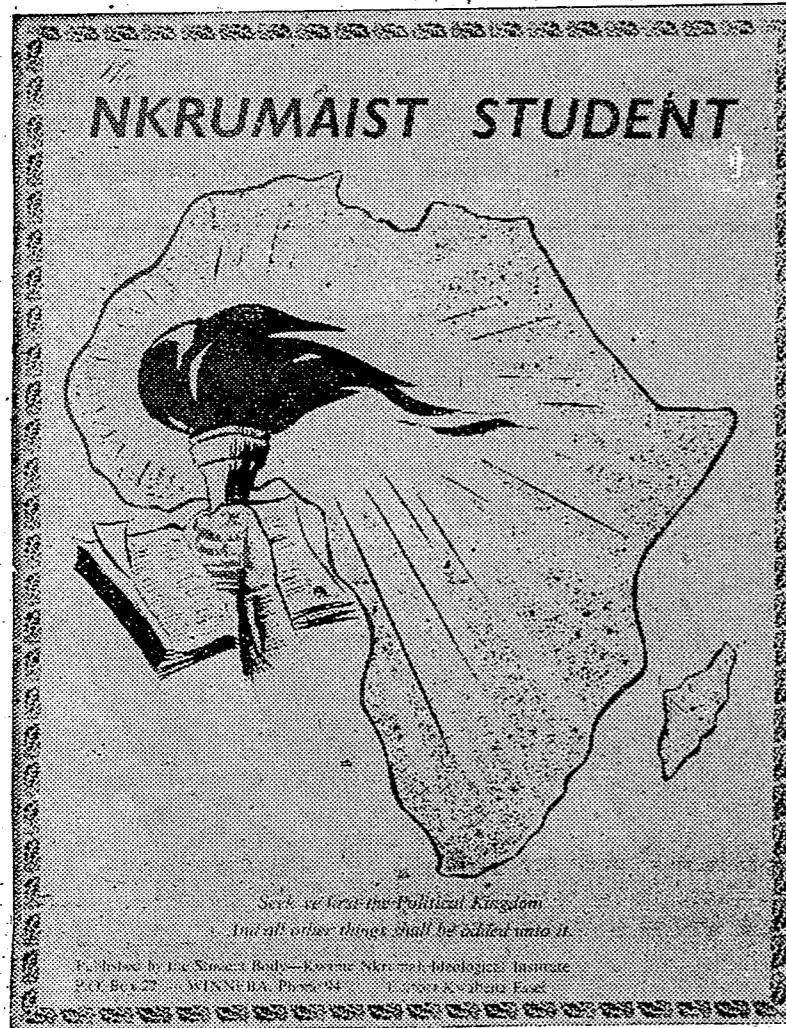
'Legonite' and 'Nkrumaist Student'

—A Review by E. K. Addo

OUT from two centres of learning, have emerged recently, two students' journals—one from Legon, the other from Winneba. African Students have a great part to play in the present revolution—the wind of change that is blowing in Africa. The role of students in this present situation in Africa needs no emphasis any more, for the intellectual effervescence, the interaction of ideas taking place in Africa has long transcended the bounds of the classroom or lecture room.

All over Africa today, there is a growing need and a sense for a change—a radical change from a situation that has been imposed on us. We must change it and this we can. But to change a situation needs planning and planning implies thought. Hence the aptness of Dr. Nkrumah's maxim: "Thought without practice is blind, and practice without thought is empty". Ideas for the total emancipation of the African continent from colonialism and neo-colonialism have been expressed in many quarters and have now been crystallized in a monumental book—"Consciencism".

What is the relationship between these ideas and the present day African student? What has the African student of today to offer as a contribution to this revolution other, Legon (of course) could be understood that this has been for a while only, and this because of its "alien" tradition has been a centre of rather unpleasant activities



taking place in Africa? Will he still be 'enslaved' in his thinking? Will the student of today still live in the past—the past that is even by various devious means struggling to assert itself, to project itself, as it were, into the future? To do this would be to betray the African cause. It is with these considerations, so important to the situation on our Continent today, that we endeavour to make a literary excursion into these two journals from two of our institutions.

SIMILARITY AND DISSIMILARITY

In reviewing these two journals we would like to point out that they contain naturally, a number of articles about various topics, some of which are for our purposes not immediately pertinent but which are nevertheless entertaining. The review of two such journals containing diverse articles has of necessity to assume the nature of a generality, for one cannot give a particular attention to every article contained in these books; but, on the other hand there is a distinct, if even latent, feature unique to each of them which emerges from among the various articles. It is with the generality and the particular feature in regard to each of them that we begin our literary excursion into these journals.

Winneba and Legon are at once similar and dissimilar—similar in the sense that they are both institutions of learning at the base; dissimilar—and here I mimic no words, in the sense that one, Winneba, has always, even within the short time of its birth, asserted itself as regards the African Revolution. It has asserted itself as a veritable "Mecca" for the dissemination of ideas that are so important to the African cause today. The

which created concern for the masses.

Now let us take off for our excursion. To Winneba by way of Legon. The Editor of the "Legonite" has cleverly said in the editorial... "the opinions expressed here are not reflective of official University viewpoint; nor are they the views shared by every student. It is believed however, that many students share the same views, as are expressed in this editorial".

In this editorial the Editor comes to grips with what is often termed "academic freedom". Here I cannot but quote him at length since "it is believed that many students share the same views as are expressed in certain important circles that the universities of Ghana should lay more emphasis on the right to contribute towards our national development rather than engaging themselves in asserting rights of academic freedom".

The Editor rightly goes on to say that nobody denies the duty of university students to contribute to our national reconstruction and development but (and this is the crucial point) "...on the other hand, Universities feel that contribution is impossible unless accompanied by the right to dissent. Hence the legitimate claim by the universities to possess the necessary machinery to make contribution possible".

Before we come to grips with the concept of 'academic freedom' expressed in various pages not only by the Editor but by Dr. O'Brien, the Vice Chancellor, it must be pointed out (but does it actually need a reiteration?) that universities, including ours are supposed to be centres of learning, critical examination, and the dissemination of truth. This we agree in toto. But where we disagree with the

Editor without reading into his intentions is that at this present moment in our revolution not only in Ghana but in Africa, knowing the forces that seek by subtle means to destroy, "the right to dissent" must of necessity be rigidly circumscribed by the "obligation to contribute".

This to our mind is very important in view of the present situation in Africa. On page 6 of the Legonite (Lent 1964), the Editor writes... "In one of his many important epistles to the university of Ghana, on the events during the crisis, our Chancellor, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah called on the University to put on a new image" He continues...

"Without any attempt to put words into the mouth of the Chancellor one would not be far from wrong to suggest that the Chancellor by this letter meant to inform us that we have not identified ourselves with our people as was expected of us, that we are arrogant and indulge too much in what the 'Spark' refers to as 'ivory towerism.' Mr. Lebrecht Hesse, the Editor, goes on... "It is not our intention to dwell on these allegations against us. We recognize sometimes that we cannot be blameless. All the same it must be noted that there are times when our intentions and behaviour have been misunderstood".

ACTIONS MISUNDERSTOOD

If, truly as the Editor says, "there are times when our intentions and behaviour have been misunderstood", (if even it has actually been misunderstood at all, but I don't think so) it is because "our intentions and behaviour" have not at times (though it is changing now) reflected the ideas, the wishes (not necessarily agreeing with everything that happens outside the University), of the people by whose very sweat the universities have been built with all the benefits bestowed on them. It is this isolationism, this apathy, which the SPARK once described most correctly as "ivory towerism".

The Editor of the "Legonite" assures Dr. Nkrumah "that we share the same aspirations as the people of Ghana and Africa and that our new image, to borrow his own saying, shall thrive only on the pedestal of truth, knowledge and fraternity." We hope this assurance will grow not only in words but in deeds. For it is high time the African, the Ghanaian student in particular, asserted himself within the context of our Revolution.

In one of the articles in the "Legonite" one Political Science student writes on "The Problems of African Unity". Emmanuel Hansen, the writer, has an answer to those neo-colonialists who in playing against our desire to unite dwell too much on the seeming differences in various respects on the cultural level that exists on the Continent of Africa. I quote him:—"As Africans we have certain fundamental things in common. We have common practices, common ideas in a word, a sense of 'one-ness', a sense of 'African-ness' which act as an integrative factor". Yes in spite of the differences of the African peoples (which our detractors emphasize too much) there are certain generalities in our vast social systems which can adequately form a basis for a common political action to a very considerable extent if not to the full extent".

In this article Hansen raises very interesting points concerning African Unity. He writes... "Surely for States which have recently emerged from domination, it will be

asking too much to expect them to surrender their Sovereignty, unless there is an extreme danger, to galvanise them into a Union!" That danger is of course there—Neo-Colonialism. Hence the importance of a united action of African Unity. Thus Hansen writes "To us in Africa neo-colonialism is a reality."

Let us have a cursory look at what L. Hesse, the Editor of the journal, has to say on "A Challenge to the Convention People's Party". In this article Hesse discusses some of the problems facing the Party and the Nation. He dilates on such subjects as "Positive neutralism and our National Press".

Elsewhere he gives a very constructive criticism of the tendency of corruption, etc. in certain places which he says, is contradictory to socialist ideas, but in spite of his brilliant exposition, on the concept of "positive neutralism and our Party press" he makes certain statements which must be briefly examined.

He agrees with Dr. Nkrumah's concept of positive neutralism in world affairs but thinks that Ghana sometimes (through the Press) does not follow this policy. Thus he complains that when the Soviet Union sends a satellite into space we give it prominence in our national papers, but when U.S. succeeds in doing a similar thing we display it in an obscure corner.

If even this is true the writer ought to know that newspapers do not always reflect the official policy of governments and that in this respect by extolling the achievements of Russia, by giving them great prominence at the expense of similar achievements by the United States, we are not in any way receding from the policy of positive neutrality. And here he must be informed that during the crisis in North Vietnam, the Voice of America on one of its daily broadcasts—opinions from the world press—broadcast opinions covering the crisis in North Vietnam which were favourable to American policy but left other opinions which were anti-American. This is just an example.

NEUTRALITY—OUR POLICY

Our positive neutrality does not affect our avowed policy of Socialism; for Socialism and positive neutrality are not synonymous. After all in spite of our socialist policy we still borrow money from Washington—the Volta River Project. The complaint might therefore seem too naive. On the other hand I agree with Hesse and (this is now shared by many people) that certain "places" need to be cleaned to enable a true socialist revolution to go on successfully but to say that "Let them pave the way by eradicating these evil elements from our society and the burning desire and passionate aspiration of the youth in the universities of Ghana will come forward boldly to lead the struggle towards that socialist objective most of them yearn for" creates an impression that the youths in the Universities of Ghana stand outside the people waiting for the way to be paved.

This impression must be corrected immediately for these students are part and parcel of the revolutionary struggle and they must rather 'educate' in a direction towards the eradication of these evils which Hesse so correctly talks about. The quotation from Hesse creates an impression that until these evils are removed these youths will still be (to use his own reference in his editorial to the SPARK's language) encased by their "ivory towerism".

The "Legonite" contains a variety of articles varying from subjects pertaining to law, sociology and international relations. But before we come to the end of our excursion to Legon and divert our course to Winneba, let's see what Fredrick Tetey has to say on "Ideology as an instrument of Social and Political Integration."

In this article the writer clearly states "My objective has been to indicate the effectiveness of ideologies in mobilizing the forces of human nature in order to attain some special goal". He is also not interested in value judgements concerning ideologies. He dwells at length on the Fascist and Marxist ideologies and discusses some aspect of American 'democracy'. He shows how ideologies serve as integrative social and political forces. Without going too deeply into some of the contradictions of this article one might say that there is a conspicuous absence of even a cursory remark on "Philosophical Consciencism". However, the writer succeeds in making an interesting analysis of the integrative aspects of ideologies.

VIGILANCE NEEDED

From Legon let us go to Winneba by way of a literary excursion through the pages of "The Nkrumaist Student". As in the case of "The Legonite", we shall have to deal with articles which are only immediately pertinent to our purpose. First the Editorial. The Editor of this Journal writes on the 'Kulungugu' affair and its after-math. He points out most correctly that even after "Kulungugu" the enemy is still devising every evil means to perpetrate its evil intentions. Thus he writes: "The enemy like a drowning man who clutches everything he can lay hands on for dear life's sake continued to carry out atrocities against innocent children and women in public places."

The Editor in this connection warns us to be vigilant against the double-faced monster that is neo-colonialism. He says: "Now is the time for eternal vigilance". We must of course be vigilant for the forces of neo-colonialism come out in shapes and forms that are not easily recognizable.

In the pages of the "Nkrumaist Student" is published a broadcast speech by Dr. Nkrumah made to the nation after the Kulungugu affair. In this he outlines the successes of the Party Conference at Kumasi and then comes to the point where evil forces sought to destroy them.

He makes it clear that the attempt made on his life was made in the first instance at him, but through him at Ghana and Africa. The ideas he holds (which are of vital importance to the African Revolution) have made our adversaries and detractors very uneasy indeed and this is the cause of all these evil machinations. But why should we allow this to continue? The ideology for stemming out this evil tide, "Philosophical Consciencism"—has already made its mark and to quote Dr. Nkrumah "long after I have gone the torch which I have carried will continue to burn and be borne aloft to give light, hope and guidance to our people".

Another interesting article that appears in "The Nkrumaist Student" is entitled "Why Nkrumah is the Butt of Colonialist Hatred". In this article the writer reiterates the reasons for neo-colonialist intrigues against the Ghana President's positive, patriotic and uncompromising stand against the evil forces that seek to des-

stroy us—the forces of neo-colonialism. Thus he writes: "His uncompromising stand against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has made him the implacable enemy of the forces of reaction."

The paper carries an article on a union government of Africa entitled: "Towards a Continental Union Government" by Kwabena Essel, the Editor of the "Nkrumaist Student". He gives a very brief but illuminating account of the passage towards a political union of the continent of Africa. He dilates on neo-colonialist forces that seek to alienate one nation in Africa from another and stresses the importance of eternal vigilance as an instrument for crushing the forces of neo-colonialist duplicity and intrigue in Africa. He laments that "Some unfortunate sons and daughters of Africa have become hirelings of neo-colonialist intrigues."

Essel is strongly convinced that a union Government will be for the betterment of Africa and in this respect he writes: "A continental union government will nurture a common socialist ideology, harmonize and develop our economic, cultural, social and spiritual resources and install the African personality not as a bird of passage but as a living reality on the world scene. Africa must unite for the building of socialism and for the well being of our people". This unification of Africa is very important, for with a concerted effort the enemy cannot infiltrate into our ranks.

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

"We cannot wait", he quotes Dr. Nkrumah at Cairo, "we dare not wait, until we are encompassed by our doom for failing to seize this grand opportunity rising to the call of Africa's finest hour". The Editor has rightly quoted Dr. Nkrumah in this respect.

On some of the pages of the "Nkrumaist Student" is published a talk delivered by Mr. S. G. Ikoku, a senior lecturer of the ideological school at Winneba, entitled "The need for Ideological Education in the New Africa". The talk delineates three fundamental features of the 'New Africa'. First of all Africa is emerging from colonialism and neo-colonialism. Secondly, there is a great need for a great measure of collectivism. Thirdly, there is a fundamental need for 'organising our

efforts on a continental scale. He warns against the tendency for African states and nations to be economically dependent all the time. For therein lies the dangers of neo-colonialist intrigues and duplicity.

Mr. Ikoku dilates on some of the cardinal points expressed in "Consciencism", namely the need for a rewriting of African history not as an experience of European adventures but as essentially a study primarily of African situations. For to write African History as a history of European 'adventures' is to imply that Africa was living in a vacuum until the whites came to our shores. The one salient theme which runs through this article is the theme of African Unity and the urgency, in view of certain considerations, with which it ought to be achieved.

Like its counter-part the "Legonite" the "Nkrumaist Student" also contains diverse articles some light-hearted and entertaining.

SEVEN YEAR PLAN

There is a very interesting article by Dr. Nsarko on "The Seven Year Development Plan and You". He gives a stimulating account of the importance of the Seven Year Development Plan to every Ghanaian. He dilates on the Plan in relation to Agriculture, Education, Housing and Health Services. He also gives some "don'ts" in regard to the implementation of the Seven Year Development Plan.

We come to the end of our literary excursions to Legon and Winneba through the pages of the "Legonite" and the "Nkrumaist Student". Let us attempt a comparative analysis of the general content and spirit that pervades the pages of these two students' journals.

On the whole one can safely say that our students are taking active interest in what is going on in Ghana and Africa. From Legon we have a general feeling which is at once the emotional and spiritual epitome of the traditional indifference apathy and isolationism that characterized the Busia—Balme era. There is all too often a tendency towards thinking primarily in terms of Western tenets. We are not suggesting this is bad. No, but when it adversely contaminates the mind at the expense of things African, it

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AFRICAN PROBLEMS (2)

It has been made clear by many of our farsighted leaders like Presidents Ben Bella, Nasser, Nkrumah, Nyerere and even Senghor that socialism is the best system for Africa. Naturally we support them. But here we must make it clear that when we speak of socialism, we do not mean what some people today call "African socialism" because there is no such thing, just as you cannot have many capitalisms, some of which are called "American capitalism". Africa will have to adopt the universal socialist principles to fit her own conditions.

by **B. Chango Machyo**
(A Ugandan Journalist)

Now we know many people will shudder at the idea of advocating a socialist system for Africa. But we want to assure the sceptic that anyone who is well acquainted with our way of life, our traditional social structure, and our present problems will not frown at the idea. The African's reason for preferring socialism was very well put by President Modibo Keita of Mali. He stated that the success of a socialist system is "the triumph of a great idea of the abolition of all systems of oppression, whether oppression of one country by another, or oppression of some human being by others."

"The Spark" of Ghana did authoritatively state that "the majority of the people of Africa adhered to the SOCIALIST ideology not only because it provides a reliable guide to the maze of complex processes we are exploring today, but also because it opens up a new opportunity for creative thought" (18.1.63). We have no doubt as to the ability of socialism in the creation "not only of the best socio-economic system but also the healthiest pattern of relations between peoples and states" (The Spark, 22.1.62).

We therefore could, with confidence and sincerity, state that in Africa nobody is imposing socialism from without. Nobody is, because as you are all fully aware no system could be imposed on a people and expect to succeed, unless the people themselves are ready and willing to uphold. As a matter of fact, it is capitalism which is being imposed on Africans. But this can only work at the expense of the masses. Because, in face of powerful international monopolies, it would mean that either a handful of indigenous capitalist are protected by tariff walls, or they merely become appendages of foreign monopolies.

BLOODY REVOLUTIONS

In Africa, it is our conscious choice arising from indigenous factors and our present dilemma in finding a road to a proper and well balanced economic development, which will save our continent from the miseries and bloody revolutions Europe and other countries had to face. We find it proper to stress this point about socialism because there are many people who waste a lot of their useful time and energy trying to determine which course Africa should take. We therefore hope that it is now clear that our goal is a socialist system, although we are fully aware of the problems and difficulties we have to face in struggling to build a society based on this system.

From the foregoing, it becomes evident that we envisage an Africa where the major means of production, exchange and distribution will be publicly owned by the people, and the economy shall be Africanised, planned and co-ordinated on a continental scale.

Of course, we are fully aware that this particular proposal will sound absurd to many of you. But any realistic admit that the present African economic structure which is based on a disjointed and unco-ordinated economic system dominated by colonial monopolies cannot lead Africa to any effective economic contribution to a progressive world economy. As things are today, we are destined to remain forever poor and thus to constitute a grave world problem. Moreover, our fore-going proposals could help to cut down some of the costs of, for example diplomatic missions abroad, prestige enterprises, defence, research and higher education, duplication of investments in dams and other

river projects, and manufacturing enterprises such as textiles; and to eliminate the interstate boundary disputes. Secondly, we propose that Africa should take to industrialisation. Industrialisation is basic to any country's economic development and growth. Even in the western circles it is now an admitted fact. Professor J. K. Galbraith has pointed out that "a purely agricultural country is likely to be unprogressive even in its agriculture" and according to Gunnar Myrdal, "Industrialisation creates a technology which can then be applied to agriculture but not vice-versa".

The experience of Kibbutz members in Israel is a good example of industrialisation before a people could expect a good standard of living. Through their experience they found "that the attainment of a satisfactory standard of living through agricultural production alone takes many many years of hardwork and may even then be shaky". Practical necessity, therefore, began to dictate Kibbutz ventures in industrial projects of a larger and more complex nature". But it is important to stress that these industries must be owned by the people of the country themselves, because:

"An Englishman, Guy Hunter, has lately pointed out in an authoritative study (The New Societies of Tropical Africa; Oxford University Press) that for an underdeveloped country to continue the unqualified encouragement of foreign private investment on terms it is willing to accept would imply that, at the end of a decade, a very high proportion of (the) country's industry would be under the ultimate control of foreign firms".

It is thus needless to emphasise that industrialisation to benefit the country must be owned and controlled by the community on socialist principles.

But this industrialisation should not be in the form of prestige projects like T.V. assembly plants, or in the form of Guinness, Pepsi Cola or biscuit factories; what we strongly recommend are basic heavy industries that will offer a firm base for a "take off" which will thereafter serve as the chief generators of our economic growth.

Thirdly, we strongly recommend an African Common Market, an internal regional specialisation. Of course, once there is African unity this proposal would be automatic but realising that this unity might take a little bit of time, an intra-African trade in the interim period while negotiations proceed would be appropriate and in line with our avowed objective of a United Africa. In addition we strongly recommend the revival of cottage industries on co-operative basis. This will free resource which will then be used on paying for capital imports.

We therefore wish to reiterate the recommendations of the Cairo conference where the developing countries were called upon "to undertake initiative for the promotion of mutual, bilateral and broader

relations in the field of trade, payments, financing, technical and scientific co-operation, industrial co-operation, transport and communications."

From this, it naturally follows that we should propose the formation of an African Central Bank into which all African countries will deposit their reserves—this will mean withdrawing them from the metropolitan Banks, where they are now banked but with no direct aid to our economy except as loans to us! A Central Bank will also make it possible for Africa to establish a common currency. This in itself would help to generate trade between various African parts which now cannot due to currency difficulties.

But although some of these proposals sound nice, the fact is that they cannot work as long as Africans follow an "Open Door" policy where capital comes and goes with fabulous profits without any form of restrictions. It is also simple common sense that at least in their embryonic period

our industries should be protected from the stronger economies of the world. It is therefore appropriate that an "Iron Curtain" be built around Africa for a period during which a system of selective importation and control of capital movement and exportation of profits would be possible. This would also serve as a protection against neo-colonialist intrigues and propaganda. Inevitably, such a protective wall would affect consumer goods industries in the west; but on the other hand, it would benefit the heavy capital industries thereby cancelling out the effect.

AID AND TRADE

How then would Africa fit in the world trade pattern. As just indicated, we are fully aware that our foregoing proposals would naturally disrupt the present economic relationship between African countries and the west. But in our honest opinion such disruption would be a short lived phenomenon. Once the necessary adjust-

ments have been done, we cannot hesitate to point out that in the long run both Africa and Europe would benefit.

On the question of aid, we now know that from the experience of Pakistan, Ceylon and other U.S. "aided" countries it is obvious that aid could merely be used to foster and safeguard the interests of the donor country at the expense of the receiving country. This cannot be called aid, but extension of neo-colonialism. Aid should not be regarded as the sole factor on which a country's economic development should depend, rather it should only serve as a catalyst. Because, as is probably well known the real development of any particular country will essentially depend on the determination, the will and readiness of the people of that country to improve their lot. Without this psychological element, aid, however big is ineffective.

Furthermore, aid, should be to governments and not to

individuals and it should be of a kind that will give rise to positive and progressive socio-economic changes in the community. It should therefore be channelled into productive investments which will provide a firm foundation for an economic "take off" and sustain it thereafter. In this case, we strongly discourage "aid" for so-called prestige projects. We think that the best type of aid for Africa should be in form of long-term loans at a low rate of interest and less onerous conditions of repayment. Of course we are aware that loans at a rate of interest are not strictly speaking aid, but this is a polemical problem which should not waste our time here, although we should add that whether a loan is "aid" or not, will depend on various factors among which are the rate of interest charges, the degree of sacrifice of the donor country and the latter's moral obligation to the donee country.

Aid and trade are certainly complementary. In this case our proposal is that developed countries trade with Africa should be based on long term agreements at guaranteed prices. Wherever possible and convenient the direct barter system should be

encouraged. But most important of all, trade should be on a multilateral basis free of cold-war or monopolistic restrictive practices.

Let us however, emphatically state that trading based on neo-colonial relationship is not beneficial to Africa. For this reason it was only natural for the farsighted African leaders to reject the idea of "Association" with the EEC. It is therefore in the interest of the whole world that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism be condemned in the most uncertain terms. Let us remind you that imperialism is not only exercised by developed against developing countries. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the former British Chancellor of Exchequer, has already condemned U.S. economic imperialism, so has Canada and France. And what is good for Britain, Canada and France should be good for Africa.

In conclusion, let us say this. Everyone knows that Western Europe owes Africa an irreparable debt, but whereas we are not going to seek revenge, we demand just one thing:

GIVE US A CHANCE TO TRY AND DETERMINE OUR OWN DESTINY.

Independence and After (III)

Continued from page 2

Above, all such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and Denmark which are held up as prosperous agricultural countries are not really agricultural in terms of employment. The proportions of their populations engaged in agriculture are often only a third or a quarter of what are employed in agriculture in the less developed countries as the following tables demonstrate:—

DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

	Agricultural per cent	Non-Agricultural per cent	Per Capita National Income £
United States	12	88	801
United Kingdom	5	95	384
West Germany	15	85	370
Denmark	23	77	370
Japan	39	61	121
New Zealand	23	77	—

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

	Agricultural per cent	Non-Agricultural per cent	Per Capita National Income £
Mexico	58	42	98
Spain	48	52	92
Ghana	62	38	70
Egypt	64	36	40
India	70	30	25

A cursory glance reveals that while the less developed countries have on the average about 60 per cent of their gainfully employed people engaged in agriculture, only about 15 per cent of the population in the industrial countries is employed in the agricultural sector. This explains the poverty of the less developed countries. The fact that such a large chunk of the labour force is engaged in the primary occupation of finding food means that only a small proportion will be available in the important concern of capital accumulation.

Besides, the disproportionate per centage in agricultural pursuits implies low productivity which in fact is the case. Although so many farm, they can't provide for themselves and those they feed. Predominantly agricul-

tural, a less developed country nonetheless is much less efficient in that pursuit than an industrial country. As has been aptly put, "a purely agricultural country is likely to be unprogressive in its agriculture."

The evidence tends to show that productivity in industry is higher than in agriculture. This may be due perhaps to the fact that phenomena up-to-date uncontrolled by man, biological and climatic, have far greater influence in agri-

loping economies. They argue that the industrialized countries have a comparative advantage over the less developed countries in industry and therefore industrialization will be to the detriment of the latter. This argument is untenable because the comparative advantage is only temporary. Industrialization is a cumulative process. With the establishment of industries comes the creation of external economies so that the further establishment of other industries becomes progressively easier. The problem only lies in getting the proper industries started. And this may require protection in the form of tariffs etc., and some sacrifices, since costs are likely to be high in the initial stages and the products perhaps not so high in quality.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Industrialization solves some other problems created by technological dualism. One is structural and disguised unemployment. Since productivity appears to be higher in industry than in agriculture and since there is wider scope for the application of capital in the productive process in industry than in agriculture, expansion there is very much greater too. In fact industrial expansion is virtually illimitable. On this score a sure way of employing the unutilized or underutilized manpower in the less developed countries lies in a transfer from agriculture to industrial pursuits. Given the necessary capital investment, industrialization can find employment for both the urban and rural unemployed.

It seems pertinent to mention at this juncture, the need for a radical change in the structure of effective demand in the less developed countries. As a result of the "colonial mentality" mentioned above, there prevails among the people of less developed countries a painful contempt for locally manufactured products regardless of their quality. Goods are purchased not so much because of their utility, but because of the prestige they lend. This is what is called conspicuous consumption. There is here a strong demonstration effect, an intense desire to imitate the

consumption habits of the highly developed countries. The needed change can be effected through allocation of resources and priority schemes, and through quotas and exchange controls.

These methods tend to curb the excessive importation of goods from abroad, a bane of all less developed territories. With such checks, demand is shifted from foreign goods to locally produced goods, the flight of capital is thereby checked and a fillip given to the newly established industries. It is an economic principle that increases in income and expenditure lead to further increases in the same direction. An increase in income by £100 may mean an ultimate increase of £150 or

more in the national income depending upon the rates of spending and saving in the society. This is what is called the multiplier effect. With excessive importation of goods this effect is felt outside the country and our efforts benefit others instead of ourselves. The checks outlined above therefore lead to increases in the national income and employment.

To conclude we should note that the policies and methods studied in this article are those generally employed in combating deteriorating terms of trade and balance of payments deficits.

(Capitalism versus Socialism, this will be the subject on our next enquire).

Puerto Rico

Continued from Page 3

On the other hand, if Africa chooses the road of Socialist development within a UNITED AFRICA this great wealth can be developed for the benefit of the African people. This is why imperialism is so afraid of true African Unity. This is why Africa's greatest leaders emphasise the economic imperative of African Unity.

What are the advantages of neo-colonialism to the imperialists? The use of indirect political rule delays the anti-imperialist struggle. There can be no NATIONAL front against imperialism when large segments of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie have sold themselves to imperialism.

In Latin America, the national bourgeoisie, that is, that bourgeoisie whose interests come in conflict with imperialism, primarily those who invest in manufacturing and want protection from North American goods, is RELATIVELY WEAK. (Its strength of course varies from country to country and explains

some of the political differences in Latin American—it is strongest in Argentine, Brazil, Mexico and Chile).

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The potential for revolutionary struggle then rests PRIMARILY with the workers and peasants and certain elements in the petit bourgeoisie (students, intellectuals, artists etc.)

This is the reason why, opposed to the 19th century movements against mercantile colonialism, and the recent national liberation movements of Africa, both of which represented truly national movements of liberation led by bourgeois and petit bourgeois elements, the liberation of Latin America from imperialism MUST BE A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Cuba of course, is the best example of this.

It has taken me only a short time to survey a vastly complex subject and I must apologize for the resulting over-simplification. We now come to Puerto Rico.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

AFRICAN DIARY

2nd SEPT. WEDNESDAY:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The two-day old African nationalist party in Southern Rhodesia—the Zimbabwe African Democratic Union, was banned by the white-minority government today.

A government statement said it had been banned under the Unlawful Organisation Act because it succeeded an organisation already declared unlawful, and was composed substantially of people who had been or were office bearers of an "unlawful organisation".

CONGO (Brazzaville): The Political Bureau of the Congo Brazzaville's ruling party has denounced United States policy in the Congo (Leopoldville) at a meeting presided over by President Alphonse Massamba-Débat.

The party called for the immediate closing of the United States cultural centre in Brazzaville.

SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. Dennis Higgs, the kidnapped teacher who was found bound and blindfolded in Johannesburg, and held by the police, was handed over to the British authorities and flown out of the country.

* Ten former 90-day detainees held during security police swoops on the Rand during the past two months, appeared in a Johannesburg Regional court charged on counts of furthering the aims of the Communist Party, being members of the party and taking part in its activities.

The detainees are: Jean Middleton, Anne Nicholson, art student; Paul Trewhela, journalist; Florence Duncan, Norman Levy, teacher; Esther Barsel, housewife; Hymie Barsel, Sylvia Neam, student; Costa Gazidis, medical practitioner and Pixie Benjamin, housewife.

NORTHERN NEWS (Northern Rhodesia)

* 15 Whites are expected to appear in court in September when South Africa's biggest sabotage trial of all-whites opens in Pretoria.

The accused will appear on charges of sabotage and other subversive activities connected with the "African Resistance Movement".

SUNDAY EXPRESS (Johannesburg):

3rd SEPTEMBER, THURSDAY: **SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Following the banning of the newly formed Zimbabwe African Democratic Union by the white minority Government, Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira, Financial Secretary of the banned Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has hinted of the formation of a Southern Rhodesian Government in exile, either in Zambia or Malawi.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Maiza Chona, Northern Rhodesia's Justice Minister, who is now in London has expressed his hope that a draft of his country's constitution would be approved as soon as possible.

Mr. Chona said that his main duty in London was to ensure that the constitution was in line with the principles agreed on at the Marlborough conference.

ALGERIA: The trial before Algeria's military court of Colonel Mohamed Chaabadi who led an armed revolt against the Government last June and July continued behind closed doors.

NIGERIA: Nigeria will go to the polls next month to elect members to the 312 House of Representatives.

The elections will come on 21 days after the dissolution of the present House which will meet on September 23 for its last session.

SENEGAL: The Senegalese Government has declared the Charge d'Affaires of the puppet T'aiwan regime's embassy in Dakar, as "persona non grata".

SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. Justice Snyman has granted an order in the Rand Supreme Court permitting Mrs. Lesley Erica Schermbrucker, wife of Mr.

Ivan Frederick Schermbrucker, (a 90-day detainee) leave to appeal.

Mrs. Schermbrucker had sought an order restraining the police from continuing their mode of interrogation of her husband.

RAND DAILY MAIL (Johannesburg)

4th SEPTEMBER, FRIDAY:

ETHIOPIA: The third African regional conference of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation being held in Addis Ababa has unanimously adopted Ghana's objection to Southern Rhodesia's white settler delegates attending the conference as observers.

The objections raised by Ghana's Agriculture Minister, Mr. Krobo Edusei, who is the leader of the Ghanaian delegation, was supported by other African countries including Nigeria, Dahomey, Liberia, the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone.

GHANA: Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kojo Botsio in a press statement to reporters before leaving Accra Airport for Addis Ababa said that the Congo problem is essentially an African problem which must be settled by the Africans themselves.

Mr. Botsio said they were leaving for Addis Ababa fully conscious of the grave dangers which threatened Africa as a result of the serious deterioration of the situation in the Congo and the repercussions which it had brought on the neighbouring states, and indeed, on the whole of Africa.

Mr. Botsio then called on all the foreign interventionists to leave the Congo immediately.

* A three-man Burundi delegation led by Mr. Joseph Mbazumuhina, Minister of External Affairs which stopped in Accra on its way to the Organisation of African Unity Foreign Ministers conference has praised Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's contribution to the African liberation struggle and the cause of African Unity.

5th SEPTEMBER, SATURDAY:

ETHIOPIA: A three-point Ghana plan for solving the Congo problem is among suggestions laid before the African Foreign Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa.

The three points are:

* Proclamation forthwith of a ceasefire and the neutralisation of all armies in the Congo.

* The summoning of a round-table conference of the leaders of all the main political parties and the warring factions in the Congo to meet in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the O.A.U.

* For the duration of the round-table conference until a general election (in the Congo), the O.A.U. is to maintain a peace force in the Congo whose main responsibility will be to assist the new provincial Government with the preservation of law and order.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: A former Sergeant-Major, Charles William Mushe Lufungula, 38, has pleaded guilty of possessing documents describing a secret organisation for staging an armed coup d'etat against the Northern Rhodesian Government.

The coup was to have taken place, on October 24, the date on which Northern Rhodesia becomes the Independent Republic of Zambia.

SOUTH AFRICA: An appeal against death sentences passed on four members of the African National Congress in South Africa in March this year will be heard early in September. This was announced in Dar-es-Salaam by Mr. Duma Nokwe, Secretary-General of the A.N.C.

The charges on which the men were convicted included being members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the banned African National Congress, and

CONGO

continued from page 1

booty in the world. A death-struggle developed between America and her fellow capitalist countries, for the booty of the Congo. In this contest, Moise Tshombe lent himself an instrument of the British-French-Belgian alliance and demanded the secession of Katanga to save it from American control.

After the taking-off of Patrice Lumumba, the arrest of Antoine Gizenga, and the buying off of Adoula, America felt herself strong enough to intensify her struggle with her fellow competitors for the Congo prize. With American support, the U.N. forces at last launched an offensive against Tshombe's Katangese forces and defeated them. It was a great triumph for American monopoly capitalism which, in control of the Chilean and Peruvian copper mines, wished to monopolise copper mining in the Congo too. The unhappy country now under the subservient rule of the Adoula Government was described in high circles as the "American Congo."

CONCERN

But the Adoula Government became increasingly unpopular. The pawn was too often greeted with boos and catcalls in Parliament. Failing in an attempt to boost his prestige in Parliament with a policy of reunion with Katanga, a state of emergency was declared and in that state effective power transferred to a group of American lackeys called the Binza Group. It was from this position of strength that America dared to affront the whole of Africa and the whole world by entrenching herself in the Congo again.

Such is the devious ways through which the Congo crisis was created and such is the danger that we face in Africa.

M. Diallo Telli, the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity has described the results of the Foreign Ministers Conference on the Congo as a miracle. We pray that more of such miracles will happen, that the whole of Africa will be "united in purpose, and determination" not only "to find a solution for an African problem within an African frame-

ordering the murder of a prosecution witness in sabotage trials. They were also convicted on 17 acts of sabotage.

The four men are Vuysile Mini, a trade union leader of Port Elizabeth; Wilson Khayinga, an executive member of the A.N.C.; Zinakile Mkaba and Washington Bongo, both active members of the A.N.C.

THE NATIONALIST (Dar-es-Salaam)

* Miss Sheila Weinberg, an 18-year-old detainee, has been released from 90-day detention. She was detained for six weeks. During her detention she was not interviewed or interrogated for four weeks.

* Mr. Lewis Baker, a Benoni attorney, has been taken into custody under the 90-day detention clause.

NORTHERN NEWS (Northern Rhodesia)

7th SEPTEMBER, MONDAY:

CONGO (Leopoldville): The Congolese guerrillas have announced the formation of a new Government based in Stanleyville, and have proclaimed the country as the People's Republic of Congo.

The new Government is headed by Mr. Christopher Gbenye, former Minister of Interior in the late Patrice Lumumba's Government.

KENYA: Speaking in a radio broadcast in London, Australia,

work" but that the whole of Africa will see the imperious necessity and pressing urgency for a continental union government.

It is true that the solution to the Congo problem cannot be found outside the framework of the O.A.U. but one can see that the problems can be solved more effectively within the framework of a union government.

We fondly hope that "the concern of the Conference about the Congo (Leopoldville) situation in general and foreign intervention in particular" will lead all African governments to share the concern of the Ghana govern-

* * *

Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya and Chairman of the ad hoc commission on the Congo... Can we be hopeful?

* * *

concluded, and a truly democratic government elected by the people established. No half-hearted attempts can solve the Congo problem, nor can hesitation save us from the danger that threatens us.

"If we fail", Dr. Nkrumah warns, "to achieve this (harmony and stability in that part of our continent) there is no doubt that the Congo will be torn apart by strife, intrigue and foreign intervention and there will be greater unrest and distress than has ever been known in the Congo."

PRETEXT

He concludes by saying: "I have also strong reasons to believe that the great powers are only waiting to use the occasion of our failure to settle the present impasse in the Congo as a pretext for an un-

nient cover for the manoeuvres and machinations of the big imperialist powers.

Before her independence on June 30, 1960, the Congo was largely a sphere of influence for Belgian, French and British imperialisms. U.S. capital played an important but subordinate role. But today the Congo has become a sphere of influence primarily of U.S. imperialism with Belgium, France and Britain trooping around as associates.

The U.N. operations in the Congo opened the way for the U.S. For by being the principal financier of these operations, the U.S. acquired the decisive voice in shaping the policies of the Congo.

The second lesson of the Congo is the unmasking of the U.S.A. as a thorough-going imperialist country anxious to carve spheres of influence for herself in Africa.

The chain of events in the Congo since the murder of Lumumba shows how ruthless the U.S. can be in pursuing this line of action. These events show that the U.S. is as imperialistic as any of the West European powers. What is more, they show that U.S. imperialism is much more powerful than West European imperialisms. The impact of U.S.A. on Africa therefore represents a manifold increase in imperialist pressures and not a relaxation of that pressure as some romance writers in the West would like us believe.

The third lesson of the Congo is that the cache of stooge politicians in Africa, created by and owing allegiance to imperialist circles and powers, cannot solve the problems of the African peoples.

The fourth lesson of the Congo is that the most powerful of imperialisms could be held at bay through armed struggle waged by the people.

Nothing has given the imperialist the jitters like the outbreak of popular uprisings in the Congo. Pierre Mulele in Kwilu province and Emile Soumialot in Kivu province have proved, after only a few weeks' fighting, that an armed people can deal crushing blows on the armies of puppet regimes thereby knocking off the main prop that keeps such regimes in existence. Even Western reports agree that the armed revolt has already taken control of an area as large as Belgium.

The Congo is now entering a new phase in its struggle for unity and national independence. Can we be hopeful?



warranted and open-faced intervention in Congolese affairs on a scale which will bring disaster not only in the Congo but in all Africa."

The warning has given and we hope that the men in high places, the leaders in whose hands the lives of the Africa million rest, the leaders who control the destiny of our land, would not have their minds and senses dulled by their lusts for imperialist offers but be alive to the responsibilities that history has placed on them.

For us in Africa, the events of the past four years in the Congo should constitute a mine of information on how neo-colonialism operates. What are the principal lessons of the Congo?

First, the Congo has shown how the United Nations Organisation, as presently constituted, can serve as a conve-

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The committee comprised Foreign Ministers from Ghana, Nigeria, Tunisia, Centrafria Republic, Mali, Tanganyika-Zanzibar and Kenya.

MALAWI: The Prime Minister of Malawi, Dr. Kamuzu Banda, was today given a vote of confidence following the dismissals of three cabinet Ministers and the resignation of two others.

The Ministers are, Mr. Kanjama Chiume, Foreign Affairs, Mr. Orton Chirwa, Justice and Attorney-General and Mr. Augustine Bwanusi, Development and Housing.

The others are Mr. Yatuta Chisiza, Minister of Home Affairs and Mr. William Chokani, Minister of Labour.

Addressing the first session of Parliament on his self-proposed motion, Dr. Banda accused the Chinese Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam of being behind a conspiracy against him. Dr. Banda said the Ministers were encouraged by the offer of a loan from the People's Republic of China.

* Meanwhile a spokesman from the Chinese Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam has denied that the Embassy was behind a conspiracy against Dr. Banda, adding that Dr. Banda recognised two Chinese whilst the Organisation of African Unity knew only the People's China.

'Nkrumaist Student'

Continued from page 4

retards the African Revolution on the spiritual, cultural and intellectual levels.

Never has a leading journal of the University of Ghana such as the "Legonite" come out with something on say the "Kulungugu" affair in a way of mobilizing student solidarity etc. Yet articles which discuss ideologies as instruments of political and social integration are discussed at length in terms of foreign terminologies without a cursory look even at the major ideology in the African revolution — "Philosophical Co-nscientism".

Or perhaps the writer might not have read it? But ironically enough, should this be the case, the writer knows enough about foreign ideologies. I could only wish to say: "This Was Legon", and not "This is Legon." Things are

changing. There is growing desire for a happy wedding between Legon and the forward looking progressive elements, institutions and ideas of our socialist revolution. I believe it will be a most enduring and beneficial marriage.

From Winneba, on the other hand, there is a much more realistic, forward-looking and active participation — which comes out clearly from the articles contained in the "Nkrumaist Student" — in the affairs of the land. The trend of thinking here (not necessarily comparing it with that revealed in the articles contained in the "Legonite") has always been progressive and realistic, standing as it usually does, on our own environment. From Winneba, therefore, will emerge a veritable powerhouse for the examination and dissemination of ideas that are so important to the African Revolution.

Labour Monthly September

EDITOR R. PALME DUTT

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