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EDITORIAL

THE THREE VOICES

ON the all-important question of African Unity, the Addis Ababa Summit has produced three discordant African voices. In reply to the clarion call for a political union of African states voices have been heard calling for inter-African co-operation in limited spheres and for regional grouping of states.

The call for inter-African co-operation in limited spheres, on the surface, looks reasonable and realistic. But on closer examination it is in practice unworkable.

The argument is that such limited co-operation will lead to ultimate political union. But what the advocates of this view seem to forget is that far-reaching co-operation in economic and defence fields, such as is advocated, are not possible without prior agreement at the political level. An African defence system can never become a reality until the states taking part in it agree on what they are defending and who the enemy is. But agreement here implies agreement on political objectives.

Again, investment and credit policies of an inter-African bank must be geared on to basic political objectives. This is the lesson of central banking everywhere. But how can this inter-African bank have a set of coherent directives to guide it if the states concerned do not reach agreement at the political level?

Except the real motive is merely to open up Africa to imperialist finance and

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POWER INTERESTS BEHIND THE...

TRENDS AT ADDIS ABABA

by Julius Sago

THE African Summit opened at the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa two days ago. It will close tomorrow. Fully aware that the people of Africa want a mighty new upsurge in Africa's march to freedom, to complete independence and to progress, the 32 Heads of States and Governments at the Summit seem to be making frantic efforts to produce some tangible results. But behind these efforts major power interests are locked in a desperate struggle for survival and supremacy.

Underneath the pomp and pageantry, the diplomatic niceties, the passionate appeals to African sentiments and the choice phrases, a veritable war is raging between three distinct and antagonistic groups—Anglo-American imperialism, French imperialism, and radical African nationalism demanding a united Africa free from all entanglements subordinating it to non-African interests and power blocs.

So far, the conflict between these groups centres around two related issues—neo-colonialism and African Unity. It remains to be seen if the conflict will extend to other issues like the termination of colonialism, the fight against apartheid and Africa's role in world affairs.

In this three-cornered contest, shifty alliances are built up on one issue only to be broken on the next. On the questions of decolonisation, that is of fighting neo-colonialism, and of creating an anti-imperialist union of African states, Anglo-American and French imperialisms are in alliance against radical African nationalism.

On inter-African relations based on collaboration with outside powers, French imperialism is opposed to Anglo-American imperialism with radical African nationalism opposed to the two imperialisms. On other matters like accepting wholesale the Ethiopian version of an African charter and the recognition of the new Togo government, French imperialism and radical African nationalism are jointly opposed to Anglo-American imperialism.

ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Let us examine the composition and stand of the various groups.

First, the group of Anglo-American imperialism. It comprises Ethiopia, Nigeria, Liberia, and Congo (Leopoldville). In these countries, economic projects are either financed by state loans raised in U.S.A. and U.K. or open to private foreign capital principally from these sources. Their security and defence systems are planned, run, officered and largely financed by the U.S. and U.K. governments and their nationals. Where sources other than these two are to be tapped, NATO countries, other than France, and Israel are used.

Although the connections of Ethiopia, Nigeria and Liberia with Anglo-American imperialism are well known, those of Congo (Leopoldville) are not generally realised. One example will suffice. The text of a letter dated Fe-

bruary 26 written by M. J. P. Dericoyard on M. Cyrille Adoula's behalf and released at the U.N. headquarters two days ago states that "the Congolese government has decided to apply for assistance in modernising her armed forces to:

Canada, for technical schools and communications;
Italy, for the Air Force;
Norway, for the Navy;
Israel, for the training of paratroops;
Belgium, for technicians at Army Headquarters in the various units, for aid at military bases, in the gendarmerie and in the military schools."

The letter adds that the United States has also been asked for "the equipment necessary to ensure the success of these technical assistance measures."

At the Addis Ababa summit, the group of Anglo-American imperialism is demanding the adoption of an African charter drawn up by a Latin American expert and modelled on the Organisation of American States through which the U.S.A. bends Latin American countries to its will. In place of organic African Unity on a continental scale this group calls for a common African defence system, an inter-African bank and an inter-African university. The de-nuclearisation of Africa accords with Africa's best interests but it also hampers the emergence of France as an independent nuclear power.

SINGLE CHARTER

By these media, U.S. imperialism, which came late to Africa and at a time when other powers had carved up our continent into spheres of influence, hopes to establish its hegemony over Africa. A single charter on the model of the Organisation of American States will enable Ethiopia, Nigeria, Liberia and Congo (Leopoldville) to dominate the whole of Africa which will then be easily penetrated by U.S. finance capital using the inter-African bank. A common defence system and an African university,

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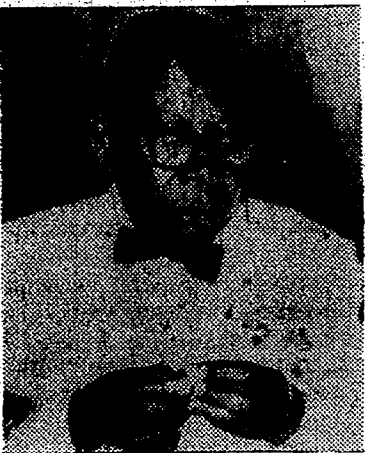
Radical African Nationalism



John F. Kennedy (U.S.A.)



Harold Macmillan (Britain)



W. V. S. Tubman (Liberia)



Haile Selassie (Ethiopia)



Tafawa Balewa (Nigeria)



Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana)



Modibo Keita (Mali)



Gamel Nasser (U.A.R.)



Julius Nyerere (Tanganyika)

under this scheme, will draw largely on U.S. armaments, U.S. subsidy and U.S. personnel.

It must be borne in mind that except in Liberia, U.S.A. has no direct influence in African states. Hence her technique, in this drive to penetrate Africa, is to create inter-African institutions which she can control and utilise in giving herself a strong grip on the African continent. It is obvious that should the imperialist powers agree to co-ordinate their interests and actions in Africa, the U.S.A., because of her greater economic and military potential, will come out on top.

"AFRICA AND THE WEST"

America's basic strategy of making room for U.S. financial and other interests in any relationships linking the newly emergent African states with the former colonial powers is clearly expounded in the book, 'Africa and the West'. The author, Arnold Rivkin, is a top U.S. diplomat who toured Africa in 1961 on behalf of President

Kennedy and the U.S. State Department. After postulating that the relationship between the West and Africa must be rebuilt, Mr. Rivkin, at page 60 of his book, writes: "Henceforth, the United States will probably attach greater priority and sense of urgency to the orderly accession of colonial areas to independence by rational accommodation with the metropolises. This may mean a new U.S. policy of intercession with European metropolitan countries to resolve outstanding colonial relationships within a context of multilateral, free-world interest... Such American policy will imply a co-ordinated free-world approach to the economic and social development of the nascent African states, to political stability and military defence of Africa, and to triangular economic relationships among Africa, Western Europe and the United States..."

Since this was written, Britain has become more accommodating to U.S. interests in Africa. De Gaul-

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The Development of Imperialist Contradictions (4)

LATEST data show that in 1961, the annual indices of productivity per worker in the industries of the six Common Market countries rose to 115 (1958 equals to 100) in West Germany, 122 in France and 128 in Italy. The "speed-up" employed by the monopoly-capitalist groups has greatly increased the intensity of labour for the workers. They also have to work long hours.

Fifthly, as a result of the sharp increase in the intensity of labour, cases of occupational disease and early breakdown in health have become quite numerous among the West European workers. Now it is very difficult for a worker over 50 to find a job in a capitalist country.

The number of accidents at work has never been higher. In France, there were more than two million cases in 1959. In West Germany, there were three million in 1961 and on the average 16 workers were killed on the job every day. In Italy, there were 580,000 cases of accidents in the first half of 1961 alone.

Sixthly, unemployment in the Common Market countries has worsened in the past two years. Because of overproduction some industrial departments have dismissed large numbers of workers. Thousands of medium-sized and small enterprises have closed down.

MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

According to the estimates of S. L. Mansholt, Vice-President of the Common Market Commission, agricultural reorganisation will bankrupt eight million medium and small farmers in the Six in the next few years.

Seventhly, the governments of the Six have stepped up their attacks on the democratic rights of the working class and the other labouring people in order to exploit them even more vigorously and to tighten their political control over them. For instance, soon after de Gaulle came to power, in 1958, he promulgated hundreds of laws and decrees under various names to restrict the people's rights. The Adenauer government is making preparations to pass a so-called "emergency law" to further deprive the labouring people of their political rights.

What has been stated above makes it clear that the "integration" of the West European economies has intensified the exploitation of the working class and has not improved its living conditions in any way. So-called economic "integration" has not overthrown the Marxist-Leninist theory on the impoverishment of the proletariat; on the contrary, it has further confirmed its vitality. Those who spare no efforts to attack this Marxist-Leninist theory as "philistine" and "fatalistic" have no valid reasons whatsoever.

Precisely because of this, the class struggles in the six Common Market nations and other West European countries have been aggravated. They are characterised by the following.

First, workers' strikes are more extensive and more

frequent than before. In 1959, the number of participants in strikes in the six Common Markets countries was eight million; it rose to 20.8 million in 1960 and to 35.6 million in 1961. Strikes have begun to take place even in West Germany where they were few and far between in the past. It is worth noting that, apart from the six Common Market countries, strikes have also spread to Franco's Spain.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION?

Secondly, the peasant struggle has made marked progress. In 1961, peasant demonstrations occurred in France and Italy on a fairly large scale.

Thirdly, the political character of mass struggles has become more marked than ever before. Some are directed against fascist menace, and the regimes of monopoly capital and some are in support of the anti-hydrogen bomb campaign. Quite a number of non-proletarian professional people, intellectuals and government employees have taken part in the strikes.

All this fully demonstrates that so-called economic "integration" in Western Europe hits broader sections of the people and creates conditions for rallying all the anti-monopolist forces in joint struggle. The class struggle in Western Europe has not declined on account of so-called "integration"; on the contrary it has become increasingly bitter.

To win victory in the struggle, the working class should take advantage of the favourable situation to support resolutely the just demands of the peasants and the other working people as well as the middle and petty urban bourgeoisie, rally them and form the broadest united front for joint political and economic struggles, and constantly expose and hit at monopoly capital and create conditions for its overthrow.

In the struggle, the working class should, in particular, give energetic support to the peasant movement and form a solid worker-peasant alliance. Marxist-Leninists have always regarded the peasant struggle in the capital countries as a great and direct ally of the proletarian revolution there.

CHINESE REVOLUTION

In 1856, dealing with the importance of alliance with the peasants for the liberation of the German proletariat, Marx stated: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the peasants' war."

Lenin also time and again stressed the importance of alliance with the peasants for the liberation of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has concretely and successfully solved the peasant question in the practice of the Chinese revolution. There are those who hold the peasant movement in contempt and regard the peasants as backward, as being "easily exploited by the petty bourgeois and fascist parties" and so fail to do any work among the peasant masses.

They assert that the proletarian party should not actively support and give leadership to the peasant struggle. These views and actions are a contravention of Marxism-Leninism.

At the present moment when the class struggle is getting ever more bitter, it is necessary to stand guard against and expose the so-called policy of "class collaboration" and all sorts of schemes to benumb the ideology of the working class.

Today, international monopoly capitalist are bragging about "people's capitalism," "joint management by labour and capital," "peaceful conversion to socialism," etc., in an attempt to force reformism down the throat of the working class in the various countries.

ECONOMIC PLANNING?

At the same time, there has appeared a trend of opinion in the international working-class movement, claiming that in the imperialist countries there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine or to change from its very foundation the nature of state power.

It is also claimed that so long as the working class and its organizations (trade unions) take part in the formulation of the "economic planning" of monopoly capital, it is possible to so change the direction of this "planning" that it can be made to benefit the working class, restrict the rights of monopolies and realise profound social and economic reforms.

Obviously these views which spread illusions of class collaboration are erroneous and harmful and suit the needs of the monopoly bourgeoisie. All those who really take a working-class stand and resolutely defend its interests must oppose and resolutely fight against these views which are detrimental to revolutionary interests.

One cock-and-bull story of bourgeois spokesmen tells of a new phenomenon of modern imperialism, namely, that there is not much colonialism left in the world to fight against today because most of the colonies have become independent. What imperialism hopes for now, they twaddle, is a big market in industrially developed countries capable of absorbing large quantities of manufactured goods; it has no need of colonies as it had before and so the imperialist countries don't have to scramble for them and for "underdeveloped areas." This is sheer nonsense, in total disregard of facts. The reality is that since world War II, imperialist exploitation of the colonies and "underdeveloped areas" has been more ruthless than before and the scramble among the imperialist countries for spheres of influence in these areas has been of the fiercest in all the post-war years. As facts show, imperialism wants to grab not only the market in industrially developed countries but also the market in the colonies—and both are indispensable to it.

The first phenomenon of postwar colonialism worthy of our attention is that

owing to the upsurge of the national liberation struggle of the people in the colonies, imperialism, while still employing the old-colonialist methods of direct political and economic control and brutal military suppression to maintain its rule, has been forced to resort more often to neo-colonialist methods in order to build up or preserve its old spheres of influence in the "underdeveloped areas."

SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

By neo-colonialist methods we mean that imperialism gives the colonies political independence in form but actually strengthens its economic, political and military control over them. Although most of the "underdeveloped" countries and areas in the world have gained political independence since World War II, their economies are still subject to the control of foreign monopoly capital and imperialism is using every means to tighten its grip over these countries and areas. The United States now maintains its traditional spheres of influence, in Latin America and the Philippines, for instance, and seeks new spheres of influence mainly by organizing military blocs, building military bases, sending out "peace corps," and buying over the local upper social strata, through its "food for peace" programme and by the export of huge amounts of capital. Britain consolidates its commonwealth and colonial system mainly by training large numbers of indigenous civil servants, through the imperial preferential tariff system, the institutions of the sterling area and the export of large amounts of capital. France maintains the so-called stability of the franc area mainly through the establishment of the "French community," its close collaboration with the upper social strata of the national bourgeoisie in the locality and through the export of large amounts of capital. France hopes to tighten up its "French community" further through so-called associate membership of the Common Market, thus separating the countries joining the "community" from the other "underdeveloped countries" and applying pressure on some of the latter in Asia, Africa and Latin America into which France also seeks to infiltrate.

On the surface, the U. S. tariff act, Britain's imperial preference system, and France's device of Common Market associate membership all seem to guarantee the sales of the products of the "underdeveloped countries" in the imperialists' respective spheres of influence. But actually it is again the European or U.S. colonialist controlling the plantations, mines and oil wells in the former colonies who get the benefit. Besides, these methods are carefully designed to make the "underdeveloped countries" retain and develop their existing mono-crop economy, so that they will remain forever sources of raw materials and markets for the European and U.S. colonialists and will continue to depend on the former metropolitan countries. All this shows that imperialism con-

tinues to have a dire need for colonies. That is why the imperialist countries, when having no alternatives, may make some concessions to their colonies in political form, such as giving them independence or self-government while in essence maintaining their control over them.

Precisely for this reason, more and more "underdeveloped countries" have come to see the essence of neo-colonialism—indirect and crafty rule through political, economic, social, military or technical means—and regard it as the greatest danger now menacing them.

Lenin long ago warned that colonial rule may exist under the deceptive form of political independence, so "it is necessary steadily to explain to and expose among the broader masses of the toilers of all countries, and particularly of backward countries, the deception which the imperialist powers systematically practise by creating, in the guise of politically independent states, states which are absolutely dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily." This is still entirely valid today.

PRICE OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS

The second phenomenon of postwar colonialism worthy of our attention is that exploitation of the "underdeveloped countries" by the imperialist powers has been increasingly intensified. According to some estimates, the loss sustained by the "underdeveloped countries" as a result of imperialist plunder and exploitation in recent years amounts to more than U.S. \$20,000 million annually.

Between 1958 and 1961, returns for private investment remitted back to the United States from the "underdeveloped countries" amounted to around U.S. \$1,500 million annually while direct private U.S. investments (including reinvestment from profits) in these areas during the corresponding period amounted to U.S. \$770 million only. For economic and financial exploitation, this is certainly an amazingly large figure. Besides, the imperialist countries headed by the United States have for a long time forced down the price of primary products and industrial raw materials and raised the price of industrial goods, with the result that the "underdeveloped countries" are further heavily exploited by unequal terms of trade. According to the price indices calculated by the *London Financial Times*, the price for raw materials at the end of 1961 was 23 per cent lower than in 1952; the world market price for finished industrial goods exported by the principal capitalist countries, in contrast, went up by 10 per cent. This disparity between prices of industrial goods and those of raw materials is, moreover tending to widen. Further, the "underdeveloped countries" every year have to pay more and more interest and profit and repay principal to the imperialist countries for private investments, government economic "aid" and loans. These heavy exploitations have greatly weakened the capacity of the "underdeveloped countries" to import and steadily impoverished the broad masses in these areas.

The third phenomenon of

postwar colonialism worthy of our attention is the fierce contention between the old and new colonialists for spheres of influence in the colonies and "underdeveloped countries." A struggle is brewing among the imperialist powers to redivide the colonies and "underdeveloped countries."

Since the war, U.S. monopoly capital has been infiltrating into the British and French spheres of influence in Asia, Australia and Africa by means of its economic superiority and under the signboard of "anti-colonialism." It has already edged out British and French influences to a considerable degree. U.S. investments in the sterling area in 1950 made up 13.5 per cent of British investments there in 1960 they had increased to 28.8 per cent. With U.S. imperialism West European capitalism try to edge them out, the exports of the major countries to the "underdeveloped countries" have slowed down since 1959 and even today there is little improvement in the situation. One of the aims of the Atlantic community proposal advanced by the United States recently is to draw both the British Commonwealth and the Common Market into the U.S.-dominated economic system and so make it easier for U.S. monopoly capital to carry out its expansionist activities in the British and French colonies and spheres of influence on a still larger scale. One of the reasons why Washington wants Britain to join the Common Market also is to break up the British Commonwealth so that the United States can take over British legacy.

Dictator TSHOMBE

In these circumstances, contradictions between the old colonialists—Britain and France—and U.S. imperialism are bound to be aggravated. An extremely acute struggle between them is now going on in Southeast Asia, West Asia and Africa. The struggle in the Congo has developed into open armed clashes. In the last two years, Katanga's dictator Tshombe, backed by such old colonialists as Britain, France and Belgium, has engaged the "United Nations forces" which are a tool of U.S. aggression in three consecutive armed clashes. This gives some idea of how fierce is the struggle.

In addition to the United States, West Germany is also taking every opportunity to infiltrate into Latin America and the Asian and African regions. According to its recent two years plan, its export of capital through so-called aid to the colonies and dependencies is distributed as follows: three-fifths for Asia, one-fifth for Africa, one-seventh to one-sixth for Latin America. This is the best illustration of the point. Acute contradictions are developing between West German monopoly capital and U.S. monopoly capital in Latin America. Although France and West Germany use each other within the Common Market to exploit the former French colonies in Africa, Paris has taken extreme care that Bonn will not infiltrate into its former colonies to any great degree. In recent years, West Germany's exports to the African associate members of the Common Market account for only 0.5 per cent of its total volume of exports

while its imports from these countries constitute only one per cent of its total imports. In view of this situation, West Germany has indicated that it has no wish to bear a large share of the "Common Market African Development Fund" but to go it alone. It has set out to sign agreements of economic co-operation and technical "assistance" with a number of the former French colonies, which are now associate members of the Common Market. This has caused French monopoly capital great anxiety and dissatisfaction.

To counter the activities of the Common Market in the colonies and "underdeveloped countries" and areas, other imperialist powers have all set out to organise their own economic blocs comprising their respective colonies and dependencies to counter the Common Market associate members' bloc. With the United States behind the scenes, there have already two regional economic blocs. One is the Central American Customs Union comprising Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala.

UNIFIED POLICY

The other is the Latin American Free Trade Association composed of nine countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia and Ecuador. With the tacit approval of Britain and France, the member states of the African Monrovia conference (including Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal and 17 other countries) decided in July 1961 to establish a customs union with a common customs tariff and a unified policy to promote trade and develop their economies. In Asia, Japan, wildly ambitious, also plans to set up a Pacific and Asian economic bloc. All these moves show that the question of redividing the colonies and dependencies among the imperialist countries has again become the order of the day. This will further sharpen the contradictions among the imperialist countries.

The "underdeveloped countries," subjected to unprecedentedly brutal exploitation by imperialism, are at the same time a prey to the imperialist countries in their bitter struggle to redivide the "underdeveloped countries" and areas." But they will not remain silent and allow the imperialists to dismember them freely; they have already risen in firm revolt to defend their own rights. This is also why these countries have felt so strongly about the blocs of states organized by the imperialist countries. This is also why some among them have declared that they do not want any imperialist support but want unity and co-operation among the "underdeveloped countries" themselves and the organization of their own economic bloc to resist the imperialist economic bloc.

In short, whether they are nationalist countries that have already achieved independence to a certain extent, or colonial countries whose independence is still to be won, their contradiction with imperialism remains the principal contradiction. Their contradiction with the imperialist bloc headed by the United States is irreconcilable. Their task of national revolution is far from being fulfilled. Their main task in

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The Road To Socialism (2)

by Dr. Fidel Castro

WE are grateful to Dr. Fidel Castro for allowing us to publish his article on socialism. The article discusses in detail Cuba's anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist struggle for the goals of liberation which unite the efforts of the working people, the peasants, the intellectual workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the most progressive sectors of the national bourgeoisie. Dr. Castro maps out Cuba's road to socialism and calls on Cubans to stand for "our country or death".

We have decided to publish this article because, as he Dr. Castro says: "What is Cuba's history but that of Latin America? What is the history of Latin America but the history of Africa, Asia and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the cruelest exploitation of the world by imperialism?"

Cuba is a small country with a population of seven million but, she is standing firm against the full might of U. S. Imperialism, armed with nuclear weapons, just about 100 miles away from her.

Her experience is very relevant to the African struggle for complete independence and socialism.

We recommend the article to our readers.

—Editor



Dr. Fidel Castro

A GREAT ideological battle was fought at Punta del Este, between the Cuban Revolution and Yankee imperialism. What did they represent there? In whose names did they speak?

Cuba represented the peoples; United States represented the monopolies.

Cuba spoke for the exploited masses of America; United States for oligarchical interests, exploiters and imperialists. Cuba for sovereignty; United States for intervention. Cuba for the nationalisation of foreign enterprises; United States for new investments of foreign capital.

Cuba for culture; United States for ignorance. Cuba for agrarian reform; United States for the big landowners. Cuba for the industrialisation of America; United States for underdevelopment. Cuba for creative work, United States for sabotage and the criminal terror practised by their agents, along with the destruction of cane fields and factories; their pirate planes bombing the labours of peaceful people. Cuba for the murdered crusaders against illiteracy; United States for the killers. Cuba for bread; United States for hunger.

Cuba for equality;

United States for privilege and discrimination. Cuba for truth; United States for lies. Cuba for freedom; United States for oppression. Cuba for the luminous future of humanity; United States for a past without hope. Cuba for the heroes who died at Playa Giron defending their country from foreign domination; United States for the mercenaries and traitors serving the foreigner against their country. Cuba for peace among nations; United States for aggression and war. Cuba for socialism; United States for capitalism.

REPRESSIVE APPARATUS

The agreements obtained by the United States using the shameful methods that the whole world criticises, do not lessen but on the contrary, add to Cuba's morality and reason. They show the oligarchies' submission and betrayal of the national interests and teach the peoples the road to liberation. All this reveals the corruption of the exploiting classes in whose name their representatives in Punta del Este spoke. The OAS was unmasked for what it is—a Yankee Foreign Office for Colonies—a military alliance, a repressive apparatus to be used against the liberation movement of the

Latin American peoples. Cuba has lived three years of Revolution under the constant harassment of Yankee intervention in our internal affairs. Pirate planes coming from the United States throwing inflammable substances have burned thousands of tons of sugar canes.

International sabotage perpetrated by Yankee agents, such as the explosion of the ship "La Coubre", cost dozens of Cuban lives; thousands of North American weapons of every type were parachuted down by the United States military services into our territory to promote subversion.

Hundreds of tons of explosives and internal machines have been secretly landed on our coasts by North American boats to promote sabotage and terrorism; a Cuban worker was tortured in the Guantanamo naval base and deprived of his life without prior trial or subsequent explanation; our sugar quota was abruptly cut off and an embargo was decreed on spare parts and raw materials for our factories and U.S. made machinery, to ruin our economy.

U.S. TRAINS COUNTER REVOLUTIONARIES

Armed ships and bombers coming from bases prepared by the United States Government have attacked Cuban ports and installations by surprise; mercenary troops organised and trained in Central American countries by the U.S. government invaded our territory: they were escorted by ships of the Yankee fleet and had air support from outside bases, causing the loss of many lives and the destruction of property.

Cuban counter-revolutionaries are being trained by the United States army and new plans of aggression are being made against Cuba. All this has been taking place for three years, in full view of the whole Continent, and the OAS didn't even notice it.

The Foreign Ministers meet at Punta del Este and make no criticism whatsoever of the U.S. Government or of those governments which are its accomplices in aggression. They expel Cuba, the Latin American victim country,

the country against which the aggression has been committed.

The United States has military pacts with nations of all continents; it has established military blocs with whatever fascist, militarist or reactionary governments exist in the world: NATO, SEATO, CENTO, to which the O.A.S. must now be added.

It has intervened in Laos, Vietnam, Korea, Formosa, Berlin; it openly sends warships to Santo Domingo to impose its laws, its will, and it announces its intention to utilize its NATO allies to prevent trade with Cuba. Still the OAS doesn't even notice it.

INTERNATIONAL SUBVERSIONIST GOVERNMENT

The Foreign Ministers meet at Punta del Este and expel Cuba, which has military pacts with no country. Thus the government which organises subversion throughout the world and forms military alliances on four continents achieves the expulsion of Cuba on no less a charge than subversion and extra-continental ties.

Cuba is the one country in all Latin America which has provided land for over 100,000 small farmers, which has assured year-round employment on farms and in co-operatives for all agricultural workers. It is the one which has transformed barracks into schools, provided 60,000 scholarships in universities, secondary and technical schools, built classrooms for the entire juvenile population, liquidated illiteracy altogether.

It is Cuba which has increased its medical services four-fold, nationalised monopoly enterprises, done away with extortionate rents which had become a means of exploiting the people, virtually eliminated unemployment, suppressed racial and sex discrimination, swept away gambling vice administrative corruption.

This is the country which has armed the people, which has made into living reality the enjoyment of human rights by liberating men and women from exploitation, from ignorance, from social inequality, which has freed itself of all foreign domination, acquired full sovereignty and established

the bases for development of its economy in order to no longer be a single-crop country and exporter of raw materials. And this is the country which is expelled from the Organisation of American States by Governments which have achieved for their peoples not a single one of these demands.

How can they justify their conduct before the peoples of America and of the world? How can they deny that they consider a policy of land, bread, work, health, freedom, equality, culture, rapid economic development, national dignity, full self-determination and sovereignty to be incompatible with the Hemisphere?

The peoples think differently. The peoples regard as incompatible with Latin America's destiny only poverty, feudal exploitation, illiteracy, starvation wages, unemployment, the policy of repression exercised against the masses of workers, peasants and students.

YANKEE MONOPOLIES

Unacceptable to the peoples are the discrimination against women, Negroes, Indians, Mestizos, the oppression by the dominant few, the pillage of their wealth by Yankee monopolies, the moral strangulation of their intellectuals and artists, the ruin of small producers by foreign competition.

The incompatibility resides in economic underdevelopment, in towns which have no roads, no hospitals, no housing projects, no schools, no industries; it stems from submission to imperialism, from the renunciation of national sovereignty and from treason to the nation.

How can the imperialists explain their conduct, their condemnation of Cuba? What words, what sentiments will they address to those whom they have ignored for so long, even while exploiting them?

Whoever studies the problems of the Americas must ask what country, what people have pin-pointed the means to improve the conditions of the jobless, the poor, the Indians, the Negroes, the destitute children—all the children, of whom there were 30 million in 1950 and will be 50 million eight years from now? Yes, who? What country?

Like the Andes Range itself, 32 million Indians from the backbone of the whole American Continent. Obviously, for those who have considered them more as things than as persons, these human beings don't matter, haven't mattered and are never expected to matter. They have been regarded, nevertheless, as a blind work force that can be used like a yoke of oxen or a tractor.

THE GREAT RACES

How can one believe in any benefit, in any Alliance for Progress, with imperialism, under whose promises, yes, under whose "saintly" protection, murders, persecutions, natives of the South still live—like those in Patagonia, in makeshift lean-tos just like their ancestors did when the discoverers arrived almost 500 years ago? Who will believe in it?

The great races which populated northern Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia,

like the Guaranes, and who were exterminated ferociously, hunted down like wild animals, buried in the depths of the forests? Or the remnants of those who were once able to provide the basis of a great American civilisation? Even now their extinction is being hastened.

They have been hounded into the depths of America across the Paraguayan plains and the Bolivian plateaus, sad, primitive, melancholy races resorting to alcohol and narcotics in order to manage to survive under the sub-human conditions in which they live.

THE BLOODY HANDS

Where we see a sea of outstretched hands, still pleading almost helplessly, as they have for centuries? The hands are linked across the mountain tops and ridges, along the great rivers, in the deep forests.

They are joined in misery with all who perish slowly, with the Brazilian tribes, and those to the north, along the coasts, reaching the hundred thousand Motilones Indians of Venezuela, who exist under the most incredibly backward conditions, and are savagely confined in the Amazonian forests of the Perija mountains; reaching the lonely Vapichanas who await their end on the steaming earth of the Guianas, virtually deprived of the opportunity to be human.

Yes, what indeed can imperialism offer these 32 million Indians who extend from the United States borders to the southernmost point of the Hemisphere? What can it offer the 45 million Mestizos, whose conditions generally differ but little from those of the Indians? What can imperialism offer all these indigenous peoples, this great reservoir of labour, of trampled rights? How can these forgotten men believe in any tendered by such bloody hands?

There are entire tribes still living in nakedness; others are believed to practise cannibalism; others died like flies, upon their first contact with the conquering civilisation; others have been dispossessed, their lands stolen. They have been driven to exhaustion into the forests or the mountains or the vastness of the plains where no particle of culture or light or bread or anything can penetrate.

WHAT ABOUT THE NEGRO?

In what kind of "alliance"—other than one destined to achieve their speedier death—can these indigenous peoples believe, beaten as they have been for centuries, shot down for occupying their own lands, clubbed to death by the thousands for not having worked rapidly enough at the tasks imposed by imperialism?

And what of the Negro? Into what kind of "alliance" can he be invited by the U.S. system of lynching and brutal discrimination? Latin America's 15 million Negroes and 14 million Mestizos known to their horror and anger that their brothers in the north cannot ride the same buses as their white compatriots, or attend the same schools, or even die in the same hospitals.

How are these forsaken ethnic groups to believe in this imperialism, in its benefits, in its "alliances" (lest they be alliances to

lynch them or exploit them like slaves)?

These masses have been able to enjoy no iota of any cultural, social or professional benefit, even where they make up the majority or where there are millions of them. They are maltreated by imperialists in Ku Klux Klan disguise. They are confined to the most unhealthy neighbourhoods, to the most miserable dwellings, built for them. They are forced into the most menial services, the heaviest work, the least lucrative professions which presuppose no contact with universities, centres of higher learning of special schools.

What Alliance for Progress can serve as stimulant for these 107 million men and women of our American who comprise the major working force in cities and fields, and whose dusky skin-Negro Mestizo, Mulatto, Indian—is held in contempt by the new colonizers? How is the so-called Alliance to be trusted by those in Panama who have seen with ill-repressed impotence that there is one wage for the Yankee and another for the Panamanian who is considered racially inferior?

What expectations can be held by the workers with their hunger wages, the hardest work, the most miserable conditions, malnutrition, disease and all the ills born of poverty?

What words, what promises can the imperialists offer the miners of copper, tin, iron, coal who bequeath their lungs to distant and cruel owners? What can they tell the fathers and sons in the lumber camps, the rubber plantations, the pastures, the fruit plantations, the coffee and sugar mills? What can they say to the peons in the pampas and the fields who spend their health and their lives to amass fortunes for the exploiters?

IRRECONCILABLE ENEMY

What can be hoped for by these vast masses who produce the wealth, who create the value, who help bring forth a new world everywhere? What can they expect from imperialism—that insatiable mouth, that insatiable grasp—immediate horizons are there for them other than misery more absolute, destitution, cold death, unrecorder, unsung?

What can be hoped for by that class which has changed the course of history in other parts of the world, which has revolutionised the world, which stands in the vanguard of all the humble and exploited? What can it hope for from imperialism, its most irreconcilable enemy?

As to the teachers, professors, professionals, intellectuals, poets, artists—what can imperialism offer them? What benefits, what more just and better fate, what goals, what attraction, what interests in improving themselves in order to rise above the simplest and most elementary levels? What can imperialism offer to those who zealously nurture the generations of children and youth so that imperialism may fatten on them? What has it for those who live on humiliating wages in most of the countries? For those whose freedom of expression on political and social matters is limited almost everywhere? For those whose economic potential never exceeds more than the most

(Continued on page 4)

Our Country or Death, We Shall Win

Continued from Page 3

precarious earnings and who are buried in a gray existence which has no horizons and which ends in a pension covering not even half their expenses? What "benefits" or "alliances" can they be offered by imperialism other than those reserved to its own total profit?

When financial assistance is provided for professionals, artists, publications, it is always on the understanding that the products must reflect imperialism's interests, objectives, hollow-ness. Imperialism's most vicious attacks are launched on those novels which attempt to reflect reality in the world of its rapacious adventures, and on the poems which cry out against enslavement, against interference in the lives, thoughts and very entrails of nations and peoples.

Barricades are erected against the embattled arts which attempt to expose the character of imperialism's aggression and constant pressure on all that lives and breathes progressively, all that is revolutionary.

PINNACLE OF THOUGHT

Their condemnation, their McCarthyite persecution is concentrated on everything that brings knowledge, on everything filled with light and understanding, clarity and beauty, that seeks to guide men and peoples toward a better destiny, toward higher pinnacles of thought, of life and of justice.

Then presses are barred, names are smeared in newspaper columns, the dead weight of silence descends...and—one more contradiction of capitalism—that is when the writer, the poet, the painter, the sculptor, the scientist, each creative artist, begins truly to live, to live in the language of the people, in the hearts of millions of men the world over.

Imperialism turns everything upside down; it deforms everything, it channels everything toward its profit, toward the multiplication of its dollar—whether it buys words or pictures or silence, or stifles the expression of revolutionaries, of progressives, of those who fight for the people and for a solution to their problems.

In this sad picture we cannot forget the helpless, uncared for children, America's children who have no future. While America has a high birth rate, its death rate too is high. The death rate among children under one year of age reached 125 per thousand a few years ago in 11 countries; in other 17 countries it was 90 per thousand who died.

By contrast, the average death rate among infants in 102 countries of the world was 51 per thousand. In America, then, 74 children in each thousand die sadly, forsaken during the first year of life. There are Latin American countries in which this figure mounts in certain sections to 300 per thousand.

UNBELIEVABLE AILMENTS

Thousands upon thousands of children under seven die of unbelievable ailments—diarrhea, inflammation of the lungs, malnutrition, hunger; thou-

sands upon thousands die of other diseases without hospital care or medicine; thousands upon thousands are walking about, crippled by endemic cretinism, malaria, trachoma and other ills brought about by contamination, lack of water and other necessities.

Ills of this type enchain the nations of America where thousands upon thousands of children are dying. They are the children of pariahs, children of the poor and of the petty bourgeoisie whose life is hard and whose resources are few. The statistics, which would be redundant, are horrifying. Any official publication of international bodies lists the data by the hundreds.

As to educational matters, it is infuriating to think of the depths of ignorance from which America suffers. While in the United States persons over 15 have had an average of eight or nine years' schooling, in the Latin America which they have plundered and harvested, this same age group averages less than one year's instruction.

It is even more infuriating to learn that in some countries only 20 per cent of children between 5 and 14 are in school, while 60 per cent are in school in those countries where the standard is higher.

That is to say that more than half of Latin America's children are not going to school. But the grief mounts as we discover that those in the first three grades comprise more than 80 per cent of all who are enrolled, and that in the 6th grade the student body varies between 6 and 22 pupils of each hundred who had started out in the first.

NIGHTMARE TORMENTS AMERICA

Even in those countries which believe that they take good care of their children there is an average 73 per cent loss between 1st and 6th grades. In Cuba, before the Revolution, it was 74 per cent. In Colombia, with its "representative democracy" it is 78 per cent. And if we regard the countryside, only one per cent of the children under the best circumstances gets as far as the 5th grade in schooling.

Upon investigating the causes of this disastrous absence from school, one reason explains it: the economy of misery. Lack of schools, lack of teachers, lack of family resources, child labour...It all boils down to imperialism and its work of repression and retrogression.

The summary of this nightmare which torments America from one end to the other is that in this continent of almost 200 million human beings, two thirds of whom are Indians, Mestizos, Negroes, those who are discriminated against...in this continent of semi-colonies, they die of hunger, of curable diseases or of premature old age some four persons per minute, some 5,500 per day, 2 million per year, some 10 million each five years.

These deaths could easily be averted, but nevertheless they continue. Two thirds

of Latin America's population lives, briefly, and lives under the constant threat of death. In 15 years this holocaust has brought about twice as many deaths as the First World War...and it still rages.

PRICE OF IMPERIALISM

Meanwhile, there flows from Latin America to the United States a constant torrent of money: some \$4,000 per minute, \$5 million per day, \$2 billion per year, \$10 billion each five years. For each thousand dollars which leaves us, one dead body remains, \$1,000 per death! that is the price of what is called imperialism. \$1,000 PER DEATH, FOUR DEATHS EVERY MINUTE!

In spite of this truth about America, why did they meet at Punta del Este? Perhaps to alleviate this ills to some slight degree? No!

The peoples know that at Punta del Este the foreign ministers who expelled Cuba met to give up their national sovereignty. They know that there the government of the United States laid down the bases not only for aggression against Cuba, but also for intervention in any American country whatsoever against the people's liberation movement.

They know that the United States is preparing a bloody drama for Latin America; that the exploiting few who hold power, just as now they renounce sovereignty, will not hesitate to seek the intervention of

REVOLUTIONS ARE NOT EXPORTED

Yankee troops against their own peoples.

That is why the U.S. delegation proposed the establishment within the Inter-American Defence Council of a Committee of Vigilance with executive powers and the adoption of collective measures. Subversion to the Yankee imperialists means the fight of those who hunger for bread, the fight of the peasants for land, the fight of the peoples against imperialist exploitation.

CONTINENTAL REPRESSIVE FORCE

A Committee of Vigilance in the Inter-American Defence Council with executive power means establishment of a continental repressive force aimed at the people, commanded by the Pentagon. Collective measures mean the landing of Yankee Marines in any American country.

As to the accusation that Cuba wishes to export its revolution, we reply: Revolutions are not exported; they are made by the peoples.

What Cuba can give and has already given to the peoples is its example.

And what does the Cuban Revolution teach? That revolution is possible, that the peoples can make it, that in today's world there is no force strong enough to impede the peoples' liberation movements.

Our victory would never have been possible if the

revolution itself had not been inexorably destined to arise from the conditions which existed in our economic-social reality, a reality which pertains even to a greater degree in a goodly number of Latin American countries.

It happens inevitably that in those countries where Yankee monopolist control is strongest, where exploitation by the reigning few is most unrestrained and where the conditions of the masses of workers and peasants are most unbearable, the political power becomes more vicious, states of siege become habitual, all expression of mass discontent is suppressed by force; and the democratic channels are closed off, thereby revealing more plainly than ever the kind of brutal dictatorship assumed by the revolutionary break-through becomes inevitable.

REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUALS

And while it is true that in America's underdeveloped countries the working class is in general relatively small, there is a social class which becomes of the sub-human conditions under which it lives constitutes a potential force which—led by the workers and the revolutionary intellectuals—has a decisive importance in the struggle for national liberation: the peasantry.

In our countries two circumstances are joined: underdeveloped industry, and an agrarian regime of a feudal character. That is why no matter how hard the

which they boast so much to repress the city workers and students.

The initial struggle of small fighting units is constantly nurtured by new forces; the mass movement begins to grow bold, the old order bit by bit breaks up into a thousand pieces and that is how the working class and the urban masses decide the battle.

What is it that from the very beginning of the fight makes those units invincible, regardless of the number, strength and resources of their enemies? It is the peoples support, and they can count on an ever-increasing mass support.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

But the peasantry is a class which, because of the ignorance in which it has been kept and the isolation in which it lives, requires the revolutionary and political leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals. Without that it cannot alone launch the struggle and achieve the victory.

In the present historical conditions of Latin America the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience demonstrates that in our nations this class—even when its interests clash with those of Yankee imperialism—has been incapable of confronting imperialism, paralyzed by fear of social revolution and frightened by the clamour of the exploited masses.

the immense majority of the people in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle for the goals of liberation which unite the efforts of the working class, the peasants, the intellectual workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the most progressive sectors of the national bourgeoisie. Together these sectors include the immense majority of the people and command great social forces which are capable of sweeping away imperialist domination and feudal reaction.

From the old militant Marxist to the sincere Catholic who has no love for the Yankee monopolies and the feudal landowners, all can and must fight side by side in this broad movement for the welfare of their nations, for the welfare of their peoples, for the welfare of America.

This movement can carry with it the progressive elements within the armed forces who are also humiliated by Yankee military missions, by the treason to national interests perpetrated by the feudal rulers and by the subjugation of national sovereignty to Washington's dictates.

Wherever roads are closed to the peoples, where repression of workers and peasants is fierce, where the domination of Yankee monopolies is strongest, the first and most important lesson is to understand that it is neither just nor correct to divert the people with the vain and fanciful illusions that the dominant classes can be uprooted by legal means which do not and will not exist. The ruling classes are entrenched in all positions of state power.

INFINITUDES OF OF SORROW

They monopolize the teaching field. They dominate all means of mass communication. They have infinite financial resources. There is a power which the monopolies and the ruling few will defend by blood and fire with the strength of their police and their armies.

The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution. We know that in America and throughout the world the revolution will be victorious. But revolutionaries cannot sit in the doorways of their homes to watch the corpse of imperialism pass by. The role of job does not behave a revolutionary. Each year by which America's liberation may be hastened will mean millions of children rescued from death, millions of minds freed for learning, infinitudes of sorrow spared the peoples.

Even though the Yankee imperialists are preparing a bloodbath for America they will not succeed in drowning the people's struggles. They will evoke universal hatred against themselves. This will be the last act of their rapacious and cave-man system.

No one people of Latin America is weak, because all are part of a family of 200 million brothers who suffer the same miseries, harbour the same sentiments, face the same enemies. All dream alike of a happier fate and all can count on the solidarity of all honourable men and women throughout the world.

The epic of Latin America's independence struggles was great, and that fight was a heroic one. But today's generation of Latin Americans is summoned to write a greater epic, one even more decisive for humanity. The earlier fight was to free ourselves from Spanish colonial power, from a decadent Spain which had been invaded by Napoleon's armies.

THE SUFFERING LANDS

Today the liberation struggle confronts the strongest imperial land in all the world, the most significant power of the world imperialist system. Thus we perform an even greater service for humanity than did our ancestors.

This struggle, more than the first, will be conducted by the masses, by the peoples. The people will play a far more important role than they did then. Individual leaders matter less in this fight than in that.

This epic we have before us will be written by the hungry masses of Indians, of landless peasants, of exploited workers. It will be written by the progressive masses, the honest and brilliant intellectuals of whom we have so many in these suffering lands of Latin America.

A battle of masses and of ideas, an epic horns onward by our peoples who have been ignored until today and who now are beginning to make imperialism lose its sleep. They thought us to be an impotent, submissive herd, but now they are beginning to fear that herd. It is a thundering herd of 200 million Latin Americans among whom Yankee monopoly capital already spies its gravediggers.

They reckoned little if at all with that labouring humanity, subjected to inhuman exploitation, pauperized, driven by the whip and the herdsman. Since the dawn of independence there has been no change in the destiny of Indians, Gaudios, Mestizos, Zambos, Quadroons, Whites with neither property nor rents. This is the great human mass who served the "homeland" they never enjoyed.

It was they who died by millions, who were slaughtered, who won independence of their countries for the bourgeoisie. It is they who were robbed of their lands, who remained on the lowest rung of social benefits, who continued to die of hunger, of curable diseases, of neglect, because they never received what they needed to live—bread itself, a hospital bed, medicine, a helping hand...

But the hour of their vindication is striking, the hour they themselves have chosen. The signal sounds clearly from one end of the Continent to the other. Now the anonymous masses, the America of colour, somber, taciturn, whose singing throughout the Continent echoes grief and reproach, these masses are beginning to inscribe the pages of History with their own blood, to suffer and die.

For now they are beginning to shake that world full reasons, fists hot with determination, to die for what is theirs, to seize those rights of which they have been deprived by one

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ECONOMIC ASPECT OF COLONIALISM

by A Correspondent

It goes without saying that the imperialist states do not capture political authority and administrative powers in the colonies merely as an aim in itself, or for the sake of "civilizing the natives", but for economic purposes.

Frederick Engels pointed out long ago that "violence serves only as a means; while the aim is to gain economic advantages", and that under capitalist enslavement serves primarily the aims of accumulation of capital and the extraction of profit.

The colonial countries have large populations and rich natural resources, the exploitation of which is the aim object of foreign capitalist enslavers.

F. R. Moumié, Chairman of the Union of the People of the Cameroons, rightly remarked at the Afro-Asia Peoples' Solidarity Conference (December 1957), that "it is the motives of economic exploitation that are the be all and end all of colonialism". Indeed, the economy of the colonial countries is fully geared to meet the requirements of the colonialists; it is, as Sekou Toure, President of the Guinean Republic, has said, "an economy for the exploitation" of the colonies.

SYNONYM OF SOCIALISM

W. Averell Harriman, American political leader and monopolist, after returning from a tour of Asian countries, could not but remark that the peoples of Asia regard the word "capitalism" almost as a synonym of colonialism. This is a manifestation of the great historical experience of these peoples. Colonial policy was the initial point of capitalism's development one of the chief elements of primary accumulation, to which the people of Ghana or Indonesia could eloquently testify. Lenin theoretically demonstrated the inseparable connection between the development of capitalism and colonial policy when he wrote:

"Capitalism cannot exist and develop without constantly expanding the sphere of its domination, without colonizing, new countries and drawing the old non-capitalist countries into the whirlpool of world economy... The process of the formation of a market for capitalism has two aspects, namely, the development of capitalism in depth, i.e., the further growth of capitalist agriculture and industry in the given, definite and enclosed territory—and the development of capitalism in breadth, i.e., the extension of the sphere of the domination of capitalism to new territories."

Lenin further stressed the great importance of the second aspect in the stage of industrial capitalism.

At the highest stage of capitalism—imperialism—colonialism acquires a world-wide character. Big capitalist monopolies become the main vehicles, organizers and inspirers of colonial policy. It is known, for example, that it was a group of the biggest

monopolies and banks in France striving for quick and easy profits that, in spite of the resistance of the French people, led the colonization of a number of countries in North and Central Africa; the private "privileged company" of Cecil Rhodes paved the way for the British troops in South Africa and Rhodesia; Mannesmann, Krupp and other big German monopolies were the moving spirits behind the British policy of German imperialism in Africa on the eve of the First World War.

If we take events of recent years, the Suez crisis which broke loose in the autumn of 1956 and nearly precipitated a world war, also arose as a result of the subversive activities of big British, French and American monopolies which tried to bring the peoples of Egypt and other Arab countries to their knees.

PROGRESSIVE TENDENCY

The enslavement of colonial countries has become especially brutal under imperialism, which directly follows from the nature of big monopoly capital out to gain maximum profits at any cost. As Lenin pointed out, imperialism has a tendency to break down national barriers and to create international economic ties and an international division of labour. In principle, international economic co-operation undoubtedly reflects a progressive tendency connected with the rapid development of the productive forces, but under imperialism this is accomplished by forcible and practical means, by colonial seizures and the enslavement of peoples.

Since the alliances of the employers, the big monopolies and also the colonial Powers have divided the entire world between themselves; colonial oppression has spread over the greater part of the globe; the epoch of free enterprise has receded into the past. "Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries."

Present-day colonialism is organically bound up with the entire economic and political fabric of imperialism, it is the concrete manifestation of imperialism in the East and in South America. Big financial capital employs diverse methods to subjugate the weaker countries, but the method that leads to the establishment of undivided rule, violation of sovereignty and abolition of the political independence of these countries is the most convenient and consequently the most attractive form of exploitation, since it affords the monopolists the most favourable conditions for making profits.

MAXIMUM PROFITS

For in such a situation large monopolies can determine the conditions of economic exploitation, including the

conditions for the most brutal exploitation of the workers and the rest of the population in the colonies, and control tariff, taxation, banking and insurance policies, foreign trade, finances, military expenses, etc., that is to say, they can exercise decisive influence in all spheres which may serve as channels for the extraction of maximum profits.

Lenin stressed the special importance acquired by the export of capital in the epoch of imperialism for the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries. Time has fully confirmed this important proposition. A special system of economy has arisen in the colonial countries, which differs from the usual capitalist or pre-capitalist systems.

Besides its retention of pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, this economic system is characterized primarily by the concentration in the hands of a small group of large foreign capitalist monopolies of the key positions in the economy of the colonies, of their basic means of production, namely, mineral wealth, in a number of cases almost all the land, the power and mining industries, and the greater part of large-scale and middle-sized industry in general, transport facilities (internal and overseas), means of communication and also large plantations which grow the most valuable products for the foreign market.

Capture of key economic positions in the colonies by large foreign monopolies and of political authority by the colonial Powers enabled them to accelerate the ruin of the direct producers, which resulted in the disintegration of the old economic forms, and also to subordinate to the monopolies the small, frequently semi-natural, economy of the peasants and the crafts in the colonies.

BELGIAN CONGO

The Belgian Congo is a case in point. Alienation of the land from the indigenous population was one of the major tasks of the colonial administration even in the early stages of the colonial enslavement of the country. Since in the Belgian Congo, just as in most African countries, there was no private ownership of the land at the moment of colonisation, the colonial authorities declared the land the property of the Belgian Crown.

Next came the granting of land to private Belgian companies and white planters, and the forcible eviction of the peasants from the land they had cultivated. In the Belgian Congo the main mineral deposits were seized by mining companies of Belgium and other imperial Powers.

At present the Belgian Congo is one of the African countries south of the Sahara which is relatively more developed industrially and has over one million workers (8.5 per cent of the population, according to 1958 statistics). Five major monopolies, which control 90 per cent of all the capital invested in the Belgian Congo, are the full masters in the country. If we add to these

a few dozen smaller foreign transport and trading companies, we shall find that foreign capital dominates undividedly in the economy of the Belgian Congo.

The book by F. Davidson on the struggle of the Matabele and Mashona tribes against British colonization contains many examples how the British gold and diamond kings used deception, violence and treachery to win concessions on the territory of African tribes during the colonization of Rhodesia.

PROMISING LANDS

In our time the large monopolies are hunting for promising lands just as eagerly as during the "diamond rush" in the time of Cecil Rhodes described by Davidson. A considerable part of the Sahara Desert is already "divided" between the biggest foreign companies, which are prospecting for oil there.

Concessions are one of the major forms of alienating the means of production and the economic enslavement of colonial and dependent countries by the big monopolies. Concessions are nearly always based on the principles of serfdom, inequality and flagrant interference of the colonial Powers in the domestic affairs of these countries.

It will be recalled that the large monopolies obtained concessions in the African and Asian countries through colonial enslavement and direct violence (concessions in Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo, Nigeria and also in Indonesia, Iraq, Kuwait, etc.), and through deception, bribery and taking advantage of temporary political or financial difficulties of the ruling groups in countries of the Middle East (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, etc.).

Consequently, concessions were either based on the loss of sovereignty by Asian and African countries, or themselves led to the loss of state independence by these countries.

In many colonial and semi-colonial countries the terms of the concessions provide for the creation of an exclusive regime to operate them. Thus, the American and Belgian companies engaged in uranium mining in the Belgian Congo have at their disposal their own detachments of police and gendarmery, courts, prisons, etc. The entire area belonging to the Americans in Chinkolobwe (Belgian Congo) is isolated from the outside world, is under military guard and has been turned into a veritable concentration camp.

THE CONCESSIONS

The Belgian monopolies in the Congo are often complete masters of the entire territory granted to them as concessions, over which even the colonial administration has no actual power. Concessions in many other African colonies operate on the same terms.

Large monopolies which have obtained concessions have a tendency to extend to the maximum their claims to territories which can be regarded (now or in future)

as promising in respect to the extraction of oil, iron, non-ferrous or rare metal ores and elements and other mineral wealth, and also in respect to plantations.

For all that, the areas for which the monopolies have obtained a concession are, as a rule, developed only to a small extent, depending on whether the investments can bring maximum profits quickly. As for the unutilized territories, concession agreements are used as a means of keeping out present or future rivals and also of preventing the Asian and African countries from using their natural wealth for their own national interests.

It should be noted that concessions are granted not only on natural wealth, but frequently on some branches of the economy or enterprises (telephone, telegraph and postal services, electric power stations, dams, etc.). A wealth of material on this subject is available in a book about Morocco, by a French scientist A. Ayache, who analyzes from a progressive viewpoint the results of colonizing this North African country.

It is not surprising that the national-liberation struggle in the Asian and African countries is often spearheaded against concessions. Thus, the first of Sun Yat-sen's "three main principles" was directed against the domination of foreign capitalist concessions in China.

LARGE PLANTATIONS

As regards agriculture, a big part in the colonial economy of the African countries is played by the large plantations, organized for the mass production of the cultivated raw material in which the Western colonial countries are interested (cotton, rubber, jute, coffee, cocoa, etc.). Plantations are also based on colonialist seizure of the best lands for a nominal price or no price at all. The plantation owners themselves realize the absolute and differential rents which become a source of additional profits for them.

The usual practice of late has been to carry out road building and, in many cases, the construction of power stations and costly large-scale geological surveys at the expense of the taxpayers in the metropolitan countries or the colonies. The apologists of imperialism and the revisionists see in this almost the maturing of "elements of Socialism" within the framework of capitalism or colonialism.

In reality, however, the monopolies are "magnanimously" letting the citizens of their own country or the inhabitants of the colonies cover the biggest expenses, which do not bring the monopolies sufficient profit, but are absolutely essential for the economic exploitation of the people or the natural wealth of the colonies.

Consequently, we have here the barefaced swindling of the working people both of the metropolitan countries and the colonies in the interest of the big monopolies operating in the colonies.

We spoke earlier about the expropriation of the

major means of production in the Belgian Congo by big foreign capital. This is true of the other colonies as well.

In Nigeria, the biggest British colony, which is very rich in natural resources and has a population of about 32 million (15.7 per cent of the entire population of Africa), industry is poorly developed and accounts only for about 4.5 per cent of the gross national product. Nevertheless, here, too, the same picture prevails.

The country's minerals belong to the "British Crown", and until recently Africans were forbidden by law to work them. Large and middle-sized industrial establishments and mines, especially tin and niobium-tantalum mines, transport facilities, and power stations are controlled by foreign companies or partly by the colonial administration.

PORTUGUESE COLONIES

A dominating position in the economy of the Portuguese colonies in Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea) is held by West German, American, British and French companies, which own the biggest enterprises. The middle-sized and small establishments belong mainly to Portuguese. The local population is deprived of all rights and of the means of subsistence, and compelled to work for the colonialists for a mere pittance.

The big monopolies still preserve their positions in many Eastern countries, which after the war gained political independence and got rid of the colonial regime. According to official statistics, in 1951, foreign, predominantly British, capital controlled in India 97 per cent of the oil industry, 93 per cent of the rubber industry, 62 per cent of the coal industry, 73 per cent of the other branches of the mining industry, 90 per cent of the match industry, 89 per cent of the jute industry, 86 per cent of the tea industry, etc.

The foreign monopolies not infrequently hide behind Indian names or the nominal participation of Indians in "mixed" companies, just as American capital often acts under Belgian signboards in the Congo, under French in Guinea and under Portuguese in Angola.

It should be noted that after the Second World War, under the pressure of the United States and then of West Germany, the old colonial Powers were obliged to remove to a large extent the walls which had given them a monopoly position in the colonies, and to afford American and other monopolies and their goods wider access to their colonies.

E. E. C. AND AFRICA

The Common Market of the West European countries in particular gives the West German monopolies quite extensive opportunities in this respect. From all indications, Black Africa is increasingly becoming a preserve of "collective colonialism" by the imperialist Power, whose big monopolies are rapaciously exploiting the population and natural wealth of Africa under the protection of the bayonets of the colonial Power which rules in the given territory.

Monopoly prices and all the other attributes of colonialism have, in the main, remained intact, and the number of vampires which suck the life-blood of the African colonies has increased.

Present-day colonialism entwines its victim like a liana, depriving the colonies of the possibility of normal development, plunges them into the darkness of enslavement, and brings their peoples to the brink of ruin.

The colonialists of ancient Rome usually imposed natural tribute on the regions and territories they conquered and took from them slaves for their estates and urban establishments, leaving the economic relations within the colonies undisturbed. Colonialists of the epoch of primary accumulation and industrial capitalism went farther.

They shamelessly plundered the colonized countries, turned them into markets for the sale of their goods and partly into a source of raw material and cheap labour power shipped to other countries (slave trade from the 15th to the beginning of the 19th centuries and the shipment of labour on "contract" from India to Africa, etc.). Drawing these countries into world exchange, the colonialists, as a rule, did not affect, however, the spheres of production deeply.

The colonialists of the imperialist epoch, having borrowed many of the abominable features of their predecessors, have turned most of the peoples of the world into collective slaves of imperialism, and penetrated deep into the social and economic life of these enslaved peoples.

SOCIALISM

Continued from page 4

They are rising from the fields and mountains of America, from the slopes of the sierras, from the plains and the forests, from isolation and from the city's traffic; from the seashore and the river-bank.

Yes, now History must reckon with the poor of America, with the exploited and despised of Latin America who have decided to begin writing their own history for themselves, and forever. They can be seen on the roads on any day marching endlessly for hundreds of miles to storm the governing "heavens" in order to obtain their rights.

They can be seen, armed with stones, sticks, machetes, now here, now there, daily occupying lands, digging their hoods into the soil which is theirs, and defending it with their lives. They can be seen carrying banners, flags, placards, unfurling them in the winds among the mountains or across the plains.

And this wave of battering fury, of justice demanded, of trampled rights—this wave engulfing the lands of Latin America will never stop again. This wave will mount with each passing day.

For this wave is formed by the most, the majority in all things, the people whose work piles up the riches, who create the values, turn the wheels of History and are now awakening from the long brutalizing slumber to which they were subjected.

For that great humanity has cried, "Enough!" and has begun to move. Marching with giant strides they will not be detained until they have conquered true independence, to which they have died more than once to no avail. Now at least those who die will die as the Cubans did at Playa Giron, they will die for their single, true, inalienable independence.



SUMMIT TRENDS

Continued from page 1

WEDNESDAY 8th MAY:

GUINEA: It is learnt, from Paris, that a Guinean mission led by the National Assembly Chairman Saifoulaye Diallo, and including Development Minister Ismael Toure, will have talks with the French government in Paris, starting from the 14th May.

NIGERIA: In London, Chief Enahoro's extradition is postponed. President Adoula leaves Nigeria.

FRENCH-DOMINATED SOMALILAND: Several Africans are sentenced to jail for having demonstrated on May-Day.

ALGERIA: President Nasser leaves Algeria. It is learnt that President Ben Bella on his way to Addis Ababa is to stop in Cairo on the 18th May. The joint Egyptian-Algerian communiqué reasserts the determination of the two leaders to contribute to the complete liquidation of colonialism in Africa, with special reference to Angola, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, etc.

THURSDAY 9th MAY:

CAMEROON: In London, where he had friendly talks with the Tory government Mr Ahidjo announces that he will recognise the new Togolese government. In the same press conference, he once more describes the U.P.C. patriots as "terrorists."

GABON: French co-operation Minister Triboulet is in Libreville to inaugurate T.V.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The central government is preparing a law aimed at sending the nationalist leader Gizenga before the court. Up to now, Gizenga is still arbitrarily detained.

SOUTH AFRICA: Six African patriots are executed in Pretoria. In Denmark, the majority of M.P.s. ask for a general boycott of South African goods.

NYASALAND: The country has officially got an internally autonomous self-government; but Britain still controls Defence and Foreign Affairs.

TUNISIA: One more accused sentenced to death for plotting.

ALGERIA: Mr. Rabah Bitat resigns from his post of national

organiser of the Party; he is replaced by Mr. Hadj ben Alla.

FRIDAY 10th MAY:

CAMEROON: Mr. Ahidjo is in Paris, where he is received by General de Gaulle. He is to stay in Paris up to the 15th May, and then, to go to Addis Ababa via Tel-Aviv.

TOGO: President Grunitzky takes his swear of office.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Tshombe, still in Elisabethville, sends a threatening letter to President Kasavubu; he wants to come to Leopoldville.

SATURDAY 11th MAY:

SENEGAL: Former Premier Modou Dia is sentenced to life prison, and others accused to 22-years jail. The Senegalese authorities announce a new trial, where the nationalist leader Mahjout Diop, general secretary of the P.A.I., Senegal would be, accused.

GHANA: New book by President Nkrumah: AFRICA MUST UNITE, comes out. An Algerian mission arrives in Accra.

SOUTH AFRICA: New arrests of African patriots.

SUNDAY 12th MAY:

GUINEA: President Saifoulaye Diallo is in Paris.

AFRO-MALAGASSY UNION: Plan Ministers, after having met in Paris, are spending the week-end on the sea-side, at Deauville.

MONDAY 13th MAY:

GUINEA: President Sekou Toure is in Dakar.

GHANA: Foreign Minister K. Botso leaves for Addis Ababa where the Foreign Ministers conference is scheduled for the 15th.

Diallo leaves for Paris. **NIGERIA:** Chief Enahoro's extradition is again delayed, after having been feared several times during the week.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: 200,000 people have signed a petition against the granting of "independence" to a racist white minority government.

le's France, on the other hand, is standing up to the U.S. challenge. The result is that the "co-ordinated free world approach" and the "triangular economic relationships among Africa, Western Europe and the United States" have broken down. In their place have risen two interest groups — Anglo-American imperialism and French imperialism—at daggers drawn with each other.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM

The second group at Addis Ababa represents the interests of French imperialism. It comprises the French-speaking states generally, with one or two exceptions. Members of this group are Senegal, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad, Dahomey, Cameroun, Gabon, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Malagassy and Mauritania.

The principal interest of this group is to maintain the high degree of co-ordination already in existence between them. They are bound together by the European Common Market, a common defence system based on the French Legion stationed in Malagassy and a 40,000 strong French army stationed in the Mediterranean island of Corsica, a common currency, a closely co-ordinated foreign policy with a distinctly French orientation and a French dominated civil service.

This French group does not subscribe to any concept of African Unity which will have the effort of dissolving their union of African and Malagassy states popularly known as

the Brazzaville group. Their tactics at Addis Ababa is evasion and the reference of practically anything and everything to "committees of experts" which will report back at a date unspecified. They, however, seem to back the idea of "regional groupings of states". For good reasons too. With the exception of Malagassy all the French-speaking states in the group are in West Africa. Thus a West African Union including Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Spanish Guinea could be effectively dominated by the Brazzaville group states.

RADICAL AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The third group of states at Addis Ababa—the states of radical African nationalism—is comprised principally of Ghana, U.A.R., Tanganyika and Mali. These plumb for thoroughgoing decolonisation and for organic union of African states. They want a single African Charter which will create one Africa for Africans by Africans. They want immediate agreement on a political union on the grounds that this alone will make possible effective co-ordination in other spheres.

Outside these three groupings are a few states which

GROUP 2:

French Imperialism



Charles de Gaulle (France)



Houphouet-Boigny (Ivory Coast)



Fulbert Youlou (Congo-Brazzaville)

could be described either as floating states (that is, not permanently attached to any of the 3 groups above) or as areas where the interests of the groups described above overlap. The areas of overlap are Libya, Guinea and Algeria.

In Libya, Anglo-American interests in the economic and military fields clash with the force of Arab nationalism. As such Libya will oscillate between the stand taken by the U.A.R. and that of Ethiopia, Nigeria and Liberia.

In Guinea, French and Anglo-American imperialisms are striving for supremacy under that country's recent move to rehabilitate herself with the West. At the same time Guinea has strong connections with the states of radical African nationalism. Her voice at Addis Ababa will reflect all these connections.

Algeria is a field of overlap between radical African nationalism and French imperialism operating through the European Common Market and obligations entered into under the Evian Agreements.

Somalia and Tunisia are floating states which will support one group or the other depending on what issue is under discussion. While the former will support moves for settling frontier disputes the latter will be more impressed by moves to secure the elimination of foreign military bases on African soil.

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Sudan's stand demanding the immediate termination of colonialism, firm measures against apartheid, and the liquidation of foreign military bases in Africa at first might startle the casual observer. But, on closer examination, it will be seen that military dictatorships



Leopold Senghor (Senegal)



Maurice Yameogo (Upper Volta)

in Africa which keep the masses under an iron heel are bound to support these measures not because they are progressive but because they meet their needs of international stability and security. For such regimes are anxious to eliminate conditions which might facilitate the supply of arms to dissident groups and thus make coup d'etat, often sponsored by interests outside Africa, difficult to organise.

At the half-way stage, it seems the Addis Ababa summit is moving towards a stalemate. Very great statesmanship is needed to steer it to some concrete results.

THE THREE VIEWS

On African unity, three views are now at grips with each other. These are political union, creation of inter-African institution in limited spheres and regional groupings. It is not yet known if Tanganyika's ideas about an East African Federation will bring her nearer Ghana or nearer the French-speaking states. If she opts for African Unity as her President has often maintained, the probable grouping of the delegations will be as follows:—

1. For political union about 9 states
2. For inter-African institutions in limited spheres about 5 states
3. For regional grouping about 14 states.

This leaves three states—Somalia, Sudan and Libya—largely uncommitted.

With such major cleavage of viewpoints over African unity, the summit will probably reach unanimous decisions only on matters like helping the national liberation movements in the colonial territories, fighting apartheid, demanding the elimination of foreign military bases and pacts, de-nuclearisation of Africa, an appeal to the Great Powers to conclude a treaty on nuclear test ban and disarmament, and the reorganisation of the United Nations to give Africa enhanced role on its committees, councils and the secretariat.

But even on these matters the sharp differences on unity and de-colonisation may make their influences felt particularly when it comes to the implementation of agreements reached at the summit.

CORRIGENDA:

In our last issue (May 17) at Page 11 we mistakenly carried Ben Kheddah's photograph for Ben Bella.

At Pages 8 and 11 Sudanese religious leader was mistakenly referred to as King Idris El Senussi I of Libya.

The errors are regretted.

At the 1958 Accra Conference of Independent African States, Africa spoke with one voice. At Addis Ababa in 1960, Africa developed a second voice. Now at the Addis Ababa summit 1963 Africa speaks with three voices. And it is well-known that these discordant voices arise principally from the manoeuvres of imperialism on this continent.

Addis Ababa has revealed the powerful forces that oppose the African Revolution. Nevertheless the African Revolution must move forward to total victory.

Editorial

military interests, it is difficult to see how African leaders can argue that purposeful integration in the fields of banking and defence is possible without prior agreement on political objectives.

The other view—the regional grouping of states—is even more indefensible. For if Senegal and Congo (Brazzaville) can be in one union, it is difficult to see why Kenya and Somalia cannot belong to the same union. The machinery linking together sixteen states could quite as easily embrace thirty-two states.

Africa's best hope still lies in a continental political union which will make the integration of our economy, our defence, our foreign policy, our finances real and purposeful, eliminate our individual vulnerability, and give Africa a mighty (and united) voice in world affairs. It is such a union that will open up for us vast prospects of rapid progress without jeopardising our independence.

The great debate at Addis Ababa, inconclusive as it may seem at the moment, will serve to draw attention to the vitality of the concept of continental political union. It has helped us to see ourselves for what we are and not just for what we pretend to be. It has brought home the bitter truth that imperialism is very much alive in Africa today.

Imperialist Contradictions

Continued from Page 2

the days to come is still the same—they must continue to wage struggles against the enslavement and domination by the old and new colonialists, for complete emancipation and to develop an independent national economy.

The fact is that the oppressed nations and people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have become more and more politically conscious with each passing day. They have continued to regard the fight against imperialist expansion and aggression, against old and new colonialism, their primary and most urgent task. In the last few years, the national liberation struggle in these areas has continued to surge forward with great vigour. In Asia, the flames against U.S. imperialist aggression are burning in south Korea, Japan, south Viet Nam and Laos; the people in Brunei have risen in armed revolt against British imperialism.

The peoples of Asia demand that all imperialist forces of aggression get out of Asia. Everywhere in Africa, the struggle is on against old and new colonialism and for national independence. Since 1960, twenty-three countries have achieved independence; the people in Algeria in par-

ticular have won their great victory of national liberation after more than seven years of armed struggle. Today, the African countries and people who have already obtained an independent status are carrying on their struggle to defend their sovereignty and consolidate their independence; those who haven't are fighting resolutely for their independence.

In Latin America, the Cuban people have in their armed struggle overthrown the rule of U.S. imperialism and its running dog Batista and have embarked on the socialist path. The broad masses in the whole of Latin America have become more and more revolutionary minded; the people of every social stratum, in their patriotic and democratic struggle against enslavement by U.S. imperialism and exploitation and oppression by the reactionary ruling class at home, have organised into a united front and engaged themselves in United action. These united fronts and united actions are constantly expanding and the struggle has never been waged on so large a scale.

All these are indications that intensified aggression, oppression, exploitation and plundering of most of the countries in these regions by imperialism headed by

the United States can only make contradictions between imperialism and these peoples sharper, and sharper and arouses the peoples to fight back still more resolutely. Asia, Africa and Latin America are the main focus of the revolutionary storm of the world at the present time; no reactionary force on earth can stand in the way of the development of the revolutionary struggles on these continents.

The five questions discussed in this article involve the fundamental question of modern imperialism; they are at once theoretical questions and practical questions of struggle, questions of great significance. It is necessary to study and understand these questions, analyse these latest phenomena in the development of imperialist contradictions and see clearly the nature of imperialism by correctly and creatively applying the fundamental teaching of Marxism-Leninism on class struggle and revolution. This is something of tremendous significance in determining strategy and tactics in the struggle against imperialism in bringing about the further development of the world people's struggle against imperialism, for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.