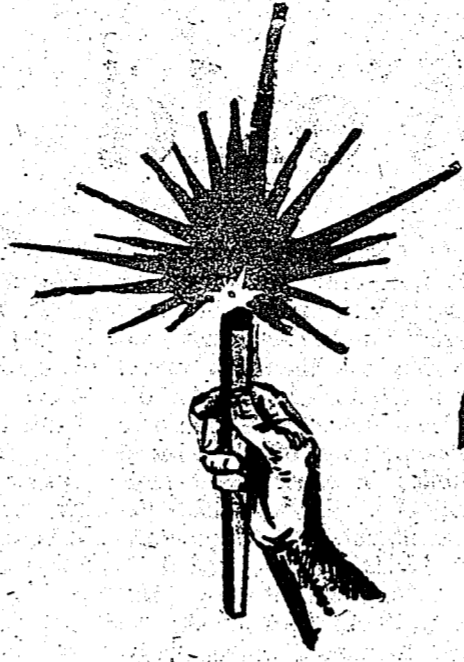


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EDITORIAL

WE LOOK AT 1965

WE LEAVE 1964 in the bowels of history as 1965 unfolds itself before us.

In the world of national liberation 1964 has registered substantial successes for the African revolution. The heroic triumphs of the united people of South Vietnam to bring the formidable aggression of the United States imperialism within sight of political and military bankruptcy, unless an even more dangerous enlargement of the war is attempted, is an indication that the imperialist system is shaken to its foundations and torn by innumerable inner conflicts. The political consolidation and economic gains in Cuba coupled with the upheavals in several countries of Latin America again prove the vitality of the national liberation movements even in the new world.

1964—the year which saw changes in the top political leadership in the Soviet Union; toppled a thirteen-year-old Tories rule in Britain; registered a set back against Goldwaterism—a neo-fascist tendency in the United States; and sharpened the political antagonisms between President de Gaulle and the rulers of the United States—should offer us the contours of events in 1965.

If the promise of 1965 is great, so also are the dangers. Events in the last three months of 1964 indicate that 1965 will be a year of great changes and conflicts, of sharp struggles between those forces which seek to drag the world backwards and those which strive to lead it forward. The struggles are bound to proceed along many lines, and on different planes. These will assume multiple forms. Some of these changes and conflicts are already in process. Some can be seen only in their barest beginnings.

* * *

The African revolution which is anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist and socialist in character must be poised for the crucial battles of 1965. The ideological battle over the content and concept of the revolution—a battle which has been ranging over the past two years—will come to a head as new trends of propaganda are developing in the West against the basic tenets of the revolution.

"Philosophical Consciencism", by Kwame Nkrumah, provides the rallying ground for all sincere African patriots who feel that the socialist ideology can and should weld a free Africa into an organic union capable of repelling imperialism and of building a new meaningful life for Africa's 280 million people.

An essential aspect of "Consciencism" teaches that the ensuing battle will be waged between the forces of positive action, which represent the sum total of all the progressive aspects of the many contradictions in contemporary Africa and the forces of negative action which represent the sum total of the reactionary aspects of these same contradictions.

This battle goes primarily for colonialist and neo-colonialist countries, though aspects of it will still be witnessed even in African countries that have set course for socialism.

"Consciencism", as a weapon in our hands in the struggle ahead, derives its strength from the fact that its tenets arise directly from the attempt to solve the outstanding problems of the New Africa.

The coming struggle in Africa in 1965 will range over a central issue—Continental Union Government. The problem poses itself; how can the Independent African States move on to rapid all-round development for the benefit of their own people and assist in the total liberation of the remaining colonial territories?

While the forces of negative action advocate dependence on the old and new colonial masters, the forces of positive action have evolved three principles: viz, self-induced development; a socialist path of development; a continental approach to the problems of economic development, defence and diplomacy. These principles taken together define the concept of continental political union.

The Congo has strengthened the case of the forces of positive action. If there is any lesson which must be learnt, it must be learnt in dead earnest. The sand of time has already run perilously low.

1965 must settle the issue of Continental Union Government.

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Whose Finger is in Congo Pie?

Léopoldville, le 3 Juillet 1964.

Excellence,

Chargé par Monsieur G. Mennen Williams, Sous-secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Africaines, j'ai l'honneur de vous informer par lettre personnelle que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis, tenant compte des entretiens ultérieurs, est d'accord

- 1/ que les frais survenus de l'organisation, du recrutement et de la création d'unités spéciales soient compensés d'un fond défini à ce but
- 2/ que l'organisation des unités spéciales soit sur votre demande confiée à nos Services. Les mesures nécessaires dans ce sens ont été déjà entreprises en collaboration avec le Gouvernement du Royaume de Belgique
- 3/ avec votre point de vue sur les livraisons d'équipement militaire moderne et mobile nécessaire pour l'entreprise des opérations dans les régions éloignées. Pour ce cas, il mettra à votre disposition le matériel exigé, y compris les cadres techniques nécessaires pour diriger les actions contre les factieux
- 4/ avec votre opinion de prendre les mesures nécessaires contre les régimes vous avoisinant sous influence communiste, d'où la subversion contre votre Gouvernement est organisée.

La négociation sur les particularités traitera avec Votre Excellence, Monsieur Williams personnellement dont la visite m'a été annoncée pour la mi-août.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Excellence, l'assurance de l'amitié profonde de Monsieur le Sous-secrétaire d'Etat et de ma haute considération personnelle.

G. McMurtrie Godley
Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis

Son Excellence

Monsieur Moïse Tshombe
Président du Gouvernement
de la République du Congo-Léopoldville.

TRANSLATION

Léopoldville, July 3rd, 1964.
Excellency,

Instructed by Mr. G. Mennen Williams, Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, I have the honour to inform you by personal letter that the Government of the United States, on the basis of previous meetings, is agreed

1. that the expenses involved by the organisation, the recruitment and the creation of special units are to be compensated through a fund designed for the purpose.

2. that the organisation of special units is to be handed over to our services at your request. The necessary measures have already been

taken in this direction in collaboration with the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium.

3. with your point of view on the deliveries of the modern military and mobile equipment necessitated by the undertaking of operations in distant regions. For this purpose, it will place at your disposal the required equipment, including the technical cadres needed to direct the operations against sedition-mongers.

4. with your opinion that it is necessary to take measures against the neighbouring regimes under Communist influence where

the subversion against your Government is organised.

The negotiation of particulars will be taken up with Your Excellency by Mr. Williams personally whose visit I am led to expect in Mid-August.

I pray you to accept, Excellency, the assurance of the deep friendship of the Under-Secretary of State and of my high personal consideration.

G. McMurtrie Godley
Ambassador of the United States

His Excellency
Mr. Moïse Tshombe
Head of the Government of the Republic of Congo—
Léopoldville.

* In spite of the decision of the U.N. Security Council that the great powers should not intervene in the Congo, the U.S. Government has consistently entered upon a role of direct subversion in the Congo.

* Since 21st December 1962, the U.S. Government has been sending military missions to the Congo to set up a puppet Government.

* When the U.S. experiment with Adoula did not work Tshombe was forced down their throats.

* The letter we publish on the left (the authenticity of which is above doubt) strengthens our case that the master brain in the Congo operation is the United States Government.

* The massacre taking place in the Stanleyville region was planned three months before the establishment of the Revolutionary government in Stanleyville and in fact before the hostages were taken in Stanleyville.

* It is only a simpleton who would accept the U.S. and Belgium case that they carried their aggression against Stanleyville on humanitarian grounds or that they were animated by a missionary zeal.

* The more important excuse thrown up by the U.S. Government is that they must intervene in the Congo to prevent Communist infiltration into Africa. Whether the spread of Communism should be prevented anywhere on the globe is another matter. What is pertinent here is that there is not an iota of truth in this

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STUDIES IN CONSCIENCISM (3)

The Nkrumaist World Out-Look

by
Habib Niang

We continue today the publication of Mr. Habib Niang's expositions on Philosophical Consciencism. It deals with the concepts of space-milieu, categorial space-milieu and categorial space, and their relationship with the outlook of the blackman living outside Africa.

THERE was a time when it was believed that the national question was nothing but a child of the world proletarian movement. Incidentally it was usual to find such a view at the extremes of both the world communist movement and international finance capitalism; but, of course, idealism and extreme materialism are but the two sides of the same coin—a coin that was also to be found inside the national liberation movement itself. But if international finance capitalism with its fifth column Fabianism was antithetical to the national liberation movement, the world communist movement was not.

In fact, there is a phenomenon which binds together the liberation movement and the world communist movement. Such a phenomenon may appropriately be defined as socialism; for, when both movements are authentic, that is to say, true to their purpose, they see socialism as their objective, because socialism is, indeed, man's true way of life.

But if, as students of Consciencism, we accept that in every phenomenon there is an inside and an outside, and if we assert that the world communist movement and the liberation movement constitute a phenomenon, then we may ask ourselves: which of the two movements is the inside, and which the outside?

The answer to this question will be easier if we study the phenomenon as it appeared after the second world war; for 1945, the year of the Pan-Africanist Conference of Manchester, the Soviet Union, which was an exteriorisation of the world communist movement, was already a world power. And the Soviet Union, which obviously belonged to the world communist movement, was not only the outside of that movement, but also of the national liberation movement, since the national question was involved in the October Revolution. Thus the Soviet Union was not just the outside of a part of that phenomenon already defined as socialism, but in reality the outside of the entire phenomenon. But if the Soviet Union was an outside of this phenomenon and she at the same time belonged to the world communist movement, it followed that the world communist movement was the outside, and the national liberation movement the inside, of this phenomenon referred to as socialism.

TWO OUTSIDES

Again, we have said that Soviet Union was a world power by 1945, the very year in which we witnessed Manchester Conference, an outside of the national liberation movement, which was then in its infancy. So at this time, we had two outsiders—one which had reached the maturity of a world power, and the other which was in its infancy that is to say incipient. The mature outside was the outside of the outside of the entire phenomenon, whereas the incipient outside was the outside of the inside of the same phenomenon. They were the outsiders of two different categories which belonged to the same phenomenon. To fail to see the difference, however slight, between the two categories is to make what we may call a category mistake. The mistake is even more harmful when we ourselves are part of the very milieu called mankind. For in this milieu, there is also to be found the highest stage of capitalism, which is imperialism. Imperialism is the outside of this milieu whose inside is socialism. We have already seen that the national liberation movement when it is authentic is the inside of socialism. This means that this liberation movement is also the inside of mankind.

Now that we know which of the categories constitute the inside, and which the outside, let us consider the dialectics between the inside and the outside. We know that in

every phenomenon, there is the negative factor and the positive factor, but one of them always dominates. When, for example, there is a negative outside, negative forces are the predominant factors. Not only the outside, but also the inside is predominantly negative. When, however, from the inside there is the emergence of self-consciousness from that which is not self-conscious (Consciencism, p.26), that is to say, when a categorial conversion takes place in the inside, this also causes a change in the outside which was previously negative. The outside is therefore determined by the construction of the inside. The inside is, in other words, the determining factor. Since, as we have explained, the national liberation movement, is the inside of mankind, it is the determining factor in the process towards the liberation of man. As far as Africa is concerned, Kwame Nkrumah was the only personality who in his thoughts, saw this value of

the liberation movement. This was manifest in his Declaration to the Colonial Peoples of the World, approved and adopted by the Fifth Pan-African Congress, and in his answer to the question, "what must be done?" in which he suggested in *Towards Colonial Freedom*, a "general plan, theory and method, leaving the details to be filled in by the truly enlightened leadership that will carry out the colonial liberation".

THREE TRENDS

But thought without practice is empty. Being the first to conceive this idea for the liberation movement in Africa, what did Nkrumah do in actual political practice? In the struggle for independence—in the process called the national liberation movement—there were three trends: the extreme materialist approach, the Fabian approach and the Nkrumaist approach.

It is a well-known fact that when Kwame Nkrumah went to Paris to call on the then representatives of the national liberation movement in the French African colonies, who were then members of the French Parliament, to join his efforts in the West

African Secretariat (whose aim was not only to bring the struggle back home, but also to rely on the very inside of the national liberation movement in Africa, namely, the African conscience), those representatives of the French colonies in Africa and their political parties, of which the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (R.D.A.), led by M. Houphouet-Boigny was the most outstanding who refused to join Kwame Nkrumah.

THE TWO EXTREMES

The R.D.A., which was the most representative, the most leftist, and the most progressive of those parties, was at that time affiliated, in the French Parliament, to the French Communist Party. They thought that the determining factor in the struggle for national liberation in Africa was not the African conscience, but the world proletarian movement, which was behind the French Communist Party.

This was the extreme materialist answer to the question, "what must be done?"

At the other extreme we find George Padmore who wrote in *Pan-Africanism* that "As far back as forty years ago, Dr. Du Bois, in his book, *The Negro*, pointed out a trust which, if anything, is even more pregnant today". There is slowly arising not only curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of the darker races against the intolerable assumption and insults of Europeans has already found expression. Most men in the world are coloured. A belief in humanity means a belief in coloured men.

"The future world will, in all reasonable possibility, be

what coloured men make it". We all know that Dr. Du Bois, some time later, abandoned this racial approach to Pan-Africanism, which Padmore has here described as a truth even more pregnant today. The blame, then is not on Du Bois, but on Padmore who as late as 1955, was still echoing this unhealthy idea. George Padmore even went so far as to affiliate Pan-Africanism with Fabianism.

That Fabian approach led Padmore to write again in *Pan-Africanism* or Communism that "our criticism of British colonial policy is not in what it professes to stand for—self-government within the Commonwealth—but the failure to make good this promise unless actually forced to do so by the colonial people! For, in this sentence, he makes it clear, that his only disagreement with the British colonial policy was their failure to carry through their promise: and that he had no quarrel whatsoever with the content or form of the promise: and this meant disagreement in practice, but not in thought. This Fabian approach Kwame Nkrumah repudiated when in *Towards Colonial Freedom*, he wrote that "those who formulate the colonial issue in accordance with the false point of view of colonial powers, who are deluded by the futile promises of 'preparing' colonial peoples for 'self-government', who feel that their imperialist oppressors are 'rational' and 'moral' and will relinquish their 'possessions' if only confronted with the truth of the injustice of colonialism are tragically mistaken. Imperialism knows no law beyond its own interest".

It is interesting to remember that, before Padmore became an instrument of Fabianism, which was nothing but the fifth column of inter-

national finance capitalism in the liberation movement, he was echoing the ideals of extreme materialism when he was a permanent official of the komintern. Is it merely a matter of coincidence that the R.D.A. and its leaders like Houphouet-Boigny also dis-affiliated themselves from the French Communist Party to join the Rightists in the French Assembly? It is now more than ever before important to note that the U.P.C., the then Cameroonian section of the R.D.A., led by Um Nyombe and Felix Moumie, and Sawa-ba, the Niger section, led by Djibo Balkary, refused to join this move popularly referred to as 'repli tactique' (tactical retreat). What do we see in these developments? From a soldier of world communism to a crusader of anti-communism: this was the political career of George Padmore. From a section of the world proletarian movement to an ally of the West, this was the arc followed by the R.D.A. led by Houphouet-Boigny. Of course there was this difference between George Padmore and Houphouet-Boigny: that, whereas the former joined these movements only as an individual, and never as a leader of any group, Houphouet moved with a whole movement, the R.D.A. which was then the most popular and the most representative in the French African colonies. Both of them were, however, in the last resort, nothing but the two sides of the same coin.

HISTORICAL DEAL

When Ghana proclaimed her independence in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah went to Abidjan to pay a brotherly visit to Mr. Houphouet-Boigny, who was then a Minister of State in the French Government. During this visit, Mr. Houphouet-Boigny made a historic

deal with Kwame Nkrumah: he proclaimed that he would succeed in giving satisfaction to the needs of his population within the then Franco-African Union long before Kwame Nkrumah had done so for his own people within his political kingdom called independence; he went on to assert that he would do this within ten years. But it happened that three years later, in 1960 to be precise, he himself was forced by events to enter this political kingdom by declaring the independence of his country. Events had made clear to him, that it was not in the Franco-African Union, but in the political kingdom of independence advocated by Nkrumah, that the satisfaction of Houphouet's people could be sought.

TWO LESSONS

This short discussion of this dying stage of the history of the African Revolution teaches us two striking lessons:

1. It is not the whims and caprices of leaders, no matter how important these may be, which make history; history is dictated by objective laws.

2. The two trends in the liberation struggle which relied, at different times, on the outside symbolised by these two figures of delusion—namely, George Padmore and Houphouet-Boigny—failed to solve the national question in Africa notwithstanding the fact that they had the support of big world powers.

It is the other trend, the Nkrumaist approach, which relied primarily on the inside, on the African conscience which actually gave birth to independence in the whole African Continent. The explanation is simple: in the dialectics between the inside and the outside, it is the inside which is ultimately the determining factor.

The Contradictions of the West

THE extraordinary session of the Ministers of NATO held in Paris marked the end of the 1964 political year for the western countries. A series of antagonistic views was held there. Addressing the NATO Council, Robert MacNamara, the American minister of war declared: "An atomic war will kill over a hundred million people in the USA and in USSR, and even more in Central Europe." This gives a good idea of the nature and the intensity of the preoccupations of the 15 members of the Atlantic coalition. In any event, the session ended with the adoption of a particularly colourless and evasive communique on a much debated question: that of the atomic armament of the Atlantic coalition (i.e. the M.L.F.)

We are particularly interested in obtaining a clear insight into the forces dividing the imperialist group; especially at this time when the struggle for a true liberation of Africa and for African unity is at its height. The splits occurring within NATO are of great concern to us because NATO is supporting the remaining colonial forces and active neo-colonialism in Africa.

CONTRADICTIONS INTEREST US

Any further contradictions creating disunity in the imperialist group are of great interest to us: not only because an open conflict within the western camp will have many repercussions on the African Continent, but also because a clear understanding of the factors heightening these contradictions will enable us to use them for our own advantage. And finally, with special regard to NATO, Africa favours any measure tending to check the armament race.

It must be remembered, in order to understand new developments in NATO affairs, that the project of a multilateral force was launched in 1960 by Christian Herter, the

then USA Secretary of State. This project was immediately hailed and supported by the West German Minister of War, Franz Josef Strauss, well known for his reactionary positions and his loyalty to fascist ideologies. Schroeder has now taken Strauss's succession.

Officially, it is still alleged that the M.L.F. aims at the elimination of disagreements between the USA and their European allies regarding atomic matters. Without going into technical, though interesting, details, it may be said that the Herter Project (pursued by Robert Mac Namara) is an attempt to create an atomic force at the disposal of the 15 members of NATO and destined to thwart a hypothetical aggression from the East. This would be an atomic force which virtually is submitted to the decisions of Washington. On point of fact, the M.L.F. is nothing else but a device used by the USA to promote their European policy. We will dismiss the reactionary and bourgeois theory calling for the armament of the "allies" against a "potential aggression" which they insist on attributing to the USSR. On a military and strategic

level the recognized policy of the USA has been to reinforce NATO while keeping the NATO leadership. On the other hand, on the economic level, the USA are endeavouring to lower the European tariff walls in order to improve American trade balance. To implement this line of policy, the USA are counting on the neo-fascist forces of Bonn. The West-German forces view their collaboration with American atomic power as a means to complete the first stage of the nuclear armament of the Bundeswehr.

PEACEFUL FORCES

Revolutionary Africa in its fight against Yankee imperialism is joining the ranks of the peaceful forces in protest throughout the world, against

the threat issuing from the American endeavour to maintain its hegemony.

In an attempt to free themselves from the unwieldy tutelage of their American ally and rejecting the perspective of a probable subjection to West German neo-nazi forces, western bourgeois circles have been concentrating on rounding up their own nuclear forces. Great Britain and France are two obvious examples of this policy.

Nonetheless, the USA are still playing their game.

The arrival of Chancellor Erhard has made things easier for them: Erhard is replacing old Adenauer who favoured the elaboration of a "European" Europe free from overwhelming American influences.

Likewise, Mr. Wilson's misfortune with the pound sterling has enabled the US to strengthen their influence on Britain and caused the latter to embrace the M.L.F. theses. These theses implicitly allow for the atomic armament of West Germany, thereby ignoring the treaties prohibiting such a re-armament. This state of affairs will compel the socialist countries to take measures to ensure their own security. Thus, these M.L.F. theses give new impetus to the armament race.

INDISPENSABLE PARTNER

Great Britain is an indispensable partner in the creation of an M.L.F. controlled by American decisions. For without Great Britain, the so-called multilateral atomic force would obviously be no-

thing else but a military pact between US imperialism and neo-fascist force of Bonn.

This Germano-American pact was described by the French Prime Minister Georges Pompidou as "more or less directed against France."

At this point, it will be useful to sum up De Gaulle's policy on this issue. His policy has helped to increase the tensions within the imperialist camp and therefore is playing an active part in weakening it.

Gaullist diplomacy intends to place France at the head of a "European" Europe. In other words, a Europe representing at the world level, a distinct political force, and a distinct economic force.

The creation of a national

Continued on page 4

ANNOUNCEMENT

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The Forces of the African Revolution (I)

by
Jack Woddis

ANY real comprehension of the great revolution which has swept over Africa in recent years is impossible without some appreciation of the forces which participated in this revolution, of their relations with one another in the course of the revolution, of their relative strengths and their roles. It is still more difficult (without such an appreciation) to understand the problems that the independent African states now face, the varying phases of the revolution through which they are now entering, and the perspectives for their further development.

African political leaders and writers are only too aware of the general nature of the problem, of the need to comprehend the nature of the dynamic forces which have helped to bring the African revolution to its present phase and whose role is decisive for the further unfolding of the revolution.

It is obvious, too, that there is a rich variety of conditions, of paths of developments, of social forces, in the thirty-six independent African states, each of which requires separate consideration and emphasis; yet, at the same time, at least as far as most of tropical Africa, or 'Africa south of the Sahara' is concerned, there are certain common features relevant to all the territories under consideration.

In the last few years, and perhaps even more today, there has been considerable discussion in Africa, as well as amongst European Marxists, concerning the structure of African society. Questions have been raised as to the relevancy of a class analysis in Africa. It has been said that "there are no classes at war, but only social groups struggling for influence." Leopold Senghor: *On African Socialism*, 1964. Or, that class differences exist but that they are not important. It has sometimes been argued that classes have been a European introduction into Africa, and that they are not really native to the African situation. Important consideration, too, has been given to the question of the class struggle, and doubts have been expressed as to whether it has any significance for Africa.

INTENSE DEBATE

Finally, there has been intense debate as to the role played by different classes in Africa's historic revolution. The view that the working class has been the leading force in the revolution has found both supporters and challengers. Some have suggested that this role has been played by the peasantry. Others, such as Franz Fanon, that the 'lumpen-proletarians' have been the real 'revolutionaries'. The national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, too, have both been depicted as the leading inspiration of the revolution. Another widely held view is that no single class can be claimed as the leader, that the African revolution has been a triumphant achievement of the whole people, of an alliance of all the healthy and patriotic forces of African society striving to overthrow colonialism and its hated tyranny in order to carry out the twin task of restoring to Africa her real identity and historic greatness, and creating in Africa a new society which will carry forward Africa's traditions and provide a new, rich life for its people.

It is therefore evident that an examination of the forces of the African revolution is most relevant to our understanding of that revolution, of its very character, its path and its future. The African revolution is not yet complete. In a sense, it has only begun. Those who wish to assist its rapid completion obviously will need to have a firm grasp of the forces which will be the main driving force in the new phase of Africa's revolutionary development.

The examination made in this article, and the conclusions that I shall try to draw are, by the very nature of

things, only tentative. Much more research is needed, for mere conjecture is of no value. But the research itself is handicapped by the lack of statistical information regarding the people of Africa. Under colonial rule no proper censuses were carried out; populations were often estimated on the basis of poll tax assessments. Now that African states are free to conduct their own censuses it is being strikingly revealed how inaccurate the previous estimates were. Nigeria, for example, which was estimated in 1953 to have a population of 30 million, is now found to have 56 million people. The new state of Zambia, whose 1961 census showed 2,490,000 Africans, apparently has nearer 3½ million Africans.

STRUCTURE OF AFRICAN SOCIETY

When one comes to examine the structure of African society, the difficulties are even greater. Figures for the size of the working class, for example, are difficult to ascertain with any degree of accuracy in most cases. The colonial authorities usually confined their attention to those in government employ or in the employ of major monopolies and plantations. Africans employed in smaller indigenous enterprises usually did not enter statistics. In agriculture there was often a blurring in statistics between peasants and workers, though this was in part, as we shall see, a consequence of the stage of class formation reached in Africa. Sometimes figures refer to those in "gainful activity", which cover a variety of class forces. Women, though admittedly a smaller proportion of the total labour force, are frequently omitted from the figures. As regards African employers of labour, the figures are even more limited. In Ghana today, where a more scientific approach to statistics is being employed, a much fuller analysis is becoming possible. Similarly, the recent decisions of the nine-day seminar on labour statistics, sponsored by the United Nations Economic Committee for Africa (ECA) and the International Labour Office (ILO), to collect relevant information from the different African states should act as a spur for further work in this field. But for the moment, one has to act on the basis of partial information and on statistics which are often largely estimates.

AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Despite these limitations, however, and serious as they may be, it is nevertheless possible, and certainly necessary to analyse the forces of the African revolution on the basis of the facts so far available. Later information may result in modifications to what can be said now, but I believe that there is already sufficient material to enable one to deduce, in broad outline, the position, strength and role of the main forces which have participated in the African revolution.

Before making this assessment however, there is one further observation that I wish to make. Much of the debate regarding the question of class-

es in African society has undoubtedly been, of immense value to Marxists in helping to focus attention on what is specific to African conditions. The ideas of men such as Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, Ben Bella, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, Numa-de, Amílcar Cabral and Franz Fanon, who have suffered imprisonment at the hands of the imperialists, participated in mass struggles for the liberation of their countries, including in some cases armed struggles, and, in most cases, carry a heavy responsibility in the leadership of their respective peoples, are essential to an understanding of Africa. Their propositions and views, based as they are on a close experience and observation of African reality, have helped Marxists to avoid the facile and mechanical transference of European experience to their study of African development. Marxists, in Africa and elsewhere, appreciate today more than ever before that to comprehend what is taking place in Africa and to influence its outcome it is necessary to direct our Marxist weapons to the actual circumstances in Africa to what exists in reality and not what is imagined on the basis of some general Marxist propositions. And if today we are nearer this understanding it is in large part, due to the stimulus provided by the work and thought of some of Africa's outstanding thinkers.

"CLASS"

Some of the misunderstanding which has arisen in the discussions on Africa is a consequence of the non-scientific use of the term "class". This is a problem by no means confined to Africa. Marxists in the Western world, too, have found it necessary to combat the ideas of "new thinkers" who proclaim either that we are "all capitalists" now, or that we are "all workers", or that workers are becoming "middle class"—a term which itself has no scientific meaning. Lenin defined a social class in scientific terms which have a relevance to all societies and all regions of the world:

"Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically definite system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in laws) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions and method of acquiring the share of social wealth that they obtain. Classes are groups of people one of which may appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in the definite system of social economy." (Selected Works: Vol.9, pp.432/3)

It is, as Lenin made clear, how people stand in relation to the means of production which is the key to their class. From this standpoint, Africa is indeed very complex. Even before the era of twentieth century colonialism, tropical African countries did not in general possess such clear-cut class divisions as, for example, most countries did in Asia, where systems of feudalism had existed over long periods. Four hundred years of the European slave trade and of Arab slavery had wrought untold destruction in Africa. It is estimated that over those four centuries Africa, lost

Revolution (I)

some 60 million people (some estimates put it higher)—killed in the slave hunts, died on the slave ships, landed across the Atlantic for slave labour. These were Africa's most virile and active forces, her direct forces of production. If, in exchange, Africa had received new modern methods of technique not all would have been a loss; but, in exchange for her manpower, Africa received

(This article has appeared in CRITICA MARXISTA—an Italian marxist journal).

gin, beads and rifles, commodities of absolutely no productive value whatever. Tribe was turned against tribe in a mad internecine war to earn rifles by selling slaves—for the possession of rifles was essential for one's own protection from falling into slavery, and the traders demanded slaves in return for the rifles. Thus, at a time when Europe was progressing from feudalism to capitalism and making enormous technological advances, Africa, by this same advancing Europe, was being dragged down and her society thrown into temporary stagnation. On the blood and bones of African slavery European capitalism, and especially that of Britain and France, flourished; new towns arose, inventions were made, factories were built, and Europe laid the basis of her passage to modern industrial development.

But, at the end of the nineteenth century Africa, already in a backward economic state, was to suffer yet a further heavy blow; before she could recover from her four hundred years of darkness, the imperialist whirlwind was upon her. Once more her normal development was frustrated and new distortions were imposed on her economy.

FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF DARKNESS

Thus tropical Africa entered the twentieth century with a form of society which has been termed sometimes "elementary feudalism", sometimes "tribal feudalism", and even "feudal tribalism" the latter two definitions both implying a feudal reality behind the outward tribal form. Within this elementary feudalism there were strong survivals of patriarchal society which are still seen today in the firm solidarity of members of the social unit on the level of the patriarchal family, the clan or the village; and especially in the widespread absence of private ownership of the land. In brief, Africa entered the present century with no developed capitalist class of its own, with only the barest beginnings of a working class, with pockets of large-scale feudal landownership (e.g. Northern Nigeria, Buganda, Ethiopia, Barotseland, Upper Volta and the northern regions of the French Cameroons), but with the majority of her people still carrying on their subsistence agriculture on their communally owned lands, and still practising their local handicrafts and village industries. Only during the past sixty years, and especially in the past two decades, has Africa begun to emerge from this pattern of development.

It is therefore understandable if the growth of new classes in African society—of workers

and capitalists—should not sometimes be given immediate attention or emphasis. In any case, these classes are still in a process of development, and are in no sense mature, clearly defined classes such as we see in the industrialised West. Workers are usually part-time peasants, and peasants are part-time workers. Differentiation amongst the peasants is often not very far advanced: the private ownership of land is beginning to spread but no decisive break-up of communal land ownership has yet taken place, and the main tracts of land are still owned by peasant communities. African capitalists still comprise a relatively small group, mainly in farming, trade and land speculation, and have not yet been able to wrest from the imperialist monopolies any substantial portions of the economy for themselves. When one takes into account, too, the ideological influence of the united front for national independence that has engulfed all African countries without exception, it can more readily be understood why there is often hesitancy by some African leaders to accept the significance of social classes when considering Africa's present phase of development. But the significance cannot be denied.

If I commence with Africa's working class this is because this is the most important of the new classes in Africa, the numerically largest modern class, the most rapidly growing class, the class whose existence, characteristics and growth can be most clearly traced. In most cases it would be incorrect to regard African workers as possessing nothing but their own labour power. Most of them retain a foot in the communal land system, working, in between periods of wage employment, on their own or with their family, on the small plot of land allocated to them by the chief. As long as they use their plots of land, they are entitled to have it but not to own it, and therefore not to sell it. But the piece of land is so small, or the soil so poor, that the African usually cannot earn enough either to pay his cash taxes or to buy the goods he needs. Thus, even though retaining a plot of land in the countryside, the African is compelled by economic necessity to sell his labour power—and that has usually meant employment in a European-owned enterprise. Economic necessity to sell his labour power and take up wage earning employment makes the African a semi-proletarian notwithstanding his continued link with the land; and increasingly, this link is being cut, too.

AFRICAN WORKING CLASS

The origins of the African working class can be traced back to the birth of the imperialist epoch, that is to the turn of the century. To exploit the resources they had stolen from the people, the imperialists were driven to create conditions for the growth of an African working class. The division of Africa, decided on by the Western powers at the 1885 Berlin Conference, had been put into operation by the beginning of the twentieth century, notwithstanding the courageous resistance of the African people, who were heavily handicapped by inferior weapons and, frequently, by tribal division. Having seized Africa, the imperialist conquerors were anxious to turn it into a source of profit. That was the main purpose of the conquest.

Crude slavery had been largely abolished, but what was to take its place if Africa was to be compelled to yield its

riches? Diamonds had been discovered in South Africa in 1866 and gold in 1886; gold was found in Southern Rhodesia, in Mashaland, in the 1860's; and in 1890, agents of the imperialist adventurer, Cecil Rhodes, tricked Lewanika, Paramount Chief of Barotseland, into signing a document giving the British South Africa Company mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia (now the independent state of Zambia), which was to lead to the seizure of the rich copper wealth by the big international monopolies especially of Britain, South Africa and later, of America. The big European trading firms had also moved in; and along with them came the necessity of roads and railways. At the same time, there was an influx of white settlers into such territories as South Africa, the Rhodesias, and Kenya, as well as the setting up of large European-owned plantations in many parts of Africa. Colonial government and the maintenance of troops required labour for building, for laundry and domestic work, for transport, even for certain levels of clerical and administrative labour.

For all of these tasks labour was required, and of special importance was agriculture and mining. Without labour to produce the crops or to go down into the earth to bring up the valuable mineral ores, the possession of African land and resources was virtually worthless.

NECESSITY AND FORCE

To create conditions for the emergence of this working class, the imperialists utilised the twin weapons of economic necessity and force. Notwithstanding the terrible destruction, resulting from four hundred years of the European slave traffic the African people, if left to themselves, could still have existed on the basis of their own subsistence agriculture, handicrafts village industry and barter. Describing Bechuanaland, the well-known anthropologist, Dr. I. Schapera has explained:

"Before the coming of the Europeans, all the Native inhabitants of the Territory were economically self-sufficient. In the main, each Bantu household produced its own food by raising crops and breeding livestock; it also built its own huts, and made most of its own clothing and domestic utensils. Certain utensils and other goods were made and bartered by specialist craftsmen, who supplemented in this way their income from farming. . . . Since the coming of the Europeans this old self-sufficiency has broken down."

The "old self-sufficiency" did not break down by accident. For the imperialists, it had to be broken down if they were to obtain the labour for their own purposes. And the economic weapons used for destroying this former self-sufficiency, (which admittedly was not on a very advanced level), were the seizure of land, the crippling of African agriculture, in the elimination of many village crafts and industries, and the imposition of hut and poll tax.

DESTROYED BY COMPETITION

Village crafts and industries are largely destroyed by competition from imperialist manufactured imports, or by the European monopolisation of the economy within Africa itself, as a consequence of the imperialist conquest. A *Special*

Study on Economic Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, issued by the United Nations in 1958 points out that in many parts of Africa imported textiles from industrialised countries have resulted in "a complete disappearance of domestic weaving." Other crafts, it says, have "suffered a similar decline". A study on *Mining, Commerce and Finance in Nigeria* (1948) noted that:

"Since the growth of European economic enterprise in Nigeria, native mining has been on the decline because of the *de facto* monopolisation of deposits by Europeans. . . . or through the competition of European products with the final products of native mineral industries." The study noted that tin used by the Hausa people for tinning their brassware was formerly mined by Nigerians and smelted by clay furnaces, but "by 1923 this indigenous industry had completely disappeared." Similarly, surface ironstone had been smelted locally and used as a source of iron, but already by the 1930's the local smelting industry had "largely died out". Professor Daryll Forde, describing the human consequences of this decline in Nigeria traditional mining, has written: "Traditional guilds of smiths have decayed, leaving their members impoverished and threatened with social degradation." In many parts of Africa, the local production of salt has been seriously curtailed as a consequence of the import of salt from European sources.

DECLINE IN LOCAL MANUFACTURE

A report from France (*Assemblée de L'Union Française*, No.280, 21 Juillet, 1953) talks of a similar process of decline in local manufacture in the former French colonies in Africa. "Deterioration of African craftsmanship is very rapid. . . . certain objects, such as household utensils, produced by African craftsmen have disappeared, calabashes being replaced by basins, wooden bowls by plates." H. Labouret, in his *Paysans d'Afrique Occidentale*, 1941, reported that the collapse of African handicrafts had been so sweeping in some areas that special vocational schools had had to be established in order to preserve these crafts.

By 1958, the *U.N. Special Study on Economic Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories* could write:

"The indigenous communities have been brought into contact with world trade centres and their economies have become linked to the sensitive commodity markets of the distant world. In less than half a century the closed system of family economy has broken into pieces under the pressure circumstances."

Decisive in bringing about this catastrophic change has been the decline of traditional agriculture. This was the result of imperialist policy which seized much of the best land, turned whole territories over to the production of single cash crops for export, and introduced various measures to inhibit the emergence of an independent and prosperous African agriculture. In South Africa, the Europeans seized over 90 per cent of the land, and today still hold 88 per cent. In Southern Rhodesia they rapidly acquired over half the land, and almost the same percentage in Swaziland.

The Cuban Revolution

RAPID INCREASE IN EDUCATION

NEARLY a third of the Cuban population, a 28.5 per cent was matriculated in schools under the Ministry of Education for the school year of 1963-64. In this number, are not included those students in revolutionary training schools or in special centres organised by other State departments or other organisations.

The fact that 2,008,744 persons in all ages, (86,364 of them are in boarding schools or have grants) go regularly to classes ranging from primary schools to university level, gives an idea of the enormous effort being carried out in the educational field in Cuba, where most students are now peasants and workers.

The matriculation for the school year 1964-65, which has just started, has been intensified by the impulse given to it by the Education Councils and their integral organisations. It has been noticed a high degree of matriculation in primary and secondary schools, as well as in workers and peasants education, and in the fields of the technical and professional training.

The target given by the National Assembly of People's Educational Organisations which was summoned by the National Education Council, was 1,300,000. The matriculation in primary schools rose to 1,210,000 students, who together with the 90,000 students enrolled in the mountain schools, to be started in January 1965, brings the total to 1,300,000.

courses of workers and peasants education were excellent in 1963-64. 25,444 students ended their first year; 36,146 obtained their six form certificates, and 8,994 ended their secondary studies. The whole of the students ending their respective courses was 70,584.

At Secondary school level, mass education techniques had been brought to the technical and administrative levels and to their relations with the teachers, and the young students in the training schools, as well as to the Secondary Students Union, Young Communists Union and the National Union of Education and Scientific Workers.

The participation of professors, directors of centres, provincial and regional sub-directors and national inspectors and employees were clearly seen in the elaboration of

programmes, projects, systems to check students progress, planning, tasks orientation and organisation etc. etc.

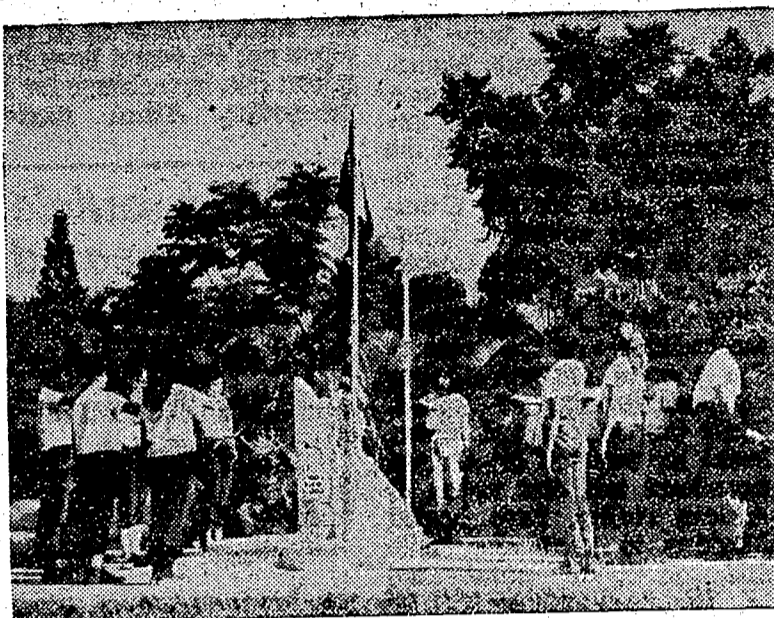
The total secondary school matriculation for the year 1963-64 had a considerable increase; 14,817 students more than the previous course. The number this year was 137,930 students; 121,097 in basic secondary schools (119,416 in towns and 1,618 in rural areas) and 16,833 in the pre-university institutes. Out of this amount 17,398 students were given grants.

VOLUNTARY WORK BY STUDENTS

During the course, thousands of these students gave hundreds of thousands of productive voluntary work in factories and farms, showing in this way their will to put together work and study, and bring these to ordinary life, as a part of their moral and academic training. There were many notable cases, such as for instance the students mobi-

lization to help with the sugar crop in the Province of Oriente, mobilisation known by the name of Plan Mayo-Norte and by which during two weeks nearly 3,000 students and more than 250 teachers,

of 49,815 students, 15,796 of them had grants. The enrolment was as follows: Institute of Languages, 6,301; Schools of Administration, 12,381; Institutes of Administration, 13,295; Institutes of technolo-



Picture shows a group of Cuban Students saluting their national flag beside the statue of the apostle Jose Marti.

worked in the sowing, cleaning and gathering of the sugar cane.

The Institutions for technical and professional training reached a matriculation figure

of 3,990, Industrial Schools, 12,545; Institutes of technological Veterinary, 1,303. It must be emphasized that the boarding centres covering mostly farm-

ing and cattle raising, and industrial studies, as well as those dedicated to language teaching do not have problems of attendance.

Amongst other educational activities are also the knowledge competitions in primary, secondary, workers and peasants institutions as well as the safety days organised on matters of traffic, health and cleanliness, tree planting, good manners, children International Day, seminars, entertainments, meetings, exhibitions etc. etc.

was 23,576, and of this figure 11,476 went to evening classes and 12,103 to special centres for women's training. Of this number 11,562 were given grants.

With regard to training and capacitation of teachers and professors, we must say that 12,342 young people were scholarships holders and they were distributed amongst the pre-vocational centres at San-Lorenzo and Minas del Frio, both centres in Sierra Maestra, as well as in the centre, Manuel Ascunce Domenech at the Sierra Escambray, in the Central Province of Las Villas and at the Pedagogical Institute Makarenko in Havana. More than 2,000 of them were non-certificate teachers who were trained during emergency periods, and more than other 9,000 non-certificate teachers are being trained in the pedagogical promotion schools.

WARMING THE DEDICATED

Furthermore, the courses of promotion had warmed to the task all those dedicated to teaching, whether they are full or parttime teachers, certificated teachers, primary, secondary, workers and peasants teachers. These courses had been organised by the Department of Training and Promotion of Teachers and by the Institute of Educational Promotion. We must emphasize the activities carried out by the Education Councils with regard to the Plan of Vocational training prepared and carried out by the Department of Psychology of the Ministry of Education.

A very important role was played by the Department of Women's Training. In order to realise this effort, we must give some figures of enrolment; the total enrolment

SUPPORT FOR CASTRO

And finally, thousands of teachers all over Cuba, following the leadership of Major Fidel Castro, taken up and developed by INDER (National Institute of Sports Physical Training and Outdoor Activities) and by the Ministry of Education, have just ended a course which will allow them to bring to primary schools physical training, achieving in this way the full types of education intended.

TARGET EXCEEDED

Last year, the IV Congress of Municipal Education Councils proposed a national target of 1,230,000 students, which was exceeded by 50,664. From this total number 3.3% abandoned school, but according to the age average (backward students) are considered that the great majority had gone to special courses, to the Army or to join the productive sector.

The general average of attendance to primary schools was in 1964 75%, which represents a record figure. The target for rural areas given as 70% was achieved with an excess of 2%, and the urban areas reached an average of 78%. Here we have to point out the high level of attendance reached in the mountain school; this was 71.4%.

The promotion figures for primary schools also show a considerable increase when compared with the year 1962-3. The teaching has been better than in previous years. The teachers worked harder and the examinations carried out by promotion commissions were well controlled, especially those referring to the six forms.

These results have been caused by a correct technical guidance; by the teachers training courses attended by the great majority of them; by the emulation between students; by the activities carried out by the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba and by the enthusiasm of the teachers who have been working more than 1.5 million extra teaching voluntary hours.

At the moment there are 3,957 primary schools "sponsored", that is to say helped by factories or other places of work all over the Island, bringing an increase of 635 schools over the previous year. These data are considered incomplete, because some of the later "sponsorings" have not yet been included.

PROGRESS IN PEASANT EDUCATION

Workers and peasants education has achieved a great progress during the above said year. The IV Congress of Municipal Education Councils fixed a target of 405,000 students which was completely filled with an excess of 11,954 the whole matriculations was 416,954. The Provinces of Havana, and Oriente, on the Northern District, fulfilled in excess their targets. All provinces surpassed their targets, especially Havana where the number was 110%. The promotion of the different

Spotlight On South Africa

Some Notes On 1964

THE end of 1964 draws nigh. It is at such a period that one normally takes stock before launching into the New Year.

On our side we have undoubtedly suffered severe losses. There has been the Rivonia Trial of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and others; recently Wilton Mkwayi was sentenced to life imprisonment and his colleagues to terms ranging from 12 to 20 years; and currently the eminent defence lawyer Braam Fischer, Q.C., is facing charges with 13 others under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act. The world and the people of South Africa will always remember how Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba were secretly executed in spite of appeals for clemency by Pope Paul VI, U Thant and other outstanding international figures. We cannot forget how "Babla" Saloojee met his death in the course of brutal interrogation by the police.

TIGHTING UP DEFENCE

Internally, Verwoerd is fast making progress with the building of a well-equipped army; with arms "made in South Africa". On the labour front he is experiencing tremendous difficulty with the overseas recruitment of white workers, but the passing of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act will enable him to regiment African labour in true Hitler style. Such are the chronic labour problems of an apartheid economy. In the Transkei, with his stooge "Native" Prime Minister, Matanzima, he still finds it necessary to rule by the vicious Proclamation 400, under which a state of emergency was declared in this Bantustan in 1950 and which is still in force today. The year also saw certain members of the Liberal Party of South Africa, now expelled, using the methods of sabotage to oppose the Government.

In the southern part of Africa, the imperialist oppressors have made some unwelcome progress by way of alliances. Salazar has reached accord with Banda; Smith with Verwoerd; Verwoerd with the traitor Tshombe and also with Sobhuza II of Swaziland. Verwoerd also managed to have the Buccaneer aircraft exempted from Harold Wilson's arms embargo, much to the regret of the people of South Africa.

INCREASING WORLD PRESSURE

On the other hand, South Africa was, for the first time, excluded from the world Olympic Games after years of struggle on the part of progressive sportsmen and others. South Africa is also experiencing increasing difficulties with other world bodies in which the presence of the representatives of White South Africa is met with condemnation and revulsion. They have been expelled from many international organisations. The United Nations Special Committee On Apartheid has made proposals which are far-reaching in demanding positive international action against the Verwoerd Government. April this year, saw an important economic sanctions conference take place in London where many concrete measures were thoroughly discussed with a view to applying further pressure on South Africa. Recently an International Public Committee for the Investigation of the Racialist Crimes of Verwoerd was created. The trial will be held in Algiers next year. It is to be remembered that a similar committee was set up to try Hitler and his henchmen in 1934.

Meanwhile Verwoerd watches the world with trepidation and wonders how much longer he is going to be allowed to hold South West Africa. Of tremendous encouragement to us has been the declaration of an independent Zambia and the Republic of Kenya. The growing unity of Tanzania and the great progress being made in improving the socio-economic conditions of the people is an inspiring example to the rest of Africa. Tanzania has proved to be an effective and consistent bulwark against the intrigues of international imperialism and neo-colonialist forces in Africa. The com-

ment of hostilities in Mozambique is watched with the greatest interest and support by all South Africans, indeed by the whole of Africa and the world.

We know that Verwoerd is being isolated more and more in a world in which we are winning more and more friends. We know that Verwoerd cannot escape his downfall at the hands of the people of South Africa.

Let us face the New Year with renewed vigour and re-

solve to make it one of still greater successes.

STOP ARMS AND OIL SUPPLIES TO SOUTH AFRICA; STOP TRADE WITH THE FASCIST VERWOERD REGIME; INTENSIFY THE CULTURAL AND SPORTS BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA;

LONG LIVE THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT; FORWARD TO A FREE SOUTH AFRICA;

The Contradictions of the West

Continued from page 2

atomic force is an essential instrument of De Gaulle's policy. This policy is in contradiction with the objectives of American imperialism, particularly in the European domain.

Texan politicians angered by De Gaulle's stubbornness maintain that the General does not have the material means to back his policy. We will refrain from taking sides here. However, it is very clear that the US do not feel as self-assured. The divisions present within American governmental circles are a proof of this. The USA cannot afford to ignore that besides his "little bomb", General de Gaulle possesses another force of dissuasion with which to silence Texan politicians: a monetary force.

WEAKENING FORCES

The truth is that the safes of the Bank of France contain one thousand five hundred million dollars which the US could hardly refuse to refund if the French government required as much. If France were to ask for the integral exchange of these dollars against gold, the American reserves at Fort Knox would fall by 10% overnight, in other words from fifteen to thirteen thousand five hundred

gold-dollars. Thus, the American reserves would fall well below the security level, putting the USA and the hegemony of the dollar in a state of emergency...

Those are a few of the essential forces which are weakening the imperialist group. These contradictions are deepening and may well serve the interests of those capable of using them.

We know only too well that NATO is one of the main instruments of US Imperialism.

NO SECRETS

We are going through the Congo experience and we know where Salazar's arms come from. In connection with the colonial war waged by the US against the people of Vietnam, we have but to listen to Dean Rusk in Paris appealing to the NATO countries "for their concrete help to American policy in South Vietnam". So, there are no secrets.

In 1969, the North Atlantic Treaty, which had been given twenty-year's validity, expires.

It could well be that at that time, NATO will cease to exist. US imperialism would then lose one of its most precious instruments of intimidation...

Poems From The Left

COMRADES:

Men and women I have never met,
Whose faces I have never seen, yet love,
Whose hands I've never clasped, yet feel their warmth,
Whose voices I have never heard, nor shall;
Men and women scattered o'er the world,
In places strange, with manners strange to me.
Of different race, to different cultures bred—
Their lives remote from all that I have known:

Men and women working for a world
Of greater justice, greater happiness,
Believing, trusting, loving humankind,
Building, creating, making the world afresh—
With intellectual grip and moral strength
Holding their faith, suffering, struggling still:

These are my comrades: this the strength and bond
Of our great party reaching round the earth.

Elfrida B. Smith.

NO TIME:

No time to face the mighty vicious world,
What stance be mine, what mask shall me adorn?
Shall I take on pretence of things, and laud
That here another waits, thou being born
In poverty accursed, in this great age
Of classless truths, where handshakes and a word
Open more doors to Hamlet's play backstage;
What stance shall I assume?
Give me my sword!

E. J. Harman

THE SUPREME LESSON:

For a thousand times a thousand years
murderers have lived and thrived.
Today we still teach our children
about heroes—Mercius said:
'For the supreme fighter—
the supreme punishment'.
I say: for the supreme teacher
the supreme lesson:
you shall learn to learn
from your children.

Saul Orbach.

LIBERTY

My imposing figure stands proud and erect,
Covered with verdigris;
My soul is cold and warped by greed
My culture—a contemptible breed
Of men who use me night and day
To harbour hungry birds of prey.
My eyes are blind
I cannot see the human struggle to be free—
The labouring force—
Whose distilled blood changes men into friends.
I do not heed the marching feet
Trampling down the sod
I am the Statue of Liberty
I am the American god.

Ivy Barlow.

The Socialist Revolution in Africa (4)

NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM

IN the previous articles we have seen how imperialism is a world wide system, a stage, the final one in the development of capitalism. It is an exploitative system exploiting both the colonial countries and the working class of the metropolitan countries. Because the Socialist countries have moved out its influence and have taken away one third of the world's surface with its population completely out of its sphere of operations and saved them from exploitation, the imperialist powers have ever since the first breakaway in 1917 in the Soviet Union tried, in vain, to smash the socialist countries and the socialist movement.

We showed how the decisive defeat of imperialism demands the unity of these three, objectively, anti-imperialist forces. It demands a sense of internationalism and international solidarity. In the next two articles we examine how the concept of internationalism can be reconciled with the growth of national consciousness in the colonial countries. These concepts are not in fact contradictory but complementary.

Capitalism has given birth to many phenomena. It gives rise to imperialism after various stages of development and it has also given rise to the concept of the nation. Colonial relationships have given rise to the national liberation movements, embodying the struggles of the colonial oppressed peoples for their independence and a new fuller life.

The concept embodied in the term national is very important and we shall attempt a definition of a nation and of national consciousness in these two articles.

If we are to defeat imperialism we need to know what it really is, what are its roots and origins as well as its surface manifestations, so we need to understand what a nation is and what nationalisms is, if we are really to win a national independence which has any kind of reality.

SYMBIOSIS OF MAN

Man combines with other men to produce the necessities of life. In working together with others, he produces food, shelter and clothing. He engages in social labour, working with other men and women in more or less stable communities. Arising from this he creates socially acceptable rules for conduct in both work and leisure, in his production relations, in his social conduct. In this way, laws, customs, language, culture, a common consciousness arising from shared experiences over a long historical period all develop, reflecting the basic mode of production but also affecting and influencing productive forces and production relations in their turn.

Such early social organisation would be based on groups of people who hunted together or who, later cultivated a common area of land which with the development of agricultural technique would remain the same area in which the group would be settled. The social group in such a stage of development is the tribe or clan, sharing a common language, and history, taking part in the same production processes and through their shared experiences developing a sense of belonging.

In slave society or under feudalism the social unit is based on stable agriculture carried on in a given territorial area but still producing, in the main for direct consumption. The slave owner consumed the surplus forcibly exacted from the labour of the slaves, the feudal lord travelled from estate to estate with his retinue consuming the produce of the estate which the serf had to give up to him or to produce by his labour on the lord's land. Production of goods for sale was limited to a very small local market and was not the dominant element in the local economy.

Under these circumstances social consciousness, the awareness of belonging to a special group was local, men identified themselves as from tribes, or feudal areas or in the case of the medieval city states of Europe as from that particular city. Men were identified as Fantes, Burgundians, Venetians; they were not at this stage conscious of being Ghanaian, French or Italian. The reason is clear. There was

at that stage no Ghanaian, French or Italian nation.

Nations have many characteristics in common with the tribe, the feudal unit or the city state. In each there is a common language, a common culture. The fourth vital characteristic of a nation however, which could arise only with the historical stage of capitalist development is entirely lacking, that characteristic is economic. A new economic feature ushered into the stage of history by capitalism itself.

Capitalism is a system of commodity production. Goods are produced not as in the case of tribal, slave or feudal society for direct or very local consumption but for sale in an unknown, often far distant market. This is one of the most important aspects of capitalism. It produces commodities.

To enable capitalism to develop freely, it needs an internal market where goods can be moved about easily by means of good communications like roads, railways, water and the possibility of transporting them easily from one place to another.

A second important characteristic of capitalism is that it develops social production. Instead of the handicraftman starting and completing a product, working at it through all the necessary stages, capitalism develops forms of production in which the labour of many people goes into the creation of a single article. The raw material will come from one part of the country, in modern times from another country thousands of miles away, this will be processed and then passed on to other workers who will perform perhaps only one minute operation on it before passing it on to the next worker. To distribute the labour of yet more people are needed in warehouses, offices and shops, on lorries and railways. In this way the simplest product under capitalism will embody the labour of many, it is the product of what we term social labour.

NEW CONDITIONS FOR CAPITALISM

The activities of capitalism both in the process of production and in the process of selling commodities need to extend over wide areas and if this is to be made possible and easy certain new conditions are needed.

For goods to pass easily from place to place good means of communications are needed free from control and interference by local rulers or chiefs. To facilitate exchange a common currency is needed and a state apparatus which will ensure law and order, in addition, capitalism needs a supply of labour free from tribal or from feudal ties which is mobile and which has no means of subsistence but by the sale of its labour power.

The development of these new economic features, the internal market and all that flows from it is the feature which lays the basis of the nation as distinct from the tribe or feudal estate.

If one examines historically the growth of nations in Europe one can see that those early nations like England and Holland were precisely the ones where capitalism developed early and was able to

throw off the restraints of feudalism. In Germany and Italy where capitalism developed late, the German and Italian nations were still being formed in the second half of the 19th century.

There are of course social groups which have these four features of common territory, common language, common culture and a common internal market perhaps only partially developed, which are in a transitional stage. The term pre-nations is usually given to express this stage of development towards a nation.

This is of course, a very simplified and abstract explanation of how nations develop. Each nation develops these characteristics described above in widely differing circumstances and conditions and this complex development often conditions national features of both economy, politics and culture.

It should be clear from this that nations are the same as tribes or ethnic groups and that frequently the market draws into its influence men and women who have different languages or culture but it enmeshes them in its activity and this basically conditions the kind of life they will lead.

SAME LANGUAGE SAME NATION?

To speak the same language as another man does means one belongs to the same nation. The Germans and Austrians speak the same language, as do the Americans and the English; they are clearly not members of the same nation. Czechoslovakia, however, which is a nation consists of two main groups who have differing languages and embraces smaller groups with yet further languages, for example the Hungarian speaking peoples. They all however, irrespective of language and even culture share a common boundary and a common internal market, a common economic life.

It is dangerous to confuse nations with race. When an Englishman emigrates to Canada he ceases to be a member of the English nation, he is now Canadian even though he may have strong sentiments about England because of this history, culture and early experiences. There are people of the Jewish religion in many parts of the world with common religious beliefs and practices and similar elements in their culture. They are not a nation. The American Jew has certain common cultural links with an Israeli, but this does not make him a member of the Israeli nation, he is an American. In Israel which has tried to establish a nation on the concept of race, they have found that they have national minority problems not only because Arabs still live there, but because Jews from widely differing environments have tried to come together; they are finding the task of constructing a nation on the basis of race, as complicated as if they were of differing racial origins. Indeed it is very difficult to define racial origins and the Israeli state is having difficulty in reaching a satisfactory definition which will be valid in law of what constitutes a Jew. The English nation is composed of various ethnic groups. Different parts of England were about 1,000 years ago inhabited by different tribes and by sequences of invasion from abroad all kinds of ethnic mixtures resulted, but there is no doubt an English nation.

We have produced these examples to show that race is not the same as nation.

That a nation emerges with capitalist production and indeed curiously enough in the process of creating nations, creates national problems.

One of the most useful discoveries made by exploiting classes is the tactic of divide and rule. In the very process of the formation of nations, the exploiting capitalist class saw the rich possibilities for them of creating splits and divisions along racial lines of those whom they employed and whose labour they exploited. Those groups who were in any way different they tried to set apart as we see in the United States where all kinds of minorities as well as Afro-Americans are under privileged or openly persecuted. In Ireland we see splits engendered on the basis of religion and in Britain the racialists, (all believer capitalism to a man) work hard to divide immigrant workers from the West Indies, Pakistan and Africa from their

people in hardship and suffering within the country itself and for millions of slaves and the sale of whom brought surplus capital which enabled rapid accumulation to take the suffering was indescribable. In Britain itself, the collapse of feudalism was pressed by 100 years of wars between rival feudal houses. Capitalist political forms were not established until a further civil war in which the representatives of the new capitalist forces finally smashed the remnants of the state. In other countries of Europe, wars, revolutions and other conflicts signalled the growth of the new capitalist form of society and with it the emergence of the nation. New class divisions emerged in which the mass of the people

large scale units of economic organisation were developed.

The extraction of raw materials, the raising of industrial crops brought the colonial countries into the orbit of the capitalist market economy making these primary products subject to market prices fixed on a world scale and using the colonies as special kinds of markets, highly protected, for the industrial productions, of the imperialist country. In addition workers and peasants were brought nearer to the operation of social products. Their labour embodied frequently in commodities which also embodied the labour of workers in the metropolitan countries.

TRIBALISM WEAKENED

The breaking down of subsistence economies based on the cultivation of the land and not geared to a market impinged on the economic basis of tribalism as many men in one way or another were forced into becoming wage workers in mining and extractive industries. Men from different tribes and different regions were drawn into working side by side with the same production relations to the imperialists, namely they were all wage workers with the same conditions and impelled to struggle together for their common interests irrespective of language or place of origin. The plunder of the country's riches could only take place effectively if efficient means of transport were developed and of course it is notorious that all Africa's roads and railways lead to the coast, constructed purely for getting products out of the continent. However, this too tended to break down regional isolation in some areas bringing with a broader awareness of other people and other ways.

To administer and supervise the colonies 'efficiently' that is to maximise profits from them, the imperialists have to establish centralised state apparatuses with the presence of armed forces, Civil Servants, even judges and prisons. These state machines operated over given territorial areas which often, quite arbitrarily divided races and tribes, splitting them in parts. This is a problem which is so evident in Africa where people with tribal, ethnic and language links are separated by state boundaries from each other creating problems which cry out for the realisation of African Unity if they are to be solved easily.

The effect of a predatory economy and a state apparatus was to unify in common discontent many peoples who had previously regarded themselves as separate. Cultural oppression, too, rused many to an appreciation of their achievements and a determination to protect it. One of the favourite devices of foreign, oppressive rule is to try to stamp out the language of the occupied peoples and frequently when open, direct political and economic struggle has been impossible, people have retained their identity and have fought for it through the assertion of their culture despised by their rulers.

The logic of imperialist occupation is to unify the people oppressed, but to defend itself, this system has resorted to splitting tactics in the colonies as well as in the metropolitan countries. The ruling power has always tried to win away a section of the people so that a respectable, more democratic facade could be given. This section could be selected from a particular tribe or region, or it could be given a special education made to accept and admire the culture, language and customs of the ruler and despite its own indigenous culture standards and modes of expression. Particular religious groups would be selected for special tasks, the caste system in India was highly systematised and frozen under British rule.

Imperialism emphasises differences, the factors which will split people apart who have a common interest in getting rid of it, and one of the main tasks of the leaders of the national liberation movement was precisely to develop the sense of national consciousness, to develop the sense of togetherness in face of a common oppressor so that the maximum force could be brought for independence.

Aspects of national consciousness, therefore, developing the colonial countries in opposition to foreign oppression and pillage. It grows up in quite different historical circumstances from the national consciousness of the early capitalist nations and for this reason is a powerful force for human progress and liberation.

We continue today the series of articles on the Socialist Revolution in Africa. The aim of the whole series is to demonstrate the relationship between the Socialist Revolution in Africa and the general world-wide advance of mankind towards full emancipation. We aim to show that full freedom in Africa as anywhere else in the world can only be realised through getting rid of exploitation and by creating a new society based on the common ownership of the resources of the nation. Pan-Africanism itself is part of the socialist revolution; it is based on the irresistible demand of the peoples of Africa for a new, developing prosperous way of life which can be realised only through socialism. We have dealt with the nature of imperialism, its characteristic features and its different forms: We have shown how this system is in crisis and what possibilities this situation holds out for the strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist forces. The problems of national liberation and the relation of this to nationalisation and the fight for socialism will now be discussed and we shall endeavour to show that the very concept of liberation and Pan-Africanism involves the whole question of the reconstruction of African society on the basis of socialism, which is an economic and social system with common basic features wherever it exists or is being built. A guide in the exploration of these essential ideas is Nkrumahism, which brilliantly demonstrates the basic validity of scientific socialism everywhere and which creatively applies its basic principles to the particular and special problems of Africa.

fellow workers born in Britain. The Nazis split and divided the German people by racialist tactics. Only a non-exploitative society, namely Socialism can establish a society in which racial, religious and cultural differences do not count and cannot be exploited for private profit.

We have outlined the four characteristics of a nation, stressing the vitally important one of economic cohesion introduced through the operation of the capitalist market within a country.

CONTRADICTION?

It may seem to be a contradiction in terms when we assert that capitalism is historically the system in which the nation emerges and yet advocate that newly independent countries, many of which are still advancing, though very rapidly towards being nations in the full sense of the word, should avoid the capitalist stage of development and launch out towards the construction of socialism. Indeed we do not even see this as a choice, we say that real independence can only be achieved in any lasting way through the building of a socialist society in these newly independent states. Does this mean therefore that these countries will not develop into nations or will cease being nations.

We must examine the impact of imperialism on the colonial peoples and see what elements of nationhood or national consciousness are developed. In addition we need to analyse the content of national identity and the actual political uses to which the concept is put.

The development of capitalism and the formation of nations was not carried through peacefully and tranquilly as some historians like to think. It involved the mass of the

right to cultivate the land or any other means of production and became wage workers free to sell their labour power or starve.

PROGRESSIVE ROLE OF CAPITALISM

Nevertheless in spite of the suffering and deprivation, at this stage in history capitalism played a progressive role because it developed new means of production, it made possible an extension of man's control over nature and opened new methods of producing material wealth, it developed social production which now have reached such a level that they can only fully develop further when they are socially owned viz when socialism is established.

The story of capitalism in the colonial countries is however quite different. By the stage of imperialism, capitalism is already becoming parasitic, incapable of developing productive forces to the full, its impact on the colonial countries was negative and has not played a progressive role at any stage of its history.

New productive forces were not developed, on the contrary the colonial countries were systematically plundered for slaves in the pre-imperialist era and for natural resources and all other forms of wealth in the imperialist period.

In our previous articles we have already described the effect of imperialism on the economy of the colonial countries, the term used by Kwame Nkrumah is dismantlement. The major effect of the plunder of the colonies was to arouse discontent and ultimately resistance among the colonial peoples. Imperialism imposed some aspect of nationhood, albeit in a negative way, on the colonies. Some aspects of a cohesive economy, imposed from outside and for the purpose of extracting wealth, was imposed. To make the plunder more effective

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UNITE NOW OR WE PERISH EDITORIAL

ON the occasion of the 16th Annual New Year School of the Institute of Public Education, I send my best wishes to the School.

develop into a rightful force and take her rightful place in the comity of nations. My message, therefore, to your School, to the youth of Ghana, and to the youth of Africa, is

that we must unite now in Africa or perish.

I hope that you who are fortunate to be at this School will apply yourselves diligently to your studies and go back to

your various walks of life, prepared to devote your energies to the service of Africa and the cause of its unity.

I wish your 16th Annual New Year School every success.

Message sent by Kwame Nkrumah to the 16th Annual New Year School of the Institute of Public Education, Legon.

I am happy to note that your theme for this year's School is "Understanding the New Africa". It is my view that Africa should produce a new African who not only recognises the dangers of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, but who is ever ready to stand resolutely against all the evils that depreciate the African Personality and hamper African progress and development.

Today, we see the naked manoeuvres of the neo-colonialists and the imperialists, in their intervention in the Congo, and their calculated attempts to colonize Africa. If individual African States believe that they can stand on their own against this determined onslaught, then History has not really taught its lessons. Divided, Africa will revert to the era of colonial rule, but united under a Continental Union Government, Africa will



will fall by 10 per cent overnight, which means, in essence, a fall well below the so-called security level. Such a situation should prove the depth-charge to release an international economic explosion. We may witness a world capitalism shaken to its foundation by innumerable inner conflicts.

The challenge to socialism is that it must provide a type of stability hitherto unknown. It must develop an inexhaustible dynamism and the capacity for development at a great tempo.

The twelve months that lie ahead of us shall be a period of activity at home, in Africa and on a world scale.

At home the struggle to do away with the last vestiges of colonialism will be intensified as we move ahead with our programme of socialist reconstruction. In Africa the struggle for Continental Union Government and the general struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism will gain momentum.

On a world scale, the struggle between "poor nations" and the "rich nations" will become intense as the poor ones refuse to become poorer and the rich ones strive desperately to safeguard their position through resistance to the demands of the poorer nations and through manoeuvres to gain advantage over each other.

The forces of progress must feel the throbbing of a new world about to be born: a portent worthy of cry.

Long live the African Revolution

Long live the world of peace.

On a world scale, we enter 1965 with major discussions that centre largely on economic problems. Economics and politics, of course are inseparable; and the interaction between them cannot be ignored. World politics reflects the underlying movement of economic and social forces and also influences this movement. But the most reliable index to politics today is not to be found in the pronouncements of statesmen, although these often throw considerable light on important stages and do influence the movements of events.

We must seek the shape of the present period primarily in the processes of world alliances which have been advanced since the Second World War; in the shift of power relations among the imperialist groups and nations; and in the new and enhanced position of socialist forces. It is within these world conditions that the African revolution finds itself.

In the international economic situation, the basic contradictions have begun to re-assert themselves, with increased force, between the titanic expansion of productive power and the restriction of markets. The battle between rival monopolists rises and finds expression in opposing tariff blocs, quotas, surcharges, currency raids, subsidies. It is reflected also in the political field of relations between the powers. In this predicament, the inter-imperialist struggle for spheres of influence will become more acute; and we must expect currencies

to be used on a large scale as instruments of foreign policy.

Britain is caught in the web of nearly £900 million trade gap. She finds herself in the undignified posture of begging dollars and francs to meet the crisis of the sterling. The credit of three thousand million dollars granted her by France must be refunded within three months. It is almost impossible for Britain to meet this time limit. A renewal of credit will then probably be granted, but, of course, with the addition of "conditions". Here lies the danger facing British foreign policy in 1965.

The U.S. which suffered least in the Second World War but gained most from it finds her gold reserves far below their immediate post-war level while those of the Western European countries are far above it.

The tussle between U.S. monopoly capitalism and French finance capital will become sharper in 1965.

Though the impression is given that U.S. economy is forging ahead, a financial crisis looms large. General De Gaulle has got a winning card to lay down on the table in an open struggle which will ensue before the ratification of N.A.T.O. agreements in 1966. It is an open secret that the Bank of France with approximately one thousand five hundred million dollars on a total of 5 thousand million dollars of gold in reserve and in exchange intends to ask the American treasury for a part refunding. The U.S. treasury would not be in a position to refuse. If it happens American reserves

CONGO

Continued from page 1

transparent excuse. There has never been any indication of Communist influence whatsoever in the Congo since it became independent four years ago.

* Neither the U.S.S.R. nor any socialist country has ever opposed the unity of the Congo, interfered in her internal affairs or sent a military mission into the country. Russian action in the Congo has strictly been humanitarian — deliveries of flour and medical supplies.

* Contrast this with the intrigues and subterfuges of the Western powers, the flood of the Western mercenaries and the open military intervention of the U.S. and Belgium.

* These "wishy-washy" excuses deceive none but the Americans themselves. The cry of wolf is only a cover for manoeuvres aimed at a Western control over the Congo.

* We shall discuss the letter and other relevant documents in our possession in the next issue of "The Spark"

CONGRATS

Dear Editor,

On the second anniversary of your reputed paper, I send you a word of cheer and wish to express the hope that my words will lend grist to your mill and confirm you in the rightness of the path along which you have steered the paper.

When the thought came to me to attempt to send this message of congratulations to the Spark I shivered a little asking myself whether the handwork of a man like myself who never have seen the College walls in my boyhood can even remotely measure up to the high standards of your publications. I however console myself with the feeling that perhaps better writers would correct the flaws and deduce sense from what I write.

Since the "Spark" came into operation, men and women, intellectuals at that who at first misunderstood the intention of the leadership of the Convention People's Party and its Programme and some who concerned and prided themselves in detecting some inevitable mistakes the Party has been making, have now been extricated from their mental enslavement and we the followers and devotees of Nkrumalism are now saved from answering embarrassing questions put across in the daily exercise of our fieldwork such as:

"What is scientific socialism?"

"What does political freedom mean to the ordinary man in the country-side?" etc., etc.

The "Spark" has much more ably, scientifically and philosophically explained those problems, I believe, to the satisfaction of all. Philosopher of repute have now admitted that the leadership of the Party was misunderstood. The reading public the world over now than before respects the Party and the country.

I extend to you my felicitations and wish the paper many happy returns of the day. May more years of success dispel all clouds of doubt in the inevitable triumph of the African Revolution fill all come to acknowledge the thanks they owe Kwame Nkrumah for his wisdom which gave birth to the paper and stand united in serried ranks until his whole mission becomes fully accepted. Once again accept my congratulations!

You have my permission to publish this letter for the information of the public should you feel so to do.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

Sgd. (R. O. Amoako-Atta)
Regional Commissioner
Brong-Ahafo.

Editor, Spark Publications,
P.O. Box M.171, ACCRA.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PEACE

DEAR Sir,

In your issue of December 18, 1964, you published an interesting article about the so-called Multilateral Nuclear Force of NATO. I fully agree with F. E. Boaten in saying that this Multilateral Force increases the danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons.

I would like to make my own contribution to the discussion and to point to some dangerous trends concerning West Germany's aspirations.

The newly independent countries watch with anxiety the efforts towards establishing a multilateral nuclear force of NATO which would include West Germany.

Our fears are justified. The MLF, this atomic venture of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, would effectively put a stop to relaxation of political tension. It would be a blow to disarmament which alone could provide the financial means for assisting the economic development of these independent countries. In fact, it is altogether a threat to the African countries.

Is the MLF really so great a danger? Do not its promoters claim, on the contrary, that it would guarantee the restriction of nuclear weapons to those who have control of them now? Such attempts to justify the MLF are not convincing anybody. They are made by the people who are only too keen on the multilateral force. France, Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and the Netherlands disapprove of the scheme or at least hesitate. Only the government in Bonn supports the American plan wholeheartedly and would be happy

if the MLF was established before the end of this year. Bonn is furthermore thinking of taking part in the "Force de frappe," the nuclear striking force of de Gaulle, in case the MLF plans are thwarted.

Why the hurry? The West German paper "Nuemberger Nachrichten" was quite outspoken on the matter. They said that the Federal Republic had met with considerable opposition in her efforts to make good the territorial losses suffered during the Second World War. "In view of these facts, there is an ever growing trend in the Federal Republic to press for a change of the territorial status once a stronger political position is won and, therefore, more pressure on an international scale becomes possible. However, in the age of atomic strategy, greater bargaining power means participating in the control of nuclear weapons. This is the reason why the Federal Republic has, even before any of the other NATO powers did so, agreed to take part in a multilateral nuclear force." By means of the MLF, Bonn thus wants to get the finger on the nuclear trigger which would enable them to unleash atomic war. NATO's nuclear power is to help the defeated of the Second World War to do away with the consequences of their defeat. They could, then, use blackmail and, if necessary, force Even the governments of other NATO countries woke up to this danger. The "Nuemberger Nachrichten", quoted above, wrote: "Such an arrangement will however, give rise to the concern of the other NATO partners also because German policy of the past half century seems no guarantee for

the moderation and sobriety so absolutely essential when dealing with such dangerous weapons as the nuclear ones".

Even now, Bonn's approach is all but "moderate". Of all the West European partners of NATO, West Germany provides the biggest troop contingent. West Germany pushes aside the NATO generals of the other countries. West Germany has military depots in all European NATO countries. West Germany is dragging her allies more and more on the road leading to an aggressive "advance strategy".

Even before the multilateral fleet of atomic missiles is established, West German generals are clamouring for the right to have, in addition to the MLF, at their disposal atomic missiles to be stationed in West Germany. They even demand, in fact, a bilateral nuclear force of the Federal Republic and the USA in case the MLF is not set up on account of the resistance of the other countries. Walter Lippmann, well known American publicist, said in "The New York Herald Tribune" concerning this problem that a special German-American alliance in the field of nuclear weapons would turn NATO into battlefield and cause a chaos in the relations of the West to Eastern Europe.

Considering the policy of the German Federal Republic with regard to the young emergent states in the light of the statement made by the West German paper quoted above, the concern and anxiety felt by the African countries is fully justified.

Yours sincerely,
F. K. Quaye,
Accra.