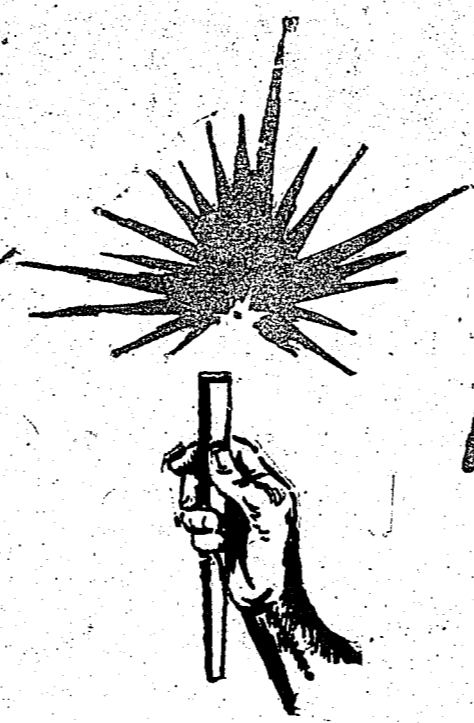


THE SPARK



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Front Page Comment

MAY DAY 1964

TODAY is the first of May, celebrated the world over as Labour Day. On this day the working and oppressed peoples of the world rejoice over their achievements. They also take stock of their struggles for freedom and emancipation.

Here in Africa, national independence and a decent life for the people are being won as a result of the mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement. From eight independent states in 1957, we have now reached the impressive number of thirty-four independent states. This, by any yardstick, is a great achievement.

How did Africa come to register such a great victory over imperialism? The internal factors in this victory centre around the personality and activity of Kwame Nkrumah ably assisted by a few dynamic leaders in other parts of Africa. The first weapon was positive action, which means the mobilisation of the broad masses on the basis of a fighting ideology for the overthrow of imperialism by direct action. This strategy scored a signal victory in Ghana in the period 1950-57 and, ever since, has inspired the efforts for national liberation in other parts of Africa.

The second weapon in this fight against imperialism was forged in 1958. The first element in it was the First Conference of Independent African States held in Accra and organised on the initiative of Kwame Nkrumah. This body brought African states together on the dynamic principles of non-alignment and positive neutralism, total liberation of Africa, and world peace.

The second element was the All-African Peoples Conference held in Accra in December 1958 and again on the initiative of Kwame

Nkrumah. On this platform, all the national liberation movements in Africa were brought together.

In this way the energies of the independent African States were mobilised and, through the All-African Peoples Conference, brought increased motive power to the national liberation movement throughout Africa.

The third weapon is now being forged. It is African Unity—continental in scope and all-embracing in content. Here again, the lead has come from Kwame Nkrumah. Once scoffed at and ridiculed, the idea of continental political unity of Africa is gradually unfolding its irresistible dynamism and all conquering logic. More still, the idea is being seen for what it is—the only sure road to rapid, self-induced development in Africa.

The 'external' factors that have contributed to the big gains of the national liberation movement in Africa could be put into two categories. The first is the emergence, consolidation and advances of the world socialist system. The second is the tremendous gains made by national liberation movements in Asia and Latin America.

Despite this great achievement, the national liberation movement in Africa must examine itself critically and objectively. It is true that thirty-four independent African states now exist where a few years ago there were only eight. But we must not be carried away by appearances. We must grapple with essentials. And the unavoidable truth is that a majority of these independent African states are still firmly within the orbit of imperialism. In other words, neo-colonialism has replaced colonialism. The African masses now have new rulers; but the

new life they dreamt of still eludes them.

Furthermore, there are some twenty African territories still groaning under direct colonial rule. There is still apartheid armed to the teeth. And everywhere imperialism is defending its positions by force of arms.

Added to all this, the drive for African unity is being undermined by imperialist intrigues using

the national liberation movement has got to examine its position most critically and carefully. In particular two problems have to be tackled and solved. Externally, it is the relation of the national liberation movement to world forces. Internally, it is the steps we have to take in order to give the national liberation movement a dynamic new impetus.

In the world context,

ment everywhere and at all times pull in the same direction. The point to be emphasised here is that the national liberation movement 'can' pull at all times in the same direction as world socialism; but that a great effort is required on the part of the leaders both of the national liberation movement and of the world socialist movement to achieve this position.

This concerted effort



Kwame Nkrumah, standard-bearer of the African Revolution

the large number of client states the very imperialism has set up in Africa. Plots against progressive African leaders are still being hatched. African leaders who show a readiness to listen to their peoples are being toppled from office through coup d'etat in which imperialist armies play an increasingly important part. And the concept of African unity is being watered down and used to cover up imperialist plans for continued exploitation of Africa, its riches and its peo-

In the light of all this,

the national liberation movement is a component of the world revolution directed against imperialism. This is agreed among all leaders of the movement.

In addition, 'some' of its leaders hold that the national liberation movement is a component of the world revolution against capitalism. This is a matter on which there is no unanimity among leaders of the national liberation movement.

It would be wrong, therefore, to conclude that the national liberation movement and the world socialist move-

will bring positive results if we get a few basic concepts clear. Firstly, the national liberation movement is not a creation of the world socialist movement. In fact, it is prior in historical time to the world socialist movement though its effectiveness has grown by leaps and bounds since the birth of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the world socialist system.

Secondly, the national liberation movement is not 'automatically' a component of the world socialist movement. Nor is it an appendix of the world socialist move-

ment. Correct strategy and tactics are needed to forge operational unity and ideological harmony between the two forces.

Thirdly, the national liberation movement is not a monolithic movement. It is made up of several types each with its world outlook. Four such types could be observed. These are:—

1. the struggle for national independence in the remaining colonial territories. This type tries to abolish colonial rule.

2. the struggle to keep a superstructure of political independence on a foundation of economic dependence on imperialist powers. This type is trying to perpetuate neo-colonialism.

3. the struggle to achieve complete independence on the basis of capitalist development. This type tries to set up national capitalism.

4. the struggle to achieve complete independence by following the socialist path of development. This type tries to establish socialism.

When these differentiations are made, it is easy to see that only the fourth type of the national liberation movement, which seeks complete independence through a socialist path of development, can be regarded as an integral part or component of the world socialist movement.

It is clear from this that the problems besetting the national liberation movement the world over are still overwhelmingly political. The questions of the ideological content, the political orientation and the path of development of the national liberation movement remain fundamental issues of vital importance. These certainly take precedence over economic construction which is the urgent task of the day

only in those countries where the national liberation movement has taken the road of socialism. But such countries are still few and constitute a small fraction of the national liberation movement. And even in these countries, the political struggle to safeguard the peoples political power is still very much alive.

Therefore the thesis that today economic construction has become the main task of the national liberation movement is wrong. It does not square with reality. It is the thesis for a future date; but certainly it is not of general application today, if we allow ourselves to be guided by realities.

From this flows the inescapable conclusion that to make the national liberation movement a component of the world socialist movement, the leaders of the socialist world must pay even greater attention to the fundamental political problem of who wields political power in the newly emergent nations.

In addition, they must realise—and quickly reflect this realisation in their practical policies—that the national liberation movement must be treated differently in different countries, depending on the level of development achieved. No sweeping generalisation, rigidly applied, will serve much useful purpose.

Here in Africa, we are faced with the task of giving our national liberation movement a new impetus. Above everything else, the movement in Africa requires a practical, coherent and compelling philosophy around which the entire masses of Africa are to be mobilised in the fight for complete independence, socialism and a decent life for all. All Africa has to be considered a single

Continued on page 4

U.S. Plot Against Trade Unions

By
Jack Woddis

THE last few months have witnessed intensified activities by the most reactionary circles in the United States to maintain or establish control over independent states and to oust older imperialist rivals. There have been military coups in the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Iraq and South Vietnam—and a plot to overthrow the government of independent Cambodia.

These are the more blatant, violent and frantic measures taken by American imperialism. But alongside them, all the time, there goes the insidious and less recognised forms of neo-colonialism behind which Wall Street monopolies are working night and day to maintain and extend their dominion.

A major form of these new tactics is that of attempting to make use of the trade union movements in developing countries in order to reduce them to being tame appendages of the monopolies, co-operating with reactionary governments to restrict the demands of the workers, to paralyse their struggles and their will to resist, and, in every way possible, make it easier for the big employers to make record profits on the basis of low wages, poor conditions and intensification of labour. In this way it is hoped that the workers in these countries will be prevented from playing their necessary role in the national liberation movement, and thus the American imperialists will find it easier to keep these countries under their thumb.

There have been several books in the recent period, written by American publicists and political figures, openly explaining the aims and tactics of U.S. neo-colonialism. There has now appeared a new book which concentrates on a particular field, that of the trade unions in the developing countries.

THE "SPEARHEADS OF DEMOCRACY"

The book is called *Spearheads of Democracy—Labour in the Developing Countries*, and is written by George C. Lodge, son of the millionaire Henry Cabot Lodge, who took up his new post as U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam on the eve of the coup against Diem. George Lodge has also had a political career, having served in both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, specialising in labour questions.

The book itself is sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, a semi-official body, whose chairman is John J. McCloy, of the U.S. Defence Department, whose vice-president is David Rockefeller and whose board includes Allen W. Dulles of Central Intelligence Agency fame. In other words, a tie-up of a big business, the military and espionage.

Mr. Lodge is astute enough to understand the importance of the working class in the newly developing countries. In fact his whole thesis is based on this fact and on the recognition that "trade unions have come to be of central and critical importance in the world struggle today". He is also aware of the fact that "The obscure trade unionist of today may well be the president or prime minister of tomorrow. In many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America trade unions are almost the only organised force in direct contact with the people and they are frequently among the most important influences on the people."

But Mr. Lodge is not interested in how the trade unions can help the workers make an effective stand against the big U.S. and other foreign monopolies who are battenning on the peoples and resources of the newly developing countries. On the contrary, he is concerned with the prose-

cution of the cold war and with the possibilities of the various U.S. agencies utilising the trade unions in Africa, Asia and Latin America in order to carry forward U.S. foreign policy. This he does not even bother to conceal.

TOTAL WAR

"We are involved in a total war... This book is a plea to government, management and labour to perceive more precisely than they have the importance of organisations of workers in the developing world to the fulfilment of U.S. foreign policy..." And again, "our foreign policy cannot be successful unless it specifically includes and gives high priority to the activities of worker organisations in these vast areas."

The whole book is interlarded with such pronouncements, so that the reader is left in no doubt as to the author's intentions. He quite unashamedly, too, advises American business firms to co-operate with trade unions in the developing countries because of the "usefulness" of those organisations to "the company". In fact, he argues that by building up good relations with the trade unions, an American company operating overseas would be better able to "save its neck".

Having clearly set down his intentions, the author then goes on to explain, in considerable detail, his tactics. Again and again he emphasises the advantages to the American State Department of working indirectly through other bodies, of hiding its real face which would too easily be recognised for what it is.

He tries to explain the failure of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to help forward U.S. foreign policy in the developing countries by reference to its "meager resources" for such work. "How much, after all," he asks, "can be done around the world with a few million dollars a year?" Historically, of course, the efforts of the ICFTU on behalf of international and especially American imperialism have failed, but the expenditure of a "few million dollars a year" (in fact, considerably more than a few million) has wrought considerable damage to the trade unions of Africa, Asia and Latin America, causing constant divisions in their ranks.

ICFTU—AN AGENT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

The workers in these countries, however, are now more aware as to the nature of the ICFTU and less reluctant to allow their trade unions to be connected with this body. This is particularly so in Africa where in country after country the trade union centres have disaffiliated from the ICFTU and have condemned it as an agent of U.S. imperialism and weapon of neo-colonialism.

Any attempt in Africa to try to prevent the emergence of an independent African federation of trade unions would admit, Mr. Lodge, "not only fail to

get support but would tend to sustain the Communist contention that the ICFTU is a Trojan horse for Western imperialism."

For these reasons, Mr. Lodge advises that the pushing of U.S. policy in developing countries could be better done now by other bodies rather than by the somewhat discredited ICFTU.

In this regard he thinks that much can be done by the AFL-CIO, although here again he confesses that "in many key areas it has been losing ground" very often because "it has unfortunately identified itself with the wrong people."

Not that the AFL-CIO has been parsimonious in spending money for its overseas activities on behalf of the U.S. State Department. Thus, writes Mr. Lodge, in 1954 alone the CIO spent more than 500,000 dollars on equipment for these purposes, in addition to other funds spent for overseas propaganda activities etc. Further, during 1960 and 1961, we are told "the AFL-CIO spent about a million and a half dollars for international activities, roughly 8 per cent of the federation's income." Over \$50,000 dollars went to Kenya.

Individual American unions have spent further sums for these purposes. Thus the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union "has spent well over \$1 million in the last three years" in Asia, Latin America and Europe, while the United Automobile Workers executive board voted to spend \$1.5 million, especially through the International Metalworkers' Federation (i.e. the metal International Trade Secretariat, linked with the I.C.F.T.U.).

AFL-CIO EXPOSED

But the AFL-CIO, like the ICFTU, also stands exposed before the workers of Africa, Asia and Latin America. For this reason Mr. Lodge proposes that the American trade unions, to accomplish their "international objectives" should "undertake certain new kinds of work... and expand and reorganise its international staff." Emphasising that "there must be recognition, at the highest levels of American labour", he then comes to one of the main ideas in this book. This is the tactic of channeling most of the funds and activities for influencing and corrupting trade unions in developing countries via the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) which are connected with the ICFTU although they officially retain a form of autonomy.

With an almost naive brazenness (only to be explained by Mr. Lodge's knowledge that few workers in Asia, Africa or Latin America will ever read his book) Mr. Lodge explains:

"In general, American unions should be encouraged to increase their participation with the Trade Secretariats... Given the suspicions which inevitably surround an American operating alone in some neutralist countries, given the reluctance of many good non-Communist worker leaders to accept help directly from the United States, given the risks of alienating our friends and allies in Europe, Great Britain,

and elsewhere by 'going it alone' in areas where they might feel a certain pride or right of jurisdiction, it might be better to work together through a Secretariat, in which American interests are protected...."

Having thus laid down his general tactical line—"all organising activity and all direct assistance... should be channelled through International Trade Secretariats", Mr. Lodge then explains how each arm of attack can fit in with this plan.

The ICFTU, he says should continue to collect its 'International Solidarity Fund' and then distribute these funds to the Trade Secretariats.

There should be co-operation with the AFL-CIO so that this body "would be able to act decisively and quickly... through its affiliates in the Trade Secretariats."

AN APPEAL

A special role is also found for American businesses operating overseas. Appealing to American businessmen to "put new emphasis on its good conduct abroad", Mr. Lodge emphasises, in answer to those who may cry: "What about profits for the stockholders?", that there is really no choice, if the U.S. monopolies operating overseas do not help to establish "free, anti-communist" trade unions, if the whole aim of building up these class-collaborating trade unions fails, then, "of course, there will be no profits." So there we have it—the aim of this 'new' policy is to safeguard the profits of U.S. monopolies.

Further, stresses Mr. Lodge, this new course of action does not only offer "the chances of making the company's investment far more secure." But, "what is more important, the interests of the United States and the free

world would be immeasurably advanced."

The U.S. Government is also allocated its specific tasks in this all-embracing strategy advocated by Mr. Lodge for, as he explains so blandly, "there is an intimate link between foreign policy and the operations of U.S. companies abroad."

The author considers that the 13 million dollars a year officially spent by the U.S. administration on 'international labour affairs' is insufficient and calls for a big expansion of government activity on this front. He is anxious that the U.S. Government present itself in a new light to the newly-developing countries, and he even has the audacity to suggest that "We should... clarify for ourselves and others the economic system of the United States, explaining forthrightly that it is not a (capitalist) system, as capitalism is generally known and described, but is in fact nearer to what most of the developing people in the world mean by socialism". A strange form of socialism which is in favour of "making the company's investment more secure".

Mr. Lodge advocates that use be made of the Agency for International Development (AID) funds rather than working directly via the Government. He explains, with almost touching frankness:

"... many unions could not afford politically to accept aid from the U.S. government. It would make them appear to be agents of the United States which in neutral areas is sometimes inadvisable... There is, therefore, a good deal to be said for extending aid to foreign unions through the American labour movement and the International Trade Secretariats."

Mr. Lodge then explains the various ways in which

this might be done, with funds from the AID going from the U.S. to a particular government in Latin America, for example, and, at the same time the ITS suggesting to its affiliated union in that particular country that they should apply to their own government which will then simply pass on the AID funds!

"A similar route" he suggests "could be followed with the Inter-American Development Bank". He also advocates various other combinations for channelling funds to American sponsored trade unions in developing countries, utilising the U.S. unions, the International Trade Secretariats, the Agency for International Development, and even the International Labour Organisation.

LODGE'S TRICKS

But these are not quite all the tricks that Mr. Lodge has up his sleeve. "Not all aid need be American" he explains. "Israel comes to mind immediately... His-tradut leaders and technicians are acceptable in many quarters where an American would not be." He also reveals that in 1960 the AFL-CIO gave 180,000 dollars for the establishment of the Afro-Asian Institute for Labour Studies in Israel. So trade union "aid" from Israel is, after all, simply another disguised form of channelling U.S. funds to American sponsored unions in the developing countries.

Mr. Lodge is also anxious that more use should be made of labour attaches—"we should have a labour attache in every country of the world"—and very keen that suitable candidates be recruited "from the American labour movement to serve in the Foreign Service as labour attaches."

If anyone has had any doubts before about the role being played by the American right-wing Labour leaders towards the trade unions in the developing countries,

these doubts should now be laid at rest, for Mr. Lodge has made it quite clear. As he himself says, the American Government, "American management and labour abroad" are nothing other than "three arms of our foreign relations".

These three arms are still actively at work, disrupting trade unions on the basis of "anti-communism", buying up corrupt trade union officials, and trying to turn the trade unions in Asia, Africa and Latin America into simple tools of U.S. foreign policy.

The dangers of this menace have recently been seen in British Guiana, where American-backed trade union leaders have worked openly with U.S. and local reaction in an attempt to overthrow the left-wing Progressive People's Party Government led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan. It is not without significance that one of the main forms through which finance has been channelled to these right-wing leaders in British Guiana has been the International Trade Secretariats so favoured by Mr. Lodge.

In writing his book, Mr. Lodge shows complete contempt for the workers in whom he is apparently so interested. He treats them as pawns in his cold war game, and it never seems to cross his mind that the workers may have other views, let alone, that they may get to know of the contents of his book and strongly resent this open admission of U.S. interference in overseas trade union organisations.

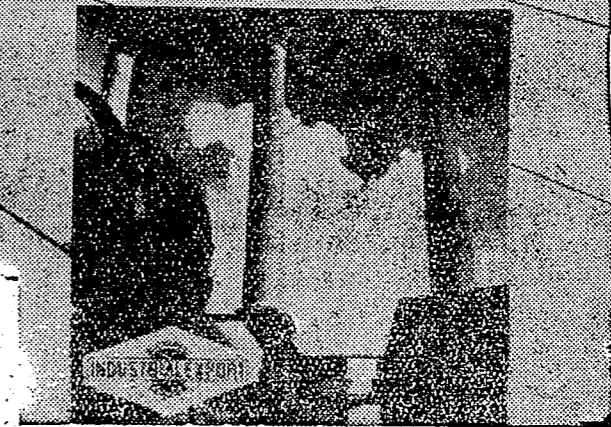
This book is one more warning that behind its mask of "anti-colonialism", U.S. imperialism is utilising every trick in the neo-colonialist pack in order to penetrate the developing countries and bring them under American domination.

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THROUGH CHINESE EYES

NOW, of the fifty-nine countries and regions in Africa, thirty-four have already attained independence. This is the outcome of the unremitting struggle of the African peoples. Those African peoples who are still under colonial rule are carrying on persistent struggles for their independence and freedom.

The more ruthless colonial oppression, the more resolute the people's resistance becomes. Being subjected to armed suppression by colonialists, which is beyond endurance, more and more African peoples have finally risen in arms and taken the road of armed struggle.

During our visit to the new emerging African countries, we were most deeply impressed by the profound change in the mental outlook of the African people. Their courage and enthusiasm, energy and vigour, bespeak the proud mettle of a people who have become independent and stood up on their own feet. They dare to be the masters of their own house and to manage their own state affairs; they dare to despise their enemies and fight all oppressors, old and new.

THE FIGHTING SPIRIT

This fighting spirit constitutes the fundamental strength for the establishment of all the new emerging states. With this fighting spirit, a people can defeat all schemes and plots of the imperialists and old and new colonialists and overcome all difficulties and obstacles on their road of advance. Africa today is no longer what it was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It has become an awakened, militant and advanced continent.

Imperialism and old and new colonialism would never be reconciled to their defeat and were doing their utmost to obstruct the development of the national liberation movement in Africa, in an attempt to perpetuate their control of Africa. In most cases, the

old colonialists had been compelled to make concessions but they had adopted neo-colonialist tactics in an attempt to control the newly independent African countries in the military, political, economic, cultural and other fields.

The U.S. neo-colonialists had adopted even more cunning and sinister methods in an attempt to supplant the old colonialists and enslave the new emerging African states. This had daily intensified the struggle between the African people and imperialism and deepened the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements in Africa. Because of imperialist suppression and tricks the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements in some African countries might meet with temporary setbacks, but the African peoples were bound to continue forging ahead.

Leaders of many new emerging African states indicated that they would continue to push the revolution forward. They hold that their urgent task at present is to rely firmly on the masses of the people, consolidate revolutionary state power, establish and develop national armed forces for self-defence, build up an independent national economy, develop national culture and a national language, etc. We believe that

if they do so, the fruits of revolution of the African peoples can be safeguarded and the national democratic revolution can be pushed forward continuously.

AFRICA'S NEW EXPERIENCE

We are glad to see that governments and people of the new emerging African states are gaining experience from the practice of national construction, and opening up a path for the development of the national economy which suits the specific conditions of their own countries. Africa possesses industrious and brave peoples and abundant subterranean, surface and marine resources. We believe that, if they resolutely rely upon the strength of the masses, make full use of their own resources and at the same time carry on mutual assistance and cooperation with friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, the new emerging African states will surely be able to build up their countries gradually. And independent, prosperous and strong new Africa will surely emerge.

During the visit, we set forth the following five principles guiding China's relations with African countries:

1. It supports the African peoples in their struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism, new and old, and to win and safeguard national independence.
2. It supports the pursuit of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the governments of the African countries.

3. It supports the desire of the African peoples to achieve unity and solidarity in the manner of their own choice.

4. It supports the African countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation.

5. It holds that the sovereignty of the African countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed.

These five principles represent the concrete application of peaceful co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference and a development of the Bandung Spirit; they received the approval of many African countries. We shall carry them through in the days to come.

THE EIGHT PRINCIPLES

We also set forth the following eight principles for our aid to foreign countries:

1. The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principles of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.
2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.
3. China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest

loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.

4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.

5. The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.

6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality the

Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.

7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully masters such technique.

8. The experts and technical personnel dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts and technical personnel of the recipient country. The Chinese experts and technical personnel are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

CHINESE ASSISTANCE TO EMERGING COUNTRIES

These eight principles fully embody our country's sincere desire to carry out economic and cultural cooperation with the new emerging countries. They apply to our country's aid not only to the new emerging countries in Africa, but also to those in Asia and other parts of the world.

The Chinese Government and people always consider that assistance is mutual. The prosperity and strength of new emerging countries

in Asia and Africa will add to the Asian and African people's forces fighting imperialism and old and new colonialism and winning independence, as well as to the forces of the people of the whole world opposing imperialism and defending world peace. This in itself is a great support and assistance to the Chinese people.

The Asian and African countries have similar experience and are situated in more or less the same circumstances. Our mutual help is that among poor friends in the same boat, and not 'aid' that is used by strong, big powers to bully the weak and small. Our mutual help is at present small in scale, yet it is reliable, practical and conducive to the independent development of the countries concerned. With the development of construction in our respective countries, our mutual assistance will daily grow in quantity and scope.

(Excerpts from Premier Chou En-Lai's address to Joint Session of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress and the State Council, Peking, April 24, 1964).

Dutch Capital in Africa

DUTCH capital's growing expansion in Africa may be explained by a number of factors, the most important being the abolition of Holland's monopolies in Indonesia. The victory won by the Indonesian people deprived Dutch monopoly capital of huge profits (prior to the Second World War they constituted about one-third of Holland's national income). Dutch penetration into Africa has, moreover, been facilitated by two other factors: the weakening position of the monopolies of the former metropolitan countries in the newly liberated African states and the possibility of speculating on the Africans' anti-colonialism because Holland never had any colonies on this continent.

TRADE EXPANSION

Holland's trade with the African countries is constantly expanding. From 1958 to 1962, it increased from £139 million to £170 million. Holland's imports from Africa have increased quantitatively and altered qualitatively. In addition to agricultural raw materials (coconuts, cocoa, coffee, groundnuts etc.), oil imports have grown fast in the post-war years. The structure of Dutch exports has altered too. Besides traditional commodities (cotton fabrics, beer, livestock products), a big role in Dutch-African trade is now played by complex equipment and other important capital goods; long-distance communications equipment, radio receivers, dry dock equipment, planes, ships, etc. In 1961, Holland ranked third in the export of radio sets to Africa, after West Germany and France.

In the past decade, Dutch trade expansion has been especially noticeable in Nigeria, which took 18 per cent of Dutch exports to Africa in 1962. The only country which exports more to Nigeria is Britain. Nigerian imports from Holland increased from £1,400,000 in 1950 to £16,200,000 in 1962.

Although Holland is a member of the European Economic Community, she trades more with the Commonwealth countries than with the franc zone. This is nothing to wonder at. For decades Dutch capital has been the junior partner and rival of the British monopolies. Only about 24 per cent of Dutch trade with Africa is in the franc zone.

Dutch exports in 1962 to Nigeria alone exceeded those to all the African countries of the franc zone (£16,200,000 against £12,760,000). Holland's imports from the franc zone, Tunisia excluded, were in that same year less than her imports from Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone (£16,300,000 and £19,200,000).

Dutch capital plays a prominent part in Africa's freight trade. Goods are carried by the Holland-Africa Line (it has about 80 ocean-going vessels) and K.L.M. planes.

Direct investments are increasing along with trade. The leading role belongs to the Royal Dutch Shell and the Unilever margarine concern, whose biggest daughter firm is the United Africa Company. Since Shell and Unilever are Anglo-Dutch concerns, they are

backed in their expansionist activities by London and the Hague. A notable example of such co-operation is the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, whose capital was provided by the British Government and British and Anglo-Dutch monopolies. The Chairman of this company is Lord Godber, who heads Shell, and one of its directors is Lord Heyworth, a former Unilever Chairman.

SHELL'S INVESTMENTS IN AFRICA

Shell's huge investments are constantly increasing. It takes part in exploiting oil deposits in the Sahara and over 20 of its daughter companies operate south of the desert. In 1965, Shell plans to put into exploitation eight oil refineries in this part of the continent. It has already built or is building refineries in the Sudan, Nigeria, South Africa and other African countries. In Nigeria alone it has spent £80,000,000 on oil exploration over the past 12 years. By 1975, it hopes to increase oil output in this country to 10,000,000 tons.

Unilever and its subsidiary, the United Africa Company, are pretty active too. They buy agricultural produce on a large scale, sell the goods which are imported to Africa, and invest capital in plantations and light industry. Unilever's investments in East Africa, made through subsidiaries come to £9,800,000.

In the Congo, it owns large plantations. In Ghana, it has built a soap factory, an automobile assembly plant, a perfumery and a plywood works. The United

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DIRECT U.S. INVESTMENTS ABROAD

In its December 1963 issue the monthly "Fortune", the American business mouthpiece, published new data on direct American investments abroad. According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, U.S. investments have increased from \$11,800 million in 1950 to more than \$37,000 million. If we subtract American investments in international shipping companies (\$1,600 million), we shall see that direct investments abroad come to \$35,500 million. The distribution of this sum country by country is shown in the table below.

Total in the Western Hemisphere	\$21,638,000,000
including:	
Canada	\$12,131,000,000
Venezuela	2,826,000,000
Brazil	1,088,000,000
Mexico	873,000,000
Argentina	797,000,000
Chile	768,000,000
Panama	556,000,000
Colombia	456,000,000
Peru	451,000,000
Guatemala	127,000,000
Dominican Republic	108,000,000
Honduras	99,000,000
Costa Rica	63,000,000
Uruguay	53,000,000
Bolivia	32,000,000
Other Republics	174,000,000
Others	1,056,000

1. Including Ecuador, Paraguay, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Haiti.
2. Including the West Indies, the Guianas, Bermuda and British Honduras.

Total in Western Europe	\$ 8,843,000,000
including:	
Britain	\$ 3,805,000,000
F.R.G.	1,472,000,000
France	1,006,000,000
Switzerland	555,000,000
Italy	540,000,000
Holland	370,000,000
Belgium & Luxembourg	283,000,000
Sweden	176,000,000
Denmark	115,000,000
Turkey	108,000,000
Norway	107,000,000
Spain	85,000,000
Austria	56,000,000
Portugal	37,000,000
Other countries	128,000,000
Total in Africa and the Middle East	\$ 2,452,000,000
including:	
Middle East	\$ 1,206,000,000
Republic of South Africa	353,000,000
Libya	263,000,000
Liberia	178,000,000
Northern & S. Rhodesia & Nyasaland	83,000,000
Algeria	45,000,000
Other countries	324,000,000
Total in the Far East and Oceania	\$ 2,550,000,000
including:	
Australia	\$ 1,091,000,000
Philippines	374,000,000
Japan	369,000,000
India	196,000,000
Indonesia	150,000,000
New Zealand	82,000,000
Malaysia	60,000,000
Pakistan	48,000,000
Other countries	170,000,000



13th APRIL, MONDAY:

GHANA: Mr. R. O. Mabuza, President of the Swaziland Progressive Party now on a three-week visit to Ghana, addressing a press conference at the Bureau of African Affairs says, his party stands for the cause of African Unity and solidarity and the formation of a continental government.

NIGERIA: Addressing students at the University of Nigeria, Nsuka, President Leopold Senghor of Senegal now on an 8-day visit to Nigeria says, "Africa has contributed a lot to the world's civilisation in art, poetry, culture and even politics."

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

The racist white-settler "Prime Minister" of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Winston Field, resigns his post today. Mr. Ian Smith, Minister of Treasury is to succeed Mr. Winston Field.

ZANZIBAR: The Vice-President of Zanzibar, Abdulla Haga, in an interview published in the "New Africa", says that only a socialist system of economy will enable Zanzibar to alleviate her people's conditions. He declares that "capitalism has shown its complete failure, and that capitalism cannot solve the problems of Zanzibar and the living standards of her people."

14th APRIL, TUESDAY:

COMORO ISLANDS: A memorandum demanding independence this year for the Comoro Islands has been sent to France.

IVORY COAST: A former president of the Ivory Coast Supreme Court, M. Ernest Boka commits suicide after confessing to assassinate President Houphouët-Boigny.

GHANA: In a message sent to the international conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah stresses that the application of effective sanctions against South Africa must now be the chief aim of the world.

Osagyefo expresses the hope that the outcome of the deliberations of the meeting will present the world with a clear call to action on an effective programme to end the inhuman policy.

15th APRIL, WEDNESDAY:

CONGO: (Leopoldville) Congo will have a president with full executive powers and President Joseph Kasavubu may stay in office until August next year instead of retiring this June, if a proposed new constitution is approved in a referendum to be held, this year.

KENYA: Premier Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya announces his government's approval of new salary rates and conditions for the army, police and prison services.

ALGERIA: The French Government declares its big military naval base of Mers El Kébir in Western Algeria no longer a "strategic base."

Decrees published in an official journal reduces Mers El Kébir to a "regional command."

16th APRIL, THURSDAY:

UGANDA: In a statement issued on behalf of the Uganda People's Congress Central Executive in Kampala, Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister, accuses both Mr. Winston Field, former Premier of Southern Rhodesia, and his successor Mr. Ian Smith as "agents of British colonialism."

* The Uganda People's Congress Party has issued a statement of protest to the British Ministry of Colonies against the granting of self-government to Southern Rhodesia.

ALGERIA: Algeria's new oil refinery with a capacity of more than 1,500,000 of refined products to supply Algeria's internal needs has been inaugurated by Mr. Ba-

chir Boumaza, Minister of National Economy at El Harrach, just outside Algiers.

17th APRIL, FRIDAY:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Police in Salisbury have arrested about 100 African women, many of them with babies, after a protest march on the British High Commission building.

Chanting patriotic national songs, the women protested against the restriction orders placed on their leader, Joshua Nkomo, and three of his lieutenants.

* African delegates at the United Nations have expressed their growing concern of the situations in Southern Rhodesia to U Thant, U.N. Secretary General.

KENYA: Mr. Peter Koinange, Minister of State for Pan-African Affairs, in a statement protesting against Mr. Nkomo's banishment, says, Southern Rhodesia must be given a democratic constitution which will ensure a government based on the will of the majority.

NORTHERN RHODESIA:

Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia Prime Minister, and chairman of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa issues a statement condemning the order of restriction imposed on Mr. Nkomo.

Dr. Kaunda says he does not over emphasise his appeal to the Southern Rhodesian settler-regime to realise that it is planting more and more racial hatred in their country in the minds of those who today are ruled but who are, no doubt tomorrow's rulers.

ZANZIBAR: A secondary school in the Revolutionary Republic of Zanzibar is to be renamed after Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

18th APRIL, SATURDAY:

SENEGAL: Four Ghana warships now on a goodwill visit to some West African countries commanded by Commodore D. A. Hansen have arrived in Dakar.

SOUTH AFRICA: The former Anglican Archbishop of Capetown, Dr. Joost de Blank, giving evidence to a delegation of the United Nations Special Committee on apartheid in London forecast nothing but bloody violence in South Africa unless apartheid is ended.

20th APRIL, MONDAY:

BASUTOLAND: The British-ruled territory of Basutoland is expected to get its first African premier and internal self-government as a result of a constitutional conference which opens in London today.

DAHOMEY: Dahomey Parliamentarians have called on the government to close down a high-purchase car company in Cotonou because of the scandalous profits it is reportedly making.

SOUTH AFRICA: Nelson Mandela, the South African nationalist now standing trial in a Pretoria Court says that African leaders have been forced to adopt a policy of violence by the actions of the racist Pretoria regime.

21st APRIL, TUESDAY:

GHANA: The Executive Committee of the Association of Ghanaian Journalists and Writers calls for the immediate and unconditional release of two Chinese journalists, Mr. Chu Ching-tung and Wang Wei-chen who have been unlawfully detained in Brazil.

KENYA: Mr. Oduya Oprong, a Kenyan Member of Parliament, calls for the withdrawal of the American navy's concord squadron from East African waters.

TANGANYIKA: The Vice-chairman of the Zimbabwe African People's Party, Mr. James Chikerema, in a press conference in Dar-es-Salaam says the coming of ultra-racists to power in Southern

Rhodesia is a serious challenge not only to the Africans of Southern Rhodesia but also to all independent African states.

GHANA: In a note to Foreign Ministers of 199 countries who have signed the 1963 Partial Test-Ban Treaty, the secretary of the Accra Assembly, Mr. F. E. Boateng, appeals to the Foreign Ministers to call on France to abandon her plans for nuclear tests in the Pacific.

22nd APRIL, WEDNESDAY:

ALGERIA: President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria has been unanimously elected Secretary-General of the governing National Liberation Front (FLN) by the party congress in Algiers.

GHANA: Trade union delegates from neighbouring African countries, including Mali, Dahomey, Togo, Guinea and Nigeria have been invited to take part in this year's May Day celebrations in Accra on May 1.

SENEGAL: The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) says in Dakar that Portuguese troops had been driven off the Island of Como, on the coast of Portuguese Guinea.

It says 3,000 Portuguese troops who started landing on the island 2½ months ago, had lost 650 killed and wounded including their leader.

23rd APRIL, THURSDAY:

GHANA: Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has sent a message of profound condolences to the Presidium of the National Assembly of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Prime Minister on the death of President Timitur Ganev.

GUINEA: Leaders of the two liberation movements in Guinea Sao are to meet in Bama, Mali, to discuss the formation of a united front of patriotic forces.

24th APRIL, FRIDAY:

GHANA: In a statement issued today by the Office of the President, the Ghana Government points out that the proposal that Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister should be invited to the forthcoming Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference "has no basis in law or precedent."

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

Miss Jane Ngwenya, women organising secretary of Mr. Joshua Nkomo's People's Caretaker Council has been arrested and is to be restricted in a remote area.

25th APRIL, SATURDAY:

IVORY COAST: Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kojo Botsio, arrives in Abidjan with a personal message from Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to President Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast.

ALGERIA: Algerian Prime Minister, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, is due in Moscow today for an official visit to the Soviet Union.

27th APRIL, MONDAY:

MOROCCO: Morocco and Tunisia will resume diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

Relations were broken off as a result of Tunisia's recognition of Mauritania.

UPPER VOLTA: The Upper Volta National Assembly passes a law forbidding the country's trade union movement from affiliating with non-African international Trade Union organisations, but allowing it join the All-African Trade Union Federation.

GHANA: In a statement issued by the Bureau of African Affairs, the Bureau says it has been astounded by reports that Miss Lealie Mandela, Mrs. Walter Sisulu and Mrs. Caroline Matsoleli, have been arrested by the South African police in an attempt to force them to give evidence against the infamous Rivonia trial.

SIERRA LEONE: Sierra Leone celebrates her 3rd independence anniversary today.

28th APRIL, THURSDAY:

SIERRA LEONE: Sir Milton Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone dies today in Freetown at the age of 68.

MAY DAY

Continued from page 1

society. And the philosophy to create this new social cohesion is a matter of urgent necessity:

* * *

We can no longer toy with fissiparous concepts, which tend to give each African country its own ideology. Can one imagine a situation in which all fifty-four territories in Africa each has its own ideology separate and distinct? This is chaos; and such chaos can bring satisfaction only to imperialism.

Nor can Africa take any really dramatic step forward in the field of reconstruction and development, if held down by philosophical formulations, which are illogical or merely racist and leave the socio-economic foundations of society untouched. Such philosophies, among which is numbered the socialism of Negritude, help imperialism because, ignoring the socio-economic foundations of present-day Africa, it leaves the very pillars of the imperialist edifice in Africa.

Nor can we push forward through a blind and fanatical adherence to our religious civilisations. Traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Christian Africa overlap one another throughout Africa. A fanatical and demagogic adherence to any one of these is likely to create schisms which undermine that ideological mobilisation of our peoples so essential to our continued progress. And because these civilisations over-

lie one another, it is impossible to remove the schisms by way of geographical demarcation of spheres of influence. The solution lies only in philosophical synthesis.

To achieve rapid decolonisation and development, Africa needs a philosophy that upholds the following principles:—

1. the equality of man;

2. the development of all is the condition for the development of each;

3. a dialectical materialist view of the world;

4. the treatment of Africa as one unit in order to achieve self-induced development;

5. the public control of means of production;

6. the use of the state as the primary instrument for regulating social relations and for promoting economic and general development;

7. revolutionary action backed by the broad masses as the principal weapon for solving all problems.

These then are the strands of the philosophy that will lead Africa out of the present mental morass, philosophy that can achieve the mobilisation of the entire people for democracy and progress through total liberation and total integration of Africa.

This philosophy has already come into being. It is 'Consciencism'. Here again, the contribution has come from Kwame Nkrumah. And it constitutes the greatest May Day Gift to the national liberation move-

ment in Africa. Herein lies the historic significance of May Day, 1964.

Armed with the blazing light of 'Consciencism' our national liberation movement will see its goals more clearly, mobilise the masses more effectively for the attainment of those goals, and proceed with even surer steps to achieve complete emancipation of Africa and

its peoples. This is the road of revolutionary action through self-reliance.

And through this route we shall emerge as a powerful force for socialism in the world.

Long live 'Consciencism', the fighting philosophy of the New Africa!

Long live the revolutionary struggle of all oppressed peoples! Long live socialism!

University College of Cape Coast

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Institute of Graduate Science Teachers

One of Ghana's greatest needs at the present time is for graduate science teachers to staff the rapidly developing secondary school system, particularly the sixth forms in order to produce the students who will build the new scientific and technical Ghana.

The University College of Cape Coast, has been set up with the prime purpose of producing Graduate Teachers. A new course has been planned to combine a full-degree course in science with a course in the most modern methods of teaching science. It will be interesting, absorbing and challenging. Such a course will produce Ghanaian teachers the equal of any in the world.

The course gives an opportunity to the very best young Ghanaian school science students and particularly to those who desire to take a part in helping Ghana to produce the students needed to bring to fruition the Development Plan.

Initially only 80 students will be allowed to enter for the course and good facilities are already available for the Institute to go into full operation in October. As the Institute develops courses will be expanded to include larger numbers.

Entrance to the course will at two levels:

(a) Intermediate Course which will be for two years or in exceptional cases one year to be followed by

(b) Degree Course which will be for three years duration.

Entry qualification for (a) will be 5 passes at G.C.E. 'O' level or equivalent as follows:

(i) A pass in English Language.

(ii) A pass in Elementary Mathematics

(iii) A pass in any two science subjects other than Elementary Mathematics.

(iv) A pass in any other subject.

Very good students well qualified in science subjects but with only a School Certificate pass in English MAY be accepted for the intermediate course.

(b) Passes in the G.C.E. examination in five subjects, two of which must be at advanced level and must include English Language and Mathematics. The two advanced level subjects may be any two of the following:

Pure Mathematics	Mathematics	Biology
Applied Mathematics	Physics	Botany
Further Mathematics	Chemistry	Zoology

Vacancies exist on this course, and qualified candidates are required to submit applications for consideration.

Applications, addressed to the Registrar, University College of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, should reach him not later than 22nd May, 1964.

Dutch Capital

Continued from page 3

Africa Company has invested \$36,000,000 in Nigeria alone. Together with the Dutch-operated Heinekens firm, the United Africa Company has built breweries in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Together with the Van Vissengen and Ankersmits company, it is building a printed calico mill in Nigeria. Dutch capital also plays a big role in electrical engineering and gold mining in South Africa.

Dutch firms are also investing on their own. Philips, for instance, is modernising the telephone system in Sierra Leone, surveying Ghana's requirements in long-distance communications and building radio communications in Liberia. In Ethiopia, the H.V.A. Maatschappij N.V. has built two sugar refineries with a capacity of 75,000 tons a year.

The first groups of the Dutch Peace Corps arrived in Congo and Cameroun in 1963. Four million guilders will be spent on its activities in 1964, as compared with 800,000 in 1963.

A special organisation called the Africa Institute has been set up to assist Dutch monopoly expansion in the African countries. Its task is to collect information on investment conditions, organisation of farming and commercial missions to Africa, etc.

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