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EDITORIAL

SOCIALIST PARTIES IN AFRICA

(9)

AFRICA'S march towards the socialist society demands that very careful attention be paid to work among youths and students. For the educated and enlightened youths are the transmission lines that supply socialist ideas and orientation to the broad masses who suffer from the severe handicaps of ignorance and illiteracy imposed by colonialism.

Accordingly, our youths and students are not only the leaders of tomorrow but also the activists of today whose energies, if properly applied, will help on the task of giving the correct socialist orientation to our entire people.

The organisation of youths and students must be all embracing, purposeful and dynamic. It must be both nationwide and centralised. It must be built on the foundations of discipline and service to the community. It must be thoroughly imbued with the ideals of socialism thereby providing ideal training ground for the future cadres of the socialist movement. It must wage a relentless war against colonial ideas and mental attitudes.

Experience has shown that young people do much better when differences of age and background among them are not too vast. Therefore youth organisations tend to fall into two groups—one for juveniles and the other for adolescents. While the first deals with children up to the second year in secondary schools, the latter caters for all youths from the third year in the secondary schools right up to university level.

However, children in the top forms in secondary schools and in universities must be free in addition to join the party on the attainment of the age of 18. From this flows the conclusion that party branches should exist in every secondary school and institute of higher learning. In fact, such party branches are vital links in the chain that binds the party to the people.

PEOPLES OF AFRICA, UNITE AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

NEXT week the whole world celebrates May Day. On 1st May every year the working people of all lands demonstrate their solidarity under the banner of international socialism. They make a critical assessment of their struggles to end the bondage of finance capital, to halt the exploitation of the employer class, and replace class-ridden capitalism with the classless socialist society. May Day is also the occasion for an accurate assessment of the tasks before the international socialist movement.

In Africa, the working people—workers, farmers, intellectuals—belong to the international socialist movement. Our vital interests are the immediate termination of colonialism in all its forms and national reconstruction along the path that will, for ever, abolish

them and, secondly, the securing of world peace.

TEMPO OF AFRICAN REVOLUTION

The African Revolution has made big gains in the past few years. Since Ghana won independence in 1957, and to a great extent be-

thirty-two. A few states like Ghana, U.A.R., have demonstrated that national reconstruction can be achieved without slavish dependence on the Western powers. In Algeria, the forces of the African Revolution, ably assisted by the socialist countries

and South Africa. Patriotic forces have struck effective blows against armed Portuguese colonialism.

Over South Africa, S.W. Africa and Southern Rhodesia we have won victories in the United Nations where the African Revolution has been assisted by united action among African delegates and support from the non-aligned and socialist nations of the world.

The All-African Trades Unions Federation (AATUF) has gained influence whereas the imperialist inspired and financed ICFTU has suffered loss of influence through disaffiliation of some national centres hitherto attached to it.

The solidarity of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America has grown stronger. The Third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference at Moshi, Tanganyika was a big success and laid the foundation for intensifying the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid.

SLOGAN OF AFRICAN UNITY

It also set the stage for the building of an organisation linking all the anti-imperialist forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Afro-Asian Conference of Journalists is born and promises to grow into a valuable detachment in the anti-imperialist front.

The drive for African Unity has gained momentum as evidenced by moves for an African Common Market. The strength of this idea is also reflected in imperialist attempt to use the slogan of African Unity to cover schemes for the continued enslavement of Africa.

The enemy, however, is fighting back fiercely. In Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, imperialism has armed itself to the teeth and is maintaining its rule through armed suppression of the people. In Kenya and the Congo every stratagem is being employed to create or reinforce a system of neo-colonialism.

In some independent African states, the drive towards complete independence is being undermined by puppet governments which daily become more and more subservient economically to the former colonial powers. And in those African states that have chosen the path of complete independence, assassinations and bomb attacks are organised by right-wing elements with the support of imperialism with a view to overthrowing the peoples power.



SHARPEVILLE. Colonial police mow down African patriots

from our continent the exploitation of man by man. And we know that the international conditions for the attainment of our objectives are firstly the consolidation and further advance of the world socialist sys-

tem and, secondly, the securing of world peace. cause Ghana won independence under a devoted socialist, the tempo of the African Revolution has quickened. Twenty-four new nations have attained political freedom bringing the total to-date-up to

of Europe and Asia, have confronted imperialism in open battle and won a decisive victory over it.

The national liberation movement has grown stronger and has won significant victories in East, Central

The attitude of the socialist movement to African university life must reflect a fundamental departure from the system inherited from the colonial era. In this regard, attention should be focussed on three major points.

Firstly, the African university student must not live in circumstances that are vastly different from what obtains in his home. Single bedrooms luxuriously furnished must be discouraged. There is no need for house cleaners, charwomen, stewards and waiters in our universities. Our undergraduates should clean their rooms, fetch their food, help with the washing

up, and keep their premises clean. The present system breeds the haughty student who if not taken in hand becomes a misfit in later life.

Secondly, the universities should have an atmosphere of vigorous intellectual life. Our youths in these institutions should develop the inquisitive spirit. They must question things, criticise openly and constructively and debate various solutions to contemporary problems. The Party must take an active part in these activities and thereby bring a picture of our society as it really is before the flighty minds of our university youths.

Thirdly, the university youths must be brought up on the principle of service to the community. They should help in literacy campaigns. They should work during vacations, not only in the ministries and offices but also on farms and in factories. They must be made to know our society as it is and not confined to the sheltered little world of bureaucracy and red tape.

It is by being part of the community and not just a member of a privileged (and spoilt) elite that the African youth can be of the greatest value to the cause of socialism on our continent.

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KULUNGUGU. Agents of imperialism attack Kwame Nkrumah with grenades.

As the threadbare apologetics for colonialism lose their grip on the minds of Africans, a new ideology of enslavement is being brewed. Continued on Page 6

The all African Students (Europe & U.S.A.) Conference Resolves:-

ON AFRICAN UNITY

1. That instruments giving expression to African Unity be created as a matter of urgency;
2. That methods of information and telecommunication including the setting up of a Pan-African Agency, a Pan-African Radio and Television Service and a co-ordinated Postal system be established;
3. That a method of political co-ordination be worked out in the consolidating of African Unity and in the complete overthrow of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism;
4. That a Political Constitution applying throughout the continent be formulated and accepted;
5. That this Political Constitution should make provision for the establishment of a Pan-African Parliament, a Pan-African Executive and Public Service;
6. That a Pan-African Army under joint high command be created from national contingents in order to safeguard the integrity of the African continent and the sovereignty of the African people from aggression;
7. That this Pan-African Army is urgent in order to defend Africa against continuing aggression in South Africa, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and other areas temporary under colonial subjection;
8. That Africa should be free of all foreign military bases, nuclear and atomic testing facilities, and foreign military missions, or pacts;
9. That, while complete African Unity is still being achieved, African delegations in the United Nations Organisation and other international organisations, as well as national diplomatic representation, should be maintained and co-ordinated;
10. That Africa should claim a seat in the Security Council;
11. That the foreign policy of African countries shall in any case be guided only by principles of the most rigorous positive neutralism;
12. That African countries must therefore free themselves from partnership in any foreign national groupings which are not compatible with African positive neutralism;
13. That fraternal relations and solidarity with peoples of African descent in the Americas be encouraged, nurtured and maintained;
14. That channels should be created, for fruitfully channelling the skills and talents of people of African descent in the Americas;
15. That African governments raise from time to time in the United Nations Organisation the issue of racism wherever it exists, as a major threat to world peace, especially as it exists in the Union of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, the United States of America;
16. That solidarity is hereby expressed with Negro students fighting for equality in the United States of America.

The Development of Imperialist Contradictions (I)

by A Correspondent

THE further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism at the present time has given birth to a new and important development of the contradictions within the imperialist camp.

This development is, in the main, characterized by the following: First, comparatively important changes have occurred in the balance of forces within the imperialist camp.

Secondly, as the problems of the capitalist world market have become ever more sharper since World War II, imperialist competition is no longer limited to individual nations; it has developed to such a stage that blocs organized by certain countries are pitted against blocs organized by others, that is, competition among blocs of states.

Thirdly, although the ruling classes of the imperialist countries are employing every possible means—first of all state-monopoly capitalism and so-called economic "integration"—to forestall the crisis of capitalism and resolve its inherent contradictions, the instability of the capitalist system as a whole continues to increase.

Fourthly, the class struggle waged by the masses of workers and peasants in the West European countries for democracy and against the rule of monopoly capitalists is developing more vigorously than ever before.

Fifthly, the scramble among the imperialist countries for the so-called "underdeveloped areas and countries" has become increasingly bitter, and their exploitation and plunder of these areas have reached new heights.

U.S. IMPERIALISM—FEROCIOUS ENEMY

Because of the further aggravation of the uneven development of capitalism, the balance of forces within the imperialist camp in recent years has undergone very profound and tremendous changes. The position of the United States and Britain has been relatively weakened, while the power of the West European countries, particularly the Common Market Six (West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg) has been relatively strengthened.

In 1961, the industrial production of the Six made up 20.9 per cent of the capitalist world's total; it was half that of the United States and 2.3 times as great as that of Britain. The steel output of the Six was 73.3 million tons, 82.4 per cent of that of the United States and 3.26 times as great as that of Britain.

The Six made 4.11 million cars, 61.5 per cent of United States production, and 2.8 times as many as Britain's. Their export trade accounted for 27.2 per cent of the capitalist world's total; it was 54.5 per cent more than that of the United States, and about three times as much as that of Britain.

Their import trade made up 25.8 per cent of the capitalist world's total; it was twice that of the United States and 2.6 times that of Britain. The gold and foreign exchange reserves of the Six amounted to U.S. \$16,600 million while those of the United States now are below U.S. \$16,000

million. West Germany, France and Italy each has greater reserves than Britain.

In international payments in 1960 the Six had a favourable balance to the tune of more than U.S. \$8,000 million while both the United States and Britain had deficits. All this shows that the combined economic strength of the Six has already left Britain far behind and is nearly on a par with that of the United States.

THE SIX STIFFEN RESISTANCE

The Six Common Market countries have not only grown much stronger, they have also formed an exclusive economic bloc. That is why they are now no longer absolutely dependent on the United States as they were before, nor do they act at Washington's bidding.

On the contrary, in some respects, the United States now has to ask for help from the Six, and the Six have progressively stiffened their attitude towards the United States. The former case is most vividly illustrated by the fact that during the financial talks between Washington and Bonn at the end of 1960, West Germany turned down the U.S. request for undertakings to extend long-term financial aid.

Another example is that the negotiations for the strengthening of the lending power of the International Monetary Fund started in September 1961 and the agreement reached on the setting up of extra reserve funds after a number of talks, meant in effect that the dollar and the pound sterling begged for the support of the French franc, West German mark and other West European currencies, because without such support their position could hardly be maintained.

The most glaring example of the latter case is that not long ago, the Six raised the import duties on five U.S. commodities as retaliation for U.S. discrimination against certain of their commodities. Economically speaking, the Common Market bloc now is becoming a rival force to the United States and Britain.

After pointing out the important changes in the balance of forces between the United States and Western Europe, the U.S. *Newsweek* of March 5, 1962 said: "And it is because the Europeans feel their Continent is in many ways the near-equal of the United States, that they nowadays are demanding a bigger say in the Western alliance."

They claimed complete equality with the United States on the formulation of the West's "global policy" and in the settlement of the most important economic and political questions and questions of military strategy. Britain has been trying to maintain her position as a big nuclear power. France is intent upon building an independent nuclear striking force. West

Germany is trying by hook or by crook to get nuclear weapons. France and West Germany have formed an axis and on this basis are planning to organize a West European "political union" as an instrument of struggle for leadership in Western Europe against the United States and Britain.

The way in which Britain, France and West Germany are seeking to get rid of U.S. political and military control in order to acquire a status compatible with their economic strength has greatly shaken the leading position of the United States in the capitalist world. The U.S. press has openly taken its West European allies to task for their "rebellion."

ECONOMICALLY THE MOST POWERFUL IMPERIALIST COUNTRY

It is true that the economic superiority of the United States within the imperialist camp has been relatively weakened, and its economic difficulties are getting worse day by day.

But, excluding the military and political spheres, is it right to say that the United States has ceased to be the economic leader or centre of the capitalist world?

It is quite clear that in

West European countries as well as in Japan.

In 1959, the sales of the foreign enterprises controlled by direct private U.S. investments totalled U.S. \$35,000 million, more than double the total value of U.S. commodity exports.

In the four years after the Common Market was formed, more than 1,200 U.S. companies were established in Western Europe. By 1960, direct private U.S. investments amounted to U.S. \$3,194 million in Britain, U.S. \$741 million in France, U.S. \$1,006 million in West Germany and U.S. \$254 million in Japan.

Since the end of World War II, the United States has set up a number of military, political and economic organizations designed to maintain its domination of the capitalist world, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Despite the rifts that are becoming more and more obvious, these organizations can still be maintained for some time and will remain under the control and manipulation of the United States. Although the role of these organizations in the domination of the capitalist world has been greatly weakened and will continue to weaken, for the moment they are still effective to a certain extent.

U.S. Design to Dominate Capitalist Countries

the foreseeable future, the United States will remain economically the most powerful imperialist country among the Western powers and Japan. For instance, U.S. magazine *Fortune* in its issue of August 1962 estimated that of the capitalist world's big industrial and mining enterprises whose volume of business stands at more than U.S. \$300 million a year, 167 are in the United States, 37 in Britain, 22 in West Germany and 11 in France. Moreover, the United States still controls over 60 per cent of the important mineral resources of the capitalist world and manipulates its minerals markets.

The capability to export capital is one of the most important yardsticks by which the power of imperialism is measured. Among the imperialist countries, the United States still possesses the greatest capability to export capital. In the postwar period, U.S. investments overseas once exceeded the total of foreign investments of all the other imperialist countries, and are still far ahead of those of any single imperialist country.

At the end of 1960, governmental and private U.S. overseas investments totalled U.S. \$71,400 million. From 1956 to 1960, private U.S. capital was exported to various parts of the world at an annual average was below U.S. \$1,000 million.

Over the past ten years and more, the United States has constantly made investments and established factories to manufacture goods locally in Britain and other

allies, but it has oppressed them more implacably in order to make them bow to its baton.

This is fully proved by the outcome of the Anglo-American Nassau talks last December and the pressure the United States subsequently exerted on France for the creation of a NATO multilateral nuclear force. This U.S. pressure on France has met with open and resolute resistance.

France has not only flatly rejected the U.S. multilateral nuclear force project but has also broken off the Brussels negotiations on Britain's entry into the Common Market, thus striking a heavy blow at the United States and Britain.

Unreconciled to this setback, the United States is resorting to diplomatic manoeuvres to drive a wedge between France and the other five Common Market countries and particularly Germany. The purpose is to isolate France, to strike blows at her and to bring de Gaulle to his knees.

BIGGEST NEO-COLONIALIST EMPIRE

The United States remains the biggest neo-colonialist empire in the world at the present time. Since the end of World War II, the United States has employed every possible means to press ahead with its neo-colonialist aggression and expansion.

Militarily, through the provision of "military aid," the conclusion of treaties,

That is why U.S. imperialism remains the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world. The inherent nature of U.S. imperialism has not changed and will never change. It is incorrect to underestimate its strength and its dangerous role.

To defend world peace it is necessary to constantly and thoroughly expose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and expansion and its schemes to enslave the world's people, so that they can be sharply vigilant.

The tasks facing the people of the whole world at the present time are to form a broad united front against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Only in this way can world peace be defended and a new world war prevented.

The changes in the balance of forces inside the imperialist camp as described above have thus given rise to the question of regroupings among the imperialist powers.

Today, inside the imperialist camp, antagonism and competition among a few particular countries has grown into antagonism and competition among blocs of countries. This is a significant symptom of the ever deepening general crisis of capitalism.

CAPITALIST WORLD'S THREE MAIN BLOCS

The Western capitalist world has already been split into blocs of states taking three different forms. The first form is that of the European Economic Community (EEC), often called the Common Market, which is an economic and political bloc organised by governments of the Six West European countries headed by France and West Germany.

It has a fairly well organised supra-state apparatus with clearly defined economic and political aims—the unification of Europe economically, politically and even in military and foreign affairs. In the history of the capitalist world there have been many international cartels and trusts but they were all coalitions of private monopoly capital with at most government support; the governments themselves never officially had a hand in them.

The Common Market is, however, a government combination of the six countries where state-monopoly capitalism is well developed. The state monopolies in these six countries too are in league with one another and have reached many international agreements; monopoly capital in France and West Germany in particular have each infiltrated into the other's spheres and interwoven with each other to lay the groundwork for the Common Market with the Paris-Bonn axis as its nucleus.

Therefore, it can be said that the Common Market is an international coalition and alliance of state-monopoly capital in these six countries, that it is a bloc of states formed on the basis of the development of state-monopoly capital. This is the first time that such a phenomenon has appeared in the history of the capitalist world.

Since the establishment of the Common Market in

1958, the six countries have, in accordance with the Treaty of Rome, taken many steps in the economic field, such as lowering internal tariffs, abolishing trade quotas within the community and working out a common external tariff, etc. They have thus achieved the aims for the first stage earlier than originally planned.

Last year, the Common Market entered the second stage and at present the establishment of a so-called European political union is being discussed. With each passing day this Common Market is becoming ever more exclusive. This is obviously to the great disadvantage of countries other than the Six, first of all the United States and Britain.

The second form is that of the little free trade area in Europe. Officially known as the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), it is a bloc organized by the governments of another seven European countries. Headed by the United Kingdom it includes Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal.

The Seven, however, have formed this bloc only temporarily to bargain with the Six. Britain had earlier proposed establishing a free trade area composed of the 17 member states of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) as a counter to the Common Market.

But its plan failed; at the same time such lesser states as Sweden, Denmark, Austria, and Switzerland also found themselves in an apparently disadvantageous position if they were to compete with the Common Market individually.

This was why these seven countries came together to form the little free trade area in their struggle against the Common Market. The EFTA differs from the Common Market in many ways. Unlike the Common Market, the EFTA countries agreed to abolish by stages their tariffs on industrial products only farm produce being excluded.

Unlike the Common Market, which has a common external tariff, the EFTA countries each preserved their own external tariffs. Unlike the Common Market, which has a court of justice, a parliament and a council of ministers and other organs, the EFTA does not have these supra-state institutions.

Nor does it contemplate forming a political union although some of the EFTA countries Britain in particular, did have their own political aims in proposing the establishment of the little free trade area.

Politically, Britain, Norway, Denmark and Portugal are all member states of the NATO bloc while Switzerland, Sweden and Austria are neutral states. All the Common Market Six, in contrast, are member states of the NATO bloc. In short, the little free trade area is a temporary coalition rigged up for limited purposes.

The third form is that of the U.S. bloc, of which the Alliance for Progress is an example. The British Commonwealth too belongs in the main to this form. These blocs are in fact based on the relations between the metropolitan country and its dependencies. Their role is, through political and economic means, to retain a number of regions under their sole control and keep others out.

EXPORT OF CAPITAL AND COLONIAL EXPLOITATION

THE national liberation movement is sweeping from the earth the last remnants of the colonial possessions of imperialism. News is coming almost every month of new sovereign states appearing in place of former colonies.

However, political independence although being a very significant factor, does not mean by far the final stage of the struggle against colonialism.

When a national flag is being raised for the first time at solemn ceremony heralding the coming into being another sovereign state, it unfortunately, does not mean an automatic liquidation of economic positions held by the imperialist in a given country. As a rule, the imperialist monopolies continue to dominate the economies of these countries. Moreover, they try to seize new positions.

Under these circumstances the export of capital and foreign investments have become one of the most important tools with the help which the imperialists try to go on with colonial exploitation of the peoples inhabiting the former colonies.

In the past few years the imperialist monopolies have been making great efforts to increase their investments in the newly-born countries. According to the United Nations data almost 2 thousand million dollars are sent annually to those countries.

A large-scale economic expansion is being carried on by the American monopolies at present. Direct investments of the United States in the countries of Latin America and in the Afro-Asian countries have increased from 5.7 thousand million dollars in 1950 to 11.6 thousands million dollars in 1960. British investments have also considerably increased in those countries in the postwar years.

The latest data show that they amount to 5.2 thousand million pounds. According to far from complete data, the export of private capital from France to the newly-born countries in the period between 1954 and 1957 amounted to about 660 thousands million francs. About 40 per cent of all private investments of Federal Germany has also been sent to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

CAPITALIST IDEOLOGY

A considerable increase of the capital exported by the imperialist states to the economically underdeveloped countries has drawn the attention of the Western economists. The international movement capital is depicted as a process resembling the movement of liquid in communicating vessels: It is claimed that in some industrially developed countries there is too much capital (compared with the labour force and the land) while in other, i.e. economically underdeveloped countries, capital is lacking, although the labour force and the land are abundant.

Due to this difference, capital flows from the developed countries to the underdeveloped countries. As a result, the imperialist ideologists claim, a better combination of the "production factors" is achieved in all countries.

According to their concept, exported capital, first of all, supplies the underdeveloped countries with money resources necessary for their economic develop-

ment and facilitates the accumulation of funds in those countries; secondly, it actively helps to create new production capacities, new enterprises; and thirdly, as a result of all this it leads to a reduction of the economic inequality between countries.

To find out whether this is really so, let us turn to the facts.

First of all, what about the claims that by exporting capital the industrially-developed capitalist states finance the economic development of the newly-born countries? While the Western economists invent various apologetic theories, the businessmen speak quite frankly in their own circles about the real reasons for exporting capital.

Mr. Rockhill, vice-president of the "Chase International Investment," a major American finance firm, said recently that the owners of direct investments rushed abroad for many reasons: for expanding controlling or for a more effective access to raw material sources for using cheap labour and for receiving a higher rate of profit.

IMPERIALIST THEORETICIANS

That is why the export of capital from the imperialist states to the liberated countries soon begins to bring monopolies huge profits. And it usually turns out that the amount of profits received from capital invested earlier, is higher than the new investments. And as the time passes, the profits become higher and higher.

In their numerous works on the economic development of the newly-born countries, the imperialist theoreticians usually claim that the economic progress of these countries inevitably requires an increase of accumulations in their national income. However, to increase the accumulations at the expense of the consumption fund is very difficult, since the standard of living in those countries is already extremely low.

The only way out, according to the Western economists' opinion, is to fling the doors wide open to foreign capital, first and foremost to the direct investments of foreign firms. They maintain that only in this way it is possible to solve problems of accumulations, so necessary for the economic development of those countries.

Let us leave for a moment the argument about the lack of inner sources of accumulation in the liberated countries. There is no doubt however, that potentially those sources are considerably greater than the imperialist ideologists usually suppose. But can this aim be achieved by exporting private capital from the imperialist states, i.e., by investments of foreign monopolies into the economy of the newly-born countries? By no means.

Numerous facts prove convincingly that on the basis of export of capital, particularly in the form of direct investments, such relations take shape under which it is not the imperial-

ist states that finance the economic development of the underdeveloped countries, but, on the contrary, the people in the liberated countries by their labour enrich the foreign monopolies.

A considerable part of the national revenue of those countries flows abroad annually in the form of profits of foreign firms. The amount of profits, as we have seen is usually considerably higher than the influx of new foreign investments. As a result, the accumulation funds in the young countries are being reduced still more. Consequently, the possibilities for their economic development are decreasing, too.

NATIONALISATION OR CONFISCATION

A systematic drawing of profits from the national income of the newly-born countries brings forward another problem, and a very pressing one under present conditions. Whatever the origin of the money invested in a given country by a foreign firm for the first time may be, after a while the sum of profits exported from that country is equal to the capital invested and then becomes much higher than that capital.

Consequently, a real and legitimate owner of all the property of foreign monopolies are the people of the young sovereign states and they have a full right, economic, political, juridical and moral—to take any

steps to nationalise or confiscate that property, without any remuneration.

Even in such a case the imperialist states would all the same be indebted to the people of the former colonies and semi-colonies. Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister of revolutionary Cuba said very aptly:

"We urge the nationalisation of natural wealth and foreign investments in the underdeveloped countries... If we were asked about the amount of the confiscated investments, we, in turn, would ask about the amount of profits which the monopolies pumped out for decades, if not centuries, from the colonial and underdeveloped countries."

Let us now have a look at the apologetic argument of the Western economists that the export of capital facilitates the industrial development in the young countries, the creation of new production capacities, sharing of technical know-how, etc.

It has been known long ago that foreign monopoly capital, guided exclusively by its own selfish interests, is not invested in those branches of economy the development of which is necessary for the economic development of the young countries (as, for instance, power industry, the most important branches of heavy industry, including engineering and machine-tool building, construction of

farm machinery and production of fertilizers) but mainly in such spheres as mining minerals and production of some food and industrial crops, exported to the industrially developed capitalist countries.

OIL

The majority of foreign investments in the newly-born countries are precisely of that character. Take, for instance, the direct investments of the American monopolies. In the countries of Asia, the United States' monopolies have invested in oil extraction 1.6 thousand million dollars (from the total sum of 2.3 thousand million dollars of direct investments in 1960).

In Africa the investments in the oil and mining industries amount to 654 million dollars, i.e., more than two-thirds of all the direct investments of the U.S.A. in that area.

The export of capital in reality leads not to an economic progress, "or to the development of an advanced industry," or to "sharing experience" about which the Western economists talk so much, but to exploitation of the richest natural resources of the newly independent countries in favour of foreign monopolies.

For many decades the North-American monopolies have been "assimilating" Latin America. As a result, of all the Latin American countries only in the Argentine, Brazil and Mexico some types of machine-tools are produced, and very simple ones for that matter.

All the equipment for copper mines in Chile, for tin-mining industry of Bolivia, or for oilfields in Venezuela is imported from abroad, first and foremost from the United States, at high monopoly prices.

Numerous facts characterising the relative condition of the economy in the industrially developed capitalist countries and in the newly-independent countries fully disprove the claims of the Western ideologists to the effect that the export of capital leads to the constant narrowing of the gap between the economic development levels in those countries. For more than a century capital is being exported to the colonial and dependent countries; this export has particularly increased since the end of the last century.

PATRIOTIC FORCES

As a result, in the countries with more than two-thirds of the population of the non-socialist world, only about one-tenth of the output of the manufacturing industry, approximately three per cent of machinery and equipment, and five per cent of the output of iron and steel industry of the capitalist economy are produced. In the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa the annual income per head of the population is 20-24 times lower than in the United States of America.

All this data proves graphically that the export of capital is a tool used by monopolies for economic expansion, a tool used by the imperialists for oppression, plundering and exploitation of the economically underdeveloped countries.

That is why all the progressive, patriotic forces in the young sovereign countries, fighting for their complete national independence, actively oppose further infiltration of the imperialist monopolies' capital into the economies of those countries and demand decisively to uproot the domination of imperialism, to squeeze out the monopolies and to create their own national industry.

The future looks bright for modern Ghana



Better living standards for the people

Ghana National Trading Corporation continues to bring you, the people of Ghana, quality products, local and imported, at reasonable prices, in an attempt to help you enjoy better living standards. Help yourself and Ghana's economy by shopping at all G.N.T.C. Stores, Branches throughout Ghana. G.N.T.C. knows your needs and serves you well!

GHANA NATIONAL TRADING CORPORATION

Departments: Ghana House · People's Shop · Technical Department · Motors Department · Wholesalers and Retailers
National Bottling Company, bottlers of Coca-Cola, Fanta and Sprite

The Crisis of Imperialism and the African Revolution

ANALYSING the imperialist system twenty years ago, Dr. Nkrumah wrote this:—

"Economic imperialism is a natural stage in the development of capitalism, it is also the highest expression of it, when the internal contradictions of capitalism and its instability presage its ruin and downfall" (1).
The events we are witnessing today are eloquent example of the crisis of imperialism "presaging its ruin and downfall".

In his recent Press Conference, General de Gaulle vehemently rejected America's offer to co-operate with a multilateral striking force within the framework of NATO. As against this he envisaged a non-integrated national striking force, and at the same time shut the door of the Common Market against Britain.

The Press Conference given by the Head of the French State, a Conference which is still causing a great stir in the Western camp, was preceded by an article written by Mr. Duverger and published in the French Newspaper "LE MONDE". This article was the subject of a great deal of comment. (2)

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM

Dealing with the contradictions that exist in the capitalist camp regarding the evolution of Western Europe, Mr. Duverger points out the fundamental problem "against which" must be weighed questions of a special character, and particularly the question of Britain's entry into the Common Market.

This fundamental problem is in fact a choice between two policies which Mr. Duverger sets out as follows:—"Whether we like it or not, in the years ahead, our continent will have to face two theories: the theory of a Free Trade Area, of a purely capitalist type, and that of a planned and organized common market."

It is something of a confusion to set a "Free Trade Area" of a purely capitalist type against a "planned and organized Common Market", since the author himself in the course of his article rejects the socialist solution in the following terms: "To say that Europe will be socialist or not would be to force the issue to the point of caricature. It may therefore be concluded that the "Common Market, organised and planned", is also of a "purely capitalist character", unless we are expected to understand the association of capital and labour, which is also pure capitalism.

Thus, we are dealing with two contradictory capitalist courses, each of which intends to come through the crisis with advantage. "The first course naturally leads to Atlantic unit, with the United States as the dominant partner."

The United States has embarked upon this course relying in the first place upon Trojan horses consisting of the European Governments which accept America's leadership and in the second place upon the huge American investments in Europe.

As regards these investments, "it is impossible to give valid figures", since many transfer shares and joint accounts remain more or less hidden. However, no one questions the existence

of the phenomenon. Some think it has for some time been following an almost geometric progression, with American investments doubling year after year." This, of course, creates difficulties for the American economy itself, since "the government in Washington is disturbed by this movement which is fraught with danger so far as America's balance of payments is concerned, and the American Trades Union are protesting increasingly against the self-same "factory exports" which increase unemployment."

However, in spite of the difficulties, which cannot be denied, it can be assumed that the United States is on the same course, since these investments also result in the transfer of the power of making decisions to the Americans, in many fields of European life. And not only to Americans as individuals, but also to economic groups which more or less control the orientation of the United States and belong to the real governing set in Washington."

The United States of America by their enormous investments in Europe, have started a process which is bound to end in the setting up of giant cartels with the Americans holding the controlling shares. According to Mr. Duverger, "European integration favours this process in two ways.

In the first place, it widens the scope of action for the big firms in the matter of a huge Common Market. In the second place, it weakens the system of planning and a planned economy which tends—or rather should tend—in many countries in Europe, to restrict the powers of the capitalists to decide, and thus render American investments harmless."

The second course, "an organised and planned Common Market" which Mr. Duverger seems to attribute to France, is according to him, the only course that "can lead to the creation of a European unit, with a large degree of autonomy". This trend of resistance is opposed to that "kind of neo-colonialism carried to a point beyond development, the natural result of which will be the Atlantic Community dreamt of by Washington."

France's course as described by Mr. Duverger, namely that of "an organised and planned "Common Market, opposed to a Free Trade Area and what we know to be General de Gaulle's idea of a "Europe of States", contains many contradictions.

DOMINANCE OF AMERICA

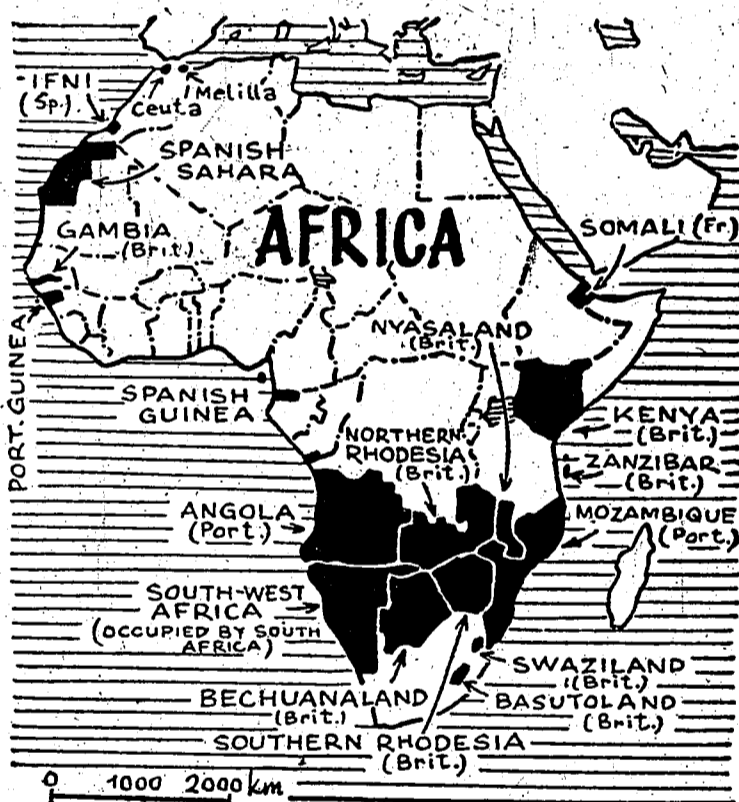
Presumably in his concept of a Europe of States, General de Gaulle took account of the fact that "in the short run, the development of the European Community will strengthen the capitalist power for embarking upon new enterprises by favouring their concentration in large well-integrated units, and will weaken the powers of the governing bodies by restricting their freedom."

However, it appears that "it is now impossible to turn back and oppose the dominance of America in the Old World in the framework of national planning."

Can it be that General de Gaulle has realised that, on the contrary, only the acceleration of the process of European integration now offers a few possibilities of checkmating the grand design of the United States? Well then, one may well ask whether "this process of integration" is not the same which widens the field of action for the big firms? . . . and whether the situation thus created no longer tends "to increase the influence in Europe of American enterprises, which because of their power occupy a dominant position in many sectors"?

MULTI-LATERAL STRIKING FORCE

On the other hand, the Paris-Bonn axis which General de Gaulle regards as being one of the key aspects of his European policy, runs counter to his resistance to American leadership in Europe. Indeed, it appears that the France-German entente of General de Gaulle is an understanding with a Germany bent on getting her own back.



The black spots on the map show countries which are yet to be free from colonialism.

NOTE: Although on the map South Africa is excluded from the dependent states, as long as a white minority continues to rule and suppress the majority of the indigenous people of that country, Africans all over the continent shall regard it as a dependent state.

Chancellor Adenauer's Germany naturally prefers to come to an understanding with the strongest of the imperialist powers, that is with the trend favourable to American leadership. This is actually the reason why, upon President Kennedy's intervention, the old German chancellor had a communique published, expressing Germany's adherence to the American proposal for co-operation with a multilateral striking force, at the very moment when the Head of the French State categorically turned down the proposal.

The France-German entente can only survive if it is based on principles of peace, and is really a popular move, that is, if it rests upon the recognition of the Oder-Neiser line, not only in a "de facto" sense, but also in a "de jure" sense as regards the Democratic German Republic, and finally upon the peaceful solution of the Berlin problem once and for all.

by Our Correspondent

SOCIALIST MARKET

The new framework thus created would open up great possibilities for transactions with the socialist market, which would make it possible for some resistance to be offered to neo-colonialist "brought to a pitch of high development which naturally results in the setting up of an Atlantic Community, as Washington conceived it in his dreams . . ."

Some observers, relying on the recent contacts the Head of the French State had with Moscow, are already crediting General de Gaulle's policy with such intentions. But these observers seem to play down the overtures the French President is making simultaneously in the direction of Spain and General Franco. In certain circles these contacts are justified by the fact that France would thereby obtain a military advantage, in-as-much as there does not exist any supporting base for the French Navy between Brest and Dakar.

If the Paris-Bonn axis, in so far as it is based on the understanding between France and a Germany bent

to return to the United States of America. The same sources see in the stand which the Ivory Coast took Mr. Grunitzky, during the Togolese crisis, signs of a serious conflict within the Council of Understanding, which was set up by the President of the Ivory Coast, to buttress up his leadership.

Indeed, while Mr. Houphouët Boigny and Mr. Yameogo signed a communique at Abadan, expressing their opposition to any recognition of the provisional government of Togo, Mr. Maga, a staunch supporter of Mr. Grunitzky and Mr. Dioris, another member of the Entente, were welcomed in Paris by General de Gaulle.

The recent debates on the defence budget, in the French Parliament, indicate that the Dakar base is a bridgehead in the deployment of France's military forces in the Atlantic. They also reveal the importance of other areas of the UAM in this strategic unit. According to Mr. Fosse, "expenses for equipment which have increased twice and a half million (i) are concerned particularly with the purchase of fighter vehicles, the provision of quarters for the gendarmerie, and the setting up of bases like Fort-Lamy and Douala". (2) Then he goes on to say: "Sovereignty has been superseded by co-operation among the States. On the 1st April 1962, a new defence zone was created, with France having responsibility for maintaining it. This is a very encouraging sign for the future of our army overseas".

DEFENCE PACT

We also find in the speech, delivered by Mr. Messmer, French Minister of Defence, that on the 1st January 1963, the French Army in Africa will number 420,004 men and on the 1st January, 1964, the numbers will not exceed 40,585. However, this slight reduction will be more than compensated, because Mr. Messmer in the same speech went on to say "that a special division stationed in the Metropolis, would intervene if necessary to honour the treaties we have signed.

As will be seen "these treaties, coupled with the so-called Defence Pact of the UAM, which gives France "a new zone of Defence" on our continent, are a very grave threat, which the African Revolution cannot tolerate. If that is "a very encouraging sign for the future of the French Army overseas", it is on the contrary as far as the future relations between France and combatant Africa are concerned, a situation big with consequences.

The so-called co-operation with the States that have secured independence from the French; is not co-operation between the peoples of those States and France. It is the subjection of puppet governments to French neo-colonialism. There is no doubt that the peoples of those African States will throw off the yoke of subjection, by getting rid of those puppet governments, unless France realises this in time and drastically changes her African policy, to save these puppet States from the sorry fate that must befall traitors.

The crisis that is rocking the imperialist camp has profound repercussions in the UAM. Certain circles already fear that Mr. Houphouët Boigny has decided

to return to the United States of America. The same sources see in the stand which the Ivory Coast took Mr. Grunitzky, during the Togolese crisis, signs of a serious conflict within the Council of Understanding, which was set up by the President of the Ivory Coast, to buttress up his leadership.

Indeed, while Mr. Houphouët Boigny and Mr. Yameogo signed a communique at Abadan, expressing their opposition to any recognition of the provisional government of Togo, Mr. Maga, a staunch supporter of Mr. Grunitzky and Mr. Dioris, another member of the Entente, were welcomed in Paris by General de Gaulle.

AMERICAN INFILTRATION

It has also been observed that Mr. Ahidjo, President of the Cameroon did not hesitate to question the veracity of a dispatch from "Agence France Press", which as it happened, was the spokesman of the French Government. The dispatch asserted that the events in Togo were purely internal matter. The same Mr. Ahidjo instructed his delegation to the recent conference of the Monrovia group in Lagos to support a plan for extending the so-called UAM Defence Pact to all the Monrovia Group States, which would mean that the United States of America would be intruding upon the exclusive preserves of France.

It is true that the United States are increasingly digging in various forms, and particularly in a military sense, in the Cameroon. American infiltration in the Cameroon is, among other things, a direct threat to the French aluminium industry, which owns the Edea Electrolysis Plant fed with alumina by the Fria Plant, in the Republic of Guinea, where the Americans have the controlling shares.

Indeed, many observers think that the United States of America, a partner of France in the exploitation of the rich Gabon manganese mines, drove Mr. Leon Mba to bring about the crisis which brought him sharply to grips with Abbe Fulbert Youlou, who as will be remembered, appealed to General de Gaulle to resolve the conflict, whose effects were already felt among the UAM States.

These are indications which would prove to the Freedom Fighters of Africa and the Combatants for African Unity, that in spite of the luxury of so-called treaties of co-operation and the clash of arms, it will not be long before the UAM, which is the embodiment of French neo-colonialism in Africa, collapses.

How can France which is bent on fighting in Europe against "neo-colonialism at a stage of great development", claim to impose its own brand of neo-colonialism on Africa? Where can France find the necessary means for doing so?

BRITAIN IN A SORRY STATE

To cling on to the UAM would mean for France following a short-sighted policy, of the same type that has brought Great Britain into the sorry state she now finds herself in regard to the

European Economic Community.

Indeed, Great Britain thought she could resist European integration by setting up in Europe itself her own small Free Trade Area, as against the unity of the African Continent. General de Gaulle's UAM has similar characteristics to those of the small Free Trade Area of the British, whose failure has already been recorded.

Confronted with the two theories of African Unity which can be met with all over the African Continent today, the theory of a Continental Co-operative of Client States owing allegiance to the neo-colonialists, and that of a responsible Continental Government, responsible for an Africa that is truly independent and sovereign, the UAM, even if it were broadened, is an anachronism which must disappear.

When Mr. Duverger says (that whether we wish it or not, in the years ahead), so far as Africa is concerned, we should say in the months ahead) two theories will have to be reckoned with in Africa, the theory of a Free Exchange Area (so far as Africa is concerned, we would substitute, the theory of the Continental Co-operative of Client States), of the purely capitalist type (and so far as Africa is concerned, we should add imperialist as well) and the theory of the Common Market, organised and planned (under the auspices of Continental Government, independent and sovereign, in the case of Africa), one might almost say that he was speaking on behalf of the African Revolution.

This is also the case when he adds that "the first course leads naturally to an Atlantic unit, with the United States playing the dominant role?"

What a striking similarity between the situation existing in Western Europe and the situation in Africa faced with the same danger from outside, the danger of "neo-colonialism carried to a stage of great development, whose logical conclusion will be the setting up of the Atlantic Community that Washington dreamt of"! This is, surely, the first time in history such was heard!

AFRICA GROANS

When the Almoravides crossed the Mediterranean to invade a portion of Europe, Europe was then in the dark night of the Middle Ages. When later the Europeans invaded the Continent of Africa, with the birth of colonialism, Africa lagged behind Europe in the matter of social development. Finally, when after the victory of the Hitler creed (Hitlerism) eighteen years ago, the rich creditor State of America found it incumbent upon her to help poor debtor Europe, to prevent the latter from sinking into misery. . . . (Mr. Duverger); Africa groaned beneath the yoke of European colonialism.

Today, "the African Revolution is the decisive factor in the second half of the Twentieth Century" (Dr. Nkrumah). And just when this is so, she finds herself face to face with the same danger, the very danger which threatens the independence of capitalist Europe.

In these circumstances, what will be the stand taken up by capitalist Europe in the struggle which pits combatant Africa against "neo-colonialism carried to a

The Meaning of Nuclear War

DESPITE the worldwide revulsion against nuclear weapons, do the majority of people realise the full horror of what would happen to mankind if all the existing stocks were used? I doubt it. Even the experts do not always understand.

Scientists have estimated existing stockpiles as equal to about 200,000-300,000 megatons of T.N.T. (one megaton—1 million tons—Ed.). So let us base calculations on, say 250,000 million tons of T.N.T.

In the event of a nuclear war each antagonist would set out to strike a decisive blow as quickly as possible. This would lead to massive nuclear attacks by both sides.

HALF WOULD BE USED

The destruction of launching pads may make it impossible to use all the warheads in the stockpiles. But it can be assumed that half would be used. So let us proceed from this minimum.

In that case 125,000 megatons would be exploded in a comparatively short time, mainly in the Northern Hemisphere.

The explosion of just one 10-megaton bomb is capable of creating radioactive contamination over an area of some 2,000 square miles.

This would result in a 1,000-roentgen radiation dose in two or three days following the blast. A 500-roentgen dose irradiation is fatal in 50 per cent of the cases. A dose of 1,000 roentgens would be fatal in 80-90 per cent.

The explosion of 125,000 megatons would contaminate some 24 million square miles. The total of the continental United States is just over 3 million square miles and that of Europe (excluding the U.S.S.R.) about 2 million square miles.

These figures relate only to the area of intensive radio-activity, and are based on data for the explosion of one bomb. But the explosion of one such bomb would also lead to the creation of a considerable area (between 300 and 1,150 square miles) of sub-fatal radiation (from 200 to 400 roentgens).

RADIATION SICKNESS

When a large number of bombs explode, these areas would overlap, adding considerably to the 24 million

War

by Alexander Kuzin

(Permanent Soviet Representative in the United Nations Scientific Committee on Atomic Radiation)

square miles.

Even a dose of 200-300 roentgens causes serious radiation sickness. And one of the characteristic features of radiation sickness almost complete loss of immunity to infectious diseases.

Disease-producing microbes, on the other hand, are little affected by radiation. These microbes are not made inactive even by doses of several thousand roentgens.

Moreover, under the influence of such doses new varieties of disease-producing microbes (Mutations) are formed—varieties with considerably greater virulence.

So those who survived the direct effects of radiation would find themselves in the clutches of unprecedented epidemics. And the extensive destruction, fires and widespread disease would make medical aid ex-

tremely difficult.

SHORTSIGHTED PEOPLE

Unfortunately there are still shortsighted people who, while not denying that in the vicinity of bomb blasts or even over an area of some 24 million square miles the bulk of the population would perish, nevertheless argue that because people inhabit an area of some 50 million square miles of our planet, half the world's territory would remain unharmed, and the people living there would survive and perhaps build a better life.

Aside from their morality, such arguments are fallacious and naive.

It has been known for more than ten years that a nuclear explosion is accompanied by the release of large quantities of radioactive substances into the

atmosphere.

These substances are carried all over the globe by air currents. Gradually accumulating, they contaminate the entire surface of the Earth.

Radiation substances penetrate all the human tissues, affecting also the reproduction cells, which can cause serious hereditary ailments.

Nuclear fuel equivalent to about 100 megatons of T.N.T. was exploded during the first period of nuclear tests (1954-60).

According to United Nations estimates the next generation would as a result of these explosions receive (calculated on the basis of an average radiation dose for the reproduction cells equal to 0.046 rem—the unit used to measure the biological activity of radiation).

IRREPARABLE HARM

Consequently, if 125,000 megatons of nuclear bombs were exploded, the average dose for the entire population of the Earth would be 58.2 rem for one generation.

This, it should be stressed is an average figure for the whole world; the quantity of fallout in the Northern hemisphere would be twice, even three times the

amount in the Southern Hemisphere.

Contemporary genetics have established that doubling of the mutation frequency in man on a world scale would lead to the genetic degeneration of mankind.

The radiation dose which doubles the number of natural mutations is estimated to be between 10 and 100 rem for one generation.

So those who survived total nuclear war would suffer irreparable harm from such hereditary diseases as inborn feeble-mindedness, mental ailments, blindness at an early age, deformities, etc.

The mortality rate from leukaemia would increase tremendously. This disease is caused by the effect of radiation on the marrow.

According to U.N. estimates the average world dose of radiation of the marrow resulting from the 1954-60 nuclear blasts (100 megatons) will be 0.086 rem.

THIRTY-FOLD

Consequently, after a total war with the release of 125,000 megatons this would reach 107 rem for one generation. The figure for the Northern Hemisphere would be about 210 rem.

This would exceed the natural dose of 7 rem thirty-fold. There is every reason to believe that leukaemia mortality would increase similarly.

Approximately, the same increase could be expected in deaths from malignant tumour. The sharp increase in radio-activity would lead to premature physiological ageing, to a reduction in the expectation of life, a sharp drop in immunity to disease and, consequently, to an increase in infectious diseases.

Should a nuclear war be unleashed in any part of the world, all mankind would sustain tremendous losses. Afterwards several generations would suffer the terrible after-effects of radiation.

Given the completely new qualities and properties of nuclear weapons, it is no exaggeration to expect that 25 to 50 per cent of the world's population (that is 800 million people or more) would perish in a total war and in the first few months after it.

And any survivors would be doomed to disease (primarily leukaemia and cancer), feeble-mindedness, blindness, deformities and other hereditary diseases for many generations to come.

COLONIAL WARS OF IMPERIALISM AT SECOND AND THIRD STAGES OF GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

THE second stage in the general crisis of capitalism, chiefly characterised by the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, was ushered in by the Second World War and the Socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries.

The reactionary imperialist forces opposed in every way the emergence of new independent states on the ruins of colonial empires.

The people of Indonesia, who after a successful uprising against the Japanese invaders proclaimed their independence in August 1945, became one of the first victims of armed colonial aggression.

In September and October 1945, British troops occupied some districts of Java and, together with the Dutch forces, began to suppress the liberation movement with unexampled cruelty.

After the withdrawal of the British forces the Dutch imperialists continued the colonial war in Indonesia with the support of Washington and London. The Dutch expeditionary corps, equipped with modern weapons, was increased to 150,000 men.

The resistance of the Indonesian people world-wide public protests and the Soviet Union's support for Indonesia in the Security Council compelled the Dutch imperialists to sign an agreement with the Indonesian Government in 1947.

In December 1948, however, they launched another colonial war against Indonesia, which continued until early in 1949. Although the Netherlands was successful in imposing a number of unequal agreements on the young republic which was exhausted by the protracted and cruel war, the people's armed struggle had consolidated their country's independence.

In July 1946, the U.S. imperialists incited the Kuomintang clique to start another civil war in China.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Chinese people rose up to fight a just war of liberation. In July 1947, the People's Liberation Army went over from strategic defence to the offensive and by the end of 1949 had in the main completed the liberation of mainland China. The remnants of the routed Kuomintang troops fled to Taiwan where they found refuge under the shelter of U.S. guns.

In the four years of war, the People's Liberation Army defeated the Kuomintang forces of more than 8 million men, captured over 55,000 guns, more than 300,000 rifles and machine guns, over 1,000 tanks and 20,000 motor vehicles and armoured vehicles, over a huge quantity of various munitions.

STUBBORN FIGHT

The armed struggle of the Chinese people made possible the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic.

The U.S. ruling circles took a direct part in crushing the liberation movement in the Philippines. In the summer of 1946, American officers directed punitive operations against the occupation forces.

The Philippines rose up en masse to fight for their independence and freedom; guerrilla units were formed which in 1950 came together in the army of liberation and joined battle with the occupation forces.

After a prolonged and stubborn fight the people's forces in 1953-1954 had to withdraw from a number of liberated districts, disperse

and change over to guerrilla operations which continue to this day in some districts.

At the end of 1946, the French imperialists launched a colonial war against the people of Viet-Nam, who after years of fighting the Japanese invaders had established a democratic republic in August 1945.

About 300,000 soldiers and officers were mustered for the war against the peoples of Indo-China, or half of the French regular army. The American imperialists gave great help to the French forces.

Under the leadership of the Party of Labour, the Vietnamese people and army liberated nine-tenths of the country's territory. In the course of the war the French and puppet forces lost about 500,000 men and officers. The People's Army captured over 130,000 rifles and machine guns and 255 guns, shot down 435 aircraft, put out of action 9,290 tanks and motor vehicles and over 600 river boats.

The Pathet Lao armed forces liberated more than half of their country, and the Cambodian Liberation Army, one-third of theirs.

In June 1954, the French colonialists were compelled to sign an armistice in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, which led to peace in Indo-China.

In July 1948, the British imperialists started a colonial war in Malaya, in which over 400,000 men, including puppet troops, were engaged. The Malayans, who during the second World War had fought the

Japanese, had to take up arms once again.

In February 1949, the National-Liberation Army of Malaya was formed and fought the British invaders. The people's struggle forced Britain to grant Malaya self-government, and in August 1957 the country's independence was proclaimed.

In 1950-1953, the American imperialists tried to crush the Korean People's Democratic Republic by force in order to make it their colony and a bridgehead for subsequent aggression against China and the Soviet Union. One-third of the American Army, one-fifth of the Air Force and a large part of the Navy took part in the Korean War.

AMERICAN AGGRESSION

On the average more than one million American Soldiers and officers were engaged each year in the Korean theatre of war. The United States succeeded in making 15 other countries send troops to Korea under the U.N. flag. The South Korean army, equipped and trained by the Americans, also took part in the war. American aggression claimed a toll of three million Korean lives.

The aggressors listed over 1,090,000 men and officers killed, wounded or taken prisoner, including more than 390,000 Americans. In the course of the war 257 American warships were sunk or damaged, over 12,200 aircraft were shot down or damaged, about 3,000 tanks, more than 7,000 guns, about 13,000 motor vehicles and large quantities of other materials were destroyed or captured.

The selfless struggle of the Korean people led by the Party of Labour and the gallant resistance of the Korean People's Army together with the Chinese volunteers compelled the interventionists to sign an armistice agreement in July 1953.

In 1952-1956, the British imperialists waged a colonial war against the people of Kenya. Their well-equipped army ruthlessly attacked the peaceful population, killing over 11,000 and throwing 62,000 people into prisons and concentration camps.

In 1954, the American imperialists organised the armed invasion of Guatemala by mercenaries overthrowing the democratic Government and establishing a dictatorship of Washington policemen.

In 1955, the French colonialists started punitive operations against the people of the Cameroons who were demanding independence. In a short period of time, more than 5,000 patriots were executed and about 100,000 people were thrown into concentration camps. Subsequently the colonialists had to grant the Cameroons independence, but they still keep their military bases and troops there which continue to suppress the patriotic forces.

In 1956, Britain, France and Israel, with the approval in practice, of the United States, made a practical attack on Egypt, but the heroic resistance of the Egyptian people and the stern warning given by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries forced the aggressors to stop their military operations and withdraw their troops from Egyptian territory.

In 1958, the United States and Britain organised armed intervention in the Lebanon and Jordan in an attempt to step the liberation movement in the Arab East. This imperialist aggression too ended in a fiasco.

After the Second World War the British imperialists tried to suppress the national liberation movement in Cyprus. Many Cypriots were killed and tens of

thousands of people were put into prison or concentration camps.

Under the pressure of the liberation movement the colonialists early in 1959 were compelled to take a decision to set up the Republic of Cyprus, but succeeded in restricting its sovereignty and preserving their military bases there.

The people of Cuba, who in 1953 rose up against the corrupt pro-American dictatorial regime, have been fighting arms in hand for their independence and social progress since 1956. Although the Batista dictatorship had a regular army of not less than 40,000 men, trained by U.S. military experts and equipped with American weapons, and although it received military aid from Washington and its NATO allies, it was completely defeated by the people's rebel army early in 1959.

In April 1961, counter-revolutionary mercenaries invaded Cuba in the hope of crushing the successful revolution, but were routed by the Cuban people. In the autumn of 1962, the United States was preparing to attack the Cuban Republic with its own armed forces and only the far-sighted policy of the Soviet Union prevented the crisis in the Caribbean from developing into a world war and upheld Cuba's independence.

SELF-DETERMINATION

In 1954-1962, the French imperialists waged a colonial war in Algeria, concentrating there a huge army of nearly 600,000 men. In the course of it more than a million Algerians were killed, about 2 million were thrown into prisons and concentration camps and 300,000 people left their native land.

In March 1962, the French ruling circles had to sign an agreement instituting a cease-fire, and recognising the right to self-determination of the Algerian

people and its independence.

The war against the patriotic forces in South Viet-Nam has been actually fought by the American imperialists since 1954. U.S. armed intervention in South Viet-Nam has become particularly widespread since early 1962, when a special American military command was set up there. The number of American military experts rose in 1954 from 200 to 10,000. Thirty-two thousand of "combing" operations, 140,000 killed, 650,000 wounded and 350,000 people languishing in prisons and concentration camps—such is the result of eight years' rule by the American and Diem military in South Viet-Nam.

The British colonialists have been fighting the national-liberation movement in Oman since 1955 and have occupied a number of areas. By the middle of 1959, British troops had killed not less than 30,000 people. The people continue guerrilla operations.

In 1960, collective aggression against the Congo was undertaken by the imperialists of the United States, Britain, France, Belgium and other countries, and it continues, in fact, to this day.

In 1961, the Portuguese authorities started a colonial war in Angola. In the first four months the Portuguese troops butchered more than 50,000 Angolans, mostly women, children and old people. The war in Angola continues.

The U.S. and British imperialists are the moving spirits behind the armed intervention against the Yemen, whose people have overthrown the monarchy and proclaimed a republic. The American and British colonialists are arming the mercenaries to crush the Yemeni revolution.

Punitive operations by British troops against the people of Brunei, a British protectorate on Kalimantan (Borneo), is one of the latest instances of armed intervention by the colonialists.

AFRICAN DIARY

11th APRIL TO 18th APRIL

THURSDAY 11th APRIL: GHANA: After a short visit to President Nkrumah, the Tanganyika Vice-President Mr. R. Kawawa leaves Accra for Conakry.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: In the course of parliamentary debate on Southern Rhodesia in the House of Commons in London, British Minister, Butler discloses that he will not grant independence to the white Field government, at least not before constitutional talks on the future of the two Rhodesias. Some uncertainty, however, persists.

ALGERIA: An attempt is made against the life of the Algerian Foreign Minister, Khemisti, who is seriously hurt.

FRIDAY 12th APRIL: ALGERIA: The Algerian Foreign Minister is in a very serious state. President Ben Bella states before the National Assembly: "Through its surrounding circumstances, this attempt aims at giving a blow to our revolution." The newspaper 'Alger Republicain' accuses the neo-colonialism, as responsible for the crime.

MAURITANIA: First iron shipment from Miferma is ready to be sent abroad.

NIGERIA: The counsels of Chief Enahoro have put forward a new legal application, which is to delay, at least until next week, his extradition from England.

TANGANYIKA: The South-Rhodesian nationalist leader Nkomo arrives in Dar-es-Salaam to direct all necessary action in order to bring independence to Southern Rhodesia.

SATURDAY 13th APRIL: GHANA: It is announced that verdict on the case of the 7 accused in the treason trial will be given by the Special Criminal Division of the High Court on the 17th April.

TOGO: The new constitution is published. It is to be submitted to a referendum on the 5th May.

CONGO (Leopoldville): For the second time within a few months, the Central Congolese government announces that the nationalist leader Gizenge is to be released, nevertheless, no precise date is given.

SOUTH AFRICA: It is widely feared that South African white police had kidnapped in Basutoland the nationalist leader Labello.

SUNDAY 14th APRIL: NIGERIA: The youth leader, Ofeigbeye, announces the foundation of a new socialist party.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Four "ministers" belonging to the so-called Tshombe (still there) provincial government are sacked by the provincial assembly.

MONDAY 15th APRIL: AFRICA FREEDOM DAY.

EGYPT: It is officially confirmed that agreement has been reached for the constitution of a new federal union between Egypt, Syria and Iraq.

TUESDAY 16th APRIL: CONGO (Leopoldville): Mr. Adoula reshuffles his cabinet; at the same time, he appoints as ministers members of Tshombe's party and members of the Lumumbist M.N.C.

LA REUNION: In order to con-

test a by-election, the former gaullist French Premier Debre lands at La Reunion, amidst the protests of reunionese patriots.

SOUTH AFRICA: About 80 more arbitrary arrests.

EGYPT: A decree is published approving the (future) setting up of an African Common Market to be formed by the Casablanca powers.

ALGERIA: The foreign Minister Khemisti, seriously hurt on the last Thursday, is still alive. President Ben Bella, in the course of his press conference, pleads for the seizure of colonialist estates, stating also that the policy of co-operation is to continue. But he asks again for a revision of Evian agreement's military clauses.

WEDNESDAY 17 APRIL: SENEGAL: The UNO Security Council opens the debate on the Senegalese appeal against the Portugal, following the bombing of Senegalese territory by Portuguese Air Force. (The debate is still going on).

GHANA: In the treason trial, 5 bomb-throwers and accomplices are sentenced to death, another accused to 8 years jail, the last one to 5 years jail. Otchere is sentenced to 3 years jail.

TOGO: Following the discovery of the recent plot, the Liberian President Tubman sends a message to President Grantzky, denying that Liberian has helped the plotters.

NIGERIA: The opposition criticises the Finance Minister Okotie-Eboh and files a motion of censure against him.

ALGERIA: The F. L. N. General Secretary, Mr. Mohamed Khider, has resigned, he remains, however, a member of the F.L.N. Political Bureau.

MOROCCO: King Hassan II announces that general elections are to take place on the 17th May.

LA REUNION: After Debre's landing the repression is launched against Reunionese patriots, particularly against the Reunionese Communist Party.

THURSDAY 18 APRIL: MALI: A message from President Modibo Keita is delivered to President Senghor.

NIGERIA: The counsels of Chief Enahoro, still jailed in England, succeed in getting his extradition postponed.

LIBERIA: 8 accused are sentenced to 15 to 20 years for plot.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Verwoerd Government states openly that it will not co-operate with U.N.O. Committee on colonialism.

KENYA: The Legislative Council is dissolved. General Elections (before self-government) are to take place between 18th and 26th May.

GUINEA: It is announced that President Sekou Toure will pay an official visit to Nigeria on the 25th April.

ALGERIA: The Algerian Information Minister resigns and is replaced by Mr. Belahouane.

MOROCCO: King Hassan II has received the General Secretary of the Casablanca Charter group, Mr. Thami Ouazzani. It is confirmed that the Casablanca group Heads of State are to meet in Mazrkeh on the 8th May.

BEHIND THE SAND CURTAIN IN ABU DHABI

From a Special Correspondent

OIL has many interesting properties. It can set motorcars, trains and airplanes in motion, be converted into electrical energy, serve as a raw material in the chemical industry.

In the so-called "free world" it has been found to be possessed of still another quality: it can itself be transformed into gold and an transform the people who own it into millionaires.

Just such a transformation has been wrought on the hitherto obscure sheikh of the obscure sheikhdom of Abu Dhabi.

I confess it took me some time to spot this sheikhdom on the map, although it is not exactly tiny. It lies lost in the sands of Southern Arabia, on the coast of the Persian Gulf.

At one time the pirates who harassed the merchantmen plying the seas between Western Europe and India used it as their haven, so that it and the land adjoining it became known as the Pirate Coast.

Early in the 19th century the powerful East India Company, whose ships had been most molested by the pirates, determined to put an end to them.

A mighty fleet of warships attacked and destroyed them and then Britain forced upon the reigning sheikh a treaty placing Abu Dhabi under the "protection" of Great Britain.

Deprived of their share of the pirate booty, the sheikhs of Abu Dhabi would have found themselves impoverished then had they not discovered a new source of wealth.

The ocean bed along the coast abounded in pearls. The population of Abu Dhabi (barely 15,000, by the latest count) was divided into two groups: the bedouins who lived mostly by robber raids, and the pearl fishers.

The sheikhs imposed heavy levies on the latter and again became rich. Some of the pearls brought up at Abu Dhabi were worth small fortunes. There was one in 1929 which was valued at \$75,000.

The wealth of the Abu Dhabi rulers had, however, a reverse and very unpleasant side.

It inspired envy in the hearts of their relatives and an overpowering desire to inherit it without waiting for them to die a natural death.

Of the fourteen predecessors of the present sheikh, Shakhbut bin Sultan bin Zaid, twelve were hastened on their way to the other world by their brothers and sons.

Shakhbut has been lucky; he has been ruling for more than thirty years now.

Perhaps the reason is that the pearl-fishing industry fell into a decline, chiefly because of competition from Japan's artificial pearls.

Now the Sheikh had better watch out, for there

has suddenly dropped into his lap a fortune he never could have dreamt of: oil has been discovered on his territory.

The first well to yield was drilled at sea. Now thirteen others are operating.

Oil output on the Abu Dhabi coast will this year come to three million tons. By 1964 the figure will be doubled.

This oil is controlled by the Abu Dhabi Marine Aras Trust (A.D.M.A.) in which British Petroleum owns two-thirds of the shares and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles the rest.

While A.D.M.A. was exploring the ocean bottom, the British-owned Iraq Petroleum Company prospected for oil in desert country supposedly within the bounds of the sheikhdom.

I say "supposedly" because there are no fixed boundaries in this area and it is impossible to tell exactly which strip of desert belongs to which British vassal. Not that it makes much difference, seeing that the whole Southern Arabia is British controlled.

Be that as it may, Iraq Petroleum claims that it has discovered rich oil deposits in the interior of Abu Dhabi, in the Murban area.

For the time being specialist do not venture to give an exact estimate but the assumption is that by next year the Murban output may well be up to six million.

According to Paris Match, the Sheikh is paid one pound sterling for every ton of oil produced. This year he will net £3,000,000.

This, to him is so much money he does not know what to do with it.

The Paris Match correspondent who visited Abu Dhabi, relates that at first Shakhbut refused to accept cheques and asked to be paid in cash.

He stacked the money under his bed. Only when he saw there wasn't enough room for it there did he agree to allow the money to be banked for him.

His sudden millions are not likely to do his subjects much good. Shakhbut, says the Paris Match correspondent, sticks to the medieval ways.

His power is unlimited; he consults only with such as he considers his equals in birth, and these are few.

The influx of gold has brought no change to the life of Abu Dhabi, unless the luxurious Cadillac the Sheikh bought himself (and which at once went out of commission) is counted as change.

The only other development is that he appointed his brother Minister of Finance. To changes in the medieval appearance of his city or his system of rule he will lend no ear.

Abu Dhabi is not the only sheikhdom in Southern Arabia where Western companies are intensively seeking oil.

Slightly north of Abu Dhabi lies another British protectorate, Sharjah, and there American oil interests are increasing their activity.

The race for new oil con-

cessions does not tie up with the claims of Western economists that the capitalist world's oil market is saturated and that more thought must now be given to sales than to expansion of production.

If this is so, why the oil fever in Southern Arabia? The answer is that the oil

monopolies operating in the northern part of Persian Gulf are worried about their positions in this area.

They fear that the struggle of the peoples in Iran and the Arab countries for economic independence may lead to revision of the concession agreements and that would cut their profits

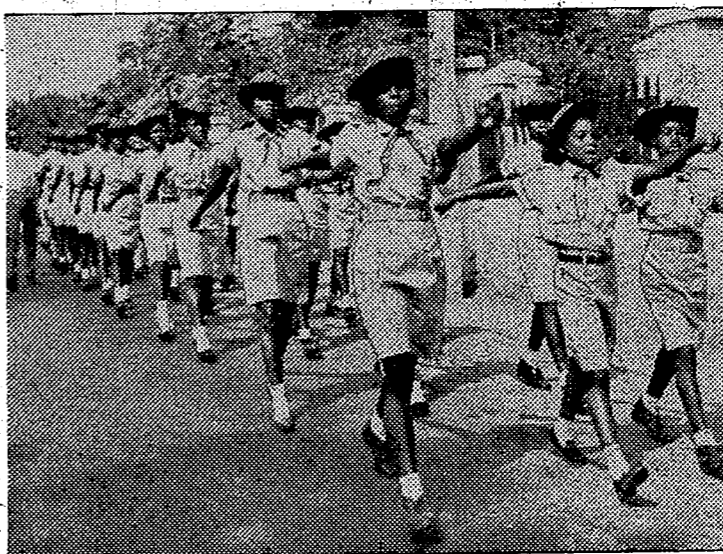
They are looking for a way to make good this possible future loss.

The solution seems to them to be to move southward, into the interior of the peninsula, farther away from the storm areas in the north.

Behind the sand curtain of the Arabian desert, dealing with medieval sheikhs and emirs, they may be able to go on robbing Arabia of her natural wealth with impunity.

Unite Against Imperialism!

Continued from page 1



...But young Africa marches on confidently in the future.

ed by imperialist intellectuals and their African minions. This new concoction, this mental opium, goes by the name of "African socialism".

become bolder and must adopt positive forms of struggle.

CONTINENTAL STRATEGY

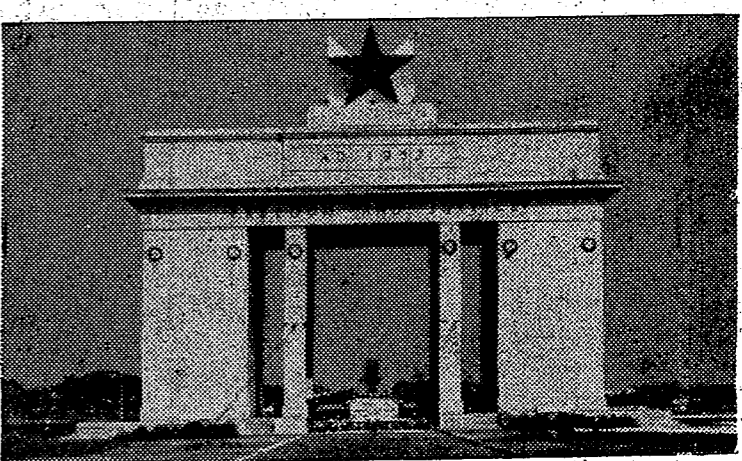
The brief account of the problems facing the African revolution indicates clearly the line along which the forces of socialism in Africa must direct their energies.

In South Africa, the liberation movement must evolve an Africa-wide strategy and move on to higher forms of struggle.

In those independent countries where the state has chosen the road of socialist advance, the urgent task is to consolidate state power. The workers and peasants must be more closely associated with state power. The social and economic bases of neo-colonialism must be restricted and finally eliminated.

Everywhere in Africa, a relentless war must be conducted on the ideological front for the triumph of scientific socialism over all rival ideologies and especially against the revisionism and opportunism craft-

In those independent countries where a government of neo-colonialism is in office, the forces of the African revolution must rally themselves in a national united front against imperialism and feudalism, for democratic rights and complete independence.



The Lodestar—symbol of the inevitable triumph of the African revolution.

In the territories still under colonial rule, the national liberation movement must

THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM AND THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Continued from page 4

high degree of development?"

In so far as the Franco-German reconciliation will be based on peace and the will of the people opens up vast prospects of co-operation for the European Economic Community with the neighbouring socialist States, the European Economic Community would have very substantial trumps in her opposition to American hegemony.

But if American hegemony were to be established in Africa, the enormous wealth of the American Continent would mean that American capitalism would have an accession of strength, which would enable it to break any resist-

ance offered by capitalist Europe.

And so, if capitalist Europe really means to resist "neo-colonialism brought to a high peak of development", it must of necessity range itself alongside the African Revolution which confronted with the same problem.

The question is: "Can it do so?"

However that may be, the African Revolution is, for its part, determined to press forward, until Unity is achieved through the positive and dynamic action of the peoples, who alone can guarantee true independence and provide the conditions for building up in Africa, a prosperous, socialist society.

MAY DAY

"MAY Day is the day on which the workers of all countries celebrate their awakening to a class-conscious life, their union in the struggle against all violence and all oppression of man by man, in the struggle for the liberation of millions of working people from hunger, poverty and humiliation. Two worlds face each other in this great struggle: the world of capital and the world of labour, the world of exploitation and slavery, and the world of fraternity and freedom.

The workers of all countries are fighting for the emancipation of labour from wage slavery, from poverty and want. They are fighting for a social system under which the riches created by common labour will benefit all the working people and not a handful of rich men.

"Only a class-conscious and organised proletariat can win genuine; not spurious, freedom for the people. Only a class-conscious and organised proletariat can thwart every attempt to deceive the people, to limit their rights, and make them mere tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie."

—LENIN