

# THE SPARK



A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Registered at the G. P. O. as a newspaper)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1963

51

2d.

## EDITORIAL

### Whose Secret Have We Leaked?

IN their issues of November 21 and November 24 respectively two London newspapers, the DAILY MAIL and the OBSERVER which are known to be close to British ruling circles attacked us for allegedly exposing the secrets of the African Liberation Committee otherwise known as the Committee of Nine. Behind these attacks is the ill-concealed effort to pressure Ghana into a precipitate and wholesale endorsement of all that the Committee of Nine proposes to do.

We fully understand the reasons behind this diplomatic offensive being conducted on behalf of the Committee of Nine by the imperialist press. And we are happy that imperialism is smarting under the telling blows we have dealt its strategy of using sources close to the Committee of Nine to delay and paralyse national liberation movements in the Southern part of the African continent.

In the first place, we must make it abundantly clear to the Western press that the much vaunted secrets of the Committee of Nine are no secrets to the imperialists. The Committee's report was distributed openly and widely at the Dakar Conference of African Foreign Ministers as far back as July this year with non-African press representatives getting hold of some copies. And even before the Dakar Conference we got a copy of the report from sources close to the Embassy of the United States of America in Dar-es-Salaam.

A second fact is that the operations of the Committee could not remain a secret to imperialist ruling circles as long as its bankers are Barclays Bank. It is naive to think that an influential bank in the City of London can keep the secrets of an organisation which is serious about liquidating the interests of British finance capital in Africa.

Thirdly, the so-called secrets of the Liberation Committee are common-place facts known to U.S. ruling circles through the arrangement by which the Congo (Leopoldville) virtually directs the liberation struggle in Angola. The U.S. presence in the Congo Republic is an undisputed fact. So is the fact that the Congo government recognised Roberto Holden's Angolan Government-in-exile on the promptings of U.S. ruling circles. Even if these glaring facts are glossed over, can the imperialist press deny the fact that U.S. imperialism is busy rigging up a settlement between Roberto Holden and Dr. Salazar under which Holden will set up a 'moderate' government in independent Angola, U.S. business circles are given a free hand in Angola and the U.S. pays to Portugal, for a period of 5 to 10 years, all the money lost to it by the grant of political independence to Angola?

The Western imperialist press is trying hard to incite some African States against Ghana. This is nothing new. We see it as glowing testimony to Ghana's uncompromising stand in the fight against imperialism.

We would, however, like to make it clear that we do not speak for the Ghana Government; just as neither the DAILY MAIL nor the OBSERVER could be regarded as speaking for the British Government.

This notwithstanding, we are of the considered view that the Committee of Nine has taken certain decisions which are not covered by its mandate as agreed at the Addis Ababa Conference of Independent African States last May. For one, the Organisation of African Unity set up the Committee to harmonise and direct all ASSISTANCE to

Continued on page 6

## WHO KILLED KENNEDY?

# THE ECONOMICS OF THE ASSASSINATION

WHEN A NATION GOES TO WAR, IT CONSCRIPTS NOT ONLY ITS MAN-POWER BUT ITS MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES. THE EXTENT OF THE MOBILISATION DEPENDS, OF COURSE, ON THE SIZE AND DURATION OF THE WAR. THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS BIG AND LONG ENOUGH TO MAKE EVEN THE UNITED STATES GO INTO GENERAL MOBILISATION.

To wage a successful war, the armed forces and the armament industry must have at their disposal the full resources of the national treasury. When the full resources of the United States Treasury are considered, the amount of money available for the chiefs of staff and armament industry becomes a succession of cyphers which beggar the imagination. In the Second World War, the American war industries remained in private hands, and the allocation of competitive contracts became the function of the Pentagon either through its experts or by direct orders.

### NATIONAL TREASURY

No empire in previous history has ever had such wealth, and no group of in-

dividuals has ever had such opportunities to make irrefusable calls on a national treasury. With the growth of technology and science, war became a matter of industrial production of armaments, and the integration of industrial and military experts became the most important aspect of war preparation.



Used by U.S. Marines. Gun is held in double fist and is discharged by pressing it against opponent.

dividuals has ever had such opportunities to make irrefusable calls on a national treasury. With the growth of technology and science, war became a matter of industrial production of armaments, and the integration of industrial and military experts became the most important aspect of war preparation.

One must imagine the financial transactions required to fit out the imperial legions of Rome with shields and spears, and the armed forces of a modern state equipped with aircraft carriers, air fleets, tanks and nuclear wea-

pon. Even in the Roman Empire, army contracts became the chief means of enriching generals and financiers. Today there is no other field of enrichment

worth considering either for military men or industrialists. The end of the Second World War brought no transition to a peace-time economy either for the capitalist or socialist nations. The Cold War meant frantic rearmament for both sides, and the emphasis on nuclear arms meant that the major share of the national treasuries of both the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as their industrial output, had to be harnessed to armament production. For the ruling class of the United States, this was an inestimable boon. It could,

by  
**H.M. Basner**

not make any difference whether the profits came from the manufacture of arms or from commodities for peaceful use. With millions of men under arms and paid by the state, the unemployment figures could be kept down, and the unemployed could be kept quiet with social security. As the only customer is the Government there are no credit risks, and any untoward financing in research or new plant can be done at the expense of the national treasury.

### CAPITALIST ECONOMY

The boom-and-bust economy of capitalism hardly operates during the Cold War. It's all boom, with the sky as the limit as far as profits are concerned, and with the unemployment of increasing automation absorbed by the armed forces.

For a socialist economy the very opposite considerations become true. The capital which should go into productive industries and agriculture is absorbed by armament. The man-power which should be constructing and operating industries for raising the standards of living of the masses of the people is absorbed in the armed forces. There is no profit in war preparations for any section of the popu-



Kennedy... victim of "the military-industrial complex"?

lation; full employment does not depend on the production of arms; political stability does not depend on chauvinist propaganda.

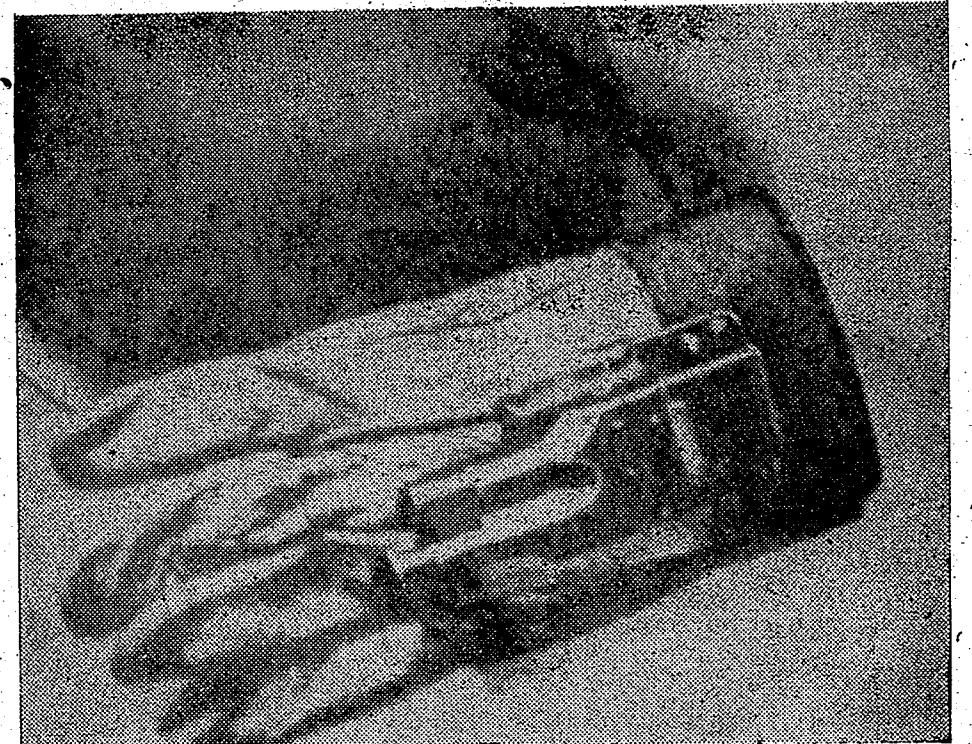
### THE COLD WAR

Thus while the Cold War represents a positive benefit to the capitalist system, it represents a positive loss to a socialist economy. The final agreement to limit the Cold War by means of an understanding for peaceful co-existence, was accepted by the United States Administration as a bitter pill, and by the Soviet Union Administration as a triumph. The bitter pill was swallowed because the nuclear race made war no

longer a routine affair to give Capitalism a new lease of life, but an adventure which would destroy the capitalist as well as the socialist parts of the world. The triumph for the Soviet Union was only possible because the socialists had made terrific sacrifices to reach parity and eventual superiority in the race for nuclear arms. Parity would not have been enough in the negotiations between Premier Khrushchev and Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy on Co-existence. The superiority had to be so plain as to make it impossible for the scientific advisers to advance reasons for rejecting the Russian

Continued on page 6

U.S. made sleeve pistol. Finger ring is the trigger and the gun is attached to elastic leather strap fitted to the forearm. Under a jacket sleeve it is invisible, but a slight elevation of the hand pulls the string attached to finger and fires the gun.



# ALGERIA: A Year of the Ben Bella Government

A LITTLE more than a year ago, Algeria lay prostrate, bleeding and exhausted. And when Ahmed Ben Bella was invested as the country's Premier in September 1962, the immediate task confronting him and his Ministers in restoring some semblance of order and normal life to a people that had suffered much was immense and appalling.

After seven and a half years of the most brutal war ever fought on African soil in the course of which the Algerian people sacrificed more than one million of their best sons, Algeria endured for three and a half more months between the signing of the Evian Agreement in March, 1962, and the declaration of independence in July the same year, the most murderous period of O.A.S. terrorist activity.

For two of those months the F.L.N. (Front de Libération Nationale) which had won a great victory for the Algerians was in the throes of a serious political crisis and civil war threatened.

From the day of the declaration of independence a flood of refugees and displaced persons filled the country. The two million Algerians who had been forced out of their localities and "re-grouped" by the French army during the war of liberation left their new villages to return to their more familiar douars, while the several hundred thousands who had fled into Tunisia and Morocco recrossed the frontier into the country which they could now call their own.

The numberless widows, orphans and war wounded bore yet more poignant testimony to the cruel suffering the Algerian people had undergone during the long years of the war.

Even before independence, the Europeans had begun to leave the country and the closing of many factories filled the towns with the unemployed.

### VENGEANCE FOR CRIME

Of the one and a quarter million French Algerians more than half a million left the country immediately on the declaration of independence. Many were fearful of possible Moslem vengeance for the crime of the O.A.S. during the last days of French rule. Many also left as a result of intimidation by the O.A.S. whose policy of sabotage included the driving away of as many Europeans as possible to cripple the Algerian economy. There has been a steady outflow since that time and it is estimated that by the end of 1963 there will be fewer than 70,000 Europeans left in Algeria. And these will consist mainly of old people for whom there is no future in France or, for that matter, anywhere else.

From the ranks of the "pieds noirs" (as the French Algerians are called) came the managerial class running farms and factories, technicians on the railways, leading personnel in the electricity, gas, postal services and other public utilities. They provided most of Algeria's doctors as well as the shop owning class and the artisans. Their departure from the country paralysed its economy to such an extent that industrial and commercial activity in the summer of this year was only 30 per cent of what it was 2 years previously when Algeria was still at war.

Quite a considerable section of the *pieds noirs* were ordinary workers like those living in the Belcourt suburb of Algiers and in the Marina area of Oran and they were just as exploited by the rich colons as were the Moslem Algerians. Most of them and others

like them scattered throughout the country did not feel themselves to be in any physical danger, but the O.A.S. insisted otherwise and ordered them to leave. Indeed, there have been remarkably few acts of Moslem reprisals against Europeans for O.A.S. atrocities.

### NO FUNDS

Not only was the economy in a state of collapse, there were even no funds with which to finance the administration when Ben Bella assumed power. There was a monthly deficit of something like £11 million; the state-owned railways, postal services and other public services were all running at a loss. And while gas and electricity were being maintained meters had not been read for six months or in some cases a year and no bills had been sent out to customers. The salaries of civil servants were several months in arrears and although half of the 50 million dollar oil royalties was supposed to be earmarked for the army they were no better off than the civil servants.

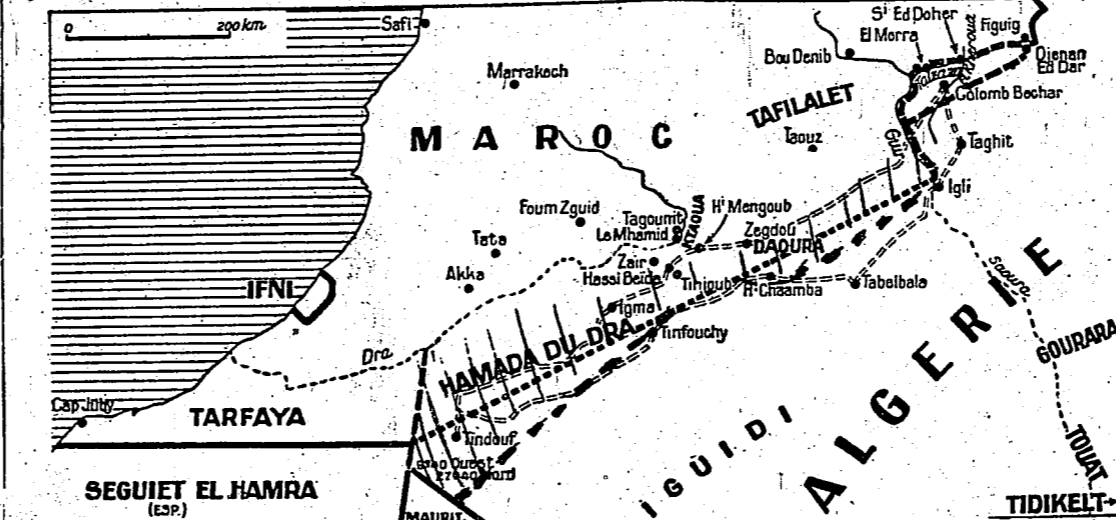
The O.A.S. organised an effective non-payment of taxes campaign and systematically destroyed as much of the country's social security records as they could lay hands on.

With so many war widows, orphans and un-

employed to say nothing of the war incapacitated to be cared for the Government faced what appeared to be an insuperable task.

### AID

Questionnaires were compiled and sent all over the country. Municipal authorities, the police and the press were appealed to for help. Slowly and laboriously the indexes were built up again. Staffs necessary for the social security pay offices had to come from the Algerians themselves who had to do jobs previously done almost entirely by Europeans. A very large number of staffs thus recruited were young people many of whom were barely adult. The Government



had little choice in the matter for the Algerian population of nearly 11 million no less than 70 per cent are under the age of 25 years, which makes Algeria one of the world's most youthful countries.

If in reorganising the social security service the Government had to bow to the pressure of circumstances and "Algerianise" the service, it was under even greater pressure from the people to implement the Tripoli programme which had been adopted by the National Council of

the Algerian Revolution a short while before independence.

The Tripoli programme provided for agrarian reform, proposed industrialisation, control over foreign capital, state ownership of

by  
**Desmond Buckle**

mines, quarries and cement works and envisaged the nationalisation of insurance companies and banks.

In his speech of investiture as Premier, Ben Bella outlined a long term programme the fundamental

ready being formed by the peasants. From the first few months after independence the peasants occupied abandoned land and in some cases burned the crops because they did not want Moslem renters to inherit the abandoned properties and replace the departed colons as the new privileged class.

### DECREES

The decrees adopted by the Ben Bella Government on March 18, 1963 legalised many of the take-over acts already undertaken by the management committees and at the same time gave a further impetus to agrarian reform.

These decrees which

French exploded a nuclear device.

Ben Bella has always supported the peasantry in their actions in taking over vacant properties. The Tripoli programme recognised that "the Algerian peasantry has been the active base of the war of liberation in which it carried the heaviest burden" and Ben Bella commented on his assumption of power that "this peasantry intends that the revolution should bring to it, at the same time as independence, a perfectly legitimate well-being."

### AGRARIAN REFORM

On the morrow of independence the property of 9,000 European farmers who had decided to carry on in Algeria still covered some 2 1/2 million acres for 9,000 cultivations. Today there is no longer an acre of cultivable land in Algeria which is the property of a Frenchman.

To his French critics—and some Algerian too—who complain that the pace of agrarian reform is too fast, Ben Bella points out that the principle of agrarian reform in Algeria was accepted even by the French imperialists at Evian. It was agreed that the 2.7 million hectares (out of a total of 7 million hectares) of the best agricultural land which were in the hands of the colons were to be redistributed. Article 13 of the Evian Agreement provides for the procedure to be adopted in assessing compensation.

Nevertheless, President Ben Bella insists that the Evian Agreement is out of date and would have to be revised. In a speech to more than half a million people in Algiers during the celebration of the anniversary of the revolution last month

(November), he said the French Government realised the accords were no longer valid because there were no longer 500,000 French in Algeria but only 100,000.

### NEW ERA

Le Monde, too, expressed a similar opinion when it commented on October 30th: "The Evian accords no longer appear as the dawn of a new era; they were, it is admitted today, only a veil drawn over the past, the end of the war and of colonisation. Hopes cannot resist for long, the test of facts."

For all Algerians, then, the call to revise the Evian Agreement means a demand to break the bonds which still prevent the realisation of full sovereignty.

"I am not saying that what we are doing pleases everybody, but the common people and the immense majority of Algerians are in agreement with what we are doing," says Ben Bella. Certainly, most of the measures he and his Government have carried out so far have their inspiration from another of his sayings — "We must let the masses choose for themselves." Hence the immense popularity that he personally enjoys throughout Algeria. Even in the Kabylie Mountains region where the fewest voters were recorded in the presidential election, his erstwhile comrade and friend, Hocine Ait Ahmed, failed miserably in his efforts to raise the banner of revolt with his Front of Socialist Forces.

It is generally agreed that the nationalised farms are being well run by the peasants. They readily respond-

Continued on page 4

LONDON

fly there by

Ghana

AIRWAYS

**There are so many fascinating and famous things to see in London. They may be familiar sights to you, or things to see and enjoy for the first time. Fly there quickly and comfortably by Ghana Airways Express services. You travel non-stop, by night, arriving refreshed next morning—with an extra day in hand. And you fly in the luxury comfort of a modern, jet-prop aircraft. Ghana Airways—your link with Europe—will be pleased to help you plan your journey exactly as you wish.**

YOUR TIME-TABLE

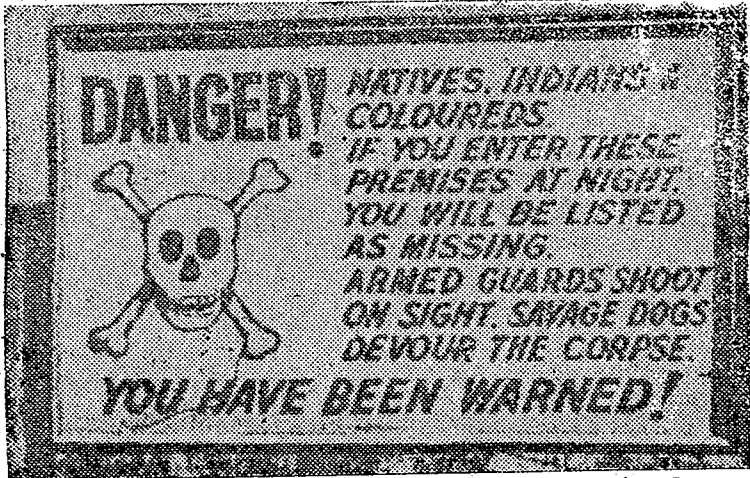
ACCRA	Dep.	GH.804 Mon. 2200	GH.800 Fri. 2200
		Non-Stop Night Express	Non-Stop Night Express
LONDON	Arr.	Tues. 0720	Sat. 0720

*The changing of the Guard at Horse Guards Parade in Whitehall, London can be seen at 11.30 a.m. on every weekday ... 8.55 a.m. on Sundays.*

GHANA AIRWAYS—YOUR LINK WITH EUROPE

# SOUTH AFRICA

**"COMMENT"**—The progressive British weekly devoted its November 2, 1963 issue to a thorough study of the South African question. With all the courtesy due to COMMENT we are reproducing some of the revealing and thought-provoking articles. —EDITOR.



## Arms For Verwoerd

THE Verwoerd regime's military budget increased by £24 million to £60 million in 1962, and by a further £20 million this year. The armed forces are being expanded to a target of 50,000 to 60,000 troops together with a police force of 26,000.

In addition to arming the regular troops, South Africa is ready to put many auxiliaries into action at a few hours' notice, and could arm a total of 250,000 men.

Britain is supplying South Africa with £90 million of military equipment in the current three-year period. Weapons include Saracen armoured cars, standard police equipment (used at Sharpeville) made by Alvis of Coventry.

Aircraft include: BUCCANEER strike planes, made by Blackburns, a Hawker subsidiary. Engines by Rolls Royce. £20-30 million-worth ordered.

CANBERRA jet bombers, range 3,500 miles. Made by English Electric.

VICTOR bombers, made by Handley Page. An undisclosed number has been ordered.

WASP helicopters, made by Westlands, can be flown from ships.

Also: VAMPIRES, SHACKLETONS, DOVES, HERONS, VISCOUNTS and AUSTERS.

Yarrow and Co. and Alexander Stephen and Son built the three frigates ordered by South Africa.

Britain has supplied tear-gas since 1912 but in future this may be manufactured by African Explosives and Chemicals in South Africa (in which De Beers and I.C.I. have equal joint holdings).

South Africa plans to spend £700 million on foreign arms in the ten years from 1961, and may buy from Britain PROVOST JET training planes, De Havilland 125 transport planes, GREEN ARCHER mortar-locating radar, Bedford Army trucks and Land Rovers, and BLOODHOUND and THUNDERBIRD missiles for anti-aircraft defence.

Her current military spending is greater than the combined military budgets of the independent African States.

# This is British You name it—the capitalism's stake city's got it in Apartheid

by Arthur James

A BRITISH company, Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, owns a group of mines called West Witwatersrand—"West Wits". These mines employ more than 54,000 men, almost all Africans. And they produce more gold than all the gold mines in the United States of America.

This company was founded by the archetypal imperialist, Cecil Rhodes. The son of a clergyman, Rhodes made a fortune in diamonds and engineered the amalgamation of the properties out of which grew the De Beer's Corporation which today markets 97 per cent of the diamonds mined in the entire world, through the large building where traffic from Hatton Garden flows on to Holborn Viaduct.

### GOLD OUTPUT

The Gold Fields Company he founded in 1887 spread out to Canada, the U.S.A., Australia and Britain. It has thirteen major gold mines in South Africa, including the most profitable in the world: West Driefontein whose earned net profit in the first five months of this year (i.e. after paying South African taxes) was £1,735,000.

The directors meet at 49 Moorgate, in the City of London. Among them is H. C. Drayton, one of Britain's richest men. His proteges include Angus Ogilvy, son of the Earl of Airlie (who owns 40,000 Scottish acres), husband of Princess Alexandra who is the Queen's cousin. Ogilvy has fifty company directorships, several with extensive interests in South and Central Africa.

### DIAMONDS TOO

Two-thirds of the output of gold in the capitalist world comes from South Africa—25,506,000 ounces last year worth £318,000,000. Most of it comes to London, to the Bank of England, who sell it for the mining companies to the City's bullion market.

The companies controlling gold mining are known as the "Big Seven". Consolidated Gold Fields of

dated Investment Co., Union Corporation (Hambros Bank), General Mining and Finance Co. and Johannesburg Consolidated Investment.

In all British capital is either dominant or operating jointly with South African capital.

Ever been to Luton Hoo, the Bedfordshire stately home? It was bought out of the gold and diamonds fortune, won through African labour, by the Wernher

family. The first Wernher was an ally of Rhodes, and created the London diamond syndicate at the same time as he organised the Rand gold mines from London.

The world's principal diamond companies are: Angola Diamond, Anglo American Investment Trust Consolidated, Bulfontein, Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, De Beers, New Jagersfontein, Tanganyika Diamond, and L. M. Van Moppers (merchants). As in gold, British capital dominates or shares control in all.

### FARED BETTER

Altogether about £1,000 million of British money is invested in South Africa, mostly capital investment—mines, mills, factories, shipping, hotels, publishing, transport, power, property you name it, the City has it.

British investment is in two forms, through subsidiary companies owned by British-based firms, and through direct shareholdings in South African companies. These shares can be held by individuals or companies, and are known as portfolio investments.

In the ups and downs of South African politics, British investors have fared better than others because their capital is mostly indirect investment and is not so sharply affected by stock exchange fluctuation.

In 1956, when the total foreign investment in South Africa was estimated at £1,396 million, the British share was £865,600,000. Other sterling countries had £69,800,000 between them, and the U.S.A. had £171,100,000.

Of the U.K. share, £556,100,000 was in direct investment, and £309,500,000 in portfolio investment.

Mining accounted for £164,000,000 of the direct investment, and for £121,900,000 of the portfolio investment, making a

total of £285,900,000 of British money invested in mining alone.

It can be seen why this Eldorado of gold and diamonds, coal and copper, uranium and asbestos, manganese and iron, means so much to British investors who altogether got £18,900,000 in dividends from South Africa in 1961.

### CHEAPER LABOUR

British investments in South Africa are more than the total British investment in the rest of the African continent. This has been pointed out by Tory M.P. Sir Gerald Nabarro, in his capacity as chairman of the National Association of British Manufacturers in a pamphlet opposing economic sanctions against the Verwoerd regime.

In the four years from 1958 to 1961, the earnings of branches, subsidiaries and associates of British companies totalled £92,000,000 (excluding oil and insurance), a sum greater than the income from any other overseas country except Australia.

Whenever technical know-how is needed it is more often than not the British firm that gets the contract. Thus, Anglo American Corporation needing to know how to produce special steels in the Transvaal using South African raw materials, commission Davy-Ashmore of Sheffield to make a survey.

British firms also open up in South Africa to recoup on losses in Britain.

Raleigh, losing on bicycles in the home market, set up in South Africa and sells its bicycles at the same price, thereby making a greater profit because of lower labour costs.

There is a textile slump in Britain. Thousands of mill workers are laid off. No matter. A Jo'burg textiles

Continued on page 5

South Africa, Central Mining and Investment Corporation, Anglo American Corporation (Oppenheimer) Anglo Transvaal Consoli-



Nelson Mandela... victim of South African fascism.

# THE PASS: Badge of African Slavery

THE pass laws are designed to channel cheap labour to the European-owned mines, farms and industries. The pass is compulsory from the age of fifteen for all men and women, town and country dwellers.

This is what the pass is, what it contains.

### Section A

To be stated: the name and address of the pass holder, his place of birth, whence he comes (town,

region, etc), his tribal chief, the address of his employer and the date on which he began work.

2. The address of the local office of the Labour Bureau, Efflux and Influx Control, and the registration number of the pass-holder.

Every time the pass-holder loses his job he has to go to the office of the Labour Influx Control to register as "seeking work". This office can grant the pass-holder a period of fourteen to twenty-one days to seek a job, during which

he has the right to stay in the locality under the same conditions for police purposes as if he were working.

This period is renewable, but the clerk may also state on the pass that the holder must leave the town if he does not find a job in the requisite time; and the time allowed may be less than fourteen days.

### Section B

This must contain the signature and address of the employer and the date of

starting work. The employer must sign the pass one month so that a policeman or anyone examining the pass may see whether the holder is still working. The employer must also, if this is applicable, indicate the date of discharge.

From this date the sacked worker can be arrested (and this happens not infrequently) by any policeman or any person so authorised, even at the very moment that he is going to the Labour Bureau to register; and he can be sentenced to a fine of £10 or two months' imprisonment.

### Section C

This concerns payment of roll tax by the Africans, the so-called "Union Tax". This tax must be paid every year: it is £1 15s. for unmarried men and £2 5s. for married men.

The aim of this tax is to drive Africans from the countryside, for it is only by finding a wage, and, therefore, an employer, that the African peasant can pay this tax.

### Section D

Bantu Authorities Tax: The chiefs of African tribes

(called Bantus, whatever their origin, by the white rulers of the country—who reserve the title "African" for themselves) have the right to demand taxes from the members of their tribe.

If this tax is demanded (and it is a form of corruption of the African chiefs which often succeeds) and is not paid, the chief takes proceedings against the "offended".

For non-payment of this tax, as for other "offences" of the same kind, the chiefs are authorised by the government to try members of their tribe.

### Section E

In general, Africans are not allowed out after 8 p.m. This is to prevent Africans from being in town at night, and also, on the pretext of

preserving African customs, to enable chiefs protected by the government to impose small fines on the community.

If the offender has not got the necessary money for the fine, the chief can make him pay in kind. Nevertheless, certain categories of African such as tribal chiefs, teachers and civil servants—another piece of discrimination calculated to sow discord among Africans—have the right to be out after 8 p.m. In this case the authorisation must be stated in the pass or on a special permit.

Only in South Africa must Africans possess a pass. This is apartheid in practice: but Verwoerd claims it is not discrimination but a question of a "separate evolution".

Every year over a million Africans are brought before the courts for minor pass law offences, and are imprisoned or sent to work on farms.

# Sugar Industrial Complex

THE independent States of Africa, like newly emergent nations the world over, are engaged in a titanic struggle to achieve complete independence. And the main front in this drive towards total independence is economic reconstruction. To maintain the economic structure and relations left behind by colonialism is to preserve the foundations of neo-colonialism. Accordingly the fight for far-reaching economic reconstruction is an accurate index of the resolve of the independent states of Africa to move on to real freedom or to stagnate as neo-colonialist regimes.

Broadly speaking, independent African States seem to be pursuing economic growth along two main roads. The first is to leave the nation's economy in the hands of the former masters and to entrust economic development to foreign private investments. The other road is to entrust economic growth to the state and relate all projects to the general state plan for promoting economic growth.

While most French-speaking African States follow the first road, Ghana has been the pioneer along the second road. And today there is evidence that the Ghana approach is by far the more successful. The French-speaking African States are all asso-

ciated with the European Common Market. Nevertheless, economic progress in these African states has been slow. In some cases it is stagnant. Now there is mounting tension within the whole system of associated states with the European Common Market. Some African States are unwilling to ratify the agreement on associated states while others want it abrogated.

Here in Ghana the position is completely different.

by X'ray

The private sector of the national economy is forging ahead as seen in the strides being made under the Capital Investments Act. At the same time, the state sector is chalking up successes. Evidence of this is provided by the Volta Power and Industrial Complex, the Tema oil Refinery and other major projects. The latest addition to this growing list is the sugar industrial complex which goes into production in 1966. With a capital of five

and a half million pounds, the Ghana Sugar Products Corporation (a state enterprise) is setting up a sugar factory supplied from an 8,000 acre sugar-cane plantation and capable of producing 240,000 tons of sugar a year. In addition, the industry will produce a million gallons of alcohol annually and enough pulp to keep a £G1 million paper factory going at Tema. The result of this latest effort is that Ghana, in the very near future, should become

self-supporting in the fields of sugar, alcohol and even paper. It is one more firm step taken in the direction of economic independence. The contrasting picture is clear for all to see. We here in Ghana are forging ahead with our economic development because we depend on ourselves and subordinate foreign assistance to our home effort. The French-speaking African states are less fortunate because they make economic dependence on Western

Europe the cardinal principle in their approach to economic development.

The lesson is gradually being learnt. Dependence on imperialism can never lead to economic independence. The only sure road to economic independence is that of depending on one's self, of relying on wisely operated economic planning and of following the path of socialist development.

THE web of circumstances in the history of our times has inexorably patterned out the course of development which emergent nations should follow. This course is socialism. It is the only way by which a young nation can hope to build up a firm foundation for rapid development: politically, economically, socially and culturally.

It is this course of socialism which Ghana, under the inspired leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has chosen to pursue.

We continue in this issue, the series of articles tracing the progress of socialism in Ghana in the economic, social and political fields. After that we hope to follow the trend of socialism in other African countries also.

Our article today is on the Sugar Industry.

We owe a debt of gratitude to X'ray for contributing this article. We shall continue with the series on Legon in the next issue.

—EDITOR.

Focus on  
**SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA**  
PART TWELVE

## Algeria: A Year of Ben Bella Government

Continued from page 2.

ed to the Government's appeal to plant a much larger area with wheat this year to help overcome the food shortage. Fields which should have been allowed to lie fallow were included in the sowing. But there was such heavy rainfall in the spring that a bumper harvest, far beyond expectations, was assured.

### COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

On a nationalised farm, the farm workers elect a council which in turn elects a committee of management. The committee attends to the running of the farm with the help of a Government technician. These, of course, are hard to find but the greatest lack is of trained book-keepers and accountants to keep accounts in order.

The workers receive in actual cash a sum slightly less than under private enterprise, but the deficiency is more than made up for by gifts in kind and the right to work their own crops on their own plots of land.

Ben Bella's Government have not met with the same degree of success in the industrial enterprises taken over either by the Government itself or by the workers. There have been a number of drawbacks and failures in this sector. There have been problems of honouring debts incurred in colonial times, of disorganisation of the internal market so that some factories cannot easily dispose of their products.

### TRIPOLI PROGRAMME

The Tripoli programme declared that, "it will be necessary to allow a private

sector to exist" for a time and that during this limited period the import of foreign private capital is desirable on certain conditions. It is intended that such capital should function only in

the Tripoli programme, the Government plans to develop light industry. A number of factories will soon be established in the Algiers area for textiles, leather goods and sugar refining.

Spring of 1962 when other F.L.N. leaders were preparing to halt the revolution and to liquidate it. They recognised the fact that the tasks of the revolution were by no means completed, and that in consolidating and extending the independence won at such a great sacrifice it was necessary to preserve not only the image of the F.L.N. but also to maintain its revolutionary momentum.

Ben Bella pointed out that if the F.L.N. had been allowed to dissolve itself when hostilities ceased, in the objective conditions of Algeria there would have emerged a plurality of bourgeois parties with rival policies with party liable to become a bridgehead for neo-colonialism.

### GOOD LEADERSHIP

Under the leadership of the Ben Bella Government and the F.L.N. the Algerian people are tackling the problems of peace with the same dauntless courage and unity of purpose that characterised their heroic fight for national liberation.

Algeria has taken a non-capitalist road to social and economic regeneration and in the committees of management the workers and peasants are getting experience of democratic procedures.

In the year that has passed, the Algerian people have not only achieved considerable successes in rehabilitating their war-ravaged country; they have also richly fulfilled their role as "Arabo-Islamic, Maghrebian and African peoples."



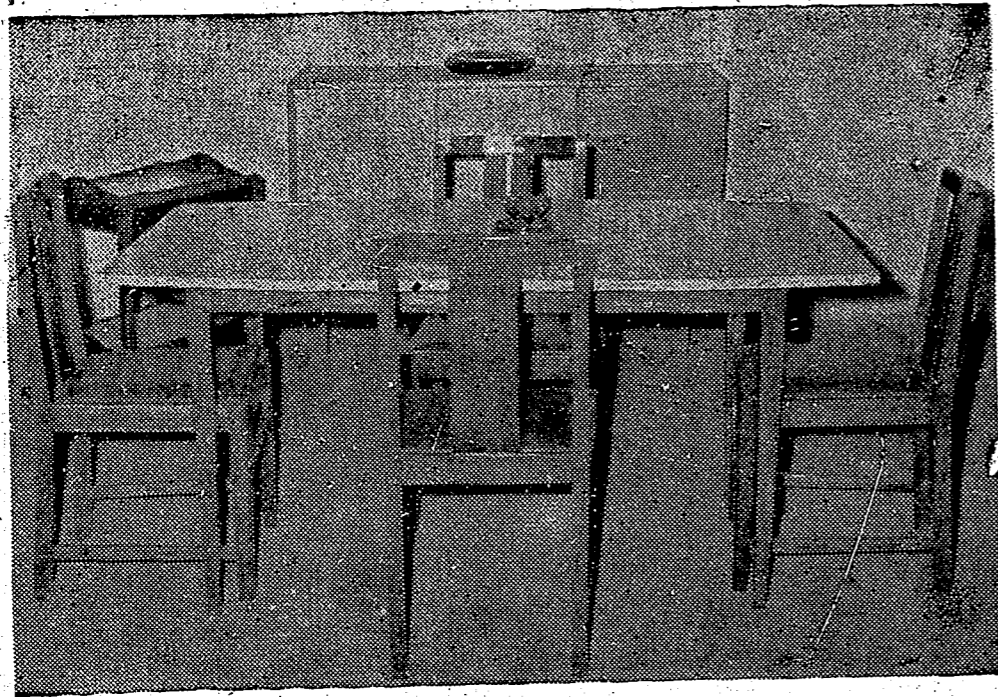
President Ben Bella

mixed enterprises and that the transfer of profits must be strictly regulated. Moreover, a certain proportion of the profits must be re-invested in the enterprise.

In carrying out faithfully

To President Ahmed Ben Bella and his colleagues such as Colonel Houari Boumediene and M. Mohammedi Said belong the credit of having been sufficiently vigilant in the difficult days and weeks of the

## High Class FURNITURE



new designs to suit the modern home

FOR

LOUNGE  
KITCHEN  
SCHOOL

DINING-ROOM  
BEDROOM  
OFFICE

Contact

**STATE FURNITURE & JOINERY CORPORATION**

(Brewery Road, near Ghana Graphic Co. Ltd.)

tel.: 66411, p.o. box 1922, Accra

the most modern furniture factory in Ghana



21st NOVEMBER, THURSDAY:

**GHANA:** Mr. Kojo Botsio, Ghana's Minister of Foreign Affairs returns to Accra by air from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where he attended the conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.).

**ETHIOPIA:** Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia addressing the 33 joint session of the Ethiopian Parliament, says that Africans are now prepared and able to settle their quarrels.

**CONGO** The two Soviet Diplomats arrested last week for spying are to be released this afternoon.

**SIERRA LEONE:** The Sierra Leone Parliament unanimously ratifies an agreement signed last August in Khartoum by African Finance Ministers for the establishment of an African Development Bank.

**ALGERIA:** West-Berlin mayor Willy Brandt arrives in Algiers, after having already visited 10 African Countries. Back in Berlin the day after, he deplors that Africans are not willing to support Bonn-Germany in her aggressiveness against Democratic Germany.

Tunisian-Algerian negotiations start, mainly about the used and outlets of Saharian Oil.

**TUNISIA:** It is reported that European Common Market authorities have offered to Tunisia to open negotiations to reach some kind of association. (Meanwhile, the ad interim E.C.A. — African associated countries committee is meeting in Brussels).

**NIGERIA:** In Brussels, negotiations between Nigerian delegation and E.C.A. authorities meant to reach some kind of association open strong protests by workers against the sacking of many coalminers at Enugu.

**CONGO (Leopoldville):** Mr. Adoula states openly that, for him, all the Soviet diplomats in Congo are personae non gratae. (Mr. Adoula, who had previously sent to jail several trade-unionists and patriots, had arrested 2 Soviet diplomats).

\* Cabinet reshuffle in East Katanga: former Tshombe's accomplice, Munongo, involved in Lumumba's murder, is Minister of Justice and information.

**CONGO (Brazzaville):** General Elections are to be held on 8th December, together with constitutional referendum.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** It is officially confirmed that Foreign Minister of the racist government, Eric Louw, is to resign at the end of the year, and shall be replaced by Muller, now South-Africa (white) Ambassador to U.K. — Meanwhile, Verwoerd-controlled elections have been organised by the racists in Transkei.

22nd NOVEMBER, FRIDAY:

**UGANDA:** Officials of the Governing Uganda People's Party cables their Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote, to return from his honeymoon in Ghana to sort out their differences with the Minister of the Interior.

**SOMALI:** The Somali Prime Minister, Dr. Abdi Ashid Shermarke, accuses Ethiopia of oppression and bombing of a border village, by Ethiopian troops, and also tearing down the Somali flag.

**CONGO:** The Congolese Government of Mr. Cyrilla Adoula, suspends diplomatic relations with Russia, declaring all the members of the embassy staff "non grata".

**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) assures white miners in Northern Rhodesia that it is not the intention of his party to freeze the savings

and pensions of miners.

**NIGERIA:** Ninth Congress of Action group at Ibadan. The socialist line of the party is confirmed and Chief Awolowo and Chief Enahoro (now serving terms of imprisonment are re-elected President and Vice-President respectively).

Mr. S. G. Ikoku, has been re-elected Federal Secretary.

**CONGO (Leopoldville):** After three days cutting light and telephone have been re-established at USSR Embassy.

**ANGOLA:** Former French Reactionary Prime Minister, Pinay, arrives in Lourenco — Marquez for talks with Portuguese colonialist authorities. He had been previously in Ivory Coast, (where he praised Houphout-Biogny) Guinea, Ghana, and Nigeria.

**COMORES ISLANDS:** General de Gaulle has received the President of this French-dominated country.

**MOROCCO:** Opening of the trial organised against 108 members of the opposition democratic Party, U.F.P. Many protests have been made against arbitrary arrests and tortures of these opponents, including some M.P.s and the Chairman of Moroccan students Association. At its first Session, the Court disallowed Algerian and French progressive lawyers to plead for the accused. King Hassan II had rehabilitated the late Glaoui, a French agent under the colonial regime.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Nationalist Leader Joshua NKO-MO, is once more brought before court by the racist authorities.

23rd NOVEMBER, SATURDAY:

**GHANA:** In Accra, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the republic of Ghana, orders that all flags in Ghana are to fly at halfmast in memory of President F. Kennedy of United States of America who was killed as a result of gun shot as he drove in an open car in Dallas, Texas, yesterday.

**TANGANYIKA:** The South African National Congress appeals to all progressive political, trade unions and other organisations throughout the world to hold solidarity demonstrations on December 10, (Human Rights Day) in support of the release of South African leaders now facing trial.

**MOROCCO:** A hundred and one members of the Socialist Opposition Party stand trial today in Rabat with the charge of planning a coup d'etat on King Hassan II.

**TOGO:** The Lome Supreme Court sentences Theophile Malys, a former Interior Minister, in his absence for 20 years imprisonment.

Another Former Minister, Noe Kutubue receives 10 month-jail. The court acquits Bonito Olympio, son of late President Olympio.

**ALGERIA:** Algeria suggests the sending of joint delegations of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the funeral of President John F. Kennedy.

25th NOVEMBER, MONDAY:

**GHANA:** In a tribute over Radio Ghana to the late President Kennedy, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, says President Kennedy's inspiration, his tremendous courage, his integrity and warmth of his feeling for his fellow men will be beacon to those "who share his convictions and aspirations."

Osagyefo continues to say that Africa will remember President Kennedy, above all, for his uncompromising stand against racial and religious bigotry, intolerance and injustice.

# South Africa

## SOUTH AFRICA'S NAZI SYMPATHISERS

INAUGURATING a South African Air Force war memorial in Pretoria two months ago, State President Mr. C. R. Swart alleged that African peoples for whose safety South African pilots had died in World War Two were now planning to attack the Republic. Newly-independent African countries, he said, "even deny our own peaceful commercial air service passage over those very places which our pilots helped them to make safe from the invader".

To appreciate to the full the cynicism of this remark it is worthwhile recalling that the South African Nationalists took Hitler's side in the last war and prayed for a Hitler victory. More than that, many Nationalist leaders openly espoused the Nazi philosophy, which they absorbed so thoroughly that it remains the basis of their apartheid policy to the present day.

### ANTI-SEMITISM

When Hitler's star was in the ascendant during the thirties, a rash of fascist organisations like the Grey-shirts, the Boerenasie and the New Order broke out in South Africa and anti-Semitism flourished.

While still a professor at Stellenbosche university, Dr. Verwoerd, the present Prime Minister, went on a deputation with other Nationalist leaders to the Government demanding a halt to the immigration of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany.

At a public meeting in 1936, Dr. T. E. Donges, the present Minister of Finance, declared: "The Jew is an insoluble element in every national life."

Biggest Jew-baiter of the lot was the present Foreign Minister Eric Louw, who introduced in Parliament a Bill to stop Jewish immigration, alleging on the one hand that they were dominating the world of business, and on the other that they predominated in the ranks of the Communists.

When he became editor of *Die Transvaler* in 1937 Dr. Verwoerd wrote a long article on "the Jewish problem" proposing the introduction of a quota system

Similar tributes have been paid by some African leaders including President Nyerere of Tanganyika, President Ahmadou Ahijo of Cameroun, Prime Minister, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Prime Minister, Dr. Hastings Banda of Nyasaland, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, King Hassan II of Morocco and Mr. Doudou Thiam, Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

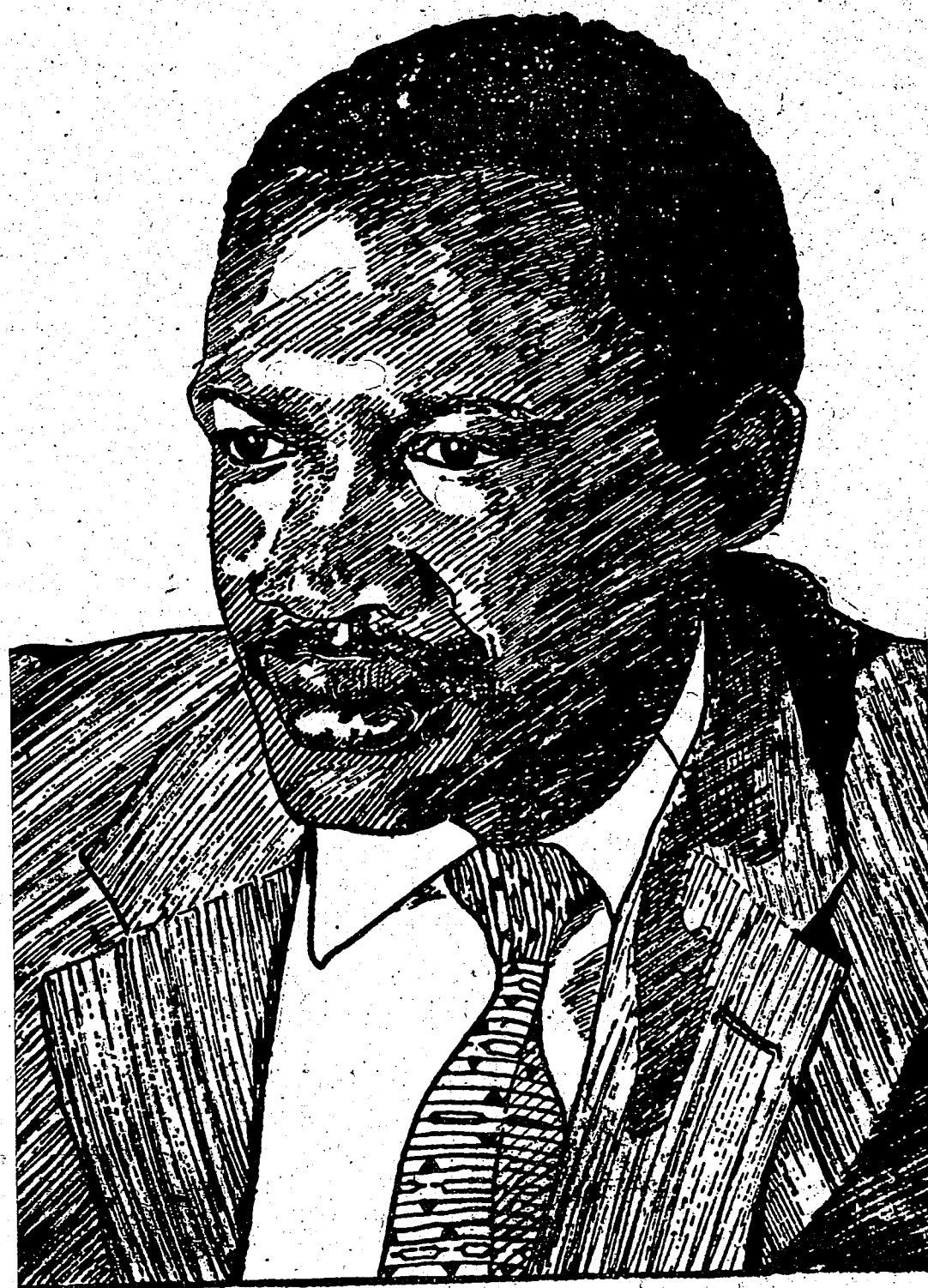
**KENYA:** The Kenya Police reports that armed Somali raiders had attacked the police post at El Wak near Mandora on the Kenya-Somali border. No casualties were reported.

**NIGERIA:** It is again reported that Nigeria, (and also Tanganyika) are to conclude formal agreements with European Common Market.

TUESDAY, 26th NOVEMBER:

**GUINEA:** Opening of Congress of Trade Unions. A trade mission arrives in Peking.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The Racist Government has brought before Court 10 anti-apartheid Leaders and militants, including Nelson Mandela, and Walter Sisulu. They are charged with "Sabotage".



SOBUKWE — LANGUISHING IN JAIL

for Jews in all occupations and professions. In 1940, the Transvaal Nationalist Party formally excluded Jews from membership.

Many of the smaller fascist organisations were later merged in the Nationalist Party and their leaders like Von Moltke and Weichardt, given seats in the South African Parliament, where they still sit today.

### INTERNEED DURING

During the early days of the war the Nationalists thought their great moment had arrived, and they prepared for the seizure of power. The Afrikaans organisation Ossewabrandwag, in which the present Minister of Justice B. J. Vorster was a general went in for a massive campaign of sabotage.

"We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism," said Vorster in 1942. "You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism and in South Africa Christian Nationalism."

For his pains Vorster was interned by the Smuts Government during the war, and later placed under house arrest. Today he is getting his own back as

the author of the Sabotage Act and the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 providing for detention without trial.

Verwoerd himself, as editor of *Die Transvaler*, poured out a steady stream of propaganda supporting the Nazi cause. Provoked by his efforts, the newspaper *Star* accused *Die Transvaler* of falsifying news in support of Nazi propaganda and generally acting as a tool of the enemy.

Verwoerd brought a libel action, but lost his case, the judge remarking: "He did support Nazi propaganda, he did make his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa, and he knew it."

The Nationalists pinned all their hopes on a Nazi victory. "The whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a German victory," said Mr. B. J. Schoeman, the present Minister of Railways, at a Nationalist Party congress in 1940.

Eric Louw declared at Fraserburg in 1942: "If Germany wins, Dr. Malan will have the majority and Hitler will then have to negotiate with the one who has the majority, and the heaviest burden will be laid on those who pushed on the war."

### POLICE STATE

Hitler lost the war, and

the Nationalists changed their tune, but not the real nature of their policies. They toned down on anti-Semitism and pretended a new-found respect for democracy, but from the moment they came to power in 1948 they went systematically to work to build the Nazified state of which they had dreamed.

Today, South Africa bears all the hall marks of the police state-massive segregation by a complete denial of civil rights, increasingly heavy penalties for political prisoners coupled with indefinite detention without trial.

More and more, one hears of detainees being subjected to assaults and electric shock treatment, of prisoners being "shot while trying to escape". The leaders of the liberation movement are at this moment on trial for their lives under the Sabotage Act.

These are not the accidents of history but the fruits of deliberate planning by people steeped in the Nazi ideology. With such people there can be no compromise. They must be defeated and their handiwork destroyed before South Africa can be made safe for all.

Continued  
from page 3

This is  
British  
Capitalism's  
Stake in  
Apartheid

Continued from Page 3

man has bought Cliff Mill in Preston, Lancs, from the Horrocks group, and will sell us textiles made in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Guest, Keen and Nettlefold share control of South African Nuts and Bolts Ltd. with ISCOR. This is the South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation, set up with state capital.

A subsidiary of ISCOR is VECOR, the largest engineering works in Africa. Among its interests: a 51 per cent holding in Ruberowen Metal Pressings to make car wheels at Port Elizabeth, the other 49 per cent being held by Rubery, Owen of England.

### TWO-WAY EXCHANGE

ISCOR has selling agents in Britain who last year sold us 207,000 tons of duty-free iron and steel, and at lower prices than that produced here. In return, you might say, ISCOR bought two blast furnaces from Davy-Ashmore, worth £3,500,000.

This two-way exchange goes even further, for in 1961 a Cape Town firm built a road and bar mill for Appleby Frodingham of Scunthorpe on the basis of lower price and quicker delivery than British firms, and they used ISCOR steel to build it.

Shipbuilders John Brown have three subsidiaries in South Africa and a substantial holding in the British aircraft company Westlands, which is supplying helicopters for military use to Verwoerd.

One of the world's largest makers of internal combustion engines, Britain's Associated Engineering is spending £1 million in South Africa on expanding a car component factory near Johannesburg. This is an industry enjoying a protective tariff against outside competition, an incentive given by the Verwoerd Government to encourage foreign investment. Another is low taxes.

### MANY OTHERS

Of sinister importance is the 600-acre site called Sasolburg, where I.C.I. contributed £10,000,000 to set up a plant bearing the name of African Explosives and Chemicals Industries. It produces plastics, nylon and cyanide with materials from SASOL, another state financed corporation, which runs the world's largest oil-from-coal plant.

The South African subsidiaries of Fisons use SASOL materials for their fertiliser products.

There are many others, too numerous to name, ranging from Associated Rediffusion's South African associate, Rediffusion, which works closely with the South African Broadcasting Service to Imperial Typewriters.

They all have a stake in apartheid.

# Kwame Nkrumah On Kennedy's Assassination



IT is with deep sorrow that I speak to you today, and pay tribute to the memory of the late President John F. Kennedy, a great world statesman and a relentless fighter for equality and human dignity.

The whole world has been shocked and bewildered at President Kennedy's tragic death by assassination, in the prime of his life. In spite of his brief term of office, President Kennedy has made an indelible mark on the history of our time.

He will be remembered as a distinguished champion of peace and the rights of man.

His inspiration, his tremendous courage, his integrity and the warmth of his feeling for his fellow men will be a beacon to those who share his convictions and aspirations.

## GREATEST CONTRIBUTIONS

John Kennedy's achievements in international affairs have been remarkable. We in Africa will remember him, above all, for his uncompromising stand against racial and religious bigotry intolerance and injustice.

His courage and stead-

fastness in pursuing the objectives of racial equality in his own country will always remain as his greatest contribution to the struggle against racialism and racial arrogance.

His singleness of purpose towards these objectives may have been a cause of this ignominious assassination. Whatever the cause, I am convinced that the supreme sacrifice which he was called upon to make, will not be lost on those sections of American society whose outmoded attitudes and prejudices constitute a blot on the American image.

By his death, the world has witnessed the evil manoeuvres of imperialism, capitalism and racialism.

Let us hope that John Kennedy's death will shame the racist and reactionary bigots in America into more enlightened outlook on the problems of peace and social justice.

President Kennedy was a remarkable man and a man of his century. Born to wealth, he was yet deeply sensitive to the problems and hopes of the common man and of the underprivileged.

This aspect of his character was reflected both

in his domestic and international policies.

His ideas on economic aid, social welfare and world peace were far in advance of large sections of influential opinion in his own country.

## YOUNGEST PRESIDENT

As the youngest President ever of the United States, he was truly a representative of our century—a century of expanding opportunities for all, the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease, and obstacles and dangers and the establishment of a new order of truth, equality and social justice.

With a true sense of history, John Kennedy carried on, in a most dramatic manner, what Abraham Lincoln began one hundred years ago; like Lincoln, he was prevented from carrying his endeavours to the great height he had set for himself, by an assassin's bullet.

As a man endowed with great human warmth, his relationship with people was always friendly and sincere.

I was privileged to meet President Kennedy and his wife in Washington in 1961, not long after he became President of the

United States.

In fact, I think I am right in saying that I was the first Head of State to whom he granted audience immediately after he had been sworn in as the President of the United States.

I was deeply impressed by his wisdom and sincerity. His presence of mind—his sense of understanding and appreciation of the grave issues confronting our world and his genuine interest in the solution of the problems confronting developing countries made me regard him, even then, as a man from whom the world could expect great things as a man who could become one of the most important leaders of our time.

It really takes a man like John Kennedy to say and I quote from his writings:

"A man does what he must in spite of personal consequences, in spite of pressure—and that is the basis of all human morality."

We in Africa can have to more appropriate epithaph to John Kennedy's memory than his own words spoken in his inaugural address:— "....whether you are citizens of America or of the

world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice that we shall ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final

judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love asking His blessing and his help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our

own." To his dear wife and children, I send deepest condolences on my own behalf and on behalf of Ghana.

## The Economics of the Assassination

Continued from page 1

claims to be able to destroy the United States simultaneously with the destruction of the Soviet Union.

### NUCLEAR WAR

We know that long years of negotiation ensued before the first steps of Co-existence were taken. The great oligarchic interests of the capitalist world decided that the risks of a nuclear war were too great for the Cold War to be waged indefinitely. The easing of tensions and the disengagement from foreign bases had to begin at some time, or war could not be indefinitely avoided.

For President Kennedy, the decision to embark on Co-existence brought many difficulties. Not the least was the problem of bipartisan responsibility. The Republican leaders had to be consulted and reassured at every step through ex-President Eisenhower and the Congressional representatives. The price of their cooperation came high: Measures of social security, old age benefits, housing and educational programmes and medical benefits had to be indefinitely postponed, although they were an essential part of President Kennedy's re-election programme. Even the Civil Rights legislation, with all its urgency for the Democratic Party as a political plank, and all its inevitability to ensure domestic tranquility during the period of an emerging African community both in the United States and Africa, had to be postponed. The reaction-

ary section of Congress behind the Southern representatives had to be appeased in order to follow an unpopular foreign policy.

Co-existence was not a popular policy for the conservative electorate anywhere in the United States. For the real reactionaries it spelled the end of the world—as surely, if not as quickly—as a nuclear war. Nobody in the United States wants war, but everybody—including the big trade unions—would like the Cold War, with its high wages and full employment, with its huge profits at home and domination of weaker capitalist economies abroad, to continue.

### MILITARY COMPLEX

President Kennedy and his Administration knew that this was impossible without a final show-down and final explosion. His orthodox political opposition—the Republican Party—thought he was wrong. That was the limit of their disagreement over Co-existence.

But a new political force had emerged in the U.S.A.—which former President Eisenhower had described as "the military-industrial complex". This is the combination of industrialists whose profits depend upon armaments, and the generals, admirals, commodores and lower officer ranks who had become the salesmen of armaments, and the agents of the war industries. For them the end of the Cold War did not mean unpleasant financial readjustments as it did for the financial oligarchy, but virtual finan-

cial extinction. The armament industries—those which were not big enough to switch to the race to the moon—would have to close down. Most of the officers would have to go back to the drudgery of civil life, or to live on ordinary salaries trimmed of commissions and bribes from the arms industry.

### MIGHTY EMPIRES

Great bureaucratic empires had been built in the Pentagon and in the Central Intelligence Agency in order to wage the Cold War. These would now have to be dismantled. They had become major partners in the U.S.A. national treasury. They would now be reduced to ordinary government departments.

It is in these circles that resentment against President Kennedy's policies reached the stage of open insurrection. The retiring generals and colonels joined the John Birch Society—a right-wing, semi-fascist political organisation. The threatened war industries supplied the funds, and fascist groups still extant since the Hitler period supplied the ideology. The Birchites established contact with the disbanded Ku Klux Klan, and with every racist group in the South.

The whole process of fascisation is still formative and uncertain in the United States; volatile enough to become a focal point for the lunatic fringe and outright reactionaries, but not organizationally or ideologically strong enough to become a mass movement yet.

## EDITORIAL

liberation movements in the countries under colonial rule and in South Africa. It never mandated the Liberation Committee to entrust this job to any single African State as the Committee is now doing under the formula of the "neighbouring State".

Further, the Committee is charged with rendering assistance to liberation movements and not with running the liberation movements.

These are important issues of principle which must be cleared with all independent African States and with the leadership of the various liberation movements on the continent. Any other approach will be tantamount to the tail wagging the dog which is precisely what imperialism intends to make of the Committee of Nine.

We will never tire of stressing the point that the Committee of Nine must serve the liberation movements and on one else. The report of the Committee admits that "many of the nationalist leaders who appeared before the Committee requested military aid" (p.8). If this is so, why has no provision been made in the Committee's first budget for military supplies whereas as much as £250,000 is voted for "housing centres" in the 'neighbouring states'?

We are of the view that the imperialist press has been stung into action by us precisely because we have exposed their design of delaying (it possible defeating) Africa's total liberation by enmeshing the Committee of Nine in the spider's web of international diplomacy. The two British newspapers that have attacked us seem to bemoan the fact that we have exposed "the plans for guerilla warfare". Since when, may we ask, have the ruling circles in the imperialist countries come to accept guerilla warfare as a legitimate weapon of the national liberation movement? We have enough experience of the antics of imperialists. They are upset because we have exposed the ineffective guerilla plans of Committee of Nine—ineffective

because the details have been known to imperialism. And the only way out at this juncture is for the liberation movements to fashion out new plans for guerilla warfare about which imperialism will have no inside knowledge. Such a prospect scares imperialism stiff.

It is futile for the columnists of the imperialist press to accuse us of exposing the plans of the Committee of Nine. This charge is better laid at the door of one or two agents of imperialism on or near the Committee. We cannot sit back smugly to see our fellow freedom fighters cut down in cold blood by imperialism simply because these African heroes are operating on plans known to the enemy.

We are not opposed to guerilla warfare. Indeed, we consider it the only sure means to meaningful and early independence in most African countries still under colonial rule. What we have done is merely to warn African freedom fighters that they must evolve plans of their own which they can operate well beyond the peering eyes of the desperate enemy.

Because of the importance of the problem of assistance to the national liberation movements, the proposals of the Committee of Nine should be fully examined by the African Heads of State and Government before they are implemented. And in this exercise the leaders of the various national liberation movements must be invited to express their own views and make suggestions.

The correct formula in our view remains to give the national liberation movements the AMOUNT and TYPE of assistance they want and at the TIME it is wanted. The conduct of the actual struggle should be left to the leadership in each country. And imperialism must never be allowed to plant its agents among the general staff responsible for the operational plans of the African Revolution.

This is our stand. And we make no apologies. None whatsoever.

There is more than a possibility that it is this "military-industrial complex" which has assassinated President Kennedy in an effort to reverse the policy of Co-existence. From what group it recruited the organisers of the assassination is not important at this

stage. What is important is an immediate effort to recognise the process of the rise of a new fascist movement in the United States and to raise the alarm throughout the United States and the world. A takeover by the fascists in the United States will not mean

a new world war—it will mean the inevitable extinction of the world.

It may be that the process of MacCarthyism which softened up all liberal and democratic forces in the United States as a preparation for the Cold War has done its work so

well, that the will of the people of the United States is broken. It is, however, difficult to believe this of a great nation faced with the prospect, not only of losing all its democratic forms of government, but of joining the rest of the world in annihilation.