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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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

No. 148

2p.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1965

EDITORIAL

The Central Issue

THE Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity has begun its work. Next week Heads of State from all over our continent will assemble for the Summit Conference that can constitute a historic turning point in the story of our continent's forward march.

What is the central issue which they will face?

The central issue is that of unity—not unity for the sake of unity, not unity expressed merely in piously-worded resolutions forgotten as soon as they are adopted, but anti-imperialist unity, unity for world peace, unity for liberation and for economic independence and advance—WITH A SINGLE POLITICAL DIRECTION.

The enemies of African unity fought hard and long to prevent the meeting which will now take place next week. By fostering every kind of divisive grouping, by fanning every difference—real and imaginary—between the African states, they did their best to obstruct the onward march to unity.

For most of all they fear the unity of Africa; they know that its achievement will spell the end of their domination of our continent and of their exploitation of its wealth.

Today the forces of peace—the Socialist countries, the national-liberation movement and the peace movement in the imperialist countries themselves—are stronger than those of war.

They can impose peace upon the imperialists, compelling them to renounce their policies of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and thus ensure the most favourable possible conditions for the advance to freedom and prosperity.

Today Africa, because it is weak and divided, is the target for a powerful new imperialist counter-offensive, a counter-offensive designed to make our continent safe for Big Business.

In the Congo and the Portuguese colonies, this counter-offensive takes the form of naked violence; at the Southern tip of our continent it takes the form of the step-by-step emergence of a Smith-Salazar-Verwoerd line-up.

Elsewhere it takes the more insidious forms of economic and ideological penetration—with U.S. "Special Forces" waiting in the wings.

Only an Africa united and strong can halt this counter-offensive. Only an Africa united and strong can win not only political independence but also the economic independence without which it is meaningless.

But such an Africa can be built only by taking the Socialist path of development; it is only on the basis of Socialism that genuine unity can be built, economic progress made and the fruits of that progress brought to the mass of the people.

For Africa the capitalist path of development can mean only continued subjection to neo-colonialism, the continued exploitation of our continent's wealth by foreign capitalists.

It will mean the growth of a class of African capitalists living off the crumbs from neo-colonialism's table. The growth of such a class will mean that the majority of the African people will continue to be deprived of the fruits of economic progress.

Only Socialism can ensure the planned mobilisation of our resources and their utilisation and expansion in the interests not of a small number of capitalists, either black or white, but of the people as a whole.

Only socialism can ensure that neo-colonialism is expelled from our continent, and our former masters compelled to deal with us on fair and equal terms.

And in taking the Socialist road, Africa will be able to draw on the experience and aid of the Socialist countries of Europe and Asia—countries which were in many cases themselves until recently the victims of foreign exploitation, but which are now advanced industrial countries.

A united Africa must take its place in the great world anti-imperialist camp, alongside the national liberation movement and the great world socialist movement.

'Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism'

Plea for Unity with a Purpose

Kwame Nkrumah's New Book

By A Spark Correspondent

WHEN Kwame Nkrumah published "Conscientism" he revealed his view of the use of philosophy, the use of knowledge. For him knowledge is to be used for the liberation of man from oppression, ignorance, poverty and squalor. He himself, sought and still seeks "knowledge as an instrument of national emancipation and integrity" as one of those men who "in order that their cultural acquisition should be valuable, they needed to be capable of appreciating it as free men".

It is a source of pride to all Ghanaians, that their President, in spite of all the numerous pre-occupations of day-to-day statesmanship, continues to produce valuable contributions to the scientific theory of revolution.

VITAL TIMING

The founder of Nkrumahism continues, in spite of the demands of so many immediate practical problems, to enrich his theoretical work, using his practical experiences to enrich this theory, and applying it to lead to a deeper understanding of events and situations.

The publication of *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism* is another important event in the development of scientific theory which will have repercussions throughout the three worlds, the imperialist, the socialist and the "third" world.

The book is an event, not only in the intellectual sense but in the immediate, practical sense. Its timing is of great significance.

It appears on the eve of the Heads of State Conference to be held in Accra, when new steps are to be taken towards consolidating and developing the unity of the African continent.

In the many discussions and negotiations which will take place there, there will emerge various approaches

to the purpose and aim of unity. There will be a variety of interpretations of what unity is and what it is for.

This book gives vital content to the call for unity. It is an appeal for unity with a purpose, unity to liberate the continent from all forms of imperialist domination, and especially, as this is the chief present threat, from the neo-colonialist forms of control.

The message of this book will help to give strength and clarity to the total proceedings of the Conference. Not in any way intended to exert narrow, national pressures in Ghana's interests, it will illuminate many current problems, some of which can be solved by the Heads of State meeting now, and some which will continue to dog the continent for a number of years to come.

The timing is important, also because there are now 36 independent states in Africa, all facing fundamentally the same problems.

Among these problems is the prime one of their economies. Impoverished by colonial looting over centuries, they are trying to develop within decades modern industrialised and agricultural economies.

These efforts coincide with the dramatic and prolonged drop in the world (i.e. capitalist world) prices of primary products of which they are the main producers and on which they have to rely at present for the purchase in turn of necessary foodstuffs and above all of vital modern machinery and equipment to move their economic development along.

They are all relatively small, as a result of the conscious balkanisation of the continent by the impe-



"The founder of Nkrumahism continues... to enrich his theoretical work, using practical experiences to enrich this theory."

rialist rulers. Even where they are not so small, they are politically organised as federations, which leads to internal tensions and problems of internal relationships between the relatively independent parts. They are too small to use their political influence to affect world prices.

The new states also feel the intense pressures of the cold war. They are frequently faced with requests from the imperialist states, for bases and military alliances, while at the same time they themselves wish to play an increasingly significant role in world affairs on the side of peace.

At present when there is a deepening of tension on an international scale, when there are a number of danger flashpoints in the world, this pressure becomes more acute and more intolerable.

When the United Nations passes from crisis to crisis, it is clear that the African states could play a growing and more creative role, if they were able to exert their full potential influence.

It is for these reasons among others, that the timing of the book is so significant. It is timed not so much for an event but for a particular stage of world development.

THREE BASIC FEATURES

The basic features of this book are three, and in this very fact Kwame Nkrumah practically illustrates the vital truth that theory is to be used as a weapon in the struggle for total emancipation.

The book develops scientific theory, building on the work of Hilferding, Marx, and Lenin, bringing their discoveries and the laws of

Marxism-Leninism to the problems of today.

The book is also a rich mine of information. Packed with masses of facts and statistics, it provides irrefutable proof drawn in many cases from the mouths of the neo-colonialists themselves, to underscore and establish absolutely firmly the major theoretical themes of the book.

The book presents a practical policy designed to mobilise and unite all the positive anti-imperialist forces, so that the system of neo-colonialism can be brought rapidly to an end.

While these are the three basic features, it must not be thought that the book is divided in a mechanical way between them.

THEORY, FACTS, POLICY

On the contrary, these three elements merge consistently throughout, revealing how deeply integrated are the theoretical, the analytical and the practical elements in the system of Nkrumahism.

In this book we are armed therefore, with the theory, the facts, the policy.

The theoretical importance of the book cannot be over-emphasised. Any Marxist-Leninist, reading the title, will understand immediately that here we have the aim of linking Nkrumahism with the general stream of scientific socialist, revolutionary theory.

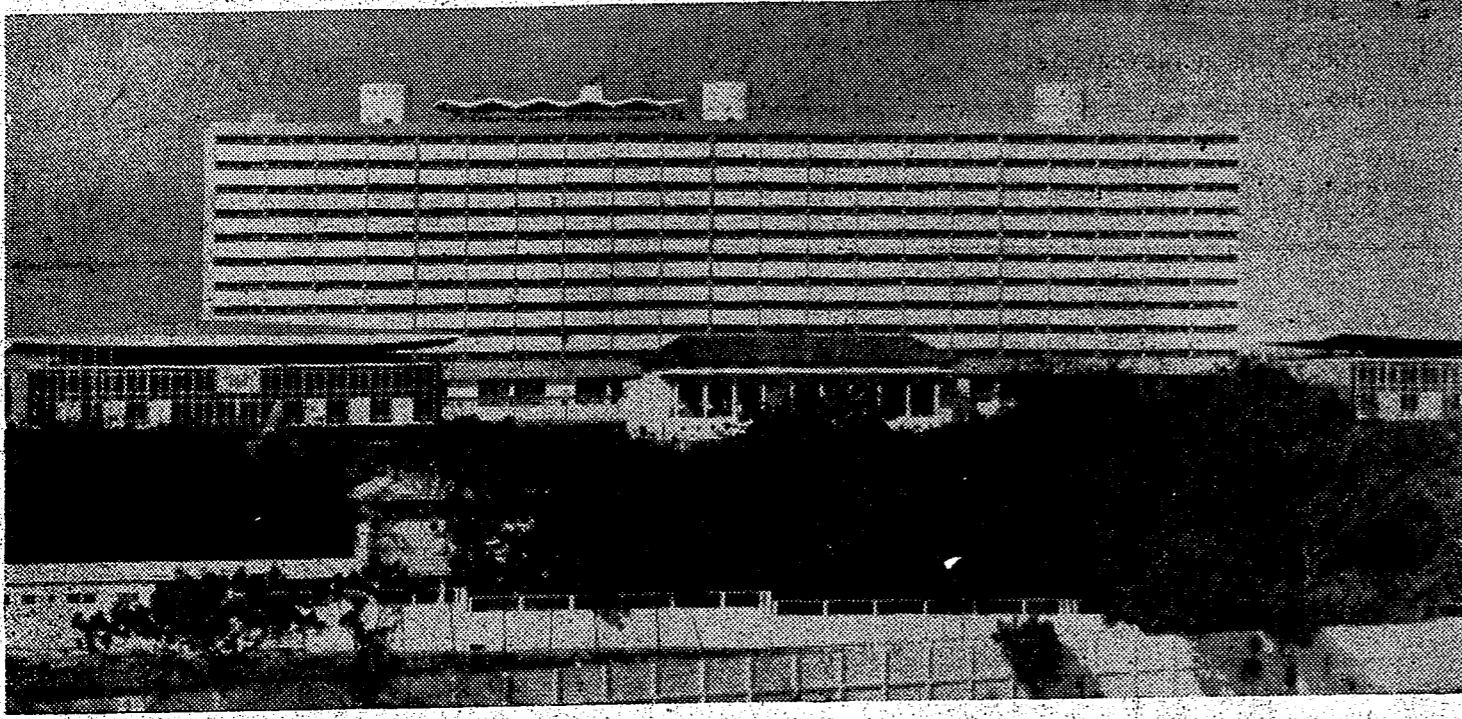
The title looks back to Lenin's great work, and it looks ahead, in the second half of the title, in the confident assertion that neo-colonialism is the final stage of the imperialist system. In a short phrase it achieves these two important objectives.

Neo-colonialism is the most significant form of imperialism today.

(Continued on page 4)

Alfred Ayer looks at . . .

The Venue for Next Week's Summit



The magnificent complex of buildings put up specially for the Summit Conference.

FOR months "Job 600"—the great project to build a conference hall worthy of next week's African Summit meeting—has been in the forefront of public attention.

For those engaged upon it, it has been more than just another job: it has been their contribution to the cause of African unity.

Now it stands ready to welcome our guests. At its gates flutter the flags of the thirty-six independent states of Africa, supported by their coats of arms.

As we enter the gates, we see a great vista of green lawns sweeping up to the main buildings, gleaming grey and white against the blue sky.

GOLDEN CLOCK

Two large car parks capable of accommodating 790 cars have been constructed for delegates and other guests.

On the left and right just about twenty yards from the main buildings are two mighty fountains operated by seventy-two jets with multi-coloured inter-play of lights and rising to a height of sixty feet.

Between the two fountains stands a golden astrological clock tolling at each hour—perhaps reminding Africa that Unity is long overdue. The

same clock is also capable of playing the various national anthems.

Then on the right is the Conference Hall, on the left the banqueting hall, straight ahead the old State House and behind this the main hotel.

The great banqueting hall is capable of seating nearly 2,000 guests. All that is necessary for a modern banqueting hall has been provided.

In the main hall are long tables radiatingly arranged leaving a large central floor where delegates can dance. At the eastern end is the High Table, on either side of which are round tables, while the northern end is a large stage with modern theatrical equipment. All is superb.

A gallery runs down on two sides with seats ready for the press and other invitees. The translators have their cubicles on the balcony.

From the banqueting hall, we walk through a veranda joining the hall and the old State House. The old State House has ceased to perform its old functions. It is now turned into an exhibition hall.

In it we find the various "made-in-Ghana" goods. From here we walk around to the main residence. This is the fabulous 12-storey building

with sixty self-contained suites carefully designed to give maximum comfort to the delegates.

Each suite has a large bedroom, a toilet, and bathroom, office, waiting room, and lounge, all for the Head of State.

HOSPITALITY

His two accompanying Ministers have a bed, bath and toilet rooms, and an office adjoining that of the Head.

There are also kitchens for delegates who might bring their own cooks.

In addition there are a dining and a press conference hall.

Everything necessary for a historic international conference has been provided. Ghanaians can rest assured that the traditional Ghanaian hospitality is really being translated in this magnificent complex of buildings.

From here one walks through another veranda to the Conference Hall. From the rich carpets to the glistening ceiling is all perfection. There is nothing lacking.

The Hall is horse-shoes shaped. In front of the tables for the Heads of State are the Coats-of-arms of their States;

behind are two chairs for the two Ministers accompanying the Head.

From a central gallery, about 1,000 people can watch the formal opening ceremony and open sessions.

Aside from these are kiosks for simultaneous translators. In the basement of the hall are other committee rooms. There are also facilities for press men.

It is in this room that the fate of Africa is to be decided. It is here that Africa, mourning for her enslaved children still under oppression, will look for comfort.

Angola, the so-called "Portuguese" and "Spanish" Guinea, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, South West Africa and South Africa and indeed all the surrounding islands are waiting for the liberation flag.

The All-African Conference of April, 1958 lighted the torch of Africa's liberation. This new building stands for the formation of African Unity.

To us in Ghana, National Independence and African Unity are one. This building is a demonstration of our devotion to the cause of African Unity.



OCTOBER 1:

GHANA: Ghana's Finance Minister, Mr. Kwasi Amoako-Atta, has proposed to the World Bank to extend its interest in the problem of price stabilisation to cocoa and other primary commodities.

* President Kwame Nkrumah has sent a message of good wishes to the Head of State of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Liu Shao-Chi on their 16th national day today.

* President Kwame Nkrumah today spent nearly two hours inspecting the ultra-modern conference hall and the 10-storey building for the forthcoming Organisation of African Unity Summit Conference in Accra on October 21.

NIGERIA:

Nigeria marked the country's fifth independence anniversary with celebrations throughout the country and a special parade of her Armed forces in Lagos today.

TANZANIA: President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was today sworn in as Tanzania's President for the next five years in an inaugural ceremony attended by over 30,000 people at the national stadium in Dar-es-Salaam.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The racist white minority leader, Ian Smith will fly to London next week for talks with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, it has been announced in London today by the Commonwealth Relations Office.

TUNISIA: President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia is to visit a number of African countries late this month.

KENYA: Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, Kenya's Commerce and Industry Minister has said in Nairobi today that all applications for licences to import goods from Japan would nearly be refused.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The mercenary-led Congo Leopoldville Troops who attacked nationalist forces on Thursday met difficulties today when they began to retreat from the Eastern Congo town of Baraka, towards the nationalist held stronghold of Fizi.

* The former Congo (Leopoldville) Senate President, Mr. Isaac Kalonji, who was to be re-elected today, was in a very serious condition following a car accident in the night in which three persons were killed.

GHANA: Ghana's Foreign Minister Mr. Alex Quaison Sackey addressing the U.N. General Assembly today warned the United Nations that a serious situation is developing in Rhodesia, which if not prevented quickly and effectively, can result in another grave crisis such as confronted the organisation in the Congo.

OCTOBER 2:

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah today held talks with President Modibo Keita of Mali.

* A Ghanaian goodwill mission, led by Mr. A. K. Populampu, Minister of Lands, has arrived in Algeria to hand a message from President Nkrumah to the Algerian head Colonel Houary Boumediene.

TANZANIA: Leaders of four nationalist movements in the so-called Portuguese African territories began a five-day conference in Dar-es-Salaam today to discuss co-ordinated political and military strategy.

OCTOBER 3:

MALI: President Modibo Keita of Mali and his Foreign Minister, Mr. Usman Ba have left Bamako today for a visit to the Soviet Union; they will also visit Yugoslavia.

TANZANIA: Tanzania's new Parliament will consist of 204 members, 101 of whom were elected in a nation-wide poll by more than 80 per cent of the

electorate.

GHANA: Mr. Nathaniel A. Welbeck, Minister of State for Party Propaganda has stressed the importance of close co-operation between Ghana and the G.D.R. at a dinner in Berlin.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Former Congo (Leopoldville) Senate President, Mr. Isaac Kalonji was not seriously injured in the car accident reported in Leopoldville on Thursday which took the lives of three people according to a report.

* Mr. Victor Nendaka, the Congo's Interior Minister, has announced the formation of a new party, "National Front", political alliance in "opposition" to Premier Moise Tsombe's Convention Nationale Congolaise (CONACO) Party.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Britain has made it clear to racist spokesman Ian Smith of Rhodesia that He. Majesty's Government has no intention of granting his demand for independence without condition.

OCTOBER 4:

CAMEROON: Mr. Daniel Mas-suke, Cameroon's Economic Affairs Minister has signed an agreement with the European Investment Bank for a loan of 1,215,000 dollars, about £434,000 sterling to finance a textile complex in the Cameroun.

SUDAN: Premier Mohamed Mahbouq of Sudan, announced today that elections would take place in Sudan's three Southern Provinces in January and February next year.

CONGO (Brazzaville): President Alphonse Massemba-Debat of the Congo (Brazzaville) has been presented with a Soviet Mi4 helicopter as a gift from the Soviet Government.

* President Alphonse Massemba-Debat today expressed his belief that border raiders from the Congo (Leopoldville) were just misguided groups or uncontrolled individuals.

GHANA: The visiting Vice-President of the Togo National Assembly, Dr. Emmanuel Gagle, has said that Ghanaians alone should not be proud of the Volta River Project but all Africans entitled to it.

UPPER VOLTA: President Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta was today re-elected President of Upper Volta by an overwhelming vote.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Critical talks on the Rhodesia independence issue have begun today and Mr. Ian Smith, Rhodesian Premier and Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, met within a few hours of Mr. Smith's arrival by air for what he has said must be "final and conclusive" talks.

ALGERIA: People's Republic of China and Cambodia today stressed that the second Afro-Asian Summit scheduled for November 5, in Algiers should give absolute priority to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and especially American imperialism.

TANZANIA: President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania assured diplomats in Dar-es-Salaam that the Tanzanian Cabinet reshuffle would not affect the home or foreign policies of the country.

OCTOBER 5:

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah returned home today from a four-day brotherly visit to Mali, Guinea, Sierra-Leone and Liberia during which he had fruitful discussions with leaders of the four sister states.

KENYA: Kenya's Vice-President, Mr. Oginga Odinga, has stressed in Nairobi today that imperialists and capitalists would see great threat in United Africa and that is why they work through African stooges, organised bodies and use the press media to divide Africa.

NIGERIA: Western Nigeria's Chief Justice has dismissed a plea to prevent candidates of the governing Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) being returned unopposed in regional elections this month.

MALI: President Modibo Keita of Mali, today began talks with Soviet leaders at the Kremlin, Moscow, on Soviet-Mali relations.

OCTOBER 6:

GHANA: Mr. Diallo Telli, the O.A.U. Secretary-General, has announced in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, that the Accra Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity will come on on October 21 as scheduled. The Secretary-General expressed confidence that the summit would be a success.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is to lead his country's delegation to the Accra Summit of the Organisation of African Unity. An official announcement in Lusaka said today that President Kaunda would return home after the opening session for Zambia's first independence anniversary celebrations.

CONGO (Leopoldville): President Joseph Kasavubu of Congo Leopoldville today declared a state of emergency in Maniema province near Leopoldville and appointed the Minister of Interior, Mr. Victor Nendaka, High Commissioner of the province.

TANZANIA: Mr. Abdul Rahman Babu, the Tanzanian Minister of Commerce and Co-operatives, today said in Dar-es-Salaam when addressing a congress being held to plan a liberation blue print for Portuguese territories in Africa that Tanzania has offered to join in and fight Portuguese rule in Africa, for the fact that Tanzania could not stand idly by while wars "are being fought across her borders".

* Tanzania has appointed Mr. Garble Lukumbzya as her new ambassador to the United States of America.

GHANA: Mr. N. A. Welbeck, Minister of State for Party Propaganda who led a Ghanaian delegation to the German Democratic Republic has arrived today.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on the Rhodesian problem was told in New York today that there was a real threat from the British Government to hand the four million Africans in Rhodesia into the hands of the white settler minority.

OCTOBER 7:

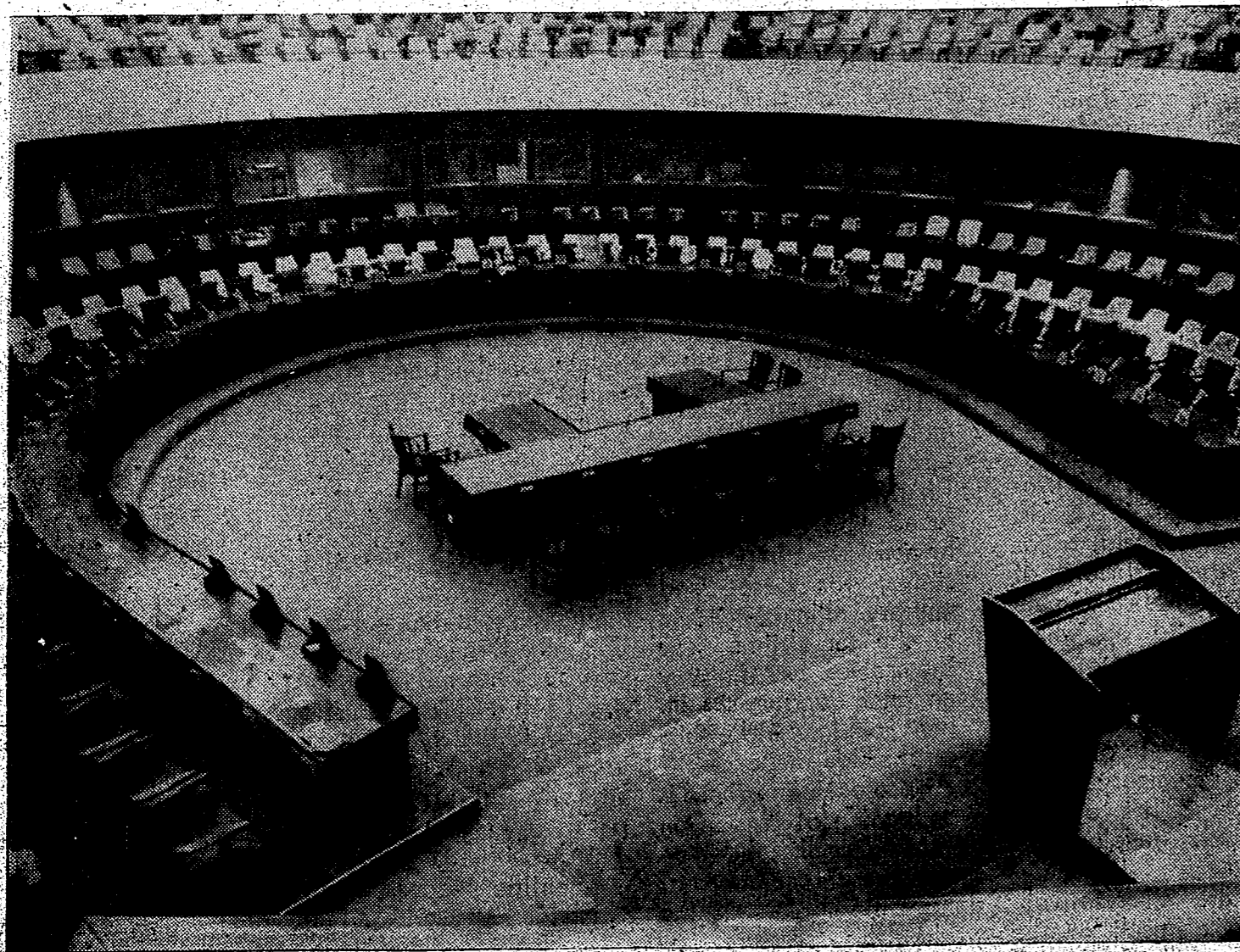
NIGERIA: Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Federal Nigerian Premier, speaking to the outgoing Ghana High Commissioner, Mr. J. Owusu Ansa, when he called on him at his official residence at Onikan to bid him farewell stated that he is eagerly looking forward to attend the forthcoming Organisation of African Unity Summit Conference opening in Accra on October 21.

MALAWI: Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Malawi Prime Minister, has asked the Committee drafting the country's new Republican Constitution to provide for the nomination of five European members in Parliament, instead of three as at present.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The new Opposition Front Democratique Congolaise (F.D.C.) Party today called for the resignation of Prime Minister Moise Thombe's transitional government in accordance with the new Congo constitution.

CHAD: Dr. Jacques Baroum, Chad Foreign Minister, told the U.N. General Assembly today that Portugal is practising a policy of "genocide" in its African territories.

LIBERIA: William Tubman Jr., the son of Liberia's President will leave Monrovia today for the Ivory Coast to discuss the forthcoming O.A.U. Summit Conference in Accra with President Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast.



Here the final decision on Africa's destiny must be taken.

RHODESIA'S PLACE IN ULTRAS' LINE-UP

'What lies behind Reedman's 'slip of the tongue'

by Ibrahim Sow

SIR Archibald Ross, the British Ambassador in Portugal, recently met the Portuguese Foreign Minister to protest against a broadcast on the Portuguese radio in which Ian Smith's "man in Lisbon", Mr. Harry Reedman, described himself as Rhodesia's Diplomatic Representative in Portugal.

Hitherto, representatives of the Rhodesian white minority have worked under the supervision of the British embassies to whose staff they belonged. From the British point of view, Mr. Reedman could indeed represent Rhodesia—but only as a member of the British embassy.

You see the difference? That is what is called "British diplomacy".

What is the real reason behind all the embarrassment Ian Smith's man is causing the representatives of Her Majesty the Queen?

Mr. Reedman's slip of the tongue was deliberate: it was intended to test the ground and watch the reactions of public opinion to the announcement of the diplomatic representation of Southern Rhodesia in Lisbon. It establishes a precedent.

Ian Smith and his clique are on the verge of making a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI)—that is to say, independence against all the Africans of Rhodesia, Africa and democrats throughout the world.

The OAS—the organisation of French ultra-colonialism in

Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique, with her two allies.

It is against this background too that we should see the announcement made in Pretoria by Verwoerd's Minister of Defence that "the South African armed forces will be trained for street-fighting and counter-guerrilla warfare".

It is also noteworthy that in Bonn at the beginning of this month the West German Ministry of Defence announced that West Germany will, for the first time since the Second World War, build a permanent military base costing 200 million marks on foreign soil, at Beja in Portugal.

Bonn is already supplying arms and military technicians to Verwoerd's government.

GUNS

All this makes it easier to understand Ian Smith's recent attempt to establish a diplomatic representative in Europe.

This also explains Great Britain's embarrassment in face of international democratic opinion, for the guns of the Smith-Salazar-Verwoerd alliance are in fact supplied by

colleague Verwoerd.

Of course, South Africa is still an economic and political colony of the West, but having succeeded in obtaining the legal attributes of independence, the settlers of South Africa have succeeded in making it more difficult to do now that 36 African states have emerged on the international scene and have made public the atrocities perpetrated by the Verwoerds, Smiths and the Salazars.

But Smith still hopes to succeed in his own way; this is proved by a confidential document still circulating in the European and ultra-colonialist circles in Salisbury.

This document deals with

nationalism towards which Britain and America are fervently working; these ultra-colonialists do not even consider.

Neither Verwoerd nor Smith will listen to the appeal for moderation put forward by those in Britain and America who want to extend neo-colonialism throughout the whole of the southern part of the African continent.

There would be no fundamental change in the economic and political structure, and the mines would continue to work for the West. There will, of course, be some dark faces, some "Tshombes," well-placed in show-positions, here and there in Parliament and in the Ministries.

economic bloc of racists and colonisers, spearheaded against the struggle for national freedom waged by the peoples of Africa?

This is not mere talk. Military treaties are being drawn up and the economic integration of the ultra-colonialists is going on behind the scenes.

Verwoerd was in 1959 falking of a Common Market of the countries of Southern Africa; and he has been working on it since then—in key sectors of the economy.

AGREEMENT

An agreement has been signed between the Petrangol Oil Company (controlling the oil deposits in Angola) and the Federal Mynbou Oil Company (South Africa) whereby Verwoerd is to invest some 500,000,000 escudos, exclusively for sinking new oil well and oil prospecting.

The President of the Federal Mynbou, W.B. Coetzer, underlined in Lisbon that the

"strategic aspect is as important as the economical one, particularly now that Portugal and South Africa are fellows in a world distressed politically."

The South African press, commenting on the agreement, pointed out that "while the Angolan oil deposits are definitely inferior to the Middle East ones they are nevertheless sufficient to satisfy South Africa's requirements in oil in case of an international boycott".

On the other hand Salazar, who does not have too much confidence in his NATO allies, is hastening to transfer the

capital investment from his colonies to South Africa.

Three Portuguese banks—Banco de Angola, Banco Nacional Ultramarina and Banco Commercial de Angola—together with a South African Go-

"rational" and "moral" and will relinquish their 'possessions' if only confronted with the truth of the injustice of colonialism are tragically mistaken. Imperialism knows no law beyond its own interests." (Towards Colonial Freedom).

COLLUSION

The decision lies finally with the African masses organised in the African liberation movements.

The African people want neither ultra-colonialism, nor

"The essence of the Southern Rhodesia problem is... that there exists under the British flag in a British colony a regime which does not differ in essence from the vicious and brutal regime which exists in South Africa."

—KWAME NKRUMAH

the voting rights of Africans and constitutes the article of faith of Ian Smith's party.

The Rhodesian ultra-colonialists know that the right to vote is a deadly weapon. Smith and his henchmen fear democracy, they fear peace.

The principle of "one man one vote" which even Salazar applies after his own fashion in Portugal would mean the end of ultra-colonialism.

That the same universal suffrage could serve neo-colonialism towards which Britain and America are fervently working; these ultra-colonialists do not even consider.

But the ultra-colonialists do not want to hear about that. Let us listen to Verwoerd:

"... our alliance with Portugal is not only strategic, it is vitally important to us, especially now that many African countries have become independent and are threatening us of political and economical isolation."

And Salazar joins in the chorus:

"Our aim is to set up a powerful military-political-

What will Britain - and the City - do?

by A Spark Correspondent

AS WE go to press, the question of whether Ian Smith will throw down the challenge to Africa and world opinion by declaring the independence of his white minority regime after the failure of his London talks with Mr. Wilson is still unanswered.

So, too, is the no less vital question of what Britain will do (as opposed to what Britain will say) if he does.

Were Mr. Smith an African leader, or an Adeni, or a British Guianese threatening to seize independence, there is no doubt what the British Government would do: British troops would be on their way, Mr. Smith would have been arrested, his government deposed, his party banned, Rhodesia's Constitution suspended.

But Mr. Smith has influential friends in Whitehall and the City of London who will do their best to ensure that even if Mr. Smith does commit treason by making a unilateral declaration of independence the British reaction will be confined to verbal admonitions and little else.

This is what lies behind the move of Tory peer Lord Salisbury to see that British action stops short even of the complete imposition of economic sanctions, not to speak of any more decisive action.

Lord Salisbury is the spokesman of the most reactionary sections of British imperialism. He is also director and shareholder of many British companies operating in Rhodesia and other parts of Africa.

British Big Business is in fact well dug in Rhodesia. There can be no doubt that there will be influential voices raised against any economic action against Smith. British Big Business can live with Smith.

The British South Africa Company has five subsidiaries there concerned with mineral and agricultural exploitation. The Anglo-American Corporation has investments in gold and chrome, as well as large sugar interests in the Hippo Valley estates.

Other big British firms operating in Smith's Rhodesia, either directly or through subsidiaries, include Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation, Turner & Newall (asbestos), Rhodesian Selection Trust (in which the American Metal Climax Co. has a 46 per cent interest) and the Imperial Chemical Industries (through the African Explosives & Chemical Industries).

There is also Tate & Lyle (sugar), Gallaher Ltd. (tobacco), British-American Tobacco Co., Imperial Tobacco Co., Associated Portland Cement, British Motor Corporation (assembly), Richard Costain, Fiston, Pearl Assurance, Shell Oil, Stewart & Lloyd (holdings in Rhodesian Iron & Steel), Unilevers, Dunlop Rubber, John Brown and Co., Fords, Rover Car Co., Cerebos Salt and Food, and J. Lyons & Co.

It is these interests which largely call the tune and influence British policy toward the settler regime. Some, like Lord Salisbury, make no bones about their

opposition to African majority rule; others would perhaps prefer that Mr. Smith went about things with a little more finesse and tact.

But neither British monopoly interests nor, despite their pious words, the Labour Government have given any sign that they want to see an immediate end to White domination in Southern Rhodesia and the introduction of majority rule.

This was clear from Mr. Wilson's Tuesday evening broadcast. While making a headline-hitting plea to Mr. Smith to "think again", the British Prime Minister carefully confined himself to talk of "progress toward" majority rule—a formation open to a variety of interpretations.

At this year's Commonwealth Conference, Mr. Harold Wilson stubbornly refused to accept in the final communiqué the insertion of the words "on the basis of majority rule".

But majority rule on the basis of one man-one vote is the only acceptable solution. British spokesmen plead that it is impossible for Britain to use British troops to suppress a rebellion in Southern Rhodesia—though they can (and do) use British troops for such purposes in, for example, Aden and British Guiana.

However, as Kwame Nkrumah told the Commonwealth Conference, "other Commonwealth countries will be in a position to assist Britain if there is need for a Peace Force to ensure harmonious transfer of power to the majority."

Joshua Nkomo, "restricted" leader of the Rhodesian people.

vernment company, the General Mining and Finance Corporation of S.A. has set up a new South African-Portuguese commercial bank: "the Bank of Lisbon and South Africa", with head offices in Pretoria.

Last May, South Africa was visited by the Vice President of Portugal's chamber of Commerce, Dos Santos, leading a large economic delegation. It has been reported that

"after studying vital facts about the South African Market, he stated that in the light of the recent decisions of South Africa to boost the striking power of the country's Navy some local ship building firms would be interested in Portuguese dock-yards".

Is it necessary to add that South Africa has invested over £2.5 millions into the Natal Power Station project on the River Kunene in Angola and that it has been calculated that after completions of the project, Verwoerd's military plants and proving grounds will receive over ninety millions kilowatts of cheap electric power annually?

In this light, we can understand better which way Smith is going by coming closer to his "big brothers". Therefore, the ultra-colonialists do not want to think about a retreat, to neo-colonialism.

On the other hand, it would be unrealistic to think that the Mennen Williams, the Wilsons and the other Westerners who have invested their enormous capital South of the Congo River will act positively in the true interests of Africa.

PROMISES

But the fundamental question is still that of western imperialism; and Kwame Nkrumah has already said:

"... Those who formulate the colonial issue in accordance with the false point of view of colonial powers, who are deluded by the futile promises of 'preparing' colonial peoples for 'self-government', who feel that their imperialist oppressors are

neo-colonialism. Both are the "antagonist brothers" of imperialism at this advanced stage of its general crisis. But Ian Smith says he is more terrified by the African vote in the ballot-box than by a machine-gun.

He believes that his guns, his Canberras and Hawker Hunter planes (made in Britain) and the little atomic bombs that Verwoerd is building in collusion with West Germany and France can wipe out the national liberation movements in Southern Africa—especially if you add to the weapons the "enlightened" advice of the Salazar soldiers who have learnt their trade of suppression in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

That the OAS was defeated in Algeria has taught Verwoerd and Smith nothing. The strategy of Ian Smith is doomed to failure right from the beginning, and his stubborn extremism alarms even the west.

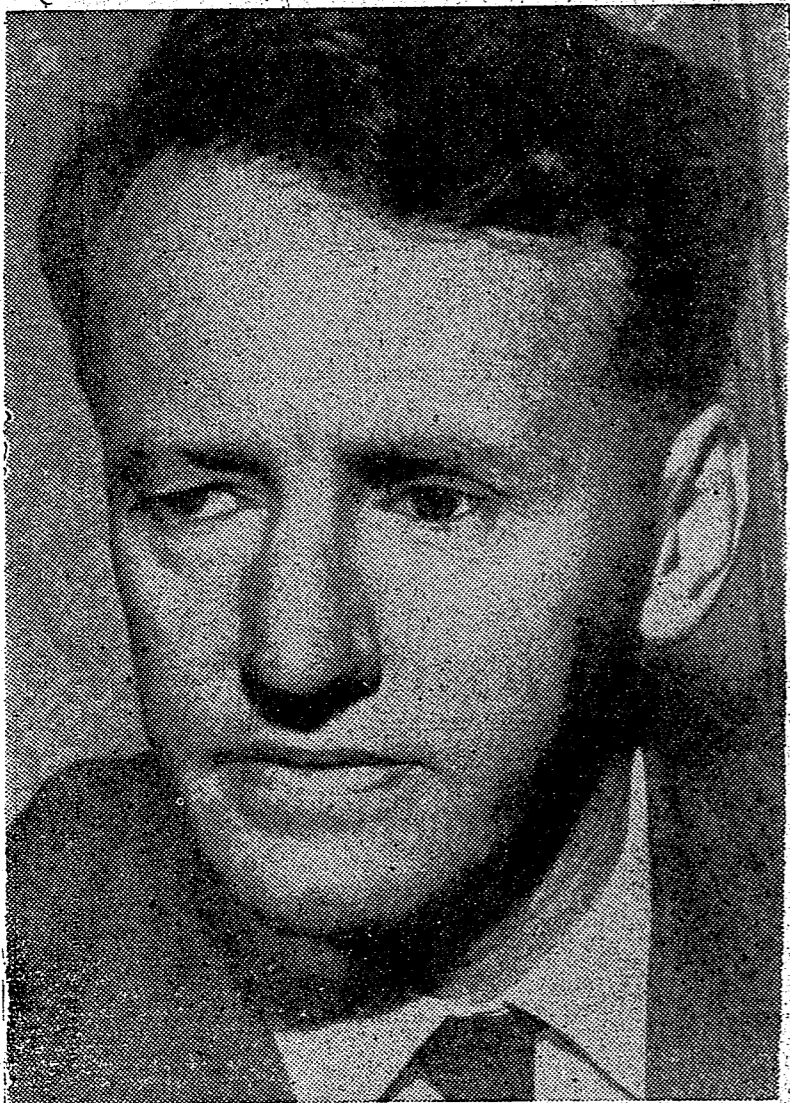
As Africa's leaders assemble in Accra for the O.A.U. Summit the African people of Rhodesia must be confident that the whole weight of the African people is behind them.

PLIGHT

A united socialist Africa will sweep away ultra-colonialism as well as neo-colonialism. But let us not forget Kwame Nkrumah's words in Cairo last year:

"By raising a threat at Addis Ababa and not being able to take effective action against apartheid and colonialism, we have worsened the plight of our kinsmen in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. We have frightened the imperialists sufficiently to strengthen their defences and repression in Southern Africa, but we have not frightened them enough to abandon apartheid supremacy to its ill-fated doom."

"It must be said that by merely making resolutions on African Unity, and not achieving our goal of Union Government of Africa, we have made our task of freeing the rest of the African Continent harder and not easier."



"Ian Smith and his clique are on the verge of making a unilateral declaration of independence."

Algeria—likewise attempted to proclaim an "independent" Algeria ruled by the Pieds Noirs (the French settlers).

The OAS had taken for granted that a few Algerian traitors to the people's liberation movement would support them. It had been promised strong support by the American imperialists. It also had the guns.

ALLIANCE

In diplomatic circles in Lisbon there is already talk about a "secret" agreement between Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa for the defence of White Africa, in other words, of the whole Southern part of the continent still under western domination.

This agreement, which they prefer to call an "entente", aims at organising common defence against what is described as "communist or nationalist subversion". The three parties involved naturally officially deny the existence of any such "entente".

Under the agreement Portugal will share her experience of four years of counter-revolutionary guerilla warfare in

N.A.T.O.—and Great Britain is a NATO member like the U.S.

Moreover, the Rhodesian copper belt and the Rand Mines are controlled by Anglo-American capital. Not to speak of the Union Minière du Katanga. Not to speak of the diamond mines in Angola and in South Africa controlled by the gigantic De Beers Corporation. Not to speak of uranium. Not to mention so many billions of dollars, of pounds and marks invested every year in the territories watched over by Verwoerd, Salazar and Ian Smith.

These large western economic interests in white dominated Africa are threatened by the extremist activities of governments such as those of Smith and Verwoerd who are attacking, with racist fury, the African liberation movement in the same way as the French ultra-colonialists attempted to do in Algeria.

This recrudescence of Western fascism in Africa South of the Congo River comes out quite clearly in the Rhodesian Case. Ian Smith aspires to succeeding in the same way as his

Plea for Unity with a Purpose

Continued from page 1

"Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practise it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress. In the days of old-fashioned colonialism, the imperial power had at least to explain and justify at home the actions it was taking abroad. In the colony those who served the ruling imperial power could at least look to its protection against any violent move by their opponents. With neo-colonialism neither is the case." The analysis builds on the scientific approach to imperialism of Lenin, which is acknowledged by its title:

"... Modern neo-colonialism is based on the control of nominally independent states by giant financial interests. These interests often act through or on behalf of a particular capitalist state, but they are quite capable of acting on their own and forcing those imperial countries in which they have a dominant interest to follow their lead."

Here we see two new elements in the phenomenon of finance capital which Lenin saw as the basis of imperialism. Kwame Nkrumah emphasises the terrific growth of monopoly capitalist forms of organisation, the increasing concentration, the wide network of activities and the vast accumulation.

In addition, and this is vitally important, we see, almost from the very opening of the book itself, the development of state monopoly capitalism fully recognised.

In modern times, this is increasing. The organisations of finance capital, industrial interests combined with banking and insurance, develop such power that they, in effect, take over the operations of Government, controlling the workings of the imperialist states, to serve their interests. They influence and direct, not only economic policy but social, foreign and military policy as well.

This growth of state monopoly capitalism presents an increasing threat to the independent states, and at home in its manipulations of the Government and state apparatus and policy, attacks democracy thus alienating itself more and more from the mass of the people of the whole world.

In the chapter called "The Truth Behind the Headlines" we read:

"We may appear to have gone to some length into the intricacies of the financial and economic interests behind some innocent looking headlines. Yet these are in fact the merest directional indications of today's trends of ever-tightening links between a short list of incredibly powerful groups that dominate our lives on a global scale. The task of taking their detailed significance further is the main purpose of this book."

"Nevertheless even this brief breakdown provides illuminating evidence of the serpentine interlocking of financial monopoly today. What we observe above all, is the constant penetration of a few banking and financial institutions, creating a chain of links, that bring them into a connective relationship making for domination in both national and international economy. The influence exercised by this domination is carried into politics and international affairs, so that the interests of the overriding monopoly groups govern national policies. Their representatives are placed in key positions in government, army, navy and air force, in the diplomatic service, in policy-making bodies and in international organisations and institutions through which the chosen policies are fil-

tered on to the world scene. State monopoly capitalism springs from the very character of capitalist production relations.

To emphasise this point which he makes very clearly, Kwame Nkrumah also quotes from *Capital* and from the work of Hilferding, the Austrian Marxist, who published his book *Finance Capital* in 1910. Reference is made also to this specific question in Lenin's *Imperialism*.

"The credit system which has its centre in the so-called national banks and the great moneylenders and usurers about them is an enormous centralisation, and gives to this class of parasites a fabulous power... to interfere with actual production in a most dangerous manner—and this gang knows nothing about production and has nothing to do with it."

Marx *Capital*, Vol. 3. The capitalists had to try and protect themselves from the results of the development of new machinery which involves ever-increasing quantities of capital, from the effects of anarchy of production and from the effects of producing for an unknown market, in production relations where the mass of the people are systematically robbed of the surplus they produce.

Hilferding explains: "Combination levels out the fluctuations of trade and therefore assures to the combined enterprises a more stable rate of profit. Secondly, combination has the effect of eliminating trade. Thirdly, it has the effect of rendering possible technical improvements, and consequently, the acquisition of super-profits over and above those obtained by the 'pure' (i.e. non-combined) enterprises. Fourthly, it strengthens the position of the combined enterprises compared with that of the pure enterprises, strengthens them in the competitive struggle in periods of serious depression, when the fall in prices of raw materials does not keep pace with the fall in prices of manufactured goods".

Lenin showed how the export of capital became the chief form of exploitation of the colonial countries by imperialism. Kwame Nkrumah shows how this export of capital is still the dominant motivation of neo-colonialism.

"The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world".

The book exposes all the new features, therefore, of finance capital and its new techniques in regard to the exploitation of the weaker states of the whole world.

There are some who share this view of the enormous growth of state monopoly capital and its world-wide stranglehold on the economies and policies of all kinds of states, developed and undeveloped, but who draw different conclusions from Kwame Nkrumah.

Looking at this tremendous power which stretches out its tentacles everywhere, looking at the vast power of the main imperialist state, the United States, they advance the proposition of a super imperialism, which dominates the world and which cannot be influenced in any way except by a third world war in which it will be destroyed.

To see the world picture in this way, is to take a mechanistic view of imperialism. Kwame Nkrumah, seeing things in their relations and their motion, rejects this view. Having exposed these gigantic operations, he nevertheless asserts, in our view correctly, that imperialism is in its last stage, that

it is weak. Throughout the book he emphasises the internal contradictions within the world system of imperialism. The very growth of independent states is a challenge to imperialism, it has to resort to neo-colonialism precisely because it cannot go on ruling in the old way.

He shows how rivalries and antagonisms operate between different states and different consortia and it is from this that he emphasises the danger of world war three.

The third important reason why Kwame Nkrumah rejects the view that there is a solid, monolithic imperialism which has overcome all the contradictions which Lenin described, is the existence of the socialist world, growing in numbers, influence and strength and combining more and more with the independent states and with those fighting for their liberation.

"Is there then no method of avoiding the inevitable world conflict occasioned by an international class war? To accept that the world conflict is inevitable is to reject any belief in co-existence or in the policy of non-alignment as practised at present by many of the countries attempting to escape from neo-colonialism. A way out is possible."

Unity is the way out, the unity of all anti-neo-colonialist forces.

Linked with the developing world in the fight against imperialism is the socialist world system. It is the combination of these two, which can guarantee the defeat of the imperialist world, which is rent by increasing inter-imperialist rivalries.

"The 1914-18 war brought a re-division of the globe's colonial sectors. At the same time it created the opportunity for a socialist break in the chain of imperialism that encircled the world..."

"From this holocaust (i.e. the Second World War—Ed.) socialism emerged as a much more threatening challenge to imperialism than ever before. At the same time we, the peoples of imperialism's far-flung empires, had come to realise that we could have control over our own destiny and began to make our bid for independent nationhood."

"Thus imperialism came to be challenged on another front, the colonialist front, at a time when science had heightened the capabilities of the productive machinery of capitalism, thereby increasing its need for raw materials and markets for new chemically-produced primary materials, manufactured goods and overseas employment of growing capital surpluses."

"Challenged thus by anti-colonialism and socialism, imperialism is now engaged in a 'to-the-death' trial for survival against the forces that are antagonistic to it, and that are building up across the globe even while internecine struggle within itself is becoming more and more brutal."

"In this multi-sided struggle, imperialism has been forced into the use of many artifices to maintain itself in being by continuing the colonialist process without benefit of colonial control."

The practical immediate consequences of this alliance between the socialist world and the anti-neo-colonialist world is to be seen in the struggles at the United Nations, in the ability of those states who wish to refuse military bases and alliances with the imperialist states to diversify the old patterns of trade by developing relations with the socialist countries.

In view of the deliberate misrepresentations that are being spread by the imperialists and their friends about the character of economic links with the socialist world the following statement from the

book is important:

"Increased Chinese activity was responsible to some extent for the larger amount of aid offered in 1964 (i.e. from Communist states—Ed), though China contributed only a quarter of the total aid committed; the Soviet Union provided a half and the East European countries a quarter. "Although aid from socialist countries still falls far short of that offered from the west, it is often more impressive, since it is swift and flexible, and interest rates on communist loans are only about two per cent compared with five to six per cent charged on loans from western countries."

In addition to these practical immediate questions the very existence of the socialist world is a major challenge to imperialism.

"The ideal neo-colonialist state would be one which was wholly subservient to neo-colonialist interests but the existence of the socialist nations makes it impossible to enforce the full rigour of the neo-colonialist system. The existence of an alternative system is itself a challenge to the neo-colonialist regime. Warnings about the dangers of Communist subversion are likely to be twofold since they bring to the notice of those living under a neo-colonialist system the possibility of a change of regime."

These are but a few of the important ideas and theories which are fully expressed in the book and which permeate the whole of it, underlying the treatment of the enormous quantities of factual material which are presented in the middle chapters of the book and in the ideas presented on policy.

We have no space to lead our readers through the factual material which will be a rich treasurehouse for all Nkrumahists, for students and research workers, except to mention the vital question of "Who are the neo-colonialists? and What is the neo-colonialist superstructure?"

The neo-colonialists are imperialist states, like the United States, the most powerful; like France, one of the earliest and more successful practitioners of neo-colonialist methods; like Western Germany, Britain and all the other more powerful capitalist countries, some of which have been rulers of colonies, some of which have never exercised a direct colonialist system (for example, the U.S.A.) but who are nonetheless imperialists and who practise neo-colonialist methods.

In addition to states, there are neo-colonialist forms of organisation which transcend national boundaries or governments. Kwame Nkrumah has in mind such formations as the European Common Market ("It is collective imperialism") the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other "aid" organisations set up by the capitalist countries or controlled by them.

The neo-colonialist superstructure can be understood by reference to such activities as cultural penetration.

"Even the cinema stories of fabulous Hollywood are loaded. One has only to listen to the cheers of an African audience as Hollywood's heroes slaughter red Indians or Asiatics to understand the effectiveness of this weapon."

Other organisations such as International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the New York Africa-American Labour Centre, the Social Democratic Parties of Europe and

many other similar organisations serve under a variety of guises the interests of neo-colonialism.

The United States has a vast network of agencies from the U.S. Information Services, to the Central Intelligence Agency even phoney businesses, operating to soften up the people of the developing world ideologically and culturally, and to carry through various forms of espionage. One of the latest of such agencies is the Peace Corps.

Methods of work vary from bribery, to ideological campaigning from cultural work to terrorism and assassination. Neo-colonialism operates everywhere in Africa. Kwame Nkrumah states this quite clearly. The problem is not so much to discuss its extent as to discuss how to defeat it.

"The question is one of power. A state in the grip of neo-colonialism is not master of its own destiny."

The struggle against neo-colonialism is therefore a main pre-occupation of the book. Kwame Nkrumah presents again and again the overwhelming arguments for unity.

No matter what problems the Independent States face, they are hampered continually in their efforts by their own smallness, their dependence on the imperialist powers, their balkanisation.

They cannot accumulate capital enough to industrialise because of the exploitation they suffer, they cannot develop adequate markets because of their small populations, they are a prey to divide and rule techniques of all kinds.

"The answer again and yet again is Unity. Unity is needed at every level, and it is needed now."

"Quite obviously therefore, unity is the first requisite for destroying neo-colonialism. Primary and basic is the need for an all-union

government on the much divided continent of Africa. Along with that a strengthening of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation and the spirit of Bandung is already under way. To it, we must seek the adherence on an increasingly formal basis of our Latin American brothers."

"Furthermore, all these liberatory forces have on all major issues and at every possible instance the support of the growing socialist sector of the world. "Finally, we must encourage and utilise to the full those still all too few yet growing instances of support for liberation and anti-colonialism inside the imperialist world itself."

This great book is a powerful weapon in our hands to help us to win the victory we know is ours. It is constructed on facts, on a scientific approach, but underlying it is also the humanism which must inspire every real revolutionary. Kwame Nkrumah fights with all these revolutionary weapons because of his love of man.

This is nowhere more revealed—perhaps paradoxically than by his vigorous denunciation of oppression and exploitation which makes the masses poor, illiterate and suffering. He offers his work in the confident knowledge that it reflects the desires of the masses of the people.

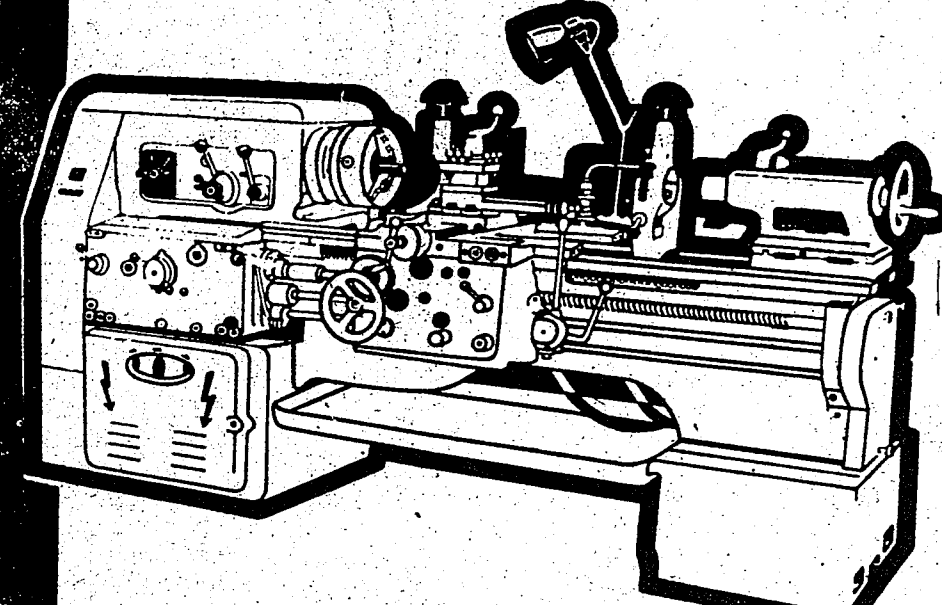
The book is dedicated "to the Freedom Fighters of Africa living and dead". It is given in love and humility to the common man and woman. "For, when all is said and done, it is the so-called little man, the bent-backed, the exploited, the malnourished, blood-covered fighter for independence who decides. And he invariably decides for freedom."

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