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Nkrumah's Theory of Neo-Colonialism

EDITORIAL

Free Zimbabwe!

ASKED whether Britain would resort to military intervention to put down what he himself had already termed "the rebel regime in Salisbury", Mr. Wilson replied that "the situation is not one to be dealt with in this way."

It was Mr. Wilson's earlier announcement that the British Government would not under any circumstances use armed force in Rhodesia—in other words, that it would not give protection to those who resisted an illegal seizure of power by the white supremacists—which emboldened Mr. Smith's racist regime and lead directly to its seizure of power.

Mr. Wilson has confined himself to announcing partial economic sanctions. How vigorously they will be enforced, and how effective they can be in view of the backing the Rhodesian rebel regime will receive from its Portuguese and South African neighbours, remains to be seen.

One thing, however, is certain: the Smith regime, which Britain armed and which had assumed police state powers even before it went over to open rebellion, will go on using force and violence to hold in subjection the four million Africans of Zimbabwe.

The rebel regime not only constitutes a threat to the peace, freedom and very existence of the people of Zimbabwe; it also constitutes a threat to the peace and freedom of our entire continent.

The African states must act now. They must act now to get immediate United Nations action to check, by force if necessary, this threat to the peace of our continent.

They must themselves immediately mobilise an African military force, with outside assistance if necessary, to come to the aid of our brothers in Zimbabwe.

Immediate steps must be taken to assist countries like Zambia who face the threat of counter-measures by the rebel regime; all relations with the racist must be severed.

* * *

Rhodesia's white supremacists have flung the gauntlet in the face of Africa; they believe they can defy the Organisation of African Unity with impunity.

Africa must take up the challenge; the O.A.U. must demonstrate that it is indeed worthy of the trust of the peoples of Africa struggling for the total liberation of our continent.

Action must not be confined to governments; every African trade unionist, every African worker must strike his blow for the freedom of his Zimbabwe brothers by refusing to load or service any ship, plane or train carrying goods destined for the rebel regime, or for its South African and Portuguese backers.

We appeal to workers throughout the world to demonstrate their detestation of Smith's racist regime by refusing to make or transport goods on its behalf.

We make a special call to our brothers in the anti-imperialist struggle, the oil workers of the Arab countries. Without oil, the racists' armoured cars and bombers will be reduced to impotent immobility.

We make a particular appeal, too, to the workers of Britain, whose great traditions of international solidarity Mr. Wilson by his failure to take effective action has betrayed.

We appeal to them to press the British Government to take effective action—military action, if necessary—to put down the racist rebellion, and to ensure the vigorous enforcement of complete economic sanctions not only against Smith, but also against his South African and Portuguese allies, who are likewise in large measure dependent on British trade and backing.

Smith must go! Zimbabwe must be free!

IN CONSCIENCISM

Kwame Nkrumah treats neo-colonialism philosophically, studying the interplay of social-political forces in the evolution of new nations. He arrives at the conclusion that the relative strength (organisationally and ideologically) of these forces within the national liberation movement is crucial to the issue whether the anti-colonial struggle leads to true or sham independence. He characterises neo-colonialism (the "sham" independence) as a situation in which a former colony "acquires the nominal attributes of independence" but this "independence is shot through and through with the supreme interest of an alien power."

FORMULA

In "Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism" the same writer gives us the anatomy and political practice of "sham independence". He works out a formula to guide the struggle against neo-colonialism. The heart of this formula could be stated in his own words:

"The less developed world will not become developed through the goodwill or generosity of the developed powers. It can only become developed through a struggle against the external forces which have a vested interest in keeping it undeveloped. Of these forces, neo-colonialism is, at this stage of history, the principal."

The treatment of neo-colonialism in CONSCIENCISM is organically linked with the treatment of the same subject in "Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism". A close study of the two essays unfolds a complete and incisive theory of neo-colonialism.

A most satisfying aspect of Nkrumah's theory of Neo-Colonialism is that it is given a world setting and its account of the advanced capitalist nation is up-to-date and squares with the observed facts. He does not find it necessary to postulate an outmoded nineteenth century concept

by Julius Sago

of capitalism in order to prove the injurious impact of advanced capitalist economies on the developing nations. He moves away from the old world divided between imperial nations and subject territories. He formulates his theory in the context of the modern world divided into impe-

facts, crucial point in the entire analysis—"a semblance of true independence is possible without this specific relation". If this happen, then "neo-colonialism has set in" for "neo-colonialism is a guise adopted by negative action in order to give the impression that it has been



rial welfare states, sovereign but neo-colonialist emergent states and the socialist states. The outcome is a doctrine which is truly scientific, firstly because it sees the facts as they are; and secondly, because it provides a rational guide to action in the context of the world of today.

AIM

The aim of this article is to trace in outline Nkrumah's theory of neo-colonialism.

To start with, what is neo-colonialism? Nkrumah sees neo-colonialism as evolving out of colonialism. Describing a "colonial situation" as one in which "negative action undoubtedly out-weights positive action" Nkrumah argues in CONSCIENCISM p. 100 that "In order that true independence should be won, it is necessary that positive action should come to overwhelm negative action". He then raises a most important, in

ing that neo-colonialism is a historical phase in man's struggle against international finance capital. Up to the Second World War, the world (excluding the Soviet Union) was divided into a few imperial orthodox-style capitalist states and a large mass of colonial territories. The latter helped to feed the economy of the former.

SEVERE TENSIONS

Severe tensions of both an economic and social (hence political) nature had arisen in both spheres. In the imperial capitalist states, the working class demanded a greater share in the good things of life created by the capitalist economy. Their demand could no longer be ignored because working class organisations had grown strong and experienced. Their trade union could squeeze substantial wage increases, better working conditions in factories, holidays with pay, etc. Their political organisations could formulate and push through substantial social security programmes. Finance capital which ran the imperial capitalist states was confronted with serious problems at times calling into question its very existence. It had to bring in reforms; but reforms which enabled it to preserve itself. It met this challenge by building a "Welfare state" at home.

FINANCE CAPITAL

Simultaneously, the colonial areas of the world were in turmoil. The national liberation movement was strong. It was growing fiercer in its fight and relentless in its demands. It had become necessary to find ways to meet at least some of the more pressing demands of the national liberation movement. Here, as inside the imperial capitalist state, the thing assailed was international finance capital. And here again what was needed, from the point of view of imperialism, was reform that would not destroy finance capital. The solution was found in "sham independence", a state which is independent de jure but dependent de facto. Political power was handed over to the conservative

forces in the former colonial territories while economic power remained with international finance capital. This arrangement is neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism in the former colonial territory thus becomes the condition for the continued existence of the warfare state in the imperial nation. It is the external condition, just as the warfare state is the internal condition, for the continued hegemony of international finance capital.

This historical view of neo-colonialism at one and the same time brings out the necessity of neo-colonialism as well as the inevitability of its collapse. It permits us to see the contradictions of the system on a global scale. And hence it sets the stage for the formulation of a global strategy against this monster that operates on a world scale.

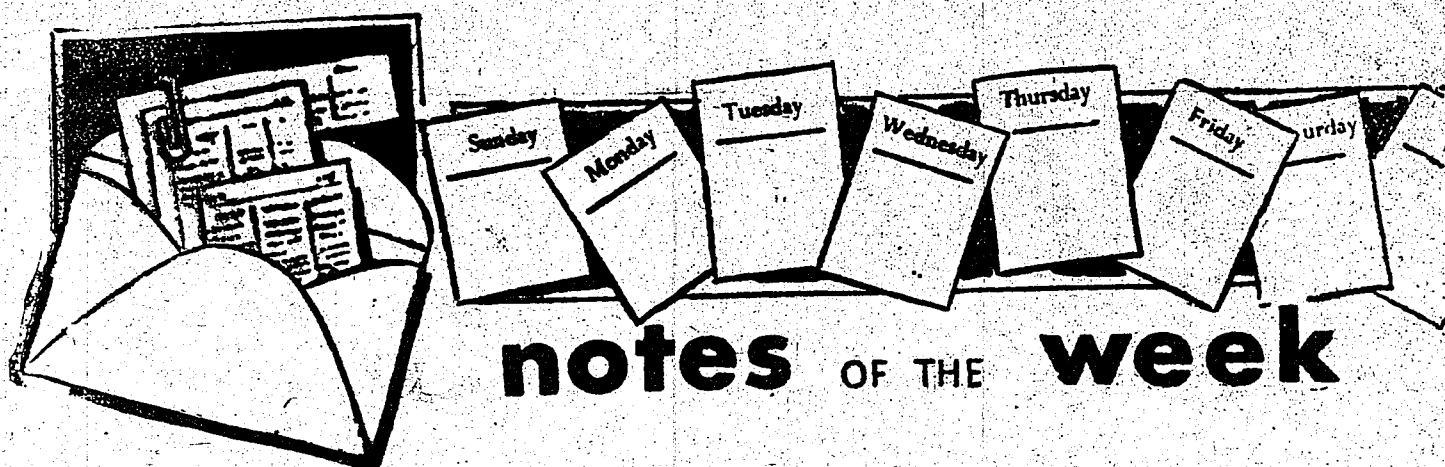
EXPLOITATION

"Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism" provides a most graphic account of the mechanism and methods of neo-colonialism. Its principal weapons are economic ties, military aid and political manipulations. Because its principal objective is "exploitation without redress", neo-colonialism, by its very nature, can thrive only where it succeeds in putting into office a client or puppet government. A client state (puppet government) and continued economic exploitation are the two sides of the same coin—neo-colonialism. These are the necessary ingredients of neo-colonialism.

Because a puppet government is so vital to the operation of neo-colonialism, massive military assistance to such an unpopular regime is inevitable. A puppet regime by definition cannot draw its strength from the support of the people. It can remain in office only as long as it can keep itself there in the teeth of popular opposition. Hence the vital necessity of military assistance from the alien power.

This many-sided manipulation of neo-colonial re-

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notes OF THE week

WEST German Chancellor Erhard chose the eve of Armistice Day—the day on which tribute is paid to the dead of two world wars sparked by German imperialism—to reiterate Bonn's demand for a finger of the N.A.T.O. nuclear trigger.

Demanding West German participation in the control of the West's nuclear weapons, he argued that the degree of control exercised by each

N.A.T.O. member should be in accordance with its military contribution to the alliance.

When it is recalled that West Germany is already making the largest military contribution of any of the European members of N.A.T.O., it will be seen that what the Chancellor was in fact demanding was the establishment of a Washington-Bonn nuclear hegemony.

Bonn wants its finger on the nuclear trigger in order to achieve its officially declared aim—the restoration of Germany's 1937 by the re-conquest of territories now part of Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia—and also of course by the swallowing up of the German Democratic Republic.

Indeed, some in West Germany cherish even more far-reaching ambitions. The esta-

blishment of what would amount to a West German "protectorate" under another name was advocated for example by Franz Josef Strauss, leader of the Bavarian Christian Social Union and on-time Defence Minister under Chancellor Adenauer, in an interview published by *The New York Times* (30.31.10.65).

In many respects reminiscent of the "New Order" which Hitler planned for Europe, Herr Strauss' "European Federation" would, he said, eventually include the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe—and Germans should be allowed to settle in them without restriction.

Dr. Erhard's demand for a finger on the West's nuclear trigger underlined the timely nature of the protest which the Soviet Union—the nation which suffered the most in World War Two and which, in the words of the late Sir Winston Churchill, "tore the guts out of the Nazi war machine"—sent to the United States regarding the training of West German rocket troops in Texas.

Elsewhere in this issue we examine in greater detail how Nazi-style race theories regarding the African peoples are still being peddled, in West Germany, how nostalgia for the "good old days" of German colonialism in Africa is being nourished and how West Germany, while protecting its friendship for the African peoples, is in fact aiding their greatest enemies—the Smiths, Verwoerds and Salazars.

A West Germany with nuclear weapons will be a threat not only to peace in Europe, but to peace in Africa and throughout the entire world.

HARVEST OF DEATH

IN Vietnam the grim harvest of death continues. For the second time U.S. aircraft have bombed a South Vietnam village "by mistake"; in the first such case casualties included forty-eight dead.

Daily the U.S. war communiques boast of the death and destruction they are inflicting on this small Asian country thousands of miles from America's shores.

But the aggressor is not able to perpetrate his crimes with impunity: Washington has been obliged to acknowledge that last week's U.S. casualty figures were the highest yet.

Meanwhile, in the United States officially-sponsored pro-war rallies are being organised, at which calls for the intensification of the terror bombing campaign and for the extension of the war are being heard.

It is clear that the situation is fraught with the gravest danger for world peace; despite all their much-vaunted prowess, the Americans have abundantly demonstrated that they can make "mistakes". One such "mistake" could mean the start of World War Three.

The Vietnamese people are today in the front line of the

struggle against imperialism; their struggle is the struggle of the entire anti-imperialist movement throughout the world.

Even Washington is obliged to acknowledge their heroism—one U.S. press report spoke of "professional respect" the Americans had for their enemy", while a U.S. officer is reported as describing the freedom fighters as "dedicated".

"Dedicated" they are indeed—dedicated to the cause of freedom, to the struggle for their right and the right of every people to chose their own way of life without interference from imperialism.

In recent weeks Washington has been talking with unconvincing optimism of a change in the situation brought about by its terror bombing campaign and by the increasing number of U.S. troops that are being dispatched to Vietnam.

But the realisation that even the United States is not all-powerful and that it cannot win is beginning to break through.

"The war is far from over," writes *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr from Saigon (30.31.10.65).

"In its own way, a Viet-

cong (the term used in Washington to describe the National Liberation Front fighters—Ed.) entrenching tool with a two-foot handle is an important counter-weapon to a two-million-dollar American jet.

"The battle of Pleime showed that hundreds of air strikes could not silence a well-dug-in Vietcong machine gun.

"The use of American troops has so far been extremely cautious and conservative. No chances have been taken, no small units have been thrown into battle against odds and, therefore, both losses and military gains have been very modest.

"Fighting this way, the American and South Vietnamese allies probably cannot be defeated, but it is also possible that they cannot win.

"Military victory in Vietnam will probably go to the people who can bear the suffering, the cost and the uncertainty of guerrilla warfare the longest."

Such sober realism is very different from the brash, arrogant talk still to be heard in many U.S. quarters.

But even the Pentagon will be forced to face facts as the world-wide movement for an end to U.S. terror-bombing and interference in Vietnam gains momentum.

Nkrumah's Theory of Neo-colonialism

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gimes have been known to us for some time now. But with Kwame Nkrumah the various aspects, seemingly scattered, fit into a single organic whole. Economic exploitation, puppet governments, and military aid are not just occurrences fortuitously linked with neo-colonialism. They constitute the essence—their, define—neo-colonialism.

Kwame Nkrumah warns that other methods of neo-colonialism, in addition to puppet governments, economic and military aid, do exist, even if they are secondary or ancillary methods. He draws attention to neo-colonialist activities in the cultural and ideological spheres. "Perhaps one of the most insidious methods of the neo-colonialists is evangelism" p. 247. And again we read: "Among instruments of such Western psychological warfare are numbered the intelligence agencies of Western countries headed by those of the United States 'Invisible Government'. But most significant among them all are Moral Re-Armament (MRA), the Peace Corps and the United States Information Agency (USIA)". p. 248.

Perhaps the most re-

warding part of Nkrumah's theory—rewarding from the point of view of those committed to a resolute struggle against neo-colonialism—is his analysis of how neo-colonialist regimes are brought into being.

In CONSCIENCISM he makes the point that the foundations of neo-colonialism are laid during the struggle for political independence in a colonial territory. When the national liberation movement has firmly established itself, the colonial power "unfailingly develops a policy of containment, a policy whereby it seeks to check this advance and limit it" p. 101. It does this by directing the liberation movement into reformist channels. When this proves difficult, the colonial power tries to divide the liberation movement into a "moderate" wing with which it makes a deal and a "militant" wing which it seeks to suppress, if necessary by force.

MANOEUVRES

If the colonial power succeeds in these manoeuvres, political independence is then "granted" to the "moderate" leaders of national liberation. The result is a weak, alien mani-

culated, outward oriented political set-up, the forerunner of the puppet government required for the existence of neo-colonialism. The regime is kept in existence through necessarily one-sided economic and financial aid, technical assistance and military support. The forces of neo-colonialism will strive by every means to project such a government as the peoples power while undertaking a series of measures designed to subvert and undermine patriotic and democratic organisations of the people.

Where the calculations of the colonial power during the national liberation movement are thwarted by resolute and far-sighted political action by the 'extremist' leaders of the liberation struggle, a truly independent government emerges in the liberated territory. This government becomes an obstacle to the establishment of a neo-colonialist regime. Therefore international finance capital resorts to new means of subverting such a government. Some of the weapons in its armoury are coup d'état, assassinations, tribal or party revolt and insurrection, etc.

Whatever method is

used, the crucial fact is that the nature, the inner state of the truly independent government provides the stage on which alien interests operate in their effort to bring into being a political regime favourable to neo-colonialism. Therefore the main sphere where we must strive to defeat neo-colonialist intrigues is within the movement for true independence, that is inside the political party that controls and runs the government. This is particularly true in the one party state.

GROUPS

Usually, this ruling political party is made up of several groups each with its distinct economic and hence political interests. The relative importance of these groups in the scheme of things—in the Party and state machinery particularly—will determine the course of development. Imperialist state is therefore directed towards bringing into a position of pre-eminence within the ruling party of that group which, in essentials, shares its economic and political perspectives.

If a member of the

group that is absolutely opposed to imperialism is in control of the state and party, the tactics of neo-colonialism are two-fold. First, assassination or a "palace revolution" will permit political power to fall into the lap of the rival but pro-imperialist group. A necessary step in preparing the pro-imperialist takeover is to project its image as stridently anti-imperialist and even strongly pro-socialism. Secondly, if the first approach fails or proves rather difficult, neo-colonialist forces seek a way of decentralising political power within the ruling party. One group is strong in the state machinery, the other is strong in the party machine. Even in the state machine, the vital organs are artfully put into the hands of forces ready to parley with imperialism. The nursing of discontent and confusion within the party and among the people—through the spread of conflicting ideologies, economic rundown, maladministration and corruption—will permit the creation of an atmosphere of dissatisfaction favourable to a change in the personnel of government. Ostensibly the same party is in

power. In truth, a qualitative change in the nature of political power has taken place.

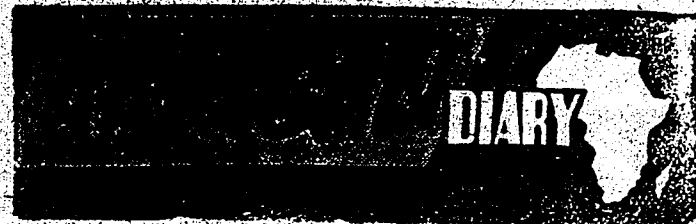
POSITIVE ACTION

Kwame Nkrumah gives serious attention to the study of this problem. Since the conglomerate nature of the ruling party is the basic fact on which neo-colonialist strategy depends, the main remedial measures must be directed to this sphere. He traces the source of the ailment to the period of the national liberation struggle. Then, and in order to maximise opposition to colonial rule, positive action resorts to an alignment of forces". But even in this essential process, positive action "creates in itself seeds at which this alignment might fall apart." He adds: "It is essential that positive action should in its dialectical evolution anticipate this seminal dis-integration and discover a way of containing the future schismatic tendencies". (CONSCIENCISM p. 104). It is after colonialism has been routed that "the schismatic tendencies referred to ripen". And the irritants that help this ripening process are the cagolement, the wheed-

lings, the seductions and the trojan horses of neo-colonialism" (CONSCIENCISM p. 105).

The solution to this problem lies in building a mass party of positive action which is ideologically monolithic. In precise terms this means a party in which membership is restricted to those social and economic forces that are in opposition to imperialism and capitalism. We need a party with a clearly formulated socialist ideology, a party which does not tolerate rival ideological trends within its fold; in which the initiative rests squarely with the common man. Nkrumah's faith in a party of the common people organised around a single ideology is made parent in this passage: "And the pre-condition for all this (i.e. liberation of man), to which lip service is often paid but activity seldom directed, is to develop ideological clarity among the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, pro-liberation masses of our continent. They, and they alone, make or break resolutions" (Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism p. 254).

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OCTOBER 21:
GHANA: The Organisation of African Unity Summit Conference, the third annual Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation begins in Accra this evening.

* President Kwame Nkrumah has been unanimously elected Chairman of the current third Summit of the Organisation of African Unity.

In his address at the opening session at the third Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity today, President Kwame Nkrumah touched on several burning questions with which Africa and the world are saddled today.

* President Kwame Nkrumah today charged the Organisation of African Unity to move forward to progress through an effective African Union or "step backwards into stagnation, instability and confusion—an easy prey for foreign intervention, interference and subversion".

* President Kwame Nkrumah has proposed the creation of a full-time body or Executive Council of the O.A.U. to act as the executive arm of Assembly of the Heads of State and Government.

OCTOBER 22:
SOUTHERN RHODESIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has warned that unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia will mean the shutting off the lights of justice and democracy, with no hope for progress and for liberty of conscience.

* Prominent Kenyan, white, settlers have expressed "shock and dismay" at what they described as threat by Rhodesian White settlers spokesman Ian Smith to declare independence unilaterally.

OCTOBER 23:
SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson and Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, are expected to fly to Rhodesia today to convince settler leader Ian Smith and his henchmen to abandon their intention to declare independence unilaterally.

* The conference of African Heads of State and Government in session in Accra today adopted a resolution calling on

the United Nations to regard any declaration of unilateral independence in Rhodesia as constituting a threat to international peace

OCTOBER 24:

ALGERIA: Colonel Houari Boumedienne, President of the Algerian Revolutionary Council, who was in Accra for the O.A.U. Summit left today for home.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. James Robert Chikerema, Vice-President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) has described the Organisation of African Unity's third Assembly resolution on Southern Rhodesia as "a bold step to solve the Rhodesian issue".

GHANA: The African Heads of State and Government at its session in Accra today discussed President Nkrumah's proposals for the setting up of an Executive Council for the Organisation of African Unity.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Southern Rhodesian racist police thugs intensified patrols in Salisbury's African townships and arrested four African demonstrators in the city's main street.

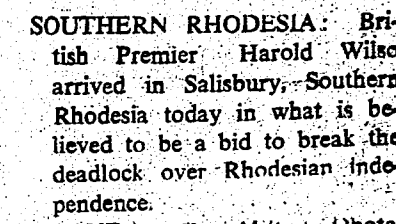
NIGERIA: The new Western Nigeria Government formed by Premier Chief Samuel Akinola following last week's regional elections sworn in in Ibadan.

OCTOBER 25:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: An estimated 4,000 African demonstrators who trooped to the Salisbury Airport hours earlier, today, greeted the British Premier, Mr. Harold Wilson with placards demanding majority rule in Rhodesia.

SWAZILAND: The national President of Ngwane National Liberation Congress of Swaziland, Mr. Ambrose Pheseyha, today called on the Organisation of African Unity to press on Britain to call a constitutional conference to give the people a constitution based on universal adult suffrage to be followed by independence.

SOUTH AFRICA: Sir de Villiers Graff, leader of the apartheid South African United Party, today declared that if Rhodesia declares independence unilaterally, his country could do nothing but accord it *de facto* recognition.



SOUTHERN RHODESIA: British Premier Harold Wilson arrived in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia today in what is believed to be a bid to break the deadlock over Rhodesian independence.

UGANDA: Dr. Milton Obote, Uganda's Premier, speaking at a U.N. anniversary ceremony in Kampala, Uganda, reiterated his desire for seating the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

OCTOBER 26:

GHANA: At least, three-quarters of the member-states present at the Accra Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity voted in favour of President Nkrumah's proposal for the creation of an O.A.U. Executive Council being examined by a special commission.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Heads of State and Government meeting in Accra, Ghana, have called on the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly to recognise the present situation in South Africa as a serious threat to world peace and security.

GHANA: The five-day Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity ended at the complex State House, Accra today with a unanimous conviction among the Leaders that the conference had enabled the continent of Africa to take her destiny into her own hands.

NIGERIA: The Nigerian Federal Premier, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, back from the Accra O.A.U. Summit, declared in Lagos that the Conference, had cemented the relationship between member States more than ever before.

China Not Ghana

In our article discussing the 48th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Union, the passage "The new state also renounced the special rights and privileges which the Tsarist Government enjoyed in such countries as Ghana and Iran" should have read "The new state also renounced the special rights and privileges which the Tsarist Government enjoyed in such countries as China and Iran."

Anti-Imperialist Unity can save Zimbabwe

by Our Diplomatic Correspondent

THE British Prime Minister's statement in Parliament following Ian Smith's illegal seizure of power and his broadcast to the British people and the world were marked by a striking contradiction—the contradiction between the words used and the measures proposed.

On the one hand, Mr. Wilson in dramatic terms branded Mr. Smith's regime as an illegal, rebel regime with which the British Government could have no dealings.

On the other hand, the measures which he proposed to take against this rebel regime were confined to diplomatic moves and partial economic sanctions.

There was no mention of military action to suppress the rebels, no announcement of an airlift of troops—indeed, in reply to a question, Mr. Wilson made clear his view that the situation was not one to be dealt with by military intervention.

CONTRAST

The contrast between the British Government's reaction to this rebellion by the white minority in Zimbabwe and, for example, the moves to win freedom undertaken by genuinely representative governments in British Guiana and Aden, to mention only two cases, is striking.

There the reaction was the instant dispatch of troops, the arrest of the leaders of the freedom movements and the banning of their parties—the whole panoply of colonialist punitive measures were applied.

But in the case of Smith's rebel regime Mr. Wilson, despite all his dramatic words, went out of his way to stress that there would be nothing "punitive" about the measures to be taken against it.

The contrast is striking—and ominous. It is made all the more ominous by the Tory Opposition's statement that it wishes to examine each and every sanction in detail, and that it demands that each and every sanction must be justified to it before it is enforced.

Already the *Daily Express*, a paper notorious for its hostility to the African freedom movement and as an apologist not only for Smith but also for Verwoerd, has declared its outright opposition to any sanctions whatsoever.

And already the opponents of sanctions are talking of their "fears" that sanctions will serve to strengthen settler support for Smith—and hypo-critically pleading that they will cause suffering among Africans.

These spokesmen have never in the past shown any sympathy for the suffering that Smith's regime—and every other colonial regime—is causing millions of Africans.

WARNING

"It seems clear", the Ghana Government's statement warns, "that an international complex of financial interests which derive their profits from the exploitation of the African people are actively engaged in supporting the treasonable and treacherous Smith regime."

This contrast demonstrates that even now, even after Ian Smith has illegally seized power on behalf of the white settler minority, Mr. Wilson still hopes to be able to continue the policy of appeasement, conciliation and concession that has been pursued by successive British Governments during the last decade.

In the words of the Ghana Government's statement, "the present illegal and treasonable declaration of independence flows directly from the United Kingdom Government's veto of the Security Council's resolution in September, 1963."

"It was by this veto that Britain provided the settlers with the armed forces which they now use to defy British authority and to threaten the African continent with a racial war."

ACTION

In their attempts to justify Britain's refusal to take military action against the rebels, British spokesmen point to the strength of the Rhodesian Armed Forces.

The white settler regime does indeed have a powerful military force at its disposal—thanks to Britain. Not only were its *Vampire* and *Hunter* jets, its *Camberra* bombers and its armoured cars supplied by Britain; many of its personnel are British citizens.

In the face of determined action by the British Government—action which Zimbabwe's neighbour Zambia has offered to facilitate—the white settler forces would be quickly reduced to impotence.

What is more, as the Ghana Government statement made clear, "the permanent members of the Security Council have quite sufficient forces at their disposal to destroy the Rhodesian air force and army in a matter of minutes."

The United Nations General Assembly has already by an overwhelming majority called upon Britain to use force if necessary to prevent a racialist seizure of power.

Now Britain, after year in year out denying the right of the United Nations even to discuss the Rhodesian issue, has declared its intention to refer the Rhodesian issue to the Security Council.

Why this change of front? Perhaps Britain is seeking the assistance of the Security Council in putting down this rebellion which constitutes a threat to peace on the African continent?

Perhaps she is seeking the aid of the Security Council in effective action against the rebel regime?

Perhaps she at last recognises that the issue of the right of the four million Africans of Zimbabwe to choose their own way of life is an issue of world interest?

No, that is not the reason why Mr. Wilson has sent his Foreign Secretary, Mr. Michael Stewart hot-foot to New York.

REFERENCE

Mr. Wilson has referred the issue to the Security Council because, in his own words, "if we do not, someone else will."

In other words, he has done so in an attempt to head off effective action by the nations of the world, to create a smokescreen behind which he can continue his policy of appeasement and prevarication.

Too often in the past has the United Nations served as the carpet under which the dust of shameful betrayal has been swept.

Africa well remembers how the United Nations failed to save Patrice Lumumba, the man who in his country's hour of torment, faced by a colonialist-inspired rebellion, called upon the U.N. for aid, only to be delivered over by it into the hands of his enemies.

Today the situation in the United Nations is different. Today the African countries can, if they are united, force the United Nations to take effective action. They can rely on the support of newly-independent countries of Asia.

They can rely too on the support of the socialist countries of the world. The Soviet Union has already branded Smith's rebellion as a monstrous crime and pledged its full support to the people of Zimbabwe.

UNITY

In the face of the unity of the newly-independent countries and the Socialist countries, the imperialists are powerless.

This was clearly demonstrated at Suez in 1956, where the Anglo-French aggressors were forced to retreat when confronted by the Soviet Union's firm support of the Egyptian people in their struggle to defend their national independence.

It was clearly demonstrated too in the case of Cuba. Soviet military assistance given to that embattled island compelled Washington to renounce its invasion plans and unwillingly to acquiesce in the continued existence of a Socialist Cuba 90 miles from America's shores.

Imperialism can be defeated in Africa if the African freedom movement forges unity with its allies in the world anti-imperialist front.

Now, too, as never before it is urgent that Africa should forge its own unity. If the

member-states of the Organisation of African Unity can not act in unity on this issue—the issue of the salvation of our brothers in Zimbabwe—then there is surely no issue on which they can unite.

For the O.A.U. to wait upon action by the United Nations would be fatal. United Nations action is not a substitute for O.A.U. action, but supplement.

The issue of the freedom of Zimbabwe is an African issue; it was to tackle just such issues that the O.A.U. came into being.

MILITARY SUPPORT

Already the lead has been given by dozen of the African Heads of State, the Emperor Haile Selassie, who has declared his readiness to support military action against the racist rebel regime.

There must be an immediate mobilisation of an African military force with outside assistance if necessary.

There must be aid to countries like Zambia—aid both military and economic, for not only do they face the threat of economic counter-measures by Smith's regime—they also face the threat of military action by it.

There are reports of the imminent establishment of a Zimbabwe-Government-in-Exile. The settler regime's seizure

of power has created a qualitatively new situation in which the differences between Zimbabwe's two major national movements, ZAPU and ZANU, must be submerged.

Continued distunity in their people's hour of trial can only play into the hands of Ian Smith and the white minority; the interests of the Zimbabwe people must be placed above all factional differences.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that time is on the side of Smith.

BITTER HOURS

Every hour that he remains in power enables him further to tighten his grip on Zimbabwe's four million Africans; every hour that he is in power prolongs their suffering.

Every hour that he is in power enables him to mobilise the support of his South African and Portuguese allies, together with whom he hopes to create a white supremacist bastion on the Southern tip of our continent.

And every hour that he remains in power strengthens the hand of those in London and elsewhere who wish to prevaricate, to persuade the world to accept the fact that his regime exists.

When Mr. Wilson flew to Salisbury, *The Spark* suggested that this was Mr. Wilson's Munich. His empty words and ineffective gesture in the face of the settler rebellion demonstrate that our worst fears were justified.

But Africa will tolerate no betrayal. It will not permit its people to be handed over to the tender mercies of the Smiths, the Verwoerds and the Salazars.

Ghana Gov't Statement

Below is a statement issued in Accra yesterday by the Ghana Government on the Southern Rhodesian issue.

THE Government of Ghana welcomes the decision of the British Government to refer the Rhodesian issue to the Security Council of the United Nations.

It regrets however that the British Government proposes that the Council should limit the exercise of its authority to economic sanctions.

In the view of the Government of Ghana, the first act of the Council should be to rectify the situation created by Britain when, two years ago, the United Kingdom Government vetoed a resolution of the Council, proposed on the initiative of Ghana and supported by all African States, and which would have effectively prevented the arming of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia.

The permanent members of the Security Council have quite sufficient forces at their disposal to destroy the Rhodesian air force and army in a matter of minutes.

They have a moral obligation to use their forces in order to redress the wrong which United Kingdom Government did when she vetoed the resolution of the council which would otherwise have deprived the settlers of the armed forces on which they now rely.

In the view of the Government of Ghana, the present illegal and treasonable declaration of independence flows directly from the United Kingdom Government's veto of the Security Council's resolution in September, 1963.

It was by this veto that Britain provided the settlers with the armed forces which they now use to defy British authority and to threaten the African continent with a racial war.

The United Kingdom has therefore a particular duty to do all possible to redress the wrong which she did on this occasion.

A RECALL

At the very least Britain should recall immediately all United Kingdom subjects serving in the Rhodesian army, air force and police; and the Security Council should order South Africa to do the same in regard to their own citizens.

It was a myth to say that such a thing as a Southern Rhodesia air force, army or police force exists.

Except where African personnel is employed in a menial capacity these forces are composed almost exclusively of British and South African citizens and their recall would leave the Southern Rhodesian rebels powerless.

It seems to the Government of Ghana that 200,000 settlers living amidst a population of four million Africans would never have declared unilateral independence unless they had received in advance powerful secret backing from certain quarters.

It must be obvious that Smith would not have acted as he did unless he had received secret assurances from South Africa and from Portugal.

In the view of the Government of Ghana, the United Kingdom Government and the Security Council can only end this rebellion in Southern Rhodesia if they take appropriate and speedy action against all involved.

To the Government of Ghana it seems clear that an international complex of financial interests which derive their profits from the exploitation of the African people are actively engaged in supporting the treasonable and treacherous Smith regime and

that unless the Commonwealth, the Security Council and the Organisation of African Unity act quickly to deal boldly with the Southern Rhodesian rebellion, no other solution would be effective and the Southern part of Africa would pass into the hands of the most vicious racials which have yet been seen.

The Government of Ghana regrets the British Government has merely contented itself with dismissing Ian Smith and his regime and invoking economic sanctions.

In the view of the Government of Ghana it was the duty of the British Government to have taken this step before Smith completed his act of rebellion and in its view the rebellion might have been prevented had the British Government been prepared to act with courage and determination at an earlier stage.

However this may be, in the Government of Ghana's opinion, the important thing to do is not to make mere gesture by dismissing Smith at this stage but instead to revoke forthwith the 1961 constitution which has already been condemned by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and by a large majority of the Commonwealth.

NEW CONSTITUTION

Ghana considers that, immediately this constitution is revoked, the British Government should call a constitutional conference which in any event it promised to do if negotiation with the settler regime proved unsatisfactory.

At this constitutional conference all political parties, except those in active rebellion against the British Government, should be represented.

A new constitution should be established providing for a majority rule.

The British Government should give legislative effect to the new Rhodesian constitution and a Zimbabwe Government thereafter set up.

In accordance with the OAU resolution, the Government of Ghana would give every support to such a Government, and hopes that powers outside the African continent would do likewise.

The Government of Ghana is much concerned over the fate of those in the colony of Southern Rhodesia who have refused to join in the revolt of the settler regime.

AID

It notes with dismay that in the statement made by the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons no provision is apparently made for lending protection to the Governor or to those members of judiciary, armed forces or to the police who refuse to accept Smith's treasonable seizure of power.

The Government of Ghana has taken note of the fact that the United Kingdom Government still maintains that Southern Rhodesia is a British colony and that it is the exclusive responsibility of the United Kingdom Government.

This involves Britain taking positive action right now to deal with this rebellion.

The Organisation of African Unity has charted the course during its last Summit meeting in Accra, in the event of the illegal seizure of power by the Smith regime. It is therefore, the clear duty of all progressive and peace-loving states in the world, and particularly the non-aligned countries, to support the OAU in ensuring the effective implementation of its resolution on Southern Rhodesia.

Shoulder To Shoulder

Statement by Ghana T.U.C.

THE Ghana Trades Union Congress has received the shocking news of unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority regime of Southern Rhodesia.

The whole world stands flabbergasted at the drama unfolded. This drama, the unilateral declaration of independence, is an act of criminal conspiracy and betrayal of the African people.

The white minority regime of Ian Smith has administered a serious rebuff to the soft-peddling tactics of British colonial diplomacy and by this act, declared war against Africa and against mankind.

The unilateral declaration of independence is an attempt to give birth to another apartheid regime on our continent in order to condemn the African majority population in Southern Rhodesia to perpetual oppression, suppression and slavery.

The British Government owes it a duty to defend and uphold the sacred trust of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia and to act against this flagrant violation of their human and democratic rights.

The consequences of the British Government failing to act to avert this act of rebellion presents a serious threat to the peace and security of Africa and the world.

The present crisis in Zimbabwe demands united action, therefore the Ghana T.U.C. (a) demands that the British Government take all necessary steps including military in-

tervention to quell this rebellion to restore the rights of the African majority population of Southern Rhodesia.

(b) considering that the unity and strength of the African people in this struggle will put an end to the crimes committed by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism against our continent, invite the Organisation of African Unity to implement the decisions of the Accra Summit of Heads of State and Government in respect of Southern Rhodesia in the event of the failure of the British Government to act effectively;

(c) calls upon the workers of Africa to stand in readiness and in complete solidarity with the workers and people of Zimbabwe in their struggle against tyranny and slavery, and to support the Organisation of African Unity to ensure effective intervention;

(d) urges the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take all necessary steps to avert this serious threat to the peace and security of Africa and the world;

(e) considers any act of recognition of this illegal racist regime by any State, an act of aggression against the people of Africa as a whole.

In this struggle, the workers of Ghana stand shoulder to shoulder with their brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe.



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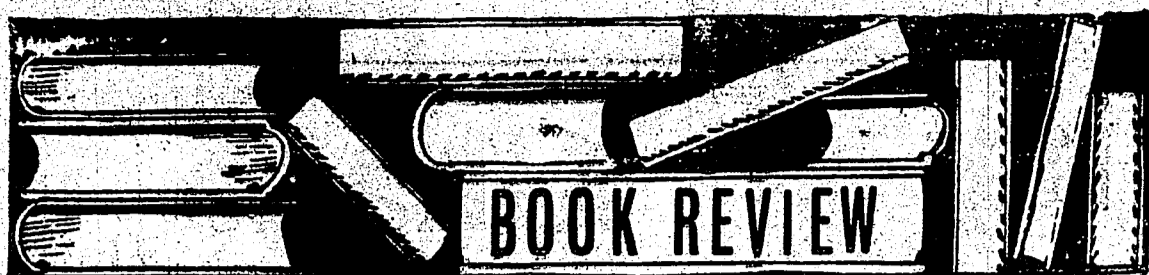
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A War on Poverty

by Pat Sloan

FOR very many years it was an accepted theory of most Socialists that since war was terribly profitable, and the arms industry was the backbone of war preparations, the economic problems of disarmament under capitalism were practically insuperable.

The sad history of "disarmament" under the League of Nations bore this out. The young Soviet Union proposed complete and universal disarmament and was laughed out of court. It then, at a later stage, voted for an American proposal for a one-third reduction in all armaments. The U.S.A. itself then voted against its own proposal. Deadlock, and the Second World War, followed. At the disarmament talks the arms profiteers had succeeded in organising an all-powerful lobby against this menacing spectre!

They had frustrated this first great effort for peace, and in the Second World War new records were established in profits in the capitalist countries, particularly the U.S.A., while in the Socialist Soviet Union nobody profited, but all sacrificed, to the Moloch of war.

Under the United Nations new efforts at disarmament have been made, but so far the results bear a horrible resemblance to the results experienced at Geneva between the wars.

Today, however, the

world is older. There are now many Socialist States, and even more newly-independent States to whom armaments are a curse and an ever-present menace.

Hence new thinking has developed. It is no longer dogmatically accepted that disarmament in the capitalist countries must mean unemployment and economic stagnation.

Indeed, in recent years a new school of thought has emerged, directing its efforts to proving that disarmament can be effected, then all workers released from arms production can be fully absorbed into a peaceful economy on two conditions: first, that a positive policy of social welfare is adopted at home;

second, that aid to the underdeveloped countries be extended.

Given these two conditions, a disarmed world could be a far more prosperous world than the present one, for all expenditure could be devoted to constructive purposes.

It is with these ideas in mind that the International Institute for Peace has published, in Vienna, the report entitled *The Economic Necessity of Disarmament*. The report contains the main speeches and conclusions of a conference on the economic aspects of disarmament held in Vienna last December.

It is encouraging reading for here twenty-six experts from fourteen countries, including the U.S.A., Britain and France for the imperialists; the U.A.R., Sudan and

Algeria from Africa; Austria from non-committed Europe; and five Socialist countries including the U.S.S.R., reached a high degree of agreement.

In brief, their main conclusion is that:

"there is no country in the world whose economy is dependent on armaments. The real economic truth is exactly the opposite: the health of the economies of countries with big armament expenditure depends on disarmament."

On the Soviet side this may not be so surprising. As Professor N. Lyubimov reminded the Conference, in 1964:

"the Soviet Union reduced its military allocations by 600 million roubles, equivalent to 660 million dollars, and will reduce them next year, 1965, by another 500 million roubles, the equivalent of 550 million dollars." (This statement was made before the present Vietnam crisis).

The Soviet Union "has repeatedly proposed to reduce military allocations in state budgets" and has

"expressed its willingness to grant a certain part of the resources thus released to the developing countries in case of an international agreement for the mutual reduction of military budgets by 10 or 15 per cent."

At home, said Professor Lyubimov, the national economy "would gain in many respects. It would become possible to spend more on

social and economic needs, cut taxes, and generally speaking to raise the existing living standards of the population." Professor Lyubimov did not confine such a generalisation to the Socialist world only, but to all countries.

It is therefore interesting to note that Mrs. Donna Allen, from the U.S.A., expressed a similar view.

"Let me cite a startling figure. The defence sector is only 9 per cent of our economy. Yet, two-thirds of our nation's entire stock of scientists, engineers and technicians are concentrated in that 9 per cent..."

"Let me give you another startling figure. The United States Government spends over \$12 billion on research and development. Private business firms in the civilian economy spend only \$4 billion. But, worse than that, 94 per cent of the government-spent research and development money goes to only five industries—they are the defence industries. And still worse, 98 per cent of it goes to only 200 companies."

"Yet we have almost five million business firms in the United States."

Mrs. Allen then came to the vexed question of disarmament and unemployment. For in the capitalist world many workers still believe that disarmament inevitably must mean unemployment.

Mrs. Allen showed the unsoundness of this idea even in the U.S.A., because "of the highly automated, high-profit structure of defence industries, spending on defence contracts

employs relatively few workers. In the aerospace industry, for example, only 66,000 workers are employed per billion dollars spent. On the other hand, spending on school construction, urban renewal, or other public works employs from 100,000 to 130,000 per billion dollars spent. One could say that for every billion dollars we spend on missiles instead of public works, we are keeping over 60,000 workers unemployed."

Furthermore, she added, with special reference to the internal racial position in the U.S.A.,

"this public spending would provide employment for more of those with the highest unemployment rates: the unbalanced and underdeveloped countries, the change in the skilled Negroes and young people."

So much for the hard-dying myth that armaments create employment!

The same contradiction in American policy was stressed by Professor J. Dobretsberger of Austria when he recalled the words of Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has said:

"There is indeed a most striking paradox in the fact that military budgets of over \$50 billion are adopted by the Congress after only a perfunctory debate while domestic education and welfare programmes involving sums which are mere fractions of the military budget are painstakingly

examined and then either considerably reduced or rejected outright."

Hence the idea which inspired every speaker to the Conference: *A war on poverty should replace the arms race.*

"A war on poverty" This means not only a redistribution of resources within the developed countries, but a redistribution of resources on a world scale.

Speaker after speaker drew attention to the unterms of trade between them, and the relief that could be given to the underdeveloped world if reductions in arms expenditure were really effected.

As Professor Dobretsberger pointed out,

"the developing countries have an unbalanced, (monocultural) economy. Cotton, rubber, rice, coffee, cocoa, oil, tin..."

U.N. statistics show that in the period between 1950-52 and 1960-62 the price of a unit of goods exported from the industrialised countries rose approximately five per cent, whereas that of a unit of commodities exported from the developing countries decreased more than 15 per cent."

Dr. F. Mansour of the U.A.R. hammered home this point:

"Whereas between 1950 and 1954 we exported cotton at the price of 64d., its price decreased to 47d. between 1955 and 1959, then to 39d. between 1960-1962, and then to 33d. in 1963. Cotton lost almost half its value on the world market in just 12 or 13 years. And this is not a specific phenomenon for

my country... as all Ghanaians, familiar with the cocoa problem, are fully aware.

The agreed conclusions of the Conference were clear: Disarmament would free resources necessary to satisfy pressing needs in both the developing and industrial countries.

The needs of the developing countries are obvious enough, but it may surprise many people that, as Professor Dobretsberger reminded the Conference, "one out of five families in the U.S.A. is deprived of a good diet."

The welfare of the whole world is at stake. Armaments have meant profits in the past, and they mean profits today. But private profits can be abolished by Socialism, and even under capitalism private profit can be deprived from housing and other social services as well as from armaments. And such social services can provide more employment.

Armaments in the world today include nuclear armaments. Nuclear armaments hold the menace of mass destruction on an unprecedented scale. Hence disarmament today takes on a new importance compared with the past.

In a short review it is impossible to summarise all the telling facts and arguments contained in this Report. It can only be recommended that all interested readers themselves obtain a copy of *The Economic Necessity of Disarmament*, published by the International Institute for Peace. The Report is unpriced. The postal address given is Austria, Vienna IV, Mollwaldplatz 5.

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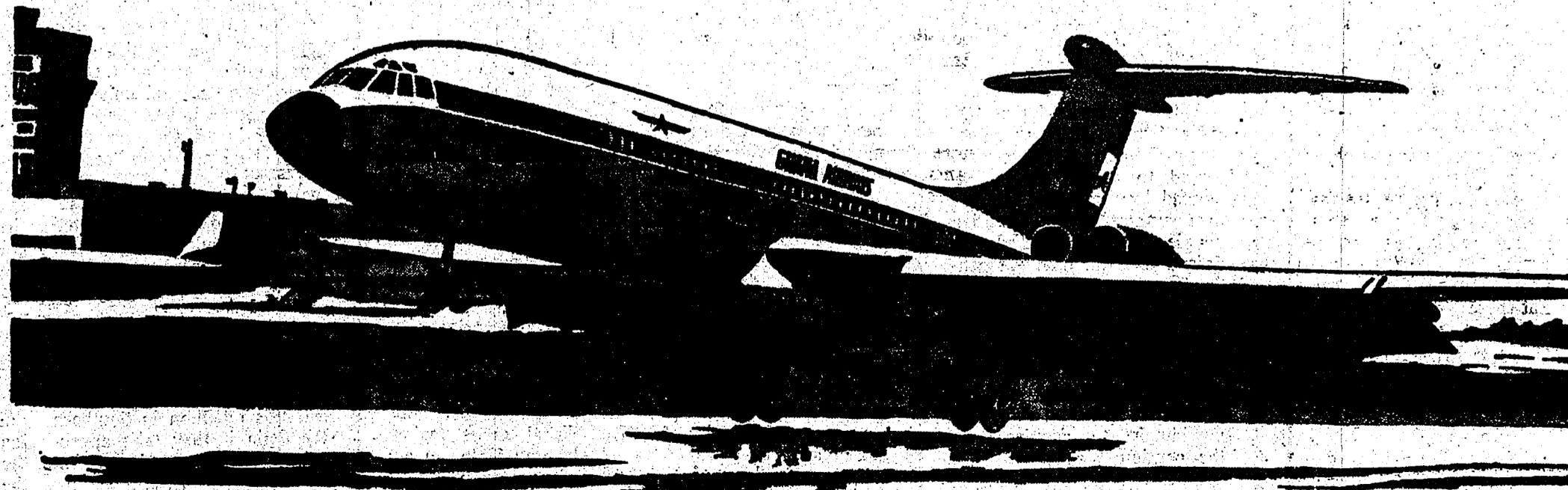
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ZURICH	DEP	1655	1705		0610
AMSTERDAM	ARR	1900			
LONDON	DEP	1950	1820	1625	
	ARR	1945			



SWEET WORDS IN AFRICA— RABID RACISM IN BONN

The reality behind West German Propaganda

by a Spark Correspondent

WEST Germany likes to pose as a "true friend" of the developing countries; having no colonies of its own left (they were taken from it by its imperialist rivals at the end of the First World War), it claims to be an "enemy of colonialism" at least in its propaganda for foreign consumption.

West Germany statesmen, journalists and businessmen (especially businessmen) assiduously court the African countries, trying hard to demonstrate that they have shed all traces of their imperialist past.

But the spirit of imperialism, of colonialism and Nazi-type racism still lives on in West Germany. Take, for example, the August, 1965 issue of *Nation Europa*, an international affairs magazine published in West Germany.

All 64 pages are devoted to Africa. The title is indicative of the contents: "African Chaos".

The editorial expresses the magazine's point of view clearly. Africa is divided into two blocs: the "one-party democracies", noted, according to the magazine, for their "corruption which stinks to high heaven", and the countries "in which order, security and well-being prevail under white rule."

While in Accra West German diplomats mouth sweet words about "friendship" and "understanding" between Ghana and West Germany, back home in West Germany, *Nation Europa* describes Ghana's President, Kwame Nkrumah, as a "black despot."

PROGRESS

While in Nairobi, West Germany businessmen court Kenya officials for new contracts, back home in West Germany *Nation Europa* describes President Kenyatta in true pre-liberation settler style as a "Mau-Mau murderer."

The entire magazine is permeated by a fanatical hatred of everything progressive, of everything that will help the African peoples build a richer, fuller life for themselves, by an ill-concealed nostalgia for the "good old days" of German colonial rule in Africa and by a Nazi-style racism.

For example, a lengthy treatise on "economic assistance" to Africa is accompanied by a table showing the increase in world population by countries which indicates that the African and Asian nations have the highest birth-rates. Comments *Nation Europa*: "assistance granted to the developing countries is the same as helping the underdeveloped countries over-populate the world", which, says the magazine, means "the national death of the countries granting this aid."

In another article entitled "The Big Lie" a Dr. Gustav Schomig declares that "the world is full of big lies. The slogan of 'colonialism' is one of them... He who now speaks of exploitation is lying."

Dr. Schomig goes on to give the classic racist portrayal of African history: "peace and security was lacking until the Europeans came, and the order introduced by the whites is gone as soon as the hated colonialists leave... the negro is incapable of building up and administering a viable state. Not a single nation has come into being in the whole of black Africa worthy of the name."

He retails tales of despotism, torture and violence from early European visitors to Africa, concluding "such was the rule of the black masters until the colonizers taught them to behave."

Surprisingly (or perhaps it is not so surprising, really) he makes no mention of the despotism, torture and cruelty that the Europeans not only practised on their own continent, but also brought to ours.

For the wealth of Western Europe was in large measure accumulated at the price of the blood and suffering of the African peoples. Europe became rich by exploiting the wealth of Africa.

Having thus disposed of African history, Dr. Schomig turns his attention to culture. Here, too, he is full of racist contempt:

"a negro is completely unable to create culture... he has no history, no sense of time and number... Nor have I found anything in the realm of art and music."

Then, following in the footsteps of the notorious Nazi racist pseudo-scientists, Dr. Schomig goes on to note that "the negro has a low, flat skull, lower than that of a European... The result of this is that the negro, unlike a cultured man, does not think rationally."

Finally, the nostalgia for the past—and a threat for the future—emerges in his quotation from a West German newspaper (*Der Tgesspiegel*, May 8, 1960) of a report of the independence celebrations in Togo, which before World War One was a German colony:

"Everywhere where German guests were recognised during those days assurances were given: 'We like the Germans very much... The old ones, who keep the memory of the hard but successful regime of 1914 as the best memory of their lives, say: 'The Germans will come again, everything will be fine.'"

It might be thought that *Nation Europa* published in the Bavarian city of Coburg, is the work of a few cranks.

Even if it were, it would be no excuse. But in fact, the magazine has an extensive circulation, and clearly many of its authors have access to official quarters in Bonn.

This special "African" issue was also prepared with the direct co-operation of the South African authorities, and includes official South African documents—another demonstration of the close ties which exist between Bonn and Pretoria.

What is more, exactly similar views and policies find expression elsewhere—for example, in the English-language bulletin of the West German Foundation for Underdeveloped Countries a body with its headquarters in Bonn and which enjoys official patronage.

HISTORICAL FACTS

Consider, for example, the following passage from an article in a special edition of the bulletin published in July of this year:

"Had there been no discoverers of Africa or pacifiers of Asia what would have come of the efforts of the backward peoples of these two continents to catch up with Europe and the U.S. or, helped by peoples more advanced in culture and civilisation, to overcome their historical heritage of economic backwardness and intellectual inertia?"

Here again we see the arrogant assumption that the history of Africa began with the appearance of the white man—an assumption rejected by most reputable modern historians and refuted by the records left by many ancient travellers and the research of archaeologists.

Here again too we see that arrogant assumption of moral superiority—"peoples more advanced in culture and civilisation"

But those who designed and operated Hitler's gas chambers and concentration camps did not come from Africa.

The article goes on to repeat the old theme of Bonn's disinterestedness:

"The aid she gives is altruistic; she gives willingly to the needy from her abundant Exchequer and ample industrial reserves. She is not motivated by aims of colonialism or power interests. The aid she gives

is just as free of ulterior motives as is her policy."

The reader might almost forget that the "aid" given has to be spent in West Germany, thus providing profits for West Germany industry, that most of it is in the form of loans on which commercial rates of interest have to be paid; and that is withdrawn if the policy of the recipient is not to Bonn's liking, as was the case in Tanzania and the United Arab Republic.

CIVILIZATION

The second article in the bulletin makes extensive reference to Tanzania and to Togo, noting that

"the two independent African countries have some similar features. Long ago German settlers began to spread civilisation in both countries."

"In the museum in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika's capital, only a beer stein, an officer's sword, the name-plate of the Imperial Customs Office, a fragment of a Konigsberg tank and a few yellow photos recall the days when Tanganyika was still German territory."

"The graves in the old German cemetery on Ocean Road hold the remains of the soldiers, officials and settlers who laid down their young lives no for colonial power, but for the natives' welfare."

The articles go on arrogantly to declare that:

"The Germans are a hardy people. They are capable of a better performance than the African natives even under strange climate conditions. Africans could not even dream of becoming as skilled as the German experts sent to Africa. The Germans are giving such aid to all sympathising and developing countries, without strings attached; but, perhaps for sentimental reasons, primarily to countries in the one-time Afro-German territories."

Note the phrase "for sentimental reasons".

In Tanganyika, the bulletin goes on, the West German Government

"aimed at a model state, built with West German money and designed by West Germans, based on their old-time and traditional relations. This was to prove that co-operation between the white man, who brought culture and civilisation to Africa, and the sympathetic natives was not only feasible, but indispensable for development."

All these hopes came to nothing—despite an extra 40 million West German marks in military aid to secure the position of what the bulletin calls "the moderate elements".

CLOSE RELATIONS

Tanzania came into being and began to pursue its own independent policy, which included the maintenance of close relations with the German Democratic Republic, the new Socialist German state of workers and farmers which has renounced the imperialist past.

So Bonn, despite all its protestations about the "altruism" of its "aid, cut it off."

At this point it is worth recalling the real nature of what the bulletin ingenuously terms "the old-time and traditional relations" between imperialist Germany and its Afri-

can colonies.

For it is not only publications like *Nation Europa* and the bulletin of the West German Foundation for Underdeveloped Countries which present a false and distorted picture of these relations.

So, too, do the majority of the text-books used in West German schools, where the white man in general and the German white man in particular is depicted as the bringer of civilisation and peace.

The atrocities of the German colonial troops, the cruel oppression practised by the German colonial authorities, German Big Business—all this is passed over in silence.

PUNITIVE EXPEDITIONS

There is no mention of the 120,000 Africans slaughtered by German troops during "punitive expeditions" in Tanganyika, for example; nor is there any reference to the brutal extermination of the Hereros and Namas of South-West Africa who for the three years from 1904 to 1907 held the German colonial army at bay.

The German colonial troops eventually succeeded in driving the Hereroes-men, women and children—into the Kalahari

desert, where some 80,000 died of thirst and hunger.

According to a contemporary official German military report, "The sealing-off of the sand field, carried out for months with iron severity, completed the work of annihilation... The corpses lay by the hundreds close to each other and on top of one another... The penal expedition had completed its task. The Hereros had ceased to be an independent tribe."

Meanwhile the Namas continued to wage a bitter freedom struggle. Altogether at least 150,000 Africans were killed by the German colonial army.

West Germany continues to this day to give moral and material support to the worst enemies of the African people.

In an article discussing Ian Smith's Rhodesia, *Nation Europa* writes:

"In jobs and administration, Rhodesia knows no racial restrictions, and the black population meets with no obstacles."

It would be difficult to imagine a grosser distortion of Rhodesian reality; not even Ian Smith himself would make such a claim; he is all in favour of racial restrictions on Africans.

Continued on page 6

Glimpses of Neo-Nazi West Germany

In our issue of October 29th, we printed a review article by Professor D. N. Pritt which gave an overall picture of the powerful reactionary state of West Germany, dealing especially with the presence of numbers of gravely implicated Nazis and war-criminals from the Hitler period in its government apparatus, as exposed in the "Brown Book of War and Nazi Criminals in the Federal Republic". In this issue we quote some details referring to some of these people directly from the book.

EXPERTS in barbarous terror in occupied Eastern Europe, like Karl Friedrich Vialon, are now State Secretaries, murder generals like Fretter command the West German army, Nazi hanging-judges who sentenced hundreds to death are administering justice...

"This brown-book contains only names of men heavily implicated by their leading part in the preparation and carrying out of Nazi crimes and aggressions, who either took a direct part in mass-murder, or gave orders for it, or were its intellectual authors and organisers."

"We refrain from dealing with other, by no means guiltless persons, such as the head of the West German government, Ludwig Erhard, or the Christian Democratic Union leader, Franz-Joseph Strauss, although they actively supported the Hitler regime, the one as economic expert and adviser of the Nazi Gauleiter Burckel and the other as a Nazi leading officer."

THE German Democratic Republic has always held it to be its right and duty to keep the public informed of the dangerous developments in West Germany and to do all in its power to overcome the evil heritage of all Germany.

"From 1955 onwards it has given in numerous Press Conferences the names of in all 310 jurists from the Nazi 'extraordinary Courts' who have been appointed to office in West Germany."

"And from 1959 onwards, after showing great reluctance to receive it for some years, the West German judicial authorities finally accepted

the information from the German Democratic Republic of some 1580 death sentences passed in the Nazi period by jurists now in office in West Germany.

"Further, 4,000 documents—personal files etc.—relating to other Nazi—and war-criminals were also supplied."

"The reason why such criminals were not prosecuted but on the contrary were given employment in West Germany is therefore not that the material incriminating them was unknown to the Bonn authorities or was withheld from them; nor was it accidental."

"On the contrary, their employment is an essential part of the Bonn government's policy, which is aimed at revising the results of the Second World War and changing the frontiers of Germany."

"The basic cause of the re-employment of these criminals is that the politics and economy of West Germany are in the hands of the same fatal forces of the armament industry who brought Hitler to power, prepared the Second World War, and are to-day seeking to take revenge for their defeat and to overrun once again the frontiers of their neighbours..."

"It is just because they seek to carry out the same evil policies as they did in the days of Fascism that these forces use the same Fascist criminals, who are rehabilitated just because the social roots of Fascism—the concentration of power in the hands of the armament-monopolists—have not been removed in West Germany."

"That is why the infamous Law 131 laid on West German officials the duty to restore former Nazi civil servants to their offices at all levels."

"That is why as early as May 8, 1960, the great majority of Nazi-and-war-criminals were declared free of prosecution on the ground that charges of manslaughter were by that date statute-barred."

"That is why the Federal Government decided that even the worst Nazi mass-murders should be treated as statute-barred as from May 8, 1965—a decision which was only reversed through the international movement of protest."

"And, finally, that is also why the Bonn Parliament, in the teeth of world protests,

decided on March 25, 1965, to postpone the statutory bar for only four years and to prepare an amnesty provision for those who acted 'on orders'."

"Those responsible for the crimes of Fascism are to-day the leading instigators of Bonn's policy of revanche; are working out and applying the 'Emergency laws' designed to destroy democratic rights within the country in order to prepare for aggression abroad... are demanding the right of consultation and the power of disposal over Atomic weapons in order to involve other powers in their war plans against the German Democratic Republic and the other Socialist countries... and are letting loose in West Germany a wave of nationalism and chauvinism, to induce the population to accept their plans..."

"The Nazi movement received millions of Marks from the lords of the banks and combines to finance their election campaigns and their suppression of the working-class movement with their Fascist bands of thugs. The return expected from Hitler was profitable armament orders..."

"When the Communist Party of Germany won a victory at the General Election of November 6, 1932, with some 6,000,000 votes whilst the Nazi Party lost 2,000,000 votes, Schacht wrote on November 12, 1932, to Hitler:—

"I have no doubt whatever that the present developments can only have one result—that you must become Chancellor. It looks as if our efforts to win support for this in industry have not been in vain."

"In letters to the same effect, written in the same month, a number of big industrialists and bankers called on the President, Hindenburg, to appoint Hitler Chancellor..."

FRIEDRICH FLICK

Friedrich Flick was one of the keenest of those who financed and supported the Nazi Party, making yearly subscriptions of over Mks. 100,000 to the 'Circle of Hitler's Friends' and many other large payments...

"Flick is today one of the most influential monopolists of German Imperialism. Nothing like the power con-

centrated in his hands has been known before. He belongs to the most important financiers of the atomic arm of West Germany, and has secured for himself in good time government concessions for the most important supplies of Uranium in West Germany, the mining of which for atomic armament is being constantly speeded up."

"The Fascist government machinery and the combines worked hand in hand. The Nuremberg racist laws, which Globke—later State Secretary in the Bonn government—helped to draft, and on which he wrote a Commentary, were reinforced on Flick's initiative by a decree of December 3, 1938, which provided for the confiscation of Jewish property."

"This enabled Flick to enrich himself considerably by taking over the lignite mines of the 'arynsed' Ignaz-Petschek combine."

"At the end of the war Flick was prosecuted for war-crimes and crimes against humanity as an exploiter of slave labour, and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment."

"Even whilst in prison he was allowed to hold Board meetings and he was released on February 3, 1951, at the request of the Bonn government..."

ALFRED KRUPP

In January, 1944, Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halback confirmed that directly after the loss of the First World War, the German armament industry began to prepare the economic pre-conditions for new international slaughter. He explained:—

"It is the great merit of the whole German defence industry that it was not inactive in those bad years (the years of the Weimer Republic, 1919 to 1933—Ed.) although the real reasons for its activities could not be exposed to light of day..."

"It was only through this secret activity of German enterprise that we were able from 1933 on to swing over immediately to our new tasks of re-armament and to master our many problems..."

The chief American prosecutor stated to the Nuremberg international tribunal:—

"Krupp von Bohlen—just as Alfred Krupp did—lent his name, his prestige, and his financial support, to bring to power in Germany the Nazi Party, with its plainly seen policy of launching a new war."

"After the outbreak of the war—for which both the Krupps... were directly responsible—they took the leadership of German industry... They employed forced labour, drawn from nearly all the countries occupied by Germany..."

"There is ample proof that these workers, in the Krupps' charge and in their service, were underfed, overworked, misused, and treated with inhumanity."

"The Krupp combine was at once the symbol and the beneficiary of the evil forces which threatened the peace of Europe."

"For his war crimes, Alfred Krupp was sentenced in 1948 to twelve years' imprisonment and the confiscation of all his property. As early as 1951, at the request of the Adenauer government, he was released from prison and the confiscation of his property was annulled."

The Bonn government had already selected the Krupp combine as the cornerstone of its rearmament policy.

"Alfred Krupp stands today in the front rank of the mighty German combines. With over 104 undertakings, with a manufacturing programme too big to grasp, he has a total turnover of nearly Mks. 6,000,000,000 a year. A substantial part of this comes from armament work"

THE I. G. Farben Trust (the great dye and chemical concern—Ed.) established its own Liaison office W ("W" stands for Wehrmacht, armed forces—Ed.) with the task of organising in conjunction with the economic staff of the supreme military command the economic preparations for the war, and the mobilisation plans. All the directors of I. G. Farben were informed in 1935 that this office had the task of

"the central working-out of the plans for mobilisation, questions of switch-

Continued on page 6

Kwame Nkrumah on Neo-colonialism

NO newly coined political term has spread so rapidly or so widely as "neo-colonialism." The first use of the term, so far traced, was nine years ago.

By 1961, the All-African People's Conference in Cairo adopted its main resolution on neo-colonialism.

By last year, Tory Premier Douglas-Home was protesting that "neo-colonialism has no place in Britain's political dictionary; we simply do not know its meaning."

Next day *The Times* was rebuking him and endeavouring to explain its meaning.

Now President Nkrumah, in *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* (Nelson, 42s.), has produced what is likely to prove the classic and most authoritative book on the subject.

It is true that the title might be regarded as controversial, since he treats neo-colonialism not as a strategy of imperialism in face of the advance of national liberation, but as a definite historical stage and even "Last stage" of imperialism.

But by this title he is endeavouring to present his specific theory, seriously worked out within the frame-

work of the general conceptions of Marxism-Leninism.

The value of this book is two-fold. First, it presents the most abundant factual, concrete, exposure of the operations of neo-colonialism in Africa, such as to make it a treasure-house and indispensable source book for all students of this question.

The labyrinth of the great overseas monopoly companies exploiting Africa, the Oppenheimer empire, the Anglo-American Corporation, Union Miniere, Unilever and the rest, is laid bare for all to see.

SECOND FOLD

Second, the theoretical and political treatment shows powerful and realist insight. This is undoubtedly the best he has written.

The exposure of the practical working of imperialist "aid" within the framework of neo-colonialist strategy, and of its inability to solve

The following review reprinted from "The Daily Worker" is by R. PALME DUTT, well-known British Marxist theoretician. He is particularly well-known as the author of many books and pamphlets on imperialism in which he has made a tremendous contribution to the national liberation movement throughout the world. He is the Editor of "The Labour Monthly" and is responsible for its "Notes of the Month" which provide a detailed analysis of current political events in each issue of the journal.

the problem of "the rich and the poor nations," is merciless.

"Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world. 'Aid' to a neo-colonialist State is merely a revolving credit, paid by the neo-colonial master, passing through the neo-colonial State and returning to the neo-colonial master in the form of increased profits."

His theory of neo-colonialism as the "last stage" of imperialism is based on his

picture of the modern situation of world capitalism.

The victory of Socialism over a large part of the world, and the advance of national liberation, has brought within view the end of the old colonialism which was the basis of the Western empires: "existing colonies may linger on; but no new colonies will be created."

Western imperialism, now a minority sector, seeks to meet this situation and escape the dilemma of having to fight simultaneously its own working class and the new powerful National Liberation

movement.

It uses the method of neo-colonialism to maintain colonial profits, and then, by a system of heavy taxation, "to divert colonial earnings from the wealthy class and use them instead generally to finance the 'Welfare State'."

Thereby, the Marxist prediction of the increasing gulf between rich and poor, as the result of the operations of

capitalism within each capitalist State, is transferred to the world scale.

"World capitalism has postponed its crisis, but only at the cost of transforming it into an international crisis."

BREAKDOWN

This system will break down, since "the need both to maintain a Welfare State, i.e. a parasite State at home, and to support a huge and ever-growing burden of armament costs" compels the continuous drive to increase colonial earnings.

On the other hand, "the existence of the Socialist nations makes it impossible to enforce the full rigour of the neo-colonialist system;" and the strength of the Liberation movement against neo-colonialism increases.

But the full force of the class struggle within the Western imperialist countries:

"When Africa becomes economically free and politically united, the monopolists will come face to face with their own working class in their own countries, and a new struggle will arise within which the full force of the class struggle the liquidation and collapse of imperialism will be complete."

Such is the bold vision of the future which President Nkrumah presents in this book.

Certainly there are many questions which will merit further discussion.

But, at a time when such a book as Andrew Shonfield's *Modern Capitalism*, celebrating miracle of Western capitalism since the Second World War, in disproving Marxism and overcoming its own internal contradictions by planning and the welfare State, is being lauded in the current Press, President Nkrumah's analysis is a hundred times more powerful and closer to the realities of the modern world.

His book should be obligatory reading for all admirers of the "new capitalism."

Theory of Neo-colonialism

Continued from page 2.

In a regime that has taken an anti-neo-colonialist stand, the battle against neo-colonialism must be won, and won decisively, is the ruling party. But the struggle must not be confined to a single state. It has to be fought on two other planes—at the continental level and on an international scale.

At the continental level, the African states of radical opposition to imperialism must link up with all forces on the African continent fighting colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The agencies for such a link up are all African trade union, youth and political organisations.

LINK

On a world scale, the socialist forces of the world and the anti-imperialist forces in the imperialist states must be linked up with the global struggle against imperialism in all its forms. Perhaps it is best to state Nkrumah's strategy against neo-colonialism in his own words:

"... neo-colonialism can and will be defeated. How can this be done?"

"Thus far, all the methods of neo-colonialists have pointed in one direction, the ancient, accepted one of all minority ruling classes throughout history—divide and rule."

"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."

"Further, 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."

(Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism p. 253).

A criticism of Nkrumah's thesis as regards an African continental government is that while it is theoretically sound it is in practice unrealistic. The basis of this criticism is the tacit assumption that a union government for Africa can be created only with all independent African states, going into it.

A closer scrutiny of Nkrumah's writings reveals a different approach. He pins his faith on independent African states of radical opposition to imperialism.

After outlying the political strategy contained in the long passage quoted immediately above, Nkrumah goes on: "To carry out such a political programme, we must all back it with national plans designed to strengthen ourselves as independent nations" (p. 253). Clearly such an exercise is beyond a puppet government.

And as soon as the developing nations of the world break out of the neo-colonialist web, the welfare state of the home of finance capital can no longer be sustained. They too must give way to new economies founded on less parasitic categories. In the words of Nkrumah:

"When Africa becomes economically free and politically united, the monopolists will come face to face with their own working class in their own countries, and a new struggle will arise within which the liquidation and collapse of imperialism will be complete" (p. 256).

Nkrumah's theory is a masterly addition to contemporary knowledge. It has uncovered the inner nature and workings of an economic-political-military system which spreads subjugation, disease and poverty among the greater part of the human race. Indeed, Nkrumah's theory can be seen as the theory for building new nations. For just as political independence arises out of the struggle against colonial rule, in like manner will national reconstruction in the new states of the world forge ahead out of the struggle against neo-colonialism.

SCIENTIFIC NATURE

The scientific nature of Nkrumah's theory of neo-colonialism is further brought out by his prediction of the inevitable collapse of the system as a result of the working out of its inner contradictions. To understand these inner contradictions we must never forget that the welfare state in the metropolitan country is the complement of a neo-colonialist regime in the emergent nations. Both constitute the props on which the hegemony of international "finance capital" today is built.

Now "the need both to maintain a welfare state at home, and to support a huge and ever-growing burden of armament costs

makes it absolutely essential for developed capitalist countries to secure maximum return in profits from such parts of the international financial complex as they control" (p. 257). Thus finance capital cannot substantially and quickly raise living standards in the less developed areas of the world. Because there is the "inconsistency between doing this and producing at the same time funds necessary to maintain the sinews of war and the welfare state at home".

Therefore neo-colonialism will always leave the less developed parts of the world poorer in relation to the advanced imperial nations. A fierce struggle against this state of affairs becomes inevitable. Neo-colonialism is caught in its own contradictions.

And as soon as the developing nations of the world break out of the neo-colonialist web, the welfare state of the home of finance capital can no longer be sustained. They too must give way to new economies founded on less parasitic categories. In the words of Nkrumah:

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Glimpses of Neo-Nazi West Germany

Continued from page 5

over and transfer of production, the procuring of raw materials, of storage, of transport, and of recruiting and transfer of labour."

"In the I. G. Farben trial, von Schnitzler (one of the persons concerned, Ed.) had to admit:—

"By these activities the I.G. took a great share of responsibility for Hitler's foreign policy, and gave it important and in the chemical field decisive assistance. This policy led to the war and to the ruin of

Germany. I must conclude that the I.G. was largely responsible for Hitler's policy."

"In the I. G. Farben trial before the American court in Nuremberg, the indictment charged the leading officials of the combine with planning, preparing, launching, and carrying on wars of aggression and invasions of other countries, looting and robbery, enslavement and mass-murder, membership of the S.S. (declared to be an illegal organisation—Ed.), and conspiracy.

"Their crimes are still unpunished and those mainly responsible for the actions of I. G. Farben are to be found

today in the most influential positions in the West German chemical industry.

"In West Germany, the determination of the peoples to destroy the power of the monopolies was ignored. The provisions of the Potsdam agreement were broken under the protection, above all, of the American occupying power. The monopolies—combine, cartels, and trusts—remained untouched.

"I. G. Farben was able to take the full benefit of its war profits. The Badische Anilin—and Sodafabrik, one of the three successor companies of I. G. Farben, paid a dividend of 18 per cent in 1963,

and made a profit of Mks. 144,000,000. The Hoechst Dyeworks (the second of the three successors—Ed.) paid out to their shareholders Mks. 139,000,000 and the Bayer Dye Factory (the third, Ed.) paid out Mks. 150,000,000; the real net profits of the three companies in 1963, according to the German Economic Institute, were at least Mks. 1,782,000,000.

* * *

"THE power and influence of these combine lords has reached such a height that the West German bourgeois weekly, 'Christ und Welt', a supporter of the government,

"Altogether, 94 men, as directors or supervisory directors, control the heart of West Germany's economy. They form a group responsible to themselves alone."

"If one asks who these men are, and what are their names, the frightening answer is that they are in the great majority the same people as before 1945, the same warcriminals who the people decided ought to be deprived of all power and punished.

"Only a few of the armament industrialists were sentenced by the American military court, and then only to very short sentences; and at the request of the Bonn government they were excused from even having to serve them."

"Today the men mainly responsible for war-crimes and Nazi crimes, the I. G. Farben director Flick Krupp, and other armament manufacturers are among the most powerful men in West Germany, decisively determining the revanchist and aggressive home and foreign policy of the Bonn government."

"The Federal Union of (West) German employers' association embraces 850 such associations in industry, commerce, banking, insurance, transport, and other lines of business. From 1953 to 1964 the President of this Union was H. C. Paulsen, Hitler's "chief of defence economy"; he was formerly prominent in the armament industry, a representative of the Deutsche Bank and general director of the Singen Aluminium Industry."

"He was followed in the Presidency by the delegates of I. G. Farben, the former Atomic Minister, Siegfried Balke. Of the 22 members of the Presidium of this Union, 14 represent armament monopoly concerns branded after the Second World War as war criminal combines.

Sweet Words in Africa

Continued from page 5

Both directly and indirectly through its membership of N.A.T.O., West Germany is giving military and other assistance to the Portuguese dictator Salazar in his far of extermination in Angola, Mozambique, and so-called "Portuguese" Guinea.

The report of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee to the recent Accra Summit made it clear that without the backing of its N.A.T.O. allies, West Germany among them, Portugal would be unable to continue its war.

The same report also spotlighted the great increase in West German trade with and investment in Verwoerd's apartheid republic.

This trade and investment, the Liberation Committee noted, is helping to build up South Africa's arms industry and also helping to build up other industries which will enable Verwoerd to defy any economic sanctions.

The *Bridge*, the bulletin published by the West German Embassy in Accra, has attempted to play down the significance of West German trade with South Africa, excluding it on the grounds that it is allegedly small in amount.

Clearly the West German Embassy in Accra realises that it is difficult to talk plausibly about increasing friendship and understanding with the African peoples while at the same time giving aid to their worst enemies.

In Bonn, however, they are less apologetic. In the words of the bulletin of the Foundation for Underdeveloped Countries:

"The Federal Republic of Germany trades with the Union of South Africa. That is nothing to be ashamed of... there is no reason why

we should not maintain and expand our relations with that great and important African country, with whom we have so much in common."

It then goes on to describe how

"German-South African co-operation has built factories in major industrial branches manufacturing telecommunications and electro-technical equipment, machine parts, construction and agricultural machinery, heavy industry equipment, cranes, automobiles and trucks."

Although the bulletin goes out of its way to stress the historic links between South Africa and German imperialism, it passes over in silence one very important link: that between the Nazi racist theories and those of Dr. Verwoerd—who, together with many of his associates, was jailed as a Nazi sympathiser during World War Two.

West German support for Verwoerd's racist regime has in fact been voiced at the very highest levels.

DECLARATION

At a press conference in South Africa in March, 1959, Dr. Heinrich Lübke, now the West German President, declared that "the problems of the Africans were 'in good hands' in South Africa, and that 'his experience could be made use of advantageously throughout the continent."

In the light of all this, West German protestations of sympathy for the aspirations of the African people have a hollow ring.

The bulletin of the West German Embassy in Accra is, as we have noted, called *The Bridge* and includes among its declared aims the building of a bridge of understanding bet-

ween the people of Ghana and West Germany.

But its efforts would seem to be misdirected; it would be better employed countering the vicious racist propaganda being circulated in West Germany. Charity, after all, begins at home.

And there can be no "bridge of understanding" built while the West German Government continues its support of the worst enemies of the African peoples—the Smiths, the Verwoerds and the Salazars.

G.D.R.

Furthermore, Bonn must remember that there is now another Germany—the German Democratic Republic—which has completely renounced the imperialist past and where the publication of racist propaganda of the type peddled by such periodicals as *Nation Europa* is unthinkable.

The G.D.R. has demonstrated by deeds its sympathy and solidarity with the African peoples. Unlike West Germany, it gives no aid to the Smiths, Verwoerds or Salazars. Nor are there in the Socialist G.D.R. any giant monopolies getting rich through the exploitation of the cheap labour and raw materials of our continent. The G.D.R.'s trade and economic co-operation with African countries is based on the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

The African people are now able to see with their own eyes the contrast between West Germany—a typical neo-colonialist state, looking back with nostalgia to the days of German colonial rule in Africa, peddling Nazi-style racist theories—and the G.D.R., the first German state of workers and farmers, genuinely sharing their own hopes and aspirations.