To the PNC, independence has certain clearcut objectives. This was very properly set out in its election manifesto, NEW ROAD. It said: "Independence though emotionally satisfying, is not an end in itself. To be worthwhile, it must be an instrument for building a cohesive nation, blessing the people from the economic yoke imposed by the foreigner and establishing a prosperous, self-reliant and free society..."

Some other Guyanese are militant and noisy in their demand for independence from Britain, but consciously would immediately pounce Guiana, the moment after independence, to some other foreign power. Such persons are colonial true Christians or at best infantes, the writing or unwitting tools and agents of new masters. Theirs is the concept of new servitude: independence."

Has foreign aid helped or hindered the achievement of those objectives? Has it helped to build a Guiana free from foreign political and economic yoke or a cohesive nation? The answer is definitely no. After one year of independence, Guyana is even more tightly bound to imperialism. And foreign aid is one of the means.

Aid has come principally from the United Nations and Western countries — Canada, Britain, United States of America and Germany. UN aid continues in the pattern set by the PPP government. Aid from Canada and Britain is a carryover of pre-independence commitments with some slight increases during the last two years. West German aid, mainly in the form of technical assistance, has increased substantially. But the major increase is U.S. aid.

External grants from all sources increased from $3,836,110 in 1964 to $4,838,777 in 1965 to $3,910,000, and to $4,045,000 in 1967. External loans increased from $4,083,000 in 1964 to $4,857,001 in 1965, to $3,710,000 in 1966 and to $17,030,000 in 1967.

The quantum of aid has thus considerably increased. But it's all directed to perpetuate a neo-colonialist economy. Nearly three-quarters of the seven-year $90 million economic-plan is devoted to the development of infra-structure — roads, airports, sea defenses, public buildings, drainage of rivers, schools, etc. This is in keeping with the overall feature of Western aid. Public funds are to be used by the State for infra-structure development, which becomes an indirect subsidy to foreign and local capitalists.

This kind of development means a crushing debt burden, which will soon smother Guyana.

Another aspect of Western aid is that the recipient country must make provision for the development of industry chiefly in the private sector. This explains why concessions have been granted to foreign companies — bauxite to Reynolds Metal Company, oil to three foreign oil companies and timber in the whole of the Pomeroon and North West districts to the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC). This was also why the coalition government has changed the Industrial Development Corporation Act to prevent it from "undertaking the establishment of government-owned industries."

Meanwhile, the bulk of foreign investments has been directed to the extraction of bauxite. This is also a feature of US aid — foreign investors must be encouraged and given incentives, mainly for extraction of minerals.

In 1964, 69 percent of US investments went into extractive industries in the poor underdeveloped countries, and only 23 percent into manufacturing and distribution. To the developed countries on the other hand, 21 percent went into extractive industries and 33 percent into manufacturing and distribution.

An examination of US investments ($1,829 million) in 1964 in Africa shows that such investments are directed not to the manufacturing industries. Of this sum, $230 million was...
AID AND TRADE

Apart from dictating to the underdeveloped countries with whom they must trade and in what sectors aid must be put, Western countries try to tell these countries how to use their aid so as to benefit themselves.

A former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Reginald Maudling, advocated the channeling of British aid in such a way as to cut back unemployment at home, "I spoke," he said: "about giving Overseas aid from the products of our industries going through a period of recession." ... It seems sensible that we should try to link the needs of the underdeveloped countries with our productive resources in this country."

This simply means sending more consumer goods to the poor countries, which they would be producing themselves. This is why aid from the Western countries can be regarded as packaged unemployment. In the case of Britain, about 19 percent of the aid given has to be purchased from the United Kingdom. For the United States, the figure is higher—60 percent. This is the condition attached to the US loan for the Atkinson Field-Mackenzie highway. Four out of every five dollars will have to be spent in the USA for more expensive equipment, supplies and personnel.

Some countries like India, Pakistan and Egypt are even forced to take surplus US food under Public Law (PL) 480. From 1965 to 1968, various agricultural, raw materials and foodstuffs costing $5,500 million were disposed of in this way. In recent years, the figure was about $1,700 million annually. That aid is tied with trade accounts for the fact that the Guyana puppet government has abandoned trade with Cuba, and placed restrictions on trade with socialist countries. This has helped to increase the cost of living.

It has been announced that the International Monetary Fund would be prepared to back us with "stabilization loans" to cushion the loss of our foreign reserves amounting to $12 million because of our balance-of-payments deficits in 1968.

Aid in the form of support of the monetary system is of temporary help to the poor, underdeveloped countries. It acts as a palliative for an emergency situation. But this kind of aid in no way increases the production potential of the recipient country. That is why in the long-run, it can lead to grave consequences for a poor country's economy.

Guyana should learn from countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia and a number of other Latin American countries, which received funds from the International Monetary Fund for currency stabilization. The end result was still further deterioration of their currencies and a higher foreign debt burden, which further undermined their unstable balance of payments.

TECHNICAL AID

Another field of Western aid is technical assistance. This comes in various forms—economic planning and technical experts, University professors, Peace Corps personnel, etc. The main objective is to channel the economy in a certain direction and to mould the minds of civil servants, intellectuals, students and workers.

Mr. R. Carr, former British Secretary of State for Technical Cooperation, showed how it was important for the imperialists to win the minds of the people in the third world he said in November 1965: "It has long been a tradition in Britain, stealing from our imperial history, to have large numbers of people overseas. The interesting thing is that since 1945 almost the whole of the British empire has become independent, but the number of people serving overseas has increased."

Mr. A. Maddison, former head of the technical co-operation service of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, says that the efforts of the donor countries in technical assistance "will not be fully fruitful only if the re-

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US adviser to the Prime Minister on matters relating to the planning of economic development, why Peace Corps personnel have been placed strategically in schools and other institutions in different parts of the country, why books are being supplied to libraries and schools; why increasing numbers of Guyanese are going to the USA to be trained; why the CIA-backed AIFLD gives $80,000 (US) per year to the Colegchow Institute for trade union education.

Naturally, such experts "sell up" a great deal of the foreign aid. According to Mualum Yildiz, a Turkish engineer, "the Americans have made this an indispensable condition. From 10 to 15 per cent of the credits is spent on these advisers. But the work they perform boils down to determining, on the basis of data prepared by our specialists, the profitability of one or another enterprise and to putting all this in a pretty cover." The same can be said of Guyana.

One observer has rightly pointed out that of every three dollars originally allotted for economic development of the newly free countries, only two got to the young Asian, African and Latin American states. One dollar is lost on the way: one dollar goes for development and the thing don't go for corruption and graft.

Guyana also received $80,000 in the form of US vehicles and supplies as aid to the police. Besides, police officers are being trained in the USA. This is also in keeping with imperialist objectives.

Those who are prepared to form military alliances with the US, or to tailor their foreign policies according to US wishes (we are non-aligned in name only), are given military and economic aid. The total of US economic aid, for instance, to Asian countries in the five-year period 1954 to 1959 increased by 62 per cent as compared with the period 1949 to 1954, while economic aid to states which removed SEATO and Baghdad Pact rose by 78.3 per cent.