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EDITORIAL

MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

NEWS coming out of the Middle East makes sad reading.

Oil which can set motor cars, trains and aeroplanes in motion, be converted into electrical energy and serve as a raw material in the chemical industry, has been transformed into gold in the Middle East. Western oil monopolists, hiding behind the sand curtain of the Arabian desert, are using medieval shahs, sheiks, and emirs to grab every little bit of oil in the area.

Even in the obscure sheikhdom of Abu Dhabi, lost in the sands of Southern Arabia, oil giants of Britain and France have discovered a bonanza. Slightly north of Abu Dhabi lies another British protectorate, Sharjah, where American oil interests are robbing oil with impunity. The whole Middle East is infested with big oil monopoly sharks.

Behind these oil robberies, one sees the whole area boiling in oil politics. The scent emitting is not pleasant. There is absolute political instability. The economic backwardness of the people is phenomenal. More than eighty per cent of the people of the Middle East are under-nourished and illiterate, owning nothing but simple clothing and rickety household possessions. Every sixth person has goitre; one in three has intestinal hookworms.

The fear that the struggle of the peoples in the Middle East countries for economic independence may lead to a revision of the oil concession agreements has led to many awful incidents in the area.

Early this year, the C.I.A. toppled the 1958 Iraqi revolution just when the Iraqi government planned to put into effect a law establishing an Iraqi National Oil Company which was to

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AFRICA LOOKS AT

WORLD SOCIALIST UNITY

FOR nearly two years now the world socialist movement has been plagued by a serious controversy involving principally the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples Republic. Since last month, this controversy has reached an unprecedented crescendo of allegations, recriminations and bad temper.

With a few exemptions, the communist and workers parties of Europe have tended to take the side of Russia while China is generally backed by the Asian parties.

Beneath the acrimony and propagandising, the controversy has revealed the strength and ideological unity of the international socialist movement.

Rooted neither in ideology nor in the general programme of the international socialist movement, the controversy has arisen from differences in the evaluation of and approach to some problems in the field of international relations and as regards socialist construction at home.

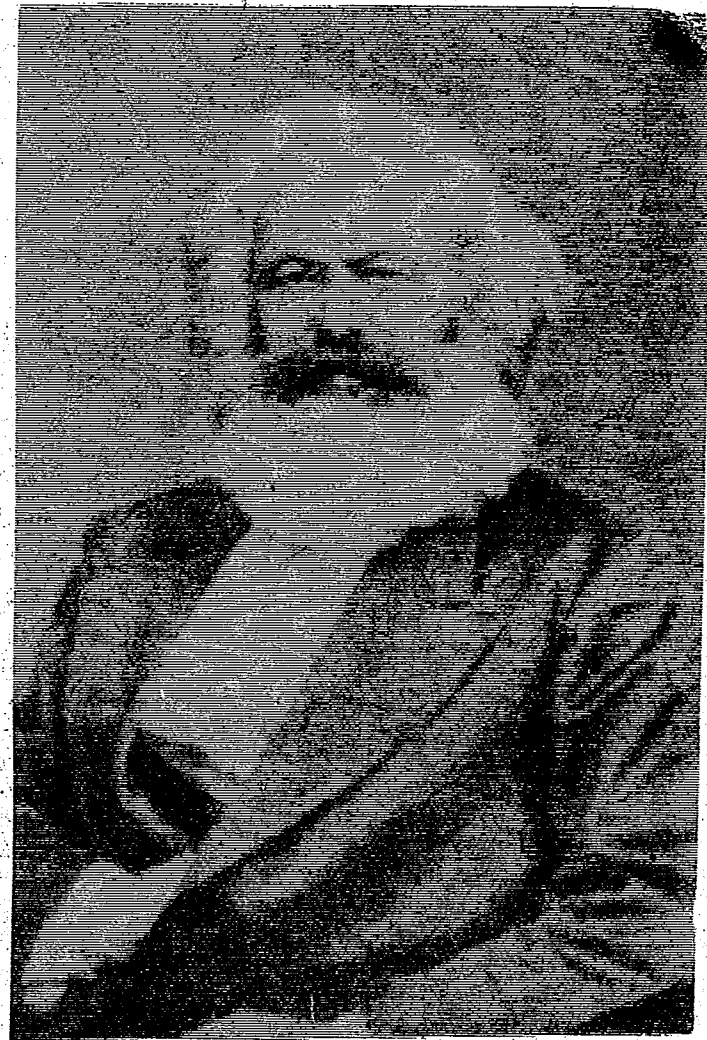
These differences have been unduly magnified by the malfunctioning of the machinery of consultation between fraternal parties.

Africa's best interests demand an immediate return to complete unity of purpose and action within the international socialist movement. For this is a necessary international condition for victory in our struggle for national liberation, for complete independence, and for a new and just social order for our oppressed and exploited millions.

We have to admit outright that the cleavage in the international socialist movement is affecting Africa adversely. Much as it has proved our general agreement on the ideology and general programme of the international socialist movement, much as it has demonstrated the fact that socialist parties are not mere marionettes tugged about from a single centre as imperialist propaganda would like us to believe, the current controversy has done harm to the young socialist movements in Africa.

It has confused the unseasoned leadership of some of these young movements by supplying fuel for the imperialist propaganda of a so-called "Soviet socialism" distinct and oppos-

ed to a supposed "Chinese socialism". It has created a psychological atmosphere which has tended to undermine socialist influence in the movements for national liberation and complete



Karl Marx... "In the national struggles of the different countries, we bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality"

LETTERS

The approach of socialists in Africa to the Sino-Soviet controversy should be based not on the tendentious propaganda of the avowed enemies of socialism but on the facts of the case as stated by both sides to the dispute. The best sources therefore are the letters exchanged between the Central Committees of the Soviet and Chinese parties.

The key to a correct assessment of the situation is to grasp the fact that the dispute is neither ideological nor programmatic. There is no dispute over what socialist ideology is. Both sides strongly proclaim their acceptance and adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Nor is there any dispute over the socialist view of the contemporary world. Both sides assiduously support the Moscow Declaration (1957) and the Moscow Statement (1960). And these two documents, unanimously adopted by 81 Communist workers and parties in joint conference in Moscow, embody the general programme of the world socialist movement in our era.

Some illustration of this vital point is necessary.

The Soviets, in their letter of February 21, 1963, to the Chinese, spoke of "the need to make a common effort to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings."

The Chinese in their reply of March 9, 1963 state:

"The Moscow Declaration and Statement set forth the common line, course and policies for our common struggle. These two documents present clear-cut conclusions on the nature of the present epoch; on the socialist camp; on the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction; on the struggle against imperialism; on war and peace; on peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; on the national-liberation movement; on the tasks and tactics of the working class movement in the capitalist countries; on the struggle against revisionism as the main danger at present and the struggle against dogmatism; on continuing the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, which has betrayed Marxism-Leninism; on the guiding principles for relations among fraternal parties and fraternal countries—independence, equality and attainment of unanimity through consultation; etc. In our words and deeds, we Chinese Communists have unswervingly followed and maintained this correct line, this correct course and these correct policies. We are very glad that the comrades of the CPSU too have in their letter expressed their loyalty to these two programmatic documents."

EVALUATIONS

Having seen that there is no cleavage over ideology or the general programme of the world socialist movement, what then, one may ask, is responsible for the controversy? Differences have arisen from differing evaluations of the various elements that make up the contemporary international situation. Though there is agreement on the elements that make up the

contemporary situation, disagreement has arisen over the evaluation of some of these elements. For example, take the question of peace. A key question poses itself: which is more important towards securing world peace—negotiations with the West or strengthening the socialist camp or pushing the national liberation movements to speedy and complete victory? There may be disagreement as to which element is the more important, but the disputants agree that all these elements are relevant and vital to a lasting solution of the problem of world peace.

Such differences in evaluation and emphasis are bound to occur among any group of men, more so within a movement the membership of which is drawn from all over the

world.

The Soviet letter of March 30, 1963 states: "different interpretations of certain questions of internal construction and the international communist movement, different interpretations of the forms and methods of our co-operation may occur in the relations between socialist countries. This is possible for the countries making up the world socialist system are at different stages in the construction of a new society; and their experience in developing relations with the outside world is not the same in all respects" Admitting that such differences do arise the Chinese in their letter of March 9, 1963 say: "differences between fraternal parties should be settled inside the interna-

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V. I. Lenin—Founder of the world's first socialist state

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Economic Co-operation, Yes; Regional Grouping, No!

by
H. M. Basner

MR. Mongi Slim, the Tunisian Foreign Minister, put the position succinctly and well, when questioned in Lagos recently about his personal views on African regional groupings. "I am not opposed to regional groupings on economic principles", said Mr. Slim, "but any political grouping is an affront to the spirit of Addis Ababa."

It would be doctrinaire and unreasonable to expect African states to delay their programmes for economic development until the process of unification commenced at Addis Ababa comes to fruition as a complete political union of the continent. Whilst it is necessary to insist that real and substantial development can only be planned within the framework of a united Africa, it would be foolish to deny that certain measures of co-operation between African states must be undertaken at once, not only to bring instant amelioration, but indeed to speed up the objectives of the Addis Ababa Charter.

Road, rail, air and telecommunications are the first cases in point. *Independent Africa can never find the internal or external means required to link up the continent as Europe or North America are linked up, until all her resources are marshalled by a continental Government, and also until foreign investments are directed to African priorities.* But every small or partial link will act as a spur to greater projects, and will increase the dilemma of neo-colonialist investors: Should they choke with their surplus capital demanding immediate investment, or should they participate in the development of Africa on terms acceptable to the African states?

FOREIGN AID

The supreme sin for Capitalism is for capital to lie idle, and as Africa learns to reject loans and aid except on its own terms, the leaders will become more accommodating and pliable. The supreme peril for Capitalism is mass unemployment. How can they keep their factories going, except through the markets of the developing world?

At this stage regional co-operation must depend mainly on foreign aid. Where else will the capital come from, until Africa takes hold of her own assets by the might of a continental Union? Foreign aid carries the danger of neo-colonialist control, but even states limiting themselves to economic co-operation can begin setting conditions in the spirit of Addis Ababa. The neo-colonialists will put up a struggle, but in the matter of foreign investment and aid, they are literally "paper" tigers.

What are the banks, insurance companies, building societies, finance corporations and trade unions of the West going to do with their funds, unless they can lend them to their Governments to use as loans or aid for undeveloped countries?

Under modern conditions, they must deposit a considerable portion of their funds in Governments' institutions in order to safeguard the public against reckless re-investment or embezzlement. Their Governments have become the only foreign investors.

The days of massive private loans to foreign countries are also over, because they are prohibited or discouraged by Western Governments for political reasons.

The amount which is required for internal investment never leaves the boundaries of an industrialised

country, anyway. It is the surplus which is lent or given away as foreign aid, and if this surplus remained in the national treasuries, the capitalist system would be in serious trouble.

LENDERS AND BORROWERS

When Shakespeare warned, "neither a lender nor a borrower be" he was dealing with individuals in an age of scarcity. He was not referring to Queen Bess, who borrowed money from all and sundry to lend to adventurers like Sir Walter Raleigh for founding private colonies in the New World. Nations are lenders and borrowers not by choice, but in the daily routine of their national affairs.

It wouldn't take Africa long to learn under conditions of political unity that it is more important for the West to lend, than for Africa to borrow. By not borrowing, Africa would suffer inconvenience and delay her development; but by not lending, the capitalist countries with surplus funds like Britain, France, West Germany and the USA, would face the collapse of their economic systems.

The time will yet come for a test of nerves between the industrialised and developing countries, but that cannot be until the developing countries have reached the political stage of bargaining in concert.

Loans or aid from socialist countries do not fall into the same category. Even the richest socialist country, the Soviet Union, has no surplus funds which she couldn't use in her own development. That's why all her loans and aid must be regarded as being purely political.

But the politics of the socialist countries require allies in the Cold War and the rapid development of backward countries to hasten the exchange of commodities throughout the non-capitalist world.

They do not require an outlet for money bearing interest, or for the sale of consumer goods to keep full employment at home, or for the acquisition of cheap raw materials to garner a profit for private interests. It is not necessarily the ideology, but the economic structure of a socialist country which we can trust not to make loans or aid the basis for neo-colonialist practices.

COMMUNICATIONS

This long digression on foreign aid is meant to prove that even today it is possible for African states to bend foreign aid to the task of linking up Africa.

Every inch of road and railway in Africa will bring us nearer to the liberation of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. Every telephone wire will string together the unity of a far-flung continent. Every airfield will ease the task of defending the independence of Africa.

But a correct estimation of foreign aid does more than open up the possibility of immediate co-operation between neighbouring states to link up Africa. It holds out hope to the regional groups which exist, or wish to come into being, that

they can free themselves from the bonds which make them bastions of neo-colonialism and breaches in the structure planned at Addis Ababa.

REGIONAL GROUPS

We might not have the right to urge the states of the French Community in Africa to break with France, if that would really mean economic ruin and increased hardships for their peoples. But we know the very opposite is true. Not only would a break with France for the sake of the principles of Addis Ababa bring better terms from the French Government, but it would bring opportunities of development by investments from sources other than France. Guinea could be disciplined and forced back into the French Community not because she was a weak

African state, but because in her weakness she was standing alone.

The other regional group which threatens the principles of Addis Ababa is the proposed East African Federation. No one can deny that the economic and administrative co-operation which existed between Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya and Zanzibar in colonial days brought certain advantages in common services which should not be lost now. But there is no need for them to be lost, nor is there any need to affront the principles of Addis Ababa, if the advice of Mr. Mongi Slim is followed.

Economic co-operation between the four former British colonies and the strengthening of the East African Common Services, by all means: A political federation which will even-

tually cause conflicts in loyalty to Addis Ababa in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and eventually the whole of Southern Africa, never!

IMPLEMENTATION

We suspect that Britain and the European Common Market are not disinterested in the formation of an East African Federation, foreseeing another structure like the French Community. But any aid which is promised on that score will be increased manifold, if the East African countries present a united front on the basis of the principles of African Unity.

A rich, emergent and developing continent like Africa cannot depend primarily for its development on foreign aid or investments. The wealth of Africa is waiting to be mobilised for the develop-

ment of the continent, and the mobilisation can only start when the whole of Africa is free and united.

That can only come about when the Addis Ababa Charter is fully implemented. The implementation will be advanced by economic co-operation between African states. It will be retarded by political groupings outside the framework of Addis Ababa.

For instance, a railway line linking Accra and Lagos would be a boon to West Africa and an additional nail in the coffin of apartheid: A political union between Nigeria and Ghana would set up a disturbing power complex, unless it were part of the union of all the independent states of Africa. That is what Mr. Mongi Slim meant, and he is a thousand times right.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AFRICAN UNITY (1)

by N. A. Cox-George

The views expressed in this article are not necessarily shared by THE SPARK. There are however, some pertinent portions worthy of discussion.

THIS essay is predicated upon the assumption that current discussions of African Unity reflect a genuine desire on the part of the Africans of the continent for such a union. At the same time, it essays to set out the rational basis for unification. That there is a general desire for African Unity is at the moment only a presumption. But the bases of the presumption are strong. The most up-to-the-moment expression of that idea is probably to be found among the pronouncements of the Conference of Independent African States held in Ghana in April 1958. There, language or sentiments such as these were made use of:

"Although this was the first time that most of the representatives of Independent African States had met each other, we soon discovered that on all matters of vital importance to our respective countries, we all had a common community of interest... strikingly reflected in our resolutions and decisions."

Or "The community of aim and of purpose expressed by our African Personality will allow us in future to play a positive role and speak with a concentrated voice."

"Of course, we have differences of language, differences of culture and religion, but our Africanism binds us together, and it is in this spirit that we shall meet and overcome all those problems which we have to face singly and collectively."

Finally "The Conference must not only testify to, but must also consolidate that vital oneness which has resulted from common sacrifices and which, even more important, finds its essence in our Africanity of today. The interests of the African Continent must always stand paramount in our minds together with the individual interests of our brothers and neighbours."

TENDENCY

Making allowances for the exuberance, high spirits and conviviality characteristic of such international occasions these quotations give clear proof of a tendency towards unity active among the Independent African States. But these states constitute a small fraction of Africa. Their territory covers 3.8 million square miles out of a total of 11.6 million square miles for the whole continent; and their population in 1957 was estimated to be approximately 64 million souls, compared with a total continental

population of 211.4 millions. Outside the Union of South Africa the rest of Africa is politically dependent. This covers an area approximately 6.8 million square miles and a total population estimated to be about 114.6 millions in 1957.

It is as yet difficult to find similar spontaneous expressions of a desire for African unity from those territories. Since, however, the present attitudes in the Independent States were induced by the memory of colonial experiences which are fundamentally similar, it may be presumed also that when freedom comes—provided it comes with enlightenment—such a desire would make itself manifest in the territories which are now dependent as it has appeared in the New State of Guinea which was not represented at the Conference of Independent African States. Indeed, the Bamako Conference of the French Colonial territories held in 1957 expresses similar sentiments if a little more liberal in principle.

ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

Much of this expression, however, indicates that the basis of this desire for African unity is sentimental or, where rational, it tends to be based on political considerations. Some thought appears to have been given to the economic implications in the deliberations of the Conference of Independent African States but that is only done as incidental to the political problems. Yet it is the economic consideration which constitutes the strongest basis for a rational desire for African Unity and in which, indeed, lurks possible failure.

Marx and his votaries are right in stressing the paramount importance of the economic factor and

the economic structure in the general social and historical process. He is probably wrong in his *determinism*, but it is almost axiomatic that "the economic factor, is the bedrock upon which the social superstructure is built." Such a statement is in no sense intended to be interpreted as subscription to a one-sided mechanical principle of social causation. Indeed, there are always a multiplicity of factors or forces involved in the process of social causation prominent among which are the factors of law, tradition, custom and religion, the influence of the contingent personality, culture, art and all that. "But the admission of pluralism in historical causation is not the same thing as a denial of the primacy of the economic factor. The part that any other factor will play depends upon an environment, the nature of which is determined by its system of economic relationships."

It is the purpose of this essay firstly, to outline the economic basis for African unity and, secondly, to emphasise the system of economic relationships which constitute the texture of the fabric of the Africa that seeks to be united and which that united Africa (if and when it comes into being) will have to work upon. Next to Asia, Africa constitutes the largest land-mass in the world. With an area approximately 12 million square miles, it is the largest of the distinctly separate continents having some 23% of the land area of the earth. This area carries about 8% of the earth's human inhabitants. Outside Europe, Asia and the Americas it is the most populous continent. Yet it is, in a sense, relatively underpopulated. That is, in the sense, not of the ratio of its population to its resources but of the ratio of the latter to area. Except for Oceania, its population density is the lowest—16.3 persons per square mile in 1952 as compared with a global density

of 47.3, a European density of 206.7 and an Asiatic density of 134.8 at the same time. Even when allowance is made for the 3.6 million square miles of uninhabitable desert lands, the density is still low. As the experience of the USSR (with a similarly low density) well illustrates, this can be an immense advantage since it gives unbounded opportunities for the employment of the most advanced techniques, industrial and otherwise.

RESOURCES

Equally so, the African Continent is replete with non-human resources. Over 60% of the gold entering the world's gold market originates from Africa. More than 60% of the uranium, 98% of the diamonds and more than 90% of the radium entering into world trade come from Africa. The bulk of the world's copper and a vast amount of other minerals such as iron ore, manganese, tin, cobalt and (to an increasing extent) bauxite flow out of Africa. The whole continent is rich in natural resources, actual and potential. Even the waste Sahara lands which were once thought to be mere sandy wastes are now known to be richly endowed with deposits of mineral oil. Outside mineral wealth, Africa is also the source of a good many more sylvan and agricultural products entering into international commerce. These include a number of timber hardwoods, oilseeds (cacao, palm kernels, groundnuts, copra, soya), tobacco, cotton, coffee, sisal, tea, etc.

Although the coal output of the whole continent is probably no more than four million tons per annum, Africa has immense power potentialities which could be harnessed for its future economic revolution—industrial as well as agricultural. There are unbounding possibilities for the use of solar energy when the techniques are well advanced for converting this cheaply to large scale industrial use. Its

planetary location is most advantageous for this.

There are at the same time immense water-power resources in this continent. Drained by a number of large, almost trans-continental rivers—the Nile, the Congo, the Niger, the Limpopo, the Zambezi, the Volta, etc.—flowing down the great escarpment into the Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian Oceans. These rivers hold in reserve tremendous hydro-electric potential. It is only in recent years that the immensity of this potential has dawned upon the continent and upon its economic and industrial planners. The hydro-electric potential of the continent is so immense that it requires considerable further resources for its utilization. Since the potentialities of the Volta river in this respect were first hinted at in 1924, Colonial governments appear to have been staggered by the vastness of the other resources needed for its complete exploitation. Similarly the Kariba Dam Project on the Zambezi has been made possible only by vast loans from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. *That simply demonstrates that such full exploitation is normally beyond the means of the small governments in political control of the area through which the river flows and many require international or inter-territorial co-operation of some sort. The problem of power generation in Africa thus amply demonstrates the need for African unity itself.* Just as no power except that of the U.S.A. could have undertaken the T.V.A. in the depths of the depression in the 1930s and as, similarly, no power short of the Soviet Union could have undertaken such gigantic projects as the Dnieper Dam, so the fuller exploitation of all the waterpower resources of the African continent may require no less than the united efforts of a united African government.

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FOREIGN INVESTMENTS AND AFRICA'S ECONOMIC FREEDOM

I AM pleased to open this factory because I believe that the very fact that it has been built in an independent African State is proof of a new relationship with foreign investors which has been established through the liberation of a great part of our continent.

The Unilever Group have a long history of association with Africa

They began their operations in our part of the world—and again let me be frank—because they wished for a cheap source of raw material for soap, which they manufactured in Europe and sold back to, among others, those very countries from which they had so cheaply exported the raw material, at a price which showed a handsome margin of profit.

Starting from this comparatively modest beginning with soap, Lever Brothers have gradually accumulated the capital which has, in our own day, produced a financial giant.

The first Lord Leverhulme's endeavours to establish African plantations to provide raw materials for the European industrial enterprises of Lever Brothers led them to acquire the Niger Company.

CHARTER

In the first period of colonial exploitation this Niger Company had been granted a charter by Britain entitling it to have dominion over the then British West African territories.

Therefore, when Lever Brothers bought the Niger Company they inherited a commercial organisation which had established a predominant economic position and acquired a certain political attitude of mind because it had been, during the first fourteen years of its existence, the actual ruler of a large part of West Africa.

Such was our first experience of what developments are possible from a well run soap industry.

Subsequent amalgamations with other trading concerns in the end resulted in the creation of one of Lever Brothers' most important subsidiaries, the United Africa Company.

The activities of this company had an important influence both on the economic and the political conditions in Ghana under colonial rule.

Like all European trading companies, the United Africa Company began with the belief that profit could only be made from a colony by exporting raw material from the territory and importing manufactured goods into it.

Their investments were therefore used to create an efficient commercial machine devoted to wholesale and retail trading, and to the purchase of cocoa, which had taken the place of the palm oil, which had originally attracted Lever Brothers to Ghana.

Their growing capital of the company was used to provide the shipping and the handling facilities, together with the credit financing necessary to sustain this colonial pattern of import and export trade.

Sub-consciously, therefore, the United Africa Company became itself a part of that colonial system which condemned Africa to be an exporter of cheap priced cash crops and mineral ores and the importer of expensive manufactured goods.

REVOLT AND CHANGE

When the people of Ghana began to revolt against

colonial conditions, the United Africa Company thus found themselves involved from the very nature of their business, on the side of the colonialists.

The cocoa hold-up of 1937 and the boycott of imported goods of 1948 are two examples of how this involvement with colonialism adversely affected the business prospects of those expatriate firms which, up till then, had accepted without question the theory that the only possible pattern of trade and investment was the colonial one.



Kwame Nkrumah at Tema

It is a credit to the United Africa Company that it was able to read the writing on the wall

This factory is by no means the first industry established in Ghana by Lever Brothers or its subsidiary, the United Africa Company.

As independence approached the Lever Brothers group of companies came to realise that profit was more likely, and investment safer, if they abandoned the old colonial ideas of trade and devoted their capital to productive industry.

Ladies and gentlemen: If I comment on this change today, it is because soap is so symbolic. It was with soap that it all began.

Now the wheel has turned the full circle and Lever Brothers, who originally came to Ghana for the raw material are today manufacturing here the finished product

This particular example of productive investment underlines the change which independence has brought.

It also illustrates, unfortunately, how the advantages of independence are limited by the absence of African unity.

DISUNITY AND LIMITATIONS

The fact that this factory is not three or four times its present size is not because Lever Brothers could not afford to build a larger factory.

It is because our disunity means that there is an insufficiently large market for its products.

Many African States still impose customs duties and import restrictions originally designed to limit the trade of the colony in the interest of the manufacturing industries of the imperial power.

The political links may have been broken, but

THE speech delivered by Osagyefo the President on the occasion of the opening of the Unilever soap factory at Tema, is an outstanding analysis of the economic relationship between capitalist countries and newly emergent countries.

Its salient features and timely warnings deserve the closest study of those upon whose shoulders have devolved the duty of steering their countries' economic policies. It should, in short, be the guiding principle to all new nations.

We reproduce here part of the speech, and commentaries upon it by our special correspondent. —EDITOR

Obviously the only sensible plan is to decide which state shall concentrate upon upon which industry, and upon which industrial products. Uniform revenue taxes shall be imposed

These decisions can only be made by an all African political Government that is to say, a Union Government of Africa which has overall powers of economic planning and of taxation.

DANGERS OF DELAY

Indeed, by every day that we delay our unity, we are making ourselves poorer, and the profit of the investor diminishing.

By setting up small industrial units in each state, each producing the same product, we are establishing an entirely uneconomic pattern of industrialisation which, in fact, is unlikely ever to enable us completely to escape from a colonial economic position.

The longer we delay African unity, the more difficult it will be to rationalise our industrial pattern when we achieve it.

The foreign investor, therefore, has an equal interest with the African consumer in the speediest possible attainment of African Unity.

The foreign investor has a further interest in common with the people of Africa. His profit is directly proportional to their prosperity.

However large the market area, no product can be sold unless the people of that area are wealthy enough to buy it.

If the economy of any African State gets out of hand, if, for example, there is a balance of payments crisis, then not only will the investor be unable to export his earnings but the market on which he depends for the sale of his products will be endangered.

Ladies and gentlemen: Whatever systems may be possible in other parts of the world, the situation on the African continent is such that I believe the economy can only be kept in balance and economic progress assured by a socialist planning and policy.

The economy of all African States is at the mercy of changes in the terms of trade.

Experience has shown that in Ghana we can increase the volume of our exports and decrease the volume of our imports and yet, owing to a change in the terms of trade, our exports are less and imports cost more than they did before.

It is only by a state monopoly of the export of cocoa and of other cash crops that we can hope to control this tendency by which exports from less

developed countries tend always to fall in value.

An uncontrolled right to import would soon exhaust our reserves of foreign currency and if we are to restrict imports we must do it in accordance with an overall plan which encourages productive development and which prevents the necessarily limited quantity of imports being wasted on unproductive use.

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

The traditional economic organisation of African society severely limits the capital any individual can amass

Under our conditions, if capital is to be supplied it must be supplied by the State from the produce of public saving.

This does not of course mean that there is no place for private investment in the Ghanaian system.

On the contrary, we regard private investment originating from both outside and inside the country as an important factor in our development.

It does mean, however, that private investment should be channelled into those industries which will fit our overall plans for development.

The history of colonial Africa is a lesson we must all take to heart. It is an experience worth always remembering.

When external capital is merely applied for the purpose of obtaining a quick profit it more often impoverishes rather than enriches the country in which it is invested.

For example, the extraction and exportation of mi-

neral ores through the use of imported machinery and by the employment of low paid labour is of no material benefit to the people of the country concerned.

Ultimately the mineral resources of the colonial country are exhausted and the imported machinery is removed elsewhere, or scrapped.

The labour that was employed, having been paid only a subsistence wage, will have accumulated no savings. Thus nothing remains upon which future development can be based.

This was one of the commonest types of capital investment in colonial Africa and it is still to be found, unfortunately, in some independent African States.

It is a type of investment we are not prepared to tolerate and this was one of the reasons for the enactment of the Capital Investments Act.

This Act, which would have been unthinkable in colonial times, is in itself a proof of the changed relationship between foreign investors and the Government of Ghana.

OBLIGATIONS

While it gives substantial advantages to those who invest in Ghana, it also imposes important obligations.

Foreign investors must today fit their investment to suit the overall plan for the development of our economy.

They must maintain a high level of employment and impart technical skill to the Ghanaians whom they employ, a thing which unhappily by no means always happened in the past.

The Act is in no way contrary to our overall plan

for the socialist development of the country.

Indeed, it is a necessary part of it. In colonial days, productive investment by foreign investors was prevented in many direct and indirect ways and we therefore entered upon independence with a very low level of industrialisation.

We have now to use every means in our power to reverse this position, and this Act is one of them.

Some people think the Capital Investment Act is in contradiction with our socialist aims and ideas.

This is not true. However, we are realists and therefore we welcome any foreign investor who is prepared to respond to the socialist conditions in an independent Ghana.

It is because this soap factory represents a response to these new conditions that I am happy to open it today.

It was their interest in soap that first brought Lever Brothers to our shores.

I hope their undertaking of its manufacture in our country will increase their interest in investment generally in Ghana.

After all, if one compares the weather enjoyed in Ghana with that in Britain, there can be no doubt in which country the Lever Brothers' capital "Port Sunlight" ought to be situated!

I wish once again to congratulate Lever Brothers for establishing this factory and for other substantial investments which they have made in productive enterprises in Ghana.

A COMMENT

by Our Industrial Correspondent

AS more and more African States attain political freedom, the problem of economic freedom is gradually becoming the most crucial matter facing Africa today. The problem is a complex one, for all African states suffer from shortage of capital and technical skills. African leaders face a real dilemma. Shall they depend on foreign investors and still keep their country economically enslaved to the big industrial powers of the West? Or shall they cut themselves adrift from economic ties with the industrial powers and thus run the risk of a serious economic breakdown? It is the now familiar problem of securing economic growth within the context of real independence.

Attempts have been made to depend more on foreign loans than on foreign private investments in order to finance Africa's new industries. These efforts have met with partial success, for the

volume of capital attracted by such demarcation is still rather low. Therefore there still remains the need to tap the resources of foreign private investments. And the problem poses itself: how can young African states draw on private foreign investments for their economic development and at the same time build a balanced, a strong and an independent modern economy? In other words, how can we achieve industrialisation and economic independence while utilising foreign private investment which is the main strand in the imperialist strategy for economic exploitation?

MAJOR CONTRIBUTION

Much light was thrown on this cardinal problem last Saturday when Osagyefo the President performed the ceremony of opening the £2 million Lever Brothers Soap Factory at Tema. The President's speech on this occasion will go down as a major contribution to the study of a problem which is at the very root of Africa's attempt to achieve economic emancipation. The speech is of significance not just for Ghana but for all Africa.

The £2 million Soap Fac-

tory is a big asset to Ghana's economy. It will produce some 24,000 tons of soap annually. It employs a labour force of 500 workers. If and when the factory meets Ghana's entire requirements of detergents, the enterprise would save this country some £5 million in foreign currency every year. In addition, it will develop valuable technical skills among Ghanaians who will be better placed to help the nation's economic advance both in the soap and other industries.

The new enterprise should bring soap to our markets at a lower cost. This lower cost per unit compared to what now obtain is of great significance to our economic planning. And the critical question is what will be the Government's attitude to the gains accruing from this reduced cost per unit. There are three possibilities:—

1. it could be allowed to swell the profits of the company concerned;
2. it could be passed on to the consumers in lower prices;
3. it could be diverted into government coffers through appropriate tax measures.

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Volta River Project (I)

THE potentialities of Ghana's Volta River for the generation of immense quantities of hydro-electric power have been appreciated for almost half a century. As far back as 1915, the very site now selected for a dam at Akosombo was noted in a geological survey as being suitable for this purpose.

Both before and after the 1939-1945 war, a considerable amount of technical investigation into the feasibility of such a project and its usefulness for processing natural bauxite into aluminium was carried out by a privately formed company, West African Aluminium Company Limited, and its findings were carefully examined and assessed by the Government of the Gold Coast.

In 1951, the new Government, under the leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah, lost no time in fulfilling its election promise to the people that, in order to try to balance the agricultural economy of the country with a developing industrial economy, the possibility of harnessing the power of the Volta would be immediately examined as well as the further possibility of using such electricity for large scale aluminium smelting.

PREPARATORY COMMISSION

Following preliminary discussions, the Volta River Project Preparatory Commission was established in 1953, and after a 3-year exhaustive examination of all the problems involved, the Commission reported that the Project as envisaged was technically sound and economically feasible.

The basis for financing the Project was a form of partnership between the

world supply of aluminium and heavier bank rates on long term loans proved to affect the very basis on which the project had been planned and it became clear that some time after the country became independent in March 1957, there would have to be a complete reappraisal of the whole scheme.

NEW APPROACH

A completely new approach to the project was then decided as distinct from the partnership approach already mentioned. Under the new plan the dam, power house, transmission lines and ancillary works would be financed from public sources and the resultant electric power would be sold at economic rates.

The bauxite mining processing and smelting operations would be financed by and run as private enterprises. Furthermore it was envisaged that, in order to

development of the Volta River Project with President Eisenhower. This consequently led to the appointment of Messrs. Henry J. Kaiser Company of California, U.S.A., to conduct an engineering re-appraisal of the project, the cost of which was to be shared between the two governments.

REVOLUTIONARY REPORT

In February 1959, Kaisers submitted their report which recommended changing the site of the main dam from Ajena, previously recommended by the Preparatory Commission, to Akosombo 1 1/2 miles downstream. They also recommended subsequent ancillary hydro-electric projects at Kpong (12 miles downstream) and at Bui on the Black Volta, as well as the re-siting of the smelter at Tema, instead of Kpong, and the provision of an extensive electricity grid system covering the major part of Southern Ghana to enable electricity to be distributed for domestic and industrial uses over a wide area.

Additional and most vital advantages, brought about by the reduced cost of the new dam coupled with speedier construction techniques, would be a lowering of the installed cost of elec-

FOCUS ON SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA (PART ONE)



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

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

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

We begin with the socialist economic development in Ghana, starting with the colossal Volta River Project.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the Volta River Authority for putting at our disposal all the requisite materials which have made the writing of this article possible. —EDITOR.

of operation.

The most detailed consideration was given to the manner in which such a considerable sum of money could be found, bearing in mind the country's overall development and current commitments.

Consequently, the World Bank made a detailed study of the whole economy of Ghana and the Project itself as a result of which the Government of Ghana had to bear half the cost of the project and receive loans up to £G35 million made up as follows:—

£G16,785,715 for 19 1/2 years from the Bank itself; £G9,642,857 for 29 1/2 years from the United States Agency for International Development;

£G3,571,428 for over 19 years from the United States Export-Import Bank; and

£G5 million sterling for 19 1/2 years from the Export Credits Guarantee Department of the United Kingdom Board of Trade.

PHASED DEVELOPMENT

Generally, the Volta River Project is a co-ordinated four step development project, the timing of which is related to national electricity load growth, that is:—

- Provision of facilities at Akosombo and Tema Port.
- Construction of Dam, Powerhouse and transmission lines; and resettlement of displaced riverine communities;
- Aluminium Smelter at Tema;
- Possible development of Kpong and Bui water projects.

THE PROJECT BEGINS

Perhaps one of the most satisfactory features of the Akosombo Dam contract which was awarded to Impregilo & Co., Ghana Ltd., an Italian Consortium, was the condition in which the contractor found the site prior to any construction work on his part. When the Impregilo contract was awarded, there were already completed six miles of best quality tarred access road from the main road at Adomi Bridge as far as Akosombo; at Akosombo itself, six miles of tarred site roads; 40 well designed two and three bedroom houses of permanent construction; 100 three-bedroom foremen's quarters; an electric generator station; a 20-room catering hostel commanding a magnificent view of the dam site and since turned into the Volta Hotel; a fully equipped laboratory and the necessary water and sewage treatment plants.

A further 88 two and three-bedroom houses; 156 three-room foremen's quarters; 630 labourers' quarters; a Police Station; a

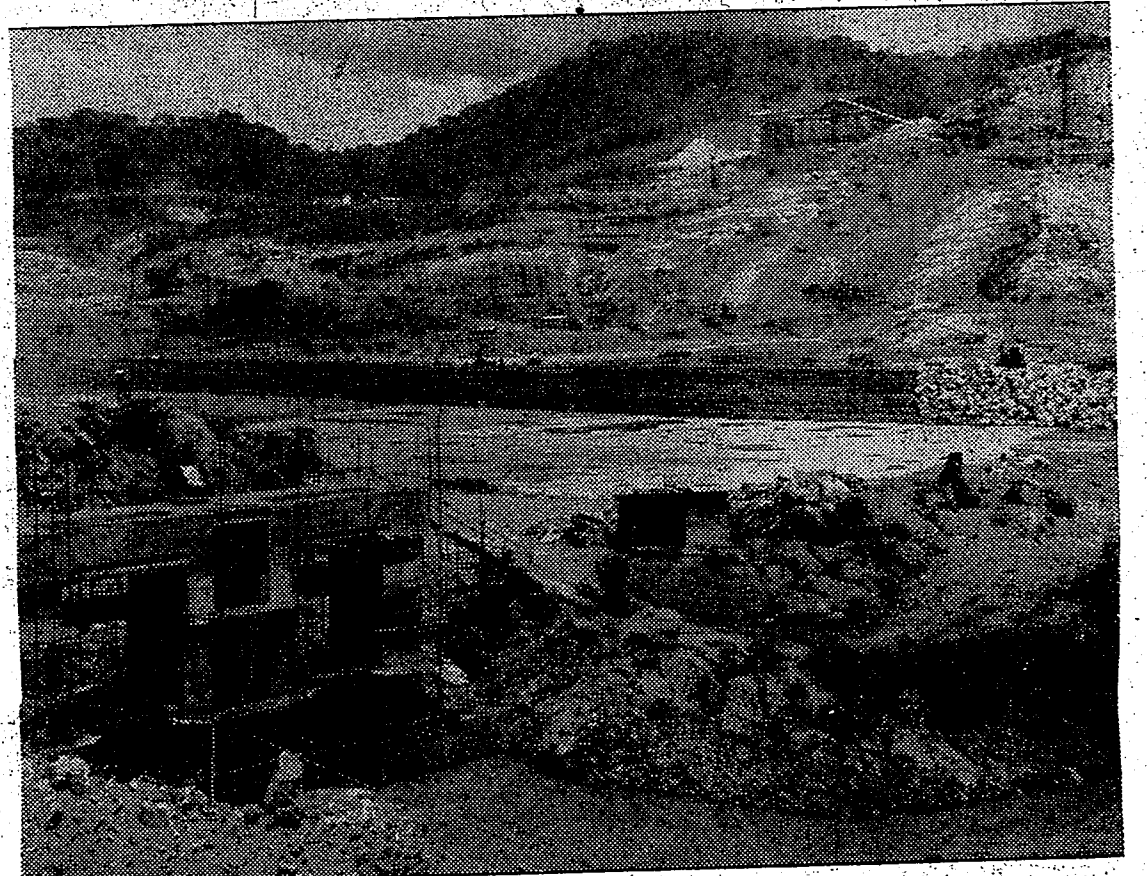
Fire Station; 8 three-room senior bachelors' dormitories, with mess and kitchen; a shop; a school and playing field; a contractor's warehouse and workshop and an engineering office have since been completed.

7. Powerlines Limited awarded Supply Contract L-1.

Since January 1962, when construction work began following the contract awards, about 3,000 workers have been working

These two large cofferdams containing more than 1,500,000 cubic feet of rock will become integral parts of the main dam.

Construction of the Diversion Tunnel and its entrance portal utilised over



Monolith (L) is upstream portal of the diversion tunnel. (R) The flume separated from the west channel by the gabions.

Work has been completed on a modern hospital. Work has also started on a commercial development area and further office blocks and accommodations have been completed.

CONTRACT AWARDS

Tenders for the projects were invited on international basis, and the major work which is a £G16 million contract for the Power Dam at Akosombo was awarded to an Italian Consortium known as IMPREGILO GIROLA-LODGIANI and E. RECCHI registered in Ghana as Impregilo & Co. (Ghana) Limited, and work started in September, 1961, with the dredging of sand from the river bed, excavation and the construction of access roads.

The contracts, for the supply of electrical and mechanical equipment for the powerhouse and dam, and for the construction of transmission lines totalling about £G11.7 million were awarded in December, 1961, to other successful bidders such as:

- Hitachi Limited awarded Supply contract A-4
- International General Electric awarded Supply Contract A-5
- Wagner-Biro Aktiengesellschaft awarded Supply Contracts A-6 & A-8
- Chicago Bridge Limited awarded Supply Contracts A-7
- Gruppo Industrie Electric - Meccaniche awarded Supply Contracts S-1 & S-2
- A. Lang Limited awarded Construction Contract S-3

round the clock at Akosombo on one of the major infrastructure items necessary for diversifying Ghana's economy.

The dam will be a rock-fill type and will comprise a main dam and upstream and downstream cofferdams. The cofferdams form part of the main dam when completed.

The main dam will be 440 feet high from the bed of the river with 244 feet above water level. It will be 2,200 feet long at crest and more than 2,000 feet wide at bed of the river. The saddle dam will be 120 feet high and 1,165 feet long and the volume of the materials to be used in filling the main dam will be 10,452,000 cubic yards.

A 30-foot diameter tunnel lined with reinforced concrete which is 1,000 feet long has been built on the east abutment of the dam to carry the entire flow of the Volta except during the high flowing of the flood season, so as to allow the main dam contractors, Impregilo, to complete their cofferdam construction in preparation for unwatering the bottom of the river for the construction of the main dam foundations.

PROGRESS

Work has been completed on these cofferdams which are large rockfills across the entire Volta River sealed, with blankets of impervious material, and work was started with the laying of the foundation of the main dam after water had been pumped away from the area between the two cofferdams in January 1963.

There are two large steel and concrete stop-log gates to control two 25 feet by 12 feet openings as well as three hydraulically operated slide gates controlling three 5 feet sq. openings. The tunnel is capable of allowing 15,000 cusecs of water to pass.

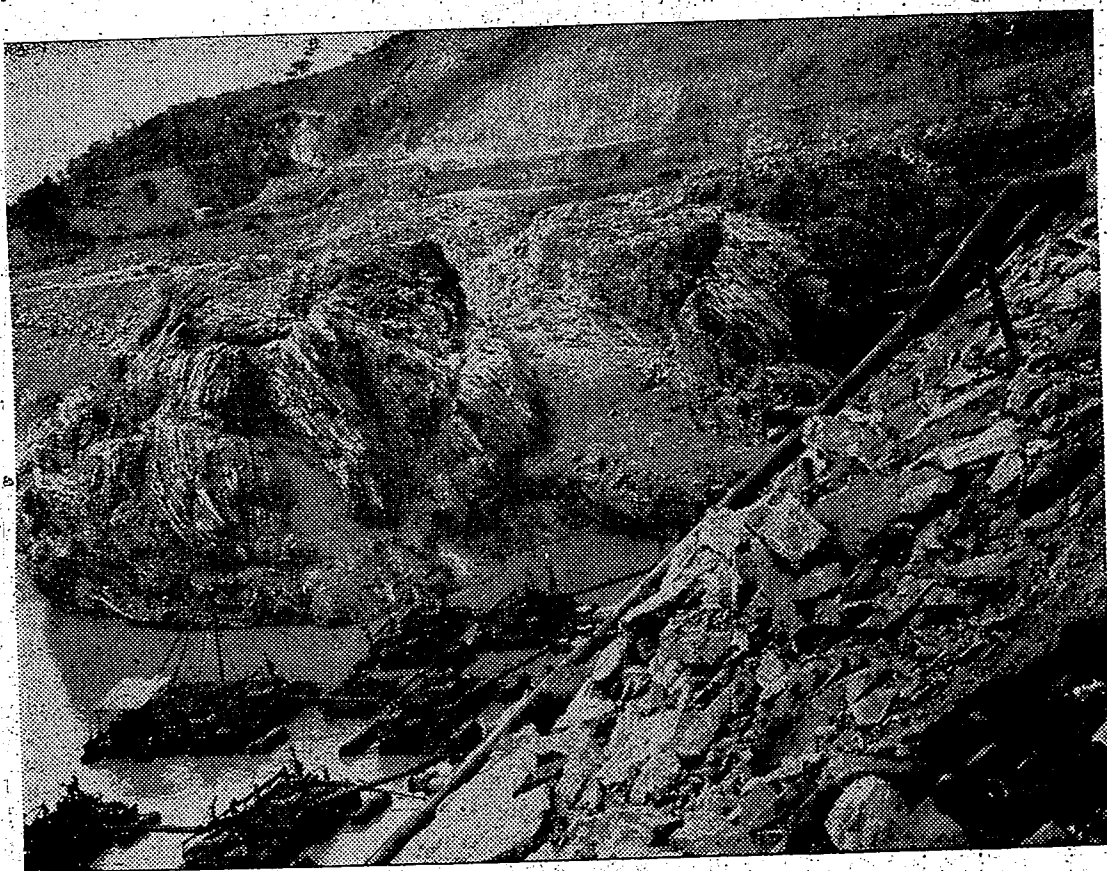
As the total river flow during the flood season may well exceed 200,000 to 300,000 cubic feet of water per second, it was necessary during the first two years of construction to allow the excess flood water to flow carry over the main dam.

At the West-end of the dam there will be a powerhouse 560 feet long, 170 feet deep and 130 feet high with a total of six penstocks; but only four in the initial stages each 24 feet in diameter. The powerhouse will consist of 6 (six) generators; but four initially with a capacity of 128,000 kw. each.

The intake structure for the six power units would form a concrete dam section. From the intake block, 24-foot diameter penstocks would connect with the power plant turbines 300 feet downstream.

After the construction of the powerhouse is completed and water is flowing through the turbines, the

(Continued on page 7)



Prototype dredgers used for pumping out water trapped between the two coffer-dams. Each dredger is capable of pumping out 200 cubic yards of liquified sand from a depth 200 feet in one hour. 27 such pumps were used in the dewatering programme which lasted just under 3 weeks.

then Gold Coast Government, the United Kingdom Government and two aluminium companies. The scheme was comprehensive in so far as it included all stages of aluminium production from the mining, transporting and processing of bauxite, and the production of hydro-electricity, as well as the creation of a harbour at Tema with township facilities. Allowing for possible inflation, an overall cost of £G309 millions was estimated.

Financial negotiations, however, between the two Governments and the two aluminium companies proved to be protracted and difficult. Such unforeseen factors as an increase in the

reduce initial costs, the smelter might initially use imported alumina and that the development of the bauxite mine and alumina plant should be deferred to the second stage of expansion.

In March 1958, however, one of the two aluminium companies concerned in the earlier partnership proposals announced that it was not in a position to proceed with the scheme and that it did not wish to stand in the way of other interested parties.

Hence in July 1958, Dr. Nkrumah took the opportunity of an official visit to the United States of America to discuss the overall

electric power and a valuable reduction in the interest rates payable during the construction period.

The proposals in the Re-assessment Report were found to be basically acceptable and planning of the Volta River Project has since proceeded on those basis.

The cost of the dam and power house at Akosombo, the transmission lines to Tema and beyond, provision for the Volta River Authority, including health measures, compensation and resettlement, are estimated to be about £G70 million which includes £G3 1/2 million as working capital to tide over the first few years

An Analysis of Under-Development

I INTENDED to deal with Marxist analysis as it relates to the problem of under-development.

In doing this, I shall not limit myself to dealing with the situation of under-developed countries. I shall deal with the role and importance of economic relations with under-developed countries for the functions of the capitalist system. For otherwise, I believe you would have an incomplete picture of certain problems and you would not be able to grasp the origins of certain present difficulties.

The Marxist school of thought to which I belong has always accorded great importance to the problem of under-developed countries, or colonial countries as they used to be called. If you read Marx's analysis in "Capital" at once the existence of such countries seems necessary to enable the formation of the capitalist system in Europe.

Indeed, according to Marx, the capitalist system needs two essential elements in order to function. At the one extreme, it requires the existence of a considerable stratum of the population who have no means of subsisting except by hiring themselves out for wages as wage-earners, a process which is defined in Marxist terminology as "selling their labour power" and at the other extreme, it requires the existence of a less numerous class of society, who dispose of wealth and retain the ownership of the means of production.

PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

The period in which are formed these two elements necessary to the functioning of industrial capital is called by Marx the period of "primitive accumulation". Insofar as it affects the formation of the "labour force" this period of "primitive accumulation" is characterised by enormous changes in the agricultural field. During that period we see the removal of a large section of the population who can no longer live on the product of their labour in agriculture and are forced to place themselves at the disposal of the rising industrial capitalists. On the other hand, insofar as it affects the concentration of wealth, Marx accords a particularly important role to what he called colonial trade (enormous sums which are the profits of shipping companies trading with distant lands).

In the historic movement of the development of capitalism, merchant capital comes before industrial capital and forms the basis for the later development of industrial capital.

There are several points to mention with regard to Marx's analysis of the relationship between merchant capital and the under-developed countries; on the one hand, there is the constant assertion that this capital realises superprofit which is partly "monopolised", partly allowed to increase the average rate of profit within the capitalist countries. But, on the other hand, Marx, and later Engels, elaborated the difficulties which stand in the way of the development of capitalism in the under-developed countries and the policy which capitalism must adopt to create the basis of its later development.

NATURAL ECONOMY

Amongst these difficulties—and I am emphasizing this one because we shall meet the same idea again when we come to speak of later Marxist theory of the imperialist period. There is in existence in under-developed countries, a so-called natural economy, in other words, an economy which functions for its own home consumption and needs and not for the needs of the market. Marx declares

that in order to develop and to find both an outlet for its products and a complement of native products to exchange for its own, capitalism must destroy the natural economy and is often forced to use violence to speed up this destruction.

If one accepts the more brutal methods, one of the instruments used to destroy the natural economy is, according to Marx, taxation. The natives are obliged to produce no longer only for their own consumption, but must sell part of their products in order to meet the burden of taxation.

Another of the obstacles to the development of capitalism in these under-developed countries stressed by Marx is the insufficiency of available labour, because in a natural economy men find fruitful employment and have no need to hire themselves out as wage-earners. And he emphasises the fact that one of the effects of the policy for the establishing of capitalism in under-developed countries is that pressure is brought to bear in order to free available labour for the needs of capitalism. If this labour is not sufficient they have recourse to the importation of foreign labour. Marx refers at this point to coolies.

MARKET EXPANSION

To conclude our analysis of classical Marxism, we shall once again emphasise the role accorded to under-developed countries; as incentives to the expansion of capital in the colonising countries; for Marx, and above all for Engels, the expansion of the market is secured to a large extent by the expansion of the market in distant countries. Taking into account the factors I have just mentioned, they consider that this expansion cannot go on indefinitely and that there are limits to it; as soon as the market ceases to expand, it will be extremely difficult to increase the production of industrial countries. The economy of European industrialised countries will then enter upon a period of stagnation.

Such are the views of the creators of scientific socialism with regard to the role of the under-developed countries. However, this problem becomes particularly important for Marxists from the beginning of the 20th century. It is at this time that there appears a series of works devoted to the new look of contemporary capitalism which Marxists describe as the "imperialist period".

The Marxists state, indeed, that from the beginning of the 20th century, capitalism undergoes a profound change and that its relationship with under-developed countries plays a decisive part in this change.

I shall refer you to the most important works on this subject, especially to those of Rosa Luxemburg, "The Accumulation of Capital", Hilferding "Finance-Capital" and Lenin "Imperialism, the last phase of Capitalism."

I would like very briefly to summarize the main points in the analysis of these authors in order to show you up to what point Marxists believe the evolution of modern capitalism to be bound up with the problems of its relationship with the under-developed countries.

LUXEMBOURG

In her book, "The Accumulation of Capital", Rosa Luxemburg rather contradicts Marx's analysis and arrives at the conclusion that the expansion of capitalist production which she calls "expanded reproduction" or the "accumulation of capital" is impossible in a purely capitalist system: in other words, in a system in which there are only wage-earners and capitalists. If capitalism develops and expands nevertheless, it is, according to Rosa Luxemburg, because the present world is not a pure capitalist system; apart from wage-earners and capitalists, there exist other social classes (farmers) who form a pre-capitalist group. Rosa Luxemburg proves first of all that it is because vast territories which form part of the under-developed countries have not yet reached the stage of capitalism, that capitalist expansion must necessarily destroy the natural economy of the under-developed countries not only by economic methods but also by violent means. A merchant economy develops in these countries under the pressure of this capitalist penetration. From the moment a merchant economy is formed, from the moment people produce for sale and no longer for their own consumption, then the conditions for the establishment of a capitalist economy are realised. Capitalism begins to take root in under-developed countries.

Now if we take into account the fact that capitalism cannot function and develop without the existence of non-capitalist or under-developed countries, whose economic and social structure it is constantly in the process of destroying, there finally comes a moment when the growth of the old capitalist countries becomes impossible because of the scarcity or disappearance of under-developed countries: this is the moment when the capitalist system in the European industrial countries must necessarily collapse.

The period of imperialism, characterized by imperialistic rivalries, is especially manifested by the struggle between the big imperialist nations for the seizure of under-developed territories which are indispensable to the maintenance of their power. This struggle for a share of the under-developed regions explains the entire policy of the big industrial countries prior to the 1914 war. This in a few words is a summary of Rosa Luxemburg's theory.

LENIN

The basis of the theories of Hilferding and Lenin is somewhat different. They start from the modifications which have taken place in the structure of modern capitalism and especially from the phenomenon of the ever closer union between industrial and banking capital which according to Hilferding creates finance capital. The existence of this finance capital which is at once industrial and banking capital is, in the field which interests us, essentially manifested by the increased export of accumulated capital to the under-developed countries. It is sometimes effected in the form of loans, sometimes in the form of securities earning a variable dividend, in other words, by the issue of shares on this stock market.

According to Hilferding, the export of capital tends to play an absolutely fundamental role in the functioning of the capitalist economy. In the first place, it stretches the limits which Engels' interpretation imposed on the expansion of under-developed countries. The export of capital causes the formation of industrial and agricultural companies on the spot, working not for the home market but for export and this results in the considerable extension of the export capacities of these countries, and on the other hand, enables a far more intensive expansion of capitalism. However, and this according to both Hilferding and Lenin, is an extremely important element of the problem—the export of capital to under-developed countries earns super profits for the capital involved (bigger profits than those earned on an average in European countries).

These super profits play an important part economically in the development of European industrial capital and socially with regard to the standard of living of European countries. To a large extent, they justify the struggle for the possession

of under-developed territories which Hilferding calls "the imperialist policy". So, for the Marxists, the development of industrial capital is closely bound up with the problem of its relations with under-developed countries; particularly with the export of capital and the destruction of the natural economy. The Marxists (Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin, as well as Hilferding) show that the economic and social evolution of under-developed countries corresponds only in an imperfect fashion to the will and the needs of their peoples; that this evolution is most of all determined by the interests of the countries with which they have economic relations, and particularly by those countries which export capital.

UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

After this historical introduction, I shall immediately go on to the problem of under-developed countries as it is dealt with by modern Marxist theoreticians.

For want of time, I shall only mention the most interesting works, especially those of Lickowski, Oscar Lange, Baran and several other economists who have published essays in the review which I edit, (Les Cahiers Internationaux).

I am beginning with an aspect of the problem which is to my mind extremely important and which has in fact been developed by Lickowski. Under the pressure of European capital, the economic evolution of the under-developed countries has been effected in a determinate direction; in a direction that was dictated by the international division of labour in the 19th Century, an international division of labour which was, itself, established under the influence of British economy needed to draw on the under-developed countries for raw materials and for food products which she did not herself produce. On the other hand, British economy needed markets in

under-developed countries into which she could unload a part of her industrial production. The economic position of these countries was thus settled in this direction. They became the economic complement of an industrial Europe to which they were the accredited suppliers of raw materials and food products. From this fact, a certain economic balance which might or might not be fair, tended to be established between industrial Europe and the economy of the under-developed countries. But, for several decades, previous economic balance has been undermined by the ever increasing role of U.S. economy within the economy of the world. American economy has progressively become the dominant economy of the capitalist world to be detriment of Great Britain.

Now the economy of the United States has a very different structure from that of British economy or nineteenth century Western European economy. The United States produce not only equipment, but also raw materials and food products. Moreover, within their territory they produce substitutes for certain raw materials. From this fact, the situation of under-developed countries which had specialised in the production of certain raw materials and food products becomes more and more difficult. The ceaseless expansion of American economy saps the basis of these economies and creates a permanent state of instability.

This analysis seems to me quite accurate. Let us take for example, the last report of the European Economic Commission which deals with the situation of under-developed countries and the market for raw materials. This is an important problem; because the slowing down of the rhythm of economic expansion in Europe and the warning symptoms of recession are to a large extent the results of the difficul-

ties which under-developed countries experience in importing; the report concludes that certain industries, in particular the textile industry, are going to find themselves in an increasingly difficult situation because of American production and the expansion of the manufacture of substitute products.

Thus we have the first aspect of the economies of under-developed countries which were formed under the influence of European economies which have adapted themselves to a certain structure of world economy. They are now threatened by the profound change which has taken place in the world economy and in the disposition of international exchange. It is becoming more and more difficult for these countries which have specialised in certain commodities to sell their products because of certain phenomena arising from world-wide over-production. Let us now consider other aspects of this vast problem which have been studied by Oscar Lange.

Oscar Lange tries to find both an explanation of the difficulties facing these countries and also a means of defining under-development.

His definition of under-development leads him to say that an under-developed country is one which, while employing modern methods of production is yet unable at the present moment to give employment to the majority of its population. The reason for this state of things, according to Oscar Lange, would be the insufficiency of what Marxists would call the "supplementary profit" that is to say the profit resulting from production which can be invested to expand production—or if I employ Marxist terminology, it is the product which serves the process of accumulation.

—by J. DURET

Economy of African Unity

(continued from page 2)

Hydro-electric power apart, the harnessing of the rivers in Africa—as is well illustrated by the Nile—has also immense possibilities for irrigation and an agricultural revolution. The rivers of Africa are thus potential assets of considerable significance.

And yet, paradoxically enough, Africa is a poor country. In terms of the language made current in international circles by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Africa is an underdeveloped country. By that is usually meant that its per capita income is less than those of the United States of America and Western Europe. In 1949 the statisticians of the United Nations office divided the world as per table below*

*World Income	World Pop.	Income per Head
High-income countries 67%	18%	\$915
Middle-income countries 18%	15%	\$310
Low-income countries 15%	67%	\$ 54

Even in 1953 no country in Africa had incomes of the middle-income group. Only the Union of South Africa with a per capita income of \$293 approached the average of that group followed by the Indian Ocean island territory of Mauritius with \$244. All the others had incomes considerably less and fluctuated around that of the low-income group. The range too was considerable from Sierra Leone with an average income of \$42 (1957) to Ghana, Tunisia and Morocco with incomes of \$127, \$131 and \$184 respectively. Further illustration of the range is given in the following figures:

Per Capita incomes (1953)	\$ U.S.
Belgian Congo	69.6
Ghana	127.1
Kenya	51.9
Nigeria	63.2
Rhodesia and Nyasaland	98.5
Tanganyika	47.3
Tunisia	131.5
Uganda	49.9
Union of South Africa	293.0
Morocco	183.6
Mauritius	244.8
Sierra Leone (1957)	42.0

Compared with the United Kingdom with \$747 and the U.S.A. with \$1893, Africa is a very poor country indeed. What is even worse, there is considerable disparity in the racial individual African territories themselves. Phyllis Deane, for example, has calculated that in 1938 the income distribution by race in Nyasaland was as follows:

Average Income (Es.)	European	Asiatic	African
	624	176	5.2

This is true for the

whole continent with minor variations here and there.

Now, one of the crucial factors responsible for the low level of incomes in Africa is the fact of the political fragmentation of the continent. There is probably nowhere else in the world with such a heterogeneous patchwork of enclaves of political sovereignties or foreign enclaves as in Africa. They thus create little islands of isolation or self-sufficiency, so to speak, in the vast ocean of the great continent. This hinders or totally prohibits easy mobility of resources both human and natural. Even in the regions of the so-called open door as in those regions covered by the Congo Basin Treaties there is no such easy mobility. There are all sorts of contrivances as passports and specific customs duties—specific to the goods which may originate from adjacent territories—which, in effect, close the door but half way. There are different currency systems and balance of payments adjustments all of which hinder resource movements all the more.

REGIONAL AFFINITIES AND AFRICAN UNITY

THE opponents of African Unity on a continental basis generally put forward as an alternative, the idea of a set of regional groupings, which they claim would be easier to bring about, more likely to survive and on the whole more "natural"

The best intentioned freely admit the wisdom of unity, but only as an end to be achieved in the fullness of time. In the meantime to make sure of a realistic approach that can be seriously implemented and yield results, they propose a gradual step-by-step policy. The first stage is to group the various states regionally, taking account of what they have in common geographically or historically or both. On this basis, if we go according to what the geographers and historians say, Africa can be classified into three large areas: the Maghreb, West Africa and East Africa.

ECONOMIC ARGUMENT

The main arguments advanced in support of this theory are the size of the African continent, the poor state of inter-continental transport and communications and the need to achieve something that is at once practical sound and economically viable. Of course "the smallest grain of millet would suit us far

more." In point of fact we are up against an economic argument. If we really mean business and take a realistic view of things, we must admit that African unity, and for that matter, the unity of any set of countries, must rest upon sound economic arguments, must in fact be based on a solid economic foundation. This is certainly true, but does it necessarily follow that because there are distinct geographical and economic areas in Africa (and this is true up to a point), unity of movement, action and finally political unity on a continent wide basis cannot be achieved here and now? This is the argument put forward by the "realists", the protagonists of "gradualism", or a step-by-step policy. It is just now a very topical theme, but the argument can hardly stand. It falls because in actual fact the difference between "natural" regional affinities of an economic character and a continental unity of a political kind, is more apparent than real.

This is clearly exemplified in the case of large

modern continental units like the United States of America and the Soviet Union. In the United States, for example, four large geographical and economic areas are to be met with: the industrial East, the modern agricultural Middle West, the old South which is traditionally agricultural though being rapidly modernised, and the industrial West. These regions are fairly well integrated. For instance, there is a belt of specialised agriculture in the industrial East which clearly exists in order to feed the large industrial urban areas. In the USSR the geographical and economic areas are perhaps even more integrated.

LARGE UNITS

Does such regional integration based on the physical factors of resources and transport prevent the United States or the USSR from achieving unity? Not at all! Can it be admitted quite simply that from the economic point of view, the fact that these large areas are politically integrated with wider areas (the United States or the USSR)

is of little importance? Not at all! The existence and prosperity of these areas depend directly upon, the existence of the large national units which the USSR and the United States of America undoubtedly are. To give only one example, which is very typical indeed, let us take California. This State would certainly find it more difficult to produce electronic machines, keep its aeronautic production going, or even sell its Mediterranean fruits at good prices, if it were only a modest national State like one of the many Latin-American States.

Of course, there is no question here of ruling out, because of integration among large regional groupings, or rejecting out of hand as reactionary modern theoretical methods such as research into poles of economic development, which are necessarily of a regional character. It is clear that the development of the mineral resources of the Northern Sahara throughout the Maghreb as a whole, is most commendable. Undoubtedly a large modern port collectively built on

the West Coast of Africa may serve a whole area of three or four States, and around that port a whole industrial unit would develop to subserve the needs of the port. It is not hard to imagine that a large dam on the Niger or one of the big African rivers, would serve a number of States. It must be admitted that the large land mass of Africa implies a certain degree of regional planning. So far as the economic development of Africa is concerned, examples abound. It is hard to see how regional integration on a larger scale, which would promote industrial development by creating larger internal markets can run counter to a wider political framework. The frontiers of the United States of America and the USSR lie outside the large geographical and economic areas, and do not separate them.

ADVANTAGES

On the other hand, the advantages of African unity can be clearly seen so far as each individual area is concerned. Economically, all the areas would speak with a common voice in economic, financial and commercial transactions with the industrial powers. The various regions would not compete with one another.

All the advantages of the large areas would be reproduced and enjoyed by all throughout the continent.

It can also be clearly seen that Africa would be the loser, if she did not achieve unity now, and the idea of regional groupings were to win the day. If the industrial powers had to deal with a few political units slightly smaller in number than the present thirty-two States, but somewhat larger and more powerful, though still existing as separate entities, they might easily continue their tactics of division. The results of such a contingency can easily be imagined, for there would be neither unity, nor 32 balkanised states but a division into four or five blocks. And so the economic argument falls to the ground. There remains the political argument. It is claimed that political unity could be achieved more easily where there are only a few states, as it were among neighbours, than where there are a large number. In actual fact the opposite is true. All the frontier quarrels in Africa show that it is easier to have good relations with distant states than with one's immediate neighbours. Further, the experience of the past few years also in-

dicating the fact that efforts inspired not by geographical proximity, but by political direction or a certain concept of Africa and African unity.

In point of fact there is nothing, economically or politically speaking, which warrants the statement that it is easier to achieve unity first by way of regional groupings. It is possible, and even certain that some may not care for unity, or be apprehensive about it even though they desire it, or desire it though they are afraid of it; but the argument for "regional groupings first" is certainly not valid. First, because the two things are not antagonistic, and secondly because unity, at any level, calls for effort and courage. The dimension matters little. Unity is perhaps in "the nature of things" in Africa, and this means it is revolutionary.

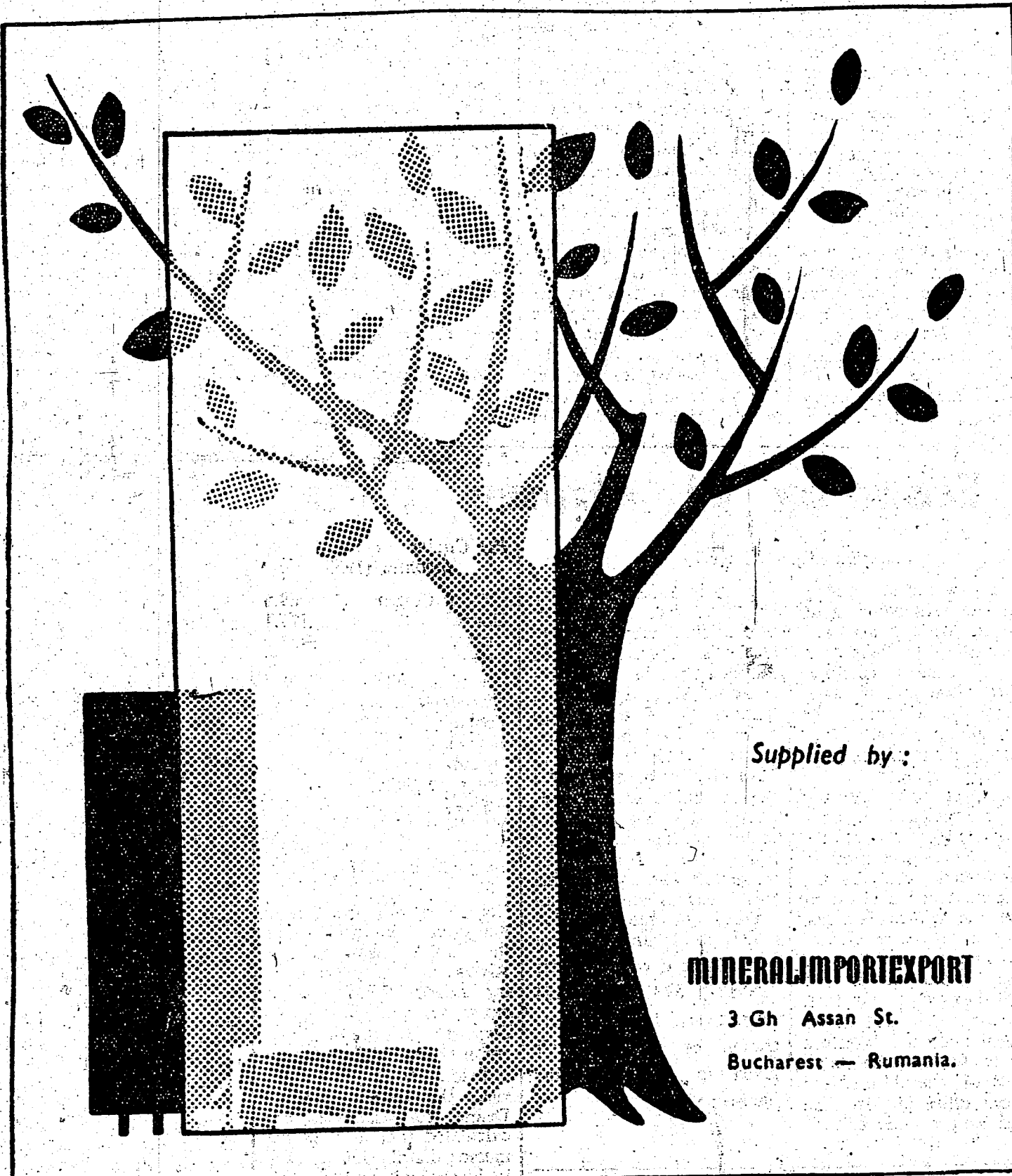
Besides—and this is our last point—a larger degree of unity can be achieved now more easily than tomorrow, because at the present time special situations and differences have not yet crystallised. A common past and common needs are factors making for unity and not lightly to be set aside. Tomorrow, when the various states or regional groupings may have moved in different directions their differences will become more accentuated, and their objective which is unity will thus have become not easier, but more difficult to achieve.

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Comment

Continued from page 3

There is no doubt that Osagyefo intends that the actual line towards the reduced cost of production should be a combination of all these possibilities.

In particular, it is important to understand his view that a higher profit margin could be allowed the foreign investors. This is a big attraction to the investors, as both Mr. Pedler, the Managing Director of the Tema Soap and Osagyefo pointed out at the opening ceremony. It is also a point that lead some people to doubt Ghana's resolve to go the socialist way.

But this increased profit, it must be stressed, will not be allowed to leave Ghana in its entirety. This is where the newly passed Investment Act comes in. Through the operation of this Act, only a portion of the profits will be allowed out of the country. The expectation is that the remaining part will be re-invested either in expanding the industry from which it is earned or in founding some other industry approved by the State.

CARDINAL PRINCIPLES

Another important aspect of Osagyefo's plan is that foreign investments go only to industries approved by the state and which form part of the state economic plan. There is no haphazard investment and the primary determining factor is not the investors' expectation of profits but the order of priority laid down in the State plan.

Osagyefo's doctrine of utilising foreign private investments and at the same time maintaining economic independence is thus based on four cardinal principles which could be summarised as follows:—

1. the direction of foreign investments into industries in accordance with the State economic plan;
2. the employment of a high percentage of local people in the technical and managerial grades;
3. the re-investment of a reasonable portion of profits realised;
4. the diversion of a fair share of the earning of these industries into the public treasury through appropriate tax measures.

Having made this refreshing exposition on one of Africa's main economic problems, Osagyefo went on to discuss the economic aspects of African Unity. He drew attention to the rather limited markets that exist for manufactured goods in individual African states. If each state is to provide all its needs, then we are forced to use uneconomical production units.

ECONOMIC PROBLEM

The results of this are many. More important among these are fairly high per unit cost of the products, low profit margins for the investors, wasteful competition among African states and a low level of capital accumulation which retards further economic growth. Here it is clear that the interests both in the new African states and of the foreign investors point in the same direction viz. the enlargement of markets. This of course means regarding Africa as one economic unit. In other words, African Unity.

However, the President quite rightly warned against conceiving African economic unity of inter-state communication systems. If we

see economic unity of Africa in this restricted sense, then there is a very real danger of such unity becoming an instrument of continued economic enslavement. For the foreign investors need only set up giant enterprises in a few territories where they enjoy a free hand and, through a removal of customs barriers and improved continental transport systems dominate the economy of all Africa.

There is in addition a great need for centralised planning backed up with a harmonised taxation policy. And such centralised economic planning backed by a uniform fiscal policy can only be achieved through the medium of a union Government of Africa.

UNION GOVERNMENT

The importance of this union government of Africa just cannot be over stressed. The big lesson Osagyefo drove home last week while speaking at Tema is that both Africa's interests and the interests of foreign investors demand that Africa be seen as one economic unit. But, insists Osagyefo, to create one economic unit without the corresponding unified political direction will only mean creating conditions that favour foreign investors at the expense of the African people and of Africa's independence.

Other African leaders will be well advised to make a careful study of Osagyefo's speech delivered at Tema last Saturday. For it contains the guide lines of Africa's strategy for complete economic emancipation.

Reflections on "Black Orpheus"

IS NEGRITUDE A REALITY OR A MYSTIFICATION? (I)

(A translation from the original French of Albert Franklin of Togoland by C. L. Patterson)

THE theory of Negritude which is of comparatively recent date, has won the sympathy of some Europeans who are well-disposed to Negroes (or at least claim to be), as well as of a fairly large number of African intellectuals. This would have been of little consequence, but for the fact, (which might well have been predicted), that it has a practical bearing upon politics.

Negritude has transcended the limits of mental speculation, since at present there are Africans who make an overt or surreptitious use of it to justify their political activities. It is therefore not surprising that an African student should reflect upon negritude, as he meditates upon the future destiny of his homeland.

The term Negritude first appeared in the writings of a young generation of French-speaking Negro poets, of whom the best known are Sedar Senghor and Aimé Césaire. However, in our view, Negritude did not really assume the status of a theory until Jean-Paul Sartre produced his monograph entitled "Black Orpheus", which was published as a preface to an "Anthology of Negro and Malagasy Poetry," edited by Mr. Leopold Senghor in a series designed for the French Colonies and Empire (1) It appears that Negritude includes the following:

1. an anti-racial form of racialism.
2. a sense of community.
3. a concept of sex.
4. rhythm.
5. communion with nature.
6. ancestral worship.

ESSENCE OF NEGRO

It should be noted at the outset that writers on Negritude, especially Sartre, do not define Negritude by way of its attributes. In point of fact they do not define it at all. However, this does not preclude their acceptance of it as a Negro specific, or better still, as the ESSENCE OF THE NEGRO.

Perhaps it will be necessary here to recall the date on which this publication was launched. Somewhere in 1948 or thereabouts. I think what is important, in fact, is of grave importance in all this is the earnestness with which it is affirmed that apart from Negritude, there is no salvation for the Negroes. I quote from Sartre:

"The position in which the Negro finds himself, his original 'wrench', the sense of alienation imposed upon him by an alien mode of thought implied in the term 'assimilation', compelled him as in duty bound, to recapture his existential unity as a Negro or, if you prefer, the original purity of his intention by a progressive process of asceticism, beyond the realm of speech. Negritude, like freedom, is at once, a starting point and a goal. Its votaries must carry it through from the immediate to the stage of mediacy, in other words, they must give it a theme. Thus, what matters, so far as the Negro is concerned, is that he should eschew the white man's culture, in order to rediscover his Negro soul, as the Platonic philosopher abjures his body to attain to truth ("Black Orpheus" p.23). Let us analyse each

of the attributes with which Negritude is credited.

There is no denying the fact that the general tendency among Negroes, at any rate African Negroes, is towards communal living. This is borne in anyone who spends even a short time in Africa or merely observes the behavior of African students in Europe. The inaccuracy lies however in the claim

tion on a family basis or in small groups. This type of economy means that Africa was completely without large urban populations except during the last few years. The population was distributed throughout a number of small villages which contained a small number of families whose ties of kinship produced a veritable Penelope web extending to other villages.

practised within its borders is not "rationalised" as in a capitalist system where all concrete ties of fraternity are severed, and free reign given to rapid individualism.

SOLIDARITY

In a conversation I had with a French Protestant Minister of Religion who seemed to have been fascinated by the theory of Negritude, the minister contrasted the individualism of the whites with the solidarity of the blacks, because he was absolutely astonished to read the following phrase which was written by a present-day Negro: "I who am a slave...

or American) has become individualistic, this is not to be ascribed to any primeval virtue emanating from the Essence of the White race.

In the first case, as in the second, the new organic factors in the two respective economies provide the causes and the material foundation.

SEXUAL CONCEPT

It is a common place for Europeans to maintain that by some atavistic process inherent in him the Negro is far more susceptible to sexual impulses than other races. And there are a number of Africans who are flattered by this idea. They claim it as a sign of vitality. Some anthropologists have carried their bold theories to great lengths, spending a fair proportion of their time in trying to probe what they term the "mystery of sex in the Negro", measuring again and again the size of his sex organs. It must be admitted that the figures they produce are impressive. In a book entitled "Sexual Life in Black Africa" De Pedrats after collecting an exhaustive amount of documentation, pricks the bubble as it appears traditionally in writing. He records the following view:

"Let us say in a word that Africans by living closer to 'native' are perhaps more given to the pleasures of the flesh. Let us also say that they are probably more inclined that way by the use of condiments which also produce an effect on Europeans, and also through certain influences which have not yet been accurately defined, such as factors of soil or atmosphere according to time and place. Europeans too are subject to these influences, judging from the classic examples of 'sudanite' and cases of 'notorious departures from the

accepted norm" However this may be, it is not this "warmth of the Negro" which is cooked in the theory of Negritude, but something resembling it, though not quite as crude

As regards the Christian world which Sartre identifies with the whites "the relationship of the creature to his Creator is never carnal"; God being first and foremost an engineer. A few lines further on he adds, "In the sea and sky, the sand dunes, rocks and wind, the Negro experiences something of the soft silken touch of human flesh. He thrills to the sensual kiss of the sand as he rests upon its bosom, or to that of the sky as the cuddles in imagination against its luscious flanks... when he copulates with a woman of his race, the act takes on the semblance of the Mystery of being". Sartre regards this as a "spermatid religion," to use his own expression, and concludes as follows: "And so Negritude is basically a hermaphrodite phenomenon. This is how by using language as a magic wand, the pansexual vision of the world is converted into another attribute of the so-called Essence of Black Men."

SEXUAL PANTHEISM

That goes by the name of Negritude. Why does Sartre date the history of the white race from the Christian era? In order to prove his case, the theoretician prefers to be silent on the point. We should like

to be told whether the Greeks of old were African Negroes. It is a well-known fact that some of the religions of Asia subscribe to a pan-sexual vision of the Universe. As far as we are aware Negroes are not given credit for originating mythology, although all mythology is stamped to some extent with the marks of pan-sexuality. We are no specialists in Ancient History, but have learnt that "sexual pantheism" is to be found in the early stages of growth in every race, whether white, yellow or black. Everything points to the assumption that if there were green or grey races, they would be no exception. If not, we should like to know the reason. In actual fact the sexual concept of the world is based objectively upon ignorance which itself is a function of practical methods of investigation, and these depend upon the productive forces present at any given period of history.

As long as the relations between the white man and nature were at the stage now reached by the black man, (especially in the rural areas), the white man was bound to be as ignorant as the black man is to-day. His relative mastery over the world of external forces, was still rather halting and hesitant. As long as this was so the white man's understanding of the world was a "mystique" which led to a sexual concept of the world.

IN the early fifties there were two intellectual age-groups in the French speaking countries of Africa. The first group was represented by Leopold Senghor, the great poet who is now the President of Senegal. The second group was represented by French speaking African students in Paris.

We have published so far the views which the first group represents, these consisting in the first five series of articles on Negritude, written by Jean-Paul Sartre, the great French philosopher who did a lot to introduce the subject to the intellectual world.

We begin today the publication of criticisms of the subject by the second group of intellectuals. The first article is written by Albert Franklin, a Togolese. In certain parts of the second series, we shall discover the links between the intellectuals of English speaking Africa and their counterparts in French speaking Africa.

Apart from the fact that the series provoke an intellectual exercise and show the development of intellectual ferment in French speaking Africa during the early fifties, we have decided to publish these articles because two things show clearly:—

1. How "Towards Colonial Freedom" by Kwame Nkrumah and the struggle of Ghana influenced some of the leaders of thought in French speaking Africa and
2. How, in French speaking Africa, culture forms the basis of all discussions.

—EDITOR

that this tendency towards communal living is an intrinsic quality of "being in the world of the Blacks". Such an interpretation shows how very lethargic is this form of idealism.

In his book entitled "The Political Awakening in Africa" (L'Eveil Politique Africain) in the "Que sais-je?" series, Mr. Deschamps has made an interesting study of social organisation in Africa South of the Sahara, and has pointed out with admirable skill the striking character of the chaotic conditions that obtain there, in terms of an egalitarian society without any central direction.

Chieftaincy is nothing but the first system in operation with the Chief exercising supreme authority. The same author points out with a wealth of examples, the spasmodic existence of authentic State organisations. The strong community spirit in Negro societies is to be found in the survival of chaotic conditions. Will Sartre make bold to say that there does not exist, nor ever has existed a chaotic society outside the Negro world?

It should be pointed out that we are dealing with an elementary form of collectivism based upon an economy which has remained in a rudimentary stage. In a society in which the direct means of production are the hoe and a very old fashioned kind of weaving loom, a society in which communication (the direct means of production) falls woefully short of the real needs of the people, and cannot even ensure adequate inter-mingling, the dominant feature is produc-

But the mistake must not be made of thinking that such a community, in spite of its communal sense, knew nothing of the exploitation of man by man. The tribal system has long ceased to be pure and has become a semi-feudal or feudal system. Nevertheless, the kind of exploitation

The phrase indicated that the Negro suffers vicariously on behalf of all Negroes including all his ancestors who have passed on. This is a fact. But it is wrong to read into this the effects of some indefinable primeval virtue of the essence of the Negro. On the other hand, if the white man (European

VOLTA RIVER PROJECT

Continued from page 4

tunnel will be sealed off permanently with a concrete plug.

TRANSMISSION SYSTEM

The national transmission grid will comprise some 700 miles of 161 Kv line and 16 substations serving the principal cities and towns of Southern Ghana.

The transmission system will be of two types. System number one will consist of two double-circuit tower lines from Akosombo to the Volta Substation near Tema with connections to the Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO) Smelter. System number two will consist of a single circuit 161 Kv ring from Achimota Station westward to Kumasi and eastward to Akosombo with substations at Winneba, Cape Coast, Takoradi, Tarkwa, Prestea, Dunkwa, Obuasi, Kumasi, Konongo, Nkawka and Tafo.

Building the dam and ancillaries to provide the needed electricity for all

uses, is not without social problems.

Behind the dam, a lake will be formed covering an area of approximately 3,275 square miles and displacing riverine communities of about 77,000 people who have to be resettled.

Lake Volta will have a total capacity of 120,000 cubic feet of water, 4,500 miles of shore lines, with a seasonal rise and fall of 8 to 10 feet and the area to be covered by seasonal fluctuation of flood height will be 650 square miles. Caring for those who would be displaced, a Resettlement Working Party of 15 made up of representatives of the Volta River Authority, Lands Secretariat, Ministry of Agriculture, School of Architecture, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ministry of Social Welfare and United Nations Officials are earnestly working on comprehensive plans for resettling the 77,000 people.

ALUMINIUM SMELTER

An aluminium smelter at Tema is to be constructed by the Volta Aluminium Company Limited (VALCO): a Consortium of two American Companies, i.e. Kaiser Aluminium and Chemical Industries, and Reynolds Metals, operating with an initial capital of £G60.7 million, 75 per cent of which will be obtained in American Government loans. With an ultimate consumption of approximately 300,000 kilowatts, VALCO will be the principal customer for the electricity produced at Akosombo

In the early stages of the VALCO operation, the alumina will be imported (at a later stage however, it is anticipated that Ghana's own considerable reserve of bauxite will supply all the necessary alumina to satisfy the needs of the smelter). In the first instance, it is proposed that the smelter will produce some 80,000 long tons of aluminium ingot per annum, rising to 120,000 long tons, the greater part of which will be exported.

Some 15,000 people will be directly employed at the smelter plant, providing a valuable additional source of employment for the growing township of Tema with better opportunities for increased sources of income and better living standards.

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26th TO 31st AUGUST 1963

26th AUGUST, MONDAY:

GHANA: Mr. Kwesi Armah, Ghana's High Commissioner in London, appeals to foreign powers which have opposed the formation of the Union Government of Africa to support it since it will be the mainstay of world peace.

NIGERIA: Mr. Mongi Slim, Tunisian Foreign Minister, who is now in Lagos to deliver a special message from President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, to Sir Abubakar Tafawa Bewale, the Nigerian Prime Minister, declares that any political grouping in Africa is an affront to the spirit of the Addis Ababa Charter.

27th AUGUST, TUESDAY:

UPPER NIGER: A South African airline has been placed under sequestration by the Niger Government when it made a forced landing at Niamey airport because of fuel shortage.

A Government communique says "this was a clear provocation" by South Africa. The Niger Government has earlier made a "strong protest" against the landing. The pilot has been told that "in terms of the Chicago Charter he can land at Niamey Airport but by the Charter of Addis Ababa the aircraft will be seized".

GHANA: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director of the Encyclopaedia Africana, a staunch fighter against colonialism and imperialism, who is fondly referred to as the father of Pan-Africanism, dies at his Accra residence at 10.40 p.m., at the ripe age of 96 years.

NIGERIA: Lagos police are investigating the loss of £10,000 in the Ministry of Finance. A top ministry official has been ordered to report to the police everyday while investigations continue.

28th AUGUST, WEDNESDAY:

UGANDA: King Kigeri V, deposed ruler of Rwanda, leaves Kampala by road for Nairobi after being declared a prohibited immigrant by the Uganda Government. The Uganda Government two days ago gave King Kigeri 48 hours notice to leave the country.

King Kigeri was deposed after a republican coup in 1961 and has been in Uganda for several months.

ALGERIA: Mr. Mohammed Zennadi, 28-year-old journalist, will go to trial in Algiers shortly following the assassination of Mohammed Khe-miste, former Algerian Foreign Minister.

GHANA: Work on the £61,650,000 Kwame Nkrumah Steelworks, the most modern in Africa, being built at Tema is expected to be completed by the end of this year.

The equipment being used in the construction of the Steelworks is the most up-to-date of its kind in the world.

SOUTH AFRICA: Scientists and engineers are now being recruited by the South African Government to design and build rockets for South Africa's army.

TANGANYIKA: President Nyerere of Tanganyika has translated Shakespeare's tragedy "Julius Caesar" into Swahili. It is expected to be published soon in Dar-es-Salaam.

GHANA: A four-man delegation of the World Peace Congress arrives in Accra to discuss the question of world peace and general disarmament with the President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

29th AUGUST, THURSDAY:

GHANA: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director of Encyclopaedia Africana, who is fondly referred to as the father of Pan-Africanism, who died in Accra on Tuesday will be given a State burial at 4. p.m.

KENYA: The Kenya Government plans to introduce legislation controlling the reproduction of the Kenya flag, coat of arms and portraits of Jomo Kenyatta, the Prime Minister, and other Ministers.

TANGANYIKA: The Tanganyika Minister of National Culture and Youth, Mr. L. N. Sigoaka, will pay a four-day visit to Khartoum, Sudan on September 15.

TUNISIA: A two-man Algerian delegation arrives in Tunis to take part in the negotiations on co-operation between Algeria and Tunisia. The delegates are Mr. Bamiloud, head of the Arab Division in the Algerian Foreign Ministry and Mr. Belghoula, Director of the Algerian Central Bank.

Already 20 delegates led by Mr. Mohammed Yazid have arrived in Tunis since Monday.

CONGO: Heads of Congo (Brazzaville) Diplomatic Missions in Washington, Paris, Israel, Cameroun, Chad and Central African Republic have been recalled following the recent resignation of President Abbe Youlou. They are expected to be briefed by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Charles Ganao, on events leading to the establishment of the present Provisional Government, its policies and other aspects of the new regime.

30th AUGUST, FRIDAY:

MOROCCO: A Kenyan member of Parliament, Mr. Luke R. Obok, says that the Ghana Government of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah "is the best manned and the most efficient in West Africa and that it is an example for Kenya to follow".

Mr. Obok was commenting in Rabat on his recent visit to some West African countries.

GHANA: A Government delegation led by Mr. F. K. D. Goka, Minister of Finance and Trade, holds economic talks at Afleo, the Ghana-Togo border, with a Togolese delegation.

SOUTH AFRICA: The South African Minister of Justice, Mr. J. Vorster, announces that the South African Government will return Dr. Kenneth Godfrey and his three companions who were kidnapped by the South African Police from the British protectorate of Bechuanaland.

KENYA: Mr. B. O. Menezes, a 24-year-old Kenya-born Asian student of Architecture at Nairobi has won the Government's £100 prize for the design of street decorations for the independence celebrations in September.

31st AUGUST, SATURDAY:

ALGERIA: Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, the Algerian Prime Minister, expresses his country's solidarity with those who joined the historic Washington Civil Rights March.

GHANA: The Future Farmers' Organisation has decided to name one of its farms after Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director of Encyclopaedia Africana who died in his Accra residence last week.

MOROCCO: Dr. Muhyiddin Fikini, Libyan Premier and Foreign Minister, arrives in Morocco on a three-day official visit.

through communist movement through consultation...

The world socialist movement is witnessing this ugly spectacle of open polemics and bitter recriminations because the inevitable "differences in approach and evaluation" have arisen and the machinery for ironing out these differences has failed to function properly.

CONTROVERSY

The controversy began towards the end of 1961 and led to the demand by the parties of Indonesia, Vietnam, Sweden, Great Britain and New Zealand for a meeting of all the fraternal parties. This demand was made early in 1962 and in their letter of April 7, 1962, to Moscow, the Chinese supported summoning such a meeting to examine the differences that had arisen. Unfortunately such a conference still has not taken place and even bilateral talks between Moscow and Peking were delayed for over eighteen months. When these bilateral talks finally started in July this year, the public polemics had gone on for too long and had rendered the atmosphere unnecessarily charged and quite ungenial. The present cleavage owes much to the failure of the fraternal parties to hold "joint comradely consultations" between early 1962 and mid-1963.

It is my considered view that prompt and friendly consultations could have secured a harmonisation of viewpoints on some, if not all, of the points being debated. For example, such exchange of views could have enabled Moscow to convince Peking and other fraternal parties of the need to modify its known stand on a nuclear test ban treaty. It could have cleared the air over the Cuban crisis, on the supply of Soviet arms to India, on the issue of supplying nuclear data to China, and on the greater emphasis now placed on parliamentary struggle by the fraternal parties of Western Europe. It could have brought home to all the value of Yugoslavia to the defence and economy of Eastern Europe; thus providing a basis for developing inter-state relations with Tito, while keeping him in ideological quarantine as decided by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings.

It is the absence of close comradely consultations on these issues, among others, that has opened the door to suspicion. And suspicion in turn has led to the charges of capitulation, revisionism, dogmatism, etc. What we are witnessing today is to a great extent a crisis of confidence within the socialist camp.

PROPAGANDA

In order to clear the air and understand the actual positions of both Russia and China in the current controversy it is important that socialists all over the world, and particularly in Africa, quickly dismiss two absurd propaganda gimmicks now being used to fan the flames of rancour and distrust. The Western press, for obvious reasons, is busy peddling these absurdities. But unfortunately some socialist quarters also engage in this tirade of fabrication and vituperation.

The first propaganda gimmick is that the Chinese Peoples Republic wants to unleash a nuclear world war. The whole aim is to paint the Chinese Communists as sadists who want

to see half the world's population buried under atomic debris and nuclear devastation.

Students of history will not fail to recognise in this a similar propaganda campaign that was unleashed against the young Soviet State in the early years of its life. It was a cover for the war of intervention and for Western support for the reactionaries in the Russian civil war. No doubt the U.S.A. is dreaming of the chance to reconquer China where she lost thousands of billions of dollar investments with the overthrow of the reactionary rule of Chiang-Kai-Shek and his clique. And the easiest way to get about this is to pretend that the U.S. is trying to save the world from the warmongers in Peking. Africa has grown in political understanding and cannot be expected to swallow such trash.

In their letter of March 9, 1963, the Chinese show their concern for world peace in this statement: "the possibility of preventing a new world war and preserving world peace will increase with the further development of the strength of the socialist countries, the further development of the national liberation movement, of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples, of the movement in defence of world peace and, at the same time, with the full utilization of the contradictions in the imperialist camp". Here the Chinese not only express their desire for peace. They have a strategy for winning and maintaining it. The other side to the dispute, the Soviet Union, duly acknowledges China's desire for peace. In its letter of February 21, 1963, the Russians, after declaring their support for peace, state: "The CPC (Communist Party of China) stresses its adherence to the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, acknowledges the correctness of the conclusions of the (Moscow) Statement concerning the possibility of preventing a new world war."

That China wants a world war is therefore a complete falsification of China's stand in international affairs. It is an invention of the imperialist press to cover the aggressive designs by U.S. and British imperialism in the Far East and in South East Asia.

DEAL

The second propaganda gimmick that must be thrown overboard lock, stock and barrel is the allegation that the Soviet Union has struck a deal with U.S.A. and has betrayed the cause of international socialism. It is not only groundless but uncharitable.

Here again, this is a theme being played up by the Western press. Writing about the Moscow-Peking controversy in "The Observer" of August 25, Edward Crankshaw, a veteran British imperialist in the Moscow claimed that "Pravda" (the official organ of the Soviet Communist Party) has abandoned the slogan "to each according to his needs". His report continues: "In a word, no communism, unless you are strong and heavily industrialised like the Soviet Union. Translated into the sort of terms understood by simple communists in the backward areas of the

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the idealists in the more world (to say nothing about sophisticated parts) this means: first get strong and rich, then think again. This is what the Soviet Union is doing. It is not what Lenin told it to do"

In short, Edward Crankshaw is peddling the view that the Soviet Union has abandoned the teaching of Lenin and the tenets of socialism generally. This is like calling a person a leper in the old biblical days. It hurts much the same as a devout Christian is hurt by being called a pagan.

The position of the Soviet Union is clearly brought out in its letter of March 30, 1963 to the Chinese. In it we read: "Following the economic centre, the political and military centres of imperialism also shifted from Europe to the United States of America. The monopolist bourgeoisie of U.S.A. has become the main citadel of international reaction, and has assumed the role of the saviour of capitalism." And to underline the fact that the only way open to socialists is a struggle against U.S. imperialism the letter continues: "The contradiction between capitalism and socialism is the chief contradiction of our epoch. On the outcome of the struggle of the two world systems the destinies of peace, democracy and socialism depend to a decisive extent"

AFRICA'S INTEREST

The question might be asked: what is Africa's interest in the Sino-Soviet controversy? The answer is simple—the unity and solidarity of the world socialist system is a major factor in the global struggle against imperialism. Africa is fighting the same enemy—imperialism—like the socialist countries. Africa's rapid reconstruction and development within the context of complete independence demands the continued existence of a powerful and united world socialist system. Furthermore, a militarily powerful socialist system is the best guarantee for world peace; and conversely disunity among socialist countries can encourage aggressors who dream of re-establishing a world imperialist system through nuclear arms.

Today the movements for national liberation and complete independence in Africa are faced with major problems for the solution of which unity in the world socialist system is an important condition. There is the problem of how to conduct normal inter-state relations between the socialist and African states and at the same time help forward the national liberation movements against colonialism and neo-colonialism. There is the problem of how to weld the socialist and liberation movements in all African countries into a continental peoples movement fighting for democracy, for complete independence, for a socialist pattern of development and for continental political unity. There is the problem of how to conduct an all-out struggle against imperialist positions in Africa and at the same time preserve the peace of the world. These are problems of immense

dimensions. They can be solved only if there is unity and harmony in the socialist camp; if there is understanding between the various socialist and liberation movements in Africa; if complete understanding and smooth liaison exist between the African movements on the one hand and the international socialist movement. We in Africa see the attempts to disrupt the unity of the world socialist movement as a sword pointed at the heart of our struggles against all forms of colonialism.

There is no more urgent task for the forces of socialism and national liberation the world over than the restoration of harmony and unity in the socialist world system. We simply must refuse to play the game of imperialism.

SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

And what is this game? It is to push the Sino-Soviet dispute to the point of no return ("Soviet and Chinese interests have become irreconcilable" Newsweek September 2, 1963). There is the suggestion from the Western press that Russia will have to break off diplomatic relations with China and impose an economic blockade (oil in particular) on her. The game is to isolate and destroy China first in order to make it easier to destroy the Soviet Union

later. Their objective is to destroy socialism ultimately even though at the moment they pretend to take Russia's side against China. "Americans who have talked with Khrushchev lately share the impression that his objective of 'burying' the U.S. by means short of risking an atomic blow up has not been abandoned. He challenges the West..." (Kenneth Crawford, Washington Correspondent of Newsweek, September 2, 1963).

The present differences in the world socialist movement are transient. They can and will be overcome. Because the things that bind the socialist parties and the national liberation movements together are more important and fundamental than the existing differences. Writing to the Chinese comrades on February 21, 1963 the Soviet Communist Party stated: "We are welded together by the unity of the class interests of the proletariat, of the working people of the whole world, by the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. No matter how serious our differences might seem today, one cannot forget that in the great historical struggle of the forces of socialism against capitalism, we are standing with you on the same side of the barricade." The Chinese reciprocated these sentiments in their letter of March 9 with the words: "We have never spared our efforts in the interest of unity. We are always distressed by and opposed to anything that is not in the interest of unity."

We agree entirely. And what about acting on our convictions?

by Julius Sago

Editorial

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compete with the foreign monopolies.

Britain is still supporting the monarchists of Yemen against the Republicans; because she is determined to use the monarchists in her design to hand over the oil-rich Sada and Qafila areas to her vassal in Saudi Arabia to incorporate the Southern part of the country from Taiz to the Red Sea coast in the British protectorate of Aden, and to give an area bordering on Bayhan to the Bayhan Sultan, who is another British vassal. There is no denying the fact that the British have a good deal of experience in the recarving of the map of the Middle East. Much in this respect was done by the notorious Lawrence of Arabia.

Middle East is an outstanding example of

neo-colonialism. A form of plunder and oppression which has nothing to learn from old colonialism and the more modern imperialism is taking place in the area. It is a rearguard supply base for imperialist war.

We in Africa should learn and study what is happening in the Middle East because of its proximity with our continent.

We agree with President Nkrumah that events in the Middle East and those in Africa are closely inter-related and that activities of neo-colonialists in the Middle East countries must be regarded as a vital object lesson for Africa.

One fact which we must emphasise, however, is that no African state should dabble in the affairs of the Middle East. Any such attempt is bound to destroy Middle East Arab Unity and disrupt African Unity.