

# THE SPARK

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## EDITORIAL

### INVESTMENTS IN AFRICA (I)

ECONOMIC exploitation is the essence of imperialism. And in order to maintain this exploitation which is organised by and for the benefit of monopoly groups and financial circles in the metropolitan country, an advanced capitalist system undertakes to found and run an empire. This is colonialism.

But a stage is reached when the building of an empire in the political sense is abandoned. Instead, political power is handed over to the capitalist and feudal classes in the former colony while economic and other privileges remain in the hands of the metropolitan power. This stage is neo-colonialism. It is empire building without the flag.

The essence of both systems — colonialism and neo-colonialism — is the economic exploitation of the weaker country in the interest of monopoly groups and financial circles in the imperialist country. Again, in both systems, economic exploitation is carried out through the control of the financial and banking system, the domination of export-import trade and through investments.

Today, when the greater part of Africa is under the influence of neo-colonialism and those African states which have taken the road of complete independence and socialism are continually besieged by the forces of neo-colonialism, economic exploitation is carried out to a great extent through loans and investments made by the former colonial powers and their associates (U.S.A., West Germany and Israel principally) to the new states of Africa. Hence the battle against imperialism in Africa has tended to rage around two issues. The first is the nature and terms of foreign loans and investments. The second is who should control the "commanding heights" of the national economy—foreign firms or the state?

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# FIGHTING NEO-COLONIALISM

WITH the setting up of the Organisation of African Unity, Africa's struggles against colonialism and apartheid have had a new lease of life. A powerful new strategy of concerted action in Africa, in the United Nations and at international conferences has made its impact felt.

The same cannot be said about Africa's struggle against neo-colonialism. And yet one of the foundations of the Addis Ababa Charter is the fight against neo-colonialism.

The reasons for this are three-fold. In the first place, there is not as clear an understanding of the nature and working of neo-colonialism among African leaders and peoples as there is of colonialism and apartheid. Secondly, some of the high contracting parties at Addis Ababa are themselves the manifestation of neo-colonialism and consequently to them the fight against neo-colonialism looks very much like a call for self-liquidation. Thirdly, the states which should spearhead the onslaught on neo-colonialism are hamstrung by considerations arising from the "spirit of Addis Ababa."

### BIGGEST PROBLEM

There is need—indeed an urgent need—for a step-up of the struggle against neo-colonialism. Such a struggle is in complete accord with the Addis Ababa Charter, one of the preambles of which states that all African governments are "determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our states, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms."

It is useful to assess the

magnitude and urgency of the problem. Some people think the problem of neo-colonialism is a relatively minor one compared to that of apartheid and colonialism. This is a very incorrect evaluation of contemporary Africa. On the contrary, a careful study and assessment of the situation in Africa today shows unmistakably that neo-colonialism is our biggest single problem. Kwame Nkrumah, who has already established himself as a great architect and leader of the African Revolution, has some-

which have taken the road of complete independence. It shall dawn upon us that some sixty per cent of all Africans today live under one form or other of neo-colonialism.

### YARDSTICK

Here it is important to have an accurate yardstick for determining which African state could be classified as having taken the road of complete independence. There are at least seven criteria to go by.

by

Julius Sago

These are:

1. Absence of military entanglements either in the form of military pacts with non-African powers or of reliance on an army, raised and controlled by a former colonial power or through military arrangements with NATO countries;
2. Effective state control and direction of all aspects of the national economy and the bringing of foreign economic activity under state supervision and direction;
3. Absolute state control of the financial system;
4. Vigorous decolonisation of the state machinery;
5. Effective pursuit by deeds of a foreign policy of non-alignment between the big powers;
6. Existence of a people's government whose authority is founded on democratic forces and on the common masses at large;
7. A regime committed to a radical transformation of the political, economic and social system and not just content with plans to ameliorate conditions under the existing social order.

### INDEPENDENT STATES

Using these criteria, the African states which can be said to have taken the road of complete independence are U.A.R., Ghana, Algeria, Mali and Guinea with a total population of 51 million. In these states, the forces of neo-colonial-

ism are not absent. Rather they are on the defensive and are constantly seeking ways and means of establishing themselves. In the other independent African states with a total population of 155 millions, neo-colonialism is on the saddle and its activities are directed towards maintaining itself in power and expanding its influence.

A breakdown of the social systems under which our peoples live is given by the following table:—

SOCIAL ORDER	POPULATION	% TOTAL
Colonialism	38 million	14.7
Apartheid	16 million	6.2
Complete Independence	51 million	19.6
Neo-Colonialism	155 million	59.5
Total	260 million	100

The rating of the struggle against neo-colonialism as Africa's biggest fight today is supported by other considerations. The speed with which African colonial territories attain political independence and the nature of that independence once attained owe much to the progress made in the struggle against neo-colonialism. And the balance of forces between neo-colonialism and radical African nationalism in the community of independent African States will have a big effect on the course of events both in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid and in the drive for the political union of all Africa.

### STRATEGY

The strategy of neo-colonialism in Africa is carried out in two stages. The first stage is balkanisation and consists in the creation of small states "with neither the resources nor the manpower to provide for their own integrity and viability." The second stage is to establish "patron-client relationships" between the former colonial power and the newly independent states which cannot stand on their feet.

In this relationship of unequals, economically and militarily, the European or American "power forces the conclusion of pacts with the balkanised states which give control of their foreign policy to the former. Often, too, they provide for military bases and standing armies of the alien power on the territories of the new states." Behind this façade of agreements and pacts the newly independent African states "continue the classical relationship of a colonial economy to its metropolitan patron, i.e. provides primary products and exclusive markets for the

latter's goods. Only now the relationship is covered up under the guise of aid and protective solicitude."

### THE DANGER

The end product of these new and indirect ties is that the independence of the states subscribing to these arrangements "is in name only, for their liberty of action is gone."

This new power structure is dangerous in four distinct ways. Firstly it deceives the masses for it

gives the appearance of nationhood to the African territory but leaves the substance of sovereignty with the metropolitan power."

Secondly, the masses are cheated, for their demands for a new and better life after independence are not met. "A certain token aid is pumped in by the colonialist power in order to mislead the people and give the impression that something is being done for

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them. It is meant to divert the nascent demand for a change of government involving more positive independence and a programme envisaging popular welfare."

Thirdly, the new system is inherently unstable as pressure is brought to bear on it by two opposing sets of forces—the popular demand for a meaningful independence and the struggle among imperialist groups for vesting control of the state apparatus in the hands of their local proteges.

Fourthly, neo-colonialism is a threat to other sovereign African states which have decided to follow the road of complete independence. "The intention" of the colonial powers "is to use the new African states, so circumscribed, as puppets through whom influence can be extended over states which maintain an independence in keeping with their sovereignty. The creation of several weak and unstable states of this kind in Africa, it is hoped, will ensure the continued dependence on the former colonial powers for economic aid, and impede African unity."

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## ARCHITECTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM



Mr. John F. Kennedy, President of U.S.A.



Mr. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of Great Britain.



General Charles de Gaulle, President of the French Republic

thing helpful to say on this point. In his book *Africa Must Unite* we read: "The greatest danger at present facing Africa is neo-colonialism..." (p. 173).

Other evidence prove his assessment right. Today independent Africa has a total population of 206 million, leaving 54 million people living under both apartheid and colonialism. If we subtract the population of those few African states



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana.



Mr. Ben Bella, President of the Republic of Algeria.



Colonel Abdel Nasser, President of U.A.R.



Mr. Modibo Keita, President of the Republic of Mali.



# FALLACY OF WHITE SUPREMACY (5)

# RACIAL DIFFERENCES

by  
**Obotan Awuku**

THERE are many facets to the fallacy of white supremacy. We have seen so far the political, religious and scientific aspects of it. Prejudices die hard and as we have seen, even men of science have not been able to rid themselves of the sentimentalities attached to their races. While some, like Darlington and Coon, are violently opposed to any idea of racial equality and vainly try to prove that Negroes and the lighter skinned races evolved from different species of the ape, there are those, like Professor A. S. Romer of Harvard University, who use subtler and more clandestine means to prove that Negroes are inferior species of man.

In "Man and Vertebrates: 2", Professor Romer agrees that all living men are members of a single species "Homo sapiens". He is also in agreement with the view that there probably has never been a pure race. He recalls the movements of populations throughout historical times and mentions the Celts, Germans, Huns and Avars, and the Turks. Similar movements occurred in Africa. There is the as yet undisproved theory that some West Africans at least, migrated either from Egypt or North Africa; and there is the more ascertainable fact of the Zulu exodus southwards. There have been similar migrations in Asia and the Americas.

### CENTRE OF DISPERSAL

Professor Romer places Asia as the centre of dispersal of mammalian groups from where they radiated southward to Australia or Africa, westward into Europe, eastward via Alaska to the Americas.

Corresponding to his theory, he finds the most primitive of living mammals in the comparatively isolated areas, far removed from their Asiatic homes. Australia, he says, is the home of the most primitive mammals, while, archaic types persisted in South

America long after they were extinct elsewhere. He states further that the fauna in Africa is a survival of that of Europe and Asia two epochs ago.

Upon this premise, Professor Romer argues that human races have followed a similar pattern of migration and that those found in Australia and Africa are of primitive types. The learned professor attempts to prove this assumption by the physical criteria of skin colour, the face, hair, stature, skull proportions and blood groups.

Using these yardsticks, he arranges the races in order of advanced development as follows:—

1. BROAD-HEADS:
  - (a) White Races:
    - Alpine: Western Broad-heads.
    - (b) Yellow Races:
      - Mongoloids: Eastern Broad-heads.
  2. MEDITERRANEANS (In a broad sense)
    - (a) Nordics
    - (b) Mediterraneans, Hindus, etc.
    - (c) Eastern Long-heads (Yellow Races)
  3. AUSTRALOIDS:
    - (a) Indo-Australians.
    - (b) Australians.
  4. PRIMITIVE HUMAN STOCK:
    - (a) African Negroes.
    - (b) Oceanic Negroes.

The purpose of this article is to examine how far he succeeds in proving his point of view.

### SKIN COLOUR:

The Harvard Professor teaches that pigments of hu-

man skins are caused by the same substance known as melanin. The colour of the skin is therefore caused by the amount of melanin in it. Primates, he says, have a considerable amount of melanin in their skins and thus have heavy pigmentation. He assumes therefore that primitive man was dark-complexioned. He defeats himself however by entertaining doubts as to whether the colour of primitive man was as heavy as that of the present day Negro. This is quite a big flaw in this theory, since it leads us directly to the influence of environment in skin colour at least. He repudiates the fact that environment can exert influences on racial types to any considerable extent, but concedes that environmental factors may cause such changes in the development of an individual to such an extent that we may be tempted to place him in a racial group other than his own.

Considering that ancient populations were extremely small, we can readily appreciate the extent of environmental factors in the development of man. A tendency in an individual had a tremendous chance of being a characteristic of a whole race which might be the progeny of that person. The suggested explanation for skin colours: namely that environmental conditions in say the tropics favoured the black colour while the temperate and frigid cold favoured light pigmentation is more acceptable and logical. This assumption is strengthened by Professor Romer's own acquiescence that primitive man might not have been as black as the Negro.

**EYES:** Regarding the eyes, he says that the fold in the upper eyelid, characteristic of the Mongoloids, is an infantile character. He cleverly avoids the conclusion, however, that it is primitive, since in this instance it will disrupt his racial hierarchy, although he does not fail to draw that conclusion where convenient.

**FACE:** Archaeological finds prove, Professor Romer asserts, that breadth of nose was characteristic of early human types. This corresponds to his theory of Negroes and Australoids being primitive and so he concludes accordingly. He is baffled, however, above the narrow, elevated noses of Oceanic Negroes who, according to his classification, are also primitive.

Perhaps the learned professor does not know that prominent noses are quite common among many Negro sub-races, even in the Sudan which with the Guinea forest is the domicile of the pure Negroes.

As regards the size of the face, the infantile characteristic suits his argument and he uses it accordingly. He says that the Negro or Australian face, like a child's, is short and broad and is therefore primitive. But he fails to conclude that the broad face of the Mongoloid is also primitive. And he claims that lips give little basis for racial characterisation although we know that the full lips of the Negro are a development of our semian ancestors whose lips were thin.

**HAIR:** Professor Romer regards hair as the most useful basis for racial classification and writes on page 250 of *Man and the*

*Vertebrates* that "although hair is not preserved in prehistoric remains, the present distribution of hair types suggests that considerable curling may have been characteristic of early man."

The learned Professor from Harvard, has assumed before he ever proved it that the Negro is physically inferior to the white man, and upon his assumption concludes that since woolly hair is found among Negroes, early men must have had woolly hair! Yet this very factor, hair, is one of the points with which he is trying to convince us that Negroes are primitive. In other words, he uses the factor with which he tries to reach a conclusion as the conclusion itself.

### HAIRINESS:

*If our semian ancestors are any guide (and Professor Romer will agree that they are) then the evidence leads to the fact that the hair of the Mongoloid is nearest to that of early man, followed by the wavy hair of Europeans and Australians, while the woolly hair of the Negro is the most developed.*

Again although he mentions that there is much diversity in the hairiness of the different races, he fails to indicate that abundant body hair is a primitive

characteristic. The omission is deliberate because this fact does not fit in with his preconceived ideas. Most unfortunately for Professor Romer's prejudices, the Alpine broad heads at the very apex of his racial hierarchy are, second to the Ainus of Japan, about the hairiest people on earth! The long headed races among the whites tend to be less hairy, while the Mongoloids and Negroes (the most primitive of races, according to his classification) tend to have lighter beards and less body hair.

*Furthermore, the professor writes that "in many light-haired races the amount of black pigment in the hair tends to increase with age, so that blond or red-haired children tend to have more brownish and darker hair as adults". Pursuing his assumption that infantile characteristics are signs of primitiveness, one would have expected him to conclude that people who tend to have blond hair are primitive. But since this does not tally with his prejudices, he fails to draw the logical conclusion.*

### STATURE:

Although the learned professor asserts that stature unquestionably differs from one racial group to another, he cautions its use as a basis for racial discrimination, for, says he, there are great

variations within individual groups; and, nurture tends to affect height. But, it can be said that there are great diversities among indivi-

duals of the same group in respect of most of the physical criteria for race differ-

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## JOMO KENYATTA

writes on

### THE SIGNIFICANCE

of the

### ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE

in October

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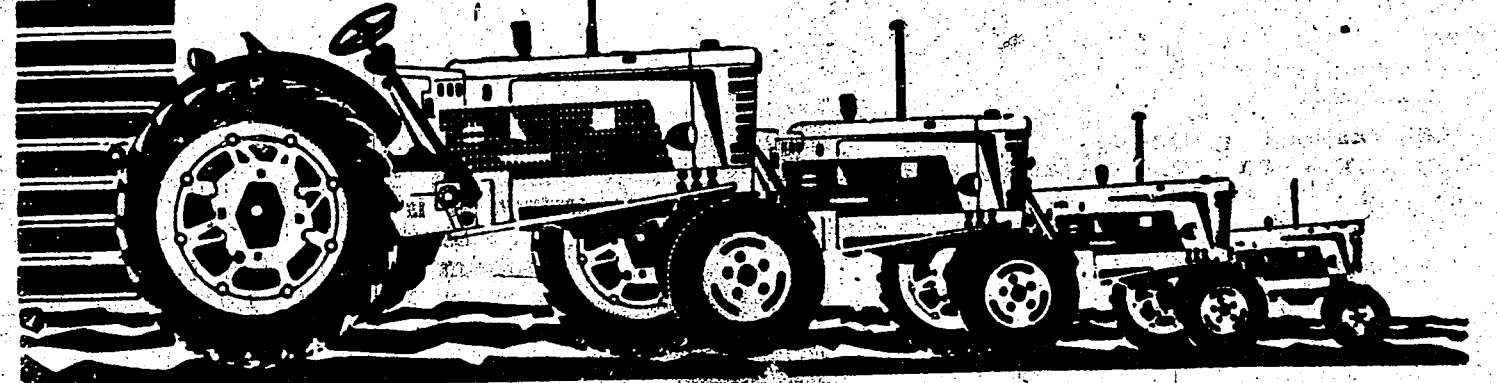
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# The Political Conditions of Expansion in Under-Developed Countries

by Andre Philip

THE great problem of the second half of the twentieth century arises from the entrance into world history of nearly 1,500 million human beings, half the population of the world, who until now have been in a condition of general economic and political subjection. These people are becoming aware of their poverty and the possibility of overcoming it and are striving, by their own efforts or with outside help, to begin their own economic development.

This is extremely difficult and cannot, in the first stage, be accompanied by any appreciable improvement in their standard of living, for they must first create the necessary economic foundations, improve working methods and find the indispensable means of production. It is only after creating an initial accumulation of sufficient capital and crossing a given "critical threshold", varying according to the country, that improvements in production show themselves in an appreciable rise in the standard of living.

## CAPITAL AND TIME

I want, in this article, to examine first the situation which exists in under-developed countries, then what can be done to speed up their economic development.

Under-developed countries need considerably more capital than the countries of Western Europe needed at the corresponding stage of their development. The under-developed countries of the twentieth century, indeed, are more numerous, for they cover nearly half of the globe. Most of them suffer, also, from continually-increasing over-population and, to the extent that the rate of creation of new capital does not permit them to cross the "critical threshold", growth in income is in danger of being absorbed and surpassed by growth in population.

Finally, these peoples are more urgently than we were in the nineteenth century—pressed for time. The economic expansion of western Europe took 500 years' preparation; it was the fruit of a series of waves of economic activity, of which the earlier ones came to nothing but provided experience which strengthened the ones which followed.

First among them was the wave of commercial activity of the thirteenth century, finally absorbed into the surrounding medieval system. The second was the commercial and financial movement of the sixteenth century, of which the accumulated capital went principally towards the cost of consumption and financing the artistic and literary expansion of the Renaissance. Finally came the upsurge of the nineteenth century which culminated in the Industrial Revolution.

But from the thirteenth century a merchant class had been in the process of formation and western Europe had experienced, with the rise of the Communes, a fundamental training in democracy and the coming to the fore of a

group of men accustomed to taking the initiative, to the use of reason and the search for economic advantage. When our people jointly embarked on the path to the Industrial Revolution, there had already been nearly 500 years of psychological and social preparation such as the greater part of the under-developed countries of today have never known.

Apart from this, the impulse towards expansion in western Europe, beginning in one country, spread to its neighbours: first Britain, then France, then Germany; but there was no significant time lag between the different countries of Europe and, outside them, there was no other pole of attraction.

Now today, while half the world is in a state of appalling poverty, the United States is enjoying great prosperity and Russia is in the middle of a process of industrial transformation. In addition, press, radio, television and cinema permit each country to know the condition of its neighbours.

## TRANSFORMATION

If, for these reasons, the capital needs of under-developed countries are particularly heavy, one must recognise that their absorptive capacity, on the other hand, remains more limited than was the case of Europe in the nineteenth century. The example of Iraq, the Philippines and South Viet-Nam, where the massive incursion of American capital has only served to enrich a minority and to strengthen social classes opposed to economic progress throws these limits into relief. No economic expansion is possible unless certain political and social preliminaries have been determined upon.

It is necessary that the power of feudalism should be broken, that clan and tribal structure should have collapsed and lastly, that the rule of the money-lender should have been at least reduced by a modern system of collecting and marketing agricultural products. The accumulation of capital, internally or, above all, from abroad, before these essential transformations have been achieved runs the risk of compromising the whole future of the country.

Another difficulty comes from the absence, in most under-developed countries, of a real class of private investors. The liberal economists of the nineteenth century were wrong in believing that the mere existence of profit automatically evoked innovation and initiative. In the history of the nineteenth century we

see that profit, as such, led to no profound economic transformation. French commercial classes, in particular, remained for years under the protective shelter of the state and demanded monopolies and privileges from the time of Colbert onwards but it was not France that gave birth to the Industrial Revolution.

## PURITAN IDEAS

This transformation appeared in England, hand in hand with the spread of puritan ideas. The man of enterprise in the Industrial Revolution, in both the cotton and iron industries, was in general, a former artisan or peasant, whose character had been formed by the nonconformist sects and he was persuaded that he could earn nothing by his own merit, that his salvation depended on Divine decree and that success in this world was proof of the favour of Providence.

To be worthy of the salvation gratuitously received, he had to avoid the snares of the devil, that is, to say, of extravagance and the wasteful consumption of his goods. He must lead an austere life, work having a religious value, and profit—the product of work—should be reinvested in its entirety if man was to remain worthy of his unmerited salvation.

Curiously enough, in 1873, the industrial revolution in Japan presented comparable features. It was accompanied by a return to religious Shintoism, the cult of the Emperor. It was not the commercial classes of the feudal period who brought about the Japanese industrial revolution but the best men from the lower ranks of the aristocracy who, considering that their duty was to serve the Emperor, mobilised themselves in his service, eating little, sleeping hard and reinvesting the whole of the profits so realised.

We find nothing comparable in the under-developed countries of our own age. Insofar as a privileged class appears, whether it be an ancient feudal class or a new merchant class, it seeks to make the largest possible profit in purely commercial or speculative operations. Once a man has made his fortune, he spends it in prestige consumption to enable him and his family to keep their rank in society. Investment in industry appears too modest, too risky; its remuneration too long-term. Usury or speculation in agricultural land or urban housing is continually preferred.

## ADMINISTRATIVE ENTREPRENEURS

There seems then, to be little hope, in the under-developed countries, of seeing the birth of a class of entrepreneurs willing to break new ground such as the one which appeared in Europe during the nineteenth century. It is less difficult to train administrative "entrepreneurs", officials in the service of the state.

Whereas often, in the history of these countries, money and manual labour have been despised, there has been a prejudice in favour of administrative work by "white colour" workers. It often continues to attract the elite among young people.

It is not always easy to create a class of honest civil servants, since such societies are emerging from a collective morality based on the enlarged family or clan, where every man's duty was to share with his family such advantages as he might obtain. Nepotism appears inevitable in the transition period, less as an example of immorality than as the survival of rules of an earlier morality incapable of adaptation to the new conditions of production. In spite of that, it is easier, in one generation, to educate teams of good administrators than to create private entrepreneurs.

In these circumstances, what is the best political policy to follow to encourage economic expansion in a particular country? A certain number of choices must be made:

*The country must choose between purely internal action and an expansion financed in part from abroad. It seems clear that expansion by means of native capital alone is quite impossible for a small country. This course is only open to great nations like China and India and, even in those cases, at the price of very great suffering imposed on the whole population.*

## FOREIGN CAPITAL

In general, it seems that it is advantageous to have recourse to foreign capital, in part, to ensure the minimum critical effort from the start and to allow certain actions to be directed against the bottle-necks which may arise at any given moment. Foreign capital can never be more than a small part of what is needed; but its intervention can be decisive in alleviating suffering and shortening the duration of the several stages.

From 1873 to 1895, in the first stage of its industrial evolution, Japan was able to begin its industrial expansion with minimum recourse to foreign aid because it concentrated on the reform of agricultural methods and on the creation of a host of small industries requiring a great deal of man-power and very little capital. This policy reduced to a minimum the importation of foreign equipment.

In general, it seems that, depending on the country, two different types of action are indicated:

In over-populated countries, it is indispensable to begin with industry, because there is already enormous agricultural over-population. It is a question of finding work, by new industrial activity, for surplus population.

*This industry must be created on the Japanese model: spread as much as*

*possible throughout the countryside, so that the workers can retain their existing consumer pattern, and must produce a series of consumer-products in order to constitute, stage by stage, first local markets then a national one.*

## AGRICULTURAL REFORMATION

On the other hand, in under-populated countries, it is necessary to begin with a reform of agricultural methods in order to increase the output of food-stuffs and to release surplus labour for work in the towns. Since, whatever happens, labour continues to be scarce, it must be given a certain degree of technical education; and heavily-capitalised export industries must be created capable of competing with their rivals on the world market.

But there too, the introduction of industries of this type must be carried out within the framework of a national plan. Indeed, whether waterfalls be harnessed, bauxite deposits exploited or aluminium factories constructed, at the beginning of the process there will be a great demand for labour which will destroy the economic structure of the surrounding countryside. But once the construction work is completed, the aluminium factory, for example, will function with a small but highly-qualified labour force and all those workers mobilised

for the erection of a dam or factory risk finding themselves out of work.

## PLANNING

This can only be avoided if these major works are accompanied by a reform of village life on co-operative lines and by a multiplication of small artisan industries capable of providing an outlet for the labour so released and of gradually constituting a local market, which alone can produce economic stability.

In all the cases envisaged, economic expansion can only take place within a framework of planning which will ensure, after necessary choices have been made, equilibrium between agriculture and industry and, within industry, between basic and consumer industries.

In every case, the first period calls for innovations, provokes social problems and requires considerable sacrifices on the part of the population or, at least, an improvement in the standard of living infinitely slower than the improvement achieved in conditions of production.

To achieve the initial accumulation of capital, the state must not only be strong enough to impose its will but also to persuade the population to adapt itself to new conditions and to make it enthusiastically aware of the new state of affairs.

This implies that the population should be sufficiently independent to take in hand the direction of its own affairs. If it remains tied to a metropolitan country pursuing—even under another name—a policy of assimilation, claims for an immediate improvement in the standard of living will inevitably take the upper hand. The population will continually

compare its own fate with that of the inhabitants of the metropolitan country. It will demand social improvements in the form of wage and salary increases, the introduction of social legislation, family allowances, social security and so on, which are not yet compatible with the degree of economic evolution of the country.

Certain Latin American countries have introduced model social legislation of this character without preventing the spread of poverty and the miscarriage of their economic expansion. As, most often, the start of development must take the form of a mass of many-sided and widespread activities, it is necessary for those concerned to be able to see the results of their work.

## COMMUNAL LABOUR

The enthusiasm of village people must be aroused by connecting two villages with a road rather than by constructing an arterial road by mechanised means. It is better to multiply the number of bush dispensaries than to build great hospitals. Rather than large modern schools, each village should build its own village school and a house for the schoolmaster, for these are needs which it has at heart.

It is by starting from responsibility at village level, on co-operative lines, that we shall achieve those improvements which, as they multiply, will bring economic progress in their train.

*In the same way, on a larger scale, a people will only make the sacrifices necessary for the realisation of a plan if it feels it is making its own decisions and will itself reap the benefit. Outside help must take the form of investments which will create the economic foundations of expansion and whose basic investments which will set the process in motion.*

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# A Re-Examination of the Dakar Conference

IT has been said, times without number, that many African States are vassal States, many of our politicians nothing but the mouthpieces to convey the will of foreign powers of Africa. Not so long ago such statements might have been interpreted as an unwarranted questioning of motive; but unfortunately at the recent meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the OAU in Dakar, this is what appeared, clearly proving that we are still under the influence of childishness and immaturity.

## OBJECTIVES

At Dakar, the imperialists showed an extraordinary readiness to adapt themselves to the new situation created by the

birth of the OAU. And already we can see two of their objectives clearly emerging.

With regard to the liberation of colonies still struggling to gain independence, the tactics is to produce a situation so as to make neo-colonialism appear as the only possible alternative solution. About this the Americans as well as the French are in agreement. One has only to read the minutes of meetings of the committee of nine which have been largely circulated in spite of being "confidential" to realise that at Dar-es-Salaam what was discussed was not really how to liberate the Portuguese colonies. And in the resultant confusion which attests to our immaturity, our brother, the patriot, Ben Bella, must recognise the fact that he shares a direct responsibility with us, in so far as his approach to the question of

the liberation of African territories still under the yoke of colonialism, had given the impression that it was possible to break free from Salazar's brand of colonialism and Verwoerd's apartheid without any need for an optimum centre of resistance based upon the power to decide and execute, which can only come with the existence of a continental government.

## AFRICAN U.N.?

The second objective of the imperialist (and here again the Americans and French are in agreement) is to set about it so that the OAU becomes a purely inter-State organisation, a sort of African United Nations so to speak, whose permanent General Secretary would, in the interests of the imperialists, play the part which the late Dag Hammarskjöld and his predecessor Mr. Trygve Lie were often accused of playing. The measure of our

childishness can be gauged when it is realised that at the last meeting of the OAU at Dakar, we were only just able to frustrate the attempt (which, anyway, was against the rules) of appointing a permanent Secretary because of differences between the French and the American agents.

Although it may be too early to understand American tactics in trying to secure the direction of the Permanent General Secretariat of the OAU, the tactics of France had the merit of being clearly discernible at Dakar.

On the eve of the Foreign Ministers Conference in Dakar, a campaign to liquidate the UAM was launched. The proposals made were quite astonishing, when we consider the moribund state of the Afro-Malagasy organisation after its recent conference at Cotonou. But one has only to recall the fact that the

UAM is a creation of France, and to follow certain comments in the French Press, particularly in "Le Monde", to see that aboye all the sound and fury of the campaign (and the even more blatant character given to it in the same press) de Gaulle had prepared a mighty joke. The conference played straight into his hands. This cannot be explained entirely in terms of childishness or immaturity. The inescapable fact is that we are also influenced by what can only be described as *diplomatic feeble-mindedness*.

## BARGAIN

There is no doubt whatever that General de Gaulle has decided to do away with the UAM as the fundamental tool of French neo-colonialism in Africa. The case was over with the Addis Ababa Conference, and the comments made by our political correspondent in the weekly paper *Spark* immediately after that historic conference, gave a clear idea of this. There is no doubt that President Nkrumah's denunciation in the Ghana National Assembly of de Gaulle whom he mentioned by name and his plan for regional regroupment in Africa, gave the General food for thought.

It was in Dakar, on the soil of which he has every reason to feel at home, that he offered the fruit of his reflections. What was it? An attempt to make a spectacular sacrifice of the UAM on the altar of the OAU, something in the nature of a first class funeral. The operation was not entirely unrewarding. To give over the UAM to the OAU as a dowry was, from the psychological point of view, to pose before Africans as a man all in favour of doing nothing to hinder the march of history. In the General's mind this meant that when the time came to choose a permanent Secretary General of the OAU, the scale would tip in favour of those who had appeared to be active architects of the UAM's fall from grace. In a word, what de Gaulle was trying to achieve, with any amount of noise and trumpeting over the effacement of the Afro-Malagasy organisation, was a bargain in which the skin of the UAM would be exchanged for the living body of the OAU.

## FRENCH TACTICS

The underlying purpose of this dupery, as well as its full scope, becomes clear as Mr. Diallo Telli appears on the scene of the Dakar Conference.

The history of French colonisation reveals the fact that at each new phase in the evolution of Africa, France resists the change and never tackle the new situation until she is quite sure she has prepared the men who would best serve her interests when the change actually occurs. Since the OAU came into being, one fact has become clear. Having been thoroughly acquainted with his friends, some Heads of the French speaking African States, de Gaulle has accepted the evidence which points to the inefficiency of some of them (at moments when their intellectual capacity could have enabled them to play a use-

ful role in France's favour) and the inconsistency of others (just when their political record might have served as a guarantee of an assured future). And so the old brigade must be retired.

## FRENCH TOOLS

This has been clearly indicated in the French press. And the French army has just made it clear at Brazzaville to those of the present generation of French-speaking African politicians who might wish to hold on instead of clearing out. It must not be doubted for a moment that France already has within her grasp a new wave of French-speaking Africans who fulfilled all the conditions required to meet the new situation in Africa.

In this connection, although we cannot but regard Mr. Massamba Debat and his young Congolese team who took over from Fulbert Youlou as a sample of this new wave, or fail to see in Mr. Albert Tevoedjre another sample whose drive, intellectual capacity and political finesse do not lack range, we could not hope to find a more finished example of this new wave of French-speaking Africans than Mr. Diallo Telli. This single fact, in itself, explains his whole career.

## DIALLO TELLI

It is perhaps interesting at this point to recall the fact that Mr. Diallo Telli received his secondary school training at the William Ponty School, the very establishment where the men of the old brigade whom de Gaulle now wishes to change, were fashioned. Like them, Mr. Diallo Telli would certainly not have gone on to higher studies in the circumstances which were made available to him, if the colonial administration had not discovered in him a commendable talent. In any case, Mr. Diallo Telli finished his secondary education and then entered the "Ecole de la France d'Outre Mer" which is strictly reserved for future Senior Officers in the French Civil Service overseas. Mr. Diallo Telli was first among those of his year who registered and was also first among those who finished at the same time, as himself.

This would have been a credit to his intelligence, which is very remarkable indeed, if the classification given to entrants in the French Colonial Administration Training School had nothing to do with the degree of loyalty and amenability displayed by the boarder, and with the extent of service rendered, on the completion of his course, to France's future in Africa.

## PRINCIPAL SECRETARY

From then on, no one will have the slightest difficulty in understanding why after making his debut and displaying brilliant qualities as a practical man in a working-class city in Senegal which was a seething cauldron at the time, Mr. Diallo Telli was twice appointed Principal Secretary to Governors-General in French West Africa, the last of whom was Mr. Cornut-Gentil. Mr. Cornut-Gentil was later to become General de Gaulle's Colonial

Secretary. Can it be that it was on the advice of Mr. Cornut-Gentil, a direct collaborator of General de Gaulle, be it remembered, that Mr. Diallo Telli went back to Conakry after Guinea secured her independence?

The most disturbing thing is that on his return, President Sekou Toure immediately sent him to the United Nations as Guinea's representative there, and her Ambassador in Washington. Equally disturbing is the fact that Mr. Diallo Telli was relieved of his post as Ambassador in Washington but retained his duties as the Guinea representative at the United Nations just at the time when Kennedy's team, whose deep differences with the French Government are well known, took over from General Eisenhower, an old friend of General de Gaulle.

## DISTINCTION

But so vast is the platform of the United Nations that Mr. Diallo Telli did not feel the loss of his Washington embassy. At the United Nations he not only had time to acquire an intimate knowledge of most—not to say all—the African Foreign Ministers and their close collaborators, but he succeeded in being singled out, to his own advantage (of course) by a number of the Heads of African States. Is not this just the right type of person to head the kind of African United Nations that the imperialists are thinking of substituting for the Organisation of African Unity?

Further, Diallo Telli can also (I had almost forgotten this detail), avail himself of his brilliant record as Secretary General of the Grand Council of the ex-French West Africa which dealt with the affairs of eight territories. In the light of this extraordinarily revealing career, would there not be some justification for thinking that the Foreign Ministers Conference actually accepted Mr. Diallo Telli's nomination as Secretary General (and this, be it recalled) in flagrant contradiction of the provisions of the OAU Charter, only because of what we may call diplomatic criticism joined to our childishness and immaturity? Let us hope that their last-minute change of heart augurs well for the future of Africa.

## PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

So far as General de Gaulle is concerned, we do not think that he can count on Mr. Jaja Wachuku to retrieve his candidate at the next meeting of Foreign Ministers of OAU in Lagos. Already in certain circles the shuttle movements between Leopoldville and Lagos are being interpreted, as a sign of America's preparedness to deal France a counterblow.

And so from Charybids to Scylla, from Paris to Washington, the Organisation of African Unity goes on its way. Could there be a better illustration of the part African politicians are being made to play—perhaps in their own despatch? Undoubtedly the society of African politicians has reached a point at which courage demands that it should psycho-analyse itself.

## Reflections on "Black Orpheus"

# Is Negritude A Reality Or A Mystification? (3)

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

THIS is all expressed very cleverly with a great deal of philosophical vapouring. "The white man knows all about tools... Negritude, on the other hand, is understanding by sympathy". The first question to ask is "what is intellect?" No clearer definition of intellect can be given than by defining its function.

"Intellect seeks the abstract and the general, the law embracing all individual cases in their quantitative relations, controlling relations and events in the world of external objects by virtue of which man can exercise sway over them."

In other words intellect is science. And so if we really wish to deny that the Negro lacks intellect, we shall have to demonstrate the fact that he has failed to extract the smallest particle of knowledge from the world of external objects. To smelt iron ore and work in bronze as our Negro forbears of the Sudan and Benin, implies knowledge.

## ISOLATION AND COLONIALISM

The success achieved by the African leader implies knowledge. A rudimentary form of knowledge, perhaps, long outstripped by the knowledge of the white man an empirical unmethodical kind of knowledge. Granted! To find an explanation for it we shall have to refer to the isolation of Africa from the rest of the world. Black Africa, "the marginal continent".

Next in order after isolation is the observatism of the colonial period. But we

abstract processes and the search for general principles, in other words he is not devoid of intellect.

## INTUITION

It may be countered that the intuition of which Sartre speaks does partake of intellect, since such intuition in Bergson's own words is "a sort of intellect sympathy by which one is taken into the heart of an object, becoming one with its own intrinsic and incommunicable self". Such an intuition is purely metaphysical, the role assigned to it being a step towards knowledge of the absolute. We

are not content to pursue the Absolute. We desire to fuse and become one with it. In metaphysical matters there is free scope for verbiage.

Small wonder that certain people should feel very much at home in that realm. It is a waste of time to bring them down to earth, back to the plane where facts can be checked. They must be left free to rant at will. We flatly refuse to be a party to any attempt at mystification, which would seek to make us participants in this game of collective dithering.

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 continue the publication of criticisms of the subject by the second group of intellectuals. The third 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



# White Supremacy

Continued from page 2

rentiation. For example, the professor himself mentions the raised noses of Oceanic Negroes, while though African Negroes are generally regarded as being characterized by flat, broad noses, there are bewildering variations within them, as has been mentioned above.

It seems therefore that stature should not be ruled out as a measure for racial discrimination. Romer probably hesitates to use it because it is more glaringly in conflict with his theory. For shortness of stature which may be assumed to be a primitive characteristic, since the early men were short, is found among sub-groups of each racial group.

For example short stature is common among people of the Malay region, the Bushmen and Hottentots of South Africa, the Ainu of Japan, the Lapps of Northern Europe, the Eskimos and a few Indian tribes, while the Pygmies, a negroid race, are the shortest group of mankind and may be described in this respect as the most primitive. The Watusi, another negroid race, are the tallest group of men in the world and may from this premise alone be classed as the most advanced!

**SKULL PROPORTIONS:** Applying the universally used measurement of the cephalic index i.e. the ratio of breadth to length of the brain case, Professor Romer here again categorises the races into advanced and primitive types. He does this upon the basis that extinct human types were almost all long-headed, suggesting that broad-headedness is a comparatively recent human development. He further states that long-headed folk preceded broad-headed ones in Europe and America.

The learned professor claims that African and Australian races as well as races on the fringes of Europe and Asia are long-headed and since he is disposed to conclude that Africans and Australians are primitive types, he has no hesitation in deducing this. There is however, the fact that skull proportions, like stature, vary considerably within the racial groups.

**BLOOD GROUPS:** From the racists point of view, the most disappointing criterion for racial differentiation is blood grouping. There are four classifications of blood, O, A, B, and AB, which are genetically heritable. The table below shows the distribution of blood groups over the earth:—

PERCENTS OF PERSONS OF THE FOUR BLOOD GROUPS AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES

PEOPLE	O	A	B	AB
<b>EUROPE</b>				
Iceland	56	32	10	2
Scotland	54	32	12	3
South England	43	45	8	4
Spain	42	47	9	2
Norway	40	49	8	3
Sweden	38	46	9	7
Finland	34	42	17	7
Sicily	46	34	17	3
Russia (Moscow)	32	34	25	9
<b>ASIA</b>				
Tartars	28	30	29	13
Kirghiz	32	27	32	9
Buriats	32	20	39	8
Chinese (Peking)	31	25	34	10
Japanese (Tokyo)	30	38	22	10
<b>NORTH AMERICA</b>				
Eskimo	41	54	4	1
Navaho	75	25	—	—
Blackfeet	24	76	—	—
<b>SOUTH AMERICA</b>				
Toba (Argentina)	97	3	—	—
<b>AFRICA</b>				
Egyptians (Cairo)	27	39	25	9
Ethiopians	38	33	21	8
Congo	31	30	29	10
Pygmies	31	30	29	10
Nigerians	57	19	19	5
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>				
Aborigines (W. Australia)	48	52	—	—

It is quite evident from the table that blood groups do not correlate with morphological forms. This shows clearly how all men sprang from the same species of mammal and why none should be regarded as being superior to the other.

The most astonishing fact is the striking difference between American Indians and the races of the Old World in direct conflict with the morphological similarity between American Indians and Asiatic racial types. We find that all groups occur in varying frequency in all the races, except among the pure American Indians who are either of Group O or A only.

Note the close similarity between Congo Pygmies and Asiatics, almost all of them ranging between 30% and 32% in Group O. Note also the resemblance between Nigerians and Icelanders, Ethiopians and Swedes, Egyptians and Tartars in respect of Group O. Similar resemblances will be found in respect of the other groups.

If races are discriminated on the basis of blood classification, we find some Pygmies, and some Asiatics in the same racial group; while some Nigerians i.e. West Africans, Icelanders and Scotsmen must be classed in a single group.

### DOMESTICATION

Clearly then, Professor A. S. Romer has failed to convince us. But what conclusion are we to draw from this study? We have seen that race classification is like a trick with mirrors in which we find races within races. As many as 38 different races have been discriminated, depending upon the measurement or criterion used. The overlapping, therefore, is tremendous, proving that all men are essentially the same.

Hann has posited the theory that the great variety of human forms is due to domestication; for the mode of life of man is similar to that of the domesticated animal. This analogy between human races and domesticated animals has been anatomically substantiated by Fisher and Klatt. Men share with domesticated animals great variability of bodily traits, the features of wild animals being much more uniform.

Such traits as form of hairs, pigmentation, and stature which show increased variability, likewise differ in domesticated animals. The spiral hair of the Bushman and the smooth hair of the Mongol, the blond hair and blue eyes of the North European and the deep pigmentation of the Negro, the giant stature of the Watusi and dwarfishness of the Pygmy, are paralleled by analogous phenomena among domesticated animals, while they are absent among wild animals.

### SPECIALISATION

It is conceivable, therefore, that the differentiation of races is not as ancient as might be supposed from the contrast of existing forms. It seems quite certain that such differentiation of morphological forms as now exists must have developed during periods of isolation of small groups. It is clear then that environment must have played a preponderant part in the development of races. Races, scientists seem agreed, resulted from the combined effects of heredity and environment. The argument as put forward by Professor L. C. Dunn is that all men evolved from the same group of genes and that the different types found in different places are those that were most successful in the particular environment in the past history of man when he was helpless against the vagaries of nature. This view is substantiated by the recent birth of woolly haired people among some Norwegians, people who are as Nordic as ever there were and who can trace no Negro ancestry in historical times.

This leads directly to the theory of specialisation. Comparing man with the antropoid forms, we find a number of striking resemblances which indicated how the different races have

diverged and specialised. No one race can, therefore, be considered as having advanced much further from the prehuman type than another. The divergencies are rather in different directions.

The Negro diverged and specialised in increased length of legs, strong development of lips, loss of hairiness to some extent and the extreme curling and wooliness of hair, while the Mongoloid specialised in exereeme loss of hairiness and in depigmentation to some extent. In the case of the European or Caucasian, the specialisation is in the direction of depigmentation, reduction in the size of the face, elevation of the nose and increased size of the brain. The Australian appears to be the only racial type with less specialisation in specifically human traits. But he cannot on that account be considered as being on a lower evolutionary level. It only means that his development has been general.

### BRAIN SIZE

To conclude, we must mention that it is not justifiable to identify size of the brain with intelligence. Size depends NOT upon the number of nerve cells and fibres and their connections, BUT to a much greater extent upon tissues which have nothing to do with nerve activity. For example, the largest brains are found among the Eskimos and they have not proved to be exceptionally intelligent than other races. Besides, Neanderthal man is reputed to have had a brain capacity far in excess of that found among living races, yet that was a pre-human type of ape-man.

## The Political Conditions

Continued from page 3

Responsibility for administration must rest with those immediately concerned. In this light, every policy of assimilation or integration with the metropolitan country constitutes an obstacle to modernisation and economic progress. Only those responsible, having the direction of their own affairs in their own hands, can gradually lead their country to a modern economy.

### CLOSE TIES

This responsibility for its own affairs does not mean a cut off from all contact with the outside world. An under-developed country needs close ties with a highly industrialised country in which it can find a guaranteed outlet for its exports and from which to receive supplies at a stable price, essential equipment and, finally, the investments indispensable for the birth of a modern economy.

The under-developed country which has come of age has thus everything to gain by belonging to a wide

monetary zone which will mitigate the effects of inevitable internal inflation and by collaborating with some external power over its economic development plan. The industrialised country would supply the experience of its technicians and the assistance indispensable for the creation of the economic basis of expansion.

To summarise, then, it seems that the political conditions of expansion are twofold:

Within the country in question, it is necessary gradually to overcome the vestiges of the past and progressively to eliminate clan structure, the ground-landlord and the money-lender.

In its relations with the country which formerly exercised some degree of sovereignty, it is indispensable to create an autonomy or independence which, alone, will allow those concerned to become responsible for their own affairs, while preserving such ties of association as make it possible to lay the foundations of new economic expansion.

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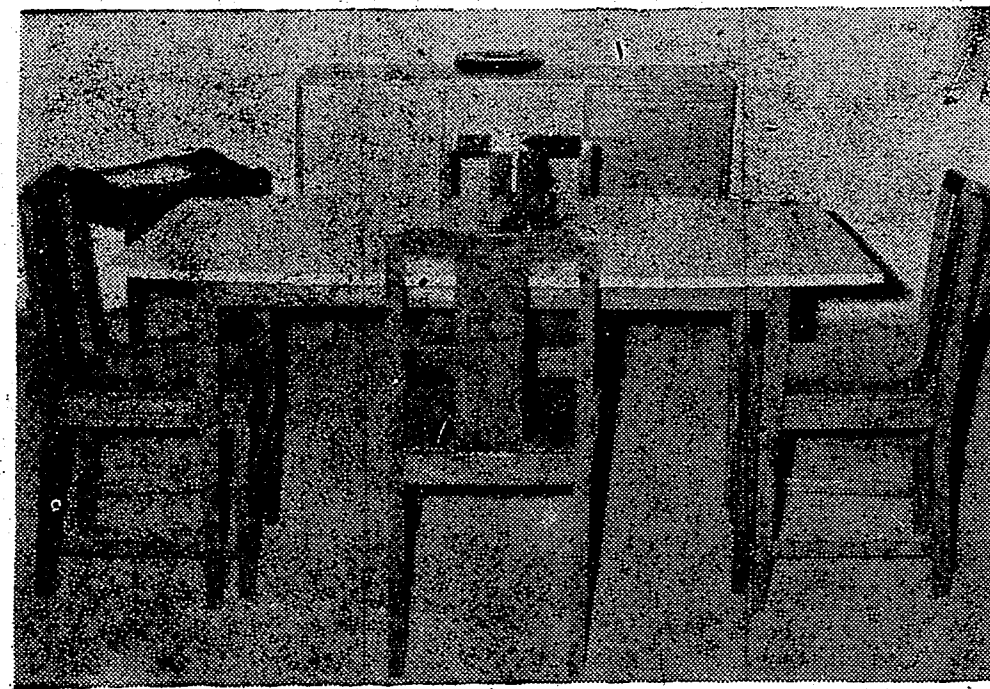
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# Neo-Colonialism

Continued from page 1

*The fight against neo-colonialism has to be based on the nature and working of neo-colonialism itself. And the primary instrument here must be the democratic and patriotic forces within each African country.*

Two concepts of the strategy against neo-colonialism are now current. The first concept is African unity defined as the political union of the entire African continent. This is both an end itself and a means to an end.

The foundation of this view is that neo-colonialism thrives where the African state is not viable and therefore has to depend on foreign sources for economic and military support. Through unity, the individual African state will overcome its unviability, not by falling back on the former colonial power, but by pulling its resources with fellow African states. The aim is to create continental union which will possess enough manpower, enough natural resources (minerals, agriculture and forest resources, and power), a big enough internal market to be either self-sufficient or to develop relations with other parts of the world on terms advantageous to itself.

## POWERFUL PUNCH

It is understandable why imperialism has stopped at nothing to undermine and destroy the concept of African unity. For it is a powerful punch aimed at the very

heart of its positions in Africa. The efforts of the imperialist powers in resisting African unity have been directed to four principal objectives, viz:—

1. to discredit, vilify and if possible eliminate those African leaders who have chosen the road of complete independence;
2. to undermine and sabotage all ties between the African states of radical nationalism and socialism on the one hand, and the rest of Africa;
3. where African states succeed in creating common institutions, to subvert these institutions and turn them into agencies serving the interests of imperialism;
4. to overthrow so-called "moderate" governments whose leaders show a desire to loosen the grip of neo-colonialism on their peoples.

In this fierce struggle, imperialism is using all sorts of weapons, legitimate and illegitimate, and employing all tactics, fair and foul. In addition to the usual propaganda barrage by press and radio, assassins, saboteurs, intelligence agents, trade union splitters, etc. are thrown into the fight in the guise of experts, technicians, goodwill tourists and even university lecturers, research workers and evangelists.

The difficulties encountered by the strategy of African unity arise primarily from the fact that, so far, its practical manifestation has been confined to the search for agreement among African governments. But some of these governments are either solidly neo-colonialist in character or are making only superficial efforts to break loose from the embrace of neo-colonialism. African unity as a formula to be given effect through inter-governmental negotiations can only help those African governments which, though under neo-colonialist influences, are anxious to move on to complete independence. Where such a will is non-existent, the plea for unity among African governments must of necessity fall on deaf ears and cannot by itself bring about an advance of the African revolution.

In addition, there is a positive danger. Inter-state institutions linking states of radical nationalism and socialism with strongly neo-colonialist regimes could serve as a media for the penetration of neo-colonialist influences into states which have already taken the road of complete independence.

## PEOPLES' MOVEMENT

The second strategy against neo-colonialism is a continental peoples movement linking all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces throughout Africa. This concept permits the African states of radical

nationalism and socialism to unite with the democratic and patriotic forces in the states of neo-colonialism in carrying out an all Africa onslaught on the positions of imperialism.

The advantages of such a movement are great. It will sustain "pressure from below" for the change of reactionary and unpopular governments now being used as puppets of imperialism in Africa. It will help to break and defeat all imperialist attempts to isolate, vilify and subvert the African states which have taken the road of complete independence and socialism. Furthermore, it will have in every African country a powerful detachment of the army of the African revolution whose activities will mobilise the masses in the demand for progressive policies by the existing governments or for the setting up of new and more progressive governments.

It seems from the above that the victory of the African Revolution demands a combination of both strategies. It will be wrong to try to choose between the two. But it must be borne in mind that since, in the final analysis, the will of the people must serve as the basis of all governments, a continental peoples movement is the foundation and moving spirit of unity among African governments.

(N.B. All quotes in this article are from Kwame Nkrumah's *Africa Must Unite*.)

10th SEPTEMBER, TUESDAY:

**TANGANYIKA:** Opening a ten-day conference on local courts and customary laws in Dar-es-Salaam, the Tanganyikan Vice-President, Mr. Rashid Kawawa says that the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) Charter ensures freedom, equality, justice and dignity.

Mr. Kawawa continues to say that, like other African countries, Tanganyika has dual court system—high court and subordinate courts administering statutory laws with jurisdiction extending to all races and local courts administering customary laws with jurisdiction extending only to Africans.

The conference is being attended by representatives of nearly 30 African countries.

**MALI:** The Republic of Mali embargoes all airports and transshipment stations as well as the aerial region of the country for ships and aircrafts of the South African Republic and Portugal.

**UGANDA:** The Prime Minister of Uganda, Mr. Milton Obote, announces that Uganda will have a President on October 9, first anniversary of independence—but will not become a republic.

**IVORY COAST:** President Houphouët Boigny of Ivory Coast, reveals at a press conference that six Ivory Coast Ministers and four Deputies have been temporary suspended from their posts to allow investigations of charges alleging subversive activities to be carried on.

11th SEPTEMBER, WEDNESDAY:

**GHANA:** Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, United Kingdom High Commissioner in Ghana since December 1961, has been appointed first head of the British Mission in Kenya.

Sir Geoffrey will take up his new appointment on the attainment of independence by Kenya in December this year.

**SIERRA LEONE:** The Sierra Leone Labour Council declares a three-day general strike against what it claims as "bad handling of the country's finances" by the Government of Sir Milton Margai.

**NIGERIA:** Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria welcomes Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's invitation to visit Ghana. He says that he will do so as soon as arrangements are completed.

Similar invitations were also extended to Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Nigerian Prime Minister, Mr. Jaja Wachuku, Foreign Minister, through Mr. Kojo Botsio, Ghana's Foreign Minister who paid a short visit to Nigeria.

12th SEPTEMBER, THURSDAY:

**GAMBIA:** The Gambian Prime Minister, Mr. David Jawara, announces his country's attainment of internal self-government on October 4, this year.

**GHANA:** The Ghana Government delivers a "Protest Note" to the French Ambassador in Ghana, Mr. Philippe Grousset, regarding the proposed test by France in the Sahara.

The Government also delivers a copy of the Note to the Algerian Ambassador in Ghana for the information of the Government of Algeria.

**MOROCCO:** The Moroccan Ambassador to Algeria, Mr. Mehdi Zentar, is to leave for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to sign the Charter of the Organisation of

African States (O.A.U.) drawn up at the African Heads of State conference last May.

Morocco only sent observers to the conference  
13th SEPTEMBER, FRIDAY:

**CONGO:** The Nigerian Federal Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, arrives in Leopoldville for a three-day visit at the invitation of the Congolese Government.

**GHANA:** A record number of 87 Ghanaian cadets will pass out as officers at a graduation parade to be held at the Ghana military Academy at Teshie near Accra today.

**NIGERIA:** Nigeria is to set up an industrial development bank because of "unsatisfactory progress" during the first year of the Nation's six-year Development Plan.

\* Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Nigeria's Opposition Action Group Leader, files at the High Court in Lagos a notice of appeal against his ten-year jail sentence.

14th SEPTEMBER, SATURDAY:

**KENYA:** Mr. A. L. Adu, a Ghanaian Secretary-General of the East African Common Services Organisation with headquarters in Nairobi, is tipped as U Thant's next personal representative and head of the United Nations mission in East and Central Africa.

The present holder of the post, Mr. George Ivan Smith, an Australian, is expected to move to another high United Nations post in New York.

CHAD: The Government of Chad announces a decree banning flights over Chad territory and landings on Chad airports by Portuguese and South African planes.

Foreign aircraft carrying passengers or goods to or from South Africa and Portugal are also banned.

16th SEPTEMBER, MONDAY:

**ETHIOPIA:** Mr. Doudou Gueye, Secretary-General of the Pan-African Union of Journalists now on a visit to Ethiopia invites Ethiopia to send journalists to the second conference of the Pan-African Union of Journalists to be held in Accra in November.

**NIGERIA:** Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Governor-General of Nigeria will be sworn-in as the country's first President when it becomes a Republic on October 1.

**ALGERIA:** Premier Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria is due to take the oath today as Algeria's first President following his overwhelming success in the recent presidential referendum.

**GHANA:** The Director of the National Lotteries, Mr. W. F. Brennan, announces a big profit of £387,725 from the sale of lottery tickets this financial year.

Mr. Brennan says that the National Weekly Lotto has become another source of revenue, yielding daily sales of £61,000.

17th SEPTEMBER, TUESDAY:

**GHANA:** A Ghanaian State Attorney, Mr. V. K. Darko, becomes the first African to win an overseas Research Fellowship in Public International Law, awarded by the British Institute of International and Comparative Law.

He has been selected from a field of 76 applicants from all over Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The South African Minister of Justice, Mr.

Balthasar Vorster, confirms at a congress of the Nationalist Party of the Orange Free State that since April this year, white women in South Africa are now receiving shooting instructions by police officers in order to strengthen the paramilitary moves against the African independence movement.

**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, Nationalist Leader of Northern Rhodesia, commenting on Sir Roy Welensky's warning that the white man in Central Africa will fight physically for his "rights" if forced to do so, replies that Northern Rhodesians are "sick and tired of statements that put the white in the same position as the Afro-American in the United States."

18th SEPTEMBER, WEDNESDAY:

**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. R. A. Butler, British Minister for Central African Affairs, rejects a request of Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of the African National Congress, for a new constitutional conference for Northern Rhodesia.

**ETHIOPIA:** Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia will begin a tour of African States next week. His first stop of visit will be in Guinea.

**ALGERIA:** President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, in his first public speech since his election as President, pledges his country's support to assist "with arms" all African liberation movements.

**CONGO:** The people of Congo (Brazzaville) will go to the polls on December 8 to vote on a draft constitution to be drawn by the provisional government headed by Mr. Alphonse Massemba-Débat.

19th SEPTEMBER, THURSDAY:

**KENYA:** Mr. Lubembe, Senator for Nairobi and general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour intends to urge the Kenya Government to take action against shops, self-service stores, hotels and restaurants who deal with South African goods.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** Mr. Patric Duncan, a former editor of the liberal South African magazine "CONTACT" urges that the U.S. should plan an embargo on all sales to South Africa. He says that if this is done, South Africa might hand its administration of South-West Africa over to the U.N. without incident.

**NIGERIA:** Mr. Olu Akinfosile, Nigerian Federal Minister of Communications tells the Federal House of Representatives that British Postal Orders will shortly be out of use in Nigeria and that arrangements are being made for Nigeria to have its own postal orders.

20th SEPTEMBER, FRIDAY:

**ALGERIA:** The Algerian President, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, nationalises "Hôtel Alletti", the biggest hotel in Algiers.

**GHANA:** A three-man Ghanaian journalists' led by Mr. Kofi Batsa, editor of "THE SPARK" arrives in Rome, Italy, to attend a conference of journalists which opens today. The conference will be held on board a Soviet ship on the Mediterranean Sea.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Mr. J. P. G. Duncan, Federal Minister of Public Service says about 5,000 temporary federal civil servants will be subject to a month's notice of termination without compensation when the Rhodesian Federation is dissolved.

## Editorial

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Because of centuries of heartless exploitation, Africa is today in dire need of vast quantities of investment capital. For on such large-scale investment of capital depends the rapid expansion of Africa's economy and hence the possibility of providing a rising standard of living for Africa's 260 million people. More-over the amount of capital raised at home is generally small because of low per capita income and because of the relative disadvantage suffered by agricultural produce on world markets.

It would be safer and better to get foreign assistance by way of loans because these, at least in theory, give the recipient country greater control over its affairs. The sad fact, however, is that these loans are not readily available either in the volume or on terms that suit Africa's needs. Each loan is directly and indirectly hedged around with strings that compel the recipient country to do business with the donor country. The rates of interest are often high. Repayment terms are exacting. And the loans are usually tied on to specific projects, thus compelling the receiver to embark only on projects approved by the lending country. At times loans

for the public sector of the national economy are deliberately withheld in order to compel the African states to open even this sector to private foreign investors.

The new states of Africa are thus forced to give increasing attention to the matter of attracting foreign investments for the development of their economy. The problem therefore is not whether or not we should attract foreign investments. It is rather the conditions on which such investments are to be made. For it is the conditions that surround an investment that decide whether or not that investment will serve to promote economic expansion within the context of economic independence or will merely push the national economy down the road of dependence on foreign economies.

It is important at this point to emphasise the fact that socialism in Africa is not absolutely opposed to foreign investments. It cannot be. But in accepting them, socialism in Africa demands that these investments must help reduce our dependence on foreign economies; and that they must help create those objective conditions—industrialisation and modernisation of agriculture—that will clear the way for a rapid advance towards economic independence.

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