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FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1963

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EDITORIAL

OFF WITH THE MASK!

EVERY passing day brings fresh evidence of the global impact of the decisions of last month's Addis Ababa summit of African Heads of State and Government.

Moscow and Peking have openly praised the decisions, more specially the condemnation of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the demand for the evacuation of foreign military bases in Africa.

Paris has been forced to seek a new formula accommodating inter-African political institutions in an attempt to maintain her grip over her traditional spheres of influence in Africa.

London has been rather silent and, where it says anything at all, has been most cautious.

Washington seems to plumb for vagueness and prevarication. This impression has been conveyed by recent statements from U.S. public men, including President Kennedy himself. And the 5-day visit to Ghana which ended two days ago of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr. G. Mennen-Williams, has done nothing to clear this impression.

At a press conference two days ago here in Accra, Mr. Mennen-Williams could not give a clear-cut answer to questions which sought to know if the U.S. Government will discontinue the shipment of arms to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

While the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa claimed before the Accra press conference that "America will support any African State's resolution for self-determination for the indigenous citizens of South Africa", the head of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, was telling a New York press conference that Africa's plan to oust South Africa from the U.N. would "solve nothing and would destroy everything."

At the Accra press conference, Mr. Mennen-Williams was asked the following questions

AFRICAN UNITY AND WESTERN POWER POLITICS

by our Political Correspondent

FOR the less-developed countries—particularly the African countries—as well as the highly industrialised States of Western Europe, unity is now more than ever a major, imperative and vital necessity. It is therefore quite natural that we should be inclined to be sympathetic towards the present endeavours towards European unity (as long as such unity does not purport to be Eurafrikan), although, for very good reasons, this does not hold good in the opposite sense.

Nevertheless, the fact that a unit like Western Europe should adhere to the concept of unity, and strive to make it a reality, at the very moment when the total emancipation and development of Africa indicates that unity among the peoples of Africa is an absolute 'must', is circumstance that must at least cause us some heart-searching.

It will readily be admitted that there is a basic difference between the situation in Africa and Western Europe. Indeed it would be difficult to maintain that in both cases the need for unity stems from the same motive. In point of fact, the leaders of Europe make the existence of the socialist countries their main argument in favour of Western European unity.

IMPERATIVE NEED

However, if one looks more closely into the matter one is inclined to wonder whether this argument is not merely to conceal an even more imperative need, directly associated with the rising tide of nationalism in Africa.

"The U.S. Government plays the leading role in NATO, and it supports the European Common Market. Quite recently President Kennedy announced that the U.S. Government welcomes the aspirations of Africa as expressed at Addis Ababa. You are quite aware that NATO and ECM are organisations actively in the way of African Unity. How do you reconcile your support for them with your avowed support for the aspirations of the African peoples as expressed at Addis Ababa? Sir, if the commitments of the U.S. to NATO and ECM were made before Addis Ababa, can you make a categorical statement that U.S. policy is going to be changed to fall in line with Addis Ababa?"

Mr. Mennen-Williams declined to answer the question and so left the U.S. Government in its chosen position of running with the hare and

Actually, judging from the results of the recent Addis Ababa Summit and its first effects upon the meeting of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) just held in Geneva—not to mention the case of Senator Ellender—it can be predicted that African nationalism is going to make a greater bid than ever before.

Although perhaps during the five days over which the Conference was spread and immediately after, the imperialists may have had doubts as to the implementation of the Addis Ababa decisions by all the signatories, the turn events have taken

hunting with the hounds.

But Africa demands an answer, and quickly, too. We have grounds to doubt the sincerity of the U.S. official line that she supports Addis Ababa decisions. We see Africa as one unit. Mr. Mennen-Williams is himself Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. But another U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for the Middle East has been touring North African countries. Does this mean that the official policy in Washington is that Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Sudan belong to the Middle East?

The time has come for U.S. policy in Africa to put off the mask and come out clear. Any more delay will only further tarnish U.S. imperialism, for which U.S. ruling circles speak, as an implacable enemy of the African Revolution. And not all the soap in Minnesota will wash her clean.

must have quickly corrected their impression.

RESOLUTE DETERMINATION

Indeed it would be a mistake on our part to think for a moment that they never surmised that some day the Africans would make a collective decision to end subjugation and embark on a resolute determination to achieve progress.

For that reason and also because they are aware of the objective of African nationalism and do not in any sense underestimate its chances of success, it may be said from the start that at this particular stage in Africa's evolution, their entire concern and strategy may be summed up as follows: *do everything possible at least to hold on to what has so far been achieved.* It is clear that the major idea behind this thought is a defence mechanism.

In this respect, as it happens fortunately, the last debate in the French Parliament on the Franco-German Treaty is tremendously revealing. Criticising it, a member of the opposition in the French Chamber drew a comparison between that treaty which was signed by General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer and the Holy Alliance of the Europe Sovereign article 6 of which stipulated that "in order to strengthen the intimate ties now binding the sovereigns in the interest of universal happiness, the high contracting parties have agreed to renew at stated times, either under the auspices of the sovereigns or through their representatives, the meetings devoted to consideration of broad common interests".

The Honourable Members of the Opposition then told the French Prime Minister:

"This is precisely the gist of your present treaty. So now you can proceed to

refer to others as lagging behind!"

The interesting point here is that this outstanding example of co-operation between states known as the Holy Alliance, is implicitly rejected as anachronistic and outmoded, by the Honourable Member of the French Parliament. But can it be said that de Gaulle and Adenauer have any intention of making it an anachronistic basis for their policy? Certainly not! What justifies the parallel between the Franco-German Treaty and the Holy Alliance is that like those sovereign of Czarist Russia, Austria and Prussia when confronted with the nationalist aspirations of the tiny oppressed European states 150 years ago, General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer are both possessed of a real hunting threat.

TACTICAL ELEMENT

The old German Chancellor has the persistent feeling that any easing of tension between Washington and Moscow cannot be brought about except at the expense of Bonn and in order to prepare for this eventuality, he leans upon General de Gaulle, whereas the General whose opposition to America's hegemony in the Western bloc is no secret can take advantage of it as a select company to meet the challenge of the United States. Does it not follow that for General de Gaulle as for Chancellor Adenauer inter-state co-operation is at most a tactical element and not a matter of definite strategy? How then can we accept the fact that some people in Africa support the theory of mere inter-State co-operation when in fact such a theory has been ruled out as outworn by Europeans, and General de Gaulle himself, makes use of it only from tactical motives? It is quite clear that in contemporary

Europe the general strategy is one of unity.

In this connection a member of the government in the debates in the French Parliament on the Franco-German Treaty, referred to the existence of "two schools of thought in regard to the building-up of Europe: the federalists and the confederalists."

POINT OF APPRAISAL

These two points of view, according to the speaker were quite conceivable since they differed only on points of appraisal, method and timing. Behind this quarrel, he added, there appeared another quarrel involving concepts, and of a less open character. It concerns the general concept entertained in regard to Europe its defence and relations with the United

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States. He concludes by saying, "We wish to make Europe a great power by adding up its own potentialities. Europe should have its own economic policy, its own diplomacy and defence and should bear a part in defining nuclear strategy".

If we have a correct understanding of what the speaker means, we understand him to hold the view that a united Europe should have its own diplomacy and defence. These are exactly the same things Africa is demanding as the basis of African unity. It is in fact a fortunate circumstance that at Addis Ababa, our leaders referred to the American and Soviet patterns, when discussing African unity, because there are several of

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Directive No. 3

THE goals of our endeavours have always been to secure the material basis for increasing the economic and social wealth of our farmers, peasants and workers.

Our revolution, therefore, must be identified with the organisations of the workers and our peasant population. We cannot succeed very much in our aims if there should be conflict between the trade unions as the organisation of the workers and our national Governments which are also serving the same interests.

Our identical aims must make it possible for us to harmonise relations and work within a co-ordinated programme for solving the problems that face Africa.

The All-African Trade Union Federation must therefore be in a position to mobilise the exploited masses of Africa for the final onslaught in the battle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

In the independent States of Africa, AATUF has a vital role to play in evolving a trade union orientation which will enable the workers to play their full part in socialist construction.

An All-African trade union grouping, independent of external conflicts can play a most useful part in fostering understanding within the international labour movement.

International labour unity is essential for the preservation of peace and the security of mankind.

KWAME NKURUMAH

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AFRICANA

The Teachings of Kwame Nkrumah (3)

SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

by
Julius Sago

THERE is a school of thought in newly emergent nations which hold the view that the liberation struggle comes to an end when political freedom is won. The protagonists of this view feel that "having made the supreme and sustained effort called for in ridding the country of colonial rule, a well-earned rest can now be taken". Nkrumah regards this view as not only wrong but also as extremely dangerous. For to leave untouched or to fail to achieve a radical structural recast of the national economy is to create conditions very favourable for the existence of neo-colonialism.

On the contrary, Nkrumah teaches that ahead of a people who have recently emerged from direct colonial rule is "a more formidable battle" in which "a new and greater effort is demanded to consolidate the nationalist victory". This of course, is a re-statement of the third objective of the national liberation movement defined as "social Reconstruction, i.e. freedom from poverty and economic exploitation and the improvement of social and economic conditions of the people so that they will be able to find better means of achieving and asserting their right to human life and happiness". ("Towards Colonial Freedom" p.43).

THE SOCIALIST PATH

But freedom from poverty, improvement of social and economic conditions, etc. depend on the coming into existence of a new industrial economy in place of the old colonial economy; for "poverty is progressively reduced only as productivity increases and industrialisation progresses and part of its surplus can be made available in increased wages, better housing and generally improved social conditions" ("African Must Unite" p.106).

Nkrumah holds that the drive towards economic reconstruction must proceed along "the socialist path". He asserts emphatically that "socialism is

interlocked stages. The first is the period of reconstruction—pure and simple when the government concentrates on expanding communications and improving educational, health conditions—the infrastructure

found the principles that underlie such a process. His idea, in this regard, are to be found in his book 'Africa Must Unite' to which all further references in this article are made. The rest of this article

with plans for "our educational, social welfare and health programmes". It must reflect "the strictest control to safeguard against unrelated over-spending on any project" but "there must be a certain elasticity



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

for economic growth. During the second stage the main effort is directed towards achieving economic independence, and this in turn lays the foundation for the advance, in the third stage, towards a socialist society.

treats his principles of socialist development.

First, the state must play the major role in economic activity. Because colonialism prevented the emergence of a strong local capitalist class, because production for private profit

to allow for amendment or adjustment without upsetting the general plan and our budgeting.

Planning must seek to control the re-investment in the country of profits made by firms foreign and local companies

in five sectors—state enterprises, enterprises owned by foreign private interests, enterprises jointly owned by state and foreign private interests, co-operatives, enterprises exclusively reserved for Ghanaian private entrepreneurs. A vital consideration here is that each sector operates within limits set by the State.

If this is absent, a mixed economy may lead, not to socialism, but to capitalism. Again, the state sectors must continually expand. "The socialist base of the economy extends through increasing public ownership of the means of production" (p. 123).

(b) *New institutions (or agencies) for economic activity must be created to replace colonial institutions.* To rely on the old colonial agencies of economic activity is merely to maintain and even increase the dominant role of colonial relationships in our economic system. It leads to a system of neo-colonialism.

MAJOR PRIORITY

(c) *Relations in agriculture must be recast in order to allow a big upsurge in agricultural production and productivity.* This is "a major priority." Agriculture should be diversified and modernized. Its objectives must be to meet the "needs of the domestic market" and "to provide raw materials for secondary industries."

In this way, skills are developed and foreign exchange is saved for financing our industrialization programmes.

which is "a pre-condition for our industrial growth" include grants for capital works (water projects, soil conservation and improvement projects), experimental plantations of new crops, experimental stations for application of new techniques to old crops, free expert advice to farmers on land use, increased productivity and higher yields, hire purchase of farm equipment used as a lever to encourage co-operative farming, and more efficient marketing.

FINANCE

(d) *The nation itself should be the main source of development capital.* Surpluses must be pressed out of rising production to finance development" (p. 123). This means that the population must "forgo some immediate personal desire for a greater benefit a bit later on".

(e) *Guarantee of a basic minimum standard of living for all.* This basic minimum Nkrumah describes as —"prices of goods should not exceed wages; —house rentals must be within the means of all groups

—social welfare services must be open to all; —educational and cultural amenities must be available to everyone" (p. 119).

Advantages accruing to workers should preferably take the form of increased amenities rather than of higher wages which could lead to inflation and price spirals.

(f) *A steady build-up*

vices would be more cheaply provided by foreign companies, they are still useful because they help in rearing skills locally. "An essential element in our industrial development must be the building up of our store of technical and managerial knowledge" (p. 111);

(g) *Industrial planning* should encourage setting up of those plants in which "we have a natural advantage in local resources and labour or where we can produce essential commodities required for development for domestic consumption" (p.111);

(h) *Investment policy* should promote the growth of local industries. To this end investment priority should be determined by the rate of capital formation, savings on imports, boost on exports, and reduction of development gaps between various parts of the country created by colonial exploitation.

(i) *Active participation of the people through their own organisations in the process of economic planning and development.* At all stages, the "fullest co-operation of the people and their organisations" must be sought, for the "control of the modern state is linked up with the control of the means of production and distribution" (p. 129). Here Nkrumah attaches great importance

reached the present stage of development in America, our morality and spiritual stature shall have matched our material well being?

Why do the whites rage and think murder in their hearts?

is a dual disappointment. It is not only a matter of punctured pride arising from the fact that it gives the lie to the conceit of white supremacy but also a question of loss of profits. The imperialists had hoped that Africans would for ever dig and

building of Western cities—and the feeding of their hungry mouths. And if once in a while they threw down to us a little of the crumbs from their table, we were expected to be grateful for that.

Some there are who

man. This is not the place to wrangle about the probabilities and improbabilities of what might have been. But let it be said here and now that if we did benefit in any way, we paid for every one of it with our wealth, our sweat and our

ask for the balance.

For the purposes of subjugation and exploitation, the whiteman feels obliged to find some justification for these guilty acts. The excuse of the Belgian imperialists for their denial of any educational opportunities to the

could only be a slow and painful process. Arising from this sub-human nature of the Congolese, they would not be able, the Belgians maintained, to hold any positions of responsibility until a thousand years had passed. In effect the Belgians were arguing that

even murder and savagery are never so vile as to be employed against peace-loving Africans and peoples of African descent.

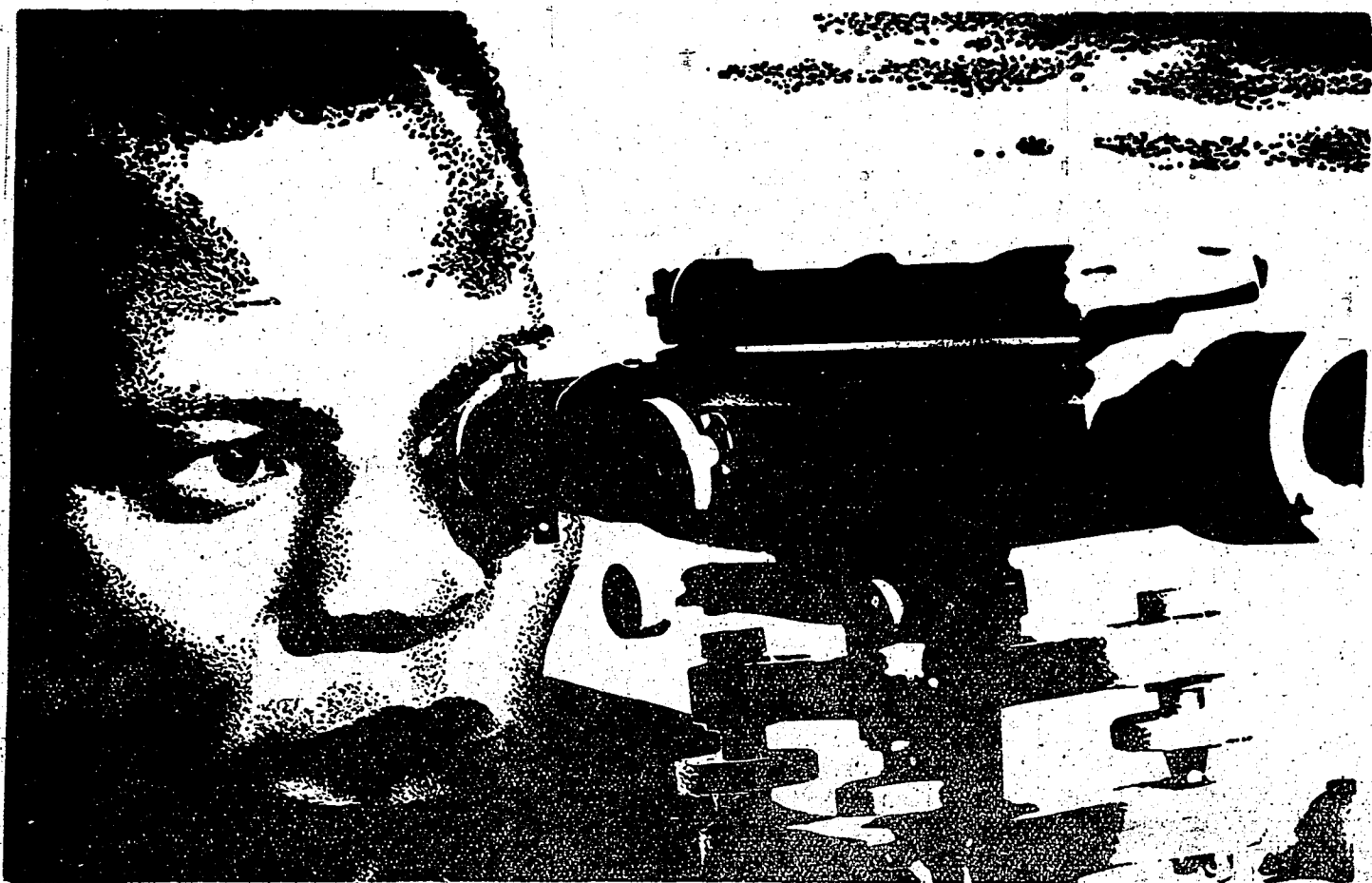
MURDER OF LUMUMBA

We need not go into history for evidences. This article is a protest against the uncalled for vilification of the African by Senator Ellender. We still grieve over the murder of Patrice Lumumba. We are witnesses to the current upsurge of murder and savagery not only in South Africa, the land of Verwoerd and apartheid, but also in the United States of America where the blood of men once flowed for freedom's sake and where the Statute of liberty beacons the traveler to the land of the free, or is it rather the home of the slave?

The resurgence of Africa and of all peoples of African descent is not an historical accident, but a necessary act in the peagant of history. It is driven and impelled by the forces that dictate the efflux of human history. It has the stark unassuageable inevitability of death itself—it may be postponed, but it can never be averted. Whether Ellender and his ilk like it or not, Africa is bound to reassert her dominant position in the world.

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On the contrary, Nkrumah teaches that ahead of a people who have recently emerged from direct colonial rule is "a more formidable battle" in which "a new and greater effort is demanded to consolidate the nationalist victory". This of course, is a re-statement of the third objective of the national liberation movement defined as "social Reconstruction, i.e. freedom from poverty and economic exploitation and the improvement of social and economic conditions of the people so that they will be able to find better means of achieving and asserting their right to human life and happiness". ("Towards Colonial Freedom" p.43).

THE SOCIALIST PATH

But freedom from poverty, improvement of social and economic conditions, etc. depend on the coming into existence of a new industrial economy in place of the old colonial economy; for "poverty is progressively reduced only as productivity increases and industrialisation progresses and part of its surplus can be made available in increased wages, better housing and generally improved social conditions" ("African Must Unite" p.106).

Nkrumah holds that the drive towards economic reconstruction must proceed along "the socialist path". He asserts emphatically that "socialism is our only alternative" (p.119). And this fact is of fundamental importance in Nkrumah's teachings and constitutes a veritable watershed between his ideas on nation-building and those of many contemporary African leaders.

Nkrumah gives three reasons for this view. Firstly, for a developing nation to follow the capitalist path of development means that control of the national economy remains in the hands of foreign private capital. The inevitable result is a neo-colonialist regime because "colonial rule precluded that accumulation of capital among our citizens which would have assisted thorough-going private investment in industrial construction" (p.119).

Secondly, the colonial regime had to set up some publicly-owned enterprises "capitalised out of national funds." Examples of this are: the railways, harbours, and electric power. These services should continue to be publicly owned and run, far to hand them over to private interests is to betray "the trust of the great masses of our people for the greedy interests of a small coterie of individuals, probably in alliance with foreign capitalists" (p.119).

The third reason is that "production for private profit deprives a large section of the people of the goods and services produced" (p.119).

Post-independence economic reconstruction covers a long and difficult period. It could last a few generations. It certainly stretches over a few decades judged by experience elsewhere. But, broadly, this period could be divided into three

interlocked stages. The first is the period of reconstruction pure and simple when the government concentrates on expanding communications and improving educational, health conditions—the infrastructure

with plans for "our educational, social welfare and health programmes". It must reflect "the strictest control to safeguard against unrelated over-spending on any project" but "there must be a certain elasticity

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for economic growth. During the second stage the main effort is directed towards achieving economic independence; and this in turn lays the foundation for the advance, in the third stage, towards a socialist society.

EVOLVING PROCESS

It is important to see these various stages as forming the organic parts of an evolving process. And because achievements or failures in one stage greatly condition development in a subsequent stage, it is of the greatest importance that the socialist objective of economic reconstruction be fully accepted at the very early stages. A non-ideological approach to economic development leads to confusion and the strengthening of externally directed capitalism.

A school of thought advocates that the state in a newly emergent nation should confine its contributions to economic reconstruction and general development to the provision of the infrastructure for economic activity and social services for the people. It terms such an arrangement the welfare state.

Nkrumah debunks this line of thought by pointing out that: "The welfare state is the climax of a highly developed industrialism. To assure its benefits in a less developed country is to promise merely the division of poverty" (p.105).

For it is unrealistic to leave the national economy to foreign private capital and at the same time to expect it to provide a tax revenue big enough to support comprehensive social services for the entire people.

Having established that the socialist road to reconstruction and economic development is the best for newly emergent nations, Nkrumah proceeds to ex-

plains his principles of socialist development.

First, the state must play the major role in economic activity. Because colonialism prevented the emergence of a strong local capitalist class, because production for private profit is based on exploitation, and because the less developed nations need a high rate of economic growth, the government is obliged to "play the role of main entrepreneur in laying the basis of national economic and social advancement" (p.119).

Other factors that must influence the approach to economic development are the need to break "the European monopoly domination of our economy", the necessity for being "extremely vigilant in scented out the subtle and insidious infiltrations of neo-colonialism", the ever-present "danger of sabotage of foreigners enjoying... the privilege of building economic enterprises in our midst" (p.102), and the compelling need for stimulating within the country "capital accumulation for re-employment in wider development."

ADVENTUROUS ENTREPRENEURS

All these considerations reinforce Nkrumah's conclusion that "the government has to take the place of the adventurous entrepreneurs who created the capital basis of industrialisation in the advanced countries" (p. 110).

Secondly, national economic planning is the principal lever for all-round progress. In view of the fact that practically all nations today talk of planning, Nkrumah has carefully depicted the features that make up his notion of planning. Planning must cover the entire country and "stretch out into the regions beyond the main centres".

It must be all-embracing, that is, comprising economic and general development

to allow for emendation or adjustment without upsetting the general plan and our budgeting."

Planning must seek to control the re-investment in the country concerned of profits made by firms (foreign and local) operating there. This revolutionary aspect Nkrumah defends thus: "Government interference in all matters affecting economic growth in less developed countries is today a universally accepted principle, and interests, domestic or foreign, enjoying the opportunities of profitable gain, cannot object to some control of the re-investment of part of that gain in the national development of the country in which it is reaped" (p.120).

CONFUSED THOUGHT

Another important feature of planning as conceived by Nkrumah is that the part played by the state in economic activities should be an increasing one. "Our planning will be geared to our policy of increasing governmental participation in the nation's economic activities, and all enterprises are expected to accept this policy..." (p.120).

Thirdly, national planning must be geared on to socialism. There is a great amount of confused thought on what constitutes socialist planning. In some cases 'planning' has been used as an instrument for establishing or boosting capitalism. In the light of this, Nkrumah's teachings clearly elucidate those elements which when taken together constitute socialist planning. These are enumerated as follows:—

(a) A mixed economy. The economic system is divided into several sections with the state controlling the activities of all sectors through the national plan which it prepares. In Ghana, there

five sectors—state enterprises, enterprises owned by foreign private interests, enterprises jointly owned by state and foreign private interests, co-operatives, enterprises exclusively reserved for Ghanaian private entrepreneurs. A vital consideration here is that each sector operates within limits set by the State.

If this is absent, a mixed economy may lead, not to socialism, but to capitalism. Again the state sectors must continually expand. "The socialist base of the economy extends through increasing public ownership of the means of production" (p. 123).

(b) New institutions (or agencies) for economic activity must be created to replace colonial institutions. To rely on the old colonial agencies of economic activity is merely to maintain and even increase the dominant role of colonial relationships in our economic system. It leads to a system of neo-colonialism.

MAJOR PRIORITY

(c) Relations in agriculture must be recast in order to allow a big upsurge in agricultural production and productivity. This is "a major priority." Agriculture should be diversified and modernised. Its objectives must be to meet the "needs of the domestic market" and "to provide raw materials for secondary industries."

In this way, skills are developed and foreign exchange is saved for financing our industrialisation programme. The methods used to create the new agriculture

which is "a pre-condition for our industrial growth" include grants for capital works (water projects, soil conservation and improvement projects), experimental plantations of new crops, experimental stations for application of new techniques to old crops, free expert advice to farmers on land use, increased productivity and higher yields, hire purchase of farm equipment used as a lever to encourage co-operative farming, and more efficient marketing.

FINANCE

(d) The nation itself should be the main source of development capital. Surpluses must be pressed out of rising production to finance development" (p.123). This means that the population must "forgo some immediate personal desire for a greater benefit a bit later on".

(e) Guarantee of a basic minimum standard of living for all. This basic minimum Nkrumah describes as

—"prices of goods should not exceed wages;
—house rentals must be within the means of all groups;

—social welfare services must be open to all;
—educational and cultural amenities must be available to everyone" (p. 119).

Advantages accruing to workers should preferably take the form of increased amenities rather than of higher wages which could lead to inflation and price spirals.

(f) A steady build-up of trained manpower. Even where certain ser-

vices would be more cheaply provided by foreign companies, they are still useful because they help in rearing skills locally. "An essential element in our industrial development must be the building up of our store of technical and managerial knowledge" (p. 111);

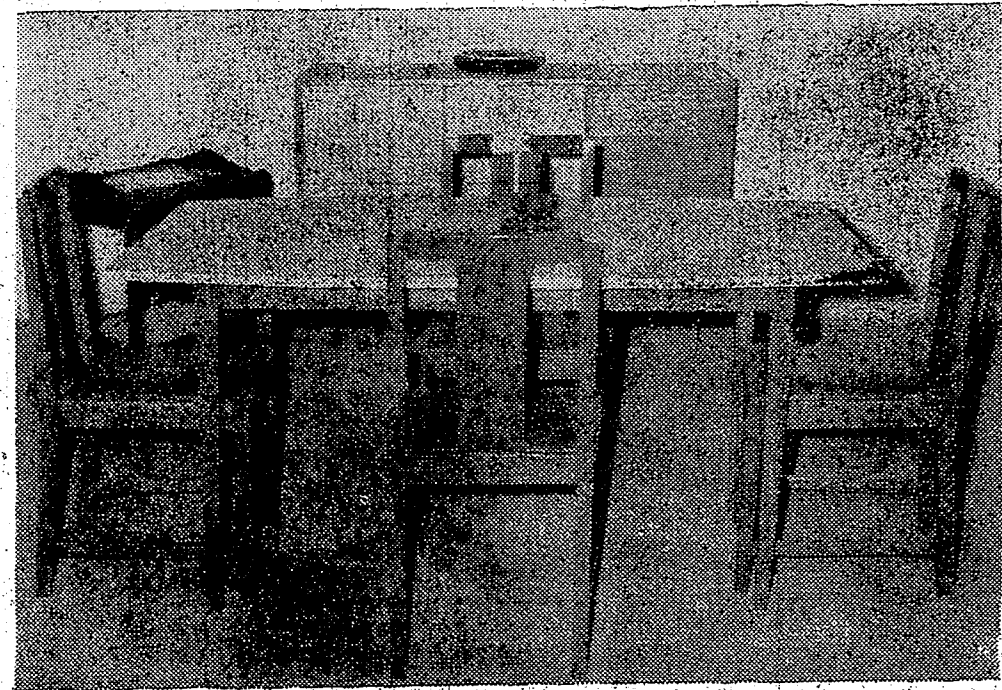
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ACCRA REPRESENTATIVE:
P.O. BOX 2665,
ACCRA, GHANA.

Reference: AR/17.

20th June, 1963.

The Editor,
"The Spark",
P.O. Box M.24,
ACCRA.

Dear Sir,

In your issue of Friday, the 14th June, you posed the question "WHERE DOES THE ASHANTI GOLDFIELDS CORPORATION LTD. COME IN?"

The answer to your question is a very simple one. Ashanti Goldfields Corporation stands squarely besides Government in its desire for the happiness of the Ghanaian people.

From the above interpretation of the figures to have been made at the Annual General Meeting, incorrect but misleading. From the facts set out you will see that this Corporation's contribution to the economy is very considerable.

Osagyefo, the President, has himself reiterated over and over again in his public statements that State enterprise and Private enterprise can march hand in hand in Ghana without discrimination.

I trust that you will be sufficiently fair minded to publish this letter in full.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]
ACCRA REPRESENTATIVE.

ASHANTI GOLDFIELDS CORPORATION LIMITED

Accra Representative,
P.O. Box 2665,
Accra, Ghana.

20th June, 1963.

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In your issue of Friday, the 14th June, you posed the question "WHERE DOES THE ASHANTI GOLDFIELDS CORPORATION LTD. COME IN?"

The answer to your question is a very simple one, Ashanti Goldfields Corporation stands squarely besides Government in its desire for the prosperity of Ghana and the happiness of the Ghanaian people.

The "NEW ASANTI TIMES" is a newspaper which endeavours to publish articles of general interest which will stimulate thought. It does not in any way presume to intervene in political matters in Ghana, which this Corporation considers to be entirely a matter for the Ghanaian people. Further, it is not clear what "mining interests" the NEW ASANTI TIMES is alleged to represent. This newspaper is owned and run by Ashanti Goldfields Corporation and does not speak for, or pretend to speak for, any other Company.

The opinions expressed in your article under reference are your opinions and you are fully entitled to hold them. This Corporation cannot, however, view with anything but concern statistical misrepresentation. You have stated that the following facts emerged from the Chairman's Report at the Annual General Meeting:—

"Profits reinvested have increased from 17 million in 1957 to 38 million in 1962." This is NOT what the Chairman said: What he said was "profits reinvested have increased the value of gold in the reserves from 17 million in 1957 to 38 million in 1962, an increase of £21 million in Ghana's mineral resources."

million in 1957 to 38 million in 1962." This is NOT what the Chairman said: What he said was "profits reinvested have increased the value of gold in the reserves from 17 million in 1957 to 38 million in 1962, an increase of £21 million in Ghana's mineral resources."

You also state that "profits declared and paid to shareholders

have gone up from £403,830 in 1957 to £917,690 in 1962". That statement is also NOT correct. The Chairman stated in his report that dividends had risen by this amount, an increase of just over a million, and shareholders' capital had increased by one million, which is not the same thing at all.

Nor do you mention that in this same period the Corporation's contribution to Ghana's economy in terms of taxation has increased from £860,630 in 1957 to over £1,500,000 in 1962, an increase of £648,000 or considerably more than the increase in dividends.

na's economy in terms of taxation has increased from £860,630 in 1957 to over £1,500,000 in 1962, an increase of £648,000 or considerably more than the increase in dividends.

Finally, you also omit the fact that in terms of foreign exchange the increase in earnings to Ghana of Sterling over the same period is £1,750,000.

If you will look further down the statement made to the shareholders you will see that profits for 1962, before charging minerals duty and income tax, amounted to £2,311,881. Of these profits the Ghana Government has received £408,133 in minerals duty, £761,000 in income tax and £181,133 for compulsory savings, a total of £1,350,266, or more than half the gross profits. In addition, a tax on fuel oil, essential for the production of power, of £180,308 was paid.

Nor is this the whole picture, the above deals with profits and taxes; the cost to the Corporation of making this profit and providing this income to Ghana was £2,293,761, of which £893,321 was paid in wages to Ghanaian labour.

From the above you will see that your interpretation of the figures quoted and statements alleged to have been made at the Annual General Meeting were not only incorrect but misleading. From the facts set out above you will see that this Corporation's contribution to Ghana's economy is very considerable.

Osagyefo, the President, has himself reiterated over and over again in public statements that State enterprise and Private enterprise can march hand in hand in Ghana without discrimination.

I trust that you will be sufficiently fair minded as to publish this letter in full.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd) P. P. P. ?
ACCRA REPRESENTATIVE.

THE SPARK

(A Weekly of African News and Views)

P.O. Box M24,

ACCRA,

GHANA.

26th June, 1963.

Phone 45145 Ext. 18

Ref. No.

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter Reference AR/17 of 20th June 1963.

When we posed the question "Where does the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd. come in?" we referred specifically to the issue of "African Socialism" as the ideology of the Convention People's Party. Our view is that you should not indulge in the exercise of defining an ideology for our Party; and that if you did, we must dread your ideological brew as one dreads poison.

The 'New Ashanti Times' is mining as the primary industry here and over.

The 'New Ashanti Times' endeavours to stimulate thought. But what we commented on is not an article but an editorial. We believe you appreciate the difference.

We agree with you that Osagyefo the President has himself spoken of the need, at the present stage of Ghana's economic evolution, for state and private enterprise to operate side by side. We hope you will agree with us that the President has never given a mandate to foreign private companies to define the ideology by which Ghana is to be guided.

Sir, I am "sufficiently fair-minded", so I have decided to publish your letter and mine.

Yours faithfully,

KORI BETSA
(EDITOR).

DEAR SIR,

Thanks for your letter Reference AR/17 of 20th June, 1963.

When we posed the question "Where does the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd. come in?", we referred specifically to the issue of "African Socialism" as the ideology of the Convention People's Party. Our view is that you should not indulge in the exercise of defining an ideology for our Party; and that if you did we must dread your ideological brew as one dreads poison.

The NEW ASANTI TIMES does represent "mining interests" in as much as the primary purpose of its owners is mining. We also have a pretty shrewd idea of the influence of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd. in mining circles both here and overseas.

We note that "The New Ashanti Times" endeavours to publish articles of general interest which will stimulate thought". But what we commented on is not an article but an editorial. We believe you appreciate the difference.

And may we observe that the 'New Ashanti Times' desire to stimulate thought" has not led it to publish exposures and condemnation of apartheid in South Africa or to lean on the side of African nationalism on the many burning issues that confront the African peoples in their fight against imperialism in all its forms.

We say that "profits declared and paid to shareholders" have gone up from £403,830 in 1957 to £917,690 in 1962. Your contention is that your chairman referred to "dividends." But you do not challenge the figures. Are "dividends" not the amounts paid to shareholders? And are they not usually paid out of profits?

Your figures relating to taxes and wages paid by your company were not part of our comment.

Sir, I am "sufficiently fair-minded", so I have decided to publish your letter and mine.

Yours faithfully,
EDITOR.

The Mad American

by
Obatan Awuku

HAS become fashionable these days for globetrotting white supremacists to appoint themselves judges of African affairs and make pronouncements on our developments and even on our potentialities. One such assessment which is still fresh in our minds came from Allen Ellender, Senator for the State of Louisiana in the United States of America.

On a tour of Africa last year, Ellender said at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, that Africans were incapable of ruling themselves. Naturally the African governments of Tanganyika and Zambia felt that they stood in no need of the judicious "justice" Ellender and used him entry into their countries.

Dr. C. C. O'Brien, Chancellor of the University of Ghana has something to say in regard to this. He said in a recent lecture: "Indeed, one of the more dangerous features of neo-colonialism is the lack of any really responsible centre for the territories affected. The metropolitan state or the financial interest con-

cern of any imperial power, any more than the health of a malarial patient the concern of a mosquito.

These causes which Ellender is either too blind and ignorant to know or too dishonest to acknowledge are due to American imperialism which has enfeebled and crippled Liberia. That country's economy hinges on exports of rubber, iron-ore and to some extent cocoa.

cern of any imperial power, any more than the health of a malarial patient the concern of a mosquito.

This homely analogy of parasitic characteristics goes further than may be expected. The purpose of the mosquito is to suck the blood of his victim. In so doing it imposes a system which incapacitates the people and then this enfeeblement offers further reasons for continued exploitation.

But even if Liberia and Ethiopia were really inefficient governments, does that mean that all African countries are incapable of governing themselves? What does Ellender have to say about the beastial savagery of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy? And how efficient are the governments of Portugal and Spain in present day Europe? Is it not true that the average Ghanaian is better off than the average Portuguese?

PORTUGAL'S BACKWARDNESS

One should like to know how long Portugal has been independent. Perhaps Ellender does not know that Columbus who discovered America was sponsored by a Portuguese government. And yet while America is supposed to be the richest country in the world today, Portugal is no better than either Ethiopia or Liberia which Ellender is so bent upon villifying. Is Portugal's backwardness then, proof of the white-man's incapacity to govern himself?

If Portugal can lay claims to any pristine glory, Ethiopia can boast of a more glorious past which stretches into the dim past of human history when whitemen like Ellender and the Portuguese grubbed and grunted in the caves and forests of Europe.

What misgovernment, apart from Nazi terrorism, is comparable to the honours of the Industrial Revolution in Britain? For Ellender's benefit, I quote extracts from "A Social and Economic History of Britain" by Pauline Gregg:—

"Children and adults of both sexes were employed in the factories, six or seven being the admitted age, though children sometimes began at three or four years old. Parents were frequently compelled by economic pressure to send their children to the mill; in some cases they were refused parish relief if they had children who could work; sometimes adults were refused work unless they brought their children with them.

"Brutality, including whipping and beating, was said to be necessary to keep the children awake, who otherwise, from sheer fatigue, sometimes fell into the moving machinery, to be killed or maimed."

FORCED LABOUR

These little sucklings had to be waken up at 2 a.m. in order to arrive at the factory at 3 a.m. having had no more than four hours sleep, for they closed at 10 p.m. or later. During these nineteen hours of labour they were allowed only 15 minutes for breakfast, 30 minutes

for dinner and 15 minutes for drinking.

But sometimes these fleeting moments of respite were taken up with the cleaning of the machinery! The children had no opportunity of sitting during these long hours. Thus the "animal machine was charised fast to the iron machine."

The result? Deformities, mutations and deaths!

But this is not all. None the less, we shall not talk of the women who went down into coal mines to dig and haul it up rickety ladders. At least they were adults. Let us rather remember the little children, boys and girls, around whose waists chains were tied, like little horses, to draw wagon loads of coal!

And where did these children and their parents live? They were crammed together in hovels, "cellars, garrets, rooming in houses and finally corners of rooms, swarming like ants but less clean than ants." Gregg, Dr. Southwood-Smith thus describe the sanitary conditions of their surroundings:

PUTREFYING MATTER

"Uncovered sewers, stagnant ditches and ponds, gutters always full of putrefying matter, nightmen's yards, and privies, the soil of which lies openly exposed, and is seldom or never removed. It is not possible for any language to convey an adequate con-

ception of the poisonous condition in which large portions of both these districts always remain, winter and summer, in dry and in rainy season, from the masses of putrefying matter which are allowed to accumulate." And the "putrefying matter", mixed with the streams and ponds they drank, the water sometimes black with filth and as thick as treacle.

ELLENDER TO READ HISTORY

This was nineteenth century Britain. Did the government do anything about it? Far from it. The British government strongly upheld the principle of laissez-faire—

Would to God, someone would tell Ellender to read a little more history—that is if the United States Senator can read and write.

What we wish to make clear to all white folks is that we do not lay claim to any supremacy, yet we are not making the mistakes they made. If they can make allowances for their own short-comings, they can at least keep their mouths shut about ours.

By what criterion does their mouths shut about Ellender measure efficiency anyway? The U.S. is reputed to be the most advanced country in the world. That is well and true, for statistics show that it has the highest per capital income. But is it not paradoxical that in

this rich bonanza where milk and honey flow in profusion, 25 million souls should go to bed on empty stomachs? Mr. John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, is the authority for this statement. To the African the hunger of one is the hunger of all, and efficient government, to him, is one that can effect the just distribution of resources.

Lincoln tells us that the American nation was conceived upon and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Well nigh upon two hundred years have passed since that nation was so conceived and so dedicated, but are all men now equal in America?

I think President Kennedy himself has the answer:— *The Negro baby born in America today has about half as much chance of completing high school as white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning 10,000 dollars a year; a life expectancy which is seven years less; the prospect of earning only half as much. The cruel disease of discrimination knows no sectional boundaries.*

And I think the barbarous atrocities against the Afro-Americans these days give the answer.

Continued on Page 7



Apparently the U.S. Government felt embarrassed by this uncalled for outburst of racialism by a Senator; or it went to some pains to deny that Ellender ever made the statement. But Ellender felt no compunctions about what he had said. He embarrassed his government further by repeating the same statement in the U.S.A. if that was not enough. Ellender appeared on television recently and reassured what he had said at Salisbury.

RABBLE ROUSER

From his background, this evidence of Allen's obdurate racism is not surprising. He is a noted rabble rouser who has been opposed President Kennedy in his moves to enforce in Washington his civil rights legislation.

Allen threatens that he will incite his fellow whites to use violence if the President persisted in his intentions. Allen is known to have been a member of the notorious, barbaric, blood-thirsty Klu Klux Klan. If he has now severed connections with the satanic group, he still retains the spirit and breath of hell.

As evidence of his contention that Africans are not capable of governing themselves, Ellender cited Liberia and Ethiopia.

His examples are very significant. For these countries offer good evidence of the evils of imperialism and neo-colonialism. It is characteristic of imperialism and neo-colonialism to make an efficient government in a victim country impossible, and by that means prove that the people are not ripe for self-government.

cerned wash their hands of all responsibility for political development in the country concerned. The country is independent, they say, so the former coloniser has no longer any say in its political affairs; as for the financial interests, they invariably assert that they know nothing of politics and never concern themselves with them.

On the other hand, the nominal rulers of the country, aware that they have no real control over the country's economy or, often, over its administration either, cannot really be expected to feel responsibility for matter which they have little or no power to influence.

He further continues: "It was standard form when I was in Katanga, for Union Miniere officials and other Belgians, to shake their heads at some of the detected excesses of people like Munongo. "What can you expect?" They said. "These things prove that Africans were not ready for independence." They never accepted any responsibility for the selection of these particular Africans or for the very peculiar kind of independence they had conferred on them."

A DECEITFUL NAME

If it is true that Liberia has very little to show by way of concrete developments, economically, politically, socially and culturally, and for all her century of independence. Even if it is a fact that after a 160 years of sovereignty, Liberia is far behind many young African States which only recently won their independence.

Faced with these facts,

All these are exploited by American capitalists: rubber by Firestone Plantation, iron-ore by Liberia Mining Company (a deceitful name) and cocoa by Liberia Company, (another name calculated to deceive).

It is relevant to be reminded that dollar imperialism is not confined to Liberia, or to Africa for that matter. Although from all appearances the states of Central America are free, sovereign, independent, they are completely under the thump of America. America does not own these countries as colonies but they cannot for long act like independent sovereign states without falling into economic difficulties.

Ethiopia's case goes to prove further that there is nothing to be gained by association with imperialists and neo-colonialists. For although these exploiters gain by the "friendship", the victim country is only hamstrung by it. Because such an alignment commits a notion to an imperial power which may not feel disposed to help her economically, and yet the fact of their alignment prevents her from seeking help elsewhere.

America maintains in Asmara, Ethiopia, a military base which was vital to her during the Korean War. There is a television Station at this base but none in any part of Ethiopia.

It may be vital to the military base, but although it may be equally important to Ethiopia in her economic, educational and cultural advancement, that is no concern of America. Nor is the development of any African territory the con-



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Après Addis Abeba...

L'UNITE AFRICAINE ET LA POLITIQUE DES PUISSANCES OCCIDENTALES

TANT pour les pays sous-développés—et ceux d'Afrique notamment—, que pour les pays développés d'Europe occidentale, L'UNITE s'avère, aujourd'hui plus que jamais, un impératif majeur, une nécessité vitale.

Et c'est tout naturellement que nous inclinons à avoir de la sympathie pour les tentatives actuelles d'unité européenne si elle ne se veut pas eurafricaine, quand bien même—et pour cause!—la réciproque n'est pas vraie. Cependant, qu'un ensemble comme l'Europe occidentale adhère au concept d'unité et s'efforce de le concrétiser en cette période-même où la totale émancipation et le développement de l'Afrique révèlent le caractère impératif de l'unité pour les peuples de notre continent, nous incite, pour le moins, à nous interroger.

D'abord, on en conviendra, la dissemblance est radicale, entre les situations respectives de l'Afrique et de l'Europe occidentale. Et l'on aurait de peine à soutenir que dans les deux cas, la nécessité de s'unir procède d'aspiration semblable. Certes, les dirigeants européens font de l'existence du camp socialiste leur argument majeur en faveur de l'unité des pays de l'Europe Occidentale. Mais à y regarder de plus près, l'on est amené à se demander si cet argument n'est pas conçu pour servir de paravent à une nécessité plus impérieuse, directement liée à la montée du nationalisme africain.

En effet, ne serait-ce qu'à en juger par les résultats de la récente conférence d'Addis Abeba et de leurs premiers effets à la toute récente réunion du Bureau International du Travail (BIT) à Genève—sans parler du cas du sénateur américain Ellender—l'on peut augurer que le nationalisme africain est plus que jamais à l'ascendant. Si durant les cinq jours de la conférence et même au lendemain immédiat, les impérialistes pouvaient encore se réserver le bénéfice du doute quant à l'application des décisions d'Addis Abeba par toutes les signataires, la tournure que prend l'évolution des choses aura tôt fait de rectifier leur appréciation. Du reste, ce serait une méprise de notre part que de penser un seul instant qu'ils ne s'attendaient pas qu'un jour, les

Africains se déterminent collectivement à en finir avec l'assujettissement, à s'engager résolument vers un avenir de progrès. Et pour cela précisément, et ensuite parce qu'ils sont prévenus de l'objectif du nationalisme africain et qu'ils ne sous-estiment pas les chances de sa réalisation. L'on peut affirmer a priori qu'à cette étape-ci de l'évolution africaine, toutes leurs préoccupations, toute leur stratégie tiennent en ces quelques mots: *tout faire pour conserver tout au moins les acquis*. Comme il en ressort nettement, ce qui caractérise cette pensée, c'est un réflexe de protection.

SAINTE ALLIANCE

Très opportunément à cet égard, le dernier débat au parlement français sur le traité franco-allemand est bien révélateur. En en faisant la critique, un membre de l'opposition à la chambre française a pu établir un parallèle entre ce traité, conclu entre le Général de Gaulle et le chancelier Adenauer, à la Sainte Alliance d'es souverains européens qui stipule en son article 6:

"Pour consolider les rapports intimes qui unissent actuellement les souverains pour le bonheur du monde, les hautes parties contractantes sont convenues de renouveler à des époques déterminées, soit sous les auspices des souverains, soit par leurs ministres respectifs, les réunions consacrées aux grands intérêts communs"

Et l'honorable membre de l'opposition de lancer à l'adresse du premier ministre français:

"C'est la substance même de votre traité d'aujourd'hui. Allez donc, après cela, traiter les autres d'attardés!"

L'intéressant, ici, c'est que cet exemple par excellence de co-opération entre Etats qu'est la Sainte Alliance, est rejeté implicitement, comme dépassé, par l'honorable membre du parlement français. Peut-on dire, cependant que de Gaulle et Adenauer veulent, par anachronisme, en faire la base de leur politique? Certes non. Et ce qui justifie d'un parallèle entre le traité franco-allemand et la Sainte Alliance, c'est qu'à l'instar de ces souverains de la Russie tsariste, de l'Autriche et de la Prusse face aux aspirations nationalistes des petits états européens opprimés 150 ans en arrière, le général de Gaulle et le chancelier Adenauer sont habités par la crainte d'une menace certaine: le vieux chancelier allemand a le sentiment persistant que toute détente entre Washington et Moscou ne peut se faire qu'au détriment de Bonn et pour faire pièce à cette éventualité, il prend appui sur le Général de Gaulle, cependant que celui-ci, dont on connaît l'opposition à l'hégémonie américaine dans le bloc occidental, peut s'en prévaloir comme d'une compagnie de choix face aux Etats-Unis. N'en res-

sort-il pas que pour le général de Gaulle aussi bien que pour le chancelier Adenauer, la co-opération entre Etats n'est tout au plus qu'un élément tactique et non la stratégie, elle-même? Comment comprendre dès lors que certains soutiennent sur le continent africain cette thèse de co-opération pure et simple entre Etats alors qu'elle est rejetée, comme

Par un Correspondant Special

anachronique, par les Européens et que le général de Gaulle lui-même ne s'en sert que par tactique?

C'est l'évidence même qu'en Europe, aujourd'hui, la stratégie générale c'est l'unité.

UNITE EUROPEENNE

A ce propos, un membre de la majorité gouvernementale, toujours au cours des débats au parlement français sur le traité franco-allemand, a fait état de l'existence de "deux écoles en matière de construction européenne: les fédéralistes et les confédéralistes". Ces deux thèses, poursuit-il, étaient parfaitement concevables; elles ne divergeaient que sur des questions d'appréciation, de méthode et de calendrier. Au travers de cette querelle est apparue une querelle de conceptions, moins avouée: il s'agit de savoir quelle conception on se fait de l'Europe, de sa défense, de ses rapports avec les Etats-Unis. Nous, conclut-il, nous voulons faire de l'Europe une grande puissance en additionnant les potentialités. L'Europe doit avoir sa politique économique, sa diplomatie et sa défense, elle doit avoir sa place dans la définition de la stratégie nucléaire.

En somme si nous comprenons cet honorable membre de la majorité gouvernementale au parlement français, il conçoit l'Europe unie comme devant avoir sa propre politique économique, sa propre diplomatie et sa défense. Toutes choses qu'en Afrique nous posons comme base de l'unité africaine. C'est heureux, cependant, qu'à Addis Abeba, nos dirigeants se soient plutôt référés aux exemples américain et soviétique à propos de l'unité africaine. Car, en fait, il y a unité et unité. L'unité peut être conçue par souci d'aller de l'avant, comme elle peut l'être par réflexe de protection.

L'un et l'autre cas s'appliquent à des ensembles aux caractéristiques diamétralement opposées.

FEDERATION

Par exemple, lorsque les colonies de l'Amérique du Nord décidèrent de s'unir et de constituer un Etat fédéral dirigé par un gouvernement de l'union, certes l'indépendance chèrement conquise demandait à être consolidée et sauvegardée, mais ces colonies ne furent pas mues par un réflexe de protection. La préoccupation majeure des Américains était plutôt d'exploiter les ressources de leur pays non plus pour le compte des

souverains et des lords britanniques, mais pour leur propre épanouissement. La preuve en est le programme de "l'Amérique aux Américains" de la doctrine Monroe. Un programme parfaitement conforme aux aspirations des populations de ces colonies américaines et qui les mobilisa et firent d'elles un bouclier même de l'unité et de la naissance des

USA. C'est là un exemple typique d'unité conçue pour aller de l'avant et il n'est point étonnant que l'ensemble américain fut, à cette époque-là, caractérisé par l'intense volonté de progresser rapidement vers l'épanouissement industriel et le développement économique; ce qui, somme toute, est la pré-occupation même de l'Afrique aujourd'hui. Et le fait que les USA soit le type achevé d'intégration politique prouve bien que dans un ensemble en progression, mu par le souci de développement, seule la fédération est la formule adéquate d'unité. L'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques en est une autre confirmation.

CONFEDERATION

Lorsque l'honorable membre de la majorité gouvernementale française que nous avons cité plus haut, fait état de deux écoles qui s'affrontent en matière de construction européenne, les fédéralistes et les confédéralistes, cela ressemble plutôt à une fantaisie de langage. Car en fait, de quoi y retourne-t-il en réalité?

Le général de Gaulle est souvent opposé aux autres dirigeants européens en la matière et on le considère comme l'homme du confédéralisme, alors que M. Paul Henri Spaak, ministre belge des affaires étrangères, passe par exemple pour un fédéraliste. Mais la "fédération" qu'appelle M. Spaak de ses vœux se conçoit-elle comme une entité européenne indépendante? Assurément non! M. Spaak l'entend plutôt comme un groupement homogène au sein d'un ensemble plus vaste que serait la Communauté Atlantique. Autrement dit, en substance, M. Spaak est un confédéraliste qui s'ignore et ce qui le différencie du général de Gaulle, si nous pouvions nous permettre ici un terme géométrique, c'est une simple question de rayon: le général de Gaulle veut limiter le diamètre de la confédération à la dimension de l'Europe; M. Spaak le veut à la dimension du bloc atlantique, mieux, à la dimension du monde libre. Et celui que l'on voit surgir alors face au général de Gaulle, c'est plutôt le président Kennedy. Ce qui revient, somme toute, à dire qu'autour de l'unité européenne, il n'existe à proprement parler qu'une seule thèse, celle de la confédération, et que toute la querelle est de savoir qui, du Général de Gaulle et du Président Kennedy, en aura la haute direction.

Le célèbre journaliste américain Walter Lippmann serre cette réalité de près

dans un récent article publié par NEWSWEEK en écrivant les lignes qui suivent: "L'insistance du gaullisme à soutenir que la Grande Bretagne n'est pas une puissance européenne est la manifestation extérieure de la croyance qu'aucune alliance européenne ne peut donner la sécurité à la France si ce n'est pas elle qui la dirige. En toute honnêteté, n'est-ce pas ainsi qu'il nous Américains concevons nos alliances?"

C'est là une vérité brûlante, car dans toute alliance, seul en réalité dirige et oriente, celui qui possède l'atout militaire. Trop souvent, l'on parle du désaccord franco-américain en terme de divergence de conception en matière stratégique militaire; parfois même, on le réduit à un pur et simple malentendu. Tant s'en faut. Sur le terrain de l'unité européenne, ce désaccord se traduit en affrontement de deux tentatives d'hégémonie, l'une gaulliste dans un ensemble eurafricain, l'autre yankee à l'échelle mondiale.

HEGEMONIE GAULLISTE

Le séparatisme qui transpire de la conception du général de Gaulle en matière de l'unité européenne tient au fait même que la France, plus que toute autre puissance de l'Europe occidentale, possède suffisamment d'atouts pour prétendre à définir la stratégie et à orienter l'ensemble. C'est un fait en effet que le capitalisme français est le moins atteint par l'infiltration économique américaine en Europe. Et depuis quelques années, sous l'impulsion du général de Gaulle lui-même, une campagne d'hostilité systématique tend à réduire, sinon à juguler entièrement, l'emprise des investissements yankee en France.

A cet atout économique, s'ajoute l'atout, de loin plus important, du maintien des relations actuelles entre la France et ses anciennes colonies d'Afrique. Sur ce terrain-là, de Gaulle résiste de pieds fermes à Onclé Sam et il ne semble pas que celui-ci y trouve la tâche aussi aisée que dans certaines anciennes possessions britanniques et au Congo.

Seul fait encore défaut à la France l'atout militaire, et cette raison explique, à elle seule, que de Gaulle considère l'entrée de la Grande Bretagne dans une Europe unie comme susceptible de réduire quelque peu ses chances d'hégémonie; car après tout, l'Angleterre possède une avance très nette sur la France en matière d'armement atomique et fait figure de puissance nucléaire, alors que la France en est encore à la phase expérimentale dans la constitution de sa "force de frappe".

Sans ses trois atouts, d'ordre économique, militaire et impérialiste, aucune puissance ne peut prétendre établir son hégémonie sur d'autres dans un ensemble donné. Tous les trois, les Etats-Unis les possèdent à des dimensions, peut-on dire, universelles. Et en dépit de cela, pourquoi ne parviennent-ils pas, eux et leurs adeptes européens, à triompher du gaullisme sur la question de l'unité européenne? Il ne semble pas

que la raison puisse être d'ordre économique, tout le monde sait que le capitalisme américain est de loin plus puissant que celui de la France. Pas plus, ne semble-elle pas devoir être d'ordre militaire, la France ne pouvant même pas, comme nous l'avons souligné, faire figure honorable dans l'éventualité d'une attaque nucléaire. Reste donc l'atout impérialiste que possède encore de Gaulle sur le continent africain. C'est là, incontestablement, son atout majeur, celui qui confère à son avis une importance décisive dans la communauté européenne. N'est-ce pas en effet un joli paradoxe que de Gaulle, chef d'état de la puissance la plus insignifiante sur le plan nucléaire, soit celui dont l'avis est décisif dans cette communauté européenne qui se veut unie par mesure de sécurité?

C'est par trop clair, quel que soit le prétexte qu'on invoque à son propos, l'unité européenne n'a qu'un but: celui d'exploiter collectivement l'Afrique en contrecarrant toute tentative d'unité africaine. Son idée a pris naissance par opposition au nationalisme africain. Elle est l'antithèse radicale de l'unité africaine.

Dès lors, la querelle entre séparatistes et intégrationnistes autour de l'unité européenne ne retient notre attention que du point de vue stratégique. La thèse de confédération européenne, du général de Gaulle apparaît, somme toute, comme une hégémonie moyenne, pour ainsi dire. Elle table sur l'importance actuelle de la France dans ses anciennes colonies d'Afrique et sur d'éventuelles possibilités en d'autres points du continent. Ses chances de succès excluent absolument toute éventualité d'intégration politique africaine dans une union politique continentale; le maximum de concession que le gaullisme pourrait faire à la Révolution Africaine est le "fédéralisme" des ensembles régionaux africains, cette balkanisation au second degré qu'il a déjà avancée par la petite porte en balion d'essai.

HEGEMONIE YANKEE ET UNITE AFRICAINE

Quant à la thèse yankee, celle que prônent M. Spaak et les intégrationnistes européens, il en va différemment. Si le président Kennedy tient à l'intégration européenne sous la forme fédérale c'est que la thèse yankee envisage une Confédération atlantique sous la haute direction des Etats-Unis. Et l'on peut augurer que l'aboutissement de ce processus sera inévitablement une confédération de tout ce qui s'appelle monde libre. Ainsi, alors que le gaullisme n'entend par ensemble régional qu'un micro-union comme par exemple l'Afrique occidentale, le yankee pourrait parfaitement concevoir l'ensemble régional à l'échelle d'une aire géographique plus vaste tel, par exemple, le continent africain. Cela va de soi, l'hégémonie yankee se veut mondiale. Cependant, une intégration politique continentale comporte l'inconvénient, du point de vue impérialiste,

d'une possibilité monumentale de mobilisation des masses populaires par la Révolution Africaine, et de ce fait, on ne peut donc exclure d'emblée que le yankee, encouragé par certains succès dans des pays africains d'influence française durant la première étape de balkanisation, cherche tout d'abord à concurrencer le gaullisme sur son propre terrain de balkanisation au second degré.

Mais plus sûrement, du fait même qu'il est pour l'intégration d'un vaste ensemble, le yankee pourrait suivre la direction du vent et s'engager à fond dans le courant d'unité en Afrique, pour une union politique continentale. Ainsi, dans sa concurrence avec le gaullisme, à coup sûr, celui-ci perdrait en Afrique; démunie de ce fait de son atout impérialiste majeur, il va sans dire que le gaullisme ne pourrait résister longtemps au yankee en Europe même. Mais il va sans dire également qu'en s'engageant dans le courant d'unité africaine pour l'intégration politique continentale, le yankee s'efforcera de faire dévier, par tous les moyens, l'évolution vers l'aboutissement d'une fédération continentale africaine intégrable à la confédération du monde libre. Une telle éventualité ferait de l'unité africaine un instrument d'exploitation plutôt que de développement. Et la fédération africaine qui en naîtrait serait au plus une puissance de troisième ordre subissant à la fois l'exploitation collective et de la confédération du monde libre, et de l'Europe intégrée.

Mais le drame pour le yankee autant d'ailleurs que pour le gaullisme, c'est que le néo-colonialisme ne peut exploiter les peuples africains que par des intermédiaires. Or le sort de ces intermédiaires dans les micro-états montre bien que dans une union politique continentale, leur situation sera encore plus tragique d'autant plus que la force de l'opposition des masses sera décapée et la possibilité de liquidation des agents de l'impérialisme plus accrue.

Discutant un jour de choses et d'autres, le Dr Krumah a dit, faisant allusion à ce que serait la situation dans une union politique continentale africaine, que le Gouvernement continental sera un "miroir grossissant".

L'image est frappante. C'est qu'en effet, une union politique continentale fera ressortir, par dessus tout, deux données fondamentales: l'impérialisme et le gouvernement continental, expression de l'unité des peuples africains.

Alors, de deux choses l'une: ou le Gouvernement continental se détournera des aspirations et des intérêts africains, auquel cas le peuple africain n'aurait d'autre issue que de liquider ce gouvernement. Ou bien, au contraire, le Gouvernement continental se conformera aux aspirations africaines, s'engagera résolument dans la décolonisation et le développement, auquel cas le peuple africain se constituera lui-même son meilleur bouclier contre toute tentative d'agression impérialiste.

De quelque manière qu'on le considère, indubitablement, "le néo-colonialisme est le stade ultime de l'impérialisme."

THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AFTER ADDIS ABABA

by M. R. Pistone

IT CANNOT be said that the attempt to settle the fate of European unionism through the Common Market has given comforting results. As a matter of fact there are no examples in history of federal unions that have arisen out of Customs unions.

A political agreement has always—in these cases—preceded the economic organisation of any type of federation either in the East or in the West of Europe. And there is no reason to believe that Europe will be able to form a federation starting out from zonal economic agreements.

Anyway de Gaulle is able to cancel—with a military decision—the work of many years towards integration. The crisis of the Common Market, also as regards agricultural economic agreements, testifies to the fact that there is not a minimum political common denominator among the States intending to federate, the federation is not formed.

PAN-AFRICANISM

The African countries seem to have realised the difficulties met with by European unionism and a unanimous agreement has been reached at Addis Ababa about the need to proceed gradually towards Pan-Africanism on the political plane even before the economic plan.

In fact, the question of the Common Market which had seriously divided the preparatory conference gradually disappeared in the course of the great assembly of the Heads of State. We should like to say that one of the tangible results of the conference consists just in the successful settlement of the old controversy between the countries of the Monrovia group which are associated with the Common Market (Ethiopia, Liberia, Nigeria, Tunisia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Congo—Leopoldville, Mauritania, Senegal, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Niger, Ivory Coast, Chad, Central Africa, Congo—Brazzaville, Gabon, Cameroon, Madagascar, Rwanda) and the countries of the Casablanca group (Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Algeria), which are outside the Common Market and, in fact, in open polemics with it.

AFRICAN UNITY CHARTER

The Addis Ababa Charter, which ratifies the first concrete step towards African federalism, annuls, in fact, the "Declaration" of Casablanca and the Monrovia one.

The Africans—it is obvious—do not intend to perpetuate their divisions by becoming involved in

the controversy that has arisen among the countries of "Little Europe" as a result of Britain's request for admittance to the Common Market.

In this way whether the individual African States are associated with the European Common Market or not is no longer a question of principle for the countries of the Casablanca group and has become a matter of mere economic expediency, just as the economic and technical aid received from the old colonial powers has been hitherto for these States. This, of course, does not imply any abatement of the African struggle against neo-colonialism.

CONCRETE STEPS

On the contrary, it can be said that the most concrete steps taken by the conference were just in the field of the struggle against colonialism, if it is true—as in fact it is that, on the inspiration of Ben Bella—it has been decided to create a fund to assist fighters in Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and Rhodesia.

So a state of war has virtually broken out between the States represented at Addis Ababa and the last strongholds of old colonialism. They all realised at Addis Ababa that the freedom of Africa is indivisible and that the peace of all may be endangered by the

presence on the African soil of hotbeds of racialism such as the one which is defending the Pretoria regime with such desperate stubbornness.

COMPONENT FORCES

Certainly, the Organisation of African Unity is far from being a Federation of States with common institutions and a common Government as the President of Ghana desired. Nevertheless it is seen to be the component of two forces which will take time to interpenetrate each other: the propelling force of the unitarian consciousness of the African peoples which have just won independence and are a thirst for freedom, and the static force of the States which were formed within largely artificial frontiers traced in the past by the colonial powers and which—like all States in the world—have an innate tendency to survive automatically.

It is already a great deal, however, that the qualified exponents of thirty States that have all been formed recently, except for Ethiopia, managed to put aside their personal problems and their territorial claims in order to stress solely and exclusively what can unite them in the struggle against colonialism and in the implementation of a common federative ideal.

view, too, Africa has offered the old world and Europe especially an example of political maturity and commonsense, an example which is all the

more significant under the present circumstances in that it has been set by men who, until a few years back, were denied even the status of citizens.

Quite aside from its moral significance, the Addis Ababa Conference has served, if nothing else, the purpose of demonstrating that Africa no longer exists as a

mere geographical expression, but as a political entity which will very soon have a great deal to say and a great deal to do in the international field.

Underhand dealings of the Union Miniere

Brussels, June 17:

IT emerges from the 1962 business report of the "Union Miniere du Haut Katanga" which for years has been exploiting the natural resources of the Congo in the interest of its shareholders that the company has consciously reduced its payments to the Leopoldville Government during the past year.

SEPARATIST TSHOMBE

Formerly the Congo covered 60 per cent of its revenues by payments from the Union Miniere which in return was granted far-reaching exploitation rights and an unhindered transfer of profits to Belgium and other countries. The Separatist Tshombe had concluded a similar agreement

with the Union. The months-old tug-of-war over these problems between Brussels where the company's headquarters are and Leopoldville is not yet finished.

Although Premier Adoula had been to the Belgium capital at the end of February, the complicated negotiations on financial and economic measures had no immediate positive result.

TECHNICAL AID

It was only agreed that until the beginning of June a commission is to work a treaty on "technical aid". But until then the Adoula Government has granted no permission to the Union Miniere for transferring dividends amounting to 800 Belgian francs par share from the 1961 profits.

In order to bring pressure to bear on the Leopoldville Government whose annual budget shows a deficit of 13 thousand millions of Congolese francs and who is

consequently very much interested in the Union Miniere payments, the Board of Directors of the Trust arranged the 1962 balance in such a way that the net profit appears considerably reduced and the payments to the Congolese state accordingly lower than usual. The same tactics have been applied by the numerous holding-companies of the Union Miniere in the Congo.

Yet it is certain that during the past year the Union Miniere has squeezed a profit of about 6.14 thousand million Belgian francs or 77 percent of the share-capital which is 8 thousand million from the large number of natives working in the pits and works of the company.

COMPANY'S RESERVES

Nevertheless the report mentions as net gain only a sum of 658 million Belgian francs as against 1.5 thousand million in 1961. A major part of the 1962 profits (about 1.56 thousand

million) was added to the company's reserves, a further 1.18 thousand millions were used for increasing the huge copper stocks.

The Board of Directors wants them to remain in the Congo until favourable agreements have been reached with the Leopoldville Government concerning tariff and tax payments as well as the transfer of dividends to the shareholders.

In order to fulfil the obligations of delivery and the customers' demands, the company purchased copper on the London copper market last year while at the same time lining up its stocks in the Congo.

It made use of an arrangement with the big copper producers in the United States to keep the price of copper on the London market at 234 pounds a British Long-ton (1,016 kilogrammes).

—A.D.N.

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More Money to Kill

THE South African Finance Minister Dr. Eben Donges, told parliament yesterday that he would not hesitate to increase taxation to ensure the security of the country.

The defence budget for the current year is an all-time record in peacetime South Africa.

Dr Donges said there had been many threats in the past month.

The country should, therefore, be militarily prepared and strong against aggression from anywhere—from within her borders or from foreign country.

THE SANE AMERICAN

ACCORDING to a release issued yesterday by United States Information Service in Accra, Mrs. Frances Bolton, member of the House of Representatives, calls Africa "the new world of the twentieth century" that needs and deserves U.S. encouragement and support.

Speaking in the House Tuesday, Mrs. Bolton, a member of Congress for 23 years, took exception to recent remarks by Senator Allen J. Ellender that Africans are incapable of governing themselves.

Mrs. Bolton supported Secretary of State Rusk's statement

to African Ambassadors that Senator Ellender's view is not shared by the U.S. Government or the vast majority of the American people.

"He was a solitary voice proclaiming an obsolete canard which has been disproved by both science and history," Mrs Bolton said of the Senator. She added:

"Africa is the new world of the twentieth century and as such has vast importance. These fledgling nations need and deserve our support and encouragement. They deserve better than public insults and invective comparisons."

These fledgling nations need and deserve our support and encouragement. They deserve better than public insults and invective comparisons."

to trade union and party groups "in factories, workshops, government departments and offices" which must constantly study party ideology, demands and programmes and also explain "government policies and actions" (p. 131). The other important contribution of the people is voluntary service which could help literacy campaign, and programmes for "building of schools, roads, drains, clinics, post offices, houses and community centres." This too requires wholehearted support and self-identification of the people" (p. 103).

The fourth principle of socialist development is that foreign capital must be obtained in a manner that will leave full economic control in the hands of the emergent nation. Nkrumah asserts that a foreign company operating for profit in an underdeveloped country "has nothing to do with aid." (P.102).

CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

However, our circumstances demand that we seek capital from outside. The crux of the problem therefore is not that capital comes in from abroad, but rather the terms on which such capital comes in. The ideal arrangement is for foreign capital to go into partnerships with state enterprises and train local personnel for executive and technical posts at all levels.

We must always seek terms that will "preserve integrity and sovereignty without crippling economic or political ties to any country, bloc or system" (p. 102). And as a general formula Nkrumah states: "Foreign capital is thus useful and helpful if it takes the form of a loan or credit to enable the borrowing country to buy what it needs from whatever sources it likes, and at the same time to retain control of the assets to be developed" (p. 101).

DANGERS OF CRIPPLING TIES

Fifthly, the diversification of foreign economic links. This enables a country to avoid the dangers of "crippling ties to any one country" and helps in the drive for stable and better prices for our primary commodities on the world's markets. It must be pointed out that "stable and high" world prices for our products will increase the surpluses that could be ploughed into industrialisation. It will also put economic planning on a firmer footing.

Sixthly, some of the more deleterious social attitudes of the people must be changed. Nkrumah draws attention to "the drag on economic activity of the extended family system and the habit of squandering large sums of money on social festivities. He demands a new spirit of hard work

He adds: "Our less energetic society must be goaded into the acceptance of the stimuli necessary to rapid economic development by alterations in our social relationships and habits, necessary by law" (p. 105).

Seventh, the rise of a new privileged class must be prevented. Nkrumah here draws attention to the danger of a bourgeois class arising after independence. This class grows up through the contact of its members with the state apparatus. And thus comes into being what some writers term "bureaucratic capitalism" or an "administrative bourgeoisie".

DILEMMA

Nkrumah's famous "Dawn Broadcast" of 8 April, 1961 is the classic attack on this privileged class which, he maintains, must not be allowed to grow up. "We are setting our hands as firmly as we can against the growth of a privileged section" (p. 103). And again, "I spoke of the dangers arising from Ghanaian public men attempting to combine business with political life, and warned that those who would not give entirely disinterested service should leave politics or be thrown out. Legislation has since limited the amount of property our public men may own" (p. 125).

Eighth, a new budgetary and fiscal system totally

different from what obtained in the colonial era must be evolved. The criteria of this new system must be a release of initiative for economic production, the husbanding of national financial resources, the efficient and effective direction of investment for national development, and the prevention of the flight of capital away from the country.

In the performance of these tasks, the new fiscal system will use the state budget, import control, the state bank and an investment bank as its principal weapons.

Ninth, the party of the people must play a decisive role in the economic drive. "Economic independence and the objective of socialism cannot be achieved without decisive party leadership" (p. 128). But the party must enjoy the support of the people and be "imbued with Marxist socialist philosophy". The party plays its part in three distinct ways. It animates its integral wings (trade unions, organisation of farmers, etc.) with the requisites of the drive for economic emancipation. It creates 'study groups' in every factory, office, department or workshop to help in the implementation of the state plan, in reporting progress and in supplying valuable views for drawing up the state plan itself.

It trains cadres for all aspects of economic and social work acting on the Nkrumah marxism that "socialism needs socialists to build it". For this purpose a party school is set up (Kwame Nkrumah Institute at Winneba) and "all, from members of the Central Committee, Ministers and high Party officials to the lowest propagandist in the field, pass a course at the Institute" (p. 130).

MODES OF PRODUCTION

Tenth, a constantly changing administrative machinery. It is necessary "from time to time to make a review of the administrative apparatus" (p. 129) remembering that we got it from a colonial regime committed to a very different purpose from what we seek. We must also realise that we are out to establish a new life in a new society based on modern modes of production. Thus we live "in a period of flux".

We must therefore always be prepared for change, but these changes must secure our objective and never destroy accepted principles. "We must accommodate our minds and attitudes to the need for constant adaptation, never losing sight of principles and our expressed social objective" (p. 129).

THE MAD AMERICAN

Continued from Page 4

May we tell Ellender and all who feel like him that when we shall have reached the present stage of development in America, our morality and spiritual stature shall have matched our material well being?

Why do the whites rage and think murder in their hearts?

To capitalist interests the new birth of Africa is a dual disappointment. It is not only a matter of punctured pride arising from the fact that it gives the lie to the conceit of white supremacy but also a question of loss of profits. The imperialists had hoped that Africans would for ever dig and

carry the precious resources of their land for the building of Western cities—and the feeding of their hungry mouths. And if once in a while they threw down to us a little of the crumbs from their table, we were expected to be grateful for that.

Some there are who

say that we have benefited by contact with the white-man. This is not the place to wrangle about the probabilities and improbabilities of what might have been. But let it be said here and now that if we did benefit in any way, we paid for every one of it with our wealth, our sweat and our

blood. And, what is more, we have every right to ask for the balance.

For the purposes of subjugation and exploitation, the white man feels obliged to find some justification for these guilty acts. The excuse of the Belgian imperialists for their denial of any educational opportunities to the

Congolese is a classic example. The Belgians held that the Congolese were only capable of assimilating a limited number of facts.

As such their education could only be a slow and painful process. Arising from this sub-human nature of the Congolese, they would not be able, the Belgians maintained, to hold any positions of responsibility until a thousand years had passed. In effect the Belgians were arguing that

the Congolese, were still undergoing the process of biological evolution! Can anything be more cruel and diabolic? But imperialists and white supremacists are capable of any evil or crime. To them calumny and perversion, willing and outrageous even murder and savagery, are never so vile as to be employed against peace-loving Africans and peoples of African descent.

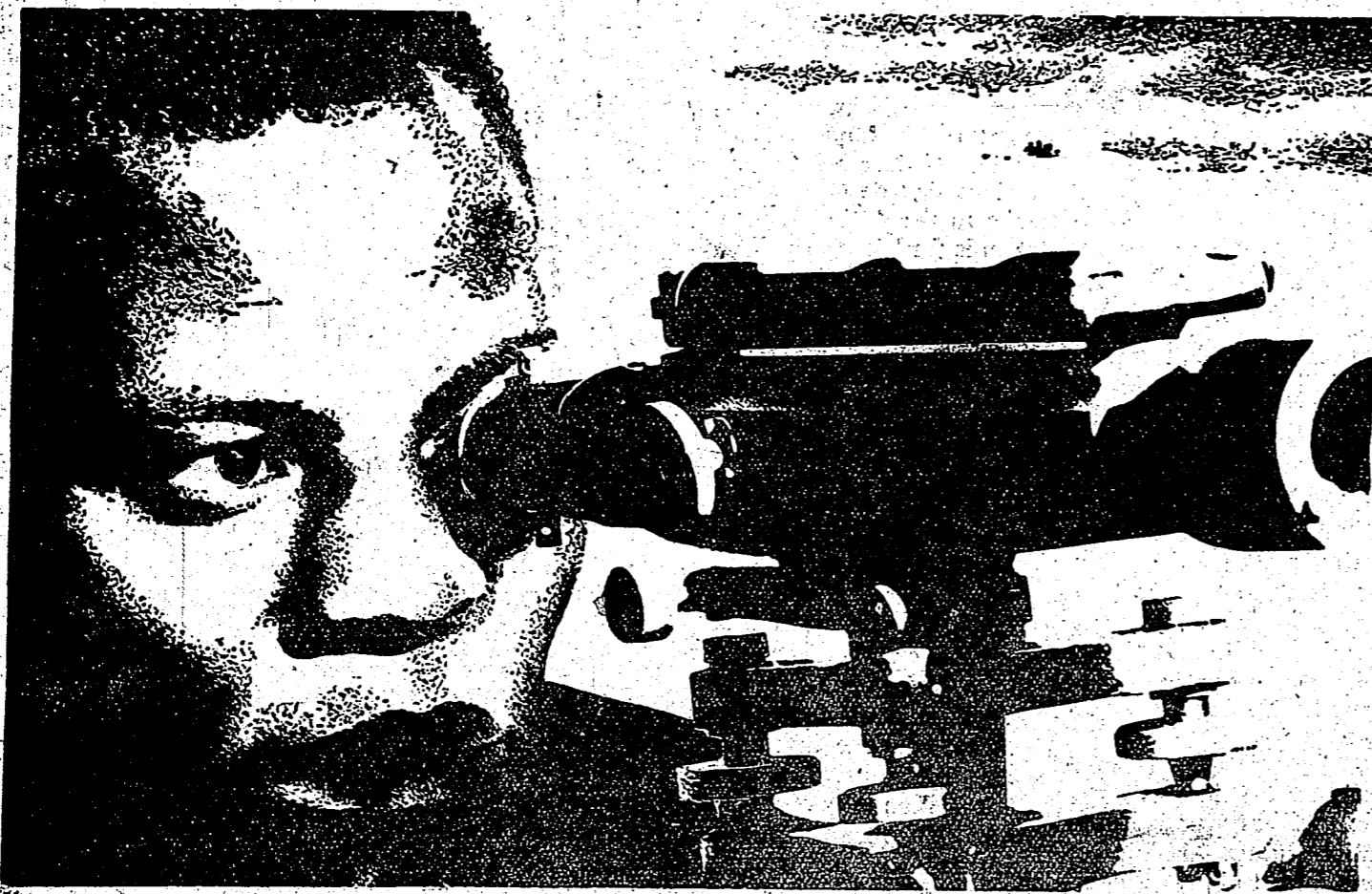
MURDER OF LUMUMBA

We need not go into history for evidences. This article is a protest against the uncalled for vilification of the African by Senator Ellender. We still grieve over the murder of Patrice Lumumba. We are witnesses to the current uprush of murder and savagery not only in South Africa, the land of Verwoerd and apartheid, but also in the United States of America where the blood of men once flowed for freedom's sake and where the Statue of Liberty beacons the traveller to the land of the free, or is it rather the home of the slave?

The resurgence of Africa and of all peoples of African descent is not an historical accident, but a necessary act in the peagant of history. It is driven and impelled by the forces that dictate the efflux of human history. It has the stark unarguable inevitability of death itself—it may be postponed, but it can never be averted. Whether Ellender and his ilk like it or not, Africa is bound to reassert her dominant position in the world.

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African Unity

Continued from Page 1

unity. Unity can be conceived as a measure for forging ahead as well as a defence mechanism, the type being applicable as required to units with diametrically opposite characteristics.

For instance, when the North American colonies decided to unite and become a federal state controlled by a Union government, it was quite clear that the hard won independence required to be reinforced and safeguarded. These colonies were not actuated by instinctive desire to protect themselves.

The major concern of the Americans was rather to exploit their country's resources, not in the interests of the British monarchs and lords, but for their own development. The proof of this is to be found in the programme designed to keep "America for the Americans" as enunciated in the Monroe doctrine. This was a programme perfectly in keeping with the aspirations of the peoples of the American colonies. It mobilised them and actually led the birth of the United States of America.

This is a typical example of unity conceived as a means of going forward.

and it is not surprising that the component units of America should, at that time, be imbued with an intense desire to make rapid progress in industrial growth and economic development.

This is exactly Africa's preoccupation at the present time. The fact that the United States of America are the perfect type of political integration, provides clear proof of the fact that in a unit which is making progress and imbued with the desire for development, only a federation can provide an adequate formula for unity. The USSR is another instance which corroborates this point.

When the member of the French government already referred to, states that "there are two schools of thought in the matter of the building up of European federalists and the confederalists", it seems as if he is merely toying with words. What is actually implied in all this?

General de Gaulle is often at variance with the other European leaders so far as this matter is concerned, being regarded as the champion of the confederal idea, while Mr. Paul Henry Spaak, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, is regarded as a federalist but is the "federation" that Mr. Spaak passionately yearns for con-

ceived as an independent European entity? Certainly not! Mr. Spaak regards it as a homogeneous grouping in a larger unity, the Atlantic Community. In other words, in essence, Mr. Spaak is an unwitting confederalist and the difference between him and General de Gaulle—if we may be allowed to use a geometrical expression—is merely a question of radius. General de Gaulle wishes to limit the diameter of the confederation to the dimensions of Europe. Mr. Spaak would like it to extend to the Atlantic bloc, or better still, embrace the "free world." And the person who comes into open opposition to the General, as a result of this is, in fact, President Kennedy. This simply means that so far as European unity is concerned, there is really only one proposition, the one in favour of a confederation, and the whole quarrel centres upon the speculation whether General de Gaulle or President Kennedy will have the leadership.

The celebrated American journalist Walter Lippmann, clinched this fact in a recent article published in NEWSWEEK, when he wrote as follows: "De Gaulle's insistence in maintaining that Great Britain is not a

"European" power is the outward sign of the belief that no European alliance can give France security if she herself is not at the head of it. Is this not, in all honesty, the way that we Americans look at any alliances we make?"

This is a transparent truth, for in any alliance the power that really directs and shapes the course of events is the power that holds the military trumps. Too often, people speak of disagreement between France and America, in the sense of a divergence of concepts in regard to military strategy. Sometimes this difference is actually ascribed to a simple misunderstanding. Far from it! So far as European unity is concerned, this divergence is epitomised in the confrontation of two bids for hegemony—a Gaullist bid in a European-cum-African setting, the other a Yankee endeavour to achieve world hegemony.

THE GAULLIST HEGEMONY

The separatist tendencies which seep through General de Gaulle's concept in the matter of European unity stems from the fact that France, more than any other Western European power, has every claim to be in a position to define the strategy of the whole unit and shape its course. It is actually a fact that French capitalism is the least affected by American economic infiltration in Europe. Indeed for the past few years under the stimulus of General de Gaulle, a systematic campaign of hostility tends to reduce, if not entirely strangle the influence of American investments in France.

To this economic trump-card must be added the really dominant trump in the matter of keeping things as they are. This lies in the present relations between France and her former colonies in Africa. In this field, de Gaulle is putting up a stout resistance against Uncle Sam, and it does not appear that Uncle Sam is finding the task there as easy as in some of the former British territories in Africa and the Congo.

All France still lacks is the military trump-card, and this explains, in fact, why de Gaulle regards Britain's entry into a united Europe as likely to reduce somewhat the chances of hegemony. For, after all, England is clearly ahead of France in the matter of atomic weapons, and is a nuclear power, whereas France is still in the experimental stage in building up her "striking power".

Without these three trump-cards—the economic, military and imperialist trumps—no power can claim to be in a position to establish its hegemony over other powers in a given composite unit. Those three trumps are in the hands of the United States on what may be termed a world scale. In spite of world scale. In spite of this, why can they not

with their European henchmen score a triumph over de Gaulle on the question of European unity? It does not appear that reason can be of an economic character for everyone knows that American capitalism is far more powerful than French capitalism. France, as we have already pointed out, cannot cut a decent figure in the event of a nuclear attack, any more than she can as a military power. There remains the imperialist trump which de Gaulle still has in Africa. This is undoubtedly his greatest trump, and gives him as he actually believes, a decisive pull in the European community. Is it not indeed a fine paradox that de Gaulle, the head of the least significant of the States of Europe from a nuclear point of view, should be the very person whose viewpoint the States of Europe community which wishes to achieve unity as a measure of its own security?

It is clear beyond shadow of doubt, whatever the reasons invoked on its behalf, that European unity has one aim, namely, to secure the collective exploitation of Africa by thwarting every attempt at African unity. The idea of European unity came into existence as a counter to African nationalism. It is in fact basically the antithesis of African unity.

As such, the quarrel between separatists and integrationists as regards European unity will engage our attention only from the strategic viewpoint. The proposal for a European confederation as General de Gaulle sees it appears on the whole to be, as it were, a middle of the road type of hegemony. It reckons with France's present influence among her former colonies in Africa, and what she may succeed in doing in other parts of Africa. If she is to succeed, she must rule out absolutely any likelihood of African political integration within a continental political union. The maximum degree of concessions that de Gaulle can make to the African Revolution is the "federalism" of African regional units, this second degree type of balkanisation which he has already thrown out as a fula through the back door.

YANKEE HEGEMONY AND AFRICAN UNITY

As regards the Yankee proposal which is put forward by Mr. Spaak and the European integrationists, the matter is quite different. If President Kennedy insists upon European integration in its federal form, it is because the Yankee proposal visualises an Atlantic Confederation under the direction of the United States. It may well be prophesied that the logical result of such a process would be without question a con-

federation of what is now known as the Free World. Thus whereas de Gaulle implies by a regional unit a simple microunion, as for instance Western Europe, the Yankees may very well conceive of a regional grouping on a much wider geographical plane, embracing for example, the whole of the African continent. There is not the slightest doubt that Yankee hegemony aims at being world-wide. Nevertheless, political integration on a continental scale, has this disadvantage from the imperialist viewpoint that it may succeed in mobilising the masses through the African Revolution. Consequently, the idea cannot be entirely ruled out that the Americans, encouraged by some gains in African States under French influence during the first phase of balkanisation, may be trying first to compete with de Gaulle on his own ground in this phase of second-degree balkanisation.

However, precisely because they have opted for the integration of a wider unity, the Americans may follow the trend of things and go all out for a continental political union in Africa. Thus, in its competition with de Gaulle, it would certainly defeat the General. And once the latter without his major imperialist trump, it is clear that de Gaulle could not stand up much longer to the Americans in Europe. But it is also self-evident that by its involvement with African unity in the sense of political integration on a continental scale, the Americans would strive hard, by every means, to steer development towards a Federation of the African Continent of such a kind as to be capable of being integrated into the confederation of the Free World. Such as an eventuality would convert African unity into an instrument of exploitation instead of making

it a weapon for development. The resultant African federation would at best be a third-rate power at once subject to collective exploitation, the confederation of the Free World and an integrated Europe.

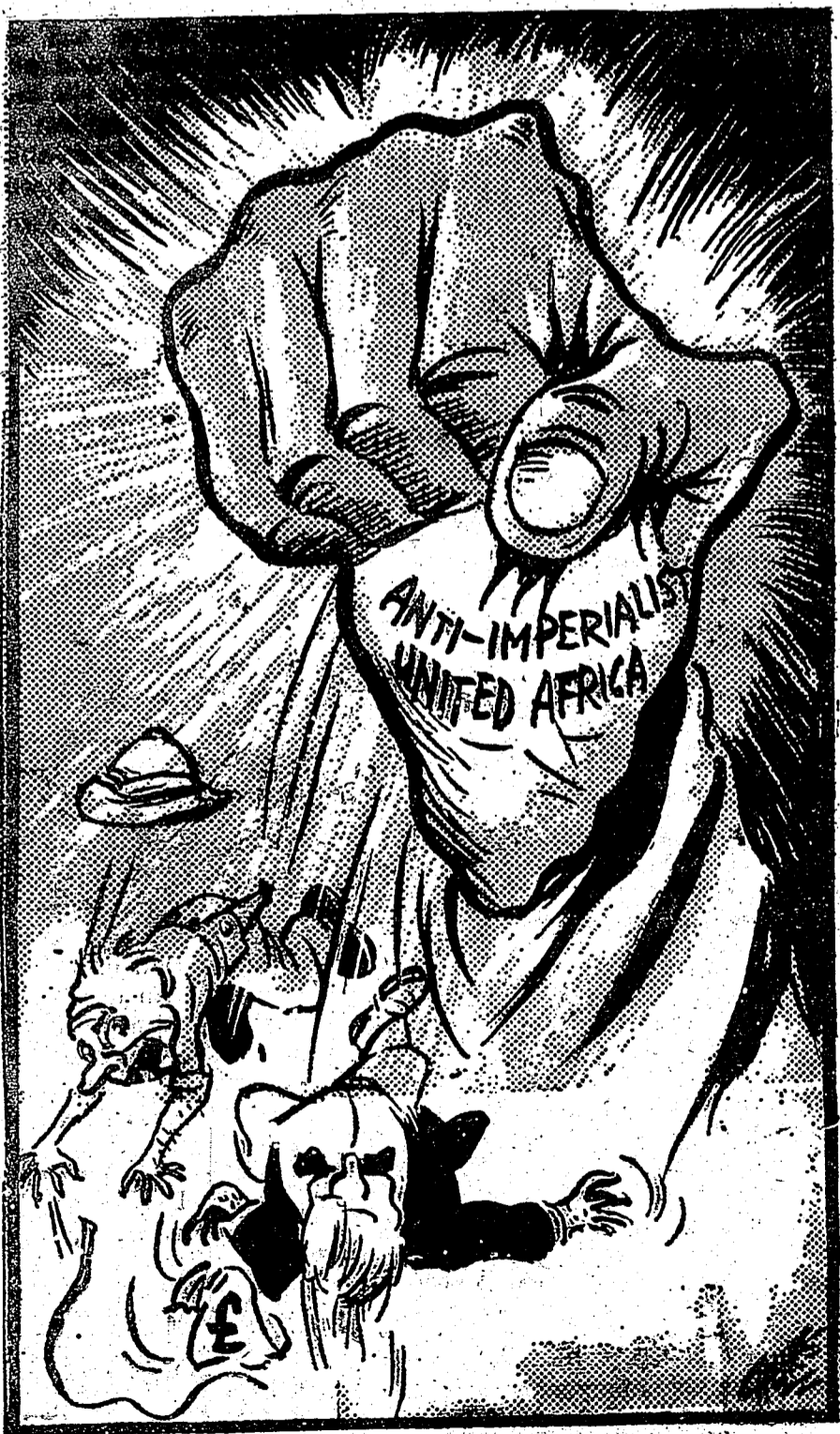
However, the tragedy for the Americans as for de Gaulle, is that the neo-colonialists cannot exploit the peoples of Africa, save through the medium of intermediaries. Now the lot of these intermediaries in the micro-states gives clear evidence of the fact that in a political union of Africa, their position would be even more tragic because of the increase power of mass position and the greater chances of liquidating imperialist agents.

One day when discussing various matters Dr. Nkrumah referred to the situation that would exist in a political union of Africa, and said that the continental government would be a "magnifying glass".

The metaphor is a striking one. The fact is that a political union of Africa would point, first and foremost, two basic facts: imperialism and the continental government the expression of the unity of the African peoples.

Either the continental government would turn its back upon the aspirations and interests of the African peoples, in which case these would have no alternative but to liquidate that government or else such a government could conform to the aspirations of the African peoples and make a resolute stand for decolonisation and development, in which case the peoples of Africa would become its guardian against any attempts at imperialist aggression.

However, one looks at it, there can be no doubt that "neo-colonialism is the ultimate stage of imperialism."



UNITY PUNCH:

Workers Boycott South African Ship

"THE SPARK" congratulates the Egyptian workers in Alexandria, Port Said, and the Suez Canal for their refusal to aid a South African 7,204 ton cargo boat, "President Pretorius", with drinking water, food and fuel, during its transit of the Suez Canal, three days ago.

We are very happy the U.A.R. authorities told the Captain of the Ship that Egyptian workers were free to work as they wished and nothing could be done to force them to work against their patriotic feelings.

The action is not only a first class demonstration of the determination of the working class of Egypt to put in all their efforts to crumble the racist government of South Africa, it is also their expression of loyalty and solidarity to the Addis Ababa Charter.

We disagree with anybody who thinks that South Africa can be persuaded to change its policy. We believe that any action aimed at crippling the South African regime politically, economically and socially is fair, just and moral.

The AATUF should use the example of the dockers of the U.A.R. in rallying the workers of Africa for a continental action against South Africa.

We appeal to the U.A.R. Government to close the Suez Canal to all South African ships. Verwoerd's obnoxious regime must be strangled.