

# THE SPARK

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A WEEKLY OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

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## EDITORIAL

### ONE CONTINENT, ONE PEOPLE, ONE DESTINY

GENERAL de Gaulle is busily peddling his idea of breaking Africa into regions. The French press reveals that the General is selling the idea of a unified Maghreb, sufficiently elastic to accommodate French interests. This, in substance, is what France intends to throw into the scales in the north of Africa as a counterweight against the continental Unity of Africa. He is making similar efforts in West Africa.

Through many ways—some subtle and other overt—the French leader intends to eat into and undermine the Addis Ababa accord.

He maintains four military zones in Africa which, according to him, are to help "preserve, in the interest of the West, a certain number of strategic points in Africa."

Through the French controlled organisation, "Fund for Assistance and Co-operation" (FAC), which is fed with funds from "Central Fund for Economic Co-operation" into which in turn member states of the European Common Market contribute their quota of development fund meant for the overseas associated states of the European Common Market, General de Gaulle maintains a firm economic grip over many French-speaking African states.

The powerful French Credit Bank of Paris and the Netherlands maintains exclusive mineral rights over thirteen African countries. The French Bureau of Petroleum Research controls the exploitation of mineral oil resources in several African countries.

For years the French imperialists have boasted of their aid to some of the underdeveloped countries of Africa; but they spend far less on this than they net as profits from their capital investments.

What France wants in Africa is to keep this "gold mine" going; to be able to extract or buy Africa's raw materials at prices fixed by her; and to prevent any

Continued on Page 8

# FRANCE, UAM AND AFRICA

At a time when Algeria through the voice of its Prime Minister is officially demanding that the military clauses in the Evian agreement be revised, it is interesting to make a general appraisal of the relations between France and French-speaking Africa, in a military sense, as well as economically and politically.

This appraisal is of interest also because the French military apparatus in Algeria (the base at Mers-el-Kebri, centres for trying out teleguided missiles, and atomic "sites" which Paris is most anxious to preserve) is part of an over-all plan, according to a formula used in Paris in the "Review" published by the War Ministry, to "preserve in the interest of the West, a certain number of strategic points in Africa."

### OVERSEAS "MILITARY ZONES"

What is the motive of this apparatus? In Africa it consists of four large zones called "Overseas Military Zones."

Zone 1—(Senegal, Mauritania, Niger) whose GHQ is Dakar, under the command of General Coligny. This is the most important zone. It has mainly at its disposal the Senegalese bases of Thies and Dakar-Cape-Verde and, in Mauritania, the bases of Port Etienne, Fort Frinquet and Fort Gouraud.

Add to this the fact that the 350 officers and subaltern officers of the Senegalese Army have been trained by the French and almost 1,000 young Africans and Malagasies are at present following courses in the big military schools in France, the Senegalese being apparently the largest in number.

The Ministry responsible for the Armed Forces has just published for the benefit of these trainees a *Liaison Bulletin* entitled "Brothers in Arms."

Zone 2—covers the former French Equatorial Africa and has its GHQ at Brazzaville. It was in the central African Republic that colonel Bigeard long exercised command, after his "exploits" in Algeria, but it was in the Chad, Fort-Archambault and particularly at Fort-Lamy that the most important French military installations are to be found.

According to some observers they might well be extended, if experiments with certain types of modern weapons are developed.

Zone 3 is the Malagasy Zone with GHQ for land forces at Tananarive, and for naval forces at Diego-Suarez (Mr. Tsiranana recently called for the reinforcement of foreign military installations.)

Zone 4 embraces the 4 countries that make up the

"Council of Understanding". The Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger. Of those four states, the Upper Volta is the one which has taken up the strongest attitude against French military installations and, in the Niger, the French Command evacuated the essential parts of its garrisons towards the North, only a few months ago.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the French High Command is less interested in keeping in the territories of the "African and Malagasy Union" very large armies less than 100,000 at present than it is in maintaining a whole military network or infrastructure, in keeping with the logistics of a system closely geared to the NATO apparatus in Europe and America.

It is in fact in this spirit that liaison between the commands of the "overseas military zones" and the three French commands in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, have been established at the Staff Level in Paris.

### MILITARY CONCESSIONS AND ECONOMIC AID

It goes without saying that this method of indirectly attaching the French-speaking territories to one of the great military blocs at loggerheads in the world today, contradicts the whole purpose of non-alignment to which Africa as a whole is dedicated, creates rumbblings and give rise to public protests in all the African States, and causes some of the African leaders who are particularly attached to the leader of the French state, personally as well as politically, to lodge occasional complaints in Paris about the perpetuation of a state of things which came into existence during the colonial era, and is contrary to the spirit of true decolonisation. When they make such a protest, they are told that "co-operation is an entity" and military concessions are the necessary counterpart of the economic assistance given to them by France.

If we were to consider the relations between various territories in Africa on the other, we shall deliberately leave out of account in an article of so restricted a character as this one, the particular interplay exerted by the particular role in Africa of big private companies and large French capitalist enterprises which are adapting the formation

of seasonal trading economy and modernising the old colonial pact we shall find the most diverse pattern in existence: some States are still members of the former "Community" which ekes out a languishing existence, and may in fact be said to be in the throes of death, though no one can say just when its demise will be officially announced.

Others have bilateral agreements with Paris, and even such states may exhibit differences among themselves (Algeria, Morocco, Guinea, Mali, were members of the "Casablanca" group, Tunisia and Togo belonged to the "Monrovia Group", and the character and importance of their relations with France vary).

Other States on the other hand—and these form the great majority—are members of the "African and Malagasy Union", which before Ruanda joined at the last plenary Union Session at Ouagadougou, form an area covering 6,871,000 square kilometres, had a population of 31½ million.

However, whatever the differing relations between France and the French-speaking African States, there exists between them a fundamental link that unites them.

All those countries of Africa have accepted the system of economic and cultural co-operation proposed by France, a system whose functioning and chief methods of operation we shall demonstrate, limiting ourselves to the study of the relations between France and the UAM.

### HIS MAJESTY THE FAC

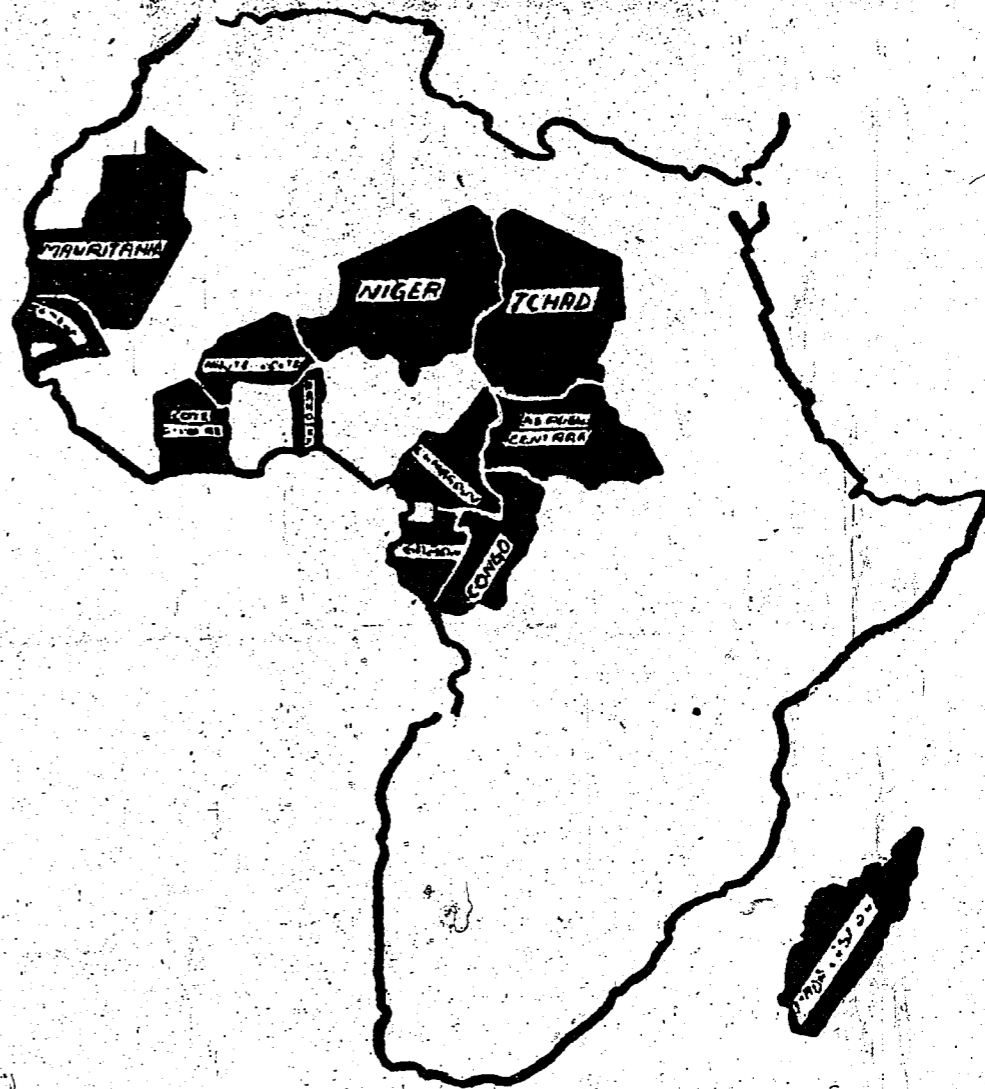
The most important institution, the No. 1 institution in this field, is the "Fund for Assistance and

Co-operation" (FAC), established in March 1959, to

finance. All investment projects in African countries are submitted to it, and it actually decides how they should be implemented: in this sense, the development of African countries is de-

pendant upon a French organisation.

This said, what, we may ask, are the spheres of action to which FAC specifies (Contd. on page 7)



U.A.M. Countries

take the place of FIDES, an organisation which provided assistance during the colonial era.

FAC is supported by a "Central Fund for Economic Co-operation" which provides the finance not only for assistance by France, but also for the "European Development Fund in Overseas Territories" (FEDOM), which depends upon the Common Market.

FAC is a vast organisation with which in theory African countries co-operate. But in actual fact it is directed by technicians of the former Ministry of Overseas France and Fi-

### IN THIS ISSUE

The Teachings of Kwame Nkrumah	2
"In Ghana, With Ghana"?	3
The Upsurge of Labour Movement	4
L'U.A.M. ET LA PRESENCE FRANCAISE	6

## NKRUMAISM

WE publish on page 2 the fifth and last instalment of Julius Sago's series on the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah.

We believe, we have embraced every aspect of the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah as far as the African revolution is concerned. We intend publishing the series into a pamphlet in order to stimulate discussion on what, to our mind, is Nkrumaism.

We appeal to our readers and all who are interested in the subject to send their views to us. The pages of "The Spark" are open to all contributors on this subject.

—EDITOR.

## DAILY GRAPHIC CONDONING DISCRIMINATION?

**Accommodation**  
3-BEDROOM Flat to let. Asylum Down—£40 per month. Expatriates only. Phone Foster 72351 Ext 202

The above advertisement appeared on page 8 of the 'Ghana Daily Graphic' of 17th July, 1963 and you may like to give it a second thought. Of course you must

could be meted out to us at home, in New Ghana.

have noted that if you are a Ghanaian and want to rent Mr. Foster's flat you cannot get it. He made us understand that on the telephone. Obviously it is because you are an African and not a white man.

We are trying to bear such discriminations abroad, in foreign countries, but who ever thought such treatment

Who is Mr. Foster whose name appears in the advert? He is a European working with the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. He earns over £2,000 of the Ghanaian tax-payer's money. The number of the house he is giving out is C836/3, Asylum Down, Accra.

Continued on Page 8

# The Teachings of Kwame Nkrumah (5)

## ON THE PARTY

By  
**JULIUS SAGO**

*It has been shown that Kwame Nkrumah is a revolutionary who lives and works in a revolutionary era. His efforts have been directed towards the overthrow of colonial rule, towards the achievement of economic independence, towards the building of a socialist state in Ghana, and towards African unity.*

*In all these struggles Nkrumah sees the sustaining and all-conquering force as the masses knit together in revolutionary action. Nkrumah has unbounding faith in the masses; and the central thesis in all his actions as a political leader is the organisation of the masses around a clearly defined programme and for the full realisation of that programme.*

Nkrumah holds that the revolutionary initiative of the masses can move mountains. And the Party is the concrete expression—the organisational form—of this revolutionary initiative. Hence, for Nkrumah,

political revolution" thus showing that there can be no real and lasting revolution without a strong and well-organised political party to guide and lead it. Having pointed out the great importance attached

sation of the people, animated by the initiative of the people and directed towards serving the people is older than the C.P.P. In the resolution written by Nkrumah and adopted as "Declaration to the



Kwame Nkrumah... "The Party is Supreme"

...mah, the right type of Party is of the greatest importance to the success of the national, the socialist and the African revolutions. "Looking back, and trying to determine the reasons for the successful outcome of our struggle for freedom, one factor stands out above all others, namely, the strength of a well-organised political party, representative of the broad masses of the people... in daily, living touch with the ordinary mass of the people it represented..." (*Africa Must Unite* p. 54).

### LEADERSHIP OF A PARTY

Again, while discussing the drive towards socialism in Ghana, Nkrumah writes: "Just as political independence could not have been attained without the leadership of a strong, disciplined party, so Ghana's economic independence and the objective of socialism cannot be achieved without decisive party leadership" (*Africa Must Unite* p. 128).

Elsewhere (*Africa Must Unite* p. 50), Nkrumah describes the party as "an essential forger of the poli-

to the party by Nkrumah, the rest of this article is devoted to the exposition of his views on the nature, the style of work, the objectives and the methods of the party.

The common man is the pivot of Nkrumah's concept of the party. Speaking at the Accra Arena on 12th June, 1949—the day the Convention People's Party was formally inaugurated—Nkrumah expressed the view that "out of the simple man is ordained strength."

This was a fundamental departure from the views held by political leaders of the time, men who believed in caucus political organisations of intellectuals with their clientele of businessmen and chiefs. The party lives with the common man, discusses his problems, shares his aspirations, and organises him to fight his own battles for his salvation. In short, in the masses the party lives and moves and has its being.

### FIRST PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

This view of the party as the vanguard of the masses, the fighting organi-

Colonial Peoples of the World" by the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England, in October 1945 we read: "Today there is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses."

And on 20th January 1948, as general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), Nkrumah submitted a programme of organisation to the Working Committee of the Convention. This idea of building upon the masses comes out clearly in the following points contained in Nkrumah's memorandum on re-organisation:

### 'ORGANISATIONAL WORK'

The organisational work of implementing the platform of the Convention will fall into three periods: First Period:

- (a) Co-ordination of all the various organisations under the United Gold Coast Convention: i.e. apart from individual membership, the various Political, Social, Educational, Farmers' and Wo-

men's Organisations as well as Native Societies, Trades Unions, Co-operative Societies, etc., should be asked to affiliate to the Convention.

- (b) The consolidation of branches already formed and the establishment of branches in every town and village of the country will form another major field of action during the first period.

- (c) Convention branches should be set up in each town and village throughout the Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland. The chief or Odikro of each town or village should be persuaded to become the Patron of the branch.

- (d) Vigorous Convention week-end schools should be opened wherever there is a branch of the Convention. The political mass education of the country for Self-Government should begin at these week-end schools.

### Second Period:

To be marked by constant demonstrations throughout the country to test our organisational strength, making use of political crises.

### Third Period:

- (a) The convening of a Constitutional Assembly of the Gold Coast people to draw up the Constitution for Self-Government or National Independence.

- (b) Organised demonstration, boycott and strike—our only weapons to support our pressure for Self-Government.

### BASIC PRINCIPLES

And in "Ghana—the autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah" he writes further: "We had succeeded because we had talked with the people and by so doing knew their feelings and grievances" (p. 90).

A study of Nkrumah's writings and actions connected with building the C.P.P. reveals certain basic principles underlying his concept of the party. These five basic principles are reviewed briefly hereunder.

First, the party membership is open to the entire people. In his own words, it must be a "broadly based political party." And writing about the CPP in his autobiography he states: "We excluded no one. For, if a national movement is to succeed, every man and woman of goodwill must be allowed to play a part" (p. 90).

Secondly, the party must have a clear cut programme and ideology. The party is not an organisation around a personality. On the contrary it organises the masses around a programme based on an acceptable ideology. For Africa, the programmes must be self-government, opening the door to complete independence and a socialist society. Those who wish to lead the peoples' struggle for freedom "must declare their aims openly and unmistakably

(*Africa Must Unite* p. 50). Again at p. 129, Nkrumah asserts that the CPP is "imbued with Marxist Socialist philosophy."

It is useful to understand the relation between programme and ideology. While the ideology maps out the general route to be followed by the party, the programme sets out the immediate targets and tasks at every stage in the struggle. Thus ideology is immutable but programme is constantly changing, one leading logically and inescapably to the next and so on until the ultimate goal of a socialist society is achieved.

### THE PROGRAMME

It would be wrong to have a programme without an ideology. For as conditions change, it becomes necessary to change the programme. And an attempt to draw up a new programme, if there is no ideology to guide the action, may lead to a break-up of the party. This danger is ever present in a party whose membership is open to all irrespective of social and economic status.

Thirdly, party education. Because of the necessarily heterogeneous composition of the party, embracing all sections of the people, great reliance must be placed on party education as the instrument for welding this amorphous collection of people into an organic and dedicated body of men and women sharing an identical view on human society.

To achieve this objective, party education is conducted at all levels because "every avenue of education and information must be used to stir and nourish the political consciousness of the people" (*Africa Must Unite* p. 130).

The party runs "refresher courses in party political teaching". A party institute of Economic and Political Science is established at Winneba and "is responsible for the party's general political education."

Every party member in a position of trust or where he is called upon to give guidance to others around him goes to the Winneba Institute. "All, from members of the Central Com-

mittee, Ministers and high party officials to the lowest propagandists in the field, pass through a course at the Institute.

Farmers, factory workers, and others from all walks of life meet at Winneba, where they have the opportunity to broaden their political knowledge and ideological understanding" (*Africa Must Unite* p. 130-131).

This is not all. This centralised effort is supplemented with educational activity in widely dispersed factories, farms all over Ghana. "Party study groups exist all over the country, in factories, workshops, government departments and offices; in fact, in every nook and cranny of Ghana, for the study of African life and culture, party ideology, decisions and programmes, and for explaining government policies and actions." (*Africa Must Unite* p. 131).

### THE DIRECTIVES

Fourthly, democratic centralism. This is the organisational principle on which the whole party edifice is built. It means simply that at every level the people freely elect all organs of the party. And flowing from this, all lower organs of the party must follow the directives of the higher organs; and the entire party membership must follow the directives of the Central Committee of the Party.

Fifthly, the supremacy of the Party. This is the principle on which party discipline is built. And it ties up with the earlier principle of democratic centralism. For Nkrumah, the party must be obeyed by all its members because the organs issuing the directives are themselves elected by the members.

Obedience to the party is not sought on the fascist concept that the party represents a divine will revealed only to the leader or fœher. The rank and file obey directives because these emanate from a party organ elected by the rank and file and the organ itself is bound by a programme and an ideology which the rank and file had freely adopted. Discipline is accordingly high because it is not mechanical. Rather it is conscious and self-

imposed. Nkrumah teaches that a closely knit political party organised on the principles discussed above should pursue the conquest of political power with singleness of purpose and with dedication.

He rejects collaboration with the enemy absolutely. "A policy of collaboration and appeasement would get us nowhere in our struggle for immediate self-government" (Autobiography p. 185).

He also rejects the policy of putting development before conquest of political power. "Every movement for independence in a colonial situation contains two elements: the demand for political freedom and the revolt against poverty and exploitation. Resolute leadership is required to subordinate the understandable desire of the people for better living conditions to the achievement of the primary aim of the abolition of colonial rule" (*Africa Must Unite* p. 51).

This is the famous "seek ye first the political kingdom" formula. But, he maintains, political power cannot be won on a silver platter. Writing in *Towards Colonial Freedom*, Nkrumah states: "The object of the imperialist powers is to exploit. By granting the right to the colonial peoples to govern themselves, they are defeating that objective."

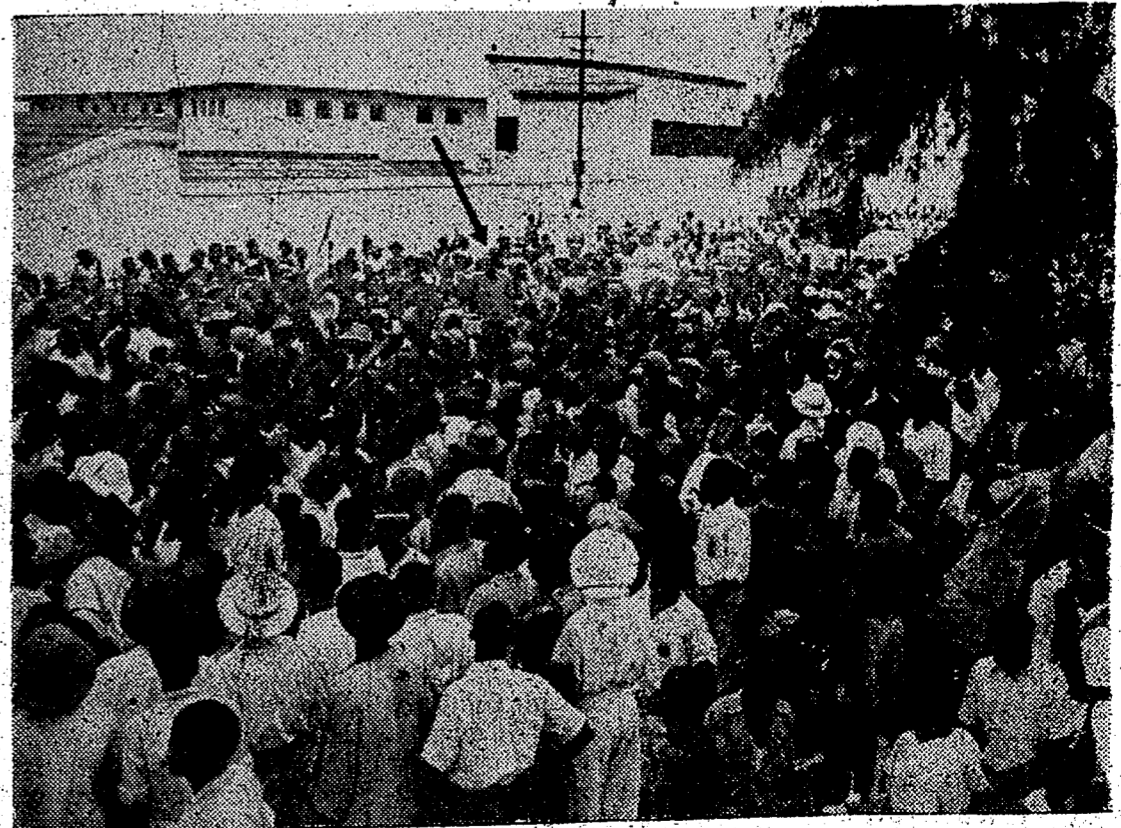
### POLITICAL EMANCIPATION

Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to complete social, economic and political emancipation" (p. 44-45).

The struggle for political power must be based on the initiative of the people, on what Nkrumah terms briefly "positive action". For, "in spite of the moralisings of British colonialists who argue that political reform is granted as and when the colony is ready for it, change has, in fact come mostly as a result of pressure from below" (*Africa Must Unite* p. 17).

And what is "Positive Action"? "I describe Posi-

Continued on Page 5



Kwame Nkrumah... "Work with the masses".

A.G.C.

# "IN GHANA, WITH GHANA"?

by A Special Correspondent

**IN** his annual report, General Spears, Chairman of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Ltd., stated that it was their aim to increase production to 50,000 tons per month within 4 years. *Inter alia*, he said, "we can achieve our target more rapidly to the great profit of Ghana, if instead of being obliged to purchase Ghana Development Bonds we used the same sum to develop the Mine."

The Chairman of the mining corporation continued: "If in the current or subsequent years we have to meet increased labour costs or higher taxation, as well as continuing to purchase Development Bonds, we shall have to modify and slow down our programme for lack of the necessary resources to carry it out."

"The Ghana Government is well aware of these facts, and will, I hope and believe, encourage and not hamper us in our plans."

### THREAT

It was an overt attempt to influence the Ghana Government to change its avowed policy which the facts of current history have proved to be in the best interests of Ghana. General Spears was speaking of an African government; and, how different is the tone now from the time when imperial Britain held sway over the affairs of Ghana.

### IRRESPONSIBLE PROPAGANDA?

In 1950 the Chamber of Mines, on whose board

General Spears as Chairman of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, sat, croaked: "The industry deplores the irresponsible and reckless propaganda which (is) contrary to the best interests of the African but is assured that his native good sense will show him where his path to advancement lies and prevail against the poisonous doctrines now so vociferously expounded in certain quarters."

True, the "native good sense" of the Ghanaian showed him "where his path to advancement lies"; but it was not the path which the Gold Coast Chamber of Mines and other capitalist exploiters wished us to follow. We demanded "S.G. Now" and as the facts below will reveal, it has been to our "best interests".

### BEST EVER

Spears must have missed badly the good old days when the colonial government colluded with capitalist interests to exploit our country. Yet hypocritically he says this year's report has been "the most satisfactory that I have made in all the 17 years since I became Chairman of the Corporation." Surely, there must be a mistake somewhere, or is it that General Spears and other exploiters are now realising that when they are in Ghana they must be with Ghana and that "in promoting Ghana's prosperity" they promote their own?

In 1957 the Corporation paid taxes etc. to the value of £860,630 to the Ghana Government. In 1962 it contributed over £1½ million to Government revenue, an increase of £648,000. "Profits re-invested had increased the value of gold in ore: re-

serves from £17½ million in 1957 to £38 million in 1962, an increase of £21 million in Ghana's mineral resources", *West Africa* magazine.

### PARADOX

If in the face of all this, General Spears can sincerely say the 1962-63 report has been "the most satisfactory that I have made in all the 17 years since I became Chairman of the Corporation", then we see the paradox of the capitalist system and the unthinkable exploitation that has been going on through the years.

And, both aspects are true. For the Corporation has indeed benefited from its operations in the past years. Spears' words bear testimony for he says that "shareholders have received their fair share of the profits obtained by the capital they have invested. Dividends have risen from £403,830 in 1957 to £977,690 in 1962, an increase just over £½ million, and shareholders' capital has increased by £1m."

### UNTHINKABLE EXPLOITATION

In the light of this, we can only dimly imagine the tremendous exploitation that our country has suffered at the hands of Britain. The Chamber of Mines report of 1958 states that from 1912 to 1958, Ashanti Goldfields Corporation alone produced 7,474,163 ozs of gold valued at £58,944,042.

The total production of all companies from 1880 to 1958 was 23,783,359 ozs. valued at £188,777,740. But the Government's report of 1958 says the total ounces of gold produced from 1888 to 1958 amounted to £23,702,118! Note the disparity in the dates and in the quantities involved. There is a difference of eight solid years. Then, think of all those wrong figures which were supplied during the colonial days—slashed figures concerning the production of gold, diamonds, manganese, bauxite, cocoa, timber, etc.—again consider those figures that were not supplied at all and then again ponder upon the greedy exploitation we have suffered.

### 'AWAM'

Remember, too, that trade and commerce and industries—such as there were—were all in the sole hands of foreign capitalists and that the government condoned their wicked designs to exploit us. We all remember the Association of West African Merchants whose abbreviation, AWAM, has become a term of collusion and profiteering in our language. The government and the firms forming the association fixed their prices to give them profits of 75 per cent on imported goods. But in actuality AWAM, which Watson Report describes as a "hated organisation" deliberately kept up "prices of essential commodities to an outrageous extent." This was one of the immediate causes of the 1948 riots.

When Spears and the

Chamber of Mines warned against "irresponsible and reckless propaganda" in 1950, they growled about the difficulties they had been meeting from 1939 to 1949. These difficulties only existed in the fact that production had dropped from the boom level reached in the early part of the war. The figures in Table I be-

nisation.

Commenting on General Spears's report in its issue of April 6, 1963, the capitalist mouthpiece said: "The Corporation has not, no doubt because of the complexity of a deep operation and the apparent reluctance of Ghanaians of the right qualities

TABLE I

### Annual Gold Production

Year	Entire World Fine ounces (Estimated Figs.)	Gold Coast Colony Fine ounces.
1920	16,130,110	207,506
1930	20,160,355	246,075
1937	34,873,000	590,026
1938	37,329,000	701,417
1939	38,790,000	818,911
1940	40,702,000	882,241
1949	24,900,000	679,173

low will show these difficulties".

Just before the war, pro-

duction in the Gold Coast rocketed from the 1937 output of 590,026 ozs. to 701,417 ozs. in 1938. There was a steady increase from then. Production in 1939 was 818,911 while the 1940 production was 882,241 ozs. Then followed a slight decrease in 1941 when output was 880,000 ozs. There was a steady decline from then till it reached its lowest ebb of 527,628 ozs. in 1944. Thereafter, production began to increase steadily, though not as rapidly as Spears and his people would have desired.

### GOLD FOR DOLLAR GAP

But as can be seen from the table, the Gold Coast did not suffer much as compared with the rest of the world. Because, while the total output of the world in 1942 stood at less than double that of 1920, the decreased production of the Gold Coast in 1949 was more than three times the 1920 output.

Nevertheless, the British capitalist exploiters had reason to grumble. For as Ronald A. McEachern says: "The more threatening the economic and political weather in any country is, the more eagerly men bid for gold." And the British "political and economic weather" was far from salubrious in 1950. Britain was still grappling with the problems of postwar reconstruction. Says the Chamber of Commerce Report of 1950: "The importance of the sterling area of the gold production of the Gold Coast needs no stressing. Each ounce of gold dug out of the ground contributes 35 towards the closing of the dollar gap."

It was just too bad that during those times when the dollar gap needed closing fast, gold production in the Gold Coast should lag.

### AFRICANISATION

The West Africa magazine feels itself called upon to hold brief for the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation about its policy of Africa-

to entre mining, been notably successful in its Africanisation; even now General Spears thinks it will be five years before Ghanaians outnumber European on the senior staff." First, this is an insult to our intelligence. Is the African mind incapable of dealing with "the complexity of a deep operation"?

Secondly, upon what evidence does the *West Africa* presume that there is reluctance to enter mining? The Chamber of Commerce promised "encouragement" in 1950. Has it given any? What are the facts?

The truth is that the tardiness of the Corporation's Africanisation policy is a legacy from the colonial days when foreign enterprises felt reluctant to train Africans to afford them the opportunities of holding positions of trust, because the colonies provided employment opportunities to young graduates from the imperial countries.

### AMPLE FACILITIES

The Chamber of Mines harped in 1950, "Africans will be promoted to more responsible positions as and when they prove themselves competent to fill them." It continued unshamefully:

"Ample facilities exist by way of Government scholarships and grants to enable Africans to obtain the advanced and highly specialised education required to qualify them for higher posts on the mines staffs, and those who elect to take up courses of study in the U.K. with a mining career in mind may count on encouragement from the London Advisory Committee of the Gold Coast Chamber of Mines."

It is significant that no mention is made of a training scheme nor is there any of grants for such training. What sort of encouragement then was the Chamber talking about? Were the so-called Government facilities too "ample"?

The Watson Report which came out barely two years before this statement

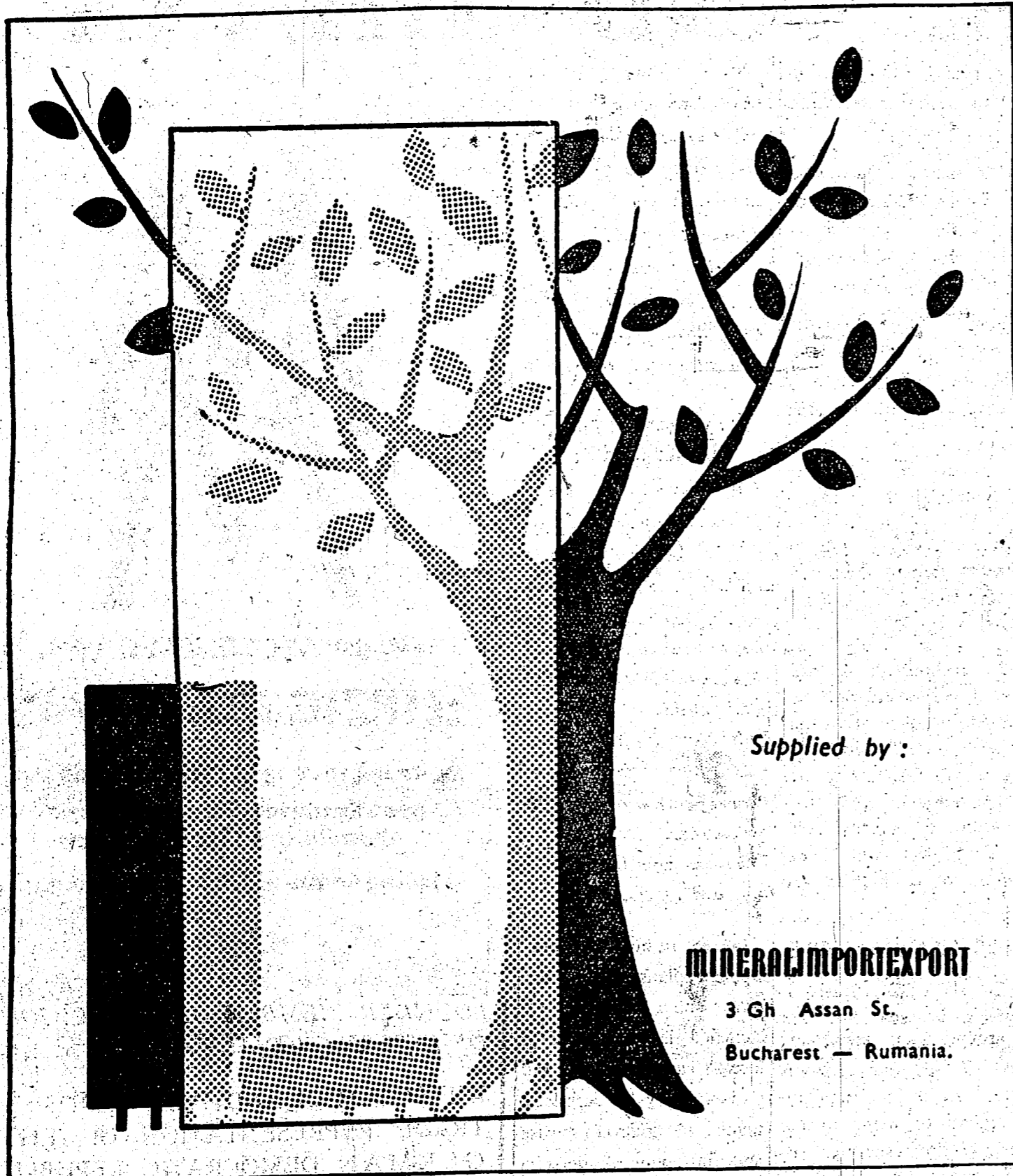
Continued on Page 5

## WINDOW GLASS

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imperfect in original

# The Upsurge of Labour Movement in Africa

**THE international revolutionary movement of the working class has entered a new stage. The deepening of internal contradictions in the capitalist world has resulted in the extension of class struggles on a wide scale and in the growth of political activity, maturity and organisation of the proletariat.**

A radical shift in the correlation of forces in favour of socialism and the unswerving policy of peace pursued by many countries provide favourable conditions for the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class and help forward of the struggle of the African peoples, who have won independence or are on the way to it, for national regeneration and social progress.

## ROLE OF WORKING CLASS

The advance of the labour movement in Africa is explained by profound shifts in the socio-economic structure of the countries of this continent and by substantial changes in the composition, economic condition and living standards of the working class.

At the present stage of the liberation movement when most African countries have gained political independence and the task of building up independent national economy comes to the fore, the role of the working class is rising greatly. While actively supporting the government steps to consolidate political

and achieve economic independence, the working class vigorously opposes the anti-democratic, anti-national actions of the reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie which are creating a threat to national independence.

It persistently demands the nationalisation of enterprises owned by foreign monopolies, the building up and the strengthening of the state sector in the economy, radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasants, democratisation of the state apparatus and the pursuance of an independent foreign policy.

This line finds support among the broad sections of the population. There appears a real basis for strengthening the unity of the working class and its alliance with the other working people.

## TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Trade unions play an important part in the political struggle waged by the peoples of Africa. There is now hardly a programme of trade union action not including the point on the need to fight against colonialism.

Lenin wrote in 1908:

"The class-conscious European worker already has comrades in Asia, and their number will grow with every passing day and hour." (Works, Russ. Ed., Vol. 15, P. 162.) The subsequent period has confirmed this foresight of Lenin's. The expansion of the traditional and the development of new branches of industry have resulted in a considerable growth of the working class in Asia and Africa.

There are now some 12 million wage workers in Africa. The African proletariat has grown mainly owing to the influx of farm labourers and the increase of workers employed in the mining industry. Wage workers number nearly 100 million in most countries of Asia and Africa.

With the breaking up of the colonial economic structure of the formerly oppressed and dependent countries and the laying of foundations of national economy qualitative changes are taking place in the composition of the working class. The proportion of skilled factory workers is rising. This is explained by the fact that large industrial enterprises are being built in the liberated countries of Africa on

a considerably wider scale than before.

The numerical growth of the working class has been accompanied by the increased organisation and unity of its ranks. This found expression above all in the growth of trade union membership. Before the second world war, trade unions were only in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Ghana and South Africa. Today, there are about three million trade union members in Africa. In some countries of the continent trade unions unite a large part of the wage workers. In Morocco the figure is 650,000, in Ghana 500,000, in Nigeria 235,000, in Tunisia 250,000, and so on.

## VESTIGE OF IMPERIALIST DOMINATION

In recent years the striving for unity of the trade union movement has increased. The establishment of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) was a big success in this direction. This organisation, however, has not yet gained strength, and the colonialists exert every effort to split it.

There has been efforts to counterweight the AATUF with an African Confederation of Trade Unions, docile to the colonialists. The trade union movement in Asia and Africa experiences not a few difficulties

But despite this it grows steadily.

The working-class movement in Africa is becoming wider and more organised. More and more strikes are taking place in colonial countries in defence of everyday economic demands acquire the character of political struggles against colonialism, for the strengthening of national independence and for democracy.

This is evidence of the growing class consciousness of workers who are beginning to understand that they will achieve their economic demands only by eliminating the vestiges of imperialist domination, frustrating the intrigues of reactionaries at home and advancing the country along a non-capitalist path.

The successes of the labour movement in Africa are bound up with the activity of the progressive parties in some of the countries. The emergence of progressive parties and the steady growth of their membership are striking evidence of the increased popularity of socialist ideas among the peoples fighting for their national liberation.

The growing influence of the progressive parties in Africa is vivid testimony of the increased maturity of the working class movement, a guarantee of fresh

successes and victories of the African working class.

The labour movement in Africa is a component of the general struggle of the peoples of these continents for national independence and social progress. Not only the past and the present but also the future of the national-liberation revolution are bound up with the working class.

## PATRIOTIC FORCES

In the struggle to consolidate political and achieve economic independence the working class comes out in alliance with all patriotic forces of the nation, including the national bourgeoisie.

The worker-peasant — small farmer alliance acquires an ever greater significance because, "the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the fundamental condition for the success of the struggle to carry out far-reaching democratic changes and achieve economic and social progress."

The agrarian question in Africa, where the peasants make up about 80 per cent of the population, has always been and remains one of the major questions of the national revolution. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry must be the core of a broad national democratic front uniting the workers,

peasants, the national bourgeoisie and progressive intellectuals.

## FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS

The working class is the main force coming out for a non-capitalist path of development of the young sovereign countries of Africa. This path conforms to the interests of the vast majority of the nation. Favourable internal and external conditions are now appearing for the emergence of national-democratic states as a form of transition of the newly-free countries of Africa onto a non-capitalist path of development.

The establishment of national-democratic states would make it possible, within a short period to end the age-old backwardness of the economically underdeveloped countries and would eventually open up the prospect of building a socialist society.

The working class of Africa, led by its progressive parties, comes out increasingly as a leading revolutionary force. By rallying around itself all sound forces of the nation, it exerts an ever greater influence on the outcome of national-liberation revolutions and makes its contribution to the common struggle of the international working class for peace, democracy and socialism.

# BUSIA, U.S.A. AND GHANA

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THERE seems to be an open conflict of opinion in Washington about Ghana's policy in the field of international affairs.

While the Senate, the U.S. supreme law-making body, seems to think that we are a satellite of Russia, the State Department which is an important organ of the U.S. Administration thinks we are pursuing a foreign policy of positive neutralism.

Because our foreign policy is not based on the opinion either of the U.S. Senate or of the U.S. Administration, Ghana is interested in this conflict of views only from the point of putting the records right.

The present divergent assessments of Ghana's foreign policy began last December when Dr. K. A. Busia testified before the U.S. Senate sub-committee on Internal Security headed by Senator Dodd, a democrat Senator from Connecticut.

## BUSIA'S STRATEGY

Dr. Busia, whose strategy is to disrupt relations between Ghana and the U.S.A., saw no more appropriate catch-phrase than to label Ghana a "Soviet Satellite in Africa".

A clever cad that he is, Dr. Busia played on the weakness of U.S. Senators who, on hearing the word communism, behave very much like bulls that see the red cloth. The U.S. Senate could spare itself all the troubles if only it allowed itself to be guided by what the Ghana Government says and does, and not by

the fantastic allegations of a frantic mischief maker.

What does Dr. Busia hope to gain by describing Ghana as a Soviet Satellite?

He reckons that if this view becomes generally accepted in the West, investors would refuse to come to Ghana and our major economic projects—including the mighty Volta River Project—will be deprived of capital and so founder.

## HIS AIM AND HOPE

In short, Dr. Busia is waging an economic war against Ghana. He would like to see our economy grind to a halt, and the standard of living of our people drop sharply. By this means, he hopes and prays, a poverty stricken Ghana would then send an S.O.S. to omniscient Busia to "come over to Maccodonia and help us!"

What a strategy!

The glaring fallacy in Busia's reckoning is that our economy does not depend solely or even mainly on foreign capital. Osagyefo's policy is based on finding the lion share of our development capital from our own internal resources.

## OSAGYEFO'S LEADERSHIP

And even what comes in from abroad is not a grant or gift but a commercial loan which we take because we can pay back and the investors are willing to give because, for them, it is good business. Even the Volta River Project is being financed 50 per cent out of Ghana's own resources and 50 per cent out of commercial loans from U.S.A., Britain and other sources.

Ghana, in her past development plans and in the 7-year plan soon to be launched, is not a slave to foreign capital. We depend primarily on ourselves, thanks to Osagyefo's wise and far-seeing leadership. That is why our fate depends less on what people overseas think of us and more on what we will for ourselves.

# GHANA



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# MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE

by X-ray

MR. Averell Harriman, representing the United States of America and Lord Hailsham representing Britain are in Moscow for discussions with their U.S.S.R. counterparts with a view to signing a treaty to ban all nuclear tests.

Diplomatic observers believe the talks will be fruitful because the West is now aware of the nuclear potential of Russia and Krushchev, on his part, is anxious to provide tangible results for his policy of peaceful co-existence.

This is perhaps a convenient moment to undertake a realistic appraisal of the problems of securing world peace. So much has been said and written about world peace in the past few years that some re-statement of fundamental concepts should be useful.

## NEGATIVE NEUTRALISM

It is important, at the outset, to bear in mind that world peace cannot be achieved by a mere yearning for peace; nor can it be achieved by adopting the attitude of Diogenes, in Greek mythology, who hid himself away in a pitcher of water in an attempt to escape the problems of this world. President Nkrumah, himself an internationally recognised fighter for world peace, has stated in his book, *Africa Must Unite*, that "negative neutralism is impotent. It is even dangerous". He holds the view that lasting peace in the world can only be achieved by all peace lovers courageously fighting for the elimination of all the causes of war.

President Nkrumah's view is of such importance that it will be useful to quote it in extenso. On pages 203 and 204 of his recent book *Africa Must Unite*, Dr. Nkrumah writes: "World peace is not possible without the complete liquidation of colonialism and the total liberation of peoples everywhere... Wherever there is the possibility of conflict arising out of discrimination and the refusal of human rights, the peace of the world is threatened.

Hence it follows that, if the true interest of all peoples is pursued, there must come an end to all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man, of nation by nation; there must come an end to war."

## PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

This view is more incisive and goes further than the other view on world peace—the view of peaceful co-existence. And in the interest of clarity, it is important and urgent that socialists who hold the view of peaceful co-existence should make a fuller analysis of its content and objective.

If peaceful co-existence means that the nations of the world must resolve differences between them without a resort to global nuclear war, then peaceful co-existence is the same policy for all mankind. But if it means that the present situation in the world, where vast areas are held under the exploitative grip of imperialism, should remain as they are, then peaceful co-existence cannot be in the best interests of the oppressed peoples of the world. Dr. Nkrumah puts it succinctly when he writes:

"The balance of forces in the world today has reached such a stage that the only avenue open to mankind is peaceful co-existence. The alternative to this is chaos, destruction and annihilation. However, in terms of the African Revolution, one cannot speak of a balance of forces or even of peaceful co-existence as long as the problem of colonialism remains unsolved.

Until colonialism and imperialism in all their various forms and manifestations have been completely eradicated from Africa, it would be inconsistent for the African Revolution to co-exist with imperialism."

## POSITIVE EFFORT

All that need be added here is that Dr. Nkrumah's characterisation of the problem as regards Africa applies with equal force to Latin America and Asia where nearly three quarters of the entire world population live.

For socialists, therefore, peaceful co-existence is both a short-term and a long-term formula. In the short-term, it must be sup-

plemented with positive efforts towards eliminating colonialism and imperialism in all their forms. As a long-term formula, it envisages a world community free of the exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation. Today peaceful co-existence cannot be an end in itself. It must be seen as a means to a world free of all forms of exploitation and subjugation.

The struggle for world peace must be waged along three principal directions—the banning of nuclear weapons and general disarmament, the re-constitution of the U.N. Organisation and the eradication of colonialism and imperialism in all their forms.

## AFRICA BECOMES BIG FORCE

It is the general wish of peoples everywhere that the nuclear test ban talks now opening in Moscow should be successful. Because we see in an effective test ban a beginning to the bigger problem of banning all nuclear weapons and of a general reduction in armaments.

The re-constitution of the U.N. is not being pursued as realistically as it should. The organisation came into being in 1945 and gave power to the Big Five—U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China. Since then Africa has emerged as a big force in the Council of Nations. And the Peoples Republic of China has taken the place of Nationalist China.

It is therefore imperative that Africa be given her

fitting position on the Security Council and that the Peoples Republic of China should not only be admitted to the U.N. but should exercise all the powers given to China in the Organisation.

Two other forces should be properly represented. It is about time Latin America had her own distinct voice on the Security Council at par with either the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. And do world statesmen not see the need for Germany to become a member of the U.N. Organisation? The problem of which Germany to be represented could be solved in the matter of fact way of giving representation to the two German Republics.

If world leaders sincerely hold the view that the U.N.O. is the instrument for promoting world peace and security, then the first ingredient in its effectiveness is that it is truly representative of world forces as they are.

In the third place, World peace must also be sought through a vigorous onslaught on imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The total victory of the national liberation movements in these areas is a pre-condition for stable world peace. The logical conclusion from this is that all peace-loving forces in the world must actively aid these liberation movements.

## PURPOSEFUL EXERTION

To refrain from giving such aid or to preach peaceful co-existence to the oppressed peoples as an excuse for inaction is to permit the existence of

conditions that make world peace impossible of attainment.

The socialist must exert himself purposefully in order to attain world peace.

And such purposeful exertion must follow along the lines of a nuclear test ban and general disarmament, reconstitution of the U.N. Organisation, and active support for the libe-

ration movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. To seek world peace by ignoring these three elements is merely to postpone a global nuclear holocaust.

# Kwame's Teachings

Continued from Page 2

tive Action as the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we could attack the forces of imperialism in the country. The weapons were legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns and; as a last resort, the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-co-operation based on the principle of absolute non-violence. (Autobiography p. 92).

In view of the fact that both the strategy and the tactics of the party are based on mass action, it is important to consider Nkrumah's teachings on the mass line of the Party. Nkrumah's mass line is based on the following notions:—

1. belief in the revolutionary ability of the masses;
2. organisation of the masses around their needs and aspirations;
3. learning about the masses by living with the masses;
4. leading the masses into action to fight for their own demands;
5. indissoluble ties with all the organisations of the masses.

In the *Accra Evening News* of January 14, 1949, Nkrumah put the case for his mass line as follows: "The strength of the organised masses is invincible... We must organise as never before, for organisation decides everything." And in *Africa Must Unite* (p. 55) he gives his "advice to members of any nationalist and progressive party" in the form of a Chinese poem:

"Go to the people  
Live among them  
Learn from them  
Love them  
Serve them  
Plan with them  
Start with what they know  
Build on what they have."

The pursuit of the mass line in party work means evolving close ties with mass organisations (e.g. Trades Unions, Farmers and Youths Organisations) where they exist. Where they do not exist, it is the duty of the party to create and then lead them.

And the leadership of mass organisations by the party is achieved by fighting for leading party cadres in the leadership of mass organisations and for the adoption of the party line in these organisations. A condition of success is that the party line must be

correct. It must reflect the needs of the masses and it must be understood by them.

Lastly, the political party in relation to the African Revolution. Nkrumah teaches that the struggle for African freedom and unity has reached the stage when Africa should "have a common political party with a common aim and programme". (*Africa Must Unite* p. 52). He sees such a continental party as peoples parties in every African country co-operating with one another through "a central organisation" and a "highly-trained headquarters staff". The common aim and objective of these parties must be "the freedom and unity of Africa." After pointing out that the C.P.P. from its very inception had allowed for co-operation with fraternal parties in Africa and elsewhere, Nkrumah asserts: "If this kind of solidarity on the party political level could be achieved, it would surely strengthen African continental freedom and unity (*Africa Must Unite* p. 52-53).

In the long-run, this might well prove the only sure instrument for winning and consolidating the political unity of all Africa.

(THE END.)

# "IN GHANA WITH GHANA"

Continued from Page 3

tells an entirely different story. It admitted as one of the causes of the 1948 riots a "slow development of educational facilities in spite of a growing demand, and the almost complete failure to provide any technical or vocational training." Are these the "ample facilities" that the Chamber of Mines was talking about?

Even as late as this year, 1963, responsible authorities admit that very little has been spent on education in postwar years while expenditure in this regard in

prewar years was derisory. Ghana was by no means an exception in the former case, although our progress since independence in this respect is remarkable.

The Watson Commission was satisfied that "the policy of Africanisation is a promise and not a reality". With the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, this is still the case.

## INSECURITY

Were the working conditions of the African workers satisfactory? Figures for their salaries and wages are

not available, but a peep at Table II will tell us their fortunes during the ten years from 1946 to 1956, the eve of Independence.

Three facts are revealed from a study of this table:

- (1) From 1946 to 1956, there was a general increase in the production of gold and a general trend for its value to rise. From 1950 to 1955 the rise in both output and value was steady and great.
- (2) From 1946 to 1956,

there was a tendency for the number of non-Africans employed to increase. Excepting two periods, 1951-52 and 1952-53, the increase was very steady and relatively substantial.

(3) Contrary to expectation, there was a general tendency for the number of Africans employed to fall. The decline was steady and steep from 1951 to 1956, yet that was the period of increased prosperity.

Is it not true to say that "Africanisation is a promise and not a reality" when as the industry prospers and non-African employees are increased, the numbers of the Africans employed are slashed down mercilessly? Why can't the mines be sincere and why can't *West Africa* be true to itself?

## WIND OF CHANGE

But shall we end on a happy note? If possible.

General Spears said in his speech: "We intend to continue to play our full part in promoting Ghana's prosperity—and our own—in accordance with our slogan, In Ghana, with Ghana."

We don't expect a "hurricane of change" from capitalist interests, but we

can at least infer a "wind of change" from this speech and expect it from other enterprises. Up to now, capitalists have been working against the best interests of this nation.

## CHEATING

The President on July 4, 1961 had occasion to say in Parliament:

"I am sorry to have to tell you that there are many important companies in Ghana, operating on a large scale and showing every outward sign of prosperity, which have not paid any income tax whatsoever for the last five to six years. There are some other large firms whose income tax payments for the last four or five years amounted to a fraction of the tax which they regularly paid during the colonial period."

## CONSPIRACY

Far from "promoting Ghana's prosperity", foreign enterprises have been accused of fomenting unrest and of promoting conspiracy. Here is a quotation from page 23 of the Statement by the Government on the Recent Conspiracy:—

"On the night on which he arrived Dr. Busia had the first of his meetings with his supporters and at which the President of the Republic of Togo Mr. Olympio, was present. At this meeting Dr. Busia disclosed that he had been offered initially the sum of £50,000 sterling to fight the Ghanaian Government, which he said had come from commercial interests in Ghana and he offered to bear the expenses of the Ghanaians who came to Lome for the purpose of organising action against the Government of Ghana."

## LOYALTY

We fervently hope that with General Spears all commercial interests in Ghana will now begin to play their "full part in promoting Ghana's prosperity", and, only through that means their own.

\* \* \*

We wish to assure them that once again the Ghanaian's "native good sense will show him where his path to advancement lies." But once again we cannot guarantee that it will be the path they wish us to follow.

Table II  
Number of People Employed Relative to Mining Progress

	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51
Total Fine Ozs of Gold:	606,240	555,776	686,674	679,670	693,721
Total Value (£G)	2,675,309	2,360,937	2,221,239	2,885,965	2,946,928
Non-Africans Employed	622	722	749	757	784
Africans Employed	30,101	31,148	30,180	29,543	31,072
	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56
Total Fine Ozs of Gold:	690,019	705,967	735,783	788,901	559,681
Total Value (£G)	2,931,200	2,998,947	3,125,606	3,351,253	2,377,526
Non-Africans Employed	782	776	848	823	794
Africans Employed	29,868	28,050	27,890	25,295	19,855

# L'U.A.M. et la Presence Francaise

Au moment où l'Algérie, par la voix de son premier ministre, demande officiellement la révision des clauses militaires des accords d'Evian, il n'est pas sans intérêt d'examiner où en sont, d'une manière générale, les rapports entre la France et l'Afrique francophone, sur le plan militaire comme sur le plan économique et politique. Puisqu'aussi bien le dispositif militaire français en Algérie (base de Mers-el-Kébir, centres d'expérimentation d'engins téléguidés, et «sites» atomiques, Paris tenant beaucoup à la préservation de ces sites) fait partie d'un dispositif d'ensemble, chargé, selon une formule employée à Paris, par la revue que publie le ministère de la Guerre, de «conserv[er] au bénéfice de l'Occident, un certain nombre de points stratégiques africains».

## LES "ZONES MILITAIRES D'OUTREMER"

Quelle est la nature de ce dispositif? Il comprend, en Afrique, trois grandes zones, dites «zones militaires d'outre-mer».

La zone 1.—(Sénégal, Mauritanie, Niger) dont le Q.G. est à Dakar, sous le commandement du général Cogny, est la plus importante. Elle dispose principalement des bases sénégalaises de Thies et de Dakar-Cap-Vert, et, en Mauritanie, des bases de Port-Etienne, Fort-Trinquet et Fort-Gouraud. Ajoutons que les 350 officiers sous-officiers de l'armée sénégalaise, sont de formation française et que, parmi les 1.000 jeunes Africains et Malgaches qui suivent actuellement les cours des grandes écoles militaires françaises, ce sont les Sénégalais qui semblent être les plus nombreux. Le ministère des Armées vient de publier, à l'intention de ces stagiaires, un «Bulletin de liaison» intitulé «Frères d'armes».

La zone 2 qui recouvre l'ancienne Afrique Equatoriale Française, à son Q.G. à Brazzaville. C'est en République Centre-Africaine que le colonel Bigeard a longtemps exercé un commandement, après ses «exploits» en Algérie, mais c'est au Tchad, à Fort-Archambault, et surtout à Fort-Lamy, que se trouvent les implantations militaires françaises les plus importantes, elles pourraient prendre de l'extension si on y développait l'expérimentation de certaines armes modernes.

La zone 3 étant la zone malgache, avec Q.G. terrestre à Tananarive, et Q.G. naval à Diégo-Suarez (M. Tsiranana a récemment réclamé, ce qui est sans précédent de la part d'un homme d'Etat du Tiers-Monde le renforcement de l'implantation militaire étrangère), la zone 4 correspond aux 4 pays du «Conseil de l'entente»: Côte d'Ivoire, Dahomey, Haute-Volta, Niger. De ces quatre pays, la Haute-Volta est celui qui a pris le plus fermement position contre l'implantation militaire française, et, au Niger, le commandement français a, il y a quelques mois, évacué l'essentiel de ses garnisons dans le Nord du pays.

D'une manière générale, on peut dire que le haut-commandement français se soucie moins de conserver, dans les territoires de «l'Union Africaine et malgache», des effectifs extrêmement nombreux (moins de 100 mille hommes à

l'heure actuelle) que d'y maintenir toute une infrastructure militaire convenant à la logistique d'un système assez étroitement articulé sur le dispositif de l'OTAN en Europe et en Amérique. C'est dans cet esprit que sont, par ailleurs, établies, au niveau des états-majors de Paris, les liaisons entre les commandements des «zones militaires d'outre-mer» et les trois commandements français au Maroc, en Algérie et en Tunisie.

## CONCESSIONS MILITAIRES ET AIDE ECONOMIQUE

Il va sans dire que cette façon de rattacher, d'une manière indirecte, des territoires africains à l'un des deux grands blocs militaires qui s'affrontent dans le monde, contredit la vocation de non-alignement qui est celle de toute l'Afrique, provoque des remous et des protestations dans l'opinion publique de tous les pays africains et même certains dirigeants africains particulièrement liés au chef de l'Etat français, sur le plan personnel comme sur le plan politique, à se plaindre, de temps à autre, à Paris, de la perpétuation de cette situation née de l'époque coloniale et contraire, à l'esprit d'une véritable décolonisation. Il leur est alors répondu que «la coopération est un tout» et que les concessions militaires sont la contrepartie obligatoire de l'aide économique que leur apporte la France.

Si nous considérons les rapports d'Etats entre d'une part, la France, et d'autre part ses anciens territoires coloniaux d'Afrique (nous laisserons volontairement de côté, dans le cadre restreint de cet article, le jeu et le rôle particulier en Afrique, des grandes entreprises capitalistes françaises qui sont en train d'adapter l'ancienne économie de traite et de moderniser le vieux pacte colonial) sont, à l'heure actuelle, les plus divers qui soient: certains pays sont encore membres de l'ancienne «Communauté» qui traîne une existence languissante et qui est même, on peut dire, entrée en agonie, mais dont on ne sait pas à quelle date son décès sera rendu officiel.

D'autres n'ont que des rapports bilatéraux avec Paris mais ces pays sont eux-mêmes différenciés (l'Algérie, le Maroc, la Guinée, le Mali font partie du «groupe de Casablanca», la Tunisie et le Togo du «groupe de Monrovia», et la nature et l'importance de leurs relations avec la France sont variables). D'autres pays, enfin, les plus nombreux, font partie de «l'Union africaine et malgache» qui, avant l'adhésion du Rwanda, enregistrée lors de la dernière conférence plénière de l'Union, à Ouagadougou, rassemblait, sur 871.000 km<sup>2</sup> de superficie, une population de 31 millions et demi d'habitants.

Cependant, quelle que soit la diversité des relations entre la France et les pays de l'Afrique francophone, il existe entre elle et eux un lien fondamental unificateur: tous ces pays d'Afrique ont accepté le système de la coopération économique et culturelle proposé par la France, un système, dont nous allons montrer, en nous limitant à l'étude des rapports France-U.A.M., comment il fonctionne et quels en

sont les principaux rouages.

## SA MAJESTE LE F.A.C.

L'institution très importante, l'institution capitale est, dans ce domaine, le «Fond d'aide et de coopération» (FAC) créé en mars 1959, à la place du FIDES, organisme d'aide de l'époque coloniale. Le FAC est appuyé par une «Caisse centrale de coopération économique» qui assure le financement, non seulement de l'aide française, mais également du «Fond européen de développement dans les pays d'outre-mer» (FEDOM) dépendant du Marché Commun.

Le FAC est un vaste organisme auquel coopèrent théoriquement les pays africains. Mais en fait, il est dirigé par des techniciens de l'ancien ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer et des Finances. Tous les projets d'investissements dans les pays africains lui sont soumis, et c'est lui qui décide de leur mise en action: en ce sens, le développement des pays africains est tributaire d'un organisme français.

Cela dit, quelles sont les zones d'action auxquelles le FAC consacre essentiellement son activité et ses crédits?

● RECHERCHE MINIERE: Environ deux milliards et demi d'anciens francs de crédit sont consacrés chaque année à la recherche minière (fer au Sénégal, en Côte d'Ivoire, au Cameroun, au Gabon et au Congo: manganèse au Gabon; bauxite au Cameroun; potasse dans le bassin côtier congolais), ainsi qu'à des recherches de minerai dont les pays de la zone franc sont pauvres, tels que cuivre, plomb, zinc, chrome, cobalt, béryl et lithium. Deux compagnies ont reçu, ces derniers mois, des crédits importants de recherche: la «Compagnie sénégalaise des phosphates de Taïba» au Sénégal et la «Société des mines de fer de Mauritanie» qui exploite l'énorme gisement de fer de Fort-Gouraud. La «Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas» est à l'arrière-plan de la première exploitation, et la «Banque Rothschild», moins discrètement, de la seconde.

● RECHERCHE PETROLIERE: Le «Bureau de recherche des pétroles» dépense annuellement des crédits évalués de 15 à 20 milliards d'anciens francs pour l'exploitation des gisements et la poursuite de la recherche. Au Gabon, cinq puits sont exploités, et produisent environ 1 million de tonnes de pétrole brut par an. Les recherches entreprises depuis une dizaine d'années dans le bassin côtier du Sénégal ont abouti, en janvier 1960, à la découverte d'un gisement à Diam-Niadié, à l'est de Dakar. Enfin, des recherches se poursuivent depuis 4 ans dans le bassin côtier de Côte d'Ivoire.

● SECTEUR AGRICOLE: Le FAC consent des crédits de l'ordre de 2 milliards d'anciens fr. par an à divers instituts de recherche ou d'exploitation dont les principaux sont l'«Office du Niger», la «Compagnie française pour le développement des fibres textiles» au Dahomey, l'«Institut d'élevage et de médecine vétérinaire» au Tchad, l'«Institut des recherches sur le caoutchouc» en Côte d'Ivoire, etc. Parallèlement, le FAC finance des activités

telles que la création de centres de formation technique dans les zones agricoles, l'établissement de cartes géographiques, etc.

● DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL: Les gouvernements des différents Etats membres de l'UAM présentent des plans et des projets qui sont adoptés, amendés ou repoussés par le FAC. Celui-ci consacre des sommes variant entre 30 et 50 milliards d'anciens fr. par an à divers instituts de recherche de ces projets. Il serait fastidieux d'en donner la liste pour chaque pays. Bornons-nous à préciser que plusieurs centaines de projets sont étudiés chaque année, et qu'ils portent essentiellement sur le développement agricole, l'infrastructure routière et portuaire et l'équipement social. Les investissements agricoles concernent le développement des cultures vivrières traditionnelles et de la riziculture, les petits équipements ruraux, l'hydraulique, la conservation des sols, le développement de la pêche et de l'élevage. L'objectif principal du développement agricole consiste à accroître les productions d'arachide et de riz.

En ce qui concerne l'infrastructure, plus de la moitié des dotations concernent l'équipement portuaire: il s'agit essentiellement de favoriser les exportations en faisant de Dakar, de Cotonou et d'Abidjan trois grands

ports de commerce international. Le reste des crédits d'infrastructure est d'ailleurs destiné en grande partie à la création de routes allant de ces ports aux sources de matières premières et aux produits végétaux exportables, lignes de chemin de fer Dakar-Niger et Abidjan-Niger.

A l'équipement social enfin, le FAC réserve environ un demi-milliard d'anciens francs par an destiné à la construction d'hôpitaux, et de maternités, à la lutte contre les grandes épidémies et contre les maladies endémiques, et à la construction d'hôpitaux, d'écoles et de lycées (l'ensemble des pays de l'UAM possède actuellement 43 hôpitaux et 11.316 écoles et lycées, ce qui n'est pas beaucoup). A cette aide de l'Etat français s'ajoute, depuis la fin de l'année 1962, la participation des pays du Marché commun.

Le 24 octobre 1962, un accord est intervenu à Bruxelles entre les six pays de la «petite Europe» d'une part, et 18 Etats africains et malgaches d'autre part, pour fixer le montant de l'aide pour les cinq années à venir (1963 à 1967 in-

le Sénégal, avec 19 projets et 35 millions de dollars. La crise qui a éclaté entre la France et ses partenaires de l'Europe des Six, à propos de l'adhésion de l'Angleterre au Marché commun, a provoqué, entre autres conséquences, une crise secondaire entre l'UAM et la direction de la CEE, celle-ci retardant le versement de certains crédits promis et passant, en quelque sorte, sur les pays africains, querelle qui ne les concerne pas, une partie de la mauvaise humeur qu'elle éprouve contre la France.

Aujourd'hui que cette crise apparaît, au moins pour l'instant, en voie de règlement, certains observateurs se sont demandés si les pays de l'UAM ne pourraient pas essayer de jouer des contradictions qui semblent devenues permanentes entre la France gaulliste et ses partenaires du Marché commun pour faire quelques ouvertures en direction de ces derniers, dans le but de desserrer l'emprise économique de Paris.

Une telle tactique apparaît, en fait, bien difficile à employer du fait des liens que la France a su établir entre elle-même et les pays

de l'UAM au sein de la zone franc.

En effet, ce serait trop peu dire que les pays africains de l'UAM appartiennent à la zone franc. En vérité, à partir des accords qui ont été signés en 1962, ces Etats sont véritablement «amarrés», pour ne pas dire ligotés, à la zone franc, et ne peuvent s'en détacher sans risquer de graves mécomptes économiques et financiers.

Les accords passés le 12 mai 1962, entre la France et les pays africains, et qui mettent au point notamment un traité d'union monétaire, les statuts de la banque centrale des Etats africains et une convention de comptes d'opérations, sont des textes peu connus du grand public, ne serait-ce que parce qu'ils sont rédigés dans un jargon technique qui les rend peu accessibles, peu compréhensibles aux non-spécialistes. Tous les lecteurs de «Révolution africaine», tous les responsables africains auraient cependant intérêt à en prendre connaissance et à les méditer, car ils constituent le modèle et l'expression presque parfaite de ce que peut être dans un secteur vital, dans un domaine-clé, le colonialisme moderne.

Les accords de mai 1962 qui créent un «Conseil de l'Union monétaire» réunissant, au niveau ministériel, les représentants des Etats membres, et une «Banque Centrale», établissement public international doté des mêmes statuts que la Banque de France, donnent à la France, en résumé, les attributions suivantes:

● «Veiller au respect de la parité entre le franc CFA et le franc français».

● «Veiller à ce que la politique monétaire des Etats membres ne conduise pas à l'inflation et au déséquilibre du commerce extérieur»; ce qui constitue une intervention caractérisée dans les affaires intérieures des pays africains.

● «Vérifier les comptes de la «Banque Centrale» qui seront déposés chaque année à Paris. Dans le cas où les comptes seraient débiteurs pendant une trop longue période, la France s'autorise à restreindre les crédits affectés à la Banque. Notons, au surplus, qu'un tiers des sièges du conseil d'administration de cette banque sont occupés par des spécialistes français désignés par le gouvernement de Paris.

En contrepartie de ces privilèges, la France, acceptée de garantir la stabilité de la monnaie des pays de l'UAM. Le gouvernement français qui se trouve en position de force du fait qu'il garantit et soutient une monnaie qui assure aux pays de l'UAM des crédits extérieurs et une continuité de leur commerce international, en profite pour exercer une sorte de contrôle de leur politique économique et financière.

L'influence culturelle française dans les pays de l'UAM est à la mesure de l'influence économique qu'elle y exerce. C'est là un fait qu'il faut constater en portant un jugement de valeur beaucoup plus nuancé, car si l'influence économique est une influence capitaliste et néo-colonialiste dont les dangers, pour l'Afrique, sont évidents, l'influence culturelle, qui n'est pas aussi exempte de dangers si elle devient excessive, comporte des aspects positifs, notamment en matière de formation de cadres.

L'africanisation des cadres a sensiblement progressé dans les pays de l'UAM, puisque le nombre de cadres formés sur place a doublé depuis 1960 (3.000 au lieu de 1.500) et que, simultanément le chiffre des fonctionnaires français servant dans ces pays au titre de l'assistance technique a été réduit, passant de 1.474 hauts fonctionnaires au 1 janvier 1960 à 796 au 19 janvier 1962.

La pénurie de cadres est telle en Afrique que l'on doit également considérer comme positif, en dépit des inconvénients que présente son caractère trop exclusif, l'effort actuellement accompli par les pays de l'UAM pour former des cadres en France. L'«Institut des Hautes études d'Outre-Mer» (HEOM), reçoit, chaque année, plus de 600 élèves 3.000 fonctionnaires africains viennent chaque année effectuer des stages dans les administrations françaises correspondant à leur spécialité, et dans le corps enseignant, ce sont environ 4.500 élèves africains qui suivent les cours des écoles normales d'instituteurs ou des Facultés conduisant au professorat.

Beaucoup plus discutables dans leurs principes et leurs effets, apparaissent les privilèges de monopole accordés par les dirigeants de l'UAM à la France en matière de radio, surtout lorsqu'on mesure à quel point le conditionnement des populations africaines par la radio est considérable, et quel rôle de premier plan joue l'information radiophonique, notamment dans la brousse où les journaux ne pénètrent pratiquement pas.

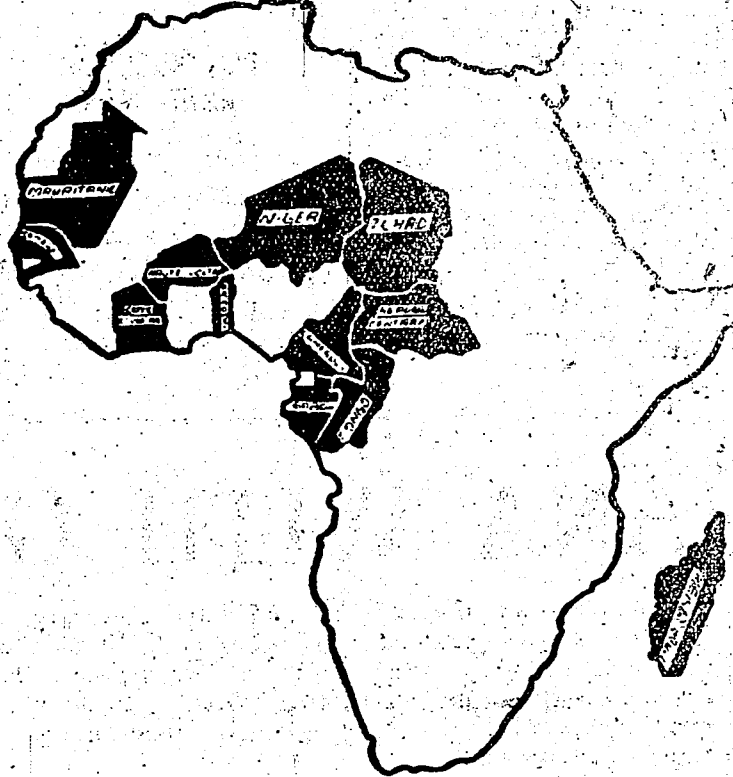
Au mois de juillet, 1962, a été créée, à Paris, l'OCORA, l'«Office de coopération radiophonique», qui a pris la place de l'ancienne SORAFOM de l'époque colonialiste, mais qui est toujours dirigé par M. Pontillon, qui fut, à l'époque, le principal collaborateur public et privé de Guy Mollet.

Cet organisme se propose à la fois d'équiper des stations radiophoniques et de fournir un certain nombre de programmes. Pendant ces six années de carrière, la SORAFOM avait équipé 22 stations de radio dans les pays africains, fourni 12.000 heures de programmes par an et formé 180 techniciens. Aujourd'hui, l'OCORA s'orienterait surtout vers la création de stations de télévision. Il est régi par un conseil d'administration présidé par le directeur général de la RTF et par un conseil supérieur auquel participent les représentants, les ministres de l'information de la France et des pays de l'UAM.

Que conclure, aux termes de cette étude forcément sommaire?

De l'examen des faits, il ressort à l'évidence que, si la coopération franco-africaine est «un tout», c'est un tout ambigu, où les Africains se doivent de distinguer ce qui est favorable et ce qui est défavorable à leurs aspirations et à leurs intérêts, de manière à dissocier ce qui n'ira pas sans conflit et sans luttes—les éléments favorables. Les responsables africains doivent, selon nous, considérer la coopération avec la France, non pas dans une optique statique mais dans une optique dynamique tenant compte des données mouvantes de la vie et de

Suite à la Page 7



# THE FALLACY OF WHITE SUPREMACY (I)

## AFRICA'S TASK

By  
Obotan Awuku

ONE of the most significant factors of world history, and of the development of the human race is the African Revolution of which we are present participants and witnesses. It has its roots in the Second World War whose repercussions have also revolutionised the whole world.

There is some reason to believe that many do not see or refuse to see the incalculable effects which the success of the African Revolution will have on the future course of human history. Since the Greek era, the trend of history has largely been dictated by Europeans and people of European stock, otherwise known as the white race.

Arising from this fact, the white race has imposed itself as the lord of all the earth, with the result that some races are down-trodden and subjugated. The most victimised of all the victim races is the black or Negro race. Yet, paradoxically, the Negro race has, (as will be proved in subsequent articles), proved itself the hardest and the one most capable of resistance and survival.

It is this fact which gives the African Revolution such tremendous importance; because the outcome of this struggle for emancipation and self-determination will determine the future nature of race conflict and race prejudice all over the earth.

It can hardly be denied that almost all the most catastrophic wars are traceable to racism and consequent imperialism. Upon this premise it can be validly asserted that the triumph of the struggle for equality by Africans and peoples of African origin will contribute immeasurably to the solution of the problem of world peace.

Taking regard of the tremendous consequences involved, it seems to be in the part of wisdom for the African to arm himself with the knowledge of his own strength and potentialities and of the formidable obstacles against which the dictates of human history have set him. It is necessary to know the strength of the enemy, for "to be forewarned is to be forearmed". It is imperative to be convinced of the rightness of the course. Because out of such conviction grows strength.

### IS THE BLACK AN APE?

"Those black apes!" shouted a deputy Sheriff as he fell to the pavement in the conflict and fracas of the recent racial outburst in Birmingham, Alabama, U.S.A. He was voicing the opinion of all white people about the Negro. And is it true? Is the Negro really inferior and sub-human? This series of articles purports

to attempt a refutation of this fallacious notion.

This first one is a short and succinct analysis of the causes and history of race conflict.

### RACES AND STATES

Gumplowicz and Oppenheimer have written that states were founded upon conquest and migration and that in organising society, the conquering race constituted itself into a ruling class, while the conquered race was relegated to a servile status. Upon this score, race became a factor of social superiority; and, to perpetuate the status quo and justify economic exploitation, the philosophers, historians, theologians (and in modern times, the scientists) of the ruling race or class attempted to prove that they were morally and intellectually superior to the subjugated race.

Thus through myths, dogmas and groundless pronouncements which have the semblance of scientific proofs, the members of the subordinate race were hoodlined and bamboozled into believing in their inherent inferiority, while the ruling or conquering race came to think of themselves as alone capable, by nature or by the will of God, of providing political and social leadership in the interest of the members of the subordinate race themselves.

### RACE AND CASTE

Few can confute this view of the causes of racial conflict, because it seems to be universally substantiated by historical facts. The Brahmins of India, for example, were an immigrant race which conquered the aborigines of the soil and dominated them. The conquering Brahmins formed privileged classes of priests, princes, etc., and in the process of time, for their own economic interests, they propounded theological dogmas which made it a curse by God for any to attempt to change his class or status.

The result was a caste system of the most rigid kind in history. So rigid was it that a Brahmin would consider his food polluted if the shadow of a person of the lowest class, known as the untouchables, fell on it.

It is to the credit of the present Indian government that it has embarked upon correcting this abhorrent system.

### SHOT AT SIGHT

Bad as the Indian caste system is, it is at least limited to one country and is in that respect less harmful than the bugaboo of white supremacy which, since the dawn of the age of imperialism, has become a global phenomenon.

It is an historical fact that the migration of peoples of European stock to other parts of the world has meant the destruction of other races or of other civilisations. In Australia, the Aborigines who were considered as almost a kin to the beasts they hunted were shot on sight by the

white settlers with the result that, that race is doomed to extinction.

A no less inhuman policy was followed by the so-called puritanic Christians who migrated from Britain and other parts of Europe to America.

### BROKEN CUP

A Ghanaian professor on a visit to the United States some years ago had opportunity to hear the pathetic view of a Red Indian chief on their fate. He told the professor that God gave to each race of man a cup by which it could fetch water from the lake of knowledge and progress. Most races, the chief said, still had their cups, but the cup of the Red Indians was broken.

True, the cup of the Red Indians is broken, because, of their race, only a few thousands are remaining; and they are relegated to reserves, the poorest parts of America, their own

God-given fartherland. Their cup is broken! But who broke it? Go ask the white men in America. Go see the frontier films of cowboys and fighting "pale faces" which Americans unashamedly dish out in countless numbers to all parts of the world.

### CURSE OF CONTACT WITH WHITES

Fortunately for Africans our cup is still in tact, thanks to our hardihood. We have survived, though our sufferings have, perhaps, been greater than those of the Red Indians.

Our contact with the white man has in every way been an anathema (as will be proved in a subsequent article). First, it heightened slavery, that beastly traffic in human chattel which has been an integral part of human history, to an unprecedented scale. The woes and disasters it brought are not the

subject of the present enquiry.

Then, when the whites decided to settle on African soil, they repeated the same policy of extermination as they had practised in Australia and America. Here, however, they only succeeded in parts of South Africa where the Bushmen and Hottentots whose numbers are greatly reduced as a result of being hunted by the whites are now confined to the scrublands bordering the Kalahari Desert.

### SUBJUGATION

Extermination failing in other parts of South Africa, the Rhodesias and East Africa, subjugation and expropriation of land was adopted. A similar policy was adopted by the French in North Africa, notably Algeria. Elsewhere in Africa, we are familiar with policy of colonisation and economic exploitation. So long as the subdued

race knows "its place" and accepts its servile status as by God ordained, there is no trouble. But the picture changes when the subjected race begins to cry for equality.

There are no revolutions when men accept their own inferiority and the superiority of others. No bombs were fired; no rivers of blood flowed when we regarded the white man as a demigod and his domination as by God imposed. We were cowed by his machines and considered his achievements as beyond our ken.

The black man's strength cut the black man's timbers, tilled the black man's soil, reaped the black man's crops, dug the black man's minerals and carried all these riches of the black man's land to build the white man's cities and feed the white man's children. For a reward the white man spat in the black man's face

and called him 'black monkey'. If the black man felt any offence, he kept it himself; it was his lot, ordained by God.

On his part the white man felt no remorse, no apprehensions. It was his right acquired by his power, predestined by Fate.

There were no Birmingham, there were no Mississippi, so long as the American Negro fulfilled the image of the fictitious Uncle Tom, docile, forgiving, enduring, Labouring and belaboured, he was at the beak and call of the white man.

It was the order of nature that some should toil and others enjoy; so men thought. And when things go by the inexorable laws of nature, there are no upheavals. But now the picture has changed; and, there is a revolution—a revolution which is bound to change the future order of things.

## FRANCE, UAM AND AFRICA

Continued from Page 1

cially devotes its activities and credits?

### MINERAL RESEARCH

About two and a half milliard of the old French francs are allocated as credit annually to mineral research (iron in Senegal, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Gabon and the Congo; manganese in Gabon; bauxite in the Cameroon, potassium in the Congolese coastal basin), as well as research into ores which the countries in the franc Zone lack, such as copper, lead, zinc, chrome, cobalt, beryl and lithium.

Within recent months two companies received substantial credits for research at the "Senegalese Phosphate company at Taiba" in the Senegal and the "Mauritanian Iron Mining Company", which exploits the vast non-deposits at Fort Gouraud.

The "Bank of Paris and the Netherlands" remains directly in the background in regard to the first of these concerns, but is less discreetly in regard to the second.

### PETROLEUM RESEARCH

The "Bureau of Petroleum Research" spends an annual credit estimated at between 15 to 20 milliard old francs for the exploitation of the mining seams and the carrying out of research. In Gabon, five wells have been exploited and produce about a million tons of raw petroleum each year. The research undertaken for the last ten years in the coastal basin of the Senegal resulted in January 1960 in the discovery of a seam at Diam-Niade east of Dakar. Finally, research has been going on for the

past 4 years in the coastal basin of the Ivory Coast.

### AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

FAC gives credits of the order of 2 milliard old French francs a year to a number of Research Institutes for Working the mines, the chief of which are: "The Office of the Niger", the "French Company for the Development of Textile Fibres" in Dahomey, the "Institute for Livestock, Farming and Veterinary Surgery in Chad, the Institute for Research into Rubber in the Ivory Coast etc. At the same time, FAC finances such activities as the establishment of centres for technical training in agricultural zones, the preparation of geographical maps etc.

### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The governments of the various member states of the UAM submit plans and projects which are either adopted, amended or rejected by FAC. This last-named organisation gives sums varying from 30 to 50 milliard old French francs a year for the implementation of these projects.

It would be tedious to draw up a list for each country. Let us confine ourselves to the statement that several hundred projects are studied annually, and they deal essentially with agricultural development, the road and harbour network and equipment. Agricultural investment concern the development of traditional food crops and the cultivation of rice, small rural equipment, hydraulics, soil conservation, the development of fishing and livestock farming.

The main objective of agricultural development

consists in securing an increase in the production of groundnuts and rice.

As regards the actual installations, more than half are concerned with the harbour since it is a matter first and foremost of facilitating export and making Dakar, Cotonou and Abidjan three great international trading ports.

The rest of the credits for the basic network of installations is designed, for the most part, to create roads going from these ports to the points where the raw material is produced and vegetable products for export are to be found, as well as for the establishment of the Dakar-Niger and Abidjan-Niger railways.

Finally as regards equipment, FAC allocates about half a milliard old French francs for the building of hospitals and maternity clinics, to fight epidemics as well as endemic diseases and build hospitals, primary and secondary schools (all the countries that make up the African and Malagasy Union have at present 43 hospitals and 11,316 primary and secondary schools, which is not saying very much.)

### FRANCE, "LITTLE EUROPE" AND AFRICA

To the help given by France must be added, as from the end of 1962, the part played by the countries of the Common Market.

On the 24th October 1962, an agreement was reached in Brussels between the six countries of "Little Europe" on the one hand and 18 African and Malagasy States on the other, fixing the amount of assistance for the next five years from 1963 to 1967, inclusive at 800 millions for the Independent States of Africa.

The apportionment of this assistance is substantially the same as that granted by France alone, and serves to strengthen the results obtained. The "European Economic Community" does in fact give credits for developing the production of food crops, technical assistance for industrialisation and social investment, in regard to which a certain effort is made to build schools and grant scholarships (for the year 1964 the implementation of some fifty school projects is envisaged and the award of something like 500 scholarships).

Generally speaking, since the Common Market credits have been received, the organisations of the EEC have approved 304 economic and social projects representing a total investment of 420 million dollars, for African countries, essentially the countries of the UAM.

If we were to take a count, country by country, we should find quite logically, that it is the countries which are now most closely associated with France politically and "little Europe" that are the most favoured: Madagascar, for example, with 35 projects approved and a grant of 48 million dollars, the Cameroons with 23 projects and 43 million dollars or the Senegal with 19 projects and 35 million dollars.

### THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE FRANC

One effect, among others of the crisis which has arisen between France and its partners of Europe of the Six, regarding Britain's membership of the Common Market, is that it has brought about a secondary crisis between the UAM and the management of the EEC.

Continued on Page 8

## L'U.A.M. ET LA PRESENCE FRANCAISE

Suite de la Page 6

l'évolution des événements et des esprits.

Dans cette ligne les hommes d'Etat africains dignes de ce nom s'efforceront à la fois de consolider, dans la coopération avec la France, ce qui est utile à leurs peuples, et de réduire en même temps la portée de ses aspects négatifs, en revendiquant, au moment favorable, la révision d'accords qui purent avoir, à un moment de l'histoire, leur nécessité et leur justification, mais dont le caractère néfaste de certaines clauses léonines apparaît sous une lumière plus crue au fur et à mesure que progresse la décolonisation.

Il s'agit, en somme, en tenant compte, à chaque circonstance, d'un rapport de forces discerné avec exactitude, et sans se laisser aller aux excès inefficaces d'un gauchisme sectaire, de désamorcer les pièges de l'imperialisme, et de lever progressivement les hypothèques néo-colonialistes qui pèsent encore lourdement sur l'Afrique.

Dans cette lutte qui s'annonce difficile et dure, plus difficile et plus dure peut-être que les luttes d'indépendance, les Africains, même s'ils trouvent une certaine aide des forces progressistes européennes, devront avant tout compter sur eux-mêmes, et il leur faudra beaucoup de courage politique; et de détermination pour la mener presque jusqu'à son terme et faire face à toute éventualité.

En prenant l'initiative de demander vigoureusement la révision des clauses militaires des accords d'Evian, le gouvernement algérien, dans ce domaine, vient de montrer le chemin.

Albert-Paul Lentini

# AFRICAN DIARY

# France, UAM and Africa

Continued from Page 7

**20th JUNE, THURSDAY:**  
**GUINEA:** The Guinean National Assembly unanimously passes a law empowering President Sekou Toure to ratify the Addis Ababa Charter.  
**SWAZILAND:** About 75 per cent of the 1,500 African workers on strike at the Big-bend Sugar Plantations for a week returns to work.  
**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Soon Africans will be legally allowed to drink in the same bars with the Europeans. The bill to this effect is passed by legislative council without opposition.  
**ALGERIA:** Arrangements are being made to set up military branch of ANC into a purposeful liberation army, says Mr. Robert Resha, the South African National Congress leader in Algiers.  
**21st JUNE, FRIDAY:**  
**SOUTH AFRICA:** Six white journalists are charged with contravening the Prison Act, when they appear in the magistrate court in Johannesburg, for reporting and photographing an anti-government demonstration.  
**TUNISIA:** Tunisia and the United States sign an agreement for a U.S.A. loan of 15 million dollars (about £5 million sterling) to permit Tunisia purchase American equipment. The profit from the sale of this equipment will be used in financing projects provided for in the Three-Year Tunisian Development Plan.  
**KENYA:** Kenya Police have killed one Ethiopian raider and wounded another in a running battle just inside the Kenya-Ethiopian border.  
 The ruling Party in Kenya, KANU, announces that the country's regional system of constitution will be changed before independence.  
**GHANA:** Osagyefo the President signs an instrument ratifying the historic charter adopted by the African Heads of State and Government at Addis Ababa.  
**22nd JUNE, SATURDAY:**  
**CHAD:** Former National Assembly Vice-President, Abo Nassour, is accused of misappropriating Chad Government Party funds. He is being tried behind closed doors with other high-ranking Moslem Government Officials.  
**NIGERIA:** Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Governor-General of Nigeria, sends message of congratulation to newly elected Pope Paul VI praying that under God the latter's reign may be peaceful and long.  
**23rd JUNE, SUNDAY:**  
**LIBERIA:** President Tubman of Liberia and his entourage are welcomed in Belgrade, by Yugoslav Diplomats.  
**UPPER VOLTA:** President Maurice Yameogo calls on his peo-

ple to help make the African Unity Charter drawn up at the Addis Ababa Summit Conference a reality. The charter is our only chance in Africa, he says.  
**24th JUNE, MONDAY:**  
**ALGERIA:** Mohammed Boudiaf, former Vice-Premier of Algerian Nationalist Government in exile has been arrested, a reliable source from Algerian Justice Ministry confirms.  
**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** The Minister of Local Government and Northern Rhodesian African Nationalist Leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda asks Governor Evelyn Hone to meet UNIP delegates for talks on the "New Self-Government Constitution" and on General Election in October.  
**25th JUNE, TUESDAY:**  
**TANGANYIKA:** The African Liberation Committee, set up by the Addis Ababa African Summit Conference opens its first meeting in Dar-es-Salaam.  
**CONGO (Leopoldville):** Moise Tshombe, the Congolese traitor is ousted as head of the South Katanga Provincial Government by a law passed in the Congolese Central Parliament.  
**UPPER VOLTA:** A cabinet Minister of the Upper Volta, Mr. Maxime Ouedraogo has been arrested on a stealing charge. The Minister is in charge of Labour and Public Functions.  
**GHANA:** United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, declares in Kumasi that Ghana has played a vital role in the development and cultural relations in Africa.  
**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** The Southern Rhodesia African Nationalist Leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, arrives in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, for talks with the Leader of the Northern Rhodesia United National Independence Party, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda.  
**26th JUNE, WEDNESDAY:**  
**NIGERIA:** The Nigerian Minister of Labour, Chief Joseph Johnson, accuses Mr. David Morse, American Director of ILO of regarding the Organisation as his personal domain and so refusing to accept the wind of change.  
**GHANA:** Mr. Mennen-Williams, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, declares in Accra, that the Addis Ababa Summit Conference culminating in creating of a Charter of African Unity has a significance that goes far beyond the concept of African Unity.  
**27th JUNE, THURSDAY:**  
**NIGERIA:** The eight-month trial of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Opposition Action Group leader and 20 others is adjourned indefinitely for the judge to consider his verdict.

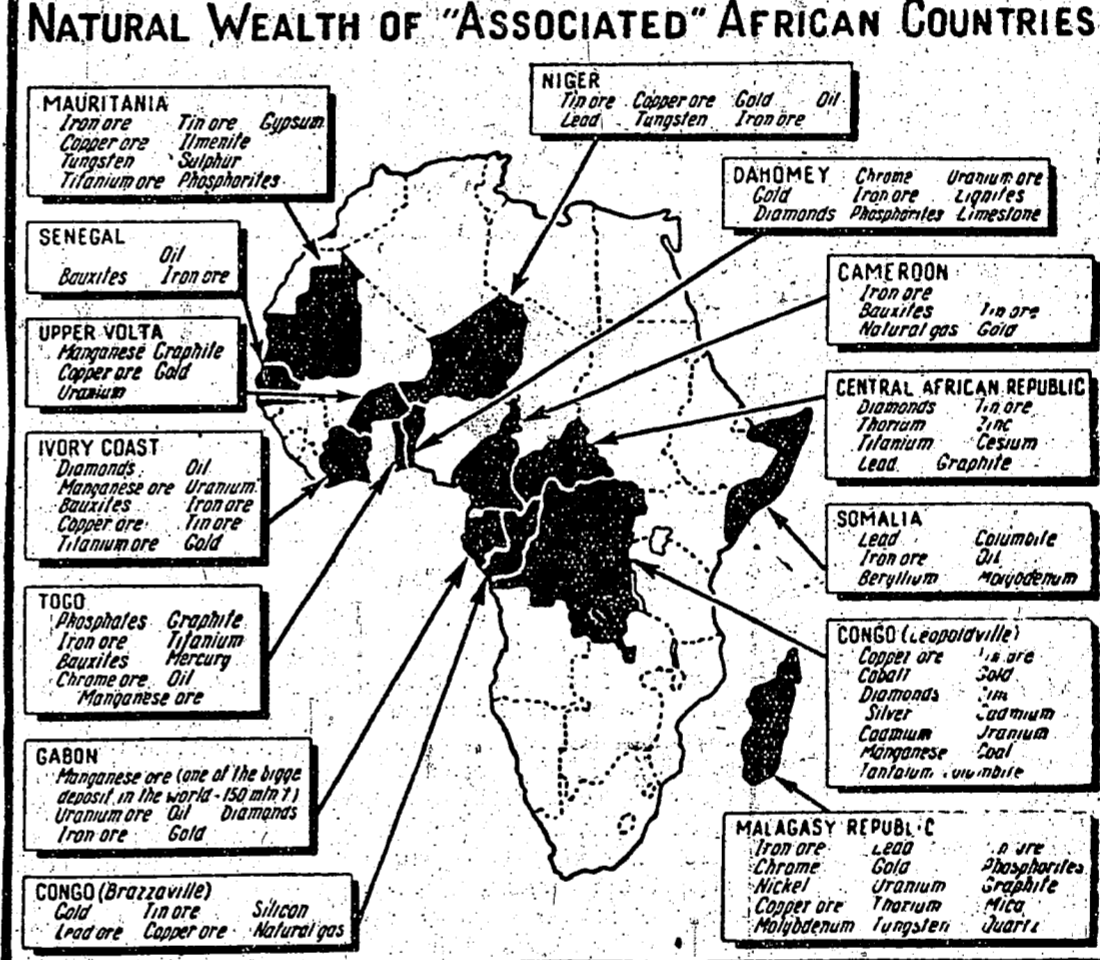
This body has held up payment of certain credits already promised, ignoring the African countries, as it were, which they find themselves having to pay for a quarrel which has nothing to do with them, and this accounts for some of the resentment felt against France.  
*Now that the crisis seems, at least for the time being, to be about to be settled, some observers have wondered whether the countries of the UAM may not try to take advantage of the contradictions which seem to have become something fixed and permanent as between Gaullist France and her partners in the Common Market, to make advances towards the latter, with a view to loosening the tight economic hold exercised by Paris.*  
 Such a move would, in fact, seem difficult to make in view of the links France has been able to forge with the UAM states inside the franc zone.  
*Actually it would be an understatement to declare that the UAM African States belong to the franc zone. Indeed, since the signing of the 1962 agreements, these States are really "moored", not to say "lashed" to the franc zone, and cannot break loose, except at the risk of grave economic and financial discrepancies.*  
 The agreements signed on the 12th May 1962, between France and the African States, one of the chief aspects of which is that it has formulated a treaty for a monetary union, the status of the central bank of the African states, and a convention governing the operation of accounts, are documents not known to the public, if only because they are written in a technical jargon which makes them inaccessible and incomprehensible to all but specialists.  
 Notwithstanding all leaders of progressive newspapers and Africans in responsible posts would find it in their interest to become acquainted with them and study them, for they are the model and almost perfect expression of what modern colonialism can be in a vital sector, which is in fact the key sector.  
 The 1962 May agreements which set up a

"Council for a Monetary union, bringing together the representatives of the member States at ministerial level, as well as a "Central Bank", an international establishment endowed with similar status as the Bank of France, give France the following duties which may be summarised as follows:  
 ● Supervision to ensure that parity between the FAC franc and the French franc is observed.  
 ● Supervision to ensure that the monetary policy of the Member States does not lead to inflation and cause a dislocation in foreign trade, which would be an obvious interference in the internal affairs of African states.  
 ● Verification of the accounts of the "Central Bank", which will be submitted to Paris each year. Where the accounts show a debit over too long a period, France is empowered to restrict credits allocated to the Bank. It should be noted, in addition, that a third of the seats on the Board of Management of this bank are held by French specialists nominated by the Government in Paris.

**THE RADIO TOO IS PRESSED INTO SERVICE**  
 French cultural interest in the UAM states is at par with the economic influence exerted by France. This is a fact which must be noted if subtle appraisal is to be made, because if economic influence is a capitalist and neo-colonialist influence, the dangers of which are clear for Africa, cultural influence which also has its dangers if it is carried beyond a reasonable point, has positive aspects, particularly in the preparation of trained personnel.  
 The Africanisation of the establishment has progressed substantially in the UAM states, the number of qualified persons trained on the spot having doubled since 1960 (3,000 instead of 1,500), and the strength of French civil servants working in these states under technical assistance falling from 1,474 high-ranking officers on the 1st January 1960 to 769 on the 19th January 1962.  
 Lack of trained personnel is so acute in Africa that, in spite of the disadvantages implicit in its

ciality, and as far as teaching is concerned, about 4,500 African pupils follow primary teacher training courses or courses in Faculties in which they qualify as secondary school teachers.  
 Much more questionable in principle and effect are the monopolistic privileges offered by UAM leaders to France in the matter of radio particularly when one measures the extent to which the African masses are influenced by the radio and the leading part played by radio bulletins, particularly in the rural areas where a newspaper is hardly ever seen.  
 In July 1962 OCORA, "The Bureau for Radio Co-operation" was established in Paris. This body replaced the former SORAFOM which existed during the colonial days and is still under the direction of Mr. Pontillon who at that time was Mr. Guy Mollet's Chief public and private collaborator.  
 This organisation proposes to equip radio stations and at the same time supply a number of programmes. During the six years of its existence, SORAFOM had

the UAM states.  
**THE AMBIGUITIES UNDERLYING CO-OPERATION**  
 What conclusion is one to arrive at, after reading this article which is clearly not exhaustive?  
*From an examination of the facts, it is clear that if co-operation between France and Africa is "an entity" it is an ambiguous entity, in which Africans owe it as a duty to themselves to distinguish between what is favourable or unfavourable to their aspirations, and interests, in order to separate the favourable elements from the unfavourable ones, a task which cannot be carried through without conflict and struggle.*  
*African leaders must in our view regard co-operation with France not as something static but as something dynamic, taking account of the changing facts of life and the evolution taking place in events and also in men's minds.*  
 If they follow such a line, African statesmen worthy of the name would strive at once in their co-operation with France to consolidate what is useful to their peoples, and reduce the influence of its negative aspects, asking at the right moment to have certain agreements revised. Such agreements might, at a given moment in history, have had a "raison d'etre", and grounds for justification, but some of their clauses show up in a very lurid light, as decolonisation gets under way.  
 In short the onus is to take account at every step of the relative balance of forces which must be accurately assessed, without allowing oneself to indulge in the fruitless excesses of leftist splinter groups, outwit the imperialists in their machinations, and steadily whittle down the incubus of neo-colonialism, which still hangs so heavily over Africa.  
 In this battle which bids fair to be hard and bitter, harder and more bitter perhaps than the struggle for independence, Africans must even when backed to some extent by progressive forces in Europe, rely first and foremost upon themselves. They will need a great deal of political courage and determination to carry it through to completion, and meet every eventuality.  
 By taking the initiative in making a vigorous bid for the revision of the military clauses in the Evian agreements, the Algerian Government has pointed the way in this respect.



As against these privileges, France agrees to guarantee the stability of the UAM States' currency. The French Government which is in a strong position, owing to the fact that it supports a currency which secures for the UAM states external credits and continuity in their international trade, avails herself of this position, to exercise some degree of control over their political and economic policy.

strict exclusiveness, the effort now being made by the UAM states to train personnel in France, must be considered as a positive step.  
 The "Institute of Advanced Overseas Studies" (IHEOM - French initials) has a yearly intake of upwards of 600 pupils; 3,000 African civil servants come each year as trainees in French administrative organisations corresponding to their own particular spe-

equipped 22 radio stations in African countries, supplied 12,000 hours of programmes a year and trained 180 technicians.  
 Today OCORA is more particularly concerned with the establishment of television stations. It is under the management of a Board of Directors with a General Manager of the RTP and a higher council on which French representatives and Ministers of Information sit with their counterparts from

## EDITORIAL

Continued from Page 1

of the African countries under her sway from becoming master of its own economic destiny. She is out to maintain the government, which will provide the facilities she needs. Conversely, through her control of financial agencies like FAC, European Development Fund for Overseas Territories and the Central Fund for Economic Co-operation she threatens to withhold loans from those African Governments which show a tendency to independent action. At every turn France demands the right to dictate financial policy in these African states.  
 The invariable result of all this is putting the brakes on the economic

development of the countries concerned.  
 The lesson which many African countries must learn by now is clear-cut, namely, that it is not in the interest of an underdeveloped country to surrender its development and security to an economically advanced imperialist country. This is the evidence of history.  
 Neither the Monroe Doctrine nor membership of the Pan-American Union prevented the United States from going to war against Mexico in 1846-48 and taking away over half her territory (containing huge oil and copper deposits); from grabbing the Panama Isthmus from Colombia to which it belonged; from seizing the customs of Santa Domingo and the

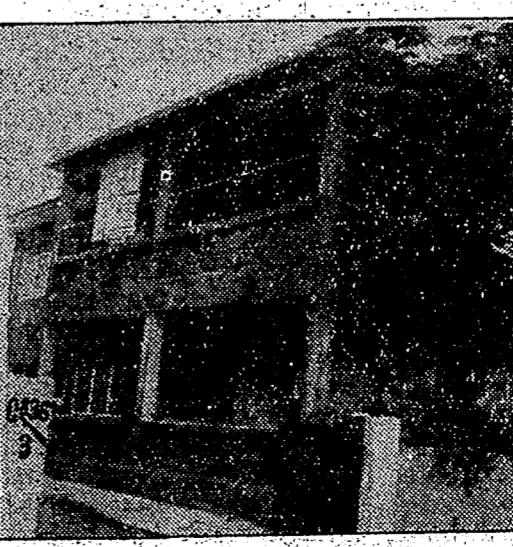
finances of Honduras; from invading Vera Cruz and from turning Puerto Rico into an outright colony.  
 Those who are under the impression that the growing resistance of the African peoples would eventually force France or any other imperialist power to reshape its methods must not forget that contemporary events have proved that the fundamental policies of imperialism will always remain unchanged.  
 All groupings in Africa, especially those under influences from outside Africa must, in the spirit of Addis Ababa, extricate themselves from entanglements of any sort. They must think of Africa as one continent of one people with one destiny.

## DAILY GRAPHIC CONDONING DISCRIMINATION?

One wonders how a Ghanaian news paper could have the guts to publish such a thing!

Continued from Page 1

If the advertiser did not know, one expects the 'Daily Graphic' to teach him. As a national newspaper of some standing, one expects the Graphic to have some knowledge of elementary history and politics and maturer judgment than this. Can the 'Daily Graphic' refute the accusation that it is condoning discrimina-



The house Mr. Foster says an African cannot live in.

tion in Ghana? Does the 'Daily Graphic' sufficiently realise the import and consequences of such a trend? Is the 'Daily Graphic' ignorant of the unconditional war against discrimination now going on all over the world?  
 The laws of this country say there should be no discrimination of any sort. We wonder what should happen to the 'Daily Graphic' and Mr. Foster under the Avoidance of Discrimination Act, 1957?