

THE SPARK

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A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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EDITORIAL

INVESTMENTS IN AFRICA (3)

A MAJOR feature of all economic development relying wholly on unfettered operation of foreign capital is that economic investment is lop-sided and economic activity spasmodic. Investments are made in fits and starts with the driving forces being the profit motive and the requirement of industries in the country supplying the investment capital. Foreign capital comes in, operates in a given industry, and quickly moves out again. Its operation brings no lasting benefits to the country in which the investment is made.

It is therefore necessary that the young African state that seeks both economic growth and economic independence should find ways and means of keeping foreign capital within the country. Effective provisions must be made against the flight of foreign capital from the country. In short, foreign capital must be domesticated.

To domesticate foreign capital, the recipient country must have a clearly thought-out policy regarding the profits made by foreign companies. It is not enough to introduce profits and even excess profit tax. Nor does the fact that company tax is imposed get to the heart of the matter. All these taxes, which add tidy sums of money to state revenue, are common places in all countries. Africa cannot therefore accept the argument that foreign capital is making enough contribution to economic development merely because foreign companies pay company tax, profits and even excess profits tax.

Some governmental measure is needed to compel a sizeable part of the profits of foreign companies to remain within the country in which it is realised and to help create new industries. What the situation demands is a system allowing only a fraction of the profits of foreign companies to leave the country. How much in fact leaves the country will depend on the strength of the government concerned. But the principle that must be upheld is that some

MILITARY COUP—

A NEW INSTRUMENT OF NEO-COLONIALISM

THE threat of cliques of army officers in the pay of the secret agents of imperialist powers have become menacing. The overthrow, arrest and exiling of Juan Bosch, President of the Dominican Republic, after a right-wing coup d'etat could be regarded as one of the most significant events in Latin America.

The coup d'etat which overthrew President Ramon Villeda Morales of Honduras a week after the Dominican incident is very important too. The Honduras coup is the sixth in 18 months.

Events in Algeria bring to the fore a very important aspect of counter-revolutionary activities confronting emerging countries determined to resist the dominating influences of colonialism.

TRIJULO'S LOOT

Let us examine the three situations. Juan Bosch became President of Dominica on February 27, this year, after an overwhelming victory in the first genuine election held in Dominica for 38 years. As leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, he won 628,494 votes against the 316,877 won by the right-wing opposition supported by the violently anti-communist industrialists and armed forces.

of the profits made on foreign investments must remain in the country where it is realised and be used to stimulate further economic growth.

There has to be a general acceptance of the thesis that foreign capital should contribute not only to the cost of administration in the country in which it operates but also to the sustenance and growth of economic life in that community. This aspect of the problem of economic development cannot be left to chance; for it is now generally accepted as a cardinal function of governments the world over to initiate measures which help to maintain and stimulate economic growth. The situation is even more compelling in under-developed countries.

In the emergent countries of Africa, the official attitude towards mobility of the earnings on foreign investments is crucial. For on the movement of these profits depends to a considerable extent the rate of economic growth and the extent to which economic dependence is arrested and the way opened for the drive towards economic independence.

Bosch's government helped the Dominican Republic to emerge from over thirty-one years of one of the foulest dictatorships in Latin America. Under his predecessor, Rafael Trujillo, normal civil liberties did not exist. Most of the country's wealth belonged personally to Trujillo who owned 75 per cent of all industries, twelve of the country's fifteen sugar mills, and was said to have been worth between £200,000,000 to £300,000,000 sterling (the average annual income of people of Dominica was about £70).

When Bosch took over he refused to suppress the Communist Party. He faced the gigantic task of developing the Dominican economy, creating jobs for 200,000 unemployed (25 per cent of the country's working class), and redistributing the Trujillo loot with a corrupt and inefficient civil service inherited from the days of the dictatorship.

Now the armed forces backed, no doubt, by the notorious American C.I.A., have deposed Bosch and set up a right wing civilian administration. The new government has already arrested over 1,000 communists in the capital, Santo Domingo, alone and has made a definite move away from Bosch's ideas of socialist planning of the economy towards giving "greater favour to private enterprise".

ARMED FORCES

It is known that for many years the United States supported Trujillo, as they had supported Batista in Cuba. It is now apparent that the U.S. has made its choice between the democratically elected, left leaning government of Juan Bosch and the undemocratic, anti-socialist successor.

Early this month, a representative of the United Fruit Company which has large operations in the Honduras, announced that the company had received a message that there had been shooting in Tegucigalpa, the capital, and that disturbances had also been

reported in Corte's Tela, San Pedro Sula and Progreso.

By mid-night of October 3, it was announced that armed forces led by Colonel Osualdo Lopez had moved to overthrow the Government of President Ramon Villeda Morales; units of the Civil Guard, a police force answerable only to the President, were supposed to be defending Dr. Villeda Morales in his palace at Tegucigalpa. Early in the morning of October 4, Colonel Lopez announced that he had taken full control of the government.

MOTIVE

The motive for the coup d'etat was apparently the prevention of the presidential election due to take place in 10 days.

The Organisation of American States met in emergency session in Washington and the members said they were "directly inspired" by the military overthrow of President Bosch and Dr. Villeda Morales.

Colonel Lopez said in a broadcast speech that he organised the coup because Dr. Villeda Morales's regime had permitted communists and sympathisers of Dr. Castro to infiltrate into the government and political parties, a charge similar to the one made by the Dominican armed forces against Senor Bosch.

In Algeria, 14 days after President Ben Bella announced his country's intention to pursue a revolutionary socialist policy, the French government went behind counter-revolutionary forces in the Kabylia mountains to threaten the territorial integrity and national unity of Algeria. The French got Colonel Mohamed el Hadj, an ex-jeweller, who once headed the forces in the Algiers region to head a

operation against the government of Mr. Ben Bella.

MILITARY GOVERNMENTS

The new situation clearly shows that the forces of neo-colonialism are now using unscrupulous military men to subvert progressive governments.

In February this year, some suggestions were discreetly voiced in Paris that, perhaps, establishing military governments in Africa would be a good idea. The most significant fact in that matter has been the convening in Dijon, France, of a seminar on the following theme: "THE EXTRA-MILITARY PART PLAYED BY THE ARMY IN THE COUNTRIES WHERE SOCIAL UNITY IS INSUFFICIENT".

The reports delivered show without doubt that the odd definition given to the new countries in the term "countries where social unity is insufficient" referred to African, Asian and Latin American countries recently freed from colonial rule. The meeting was organised by two French official agencies; The Institute for the Study of Political Relations attached to the Dijon Law Faculty, and the Defence Committee for Scientific Action. The meeting was not open to the general public. The twenty people who attended the seminar included military officers, scholars and journalists.

AFRICAN PROBLEMS

One of the journalists who attended the meeting later disclosed certain aspects of the talks.

He said: "The audience was presented with a report of Professor Hamon, (a Gaullist lawyer, and former French M.P.), including an analysis of a French officer's report on the armies of the emergent African Republics born of the former Community."

"The subject proposed here would become evident



Ben Bella, Leader of the Algerian Revolution.

at some time. This is sure, but it would be later on. That had been written before the trial of force took place in Senegal.

"Afterwards, the common problems of African countries were referred to, these are: conflicts between generations, the old ones being linked psychologically and sometimes materially with the colonial power, the younger being ultra-nationalist, tribal conflicts, lack of technicians, urgency of swift economic progress, foreign menaces, weakness of the state."

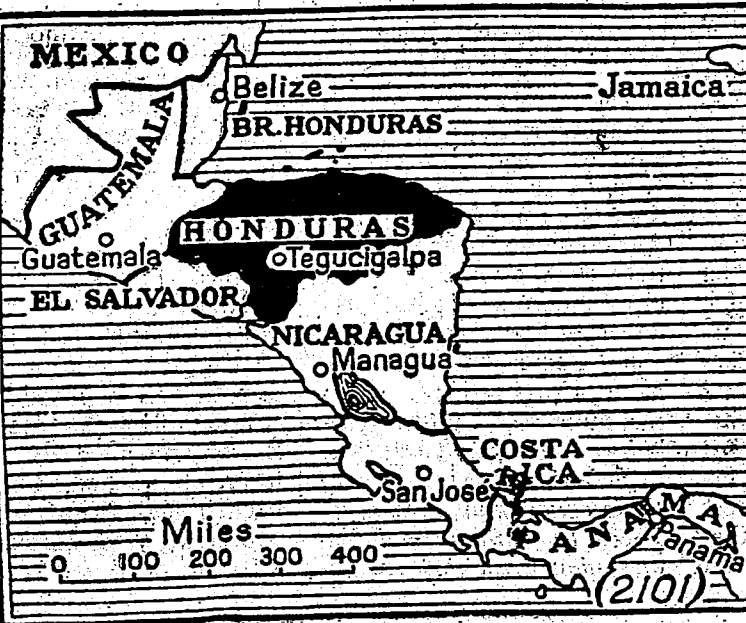
"The army offers obviously in all these countries a strong and radical tool for solving, at least provisionally, all their numerous crisis. Nevertheless, the future remains unpredictable, as many elements, among them the failure of military regimes in other places, could induce the young African peoples to follow more original paths." (La Monde).

MILITARY INTERVENTION

We have to note that this comment filled with undertones, rather tends to confirm rumours spread after the arrest of Mr. Mamadou Dia of Senegal and the setting up of the new Senegalese Constitution about an eventual military intervention in Senegalese politics.

The cautiousness of the journalist does not conceal his efforts towards suggesting the desirability of mili-

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In Africa, the situation calls for urgent action. The unhappy history of Latin America must be avoided. The Latin American states have been a hundred and fifty years in the making: most of them are still half made and still unstable. The Balkan States, with about half that length of life are still imperfect nations wrecked by instability and military intervention.

Neo-colonialism thrives on instability. Its very existence in any country

Continued on page 6

Neo-Colonialism in

by
G.
Clair

Cameroun

Part
Two

AT the end of 1960, a French secret service agent murdered the President of the U.P.C., Felix MOUNIE, in Geneva. But the Ahidjo-Briand Tandem gained just as little respite from Mounie's murder than they did, two years earlier, when they had Um Nyobe killed.

In 1961, the fact that the Southern part of Kamerun under British domination merged with the now federal republic of Kamerun merely meant that war spread to West Kamerun. That very same year, Rene Dumont, a French agronomist on his way through Kamerun, stated that in the bas-Mungo "the recruits for guerilla fighting in the maquis range from 10 to 25 years of age and are sometimes only 8 years old; the Prime Minister informed me". (*L'Afrique est mal partie* p. 7).

In 1962, further schemes were laid out: their aim was to propagate the belief amongst African independent governments and certain hesitant elements that fight of arms was hopeless and was a project to be rejected.

The Assembly of the Maquis fighters spoke out against this demoralisation campaign and destroyed it; and then proceeded to elect the Revolutionary Committee of the U.P.C. on September 13, 1962.

Since, there have been endeavours to build a sort of wall of silence and to give credit to the belief that nothing is happening in Kamerun.

A short time ago, the monthly bulletin of the Central Bank of African Equatorial States and of Kamerun whose place of publication is—naturally—Paris, thought it could safely speak about "Cameroun's return to normal security conditions" (Bulletin of February 1963, p.69).

But, as the facts given at the beginning of this study tend to show, the national struggle is far from weakening.

If the bankers can afford to speak out loud about "Normal Security Conditions" when they really mean it to be at the expense of the silence of patriots, they will have to wait a long time before they obtain any satisfaction.

CONFERENCES

So this is our present position in 1963 after the Addis Ababa conference. Although this particular conference did not pass any resolution on the Kamerun situation, it should be remembered that several African States have already had the opportunity to indict Ahidjo's regime in the course of earlier conferences—for instance at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in April 1960 held in Conakry and by the All-African People's Conference in Cairo in 1961—and each time the national revolutionary movements as well as a certain number of states accused Ahidjo's neo-colonialist set up; and volunteered to support the U.P.C. Far from cancelling these resolutions, the Addis Ababa Charter summed in its preface and set them up down in the form of an official condemnation of neo-colonialism "in all its styles."

However, we must find out WHY this atrocious war is so desperately prolonged while at the same time, imperialist governments keep speaking the language of "decolonization".

What aims do the foreign masters of Kamerun and the Yaounde government set have in mind?

First of all, it might help to recall that colonial war was launched with the aim of "setting an example" in the fight against one of the most aggressive and uncompromising sections of the old R.D.A. A bloody repression of the National Movement in Kamerun was expected to intimidate and therefore to help neo-colonialist policies in the making in the other French colonies of that period.

THE FACTS

Ever since the beginning of the war two important facts have been clear: on the one hand the imperialist generals and officials are caught up in a situation they have created themselves and must pursue it to the end; on the other hand this war keeps on serving its purpose. That is to say the maintenance through forceful pressure of neo-colonialist situations established elsewhere by the de Gaulle government and its Atlantic allies.

Elsewhere, policies may well seem comparatively less bloody and less cruel, but the U.P.C. pays the price and the repression against it serves as a test and a cement for the French neo-colonialist edifice. Even if they happened not to be of the same opinion the African Heads of State associated with Ahidjo in the U.A.M., are involved, in the Kamerun war whether they like it or not.

Moreover, one has but to look at a map of Western and Equatorial Africa to see that Kamerun happens to occupy a strategic position, the importance of which is very evident. That also means something to imperialism.

In any event, French imperialism is not the only party opposing genuine independence for Kamerun. British neo-colonialists must be wondering what the repercussions on neighbouring Nigeria would be if Kamerun was to set such an example. American colonialists must be wondering what the repercussions on their penetration in nearby Gabon and Nigeria might be.

And we now understand why the Americans have been coming to Ahidjo's rescue since 1960, sending him arms, receiving him in great ceremony in Washington in 1962, and at the present moment offering him a considerable loan for the Transkamerunian Railway.

On the other hand, these facts go to show that all African patriots, wherever they are, should realise that the outcome of the struggle of the Kamerun people is a vital part of their own particular struggle against neo-colonialism, wherever this fight may be waged.

A second and more—let us say—earthy reason is that colonial wars always make good business for an important group of French capitalists—8 years of warfare in Vietnam, 8 years of warfare in Algeria and now 8 years of warfare in Kamerun, that amounts to impressive order for the manufacturers who cater to the army, that means opportunities for un-

derground deals and speculation and in the final analysis it all amounts to a good many superprofits for French capitalists and, to speak in their own language, some prosperity.

But the picture is not yet complete. Armed forces are also seeking to preserve the very structure of neo-colonialist Kamerunian economy which has become a permanent source of superprofits (permanent that is to say no longer temporary as in the case of war profits); what would be left of such a set-up if all patriots who are determined to free their country and lead it up the road of economic independence finally came into power? It is therefore necessary to give a look over the present structure of Kamerunian economy.

quisitioned and subjected to hard labour in the interest of the trusts and the Missions.

And these very facts have been revealed for the past two years to the very people who chose to ignore them, in the novels of the Kamerunian writer, Mongo Beti.

One can be sure that neo-colonialist warfare with its burnt down villages, its concentration camps, and its villages under military occupation and control enables the concessions and the European settlers to be continually supplied in one way or another with compulsory man-power, for the lowest wages one can dream of.

FRENCH DOMINATION

And so when official French circles proudly assert that Kamerun is one of the rare West African States under French domi-

sooner or later compelled one by one to pass through the clutches of these fat societies in order to manage somehow to sell their cocoa or whatever they produce, it is clear those parts of the agricultural system which the settlers and concession-holding companies did not exploit were already monopolised by the slave-trade societies: nothing ever escapes from the stronghold of colonialist exploitation.

But the third and most recent sector is by far the most important one, being a classic feature of the neo-colonialist war: we are alluding to the new initiative of one of the biggest French industrial trusts called Pechiney and to the birth of a certain form of industry. The construction a few years ago of the hydro-electric barrage of Edea and the aluminium manufactory it is feeding, represents a significant

learn that since the de Gaulle regime came into being, the public figure of Pechiney's profits has risen from 2.5 billion old francs to 4.4 billion in 1962, as the trust proudly announced last May.

For one thing if good business figures were achieved by this lucky trust, it was at the expense of the Kamerunese workers of Edea. Another point to make in order to throw some light on the true nature of the situation involves another African State, namely Guinea. In Kamerun there is an electric plant which was built with the help of funds coming not only from the French budget but also the colonial Kamerun budget with Pechiney's contribution.

And the result today is "la Societe d'Energie Electrique du Cameroun (Enelcam) a combined society (state—Ahidjo—and Pechiney), which really means that for a comparatively moderate investment, Pechiney dominates the whole set-up. Enelcam electricity then serves the factory where Alucam (Pechiney again) transfers alumina into aluminium—But here things grow more complicated, for alumina is not manufactured in Kamerun where bauxite mines are not being worked.

RISKS OF NATIONALIZATION

René Dumont, the French author we have already quoted, summed up the Edea Operations thus: "In order to avoid risks of nationalization, the capitalists deliberately chose to manufacture alumina in Guinea and aluminium in Kameroun" (*L'Afrique est mal partie* p. 94). And so Pechiney, who is already the sole master of Edea, is also established in Fria in Guinea where it owns only one quarter of the capital (the rest represented by America, England, Switzerland and West Germany) but in fact assumes the real technical and commercial management of the enterprise. So Pechiney takes its 25 per cent share of the Fria alumina, sends it on a boat ride to Kamerun from where it is shipped to France in the form of aluminium. And in spite of all the travelling expenses, its cost on arrival will enable the Pechiney lords to make a very substantial profit (even more substantial than if bauxite were transformed into aluminium on their own soil).

It must be recalled that after the independence of Guinea in 1958, the statements made by Fria and its legal representative, the de Gaulle government, committing them to build the Konkoure hydro-electrique and an aluminium smelter in Guinea were torn in order to punish "the Guineans".

Mr. de Vitry at that time had the nerves to approach a Guinean Minister with a cunning scheme whereby the Fria alumina would have been sent to Fulbert Youlou's state in order to transform in aluminium in the "wish-come-true" factory "and the prerequisite, added Mr. de Vitry without laughing would be for

Sekou Toure and Fulbert Youlou to get together". Quite a significant suggestion... This time under government of a commercial operation an attempt is made to tie up the hands of independent Guinea.

CAPITALIST ADVANTAGES

Definitely, Guinean Alumina is sent to Ahidjo's home. The system is based on the following Capitalist advantages:

1. As Dumont underlines it: none of the two industrial units edited by the same trust is complete by its own; even eventual nationalisation would not leave them in the hands of one state or other state.
2. One of the factors that assure the risings of profits of the operation is not only the cheapness of African labour, but also the extraordinary low price of electricity of Edea.
3. The setting up of a "sure" government in Kamerun permits to make it responsible for fixing and controlling the salaries; for dictating to the trade unions, for setting a trap against, and banning political organisations of the African working class.
4. The neo-colonialist policy applied by this very government perpetuates misery and unemployment in the country. It uses its good offices to maintain at the lowest level, the salaries of the few hundred workers.
5. Finally, that government which is entirely in your debt, cannot in decency refuse to grant you tax relief, "long-term" tax facilities" etc. which you need to make your capitalist way of life a success.

But all this requires even more urgently that the war should go on, and that the government in question should have the supply of arms, officers, and troops it needs to continue the hostilities. It is just possible that Paris would, at a pinch, agree to sacrifice agricultural exploitation to a small extent, but it is quite a different matter when it comes to the Empire of Pechiney.

This policy, which we have only indicated in broad outline, although in a domestic sense it is expressed in terms of fascism (the suppression of every kind of liberty, a Party Government of the Nazi type, the (UC and war) also has another side which is expressed in significant financial and social benefits.

An enquiry carried out on the banking concerns in the Kamerun on the 31st August 1962, and published in the *Bulletin of the Central Bank of the States of Equatorial Africa and the Cameroun* (February 1963) gives some idea of these results, these financial and social benefits. We are told,

(Continued on page 4)



Dr. Felix Mounie, the second martyr of the Kameroun struggle. He was the leader of the U.P.C., poisoned by imperialist agents in Geneva.

FOREIGN EXPLOITATION

As in the case of other colonial countries, foreign exploitation is manifest in 3 sectors. First of all there are cocoa, coffee, banana hevea and cotton plantations—European plantations coupled with the cultivation of tropical woods are still the main systems of plunder in Kamerun today.

The rubber or cotton production are monopolized by huge concessions such as those held by the Society for Forests and Agriculture (Societe Forestiere et Agricole). In Western Kamerun a great producer of bananas, the British "Camerouns Development Corporation", plays the same role. A few years before Independence, the exploitation policies of these concessions always allowed to peasants and Kamerunian workers to be re-

nation whose trade balance is healthy (the Ivory Coast is another example), one must be fully aware that the bulk of the profits earned on exports are invariably to be located in the pockets of concession-holders, settlers, and French, (West-German, English or American) trusts, have been a prey to the second sector which neo-colonialist exploitation is still just as it was under the old fashioned type of colonialism, trade ruled and dominated the great slave-trade Companies, C.F.A.O. and S.C.O.A.

Since the federalization of Kamerun, there is an additional third company bearing the name of a certain R. W. King and which is none other than the great British-Dutch Trust Unilever, born and bred on French and British colonization in West Africa. As African rural workers are

transition between an agricultural phase and an industrial phase of colonial exploitation.

The former was quite to operate under direct old-fashioned colonialism in Kamerun as in other states—Algeria or Kenya for example, but the latter is much more comfortable in neo-colonialist surroundings. Pechiney is no light weight in the little world of French trusts; it ranks among the great capitalist powers whose influence on French government policies is of paramount importance.

FINANCIAL POLICY

In 1958, Raoul de Vitry, its general Director, was one of the 3 "experts" called in by the de Gaulle government to decide which financial and economic policies should be ratified and implemented. It is therefore no surprise for us to

**FOCUS ON
SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT
IN GHANA
(PART FIVE)**



**The Ghana
Trades Union
Congress (2)**

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

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

We continue in this issue, the series of articles tracing the progress of socialism in Ghana in the economic, social and political fields. After this we hope to follow the trend of socialism in other African countries also.

Our article today is a continuation of the one on the Ghana Trades Union Congress issued last week.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the authorities of the T.U.C. for contributing this article.
—EDITOR.

AS far back as 1953, ideological differences had plagued the Trades Union Movement. Though the imposed British Trade Union structure had been unsuitable, nevertheless some of the numerous trade unions had assimilated the philosophy of the metropolitan trade union movement. Theorising about the role of the labour movement became a source of serious conflict for sometime, and it followed two main lines of development. One of these was concerned with the narrow-minded theory that the labour movement must be confined only to improving working conditions and raising living standards.

The other body of theory contended that under conditions of colonialism, improvement in working conditions and a rise in living standards could only be guaranteed by a fundamental reorganisation in the structure of the society which was based on exploitation, and that to achieve this objective the labour movement must remain in the vanguard of the struggle for national liberation and the building of a Socialist State.

In 1949, the labour movement supported the call issued by the Convention People's Party and Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to join the patriotic forces in liberating the country from British colonialism. The Trades Union Congress took an active—if not decisive—part in the Positive Action of January 1950 which marked a decisive turn in the struggle for national liberation.

TRIBUTE

Due tribute must however be paid to the Convention People's Party, which fought staunchly for the working people and proved that it was the only force capable of leading them to complete victory. Without the Convention People's Party, the masses could not have been rallied and the country delivered from British Colonialism.

The declaration of independence on the 6th of March, 1957 opened a new era in the life of the nation. Under the leadership of the Convention People's Party, all material and moral forces were mobilised to consolidate independence and to lay the foundation for the building of socialism. To this extent, the T.U.C. continued to receive encouragement from the Party.

On his return from a tour of Independent African States, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said: "Now that Ghana has achieved her political independence, the workers should work hard to take up leadership for the economic emancipation of the country. This could only be achieved when the working class have been able to mobilise and consolidate all the forces at their disposal."

Consistent with the desire for structural reorganisation, in May 1957, the Executive Board of the T.U.C. decided to despatch delegations on tour of some national trade union centres to study their structure and methods of organisation. The sum total of these untiring efforts and research was the evolution of a structure which cannot be labelled as a proto-type of the labour organisation of any one country. The conclusions of the report of the Secretariat submitted to the Executive Board and the rank and file of workers in the country, drew attention to the fact that:

PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY

"The workers' struggle, does not always and everywhere, assume the same

form. There was a time when in fighting their employers, the workers smashed machines and set fire to factories. To them machines were the cause of poverty and the factory was a seat of oppression which therefore should be smashed and burnt. That was the period of unorganised rebel conflicts in working class history. We know also of other cases where the workers, disillusioned with incendiary and destruction, adopted more violent methods, including the beating up of managers and terrorising them. That also was another period in Labour History.

"In Ghana today, we have not the factories to smash; it is our responsibility to help create them and to give work to the masses of our people... what will be our balance sheet to the workers when we are called upon to report after a quarter of a century of organisation."

"We have been asking the workers to organise for

(c) The collection of Trade Union dues by a National Check-off System.

(d) Disbursement of funds according to agreed percentages for Administration, Social Benefits, Insurance, Solidarity and Business Enterprises at Local, Regional and National levels.

(e) The recognition of the 'Union Shop' as a fair Labour Practice.

(f) The introduction of legislative reforms to regulate industrial relations and ensure self-government in industry, fill the vacuum after repeal of Colonial Labour Ordinances and give legal personality to the Trades Union Congress.

After a 12-month period of organisational work, the Congress convened its 14th Annual Convention at Cape Coast in January, 1958.

AGREEMENT

At the end of the two-day session, the Congress



Executive Board of the Ghana T.U.C. in Session.

the past 15 years; what material concrete evidence can we give them as a result of this organisation apart from protecting them from unwanted dismissal and fighting for minor wage-increases?"

LEADERSHIP

The leadership of the Trades Union Congress elaborated a programme of social reforms corresponding to the fundamental economic and political interests and aspirations of the workers. The highlights of the "New Structure", as the reorganisation was nicknamed, were:

(a) The establishment of 16 National Industrial Unions each with an estimated membership of approximately 50,000 centralise in the T.U.C.

(b) The setting up of Specialised Departments for Organisation; Finance/Accounts; Publicity/Information; Education; Legal Matters; Economic; Political and Social Matters; Trade and Business Enterprises; Research; and International Affairs.

WE, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORKERS OF GHANA DETERMINED

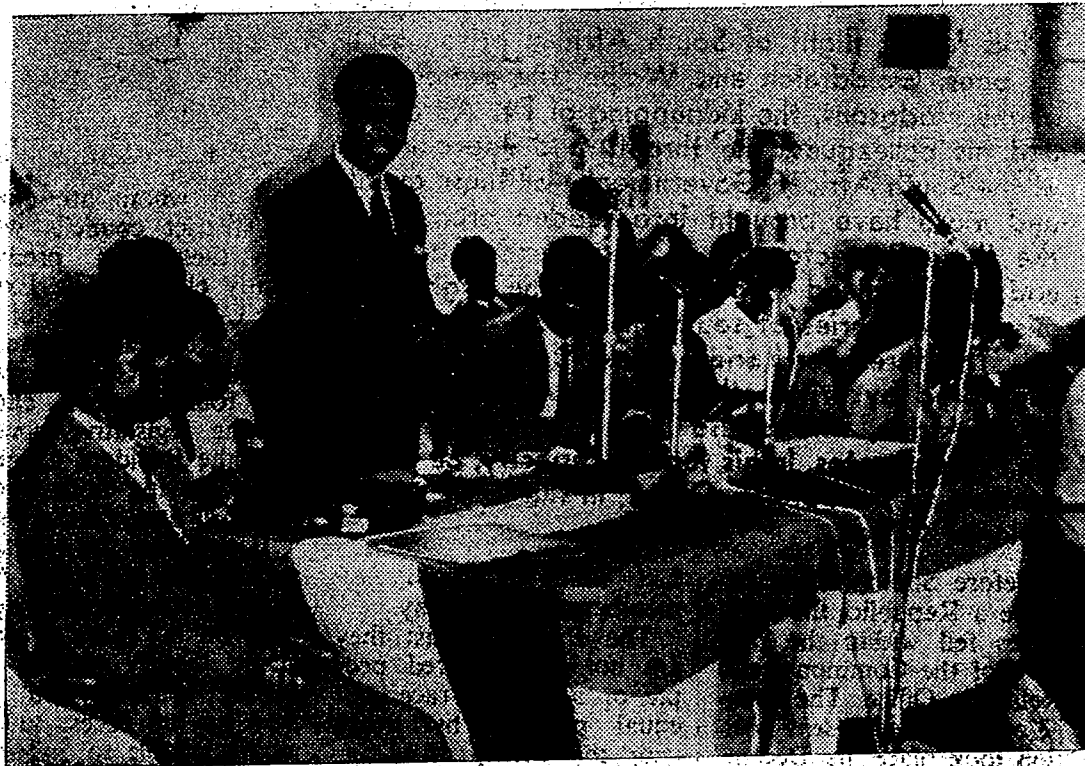
to save succeeding generations of working people from the scourge of capitalist exploitation and poverty which in our life time has brought untold hardship and sorrow to mankind.

HEREBY

reaffirm our faith in fundamental human rights in the dignity of labour and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women.

SOLEMNLY RESOLVE

to establish a united Trades Union Congress for the maintenance of just working conditions, respect for the obligations arising out of collective bargaining and promote social progress



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah addressing the Biannual Conference of the T.U.C.

and better standards of life for all the workers. AND FOR THESE ENDS we seek fulfilment of our hopes and aspirations through democratic process within the framework of Constitutional Government and consistent with our Institutions and aspirations. At the collective bargaining table, in the exercise of the rights and responsibility of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all people of Ghana. We pledge ourselves to the more effective organisation of working men and women; to the securing for them full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people and the building of a Socialist State, to the enjoyment of leisure which their skills make possible, and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life, the fundamental freedom which are the basis for achieving Socialism.

RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic socialist institutions of our Nation; enslave the human soul and destroy the progressive forces.

We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our Union serves.

With divine guidance, grateful to the fine traditions of our past, and struggle, confident of meeting the challenge of the future.

The leadership of the Trades Union Movement realised however that to embark on the colossal adventure of amalgamating the mushroom Unions listed above required understanding, patriotism and unity among the various leaders of the trade unions some of whom might not easily bury their identity and sacrifice their positions as General Secretaries of their various unions in the overall interest of a large

regroupment to achieve cohesion and more effective organisation. Trained personnel would be required to man the specialised departments and above all, the goodwill of the country and the Government were essential. Money was required to pay all the staff and trained personnel before the check-off system was introduced.

THE NEW STRUCTURE

Under the New Structure the 16 National Industrial Unions proposed were as follows:

1. National Union of Agriculture and Plantations Workers.
2. National Building, Timber and Woodworkers Industrial Union.
3. National Union of Commercial, Banks, Clerical and Allied Workers.
4. National Union of Food, Entertainment, Drinks, Tobacco, Butchers.
5. General Municipal and Local Government Employees Union.
6. National Maritime, Lighterage and Dockworkers Union.
7. National Workers' Union.
8. National Union of Health and General Workers.
9. Government Technical, Clerical and General Workers Union.
10. National Union of Oil and Petroleum Workers.
11. National Union of Post-

- al and Communications Workers.
12. National Union of Printers, Journalists and Newspaper Workers.
13. Public Utility and Allied Government Industrial Union.
14. National Union of Railway Workers.
15. National Union of Transport and Allied Workers.
16. National Union of Teachers and Educational Institution Workers.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the entire rank and file of all unions in Ghana accepted the proposed reorganisation without dissent.

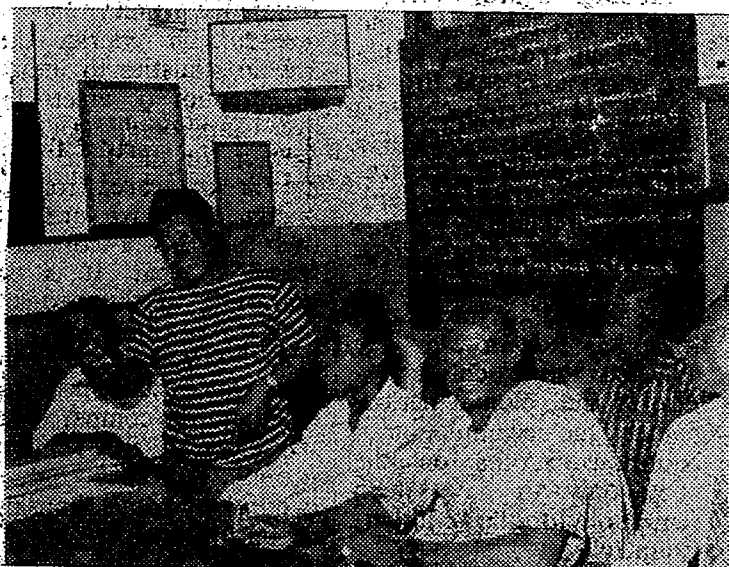
The process of amalgamation met opposition not only from the group of trade union leaders who had imbibed the philosophy of the Colonial regime, but also from some foreign employers and surprisingly the I.C.F.T.U. to which, at that time, the Ghana T.U.C. was an affiliate. Though the I.C.F.T.U. was consulted in the formulation of the proposed structure for reorganisation, the Ghana Trades Union Congress, made it clear that the will of Ghana Labour expressed democratically would prevail and that whatever structure and whatever measures were deemed necessary for Ghana would be adopted though they might be unfamiliar to Western conceptions of trade unionism.

Firstly, some of the recalcitrant trade union leaders

Continued on page 6



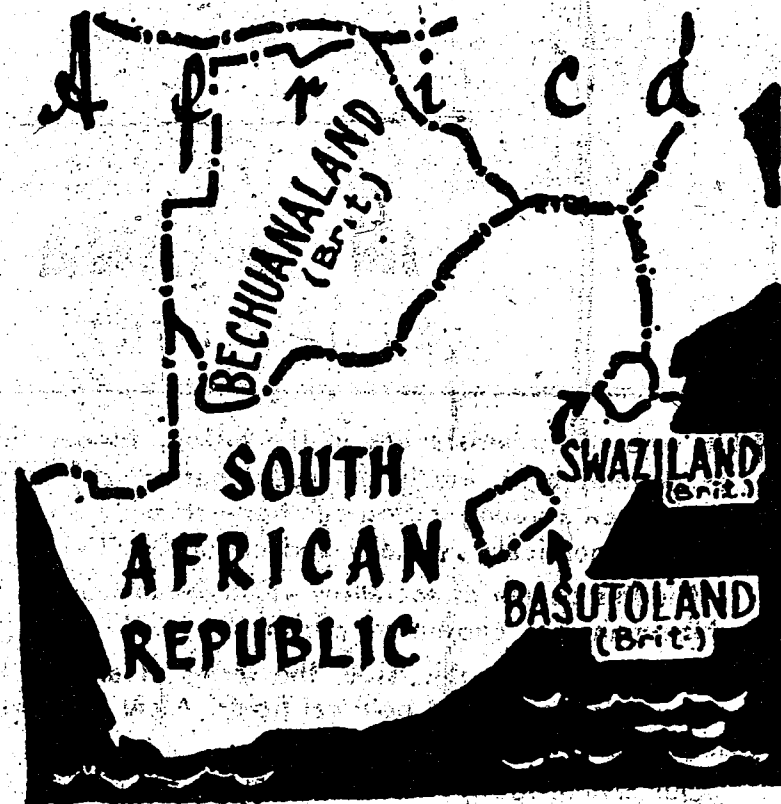
Progressive trade unions of the world holding a conference of solidarity with South Africa in Accra.



Mr. Magnus-George, Deputy Secretary-General of the Ghana T.U.C., addressing the Productivity Conference.

Freedom Fight Focus is on the Protectorates

by Brian Bunting



THE recent flight of South African prison escapees, Goldreich and Wolpe, the persecution of the Hodgsons, the kidnapping of Dr. Abrahams and his colleagues, the threats and imprecations of the South African Government—all these events and more have brought into sudden prominence the three Protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland which constitute the High Commission Territories of southern Africa.

The three territories are at the moment administered by Britain through her Ambassador for South Africa, who is also High Commissioner for the Protectorates. In his former capacity, he is responsible to the Foreign Office; in the latter to the Colonial Office.

Before South Africa became a Republic, the territories fell within the purview of the Commonwealth Relations Office. The change-over to the present position took place in December 1961.

Although the three territories tend to be regarded as one political entity, their individual positions and level of development are very different.

PROTECTION

Basutoland came under British control in 1868. Chief Moshoeshe one of the greatest of African statesmen, applied to the British for protection from the encroachment of the Boers. The Basotho had had many encounters with the white man but had never been defeated in battle—a

fact which is proudly remembered to this day.

The Basotho insist they are not a conquered people or a subject race, but equal partners by treaty with the British. Any attempt at unilateral action by the British Government is deeply resented.

According to the 1956 census, Basutoland has a population of 639,000 Basotho and 1,926 White officials, missionaries or traders who may not own land in the territory. It is politically and educationally the most advanced of the three territories, with a literacy standard said to be as high as that for Western Europe.

Politically, it is administered in terms of a new constitution, introduced in 1939, which provides for the election of a legislative council of 80 members,

half of whom are elected by district councils which are themselves predominantly elected. The Executive Council consists of four senior officials (including the Resident Commissioner) and four members chosen by the legislative council, with the Resident Commissioner having both a deliberative and casting vote.

Basutoland is entirely surrounded by South Africa and economically dependent on it. There is not a single factory of any sort in the territory and if a man has no access to land and is unable to find work with a White man, he must seek work in the Republic. It is estimated that 150,000 Basotho work as migrant labourers in South Africa, which means that more than half the adult male Basotho workers are forced to seek work outside their homeland.

SWAZILAND

SWAZILAND, the smallest of the three territories, bordered by Mozambique and South Africa, was once administered by the Transvaal republic, but came under British control after the Boer War. It has a population of 240,000 Swa-

zi, 9,000 Whites and 1,400 Coloureds.

Unlike Basutoland, land ownership by Whites is allowed, and nearly half of the territory is in fact owned by Whites. Economically, it is the wealthiest of the territories, with good farmland and afforestation, extensive sugar plantations, paper mill and the world's largest asbestos mine. Encouraged by the prospects, White investment is increasing apace.

Swaziland's new constitution, not yet in force, provides for an African majority with one third of the seats in the legislative council reserved for Whites. Not only the Whites but the African traditionalists resent this new constitution, while the younger and more modern nationalist element demands a still greater measure of self-government leading towards independence and one man one vote.

BECHUANALAND

BECHUANALAND, the largest of the territories, came under British control in 1896. It is bounded by South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia,

and Northern Rhodesia, with the last named of which it is connected by a narrow strip of land between the Victoria Falls and the Caprivi Zifel. The population is about 300,000, of whom about 3,000 are Whites.

Large portions of Bechuanaland are desert or semi-desert, but the eastern portion has a good average rain-fall and is suitable for ranching, meat being one of the main exports to South Africa.

Whereas Bechuanaland and Swaziland are each inhabited by a separate tribe, Bechuanaland has separate reserves for its eight different tribes, the main one being the Bamangwato, whose leader Seretse Khama was exiled by the Labour Government when he dared to marry a White woman.

He has since been allowed to return to the territory, has founded the Bechuanaland Democratic Party in opposition to the more nationalistic Bechuanaland People's Party and is being spoken of as a possible first Prime Minister under the new constitution which is now being negotiated.

A feature of all three territories is their close connection with South Africa, which operates their posts and telegraphs, currency and banking and customs tariffs. When the Union of South Africa was inaugurated in 1910, it was always assumed that in due course the three Protectorates would become part of South Africa, and a schedule to the South Africa Act lays down the procedure which must be followed when this incorporation takes place. However, recent developments, and especially the retrogression of South Africa under the Nationalist regime, make incorporation more and more unlikely.

VERWOERD VIEW

The attitude of South African Government towards incorporation has also undergone a change. The Malan regime at first favoured transfer of the territories, and indeed, the Tomlinson Commission which lays down the blueprint for the development of "Bantustans" assumed that incorporation would take place.

But in the face of growing British and African opposition, the Verwoerd Government decided to face facts and formally renounced any desire to incorporate the territories.

The events of the last two years have changed all that. As repression inside South Africa increased, the flow of refugees to the territories increased. The Pan-Africanist Congress set up a headquarters in Basutoland from which its secretary, P.K. Leballo, announced in March of this year that he had an "army" of 150,000 men at his disposal which was to make an all-out attack on White

South Africa in 1963.

The fact that his premature announcement led to the incarceration of 5,000 of his followers in South Africa did not lessen the anxiety of the South African Government about the use to which the protectorates were being put.

In August, a senior Security Branch official, Col. H. J. van den Bergh, accused the British authorities of "wittingly in my opinion" allowing Bechuanaland in particular to be used as a refuge by "Communists and saboteurs" wanted in South Africa.

'BIG SQUEEZE'

To prevent the passage of these refugees and freedom fighters, the South African authorities began "Operation Big Squeeze" against the Protectorates. A policy of repatriating Protectorate Africans wherever possible was adopted.

Thirty-six border posts were established to facilitate police control and six-foot high fences were constructed on certain parts. Protectorate citizens were for the first time subjected to passport control, searches and even assaults at the borders, and the South African railways cut off their service at five days' notice to Maseru without explanation.

After the Goldreich-Wolpe escape, new control measures were introduced to make it impossible for planes carrying refugees to overfly South African territory.

Politically, South Africa's ambition to incorporate the Protectorates was revived. In a speech in Pretoria on September 3rd, Dr. Verwoerd offered to administer the Protectorates as "self-governing Bantustans".

Dr. Verwoerd's honeyed words evoked a certain response from frightened Whites in the three territories, but universal condemnation from the Africans.

In the Protectorates, poor as they are, Africans don't have to carry passes, are not subject to the draconic provisions of the Sabotage Act, the 90-day no-trial Act and all the other monstrous laws which disfigure the South African statute book. No African in his senses would exchange his part-freedom under British rule for the hell of apartheid.

SILENCE

The most disturbing feature of the whole situation has been the failure of the British authorities to place firm barriers in the way of the Verwoerd aggressors. The Verwoerd offering itself, instead of being rejected with contempt, was greeted with silence by the Colonial Office.

All refugees are placed under humiliating restrictions which forbid them to take any part in politics or even to write anything for the press—restrictions which are almost as severe

as those imposed on the opponents of apartheid by the Verwoerd Government.

In Basutoland, a proclamation was issued making it an offence for anybody to conspire against any other country or to do anything which might endanger Basutoland's relations with other countries—penalty, a fine of £500 or three years imprisonment. Similar restrictive legislation is being planned for the other territories.

Meanwhile the supporters of apartheid, including known police agents, are allowed to enter the Protectorates at will and carry out their vile policies without interference. They went too far with the kidnapping of Dr. Abrahams, and had to restore their captive, but on a lesser plane they conduct their activities openly and even with the connivance of the authorities.

PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES

The Verwoerd Government has made it plain it will not tolerate anti-Nationalist activities in the Protectorates, while the Nationalist press has called for the establishment of underground Nationalist groups to deal with the problem of the refugees.

To all this provocations, the British Government has offered no reply. Politically, it leans over backwards to avoid giving offence to South Africa—in which, incidentally, British capitalists have about £1,000 million very profitably invested. Economically, Britain has done nothing to make the Protectorates less dependent on their greedy neighbour.

In the twelve months ended March 1963, the three High Commission Territories were granted only a beggarly £280,558 by Britain, according to a report in the *Cape Times* on September 6th. Grants for Basutoland totalled £113,400, for Bechuanaland £104,453 and Swaziland £62,705.

At this level of spending, working out at less than 5s. per head of population, the Protectorates will never be free from the shackles of South African imperialism.

Not surprisingly in the present crisis the journal of the Basutoland Communist Party should declare: "We cannot rely on British Imperialism to protect Basutoland against the Republic. On the contrary, the British will do everything to protect the Republic from the forces of progress sweeping across Africa."

"The struggle of the Basotho for freedom is part of these forces... The Communist Party of Lesotho (Basutoland) uniting all revolutionary forces in the country will continue to work for immediate independence of our country which is the only way we can put a stop to the present drift."

Neo-Colonialism in Cameroon

Continued from page 2

For instance, that the average individual total of African bank accounts in the Eastern Cameroon is just a little under 100,000 C.F.A. francs, whereas the bank accounts of Europeans and assimilated persons (sic) in the region of 500,000 C.F.A. francs. This ratio of 5 (for the colonisers) as against 1 (for the local bourgeoisie) by itself, and without any examination of the other factors not revealed by the figures, gives a fairly accurate scale of the economic plan and the balance of forces, so far as the neo-colonialists are concerned.

Another figure which is equally revealing, also published in the same Bulletin, informs us that for the month of October 1962 alone, almost 2,000,000 C.F.A. francs were transferred by the Central Bank to foreign countries, in most cases to France. This means that the pseudo-independence granted to the Cameroon has not in any way changed the essential feature of the colonial period, namely, the accumulation of enormous profits on the spot, only to have them sent abroad to the "Mother-Country".

HIGHER PROFITS

But although the statistics of banking accounts

quoted above indicate clearly that the neo-colonialist ruling clique only manage to collect the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table of super profits, it must also be noted that since 1960, the general tendency has shown a definite increase in the assets of Africans. The fact that between 1960 and 1962, African depositors have increased from 10,103 to 13,404 and their average bank account rates from 77,000 C.F.A. francs to 94,000, simply indicates that, broadly speaking, that is the proportion in which the small fringe of the Camerounian society interested in pursuing a neo-colonialist policy has increased. Of course, there are no statistics to indicate the amount of assets held by Cameroon leaders abroad for the time being, but in any case, from the known facts we are entitled to draw a conclusion which is clear. It is this: not only do the neo-colonialists distribute only the crumbs to their collaborators, but these privileged collaborators compared with the mass of the Kamerun people represent only a handful of some thousands of businessmen.

In order to keep themselves going, these businessmen are prepared to go to

any lengths. Cede military bases to France, accord her in advance the right of passage for her troops (in case they would like to go to other countries in Equatorial Africa to practise repression), to go and solicit funds from the European Common Market Fund) and it is not for nothing that last July, Yaoundé was chosen as the place for signing the New Convention of Association with the Common Market, as well as from Washington, promulgate and carry out in practice fascist laws, all this is in line with the logic of neo-colonialism, and it is also a requirement of that logic that the war should continue.

AFRICAN PATRIOTS

This logic cannot possibly be that of the African Revolution. The fact that the Kamerun which is a martyred and in fact the most perfect example of the tragic consequences of neo-colonialism, makes every African patriot feel directly concerned by what is happening there. These African patriots cannot but feel a sense of solidarity with the heroic fighters of the Kamerun Army of Liberation and the UPC which directs its movements. This is so, because the resolutely carrying on the struggle, by prosecuting

it against all odds, the Kamerunian combatants are forging a way not only for the liberation of their country, but also for the victory which will be won over the forces of Western neo-colonialism.

That is why they have every right to ask, as in the case of the UPC memorandum dated the 23rd August, that the active unity of Independent Africa should come to their assistance, and should in fact express itself concretely in a very definite manner. Here there would be no point in sheltering behind the argument of insufficient means. Africa is not destitute and disarmed in the face of the Ahidjo-Pechiney tyranny. All she needs is the will to organise and unite in the struggle that exists. And here it should be noted that the Africans who collaborate with the neo-colonialists are particularly strengthened by any hesitancy on the part of African States, and quite frightened whenever there is the least sign of opposition, whenever a maquis appears.

In any case, the popular forces will finally win the day. Nevertheless, Africa must do something to hasten victory and lessen the suffering of the people of the Kamerun.

Reflections on "Black Orpheus"

Anti-Racial Racialism

"The fundamental unity which will bring together all the oppressed peoples in one and the same struggle must in the colonies be preceded by what I shall call the moment of separation or negation. Anti-racial racialism is the only path that can lead to the disappearance of racial differences."

Before proceeding any further, it is worth enquiring into the meaning of racialism. At the twenty-fifth Congress of the French Federation of Catholic Students, Jean Cuisenier gave this definition of racialism: "a spiritual phenomenon which consists entirely in the opposition between a consciousness belonging to white people, and another belonging to coloured folk." Since racialism is a spiritual phenomenon, it must first be analysed psychologically. Let us take the case of the white man and the black man.

If you take a look at the people referred to as "white", I mean Europeans, you will notice that the colour of their skin varies a good deal from one person to another. Yet you never see any of them use these differences as a basis for denying that their own brothers are in any way less human than themselves. The explanation is that the "white" man does not appear to have become conscious of his body as a "thing of colour". Hence he regards himself as colourless, one may almost say diaphanous, "white" in fact. And indeed looked at scientifically, white is the fusion of a number of colours, black being absence of colour.

However, we must not emphasise this paradox because although this argument may have some weight scientifically, in the circumstances it sounds rather like a joke. In another sense unless we are in the grip of some illness, we can hardly mistake the whiteness of a sheet of paper for the "whiteness of a European". The more we look at the matter, the more convinced we are of the fact that the white man does not assume the colour of his body. He just is not aware of it.

COLOUR DIFFERENCE

Between the white man and the black man, there is a "difference" not an "absence" of colour. The question that now arises is whether from this difference of colour which is a morphological change so far as the body is concerned, we can pass judgment on the human qualities of anyone. Let us imagine some object made of flesh, built exactly like the physical human body. Paint it any colour you like, in other words, make an image of flesh endowed purely with the "faculty of representation."

Let it appear to have the morphological characteristics of the human frame, though it will remain a mere "object", a "thing" lying there like a block of marble. If you like let the body you fashion be not merely an "object", but "an animal" endowed with faculty of movement. If this child of your imagination could really spring to life, he would not be a man, at least not as we know him today. He would be rather like one of those

creatures who lived in the days of primitive man. The characteristic feature of a human being is not his physical frame, and even less so his race.

A human being is far more to be equated with movement or action, not merely corporal or animal but also spiritual. I mean a high degree of spirituality attaining to the level of intellect which is itself a continuing process throughout history; and as we have already seen, it cannot be claimed that the Negro is devoid of intellect.

THE THEORY

In any case, the important thing is not that we should prove racialism to be irrational. Everyone admits this except "demented children." The thing to insist upon is this that the consciousness of racialism which appears in the white man derives from the fact that he is not aware of his body as being a "thing of colour." The reason for our insistence upon this is that poets and philosophers use that fact to propound a theory.

They say to men of colour: "Hymn the colour of your skin", because they regard it basically as the distinctive mark of human qualities. They urge the black man to develop his brand of racialism which must be of necessity revolutionary. This must be so because the aim is to bring white racialism to the point of bankruptcy, and replace it by its black counterpart.

Through the process of black racialism, the white man will in turn become "an object". At once he will react, insisting on the colour of his skin, and this new attitude will secure the destruction of black racialism. Since all men will then assume their colour, they will cease to judge human qualities in terms of the colour of one's skin, and racialism will disappear completely.

How interesting! Speaking in dialectical terms we may put it as follows:

The way to destroy racialism is by the denial of negation. Hence the justification for the slogan, "Hymn the colour of your skin!"

But there is an important observation which must be made. If we wish to acquire the technique of combating racialism, we must not be content with studying the mentality of its practitioners, nor even how it operates psychologically. We must first endeavour to detect its causes by tracing the phenomenon back to its beginnings.

OPPRESSION

When speaking about oppression Sartre writes as follows: "The black man is a victim because he is a black man, a coloured native." It is unfortunate that Sartre did not go beyond the mere semblance of things. Supposing the black race had been the first to develop technically (and scientifically), and through the discovery of other areas on the earth,

had come into contact with races less developed in technical matters with an economy and a general pattern of organisation much inferior to theirs.

Do you think anything would have prevented the Negro, in such circumstances, from yielding to the temptation of postulating white inferiority? In saying this, we do not seek to justify racialism and its consequences. We simply assert that its root causes are to be found in the "colossal differences" that

been exacerbated by colonisation. Jules Ferry used to say rather cynically that racialism was the necessary postulate of any form of colonisation. In point of fact, you cannot colonise a people unless you can claim that they are your inferiors.

RACIALISM

Although racialism now seems to us to exist only in the realm of conscience, it certainly was not so at the outset. Hence, unlike Sartre, we declare that the black man is not made to

science by pure reflection, since conscience can only have a relative autonomy.

Our contention is that racialism by shedding its external stimulus, in other words, the context within which it can act effectively, will disappear slowly but surely. What black men need to do is to develop an awakened conscience, realising that their position as exploited people can be explained and resolved by and through action. This conscious awakening will not necessarily take the form

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

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

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

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

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

—EDITOR

exist in economic development.

But the white man did not stop at that. He was not content with noting, the simple fact that the black man is less developed than himself, a situation which is quite fortuitous; for to be "white" or "black" is a pure fact, an "absurd" fact which we neither will at birth nor can alter after the event. He ended up by thinking that the black man is less developed because he is black. In so doing, the white man "explained" the fact of economy in terms of the colour of one's skin.

PROPAGANDA

As it happens the conscience of the white man had discarded the factor of economics. The result is that racialism also has escaped from the actual conditions which brought it into existence. Propaganda did the rest. If you behave just a little oddly, you are told: "Don't be a nigger". If you ask someone to make an unusually great effort to achieve something, he replies: "I suppose you think I'm a nigger". If you visit a European family in the morning, you will see the children playing and having a great fun before the figure of a good old nigger with a turban, his face beaming with a naive smile.

Don't you recognise the little symbol that stands for a breakfast where you can have cocoa? Just open a book for white school-boys, and you will see that Negroes exist in order to embellish a child's world in exactly the same way as fabled creatures. And so for the mediocre European, "le petit blanc" who has been brought up on certain books, the Negro will probably remain all his life a savage whose animal instincts will be taken for granted exactly as in the case of the large monkeys you find in Africa. This type of propaganda has

suffer oppression because he is black, but because he is technically backward. If the economy of the African Negro can be really developed, so that Africa is truly liberated, and the legend which makes black people either inferior or sub-human destroyed, then white racialism will have been dealt a death blow.

"Race and colour prejudice is nothing more than the unreasoning hatred of one race for another, the contempt of the strong and the rich for those they consider their inferiors.... Since colour is the most obviously visible sign of race, it has become (italics ours) the criterion by which men are judged, irrespective of their educational or social accomplishments. People with a light skin have come to despise the dark-skinned people". This is how Sir Alan Burns puts it in his book "Race and Colour Prejudice" (published by Payot p. 14). It is clear that, underlying racial prejudice, deeper even than the colour of one's skin, there was something else, namely, inferiority in matters of technique, which in fact lends support to a racial prejudice wrongly based on colour. We must therefore seek a solution to racialism, by looking at it from the standpoint of technical know-how.

ILLUSIONS OF CONSCIENCE

We do not for a moment claim that as soon as we shall have made up the leeway in matters of technique, the whole edifice of racialism will come crashing to the ground. We are well aware that phenomena in which conscience is involved, as well as contact with the external world, can actually be weaned away from the physical trappings and find refuge in inward retreat. However, we believe that it is impossible to rise above the world and destroy the illusions of con-

science by pure reflection, since conscience can only have a relative autonomy. Our contention is that racialism by shedding its external stimulus, in other words, the context within which it can act effectively, will disappear slowly but surely. What black men need to do is to develop an awakened conscience, realising that their position as exploited people can be explained and resolved by and through action. This conscious awakening will not necessarily take the form

TOWER OF STRENGTH

Whatever the apostles of prudence may think, we believe this can be achieved in a few decades, because, in fact, there will be need for a complete rediscovery. Without any false sense of modesty, we can say that the progress achieved by the people who colonised us constitutes and will continue to constitute the heritage of mankind. We have every reason to stake a claim, when we remember what a tower of strength the colonised people have been to the administering powers in Europe, in terms of production, and realise that America can never be unmindful of her debt to Negro slaves.

I have spoken of an awakened conscience by and through action, and not of "repose and the capture of the world by magical incantations," which would inevitably lead to abandonment, despair and anguish—the very themes by which the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre sets such great store. It is obvious that when we shall have retrieved our handicap, the white man will be in a new psychological situation, being as it were a misfit in a world that has been revolutionised. He will in fact be all the more upset, because he will be "the loser". He will very soon realise in practice that human values must not be judged in terms of physical variation, and will at once become aware of the fact that his body is a "coloured body". This is how he will over-

come his sense of maladjustment, for it will negate that new but short-lived feeling. Thus, by the negation of negation, the paradox harboured by white racialism will be transcended. However, this will come about in quite a different way from the one recommended by Sartre. The difference is that the author of "Black Orpheus", in order to revolutionise conscience, takes conscience as a fundamental point of departure, whereas we believe, on the contrary, that the starting point should be the objective conditions of life which, in the majority of cases (although this is relative) determine conscience.

HUMAN RELATIONS

We believe that as long as there exists in practice, a foundation for slavery, exploitation, or injustice, whether open, or veiled by paternalistic attitudes, the chances of freeing human relations from any uneasiness of conscience will be remote. If Sartre has by passed this truth and has chosen to recommend a conscious awakening by what may be described as a poetic escape, it is because he could not help it, since the philosophy he advocates has remained like Hegel's with its "head down" and feet up in the air, in other words, essentially idealistic in content.

How then can we explain the astonishing phenomenon, whereby we find alongside the names of

writers on Negritude, the name of Aime Cesaire, a West-Indian Negro, who is one of the best of the Communists in the French Parliament. The following lines supply the answer. Cesaire writes as follows: "My negritude is not a stone, striking deaf against the clamour of the day."

My negritude is not a pool of stagnant water over the blind eye of earth.

My negritude is not a tower nor a cathedral; It strikes straight into the red, earthy soil; It strikes straight into the starry firmament; It pierces the impenetrable mystery of prostration by its unswerving patience."

Cesaire could not have produced a better disclaimer of the Negritude which delights in evasiveness. Cesaire's Negritude, which reaches out from the depths of the earth to the limits of the sky, and refuses to be anything but physical; this Negritude, which is bent on driving a wedge through the solid mass of oppression that weighs it down, this type of Negritude, which is extrovert, in that it opens for objective reality, ceases to be a volatile, impalpable Essence.

Thus the Negritude which Cesaire invokes is a tremendous rallying cry, mobilising millions of men who have been "devalued". It is a combative type of Negritude. Nevertheless, it is a matter for regret that by the use of the term, to which he attaches a completely different meaning from the rest, Cesaire runs the risk of being numbered among the originators of mystification, who live a Negritude of dreams and contemplation, repudiating reason and espousing the irrational.

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AFRICAN DIARY

21st SEPTEMBER, SATURDAY:
GHANA: Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, takes the salute at a parade of the Police Services at the Black Star Square, on the occasion of the Founders Day marking his 54th birthday.
NIGERIA: Chief I. O. Dafe, Chairman of Nigeria Airways, tells newsmen shortly after his arrival from United States that, he will convene a conference of all "indigenous" African Airways next year to discuss common problems confronting them.
23rd SEPTEMBER, MONDAY:
NIGERIA: In order to check the theft of 104 cars, 34 motorcycles and 698 bicycles stolen in Lagos between January and August this year, the Nigerian Police launches a "lock up your car campaign".
ZANZIBAR: Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary tells the Zanzibar independence conference in London that Britain will be happy to see the island independent before the end of this year.
 Mr. Duncan Sandys continues to tell the conference that Britain wants Zanzibar's independence date to be "as near as possible" to that of Kenya scheduled for December 12.
ALGERIA: The Algerian President, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, tells reporters at a Press conference that he will nationalise remaining French properties in Algeria if France carries out further "nuclear tests" in the Sahara.
SOUTH AFRICA: A South African Policeman, Mr. Johannes Arnolds Greeff, 18, goes to jail for 6 years after telling a Johannesburg court that he helped 4 political prisoners to escape when they offered him money to settle his debts.
 Two of the prisoners who fled are Mr. Arthur Goldreich and Mr. Harold Wolpe, a lawyer who have arrived in London yesterday and given permission to stay for two months.
NIGERIA: The Federal Nigerian Government awards two-year post-graduate research scholarships to 5 Commonwealth students tenable at the University of Ibadan under the Nigeria Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan.
 Three of the Scholarship holders are from Britain, the remaining two are from Malaya and India.
24th SEPTEMBER, TUESDAY:
SIERRA LEONE: Mr. S. B. Daramy has been appointed Financial Secretary of the Sierra Leone Civil Service.
 Mr. Daramy is the first Sierra Leonean to be appointed to this position.
NIGERIA: The Nigerian Minister of Labour, Mr. J. M. Johnson opens a Remand Home at Yaba, which is capable of accommodating 200 people.
DAHOMY: President Hubert Maga of Dahomey pays a visit to the village of Adjohon, 70 miles north of Cotonou, where the situation caused by flood waters from River Oueme was "hourly worsening". The flood along the lower part of river Oueme has been caused by recent heavy rains.
 A special appeal fund is to be launched soon for the flood victims.
25th SEPTEMBER, WEDNESDAY:
GHANA: A delegation of Ghanaian Agricultural Workers of the Trades Union Congress led by Mr. Benjamin Annan Bentum, General Secretary of the Agricultural Workers Union and Executive member of the Ghana Trades Union Congress arrives in Peking at the invitation of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers Trade Union of China.
UGANDA: Mr. Felix Onama, Uganda Minister of Foreign Affairs, tells members of the National Assembly that he has asked the Roman Catholic Bishop of Gulu to send Italian missionary Father Passotto of the Verona Fathers' Order from the country for an active part

he played in tribal tension in Northern Uganda.
TANGANYIKA: Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, starts talks with President Nyerere of Tanganyika on the question of assistance to South African Freedom Fighters. The talks will also include plans about the proposed railway link between the two countries.
26th SEPTEMBER, THURSDAY:
GHANA: A three-man Ghanaian Government officials including Mr. Edward Nee Ocaney, Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Mr. Anthony Seibu Alex Abban, Deputy Minister of Industry, arrives in Peking by air.
 They are to attend China's National Day celebrations and pay a friendly visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government.
 They have already paid a friendly visit to the Korean Democratic People's Republic.
ALGERIA: Mr. Hadj Ben Alla, speaker of the Algerian National Assembly, announces the resignation of Mr. Belkacem Krim, former Provisional Government vice-President and Foreign Minister, and Mr. Hocine Ait Ahmed, two main opponents of the Algerian President, Mr. Ben Bella.
GHANA: The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Krobo Edusei, tells members of the National Assembly a net profit of £58,000 made by the newly established Ghana Timber Marketing Board during its four months of operation.
 * The body of Mr. William H. Lewis, cultural officer of the United States Embassy, who died in Accra three days ago will be flown to America today.
27th SEPTEMBER, FRIDAY:
 The Chinese Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Liap-Lu-Yen, gives a banquet this evening in honour of the three-man Ghanaian Government officials in Peking.
NIGERIA: The "WEST AFRICAN PILOT", a Nigerian Newspaper calls on the Federal Nigerian Government, to lift the ban on Mr. John Tettegah, Secretary-General of the Ghana Trades Union Congress from entering Nigeria.
 The newspaper says, "the thawing of relations between Nigeria and Ghana makes it imperative for us to re-examine the actions we took in the heat of the days of the war of words between the two countries."
GHANA: Mr. Martin Appiah-Danquah, general secretary of the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council (U.G.F.C.C.) in an annual report to the plenary session of the 10th annual general conference of the U.G.F.C.C. says, farmers in the country have since 1961 contributed £8 million towards the National Development Fund for various projects in Ghana.
 This amount Mr. Appiah-Danquah says, accrued from the contributions of six shillings on every 60 lb. load of cocoa sold by the farmers.
TUNISIA: President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia accuses Britain by saying Southern Rhodesia is autonomous country.
 He says, "Britain is trying to juggle away" the problem of white-minority rule in Southern Rhodesia.
28th SEPTEMBER, SATURDAY:
NIGERIA: A ship of Ghana's Black Star Line, "Birim River", will be among 20 or more ships expected to be in Lagos waters to sound out sirens at midnight today which will usher Nigeria into a Republic State.
 The sirens will be backed by a 21-gun salute by the Nigerian Army.
CONGO: The Congolese Chamber of Deputies decides to send a six-man delegation to the Congo river Island of Bula-Bemba to report on the

RACISTS ATTACK FREEDOM FIGHTERS

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

STATE and city police of New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A. raided the offices of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and arrested two of its top officers on Oct. 4. All records of the organization were seized.
 Civil-rights leaders across the nation immediately protested against this assault on SCEF, a Southwide group working to end segregation and discrimination. The protests were led by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, SCEF President and leader of the movement in Birmingham, Alabama, and by the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, Georgia.
 Those arrested were Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF Executive Director; Benjamin E. Smith, Treasurer of the group, and Bruce Waltzer, Smith's law partner. They were later paroled by State Judge J. Bernard Cox pending filing of formal charges.
 Homes of all three men were ransacked and boxes full of personal papers and books were seized. Smith and Waltzer's law offices were also stripped of files having anything to do with SCEF business.
ARRESTS
 Dombrowski, Smith, and Waltzer were charged with condition of Mr. Antoine Gizenga, former Deputy Premier. The decision follows reports that Mr. Gizenga detained since February last year is in a grave condition as a result of the hunger strike he started on September 17.
GHANA: Ghana maintains her superiority in West Africa table tennis by beating Nigeria by six games to one in the annual three-day international contest which ends in Accra today.
 Nigeria however, wins the men's team championship trophy donated by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.
 * Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, announces at Tema during the opening ceremony of the £8½ million oil refinery at Tema that the Ghana-Italian Petroleum Company, owners of the oil refinery at Tema will transfer 50 per cent of the issued capital to the Ghana Government on the 11th anniversary of the production date.
 Petroleum products, including liquified petroleum gases, kerosene, gas oil, gasoline and fuel oil will be produced at the refinery which has a processing capacity of one million metric tons of crude oil.
30th SEPTEMBER, MONDAY
TOGO: President Nicolas Grunitzky of Togo, addressing Togo leading personalities at the Lome town hall, says, "The Federal Republic of Germany, experts will shortly begin work on a deep water harbour at Lome, the building of a brewery and a textile plant".
 * He announces also the release of two political detainees. The detainees, are, Prince Agbodjan and Marc Atidpe, both members of the Togolese Unity Party.
MADAGASCAR: President Philibert Tsiranana of Madagascar in a radio broadcast appeals to Independent African States to contribute to the African Liberation Fund.
 He says his Government has contributed £8,600 to the Liberation Fund.
CONGO: President Joseph Kasavubu announces the dissolution of Parliament and says he will ask the people to vote on a draft Constitution by referendum.
NIGERIA: Prince Aga Khan, United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for refugees arrives in Nigeria for a two day official visit to discuss with the Nigerian Government on problems of refugees in Africa.

operating a Communist conspiracy" in violation of a state sedition law. A spokesman for the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities said the raids and arrests followed a year-long investigation of SCEF by the committee.
 The Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth said: "We recognise this as part of a three-state conspiracy in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, our three most backward states, to frustrate the drive for freedom by civil-rights organizations. We expect more of these attacks on all civil-rights groups and all persons working for full freedom."
 "Evidence of the three-state conspiracy includes the testimony of Governor Wallace of Alabama and Governor Barnett of Mississippi before Congress this summer, in which they sought to label all civil-

rights organizations as subversive and vilified their leaders.
 "More recent evidence is the fact that an Alabama legislative committee on subversion has invited Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and myself to appear before it."
 "The tendency has been and still is to label anybody communistic and subversive who seeks in a righteous way to uphold the principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States. It should be made clear that to a segregationist, integration means nothing else but communism or subversion."
 "Certain persons operating under the guise of super-Americanism will stop at nothing and will do anything to bolster the crumbling walls of segregation. But civil-rights forces are not going to be stopped in their march towards freedom. The segregationists are

riding the last coach on the last train on the last track to nowhere.
 In Atlanta, the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee wired President Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington. SNCC declared that the action against SCEF "can only be termed an act of despotism."
 "State sedition laws under which these persons were arrested were outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court seven years ago," SNCC noted.
 "This is another demonstration of the lawlessness and defiance of authority by the segregationists."

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NEW INSTRUMENT

Continued from page 1

opens the country's doors to instability. Neo-colonialism overlooks the despotic nature of any regime, provided it acts in its interest.
 The whole situation emphasises the need for a continental strategy against this dangerous reaction against countries which

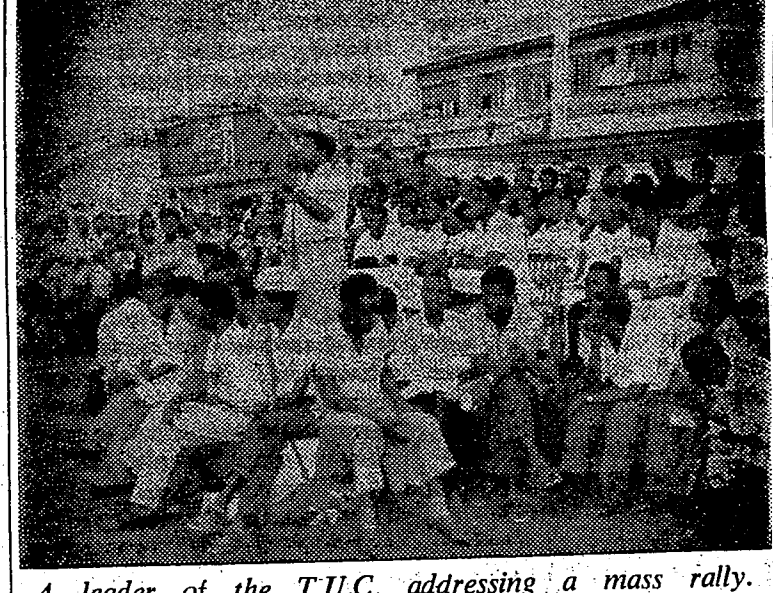
UNDEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE

Thirdly the I.C.F.T.U. complained (a) that the structure was too centralised and undemocratic and that a federal structure at the centre would ensure democracy (b) that the amalgamation of unions should be a gradual process—over the years. The T.U.C. explained that in all changes that were envisaged, elections would be the major deciding factor at every level. The workers would elect their own local officers, they would send representatives to elect National officers who would also send representatives to the national centre to elect Trades Union Congress officials. It was obvious, however, that in the face of such criticism, the voluntary assistance promised by the I.C.F.T.U. for the implementation of the New Structure might not be forthcoming. The Trades Union Congress took advantage of the assistance promised by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the

T. U. C.

inauguration of the 14th Annual Convention when he declared:
 "My Government is not only prepared to guarantee the freedom of the working class to organise and to assess their constitutional rights unfettered, but also to give every support ma-

response to the demand of the workers, the Industrial Relations Act was passed by the National Assembly. (The I.C.F.T.U. protested to Dr. Nkrumah against the passing of the Act). The Act provided for the establishment of the Trades Union Congress as a body corporate with twenty-four constituent unions. The increase from 16 to 24 National Unions was due to further suggestions from the rank and file of the membership. The Act embodied, inter alia, the certification of unions for purposes of collective bargaining, the collection of trade union dues through the check-off system, recognition of the practice of union shops as a fair labour practice, elaborate arrangements for the settlement of disputes and the development of a new pattern of industrial relations in Ghana. The Act also provided for an Unfair Labour Practices Tribunal and the establishment of a National Advisory Committee on Labour, the latter being a body composed of equal representation of both employers and the Trades Union Congress together with representatives of independent bodies and officials of the Ministry of Labour to advise the Minister on all matters of policy and legislation relating to labour and labour relations in Ghana.
 Today, with a membership of over half-a-million (506,207) the progress made so far in maintaining an atmosphere of industrial harmony and a stable climate to foster a faster rate of growth and the status and responsibilities of the Trade Unions bear the hallmark of the new type of trade union organisation and party guidance which the newly liberated countries must possess in order to consolidate their national independence before they can confidently take the road of non-capitalist development, the road of democracy and socialism. In this way, the trade unions become a helping hand in tasks and needs.



A leader of the T.U.C. addressing a mass rally.

terially and otherwise in helping the new Trades Union Movement of Ghana. to grow from strength to strength."
 The Congress proceeded to negotiate for a loan from the Government. The loan offered the Congress a sure way out of the abysmal darkness that shrouded the movement and an opportunity to realise their dream of free, fraternal labour that would bring prosperity to the workers and the nation.
SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION
 This was a concrete manifestation of the policy of the Convention People's Party aimed at mobilising all the forces for socialist reconstruction, and assisting the trade unions in securing the position of their membership. As Dr. Nkrumah pointed out: "From the very beginning, the Convention People's Party