

IN THIS ISSUE

HARNESSING
THE BLACK
VOLTA FOR
PROSPERITY
IN GHANA

(See page 2)

THE SPARK



Some thoughts
on the back-
ground to Pan-
Africanism 3

The Case for the
Economic Inter-
gration of
Africa 4

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION
(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1965

No. 157 2p.

Summit marked New Step to Unity

AS we go to press, the Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity is drawing to a close. It is already clear that its deliberations marked a new stage in our advance towards a united Africa completely free from every kind of foreign domination and interference.

Throughout the months leading up to the conference, the enemies of African unity and freedom did all in their power to sabotage the meeting by fostering every kind of divisive regional grouping and fanning every kind of difference, real and imaginary, between the African states.

DEFEATED

These efforts were defeated—as their instigators acknowledged by their about-turn on the eve of the conference. They could not beat the continent-wide movement in support of a successful Summit meeting in Accra, so they joined it.

Despite the efforts of those who want to see an Africa divided and weak, an easy prey for their intrigues and manipulations, the Summit meeting was attended by Heads of State and Government representing all the major states of Africa and the overwhelming majority of its people.

PETULANCE

In the light of this, the refusal of the leaders of the Entente countries and Togo to make their contribution to the discussion of the vital problems confronting Africa together with their brother Heads of State and Government can be seen for what it was—a display of petulance unworthy of statesmen claiming to have the interests of Africa at heart.

A feature of the conference was the high degree of unity reached during the discussion of the major issues. The conference has raised the tempo of the liberation movement through-

out Africa.

Its resolution on Rhodesia, with its firm warning to Britain and its recommendation that O.A.U. member-states use all possible means, including force to prevent a Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Ian Smith's racist regime made clear the position of the independent states of Africa.

The conference unanimously agreed that the proposal for the creation of an O.A.U. Executive Council should be studied by member-Governments in readiness for next year's Summit.

MAJORITY

Only the operation of the Charter's article 18 (2) requiring a two-thirds majority of all members prevented the adoption of an Ethiopian resolution proposing the establishment of a seven-nation committee made up of Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Tanzania,

the United Arab Republic and Cameroon to examine the project.

Eighteen States voted for the establishment of such a committee. They were Algeria, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Zambia, Libya and Sudan.

Only five states (Cameroon, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal and Central African Republic) voted against, while five (Tunisia, Morocco, Gambia, Somalia and Rwanda) were absent.

But the Charter requires a two-thirds majority not of those present and voting, but of all O.A.U. members. Therefore, despite the support of eighteen states, the Ethiopian proposal could

not be adopted.

The voting is a clear indication of the growing awareness of the importance and significance of the problem of unity among the members of the O.A.U.

NECESSITY

"Nothing that has happened since our Addis Ababa or Cairo meetings has caused me to alter my mind about the necessity of a Union Government for Africa", Kwame Nkrumah declared in his opening address to the Summit meeting in which he proposed the creation of a permanent body to implement O.A.U. decisions.

"On the contrary, the growing perils in Africa and on the international scene, the growing strictures on world trade,

the growing impoverishment of our primary producers, the persistent border disputes in Africa, the increasing instability caused by interference and subversive activities, the continued defiance and insolence of the racist minority regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—all these urge me to continue our pursuit for the political unification of Africa".

The shortcomings and difficulties experienced in the running of the O.A.U. make it clear, he declared, that it is necessary to strengthen its Charter by providing effective machinery which will enable the Organisation to work effectively and successfully.

This need is all the more pressing in view of the fact that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the

highest organ of the O.A.U., responsible for taking all decisions can meet only once a year.

It is therefore all the more necessary that effective machinery should be created to put some teeth into the O.A.U., to ensure that its resolutions and declarations do not remain mere pieces of paper.

FAR-REACHING

It was with this aim in view, to achieve the maximum unity possible now and also to go some way to meet the views of other states; that Kwame Nkrumah put forward his proposal for the creation of an executive body responsible to the Assembly and implementing its decisions.

The decision to afford recognition to all African mass organisations—the trade unions, the organisations of women and young people and political parties fighting for freedom—may well prove to be a step of far-reaching significance.

The decision reflects the realisation that efforts to achieve unity in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism are meaningless unless accompanied by efforts to form direct links between the mass organisation of the people.

TO SOURCE

In a very special sense it reflects a "return to the source" by the O.A.U., which itself in large degree owes its origin to the efforts of mass, non-governmental organisations which, while colonialism still dominated Africa, sponsored the conferences which gave birth to the idea of African unity.

As Kwame Nkrumah declares in his newly-published "Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage

of Imperialism," it is the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, pro-liberation masses that alone make, maintain or break revolutions.

When all is said and done, he affirms in moving terms, "it is the so-called little man, the bent-backed, exploited, malnourished, blood-covered fighter for independence who decides. And he invariably decides for freedom."

REFUGEES

The decision on the recognition of the mass organisations will mean that the voice of the "little man" will be heard in the counsels of the O.A.U.

The decision to reduce the number of governmental specialised agencies associated with the O.A.U. will lead to much-needed economies and also to a reduction in the growth of bureaucracy within the organisation.

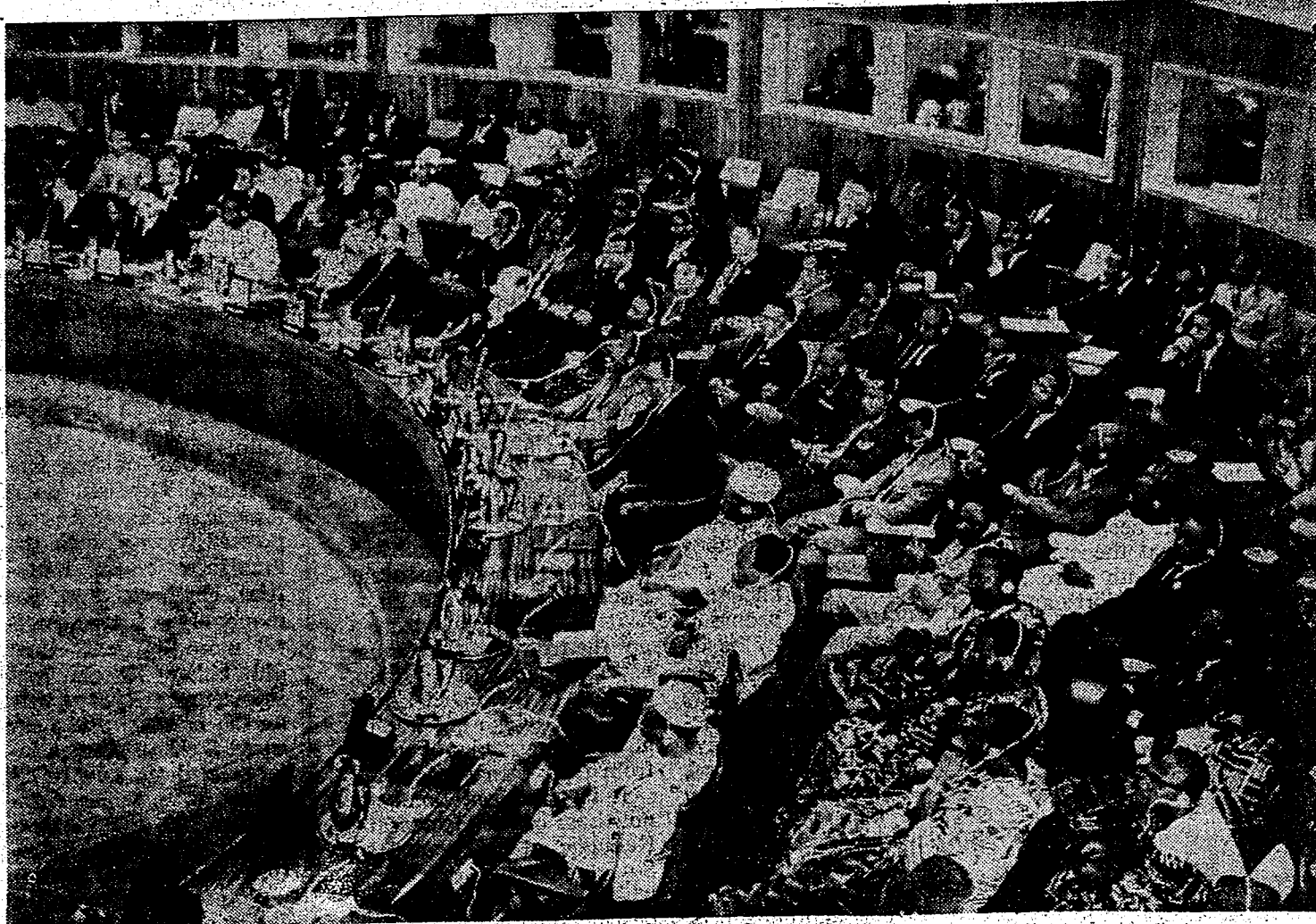
The decision on refugees gave clarity on an issue which many see as having been artificially aggravated to serve political motives having little in common with the interests or welfare of refugees or of Africa as a whole.

MILESTONE

The resolution recognised the right, as laid down by international law, that any state has the right to offer asylum in its territory to political refugees.

The Accra meeting of the African Heads of State has been a milestone on the road to a united and free Africa.

It is now up to the people of Africa to see that its decisions do not remain mere pieces of paper, but are given flesh and blood, weapons in the struggle for the future of our continent.



The Heads of State and Governments in session. They unanimously called on member-Governments to examine Kwame Nkrumah's proposal for the creation of an O.A.U. Executive Council in readiness for their next meeting.

With the conclusion of the Summit Conference, "The Spark" will resume weekly publication. The next issue will appear on Friday, October 29th.

Harnessing the Black Volta for Prosperity in North-West Ghana

AS part of its plans to explore and exploit the full potential of the entire Volta River Basin, the Government has for some time now been studying the possibility of building a Hydro-Power Station on the Black Volta at Bui, in addition to the Akosombo development.

As far back as 1925, the possibility of a dam on the Black Volta at Bui was hinted by the then Director of Geological Surveys Department.

But it was not until the middle fifties that the Government, inspired by the wisdom and foresight of Osagyefo, embarked upon a concerted effort to harness the full water power potentialities of the River Volta.

INVESTIGATIONS

In the nineteen-fifties, investigations into the feasibility of developing hydro-electric power on the whole of the Volta River Basin were entrusted to Sir William Halcrow and Partners, who produced the original project report on the Volta River Scheme in 1956.

Later on, in 1959, the Government found it necessary to re-appraise the original proposals for the Volta River Scheme submitted by Sir William Halcrow and Partners.

As a result Kaiser Engineers were commissioned to re-assessment of the scheme.

The final proposals, which came to be called the Volta River Project, envisaged a co-ordinated hydro-electric power development on the Volta in which Akosombo would have priority consideration.

It would be followed later by the development of the Bui Hydro-electric Power Project as an adjunct to the main Akosombo development.

The main feature of the Bui Scheme comprise the construction of a dam in the lower Bui gorge with an installed capacity of 190,000 kilowatts, to be linked ultimately to the Akosombo sub-station at Kumasi which will be connected to Bui by a 140-mile long transmission line.

STEP FURTHER

Having accepted the Bui scheme as outlined above, the Government went a step further to conclude a technical assistance contract with Technopromexport of Moscow in 1961, within the framework of the first protocol to the Ghana-U.S.S.R. Economic and Technical Co-operation Agreement of 1960, for a detailed and comprehensive study of the engineering and economic feasibility of the Bui Hydro-electric Power Project, including the compilation of a Project feasibility report.

By a subsequent addendum to the contract, Technopromexport were requested to provide detailed working drawings and designs necessary for the eventual implementation of the Bui scheme.

The detailed investigations at Bui were comple-

ted by the Soviet experts in March last year, having started in November, 1962. Since they left, a group of Ghanaian engineers and workmen who worked together with them have continued with the design of various preparatory works which must be provided prior to the commencement of work on the dam itself.

ANALYSIS

The Soviet experts submitted their Project feasibility reports on Bui, together with the necessary detailed designs, early this year.

This was subject to very careful scrutiny and expert analysis with the assistance of such local organisations as the Volta River Authority, the Electricity Division, the Planning Commission, and the G.N.C.C., as well as with the assistance of the Soviet specialists themselves.

The Soviet proposals, like those of Halcrow and Kaisers, recommend the building of a dam at the lower Bui gorge.

The only difference is that instead of an earth

dam the Soviet engineers propose a rockfill dam. The dam will be about 1,540 feet long, at crest level, and will have a maximum height of approximately 374 feet from the bed of the river—a little higher than the Akosombo dam.

The area of the lake or reservoir to be formed will be approximately 160 square miles, having a flow capacity of about 10.12

THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING... (8)

million acre-feet of water, and a maximum pool elevation of 610 feet.

The power house will be equipped with four 65,000

by E. I. PREKO
(Minister of Fuel and Power)

K.W. generators. These together with other installations will be on the left bank of the river.

A 140-mile Bui-Kumasi transmission line will carry electricity at 161 KW. to join the Volta grid at the Kumasi sub-station.

The Soviet report estimates that the construction

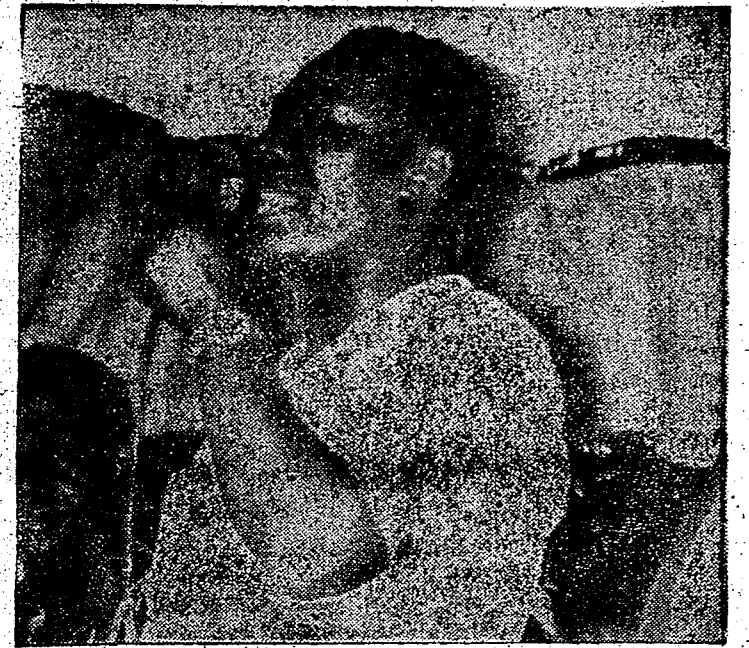
The official expert view of the Soviet Feasibility Reports is that they are both technically sound and economically reasonable.

The capital cost of the power house is £34.3 million, whilst that of the transmission line is £3.2 million.

Together with the preparatory works, estimated at £9.9 million the total capital investment involved in the Bui project will work out to about £47.5 million.

Following recommendations put up to the Cabinet recently by my Ministry, it has been decided that an immediate start must be made on the construction of the preparatory works as well as the main Bui development, but that these are to be phased over a reasonable period, to be financed from outside credit.

A phased programme in draft is already under consideration and a final work schedule will be adopted for implementation shortly.



The advantages of the Bui Power Project to the country as a whole, but particularly to the North, North-West and Brong-Ahafo areas cannot be over-emphasised.

The formation of the lake will be accompanied by the development of an entirely new Bui township and new economic facilities and inducements will be offered by the existence

of abundant electricity supply.

The importance of working out an integrated utilisation scheme in respect of the Bui Project is under consideration.

There is no doubt that the Bui Project, if fully utilised, will easily become the gate-way to the economic and social advancement of the North, the North-West and the Brong Ahafo areas.

Vietnam People's Fight is Africa's Fight

by Our Diplomatic Correspondent

MORE U.S. troops were this week-end landed in South Vietnam, while in America itself the Administration set about initiating the organisation of a nationwide series of pro-war (their word, not ours) rallies in reply to the unprecedented wave of anti-war demonstrations that swept America earlier this month.

All the signs are that Washington is intent on further stepping up the brutal colonial-type war which it is waging against the people of both North and South Vietnam.

THIRD WAR

Its moves carry the constant threat of a widening of the war—of, in fact an eventual third world war. Such a war has so far been avoided only thanks to the restraint shown by the Socialist countries in the face of U.S. provocation.

This fact, and the real nature of the war the Pentagon is waging in Vietnam, is being increasingly realised by the people of the United States.

During recent weeks, cities throughout America have seen thousands-strong demonstrations by students and young people as well as other sections of public opinion directed against the war and the savage methods by which it is being waged.

These demonstrations, in which young men have publicly torn up their military call-up cards, have taken place despite a vicious campaign of jingoistic hate propaganda conducted by some sections of the American press with the assistance of official spokesmen, which has led not only to police brutality but also to attacks on the peaceful demonstrators by gangs of hoodlums.

Despite official attempts to belittle the significance of

the protest movement, it is clear that the U.S. Administration is nervous; that is why it is organising its campaign of pro-war rallies.

American intervention in Vietnam is based on a Big Lie, a lie as big as any ever used by Goebbels. Hitler's notorious propaganda chief (although even Goebbels would never have organised rallies which were openly pro-war).

President Johnson's Big Lie is that he is defending South Vietnam against "aggression" by North Vietnam. According to President Johnson, the countrywide revolt that has already liberated four-fifths of South Vietnam is "aggression" by the North.

PATRIOTS

But as even the London Times was obliged to acknowledge, editorially as long ago as last November,

"One of the fallacies of the past five years in Vietnam has been the assumption that the guerrillas in the South were a creation of the North and not a genuine revolt against misgovernment" (24.11.64).

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front unites patriots of widely differing political and religious views who share a common detestation of the succession of puppet regimes installed in Saigon by Washington—regimes which remain in power thanks only to American money and American bayonets.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front is

in the words of Mr. William Warbey, a British Labour M.P. who recently visited Vietnam,

"a highly organised political and military force, which enjoys more popular support in South Vietnam than any government which can now be set up in Saigon under American influence" (Guardian 9.2.65).

It is with the claim that the fighting in Vietnam is the result of "aggression" from the North that President Johnson attempts to justify his terror bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

NOT WINNING

But the much-trumpeted U.S. air offensive has not achieved the results for which the Pentagon had hoped.

The Liberation Forces in the South continued their struggle on an undiminished scale, for it is from among their own people that they draw their support.

By all the rules known to the Pentagon, the people of Vietnam should now be on their knees begging for mercy and acknowledging the superiority of the American way of life. They have been mercilessly bombed, their children seared by napalm, their villages and crops destroyed.

But Washington is still not winning, and it cannot win, for it is fighting a people in arms.

But Washington has ruled that there shall be no more wars of national liberation, and it is this ruling that is

being put to the test in Vietnam.

The only aggression in Vietnam is that being committed by America.

Were it not for American intervention, the people of Vietnam would long ago have decided their own future in accordance with the terms of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

ELECTIONS

These agreements called for elections under international supervision throughout the whole of Vietnam. The North Vietnamese Government made repeated proposals for the implementation of this decision; all were rejected by the Americans and their puppets in Saigon.

Despite its pledge not to disturb the Geneva Agreements by force, the United States has throughout the years since their signature blocked their implementation and violated them by its step-by-step build-up of its forces in South Vietnam.

It is American troops, not the troops of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, still less of the Soviet Union or China, which are waging a war thousands of miles from their own shores.

It is American bombers, not those of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Soviet Union or China which are sowing death and destruction on foreign soil.

There can be no peace and no settlement as long as this U.S. aggression and interference continues.

What happens in Vietnam

will decisively affect the national liberation throughout the world during the coming years.

Vietnam has become the testing ground not only for the Pentagon's new weapons, but also for imperialism's entire new anti-national liberation movement strategy.

NEXT VICTIM

If this strategy works in Vietnam, Africa will be the next victim.

We have already seen U.S. intervention in the Congo, with U.S. aircraft ferrying Belgian troops to Stanleyville, U.S. Marines sent ostensibly to guard U.S. aircraft and U.S. recruiting of Cuban emigre pilots for service in the Congo.

In a recent speech to the U.S. Senate, Democrat Wayne Morse disclosed that the Pentagon had already

prepared a series of handbooks for intervention in Africa.

They are designed for the use of the U.S. "Special Forces"—the troops the U.S. is training for the suppression of the national liberation movement. They cover Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, Guinea, Liberia, Ethiopia and the United Arab Republic.

No doubt similar handbooks are already in use by the U.S. troops operating in Vietnam. Their compilation is proof that the U.S. is making ready for intervention in Africa—getting ready for what the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Mennen Williams has called "special measures" to deal with "crisis situations".

That is why the fight of the Vietnam people against U.S. intervention is our fight. If America wins in Vietnam, it will be our turn next.

BALANCE OF POWER

BECAUSE of their late start, German and American capitalism pressed forward with the amalgamation of industrial combines and the monopoly of finance capital more hurriedly than did either Britain and France, whose supremacy on the colonial plane assured their hegemony, inter-related at several points even while competitive, on the international finance level. German financial monopoly took a beating in the defeat of 1918, when the colonial world was redivided, and again in 1945. American capitalism on the other hand,

owing to geographical and territorial advantages (the last inherent in its political union), continued to make rapid strides and was the real victor of both world wars. Expansion of American financial and industrial monopoly however, was not confined to Europe. The balance of western financial power began to tilt towards Asia and Africa, a process that has been speeded up since the end of the second world war, with the breakdown of colonial rule.

KWAME NKURUMAH
Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism

Some Thoughts on the Background to Pan-Africanism (3)



Extracts from documents which have become landmarks in Africa's fight for Peace, Freedom and Unity

OUR FINAL FEATURE OF "AFRICA CALLS" IS DEVOTED TO SELECTIONS FROM THE GREAT SPEECH OF DR. DUBOIS TO THE DELEGATES AT THE ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLES' CONFERENCE IN ACCRA, DECEMBER 1958.

THE year 1919 the end of the First World War and 1945, the end of the Second mark decisive stages in the development of the liberation movements throughout the world, including Africa.

They mark the deepening of the General Crisis of Capitalism when successively the people of Russia and the former Tsarist Empire broke for ever with capitalism and imperialism, and the peoples of Eastern Europe took power from the hands of the landowners and capitalists who had collaborated with the Nazis and established popular governments with the aim of laying the basis for socialism.

By 1945, therefore, the world available to exploitation by the imperialists was yet smaller and within four years, the largest country in the world China with its 600 million population was also to break free.

The economic basis of imperialism was in many respects weakened, with three states, Japan, Germany and Italy, temporarily knocked out of international affairs, but the United States emerged stronger than ever with her productive capacity enormously increased by the demands of the war, and quite unimpaired by war damage.

MATURED

The people of Western Europe had matured politically in their war against the Nazis, and their democratic and socialist demands prompted such declarations as The Atlantic Charter.

There was a growth of the Trade Union Movement, the growth of strong Communist Parties in such countries as Italy and France, and the return to power of Governments committed by the votes of the people to sweeping social change.

The Pan-African Congress held in 1945 in Manchester reflects the same vital upsurge of militancy of political clarity and of maturing demands. Compare the declarations of this Congress with that of its predecessor of 1919 and the development can be seen to be enormous.

The Manchester Declaration which summarises this mood shows four important aspects, which were to anticipate the character of the struggle for liberation during the following fifteen years.

UNDERSTANDING

It reveals an understanding of the economic roots of imperialism and attacks not only the exploitation of the colonial countries by the imperialist powers but makes a general attack on the capitalist system, as such.

"We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy."

The Resolutions also attacked by the concept of indirect rule. Previous Congress had looked forward to independence at some future stage and had called for participation in various forms of Government.

The year 1945 saw the decisive rejection of compromise with the demand "Granting of the franchise is the right of every man

and woman over the age of twenty-one to elect and be elected to the Legislative Council, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils."

This was preceded by an attack on Indirect Rule, by which the British Government, in particular hoped to perpetuate its position.

"That the introduction of Indirect Rule is not only an instrument of oppression but also an encroachment on the right of the West African natural rulers."

Pan-African Congresses had up to now, been the expression of solidarity between Africans and Afro-Americans presenting demands for racial equality and political rights.

The Manchester Congress looked beyond this and extended the hand of friendship to the Asian peoples, also fighting for their freedom, anticipating later developments like the Bandung Conference, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conferences and meetings of the Heads of State of independent African and Asian countries.

Not the least important development at Manchester was the growing awareness of the power of the people of Africa.

Hitherto the leading part in the independence movement had been played by intellectuals, many of them working, of necessity abroad.

Now important new changes had taken place in Africa. Many Africans had been drawn into the armed forces and returned to their own countries unwilling to accept the old way of life.

NEW POWER

Jack Woddis, author of *Africa—the Lion Awakes*, quotes the following passage from a report of The Labour Department, Kenya, for 1946.

"Things will never quite be the same again... There is a new factor in the native areas and this must be met by a new approach... on the whole the soldier is definitely unwilling to return to work as an ordinary labourer... Economic necessity may eventually drive him out to work for private employers, but not on present-day conditions nor at the present rate of wages. This economic necessity will have to be put across fairly carefully, or it will otherwise be regarded as yet another instance of the exploitation of the African by the White Settler. It is at any event bound to give rise to a feeling of unrest on the part of the African."

There was a new power in African politics—the working class. By their very presence at the point of production, in the mines, in the docks, on the railways, the workers had a power which could be organised to bring immense pressure on the colonial regimes—this was now being understood. That is why the *Declaration To The Colonial Peoples*, is so important in any study of the growth of Pan-Africanism.

"Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons—the strike and the boycott—are invincible."

"We also call upon the

intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. By fighting for trade-union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the Press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses. And in that organisation the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world. Unite!"

The study of the resolutions and declarations of the Manchester Congress shows the same militancy, the same developing consciousness, the same recognition of the need for the organisation of the masses for action, and the need for world wide solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces, that was to be seen in the organisation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the formation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the growth of the International Women's Movement, all of which embraced numbers of workers, youth and women from the colonial countries on an unprecedented scale.

SOCIALISM

Towards Colonial Freedom, written by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on the occasion of the Manchester Congress, but not at time published, shows another vitally important factor in the growth of Pan-Africanism. It shows the growing influence of scientific socialism on the movement for Africa's liberation.

In this book, Kwame Nkrumah gives, as it were, the ideological background of a leading section of the delegates at that Congress.

"Briefly then imperialism in Africa was a direct answer for the capitalists, bankers and financiers of the colonial powers to the problem of how to accrue for themselves super-profits from their foreign investments."

There is a tribute to the discoveries of Lenin and Marx.

"The most searching and penetrating analysis economic imperialism has been given by Marx and Lenin. According to the Marx-Lenin point of view, economic imperialism is not only the natural stage in the development of the capitalist system but its highest stage in which the inner contradictions and inconsistencies of the system foreshadow its doom and demolition."

This ideological clarity was now to infuse the total movement for independence throughout Africa, and it was to be a major factor in guiding the mass movements to victory, on the basis of such programmes as is outlined in the book.

(i) Political Freedom i.e. complete and absolute independence from the control of any foreign government.

(ii) Democratic Freedom i.e. freedom from political tyranny and the establishment of a democracy in which sovereignty is vested in the broad masses of the people.

reignty is vested in the broad masses of the people.

(iii) Social Reconstruction i.e. freedom from poverty and economic exploitation and the improvement of social and economic conditions of the people so that they will be able to find better means of achieving livelihood and asserting their rights to human life and happiness.

Thus the goal of the national liberation movement is the realization of complete and unconditional independence and the building of a society of peoples in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. Peoples of the colonies Unite: The working men of all countries are behind you."

New political perspectives, new clarity and new forces were to make the national liberation movements after 1945 qualitatively more powerful than ever before. They were working in a world context where the older imperialism were either knocked out of the world scene for almost a decade or were suffering economic problems from which, those like Britain, have never actually recovered.

All was not, unfortunately, a picture of a steady uninterrupted advance for the national independence movements.

In Asia, while India and China were to become independent, the Malayan patriots having fought the Japanese had to take again to the jungles, now to fight the British imperialists who felt strong enough to resist them.

In Indo-China the resistance against the French developed again into armed struggle.

In Europe, the United States moved into action with a gigantic rescue operation of capitalism in the form of Marshall Aid.

The purpose of this "aid" was primarily to smash progressive organisations, to drive Communists out of West European Governments, to allow the Nazis to go unpunished wherever possible and West German monopoly capitalism to remain unaffected.

PRESSURE

There was pressure to force defection from the World Federation of Trade Unions and other mass international organisations which fight against imperialism in all its forms.

There was the demand for participation in Cold War Alliances, directed against the Soviet Union and the new socialist countries.

This was the price for American Aid to Western Europe, one which the social democratic parties were prepared to pay and for which the whole world's people's have paid a bitter price.

The offensive within the United States to suppress all progressive movements reached its height with the Un-American Activities Committee.

With the American possession of the atom and then the H-bomb, its aggressive war in Korea, the pre-

Continued on page 4

For Socialism

AFRICA, ancient Africa, has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Africa has no choice between private capitalism and socialism. The whole world including capitalist countries, is moving towards socialism inevitably, inexorably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union; you cannot choose between socialism and private capitalism because private capitalism is doomed.

But what is socialism? It is a disciplined economy and political organisation in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No: The mass of workers with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort.

Gradually, every state is coming to this concept of its aim. The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part, and even the United States once adopted the New Deal, though today American Socialism is held at bay by sixty great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and trade union leaders.

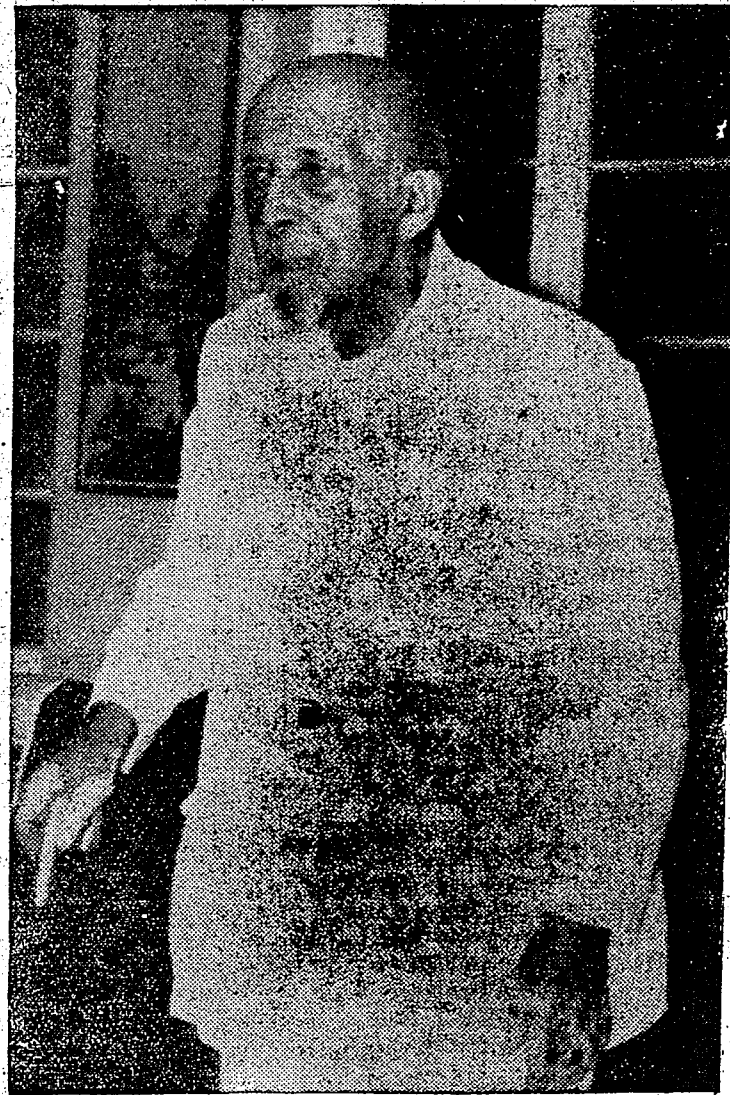
On the other hand, the African tribe, whence all of you sprung, was communistic in its beginnings. No tribesman was free: All were servants of the tribe of whom the chief was father and voice.

When now with a certain suddenness, Africa is whirled by the bitter struggle of staying private capitalism into the last great battleground of its death throes, you are being tempted to adopt at least a passing private capitalism as a step to some partial Socialism. This would be a grave mistake.

For four hundred years Europe and North America have built their civilisation and comfort on theft of colonial labour and the land and materials which rightfully belong to these colonial peoples.

Those in control today of the dominant exploiting nations are willing to yield more to the demands of the mass of men than were their fathers. But their yielding takes the form of sharing the loot—not of stopping the looting. It takes the form of stopping socialism by force and not of surrendering the fatal mistakes of private capitalism.

Either capital belongs to all or power is denied all. Here then, my Brothers, you face your great decisions: Will you for temporary



DR. DUBOIS

advantage—for automobiles, refrigerators and Paris gowns—spend your income on paying interest on borrowed funds; or will you sacrifice your present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbours, in order to educate your children, develop such industry as best serves the great mass of people and make your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defence? Such union of effort for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial, while the capital offered you at high prices by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the U.S.A. will prolong fatal colonial imperialism from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism.

You are not helpless. You are the buyers and to continue as sellers of capital, these great nations, former owners of the world, must sell or face bankruptcy. You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mess of Western capitalist pottage. You can not only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolized Western private capitalists, but at least today, you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at least able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the West.

The supply which Socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the West, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which the West has demanded and still demands. Today she offers a compromise but one of which you must beware.

She offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters if in turn they induce the nations' masses to pay the awful cost. This has happened in the West Indies and in South America. This may yet happen in the Middle East and Eastern Asia; Stirve against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls. A body of local private capitalists even if they are black, can never free Africa: they will simply sell it into new slavery to old masters overseas.

Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion: Reject the weakness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but chiefly, the virtues of private profit from capital, stolen from your land and labour. Africa awake: Put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African Socialism.

The Case For The Economic Integration of Africa

THE continent of Africa is one of the most compact and self-contained land masses in the world. But look at the political map of the same Continent and examine the frontiers that divide it into more than forty territories of which already there are 36 independent states.

The one common feature shared by the vast majority of these states is that their frontiers never arose out of the conditions and the needs of the people of Africa themselves.

Therefore these frontiers have no logic from the African point of view: they were imposed from outside in the "scramble for Africa" by foreign colonialists whose sole aim was to divide Africa up among themselves and to rule their "share of the cake" in accordance with the interests of their own exploiters and profiteers.

'CARVED UP'

Now while this was the origin of the frontiers of Africa, we must never ignore the fact that, once the frontiers had been drawn, and once the penetration of rival colonialist cultures began to take place within each "colony", two things happened.

African inhabitants to some extent absorbed the culture imposed by the colonial power (British, French, German, Portuguese, etc.), and at the same time, as the struggle for independence grew, a new national consciousness emerged within each territory which formed a basis for the creation of independent "national" states when colonialism was at last, or is at last, defeated.

Hence a continent was "carved up" from outside, "national" liberation movements came into being, and the winning of independence has meant the creation of a mass of newly-independent states, each with its own sense of nationhood, yet occupying territories which were never intended by the designers of their original frontiers to be anything more than sources of cheap labour and raw materials for distant imperialist interests with which the peoples of Africa had nothing in common.

Now, with independence sweeping Africa, the utter illogicality of her existing national frontiers stands out as never before.

Why, for example, should the three strips of territory, Ghana, Togo and Dahomey be "independent" of each other when, in fact, they are as close as three strips of kente in a cloth?

Look at Rio Muni grafted onto Gabon like a patch. Look at Gambia sticking like a tongue from the sea into the interior of Senegal or Cabinda into Congo.

Look at the "islands" of Basutoland and Swaziland surrounded by the "Apartheid Sea" of the Union of South Africa.

SMALL BITE

Look at French Somaliland's frontier with Ethiopia, like a small bite out of a slice of bread.

We could go on and on, but these examples are enough: The map of Africa was not drawn by or for Africans. But since nationhood has matured within each of these frontiers, a united Africa can now only be achieved by these states voluntarily coming together, despite their frontiers, and despite differences in language, customs, cultures and economic specialisation.

Moreover, as each independent state plans for itself, on its own, it inevitably becomes more self-centred in

its effort to become self-supporting. Therefore the longer any joint planning is postponed, the more factories will be built because of local interests which, from the point of view of a continental Plan might be redundant.

This is why the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

"has pointed out, now is the time to act, before each state gets too deeply involved in major investment and structural decisions based on narrow, national market" (Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, p. 26).

In addition, as each small country acts by itself, in trying to attract capital from the imperialist powers, it can be out-bargained, out-manoeuvred, far more easily than if the African States acted as one unit, bargaining as one giant (even if an underdeveloped one as yet) with the more developed giants in the world economy today.

TRANSPORT

Look at the transport map of Africa today. Note that to travel by road or rail along the coast of Africa is practically impossible. To cross Africa from north to south, or from east to west, is also highly complicated.

The reason is simple: African transport was not developed by the colonialists to serve Africa but to serve themselves.

Look at the "transport system" (such as it has been left by colonialism) and what do we see?

In almost every colony almost every road and every railway line was built for one purpose only: to carry the riches of Africa to the sea and away to Europe.

Why was there a railway from Takoradi to Tarkwa and Obuasi? To take away the gold.

Why was the line extended to Kumasi? To carry off the cocoa.

And all over Africa the picture is the same.

MAIN AIM

In the days of India's struggle for independence the imperialist propagandists in Britain used to boast: "We brought them railways, we built them sea-ports" as if this were some great gift of Christian charity to the Indian people.

It was nothing of the sort. The same claim could be made of Africa. But examine the map, and it is clear that the main aim of colonialist transport and sea-ports has been to carry off the booty, to suck Africa dry of its natural riches extracted by cheap African labour.

Faced with this chaotic "anti-planning" of colonialism, the governments of Africa are more and more being forced to realise that

"unity is the first requisite for destroying neo-colonialism. Primary and basic is the need for an all-union government on the much divided continent of Africa... The surging popular forces may still be hampered by colonialist legacies, but nevertheless they advance inexorably." (Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, p. 253)

Think of what such a United African Government could do in the economic sphere:

by A Spark Correspondent

1 Draw up a Transport Plan for Africa, to replace the transport anarchy which rival imperialisms have imposed;

2 Draw up a complete economic survey of Africa's resources and indicate the priorities in which they should be tackled;

3 Plan the electrification of Africa. Nobody who studies how, in the U.S.S.R., the electrification of the country has developed from small hydro-electric schemes to ever larger ones could doubt that, seen as part of an African Plan, the Volta Project is but a beginning (like Dnieprostroi was in the Soviet First-Five Year Plan of 1928-32) whereas, for Ghana alone, this is the largest hydro-electrical project that the country can ever achieve.

4 Plan and carry out the next stage in the direction of an all-African currency, following the creation of a Central Bank in addition to the African Development Bank.

5 Immediately set about the planning and co-ordinating of inter-African trade, so that, instead of each country's main trade being directed outwards from Africa (as the colonialists required), each African State should be developing its inter-African trade. Even today experience has shown the very considerable possibilities of inter-African trade whenever political relations between states have come close and the traditional trade barriers have been broken down.

An African "common market", "customs union", or whatever it is called, would serve the main common aim of ending the dependence of each separate African country on its trade with its former imperialist master or neo-colonialist exploiter and developing the natural trade links (completely rational on the basis of geography and pre-colonialist history) which Africa must enjoy internally if the Continent is ever to be worth its weight in world affairs.

6 But the last, and by no means least, necessity for an African Government is to begin to plan the economic development of the continent as a whole. Such a Plan for Africa has already begun to be worked out by the Economic Commission of the O.A.U. It depends, first and foremost, on a survey of Africa's resources on a continental scale (see point 3 above).

PRIORITIES

Moreover, such a Plan will have to take into account such projects which, on a purely national basis, have already been initiated in various states.

Next, such a Plan, looking to future development, must speedily work out a series of priorities, encouraging economic ventures by particular States where these fit in with the general interest of Africa as a whole, and on the other hand discouraging national projects which, from a continental point of view, would be uneconomic.

Consider, for example, the production of iron and steel. At the present level of world technique, small units are no longer economic. Yet there are very few independent African states which have the resources or the market to make possible, on their own, the building of steel works of a size that is economic in the modern world.

But if an All-African Plan indicated the three or four optimum sites for Africa's future iron and steel industry, and if an All-African Government could allocate some of the funds necessary to finance the construction of such enterprises, then continental economic planning would become a fact, even if, at its early stage, in a limited sphere.

In this connection, (once again to draw on the Soviet parallel), it is interesting to

note that even under a central government from its origin, the Soviet State was not able to introduce complete economic planning instantaneously.

In 1921 Lenin was jubilant at the adoption of the first All-Union Economic Plan, known as GOELRO, for the electrification of the entire country.

Today the targets of GOELRO are looked back upon as extremely modest by the standards of modern achievement, but this was the first major Soviet operation in the field of planning.

FIRST ESSAY

That was in 1921 it was not till 1928 that the first comprehensive Five-Year Plan was set in operation. And again, by today's standards, this first essay in State Planning was riddled with imperfections when regarded from the more mature standards of planning which have now been achieved.

Background to Pan-Africanism

(Continued from page 3)

occupation of the socialist world with efforts to rebuild shattered devastated countries, (without the bribes of United States monopoly capitalism) it is not to be wondered at that, in spite of the new levels of struggle, no African country actually won its independence until 1957: when Ghana broke through.

It was not an entirely gloomy picture though, this decade, in spite of the Cold War and the aggressive American offensive against socialism and liberation on a world scale.

In 1953 the Korean people inflicted virtual defeat on the powerful United States of America. The biggest war machine in history had been unable to defeat the North Korean peoples.

The nuclear maniacs of the Pentagon had been unable to drop the bomb, as they had threatened.

Following close on this victory for progress came the victory of the people of Vietnam over the French imperialists who had continued to resist their demands for freedom.

WATERSHED

The next great watershed, the next great dividing line, in the history of the struggle against imperialism comes however in 1956.

When the Americans tried to bring pressure on the United Arab Republic by cutting off loans for the Aswan Dam, President Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal, striking at the prestige of British and French imperialism in a completely new way.

In the old gunboat tradition, the British, French and Israeli Governments moved in to military attack, only to find an upsurge of military resistance, massive world protests and the threat from the Soviet Union, now a nuclear power, that Soviet rockets would be used to defend Egypt if the war continued.

Almost simultaneously while the British French and Israelis moved in on Egypt, American imperialism taking advantage of the internal situation in Hun-

gary acted in the hope of getting at least one country back into the orbit of imperialism.

Britain, France and Israel failed, American imperialism failed. These failures marked a new stage of development. Not only was it clear that the Dulles policy of trying to defeat socialist governments was a failure, but gunboat diplomacy was severely rebuffed.

New ways of containing growing discontent in the colonial countries had to be found. Independence was won by the mass movements, while at the same time the imperialist states hoped to devise new forms of control.

NEW STATES

Now the policy of containment of Communism became the theme of American military and foreign policy, now Britain began to make major concessions in the political field, hoping nevertheless to hang on to the reality of power.

In the 10 years since that momentous year of 1956, new African states have been born. The first Conference of African States was held in Accra in 1958.

Now the Pan-African Movement had a centre actually in the continent of Africa, now the state power of Ghana could be used to give support and encouragement to future developments.

In Accra in 1958 eight independent states met, only two were states South of the Sahara, Liberia and Ghana. The remainder consisted of Ethiopia, Egypt, Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, the Sudan.

The Conference was in itself a symbol of a new departure, of a new spectacular advance whose impact was to lead to the existence of 36 Independent States in 1965.

New problems now emerge against a world background where the aggressiveness of imperialism is reflected in interference in the internal affairs of many states in Asia, Africa, Latin America and even in Europe.

So, in Africa, where no central government exists and the first task is to create one, it would be entirely wrong to assume that an African Economic Plan is something to be achieved overnight, or to be put into operation simultaneously in all fields of the economy.

On the contrary, African economic planning has got to be regarded as an organic growth, born of poverty out of the necessity for progress, something to be begun as soon as possible and then gradually extended into one field after another as the necessity arises and as the combined resources of Africa can be mobilised to meet each successive need as it becomes the most urgent.

When Kwame Nkrumah opened Ghana Television he warned all Ghanaians that "Socialism is an epoch: It cannot be achieved in a day. It is only by sustained effort and determination that it can be realised."

These words were spoken to Ghanaians, in Ghana. But if they are true for the future perspective of achieving Socialism in Ghana, how much more true must they be for the perspective of achieving an integrated economic plan for Africa as a whole.

The economic integration of Africa is an absolute necessity. Without it, the injustices of colonialism in the "partition of Africa" can never be set to rights. But this is a long and complicated process. "Rome was not built in a day" and a fully integrated United Africa is a far more complex target than Rome ever was.

The necessity for economic unity is a fact. The recognition of this necessity is growing among the African people all the time, despite resistance from without and even from within.

The epoch of unification has begun though the epoch of liberation is not yet completed. Complete liberation and complete unification are, ultimately, Africa's only possible answer to centuries of imperialism's policy, very successful in its day, of "divide and rule".



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