

THE SPARK



40

2d.

A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 13, 1963

(Registered at the G. P. O. as a newspaper)

EDITORIAL

(1) "SPEAR-HEADS FOR DEMOCRACY"?

GEORGE C. Lodge, former official in the U.S. Department of Labour and the International Labour Organisation, has just published a book entitled "Spearheads for Democracy". In it, he calls on the U.S. Government to "use the trade unions overseas as weapons in the world anti-communist struggle and vehicles for extending U.S. influence."

Lodge, who happens to be the son of millionaire Henry Cabot Lodge who was Secretary of State under Eisenhower, says the United States should support anti-AATUF activities in Africa by the I.C.F.T.U. He calls on U.S. Trade Unions to use movements in other countries, for example, Yugoslavia's co-operatives or Israel's Histadrut, "to aid the development" of non-communist trade unions in Africa.

He emphasises that the foreign policy of the U.S. Government should be pursued along a broad front; assisting union leaders, supporting the ILO, appointing labour attachés and coordinating a "crash programme" to win the allegiance of African unions.

Under normal circumstances we would have glossed over Lodge's book and grouped it among the prolific output of books and studies on Africa by self-style 'experts' and research scholars from America. But recent incidents happening in the labour front in Africa give an amount of credit to the allegation that Lodge submitted the original manuscript of his book to the U.S. State Department for about a year before it was agreed that certain portions should be published. In fact the publication was sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations whose directors are John J. Mcloy of the U.S. Defence Department and Allen Dulles of C.I.A. fame.

Continued on page 6

A THEORY OF THE REVOLUTION

"If we succeed in establishing inter-planetary communication," said Lenin, "and the technical potential becomes unlimited, that would impose the end of violence as a means and method of progress."

It would appear that we are gradually moving towards the period Lenin foresaw, if in fact we have not already entered it. But immediately the astute observer comes up against what seems at least in appearance to be a paradox between the stage of unlimited possibility and the confusion which is now so prevalent in international affairs. May be this is due to the twilight period which usually sets in as one moves from one stage to another, with the result that the vast majority of people are plunged into the gloomiest depths of pessimism, or rise to incredible heights of optimism.

The world came through the Cuban crisis which brought it to the brink of complete extinction. Since then the Moscow Treaty has been signed. Some believe it opens a prospect of peace in the world, others think it is a clear signal for war. The clear identity of view in the assessment of world events which existed among the progressive forces of the world with which we were wont to associate the Socialist States as a whole, especially the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, has now given place to serious rifts which are most disquieting, in that they make the clouds that loom on the horizon even darker than before.

De Gaulle proudly boasted that he stood resolutely behind America in the Cuban crisis, unlike some of America's allies who held aloof, but to-day he stabs America in the back at Vietnam, where previously he had been her ally and lent support to her criminal policy. Actually de Gaulle is gaily practising a similar policy in the Cameroons, where the United States of America, his erstwhile ally and most active supporter, is preparing to pay him back in his own coins. This is all very disquieting.

GIANT NEEDED

In such a situation, only a man imbued with the desire to get to the bottom of things, that is to say, to

match the highest form of social behaviour with the noblest expression of theory, can see his way clear. At a given period of history, scant intelligence or sometimes even a mere ruse may be enough to deal with a situation. But when mankind is about to cross the threshold of a new era, only a giant in thought and action, endowed with cool and calculating judgment, can master the situation, analyse it and point the way.

No one now doubts that the basic problem of our day is the problem of decolonisation and development, whose solution holds the key to the progress of mankind. When in the course of human history imperialism first appeared,

it was seen as the major stumbling-block to progress, in that it consigned the largest number to a state of under-development, while the few lived superlatively well.

How is the problem to be solved?

NEW SOLUTION

Twice in contemporary history two crises have resulted in two world wars which in turn triggered off two great revolutions. One of the effects of these revolutions upon the world was to make a breach in the armour of imperialism and thus pave the way to real human progress. I refer to the 1917 October Revolution which brought the USSR into being and the revolution which took place in China in 1949, leading to the birth of the Chinese Peoples' Republic. The characteristic difference between the present crisis and those just mentioned is that there is no further need to make a breach in the armour of imperialism, since it is accepted as a historical necessity that imperialism must go.

The question now is whether the means and methods twice employed

to make a mortal breach in the armour of imperialism, in other words violence culminating in a universal conflagration, are to be used again today when dealing the final death blow to imperialism. It is hard to imagine anything short of the total annihilation of society as we know it today in the event of a war, having regard to the conditions that now exist in the world.

It may be said without fear of contradiction, that even the imperialists who would not scruple in the past to resolve their problems by recourse to war are aware of this. Cuba is a case in point. The imperialists chose other means. In actual fact they have elaborated a new strategy, which (let's be careful) does not rule out violence. We have ample proof of this in the counter-revolutionary guerrillas which are being staged. There is no imperialism without violence any more than there is smoke without fire, though the degree of violence may have been modified. And here, I think, we have moved nearer to a time when inter-planetary travel will be an established fact and our technical potential become unlimited, so that "violence as a means and method of progress" will no longer be contemplated.

These are the facts of the age in which we live, when Africa is faced with the task of consummating the revolution. And not only Africa, but other areas of the world as well—South East Asia, India,

Western Asia and Latin America.

NECESSARY CONDITIONS

Judging from the experience of revolutions which have really led to the liberation of man (the Russian and Chinese revolutions, for instance), it is clear that the success and consolidation of any revolution is bound up with three necessary conditions:—

1. A revolutionary political organisation.
2. A programme of activities that will meet the absolutely necessary and immediate needs of the masses.
3. Revolutionary propaganda which will constantly raise the level of the people's anti-imperialist consciousness.

Although in the case of Cuba, these three conditions also proved necessary, they were nevertheless inadequate. The reason, generally speaking, is that whenever the imperialists realise that it is impossible to curb revolution by a military victory, they apply the decisive weapon of economic blockade. Cuba is a small, undeveloped country without sufficient resources of its own. She has to import more than she exports, and her trade balance is unfavourable. Unless Cuba has reserves which will make it possible for her to off-set the deficit by her own means, she could not stand up to the American blockade without making overtures to some external power. And this explains why the Cuban

Continued on page 6

IN THIS ISSUE

Which Way Nigeria	
Editorial No. 2	1
The Fallacy of White Supremacy	2
Volta River Project	3
Reflections on 'Black Orpheus'	5

Editorial

(2)

WHAT ARE THE ISSUES?

ON Wednesday, Obafemi Awolowo, founder and leader of the Action Group of Nigeria was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for treasonable felony. Last week, his deputy, Anthony Enahoro, was jailed for fifteen years on the same charges.

Addressing Awolowo before sentence was pronounced, the trial judge said: "If you were the only one brought before me I would have discharged you. To get yourself involved in this thing is enough shame, but this is a political trial... I am sorry I cannot do anything now because my hands are tied..."

Continued on page 6

*
Kwame Nkrumah and representatives of Socialist countries in Ghana.
*



THE FALLACY OF WHITE SUPREMACY (4)

THE RACE CONCEPT

Obotan
by
Awuku

there is no question of comparing the intelligence of an ape to that of a man.

Regarding his effusions about Darwin and genetics, this is what Mirsky, a fellow scientist says of Darlington.

"The value of the present statement is clearly seen when one reads such a thing as the recent article by C. D. Darlington published by Unesco (Inter national Social Science Bulletin, Vol. II, 1950, p.479). In this article, entitled 'The Genetic Understanding of Race in Man', the reader who is not well versed in genetics and is not acquainted with Darlington might be led to suppose that certain ideas on 'race' followed quite reasonably from an application of the accepted principles of mendelism to human populations. If the reader of Darlington's article had also read Unesco Statement on Race it would be obvious to him that the 'understanding of race' expounded in that article is derived not from the principles of genetics but from the guesses and prejudices of Darlington." (Italics are mine).

INTELLECTUAL DISHONESTY

The same intellectual dishonesty is displayed by Sir Ronald Fisher who says that human groups differ profoundly in their innate

Continued on page 6

THE horrors of the Nazi regime and the enormities of apartheid are only one aspect (the political and we may add, the religious) of the notion of white superiority. There is also to be considered a more pernicious aspect, namely the endeavours of men of science to establish that some races are biologically superior to others.

Political and religious expressions of racialism, however obnoxious and malignant, can still be deemed to be due to emotionalism, prejudice and ignorance and in that respect, therefore, transitory. Science, unlike religion or politics, rests neither on emotion nor on expediency but has the reputation of following the truth ineluctably, inexorably, regardless of the feelings and prejudices of men and of the consequences.

A concept of racial supremacy based on scientific facts will therefore give justification to racialism and lend it permanence. This will justify imperialism and colonialism. In fact it will justify slavery and the extinction of other races as was practised on the Hottentots and Bushmen, the Red Indians and the Australian Aborigines. It will make nonsense of the declaration of the United Nations Charter that "all men are created equal" since the establishment of such a fact will relegate the U.N. declaration to the position of a gratuitous pronouncement whose enforcement would rest solely on the forbearance of the white race.

Its refutation, on the other hand, will justify the present struggle for independence, since any form of domination is in that regard criminal. It also will justify the hope that with the advancement of men of colour and the growth of knowledge, the fallacy of white supremacy will die a natural death.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM

So fundamental is this to the relation of man with man and to world peace that the United Nations, to justify its very existence, felt itself impelled to find the truth and so laid down a plan on the resolution of the Sixth Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council "to consider the desirability of initiating and recommending the general adoption of a programme of disseminating scientific facts designed to remove what is generally known as racial prejudice."

In pursuance of this, the Fourth Session of UNESCO's General Conference adopted the following three resolutions for the 1950 programme. The Director-General was instructed: "to study and collect scientific materials concerning questions of race; to give wide diffusion to the scientific information collected; and to prepare an educational campaign based on this information."

Shortly afterwards, the Department of Social Sciences convened a committee of eminent anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists from many countries whose terms of reference were to define the concept of race and to elucidate in "clear and easily understandable" terms current scientific knowledge regarding this thorny problem.

The statement of this group was severely criticised, especially by physical anthropologists and geneticists. To blot out any confusions which might arise in the minds of men as a result of this, a second group of 12 scientists con-

sisting solely of physical anthropologists and geneticists was drafted for the same purpose.

U.N. STATEMENT

This latter group came out in June 1951 with the Statement whose salient points are enumerated below:—

1. Every group of men sprung from a single parent stock known in scientific terminology as *Homo sapiens*.

The word "race" is a classificatory term to facilitate scientific study and "should be reserved for groups of mankind possessing well-developed and primarily heritable physical differences from other groups."

2. Physical differences between human groups are the result of the interaction between hereditary constitution and environment and these differences are impermanent as they change with inter-marriage, generally made possible by the breakdown of barriers, geographical and social.

3. Racial groups are not to be confused with national, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups since these generally have very little to do with race. Christians and Muslims, for example, can be both black and white.

4. Although men can be classified into a number of races, most anthropologists agree upon at least three large units or major groups. Such classification, however, is in no way indicative of any distinction in terms of inferiority and superiority.

5. This section is so important that it is quoted here verbatim:

"Most anthropologists do not include mental characteristics in their classification of human races. Studies within a single race have shown that both innate capacity and environmental opportunity determine the results of tests of intelligence and temperament, though their relative importance is disputed."

"When intelligence tests, even non-verbal, are made on a group of non-literate people, their scores are usually lower than those of more civilized people. It has been recorded that different groups of the same race occupying similarly high levels of civilization may yield considerable differences in intelligence tests. When, however, the two groups have been brought up from childhood in similar environments, the differences are usually very slight. Moreover, there is good evidence that, given similar opportunities, the average performance (that is to say, the performance of the individual who is representative because he is surpassed by so many as

he surpasses), and the variation round it, do not differ appreciably from one race to another.

INNATE CAPACITIES

"Even those psychologists who claim to have found the greatest differences in intelligence between groups of different racial origin, and have contended that they are hereditary, always report that some members of the group of inferior performance surpass not merely the lowest ranking member of the superior group, but also the average of its members. In any case, it has never been possible to separate members of two groups on the basis of mental capacity, as they can often be separated on a basis of religion, skin colour, hair form or language. It is possible, though not proved, that some types of innate capacity for intellectual and emotional responses are commoner in one human group than in another, but it is certain that, within a single group, innate capacities vary as much as, if not more than, they do between different groups."

"The study of the heredity of psychological characteristics is beset with difficulties. We know that certain mental diseases and defects are transmitted from one generation to the next, but we are less familiar with the part played by heredity in the mental life of normal individuals. The normal individual, irrespective of race, is essentially educable. It follows that his intellectual and moral life is largely conditioned by his training and by his physical and social environment."

"It often happens that a national group may appear to be characterized by particular psychological attributes. The superficial view would be that this is due to race. Scientifically however, we realize that any common psychological attribute is more likely due to a common historical and social background, and that such attributes may obscure the fact that, within different populations consisting of many human types, one will find approximately the same range of temperament and intelligence."

6. "Cultural achievements" i.e. the different levels of civilization achieved by different races are not due to any biological differences of the various races but are rather the result of historical and environmental circumstances.

7. There is no "pure" race and there never has been any because race mixing has been going on for "an indefinite but considerable time."

ANTAGONISTS

This "Statement on the nature of race and race differences" was approved without reservation by a great number of eminent scientists. But an even greater number while agreeing with the substance of the statement made certain criticisms of details and expressed certain reservations.

There is yet a third group of scientists who op-

posed the Statement outright. This consists of Darlington, Fisher, Genna and Coon.

Naturally it is this third group which excites our interest.

Concerning the document as a whole, Darlington writes among other things:—

"Today we understand very much more about how human society has evolved than Darwin did; but few of us know the result of this evolution by our own observations better than he did. Fortunately, genetics has given us every reason to agree with him. In *The Descent of Man*, he writes: 'The races also differ in constitution, in acclimatization, and in liability to certain diseases. Their mental characteristics are likewise very distinct; chiefly as it would appear in their emotional, but partly in their intellectual faculties.'

"By trying to prove that races do not differ in these respects we do no service to mankind. We conceal the greatest problem which confronts mankind (and particularly in respect of the organisation of Unesco)

namely how to use the diverse, the ineradicably diverse, gifts, talents, capacities of each race for the benefit of all races. For if we were all innately the same, how should it profit us to work together. And what an empty world it would be." (The italics are mine).

This is patently a very hypocritical statement. If all races are not of equal status, that is if some are biologically superior to others, then there is really no problem in the use of the 'diverse, the ineradicably diverse gifts' because that was solved years ago in the age of imperialism when Africa was parcelled out among the imperial powers who also subjugated other parts of the world now known as underdeveloped areas.

The course of action then, is mapped out: namely the strict implementation of Nazism and apartheid: the suppression of the weak by the strong and the extermination of the stubborn races as in the case of the solution of the Jewish problem.

WARPED THINKING

The warped thinking of the learned scientist as evidenced in his concluding remarks is remarkable. The U.N. Statement does not say that every single human being is exactly like every other one, that we are each the exact prototype of another. What it does say is that differences in innate capacities have no racial basis but vary widely between individuals regardless of their racial origins. In other words, intelligence or stupidity is not the exclusive possession of any particular race and that it is possible to find a Negro who is as intelligent as the greatest genius of the white race, while we can find as we know full well, a white man who is very stupid indeed.

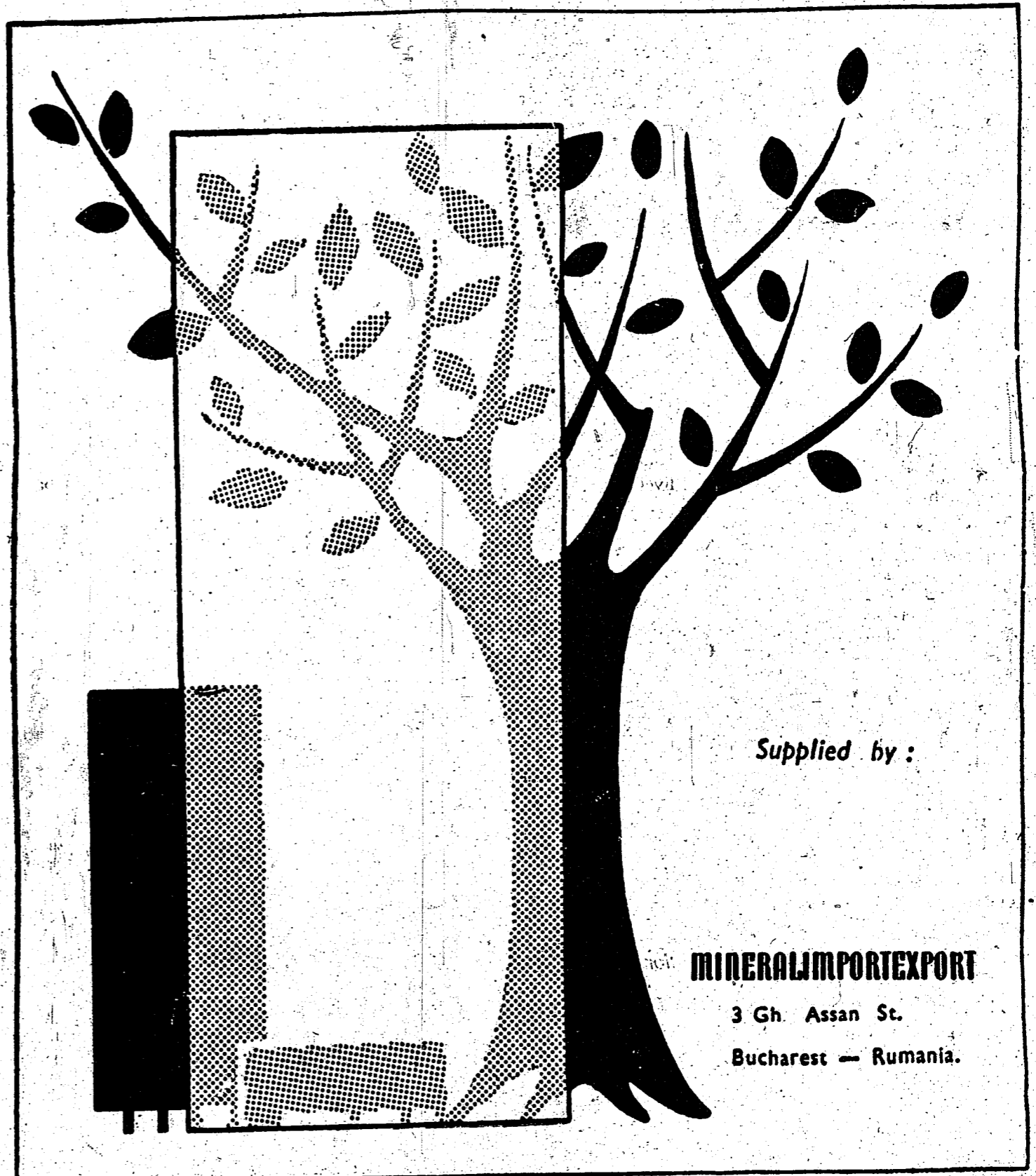
The performances of Negro students throughout history proves this point so conclusively that it is surprising any should doubt it. According to the theory of racial superiority, the most talented Negro, for instance, should at best only be as intelligent as the most stupid white man, because

WINDOW GLASS

Good Quality

Varied Assortment

- Machine — drawn Fourcault System. qualities "B" and "C"
- Thickness 2 — 6 mm.
- Ornamental Colourless . 23 models thickness 3.8 — 4.9 mm.
- Wired : White wire welded carbon steel 14 mm. mesh
- Thickness 6.5 — 7 mm.
- Mat and Mustin



Supplied by :

MINERALIMPORTEXPORT

3 Gh. Assan St.

Bucharest — Rumania.

For prompt information apply to the Rumanian Commercial Agency, off Farrar Avenue C136/3, P. O. Box 3735, Telephone : 66124 Accra

Volta River Project (2)

FOCUS ON SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA (PART TWO)



ON 19th April, 1961, the Volta River Development Act was presented to Parliament, passed through all its stages, and became law. The purpose of this Act was to establish a Volta River Authority charged with the duties of generating electricity from the water power of the Volta by means of constructing a dam and power house at Akosombo and of dealing with all the development, commercial and administrative problems arising from the project, including the resettlement of those people whose homes would be affected by the lake caused by damming the river.

First: The Volta River Authority is a Statutory Corporation, with the President of Ghana as Chairman and seven other members. It is a measure of the very great importance of the Authority that Osagyefo the President has undertaken the task of Chairman of the body. Of the members, two represent the major consumers of electricity—VALCO, who are to own the smelter, and the Government's own Elec-

tricity Division who will retail electricity to other users and a third is the Authority's Chief Executive. A fourth is an expert on finance. The Authority is required to train and absorb Ghanaians so that eventually the Authority will become a fully Ghanaian organisation.

Second: The Authority is limited to supplying electric current only in bulk so that there should be no duplication of the retail sales and distribution functions of the Government's Electricity Division. The Authority is encouraged to develop the lake for fishing, transportation and the health and welfare of the people living near the lake. The Authority is required to undertake safety measures and flood warning system in view of the size of the lake and also to undertake research and publish the results.

Third: The authority is charged with financial and commercial responsibilities in order to ensure the efficient and economic running of the project and provision is made for the progressive repayment of the Government's own investment and other loans. Indeed, it is confidently anticipated by the Government that the project will earn sufficient reserves of

money to cover the capital costs of future power generating projects as Ghana's industrialisation develops further.

Fourth: The Authority is vested with the necessary power to administer the land to be acquired by the State for all the purposes of the Project. Furthermore, provision is made for the payment of compensation in cash or in kind and for the resettlement of the

people who will have to move to make way for the lake. The Authority will carry out the Government's policy to assist the people concerned to build new villages and townships and find a new livelihood.

There will be close and constant consultation with the people concerned to assess their own views and wishes. Resettlement will be planned in stages so that new areas are ready for occupation before the old ones have to be vacated. The Government's aim is that no one should, as a result of the project, be worse off than before, and that the new conditions should be as good, if not better than the old ones left behind.

BOLD REVOLUTION

The Volta River Project is therefore a bold silent revolution of a people led by their leader, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah whose creative and constructive genius aimed at revolutionising Ghana's national economy and ultimately foster African unity.

As the Volta dam takes shape, the people of Ghana can look with pride for their determination and confidence in themselves and a blissful prosperity in the future.

The dam at Akosombo when completed will create

a lake of an area of about 3,275 sq. miles which will stretch for about 200 miles from Akosombo to the northern parts of Ghana.

The creation of this lake raises the problem of the resettlement and rehabilitation of the people presently living in the area to be inundated. It is estimated that about 600 villages will be flooded and that about 77,000 people will have to be resettled.

On the present construction schedule, it is expected that the lake will start to fill in about the middle of 1964 and as a result the whole of the resettlement programme must be geared to fit-in to this schedule.

The programme for the resettlement of the people involves the collection and compiling of detailed sociological data of the population to be displaced, the demarcation of the flood boundary, the valuation of all property in the area to

be completed early enough to allow figures of compensation entitlement to be worked out in sufficient time for use in planning self-help development.

Also it was found that it would be impossible to organise the people effectively on a self-help aided construction programme and at the same time complete the construction of these houses by the middle of 1964.

In view, therefore, of the urgency attached to the provision of these houses, it was decided that the houses to be provided should be designed so as to provide the nucleus of a house consisting of concrete foundations, aluminium roofing for a two-room house, but with only one room completed for each family.

This nuclear house is to be constructed in such a way that the family could of their own effort expand and complete the house. The important element in this house is that the components are designed for mass fabrication by contract, and rapid erection by direct labour. The idea is that this nucleus of a house, which is not a temporary house, is the first

to be completed in such a way that the family could of their own effort expand and complete the house. The important element in this house is that the components are designed for mass fabrication by contract, and rapid erection by direct labour. The idea is that this nucleus of a house, which is not a temporary house, is the first

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.

Beginning with this issue, we purport to run a series of articles tracing the progress of socialism in Ghana in the economic, social and political fields. After that we hope to follow the trend of socialism in other African countries also.

We begin with the socialist economic development in Ghana, starting with the colossal Volta River Project.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the Volta River Authority for putting at our disposal all the requisite materials which have made the writing of this article possible.

—EDITOR.

maintaining walls, provide facilities and expand the house while at the same time attending their farms.

It is proposed to use this opportunity to introduce, with the help of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Farmers Council Co-operatives, planned methods of modern agriculture in the basin of the lake. If these plans materialise it is hoped that the resettlement of the people will be accompanied by an agricultural revolution which could establish a pattern for the rest of the country and provide a new economic basis for the communities.

be completed early enough to allow figures of compensation entitlement to be worked out in sufficient time for use in planning self-help development.

In view, therefore, of the urgency attached to the provision of these houses, it was decided that the houses to be provided should be designed so as to provide the nucleus of a house consisting of concrete foundations, aluminium roofing for a two-room house, but with only one room completed for each family.

This nuclear house is to be constructed in such a way that the family could of their own effort expand and complete the house. The important element in this house is that the components are designed for mass fabrication by contract, and rapid erection by direct labour. The idea is that this nucleus of a house, which is not a temporary house, is the first

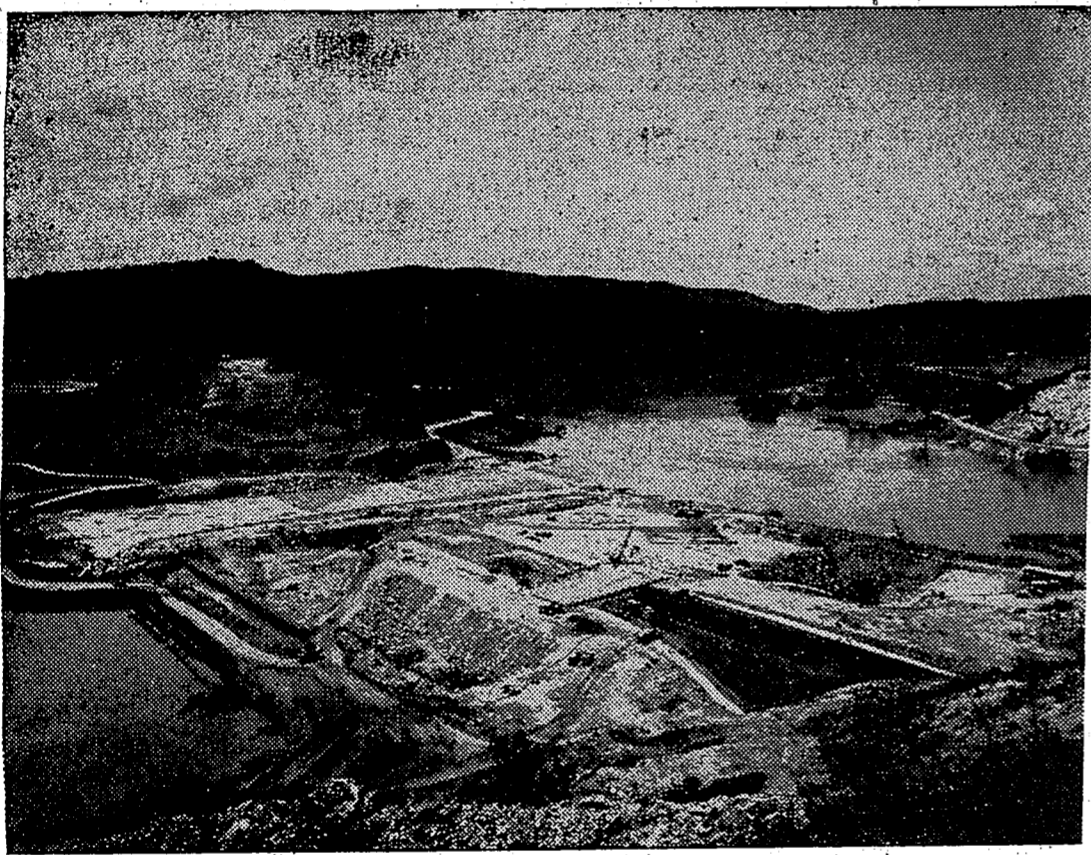
phase in a permanent and full family house to be provided at a fast rate all over the new settlement as emergency shelter against the rising of the lake.

Thus sheltered from the danger of the flood, and living right in the settlement, the people will be organised to put up the re-

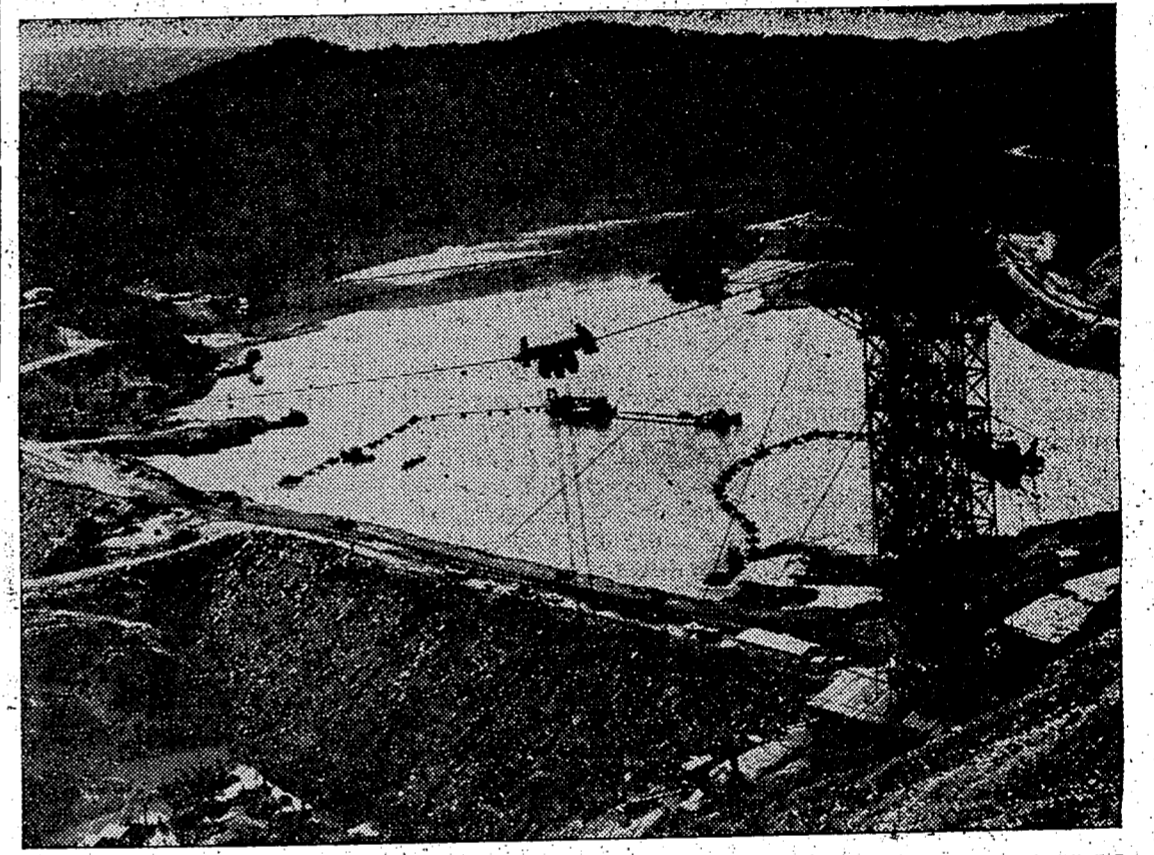
maintaining walls, provide facilities and expand the house while at the same time attending their farms.

It is proposed to use this opportunity to introduce, with the help of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Farmers Council Co-operatives, planned methods of modern agriculture in

the basin of the lake. If these plans materialise it is hoped that the resettlement of the people will be accompanied by an agricultural revolution which could establish a pattern for the rest of the country and provide a new economic basis for the communities.



(Left) and (Middle) are the flume system. Flood waters are made to carry over the flume system while work goes on in the main in the West channel.



Picture shows the upstream coffer-dam.

THE VOLTA RIVER DAM CONSTRUCTION TIME TABLE

- Final closure of river to be completed before January 1, 1964.
- Diversion tunnel except for compensation water to be closed before July 1, 1964.
- Lake begins to form as from the Middle of June, 1964.
- The main dam embankment and other appurtenant structures, including the spillway saddle dam, and intake to be completed to at least elevation 270 ft. before December 1, 1964.
- The first generating unit together with all structures and power plant auxiliary equipment to be installed, tested and ready for commercial operation before September 1, 1965.
- The second generating unit to be ready for commercial operation before December 1, 1965.
- 1st March, 1966. The third generating unit to be ready for commercial operation.
- 1st June, 1966. The fourth generating unit to be ready for commercial operation.
- The construction work at the dam site to be completed in all respects, including final clean-up, before September 1, 1966.

INFORMATION AT A GLANCE

Height of main dam:		Type—Francis:	
(Maximum from bedrock)	440 ft.	Best gate Capacity at Rated Head	176,500
(Above Tail water level)	244 ft.	Full load output at Rated Head	212,000 bhp
		Head	213 ft.
Length of main dam:		Speed	115.4 rpm
(At crest)	2,200 ft.	Runner Diameter	19 ft.
(Width of dam at bed of river)	2,000 ft. Approx.	Generators:	
Volume of material in main dam:	10,452,000 cub. yds.	Number (Initial)	4
Height of saddle dam:	120 ft.	(Eventual)	6
Length of saddle dam:	1,165 ft.	Capacity (Each)	128,000 kw.
Volume of river flow (present time):		Full load output (each)	147,000 kw.
High	300,000 cub. ft. per second.	Size of Rotors (Each)	35 ft. in diam.
Low	2,000 cub. ft. per second.	Weight of Rotors (Each)	450 tons
Average	38,500 cub. ft. per second.	Initial Power output	512,000 kw.
Size of Power House:		Ultimate Power output	768,000
Length	560 ft.	Spillways:	
Width	170 ft.	Number	2
Height bottom of draft to main deck tube	107 ft.	Each Comprising	6 gates
Penstock:		Type of gate	Trator
Number (Initial)	4	Size	42 ft. 6 ins. x 45 ft. 6 ins.
(Eventual)	6	Transmission Lines:	
Size	24 ft. in diam.	Main grid	500 miles
Turbines:		Estimated aluminium production at Tema	161,000 volts
Number (Initial)	4	Shelter:	
(Eventual)	6	Initial	78,000 tons
		Ultimate	135,000 tons
		Lakes:	
		Area	3,275 sq. mile
		Capacity	120 million acre feet of water
		Length	250 miles
		Shoreline	4,500 miles
		Seasonal rise and fall	8-10 ft.
		Area covered by seasonal fluctuation	650 sq. miles

Continued on page 4

An Analysis of Under-Development (2)

OSCAR Lange tries to find both an explanation of the difficulties facing underdeveloped countries and also a means of defining under-development.

His definition of under-development leads him to say that an under-developed country is one which, while employing modern methods of production, is yet unable at the present moment to give employment to the majority of its population. The reason for this state of things, according to Oscar Lange, would be the insufficiency of what Marxists would call the supplementary profit, that is to say the profit resulting from production which can be invested to expand production—or if I employ Marxist terminology, it is the product which serves the process of accumulation.

The insufficiency of this supplementary profit is primarily due to the poverty of under-developed countries, to their low national income; because of this, they find difficulty in freeing a part of their national income in order to increase total existing capital and thus expand national production. Oscar Lange stresses the fact that the economic and political structure of these countries contributes to the small size of this portion which can be saved out of the national income. He says that in these countries privileged classes, more or less feudal in nature, exist whose consumer demands are exaggeratedly high so that instead of saving they consume in various ways an excessive portion of their income.

However, if the essential obstacle to the economic development of these countries resides in the poverty of their own means, there is one very simple and plausible answer; namely that the insufficiency of national saving could be compensated by the supply of foreign capital. This process would be an importing of foreign capital on the part of the under-developed country and an exporting of capital to under-developed countries on the part of the foreign country.

This is obviously a very crucial problem at the present time.

TWO PROBLEMS

Would the solution to the desperate problem of under-developed countries be the large-scale supply of foreign capital? A distinction must at once be made in order to reply to this question. What kind of capital is meant? Public or private capital?

The analysis of the "Point 4 Programme" of President Truman and of the projects of American economists both before and after the end of the second world war seems to show that large-scale investment by private capital was meant to provide a solution both to the problem of under-development and to the desperate problem of insufficient outlets for American production which had considerably increased during the war. In this connection, I would remind you that numerous American economists, in particular those of the Hansen School, worked out a theory of stagnation at the beginning of the war.

They considered that American economy would never be able to fully utilize its productive capacity because of insufficient markets. Thus there would be a dis-proportion between the saving capacity of American economy or its capacity for investment and the volume of real investment. Because of this fact, American economy had to

undergo a considerable slowing-down process in its rhythm of development. It was thus an important problem for American economists and no less important for under-developed countries. Could the large-scale export of private capital enable the 2 problems to be solved? To my mind, this was one of the fundamental aims of American policy in the years immediately following the war; a policy which I was able to observe for myself during the international conferences in which I participated.

Has this objective been attained? Quite clearly the reply must be "NO". Private American investment, though large in absolute total has been quite small both in relation to the needs of under-developed countries and compared to American national income. If we compare the proportion of capital investment abroad by British economy in the period preceding the first world war with the proportion of national income exported by the United States, an enormous difference is seen. The proportion of capital to national income exported by the United States is greatly inferior to that exported by Great Britain.

MARXIST VIEW

What are the reasons for this? A series of essays on this subject have been written by Marxist economists but it would take too long to mention them. One of the principal causes is the change in the machinery for the export of capital.

At the time when Hilferding wrote his "Finance-Capital", the export of capital in general, and its export to under-developed countries in particular were effected by means of issues of stock. Companies were formed, shares were released on the Stock Exchange and in this way the necessary capital was secured. But little by little, the machinery for the export of capitalism and the machinery of investment have changed. More and more direct investments, rather than issues of stock, play the primary part. In other words, there is the participation of industrial or banking companies in the companies for which capital is exported or the formation by industrial and banking companies of their own companies in the foreign countries to which capital has been exported.

The financial groups which are responsible for these direct investments then impose a series of conditions and demand guarantees. First of all they demand complete security for their investments, the right to send home the whole of their profits as well as the paid up part of the capital; they demand guarantees against the risk

of nationalisation, and demand control of exchange rates etc. in the countries where these investments are to be made. Another condition, which not expressed, is quite obvious, is that since the invested capital is all the same exposed to certain risks, it should earn greater profits than those earned in the home market.

The arms race which results from the cold war has secured advantageous investments in the national market for American capitalists. This has unquestionably curbed the possibility of investing in under-developed countries. The results may therefore be considered very poor.

PRIMARY PRODUCTS

It is important to know, however, whether investing of private capital is really capable of stimulating under-developed countries and of fundamentally aiding their economic development.

As I have said, Marxist writers have written a series of essays on this subject and I will give you a brief outline of these.

Up to the present, direct investments have for the

most part been made in certain well defined sectors of production. They tend especially towards the petroleum industry, extractive industries, the production of certain food products and raw materials.

First observation: the capital invested is meant for the production of goods for export rather than for the home consumption in the countries where they are made. Thus the economy of under-developed countries is directed to a certain goal: the export of selected products. Everything which bears on these investments (roads, ports etc) is made with a view to the needs of the invested foreign capital and their products rather than with a view to the needs of under-developed countries.

Second observation: this capital earns enormous profits. We have seen that the weakness of under-developed countries is that they have not the wealth available for re-investment. Here is a possible solution to the problem: these profits could be re-invested to permit the increase of production. Unfortunately, it must be observed that a

very large proportion of these profits go back to the exporting country instead of contributing to the stimulation of the economy in which they have been earned. This means that profits from American capital mostly go back to America, profits from Belgian capital return to Belgium etc. The spreading of the profits from certain types of venture to the native economy is particularly poor. In the case of oil, for instance, there is almost a closed circle, and this enables us to say that the companies which extract oil constitute a kind of foreign body within the economy where they are established. Profits go back to the country where the capital originated and supplementary gains serve in the expansion of the said activity. Thus their stimulating effect on the under-developed economy is low.

CONTRADICTION

It seems to me that there is a contradiction between the real interests of the countries where investments are made and the interests of those who invest. This is a serious contradiction and as long as it is not removed, it cannot be said that this type of solution is

sound in the case of under-developed countries.

The American economist, Baran, is responsible for certain supplementary considerations in this respect, which I will summarize.

He believes that the export of foreign capital tends to create in fact a sort of monopoly and that thenceforth the interests of these monopolies do not tend in the direction of the general development of the industry of the country in which they are made. On the contrary, since these capitalists have a monopoly of certain activities, they prefer the development of commercial capital which is over-abundant in these countries and which fits in well enough with the ascendancy of big landowners.

Thus there is a sort of symbiosis between exported capital (monopoly), national capital which is predominantly commercial and the big landowners of these countries who come to dominate the whole of national economic and political life.

TRAP

It is an incontrovertible fact that investment of private foreign capital cannot

contribute to the development of the economic foundations (roads, dams, ports etc. . .) in accordance with the needs of the inhabitants. The formation of the economic foundations is entrusted to public capital. An effort is made to defend the interests of private capital so that public capital is confined to its own field and is never in a position to compete. Such is the actual position of this crucial problem.

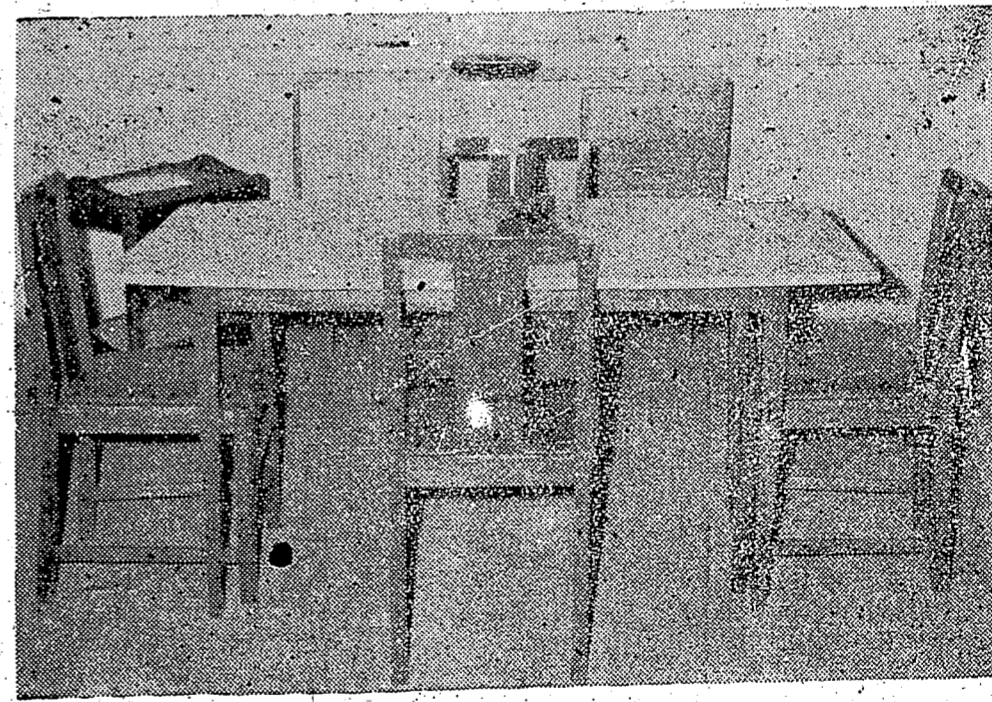
I am rather sceptical, for my own part, as to the effectiveness of these private investments, given their nature, unless the major part of the work to be done is realised by public bodies and by international co-operation embracing all countries. I believe that the true solution must be sought in this direction and that we fall into a trap if we think that private investment could in any large measure contribute to the development of under-developed countries (their effects are, of course, both positive and negative). And yet it appears that in certain circles private investments are counted on in order to ensure the expansion of under-developed countries.

Volta River

Continued from page 3.

Resettlement : Population affected	77,000 (Approx.)
Capital Costs :	
General (Resettlement, Health, Administration etc.)	£G 6,241,000
Akosombo dam, Power House, Township, Road etc.	42,772,000
Transmission system (Akosombo—Tema—Accra)	5,814,000
Interests on loans and working capital	6,325,000
National Transmission system, etc.	9,490,000
	£G70,642,000
Height of main dam : (to bed of river) (above water level)	370 feet 245 feet
Length of main dam : (at bed of river)	2,100 feet more than 2,000 feet
Volume of material in main dam :	10,452,000 cubic yards
Height of saddle dam :	120 feet
Length of saddle dam :	1,165 feet
Volume of river flow (present time) :	
High	300,000 cubic ft per second
Low	2,000 " " " "
Average	38,500 " " " "
Size of Power House :	
Length	560 feet
Depth	170 feet
Height	130 feet
Penstocks :	
Number (Initial)	4
(Eventual)	6
Size	24 feet in diameter
Generators :	
Number (Initial)	4
(Eventual)	6
Capacity (each)	128,000 kw.
Size of Rotors (each)	35 feet in diameter
Weight of Rotors (each)	500 tons
Spillways :	
Number	2
Each Comprising	6 gates
Size of gates	42 feet 6 inches x 45 feet 6 inches
Transmission Lines	500 miles
Main grid	161,000 volts

High Class FURNITURE



new designs to suit the modern home

FOR

LOUNGE
KITCHEN
SCHOOL

DINING-ROOM
BEDROOM
OFFICE

Contact

STATE FURNITURE & JOINERY CORPORATION

(Brewery Road, near Ghana Graphic Co. Ltd.)

tel.: 66411, p.o. box 1922, Accra

the most modern furniture factory in Ghana

Reflections on "Black Orpheus"

IS NEGRITUDE A REALITY OR A MYSTIFICATION? (2)

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

"It is rhythm", says Sartre on p.35 of his preface to 'Black Orpheus' "that typifies the temporal character of Negro life."

There is no doubt that the majority of Negroes are fond of music or rather their own brand of music. It is also true that in our rural areas the tam-tam comes into its own as an instrument for celebrating a marriage or beating out the poignant notes of grief for a soul that has passed away, although in both instances, Negro music shows very marked differences.

We shall not dwell upon the extravagant portraits which depict the Negro as a big child who turns his back on work to devote himself from dawn till dewy eve, to frenzied dances under the spreading village tree.

Some authors have rightly stressed the "functional" character of Negro music: songs of love, provocation and contempt; legends designed to perpetuate tradition and preserve history, ritual songs, war-songs, songs of toil which are intended to set a rhythmic pattern to collective labour.

This functional character of our music is in fact the feature which causes certain West-European musicologists (or to put it accurately, bourgeois) to refuse to call it artistic, at least so far as seventeenth century West African music is concerned. (See Ernest Norneman: "Presence Africaine", No. 4, p 577). The reason is that from the European bourgeois standpoint, real art cannot be inspired by "utilitarian" stimuli or in fact by any external influence. "Art must be disengaged". That is the motto. The bourgeois claims that art is inspired from within, being essentially subjective. We on the other hand, believe that the springs of art cannot justifiably be limited to subjective promptings. In point of fact, art is part and parcel of the superstructure of any given society and, as such, is influenced by the infrastructure and vice versa. In other words, the nature of the particular social environment in question plays a part in determining (and this is something quite relative) the art form which, in turn, can influence the development of the social organisation which sustains it.

ESSENCE OF MUSIC

From these general considerations, there will be no further compulsion to appeal to any kind of "Essence" to explain the distinctive character of Negro-African music. The necessary explanation is implicit in the functional character of the music. One can hardly imagine a symphony by an African Beethoven or Mozart giving to the hoos our peasants use the rhythmic consonance that drives them on. As far as they are concerned, scanning the musical phrase with clear articulation is something primeval. Similarly, as far as our warriors are concerned, the music of an African Strauss would be absolutely devoid of interest. To maintain that the peculiar rhythm of Negro-African music stems from Negritude (regarded as an Essence) we must first be

there emerges a much more complex type of music in which melody is associated with rhythm. It is obvious that this could not be so if, instead of the objective conditions of life (which are variable) as the motive force, we had some non-descript Negro Essence (which is synonymous with identity even in the mind of Sartre, since he counsels a return to it). Here again the theory of Negritude swelling up "from the abyssal depths" falls to the ground.

COMMUNION WITH NATURE

Is communion with Nature a specific characteristic of the Negro race? Our elder brother Senghor, by creating a real "mystique" of emotion helped to establish the myth. Was he not the author of this line:

"Emotion belongs to Negroes as Reason belongs to the Greeks?"

At first sight one is tempted to say "Bravo" as did Mr. Frantz Fanon who wrote as follows: "Since no agreement was possible in terms of reason, I hurled myself on the bosom of unreason... Here I am at home." (Published in the Review entitled "Esprit", May 1951). Unfortunately, the facts of history disprove Senghor's contention and Mr. Frantz Fanon will soon become disenchanted when he hears a white man say: "We have had 'mystiques' about the earth such as you will

never know." The problem for us is not to seek out the best of the existing mystiques.

We are convinced of the fact that Reason is not peculiarly an attribute of the Greeks, any more than emotion is peculiarly an attribute of Negroes. Their social and historical variants really matter little, since reason as well as Emotion are at once painted with the hues of the Negro, the Greek, the Yellow or the Red. In other words, Reason and Emotion belong to the whole race of mankind as history unfolds with varying degrees of speed and tribulation.

Sartre tells us that the White man, by transforming Nature reveals it as "a pure quantity, a dead force, something external." Nature as discovered by techniques would thus be still life. Sartre claims that Negritude is the refusal to be a "homo-faber", a magical seizure of the world by silence and repose. As a result of this attitude, the Negro would restore to Nature the life the White man robbed him of. Sartre justifies his opinion by referring to these words of Aime Cesaire who describes his brothers in these terms:

"Those who have given the world no compass or gun-powder,

Those who have never harnessed steam or electricity,

Those who have not ex-

plored the ocean or the skies."

Black man in the technical field.

There is more than this in the theory of Negritude. One might have expected that since Negritude refuses to regard the Negro as a "homo-faber", it would have credited him with being a "homo-sapiens". Nothing of the kind! However, no one dare say it too bluntly. Sartre makes a timid reference to the difference Bergson makes between intelligence and intuition. Of course, intelligence belongs to the Whites and intuition to the Blacks!

Another". The Negro is essentially a peasant, his technique is pre-eminently agricultural, whereas the European technique is pre-eminently industrial. The only difference is that the white man was not born an industrialist, and his technique also experienced a stage almost as strictly agricultural as the one the Black man went through. More than this, we know that this was the same with the whole of the human race. What Cesaire recognises in the lines quoted above is not refusal, but the backwardness of the

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

plored the ocean or the skies."


NATURE AND MAN

We do not believe that the allusion there is to a refusal by the Negro to go in for techniques.


When Sartre criticises Cesaire for making "a proud vindication of the non-technical", he is interpreting Cesaire's thinking wrongly. We believe with the author of "Black Orpheus" that "the relationship of any human group with nature is always technical in one sense or

LONDON

fly there by

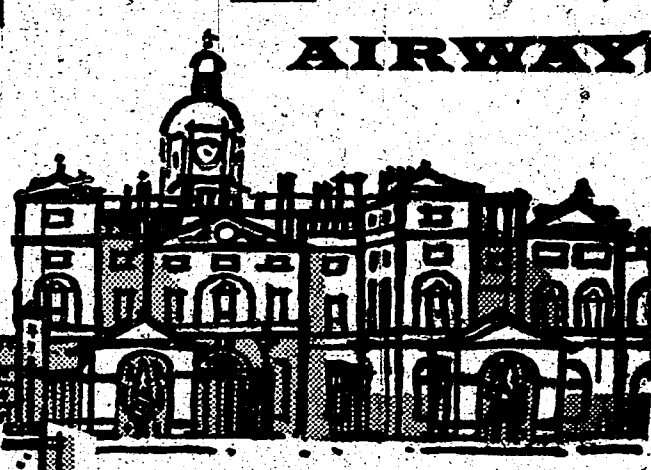


There are so many fascinating and famous things to see in London. They may be familiar sights to you, or things to see and enjoy for the first time. Fly there quickly and comfortably by Ghana Airways Express services. You travel non-stop, by night, arriving refreshed next morning—with an extra day in hand. And you fly in the luxury comfort of a modern, jet-prop aircraft. Ghana Airways—your link with Europe—will be pleased to help you plan your journey exactly as you wish.



Ghana

AIRWAYS

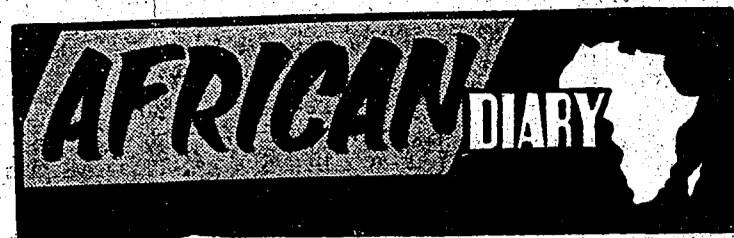


YOUR TIME-TABLE

ACCRA	Dep.	GH.804 Mon. 2200	GH.800 Fri. 2200
		Non-Stop Night Express	Non-Stop Night Express
LONDON	Arr.	Tues. 0720	Sat. 0720

GHANA AIRWAYS—YOUR LINK WITH EUROPE

The changing of the Guard at Horse Guards Parade in Whitehall, London can be seen at 11.30 a.m. on every weekday... 11.00 a.m. on Sunday.



2nd SEPTEMBER, MONDAY:

GHANA: Six persons including a chief have been detained by the police for questioning in connection with the robbery of £24,000, being salaries and wages of the Mim Timber Company.

So far, £12,300 has been recovered.

SUDAN: Sudan will celebrate an "African Day" in the Middle of September to coincide with the opening of the United Nations General Assembly session.

ALGERIA: The Algerian Prime Minister, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, says in Algiers that he will make a historic decision next year which will make her country's socialism irreversible.

GHANA: The Ghana Government establishes an Embassy in

the Republic of Togo for the first time since 1960 when Togo became independent.

The Government of Togo intends also opening an Embassy in Ghana.

3rd SEPTEMBER, TUESDAY:

NIGERIA: Mr. Godfrey Anahree, a Nigerian assistant to U Thant, U.N. Secretary-General, will arrive in Lisbon on September 9, as a special representative of U Thant.

DAHOMY: The Policy Committee of the ruling Dahomey Unity Party, says Dahomey will continue to maintain a policy of positive neutralism and pursue the fight for the decolonisation of all African territories still under colonial domination.

THE RACE CONCEPT

Continued from page 2

capacity for intellectual and emotional development and concludes by stating that the "practical international problem is that of learning to share the resources of this planet amicably with persons of materially different nature, and that this problem is being obscured by entirely well intentioned efforts to minimize the real differences."

Sir Ronald would have materially helped in the solution of this "practical international problem" if he drew up a hierarchy of all the races and sub-races, with a re-organisation of the nations of the world to coincide with the racial boundaries, since that would greatly help in "learning to share the resources of this planet amicably."

Genna doubts whether the statement is of any use at all in combating racial prejudice. He feels that prejudices should be combated despite psychical differences.

Thus most astonishingly we see how an eminent scientist fails to see how effectively scientific evidences can fight ignorance. How can we begin to enumerate the multitudinous notions and prejudices that science has dispelled? It seems the opening remarks of this article are enough to show the importance of science in this most important problem. Genna's incapacity to comprehend this elementary fact only shows how dangerous prejudice is, since it can stupefy an otherwise gifted man of science.

His dishonesty is all the more evident if we recall the statement of his fellow scientist, Summers, who writes in this connection:

"The need for a statement on race by a committee of anthropologists of unimpeachable international repute is great. For a person such as myself whose home and family are situated in a heterogeneous community, such statements have a practical value (for good or evil) which is hardly realized by those of my colleagues who live in homogeneous communities and in academic environments."

Coon considers the Statement as the "slanting of Scientific data to support a social theory." The truth

perhaps is that they were not slanted to suit his own taste.

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Concerning section 5 of the Statement which affirms that mental capacities are not limited by racial differences, Darlington advises the committee to visit Wales and England for example, and study the different peoples' capacities for such things as music, poetry and religion.

Darlington evidently misses the point here. What is at stake here is not a matter of different aptitudes or gifts, but a question of mental capacities i.e. of mental superiority and inferiority in general in the same sense as we may say that the mental capacity of an ape is inferior to that of a man.

Since racial prejudice regards Negroes, for instance, to be sub-human, their mental capacities for anything should nowhere approach the heights of any Aryan or Nordic who is at the very top of the racist racial hierarchy.

On the contrary, just as we may find the Welsh to be more talented in poetry than the English and less so than they in music, so also can we find groups of Negroes for example who are also more talented in one thing than a group of whites and less so in another thing than the same group. In this instance there is no question of one race being generally inferior or superior to another.

Similar observations are made by most of those who think like him. Fisher for instance, says:

"It appears to me unmistakable that gene differences which influence the growth or physiological development of an organism will ordinarily *pari passu* influence the congenital inclinations and capacities of the mind."

Contrary to his opinion and intention even the acceptance of this contention does in no way disprove the Statement's claim that there are no distinctions of intellectual superiority and inferiority between the races and that a certain group of people or a race may have a greater capacity for a particular intellectual pursuit than others. But this, as has

Continued from page 1

Revolutionary leaders decided progressively to integrate Cuba's economy with that of the Soviet Union.

Such integration which was a vital necessity for Cuba, is equally so for the revolutionary movement in the world, if it is to succeed. Consolidating the Cuban Revolution, as it did, it also enormously increased the chances of making the Cuban people more conscious of the need for revolutionary and socialist processes. This is a fact of inestimable value. We may well regard this as a natural way out open to tiny, under-developed countries struggling hard to break loose from the stifling grip of the imperialists.

It is definitely a mistake to base one's revolutionary strategy upon recourse to outside help. One of the fundamental principles of revolution is that it is accomplished through and by itself. This principle has been scrupulously observed by Cuba. Besides, if one is constantly to dip into the economic resources of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, the revolutionary movement in the world would in the long run be slipping back rather than moving forward.

OPTIMUM ZONE

That is why Dr. Nkrumah, in a philosophical study not yet published, has posited and stressed the need for an optimum zone of development as a necessary and indispensable condition, if the revolution of to-day is to remain viable.

But, in actual fact, has not the need for an optimum zone of development been a factor to reckon with in anti-imperialist revolutions that have ante-

been stated over and over again, does not make that group or race superior or inferior to others.

SPECIALISATION

If physiological development must necessarily influence mental capacities, it must be remembered that human evolution has proceeded on lines of specialisation e.g. while some races have specialised, in depigmentation or lightening of skin colour, others have specialised in the lengthening of the limbs and development of the body. If anything, these physiological influences can at best also lead to mental specialization which corresponds exactly to the U.N. statement that "It is possible though not proved, that some types of innate capacity for intellectual and emotional responses are commoner in one human group than in another."

Perhaps the most astonishing of all the statements made by these prejudiced scientists is this one attributed to Weinert:

"In defence of prohibiting marriage between persons of different races, I should like to ask which of the gentlemen who signed the statement would be prepared to marry his daughter to an Australian aboriginal, for example" (Vide: The Race Concept UNESCO 1952 pg. 63).

Now one wonders how a learned scientist could ever make such a statement under such circumstances. The Statement was a sci-

dated the Cuban crisis? It would be wrong to think so. It is clear beyond shadow of doubt that the USSR and the People's Republic of China have scored an easy victory over capitalist encirclement and imperialist blockades, only because by reason of their economic resources and their human potential, they constitute in themselves optimum zones of development. Quite unobtrusively, these two great revolutions have complied with the rule of an optimum zone of development. The socialist countries of Eastern Europe have all derived benefit from the existence of such a zone in the presence of the USSR, and this merely confirms the rule.

When asked a little over a year ago, what he thought of the idea of an optimum zone of development, the great economist Charles Bettelheim confirmed that it was the thing. More than this, he has now succeeded in calculating its human and economic potential.

Professor Bettelheim has in fact come to the conclusion that an under-developed zone of at least 100 million inhabitants is absolutely necessary to achieve a balance between exports and imports, so as to avoid any unfavourable trade or payments balance and so obviate the need for any recourse to external powers.

Consequently, if we consider the case of Africa, especially tropical Africa, we are bound to admit that with the high rate of illiteracy and the obvious decrease in labour owing to the effects of endemic diseases, the human potential for an optimum zone of development should be very much higher than 100 million inhabitants. This means in effect that the African Continent as a whole can be regarded as equal to a

single zone of optimum development, capable of bringing about complete decolonisation and continuous development.

IDEOLOGICAL UNITY

This being so, would it not be nearer the truth, instead of referring to what has been complacently described as a national development plan in our various micro-States, to speak of an economic plan for subjugation in the case of the neo-colonialist African States, and an economic plan to resist imperialism whenever a government takes effective steps to prevent neo-colonialism from gaining a foothold? Moreover, opposition to neo-colonialism and, in a general sense, to imperialism is never really effective (the integration of Cuba's economy with the economy of the Soviet Union is a very convincing case), unless it is set within an optimum framework of development, capable of becoming an optimum centre of resistance.

It is obvious that a centre of resistance cannot be really strong unless it is accompanied by strict ideological unity, which once secured, is bound to express itself in the form of a single political organisation, which is powerful and capable of mobilising the people, and in a position to impress the imperialists by its cohesion, the firmness and effectiveness of its strategy and at the same time by the speed and daring exemplified in its revolutionary activities.

To sum up, there can be no effective development in the undeveloped areas of the world, no optimum

zone of development, and no effective resistance to imperialism unless there is an optimum centre of resistance. In either case the basic need is ideological unity which implies of necessity the existence of a single political organisation covering the entire unit, if it is to coalesce and be soli-

dly knit together. Without these conditions, imperialism now in its final crisis, will not be liquidated. The imperialists are well aware of this, and so they manage to hold on by playing upon our childishness and immaturity. It is for us, in all honesty and sincerity, to pass judgment on ourselves.

Editorial

(1)

Continued from page 1

Now we know why there have been increased campaign, directed through the I.C.F.T.U., its affiliates in Africa and U.S. labour attachés to detach African trade unions from Africa's struggle for complete independence and socialist reconstruction.

We must now understand why there is a malignant growth of hostile ideologies aimed at detracting the attention of the African working class from its real aim — to stimulate and co-ordinate the African struggle for freedom and to win higher standards of life and labour for Africa's teeming exploited millions.

To get out of this

situation, the African working class movement represented by the All African Trade Union Federation must brace itself for the challenge which is not only frontal and open, but out-flanking and clandestine.

A continental front of workers is needed to fight the synchronised operation of collective imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

The African worker must tell George C. Lodge and the interests he represents that a revolution strides the continent of Africa with the steps of a giant. Nobody can arrest its powerful forward march. Those who are eager to resist the advancing force must be warned that the African working masses are increasingly rejecting all attempts at using them as cogs in the wheel of neo-colonialism.

Editorial

(2)

Continued from page 1

Whatever happens, I have to pass a sort of sentence.

What are the issues involved in this political trial?

Awolowo himself touched on some. Addressing the judge after being found guilty, he said: "I have with others fought vigorously against British imperialism... This is an irony of history that as one of the architects of Nigeria's independence I have spent almost half of Nigeria's three years of independence under one form of confinement or another... Since 1957 I have fought against the feudal system in the Northern Region and for its eradication. I have also fought to prevent the spread of this system to other parts of Nigeria... After darkness, and this is a common phase, comes a victorious dawn... I must say that in this courtroom, indeed in this dock, in the entire Federation of Nigeria, the spirit of the new Nigeria is already actively at work."

A most startling corroboration of Awo's exposition comes from the Sunday sister of

"The Telegraph"—the official organ of the ruling British Conservative Party. On the comments page of "Sunday Telegraph", September 8, one Douglas Brown writing on the judgement on Anthony Enahoro, Awolowo's deputy, said: "The evidence against him was painstakingly collected by a police force largely led by British officers... At first sight it might seem odd for British Tory Ministers to be defending the honour and integrity of a newly independent African country against Socialist champions of pan-Africanism. But when the matter is seen in its true context, it becomes clear that the present regime in Nigeria is worth defending". The present regime in Nigeria must be defended! And defended by British business circles against socialist champions of pan-Africanism!!

There might be disagreement as to terminology in labelling the present regime in Nigeria. One thing however seems clear. It is something agreeable to the imperialist circles of Britain.

Take heart, Awo. Progressive Africa applauds your courageous stand for socialism and pan-Africanism.

JOMO KENYATTA

writes on

THE SIGNIFICANCE

of the

ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE

in October

LABOUR MONTHLY

marxist commentary and left wing views on the British labour movement, international politics and the fight against imperialism

2s. or 24s. annually post paid

Labour Monthly, 134 Ballards Lane, London, England.

When ordering please mention 'Spark'