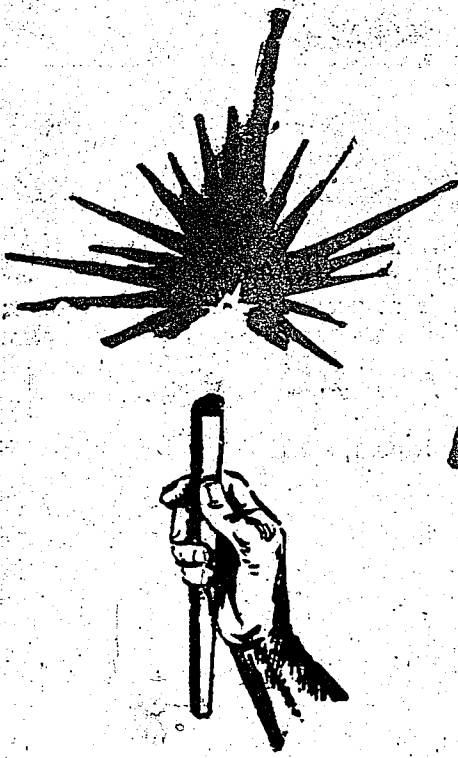


THE SPARK



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What Happened at Cairo

Editorial Comment

A GLORIOUS CHAPTER

THE history of a people is an unending book. As time passes so new chapters are added, chapters both noble and ignoble, glorious and inglorious. So it is with the people of Africa.

For centuries this continent has been the el dorado of sojourners from outside it, sojourners who have come here under different guises but with one central purpose—to extract the riches of Africa for themselves and their peoples. In this process of pitiless exploitation, Africa was trodden underfoot, dishevelled and humiliated. These episodes, which have gone on for centuries, constitute the sombre chapters of our history.

But a new turn in our fortunes as a people came soon after the second world war. Our continent has been rent by the struggles of our people against foreign oppressors and exploiters. Our people have at last risen in arms against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

These struggles represent the noble chapters in the history of our people. These chapters, to name but a few, include positive action and the birth of Ghana; the Egyptian revolution of 1952; the epic seven-year patriotic war of the Algerian people; the heroic resistance of the Kenyan people often referred to as the Mau Mau episode; and the undaunted courage of the African population under the heels of apartheid.

Out of these struggles new African nations are being born.

The emergence of sovereign African states, however, has coincided with the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism. The leopard has tried to change its spots but it remains a leopard. Hence the inevitable march of history has involved the African peoples in a mortal struggle with neo-colonialism. And this battle proceeds pari passu with the more direct fight against colonialism and majority race oppression.

For one brief moment since the Addis Ababa Summit last year, it seemed as if imperialism had succeeded in casting its spell around us. The unity of Africa was being undermined from outside and from the inside. The pace of the liberation movement was slowing down, and its development exhibited some jerks. Imperialist manoeuvres through military coups d'etat, through misuse of the U.N., through spurious offers of aid and economic assistance, through fomented attacks on leading African statesmen conducted by other African leaders—imperialist manoeuvres seemed to be succeeding and finance capital of the Western world looked as if it was getting the better of us.

Then came Cairo, July 1964. In the short spell of five days, the face of history in Africa was changed. From a humiliated people playing the

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WILL the African states move forward to Union Government Now?

THAT basic issue posed forcefully by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was the centre of the debate at the historic Cairo Summit Conference held last week.

The colonial powers left liberated Africa split into over 30 separate states, their resources, markets and peoples divided. Many African states today are trying to plan economic reconstruction, to break the economic ties which bind them to former colonial powers to raise their living standards. But, as many Heads of State pointed out at Cairo no one state alone has enough resources, enough markets, enough capital to build large scale modern industry. Outside of UAR and Nigeria, the average population is only about four million inhabitants.

COMPETING FOR FUNDS

The result is that most African states must limit their efforts to achieving a degree of agricultural diversification and the creation of consumer goods industries, often merely assembling imported parts and frequently operating at less than capacity. Their economies remain tied to the export of one or a few raw materials on the unstable world market. Unable to provide capital, they are forced to compete for foreign funds on terms which—because their bargaining power is so weak—not only augment the outflow of raw materials but also the drain of profits that mounts as high as a fourth of all that Africa earns for the valuable crops and minerals she sells overseas.

United, as President Nkrumah spelled out at

The Cairo Summit ended this week. Addis Ababa has been chosen as the headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity and M. Diallo Telli, Guinea's Permanent representative to the United Nations, has been elected its Secretary-General.

The most important decision taken is that Osagyefo's proposal for a Union Government for Africa should be considered by the various commissions of the O.A.U.

The commissions are asked to study the proposal in detail and report to the Council of Ministers of the Organisation which will in turn collate the reports and recommendations to the Heads of State at their next Summit Conference to be held in Accra, September 1965.

The Spark special correspondent on the scene discusses the trends of discussion on Union Government at the Summit.

Cairo, Africa has the resources for a mighty industrial nation. Already today, although only ten per cent of her resources have been surveyed, the vast African continent provides a vital share of the raw materials—iron, copper, manganese, oil, cotton, groundnuts—which feed the factories of Europe and America.

United, the 280 million people of Africa could provide the capital and markets to revolutionize agriculture and build essential large scale basic industry to transform their continental economy so as to assure meaningful independence and higher living standards for all.

Union Government, as proposed by President Nkrumah, implies a fundamental reconstruction of the continental economy of Africa. It requires co-ordinated planning in which African states jointly control and direct strategic sectors of continental economic development through establishment of

1. basic industry and multi-national power and transport projects;

2. a continental money and banking system designed to prevent disastrous competition for foreign capital and to direct domestic and foreign development funds to strategic growth poles under African control and

3. unified African control of exports to enhance bargaining power for the best possible world market prices and to direct export earnings to overall African development needs.

To be fully effective in

achieving the goals of economic independence and rising living standards, it would seem clear that such a continental Union Government would have to move towards fully socialized planned economic growth.

At Cairo, it became clear that the main opponents of the Union Government proposal were the elites, the government-commercial groups linked to feudal and or petty-bourgeois class elements, which rule some African states. Unable to win mass support for policies designed to maintain its power and luxury this elite welcomes the continued foreign private investment in the export of raw materials which brings with it political-military support. Regardless of such leaders' professed anti-colonialism, they will continue to reject proposals for a truly independent united Africa.

MASS SUPPORT

It was clear enough at Cairo that the heads of state who supported Union Government Now, were those who, with mass support, had already initiated fundamental political economic reconstruction in their nations. They welcome co-ordinated continental economic development as a necessary means of achieving thorough-going economic transformation in line with the aims of the African revolution.

Thus it was Sekou Toure who first spoke in support of President Nkrumah's proposal.

"For the Government of the Republic of Guinea,

the project of the creation of an African Government is considered an inevitable goal, that is to say a necessity already written in the perspectives of the development of African unity."

President Ben Bella of Algeria also proclaimed Union Government as "the final goal of all our actions".

In contrast, a President of a tiny nation of a million inhabitants whose economy is dominated by U.S. Firestone and combined U.S., Swedish, and German steel interests, was the first to state his flat opposition to Union Government Now. A President in East Africa whose Government is eagerly seeking foreign private investment, was vitriolic in

his attacks on the proposal.

How will the neo-colonialists themselves, the former colonial powers and the United States capitalist interests respond to this proposal for Union Government Now? Those already involved in extracting and shipping out valuable raw materials and profits from the balkanized African states will undoubtedly make every effort to prevent its realization.

There appears to be, at the same time, a developing group which supports the concept of an African Common Market in which foreign private firms will be able to invest and sell their manufactured goods without hindrance, accompanied by increased export of African raw materials and profits to Europe and the United States. There is a danger that such an attitude may lead to an effort to create a continental government dominated by existing elites which could prevent such states as Algeria, UAR, Guinea, Ghana and Mali from pursuing their present course of building mixed economies moving towards socialism.

President Nkrumah proposed that the idea of Union Government Now be accepted.

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In the next issues of The Spark

THE BIG BANG!

* Africa is in a state of revolutionary flux. Which is the way ahead? The prolific Julius Sago gives a thorough analysis of the Cairo Summit.

* What next after independence? Progress or retrogression? Obotan Awuku of "The Spark" in a series of articles studies the economic forces that dictate the policies of progressive government.

* Ideological immaturity, though to be pitied must not go without correction. "The Spark" shatters the illusions of the misguided. Our special correspondent makes a critical analysis of the paper delivered by the President of the Economic Society of Ghana at their recent annual conference.

AFRICA SPEAKS THROUGH

MR. PRESIDENT; Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers:
Fifteen years ago, I had the onerous responsibility to make this statement:

"There comes in all political struggles rare moments, hard to distinguish but fatal to let slip, when even caution is dangerous; then all must be set on a hazard and out of a simple man is ordained strength."

We who have been called to leadership have the privilege and the high responsibility of determining, to a very large extent, the future of Africa. It lies very much within our collective power to determine if our people, who live on the world's richest continent, shall exploit these resources in our own interests and for the primary benefit of our own people.

It lies within our power to redress the monstrous crimes of imperialist history by setting Africa on the high road to full and meaningful freedom.

The decisions we make here now will not only influence the lives of the two-hundred-and-eighty million inhabitants of our continent today. These decisions will influence the course of events for countless generations of Africans yet unborn.

Before I go on any further, I would like to express on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my heartfelt gratitude to our distinguished Host, President Gamel Abdel Nasser, and the Government and people of the United Arab Republic,



Osagyefo delivering his historic speech at the Cairo Conference

for the generous hospitality and fraternal welcome extended to us in this historic city of Cairo.

A little over a year ago we were fortunate to be the guests of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie the First, in another ancient African city where the seeds of our new-found Unity were sown.

It is no mere coincidence that this, our Second Conference, should have taken place in Egypt.

Historians tell us that five thousand years ago, Egypt was already here. According to Herodotus, Egypt is the gift of the Nile. It is obvious that if Herodotus had had the good fortune to meet President Nasser and to see the beginnings of the Aswan High Dam, his verdict would have been radically different!

Whether Herodotus was right or not, there is a cardinal fact of history which has a significant bearing on our meeting here. We are told that the Egyptians were the first to divide the year into twelve months of thirty days each, keeping the five remaining days as a holiday at the end of the year. The European Calendar is directly descended from this ancient Egyptian practice, although the Europeans failed to adopt the healthy and wise habit of keeping all the holidays together at the end of the year.

I am convinced, therefore, that as Egypt was the cradle of world civilisation, so will she provide a fitting climax for our African redemption. From here, from this illustrious city of Africa's ancient glory and power, we shall see the birth of our greatest and highest aspiration—the Union Government of Africa.

I was happy to see with us at this Cairo Conference, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, the first person from the Afro-Asian fold to occupy such an honourable post.

I have always maintained that in the present state of world affairs the United Nations is the only hope for the preservation of international peace and security. It is true that for a long time its deliberations were dominated by Europe and America, and it is only within the last seven or eight years that Africa's voice has become articulate and forceful within the forum of the United Nations.

The work of the United Nations should be so organised that there will be equitable representation and that its organs should not be dominated by any Power. There must be universality of membership of the United Nations in accordance with the principles of the Charter, so that all States of the world including the People's Republic of China may make their contribution towards its stability.

Unfortunately, the U.N. is at present beset by grave financial difficulties. This puts it in a serious situation which requires the attention of all Member States of the U.N. In spite of its shortcomings we should all endeavour to give the U.N. the financial assistance necessary for its upkeep.

I extend a hearty welcome to my old comrades, Prime Ministers, Jomo Kenyatta and Dr. Banda who now represent the brave people of Kenya and Malawi in this great Assembly.

On behalf of Ghana I also welcome President Grunitzky of Togo, President Apithy of Dahomey and Prime Minister Albert Margai of Sierra Leone who has come to replace his brother, Sir Milton Margai, whose sad loss we deeply mourn.

It is with joy and high expectancy that we look forward to the birth of an independent Zambia, now called Northern Rhodesia, next October. To my Comrade and Freedom Fighter, Kenneth Kaunda, and his noble band of Freedom Fighters we wish every success. I also welcome another Comrade and Freedom Fighter, Holden Roberto, who is here with us today.

In the year that has passed since we met at Addis Ababa and established the Organisation of African Unity, I have had no reason to change my mind about the concrete proposals which I made to you then, or about the reasons I gave for my conviction that only a Union Government can guarantee our survival. On the

contrary, every hour since then, both in the world at large and on our own Continent, has brought events to prove that our problems as individual states are insoluble except in the context of African Unity, that our security as individual states is indivisible from the security of the whole Continent, that the freedom of our compatriots still in foreign chains and under colonial rule awaits the redeeming might of an African Continental Government.

We took a monumental decision at the Summit Meeting in Addis Ababa last year. No amount of disappointment or impatience with the pace at which our Charter has been implemented, can detract from the epoch-making and irrevocable nature of our decision to affirm the unity of our Continent.

It was an act of faith, a recognition of reality. We forged the Organisation of African Unity fully conscious of all the difficulties facing our various states in committing themselves to common obligations. We have passed through the first year victorious over trials on our loyalty, and over hostile forces seeking to disrupt our unity.

Wherever and whenever the subsidiary bodies set up by the Addis Ababa Charter have met, the spirit of unity, of co-operation and goodwill have prevailed.

On that score, none of us can complain: none of us have cause to doubt the strength and permanence of the spirit of unity which found its expression in our Charter.

Yet, even more than last year, I must urge that the historical conditions in which African independence has emerged and the concrete manifestations of weaknesses and difficulties, call for immense radical and urgent measures which the Addis Ababa Conference did not fulfil. Measures which would have been accounted adequate for dealing with our problems a few years ago, cannot now meet the exigencies of the African revolution.

It is not single States or single Continents which are undergoing de-colonisation, but the greater portion of the world. It is not one empire which is expiring, but the whole system of imperialism which is at bay. It is not individual communities, but the whole humanity which is demanding a different and better way of life for the world's growing millions.

Great positive and social revolutions have created mighty nations and empires, and the waves of those revolutions lap our shores no less than they do those of our continents. Great technological and industrial revolutions have transformed the economies of large portions of the world, and the waves of those revolutions will not stop short on the Continent of Africa. A revolution in communications brings knowledge of every change in the world to the remotest corners of our continent. The world will not wait—nor will it move step by step, however much we may wish this.

It is against this background of great political, social, cultural, scientific and technological revolutions that the emergence of African independence and the development of Africa must be viewed. None of us imagines that we can keep our own pace, immune from interference, isolated from the world's upsurges and revolutions. What differences there are between us a rise from a difference in appreciation of the sense of urgency, not in the understanding we have of our tasks and responsibilities.

Time, indeed, is the crucial factor, for time acts for those who use it with purpose, and not for those who let it slip by. Those who do not use time as their agent, give the advantage to those who do.

A NEW PHASE

When we met last year we were at the beginning of an era of peaceful co-existence. The risk of a World War was abating, and the prospect of peaceful co-operation between the Great Powers appeared to bring to an end the struggle of foreign influences in Africa. We embraced non-alignment in order to escape involving ourselves in the prevailing cold war politics. Instead, we have witnessed the menacing upsurge of imperialism and a revival of colonialism itself in Africa, and foreign interference and subversion in the internal affairs of our African States.

The one essential factor which united us at Addis Ababa—the overriding factor which made all differences and difficulties seem trivial and irrelevant—was the need to free that part of our continent which is still in the grip of imperialism. In spite of our Charter, in spite of our resolutions, in spite of our common front at the United Nations and in other international gatherings, what have we witnessed?

Far from deterring the imperialists and neo-colonialists from giving support to the apartheid regime in South Africa and to the fascist regime in Portugal, the NATO Powers, on the contrary, have poured and are pouring vast sums of money and vast armaments into the apartheid regime of South Africa and Portugal. Not only is South Africa being assisted to grow stronger economically and militarily, but the cruelty, repression and exploitation of our African brothers have reached new heights.

At this point I must comment on the activities of the Liberation Committee set up under the Organisation of African Unity at Addis Ababa last year, on which both we and the Freedom Fighters pinned so much hope. It is with great regret that I raise the matter at all, but I would be failing in my duty to the Freedom Fighters and to the cause of African Liberation if I remain silent about the general dissatisfaction which exists regarding the functioning of this Committee.

The frequent and persistent reports from Freedom Fighters about the shortcomings of the aid and facilities for training offered to them, make it impossible for the Government of Ghana to turn over its contribution to this Committee until a reorganisation has taken place for more effective and positive action.

This is not a situation in which individuals or individual governments can be held to blame. It is our first essay in a task of stupendous magnitude and with stupendous difficulties. But some of the failures of the Committee are inexcusable because they were so unnecessary.

It failed, for instance, to make the best use of our resources since some military specialists have been excluded on ideological grounds.

FAILURE OF COMMITTEE OF NINE

If the Liberation Committee had made effective use of the military experience of Egypt and of Algeria, where neo-colonialist interference and espionage have been frustrated and held at bay, we would have given Freedom Fighters the necessary help in their liberation struggle.

The choice of the Congo (Leopoldville) as a training base for Freedom Fighters was a logical one, and there was every reason to accept the offer of the Congolese Government to provide offices and accommodation for the representatives of the Liberation Committee.

Africa's Freedom Fighters should not, however, have been exposed to the espionage, intrigues, frustrations and disappointments which they have experienced in the last eight months.

What could be the result of entrusting the training of Freedom Fighters against imperialism into the hands of an imperialist agent? Under the Liberation Committee set up at Addis Ababa, the Freedom Fighters had no real security, and were not provided with instruments for their struggle, nor were food, clothing and medicine given for the men in training. Thus, their training scheme collapsed within two months under the eyes of the Liberation Committee, and the Freedom Fighters became disappointed, disgruntled and frustrated.

I am giving you no more than the bare bones of the complaints of the Freedom Fighters. It will not avail us to have a lengthy post-mortem over past failures. But these failures must be understood and acknowledged. The disappointment and frustration of the Freedom Fighters must not be dismissed as unreal or unreasonable. Not only the Liberation Committee, but all of us are to blame, for the way in which we allowed the Liberation Committee to let down the Freedom Fighters.

We dare not say that they could have done their work better until we have all done better. The enormous task of liberating our continent cannot be undertaken in a spirit of compromise and surrender.

By raising a threat at Addis Ababa and not being able to take effective action against apartheid and colonialism, we have worsened the plight of our kinsmen in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. We have frightened the imperialists sufficiently to strengthen their defences and repression in Southern Africa, but we have not frightened them enough to abandon apartheid supremacy to its ill-fated doom.

It must be said that by merely making resolutions on African Unity; and not achieving our goal of a Union Government of Africa, we have made our task of freeing the rest of the African Continent harder and not easier.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Powers have not been deterred one whit from sending all the arms needed by the Salazar regime to keep down our kinsmen in its colonies. The Portuguese fascist regime has not made a single move to negotiate with the United Nations or with the nationalist forces. It has become more insolent, more mendacious and more repressive since our Conference in Addis Ababa.

What has gone wrong?

The imperialists regard our Charter of Unity as token unity; they will not respect it until it assumes the form of a Union Government. It is incredible that they will defy a united Continent. But it is easy to understand that they do not believe that we will be able to accomplish the next stage—to organise and centralise our economic and military and political forces to wage a real struggle against apartheid, Portuguese fascism and those who support these evils with trade, investments and arms.

We have not yet made the imperialists to believe that we can set our continent in order as a mighty economic force, capable of standing together as a united and progressive people.

Serious border disputes have broken out and disturbed our Continent, since our last meeting. Fortunately, good sense and African solidarity have prevailed in all those instances. But the disputes have been smothered, not settled. The artificial divisions of African States are too numerous and irrational for real permanent and harmonious settlements to be reached, except within the framework of a Continental Union.

How, for example, can we prevent the people of Western Somalia, whose whole livelihood is cattle-grazing, from continuing to look for fresh fields for grazing by travelling beyond traditional barriers without bringing them into clashes with their compatriots in Ethiopia?

And yet, in a united Africa, Ethiopian land and Somalian land, even though they may be separately sovereign within the framework of a Union Government of Africa, will belong to a common pool which would assist the general development of cattle-rearing in that part of our Continent, because there would be no artificial barriers to such development. The benefit of the development will be for the benefit of both Ethiopia and Somalia.

I said a little while ago, and I repeat, that the real border disputes will grow with the economic development and national strengthening of the African States as separate, balkanised governmental units. That was the historical process of independent states in other continents. We cannot expect Africa, with its legacy of artificial borders, to follow any other course, unless we make a positive effort to arrest that danger now; and we can do so only under a Union Government.

In other words, the careers and ambitions of political leaders, on one hand, and balkanized nationalism on the other, if allowed to grow and become entrenched, could constitute a brake on the unification of African States.

The Balkan States of Europe are a lesson for us. History has shown that where the Great Powers cannot colonise they balkanize. This is what they did to the Austro-

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KWAME NKRUMAH

(Full text of Speech delivered by Osagyefo to the African Heads of State at the Cairo Summit)

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Hungarian Empire and this is what they have done and are doing in Africa. If we allow ourselves to be balkanized, we shall be re-colonised and be picked off one after the other.

By far the greatest wrong which the departing colonialists inflicted on us, and which we now continue to inflict on ourselves in our present state of disunity, was to leave us divided into economically unviable States which bear no possibility of real development. As long as the chief consideration of the industrial nations was our raw materials at their own prices, this policy made sense for them, if not for us.

Now that their technological impetus is such that they need Africa even more as a market for their manufactured goods than as a source of raw materials, our economic backwardness no longer makes sense for them any more than for us. The output of their great industrial complexes is no longer the primitive and simple implements like hoes and shovels.

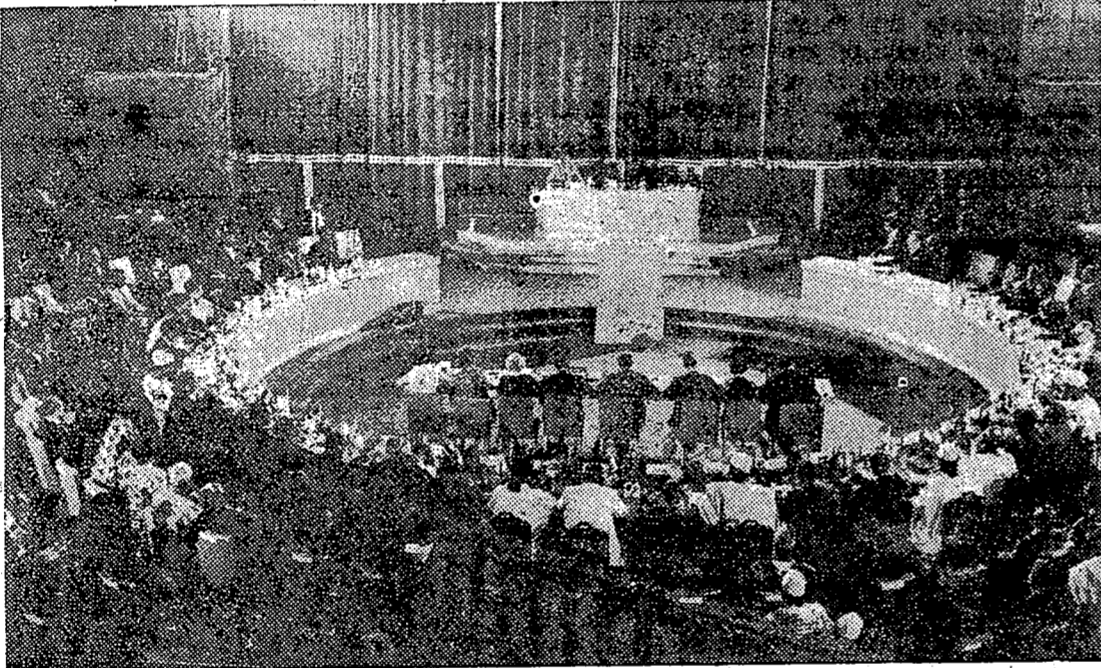
They now need vaster and more prosperous markets for heavy agricultural tractors and electronic machines. They wish to sell to us, not Ford motors propelled by magnetos or turbo-prop transport aircraft, but the latest in supersonic jets and atomic-powered merchant vessels. Which of us, trading separately in these highly developed market areas, can survive more than a year or two without remaining either economically backward, indebted, bankrupt or re-colonised?

There is much re-thinking on this score among the industrially-advanced countries, although their outlook is obscured because their economies are still geared to monopolistic devices for getting hold of our oil and gas deposits, uranium, gold, diamonds and other raw materials, cheap, and selling their manufactured goods back to us at exorbitant prices.

The poverty of the developing world has become a blot on the ethics and commonsense of the industrial nations. The recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was not organised by accident or solely by pressure from the developing nations. The growing economic gap between the two worlds spells misery for the developing countries, but it also threatens the industrialised nations with unemployment and with dangerous recessions and economic explosion.

We have reason to think that the imperialists themselves are in divided councils about the Unity of Africa. They must remain ambivalent, however, as long as they retain direct control over Southern Africa and neo-colonialist control of the Congo. The vast mineral wealth of those territories represents profits which they cannot willingly give up, even for greater markets in the rest of Africa.

But a Union Government of Africa would end the dilemma of the industrialised nations, because inevitably that wealth will be converted into capital for the development of Africa.



CAIRO SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN SESSION

The fact that imperialism and neo-colonialism are in that dilemma should be for us the clearest indication of the course we must follow. We must unite for economic viability, first of all, and then to recover our mineral wealth in Southern Africa; so that our vast resources and capacity for development will bring prosperity for us and additional benefits for the rest of the world. That is why I have written elsewhere that the emancipation of Africa could be the emancipation of Man.

Is there any need to point out again that we are potentially the world's richest continent, not only in mineral wealth, but also in hydro-electric power? The wealth of the Sahara is yet untapped; the waters and rivers of Tanganyika and Ethiopia are yet unharvested. All the capital we need for the development of these regions flows out of Africa today in gold, diamonds, copper, uranium and other minerals from Southern Africa, Northern Rhodesia, and the Congo, and other parts of the continent. Every year in the Sahara and in other parts of Africa, new stores of mineral, chemical and petroleum wealth are discovered.

What is lacking for us in Africa, but the will and the courage to unite a divided but compact continent.

Today, in countless ways, our people learn that their poverty is not a curse from the gods or burden imposed by the imperialists, but a political defect of our independence. The general realisation grows that independence is not enough without the unity of Africa, for that is the only road towards the economic emancipation and development of our continent.

We in Africa are living in the most momentous era of our history. In a little less than one decade the majority of the territories in our continent have emerged from colonialism into sovereignty and independence. In a few years from now, we can envisage that all Africa will be free from colonial rule. Nothing can stem our onward march to independence and freedom.

While we have cause to rejoice in this achievement, our central problem as Independent States is the fragmentation of our territories into little independent States and of our policies and programme into a patch-work of conflicting objectives and uncoordinated development and plans.

While the post-war years have seen a phenomenal rise in the prices of manufactured goods which we need to sustain progress and development in our States, the prices of the raw materials which we export to these countries have shown an alarmingly steady decline. So the disparity between the "haves" or the highly developed nations and the "have-nots" or developing nations, becomes inevitably wider and wider as our needs grow greater and greater. How can we resolve this tragic paradox, except by uniting our forces and working together in Africa as a team?

Let us look further back on the year that has just passed since

we first met at Addis Ababa last year. Think of the unfortunate clashes between Algeria and Morocco, between Somalia and Ethiopia and between Somalia and Kenya which nearly damaged and disrupted our new spirit of understanding and unity. If we had lived within a continental federal government in which the fortunes and fate of one were the fortunes and fate of all, could we have been drawn into such bloodshed with needless loss of precious African lives.

What shall I say of the military upheavals and mutinies in our sister States of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya? While no one among us here can tolerate indiscipline and mutiny in our armies, which of us was happy to learn that in their hour of need, our brothers were compelled to resort to the use of foreign troops—the troops of a former colonial power, at that—to bring these disturbances under control.

Before the damage was completely done our brothers were able to send away these foreign troops and, in one case, called for the assistance of troops from a Sister African State!

Surely, these events have a clear lesson for us all! How can we maintain the safety and security of our respective States as our responsibilities increase and our problems become more complex, except through a united defence arrangement which will invest us with the effective and powerful means for joint action at short notice?

Last year at Addis Ababa I gave the warning that if we did not come together as speedily as possible under a Union Government, there would be border clashes and our people, in their desperation to get the good things of life, would revolt against authority. Subsequent events have fully endorsed that warning.

Look at events in the Congo. Why did they remain so confused, so frustrating and even so tragic for so long? If we had all been jointly responsible for bringing our brothers in the Congo the assistance they needed in their hour of travail, who would have dared to interfere from outside Africa in Congolese affairs? Instead of this, what did we see in the Congo?

On the one hand, internal disagreements and discord, endless manoeuvring for positions among the political leaders, and even the tragedy of fratricidal strife. On the other hand, foreign intervention and pressures, intrigues and coercion, subversion and cajolery.

In all this confusion, the power of imperialism has a fertile ground. It even dares to use openly certain African States to promote its selfish plans for the exploitation and degradation of the Congo. We are unable to hold back foreign intrigues, because we are divided among ourselves. None of us is free and none of us can be safe, while there is frustration and instability in any part of this continent.

I do not need to go on citing specific instances of our common problems and difficulties to prove the urgency and the need for united action on a continental basis in Africa today. There is not one of us here now who does not suffer from the handicaps of our colonial past. Let us therefore move forward together in unity and in strength, confident in the knowledge that with such immense national and human resources as we possess in our continent, we cannot fail to make Africa one of the happiest, most prosperous and progressive areas of the world.

Two years ago, we were exposed to the ridicule of the world because they saw us as a divided Africa. They called us names which helped to widen the apparent breach among us: the "radical" Casablanca Powers, the "moderate" Monrovia Group, and the "pro-French" Brazzaville States. There was no justification for these labels, but to the imperialists they were a very convenient means of giving the dog a bad name and hanging him!

It is to our eternal credit that last year at Addis Ababa we put our enemies to shame by forging a common Charter from these groupings and emerging as the Organisation of African Unity. Let it be said that at Cairo we put them to greater shame by agreeing to the establishment of a Union Government of Africa.

Have you noticed, Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers, that so soon as we achieved this measure of agreement at Addis Ababa, the neo-colonialists and their agents proceeded to sow new seeds of disruption and dissension among us?

DANGER OF GRADUALISM

They became particularly active and vocal in preaching the new and dangerous doctrine of the "step by step" course towards unity. If we take one step at a time, when they are in a position to take six steps for every single one of ours, our weakness will, of course, be emphasized and exaggerated for their benefit. One step now, two steps later, then all will be fine in Africa for imperialism and neo-colonialism. To say that a Union Government for Africa is premature is to sacrifice Africa on the altar of neo-colonialism.

Let us move forward together to the wider fields of our heritage, strong in our unity, where our common aspirations and hopes find abundant expression in the power of our united endeavours.

All over Africa the essential economic pattern developed under colonialism, remains. Not one of us, despite our political independence, has yet succeeded in breaking, in any substantial measure, our economic subservience to economic systems external to Africa. It is the purpose of neo-colonialism to maintain this economic relationship.

The developed countries need the raw materials of Africa to maintain their own industries and they are anxious to find markets in Africa for their manufactured goods. But there can be no market for these manufactured goods unless the people of Africa have the money with which to buy them. Therefore I say that the developed countries have a vested interest in Africa's prosperity.

In many cases our most valuable raw materials—such as minerals—are owned and exploited by foreign companies. Large parts of the wealth of Africa, which could be used for economic development of Africa, are drained out of the continent in this way to bolster the economies of the developed nations.

It is true that the whole world is poised at a delicate economic balance and that economic collapse in any one part of the world would have grave repercussions on us.

Our situation in Africa is so weak that we are bound to be the first and the worst sufferers if economic difficulties should set in in Europe or America, and the effect upon us would be absolute and catastrophic. We have nothing to fall back on. We have become so utterly dependent upon these outside economic systems that we have no means of resistance to external economic pressures.

We have no economic resilience whatsoever within our own continent.

We are so cut off from one another that in many cases the road systems in each of our countries peter out into bush as they approach the frontier of our neighbour. How can we trade amongst ourselves when we do not even have proper means of physical communication? It is now possible to travel by air from Accra to London in six hours. I can fly from Accra to Nairobi or from Accra to Cairo in half a day. It is easy for us to get together to talk. But on the ground over which we fly with such ease and nonchalance, it is frequently impossible to engage in the most elementary trade simply because there are no proper roads, and because we are artificially divided and balkanised.

Our few and negligible roads and railways always lead, ultimately, to some ports. In a sense they have become symbols of our economic subservience and our dependence on trade outside the African Continent.

We have inherited from colonialism and economic pattern from which it is difficult to escape. Great forces are arrayed to block our escape. When individually we try to find some economic independence, pressures are brought against us that are often irresistible owing to our disunity.

I am not arguing that we should cut off all economic relationships with countries outside Africa. I am not saying that we should spurn foreign trade and reject foreign investment. What I am saying is that we should get together, think together, plan together and organise our African economy as a unity, and negotiate our general continental economic planning. Only in this way can we negotiate economic arrangements on terms fair to ourselves.

The Organisation of African Unity was a declaration of intention to unite. It was an optimistic beginning. But we need more than this. We must unite NOW under a Union Government if this intention is to have any meaning and relevance.

Talk is worthless if it does not lead to action. And so far as Africa is concerned, action will be impossible if it is any further delayed. Those forces which endanger our continent do not stand still. They are not moving step by step. They are marching in double step against us.

Every day we delay the establishment of a Union Government of Africa, we subject ourselves to outside economic domination. And our political independence as separate States becomes more and more meaningless.

Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers: as I said a few minutes ago, this decade is Africa's finest hour. Great things are in store for us if we would but take our courage in our hands and reach out towards them. How would South Africa dare to sentence Nelson Mandela and his seven brave colleagues against protests of a United Africa? How could Portugal dare think of continuing the violation of the sovereignty of Angola and Mozambique or so-called "Portuguese Guinea", if these formed part of a United Government of Africa? How could a white settler minority Government in Southern Rhodesia dare to lock up Nkomo and Sithole?

AID FROM ROBBERS

We have gone to Geneva to seek a major victory in our quest for fair play and justice in international trade. There were no less than seventy-five of us in one group set against the few of the great industrialised communities of Europe and the United States. And yet how weak was our bargaining power because of our political and economic disunity and divisions.

How much more effective would our efforts have been if we had spoken with the one voice of Africa's millions. With all our minerals and water-power and fertile lands, is it not a cause for shame that we remain poor and content to plead for aid from the very people who have robbed us of our riches in the past?

How can Egypt, strategically situated as it is, combat the imperialism and neo-colonialism and solve the pressing and urgent problems of the Middle East unless it has the backing of a Union Government of Africa? Only a Union Government can assist in the solution of the problems of the Middle East including the Palestinian question.

Mr. Chairman,

Let us remember, Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers, the Sahara no longer divides us. We do not see ourselves merely as Arab Africa, Black Africa, English Africa or French Africa. We are one people, one Continent with one destiny.

I see no way out of our present predicament except through the force and power of a Union Government of Africa. By this I do not mean the abrogation of any sovereignty. I seek no regional unions as a basis for unity. Indeed, the more independent States there are within our Union Government, the stronger will be our unity, and the freer will be each sovereign State within the Union to attend to its specific and exclusive problems.

The specific fields of common action I have in mind are: Defence, Foreign Policy and Economic Development (including a common currency for Africa).

In this way instead of a Charter which operates on the basis of peripatetic or widely-separated commissions under the control of an administrative secretariat without political direction, we shall have a government for joint action in three fields of our governmental activity.

It has been suggested from this rostrum, and it is on our agenda also, that we should decide at this Conference as to the location of the Permanent Headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity and appoint a permanent Secretary-General. If, as I hope, we agree in principle, at this Conference, to move on to the establishment of a Union Government of Africa, we shall require quite a different set of criteria for selecting the Headquarters of the Organisation and its permanent officials. We should also be careful to avoid being drawn into discussions at this stage which could lead to a clash of interests as to which country should have the Headquarters or provide a Secretary-General. This could harm the very unity which we are trying now to establish. I feel very strongly that the status quo should remain.

I see no objection, however, to the proposal that we should appoint a Secretary-General, provided it is agreed that the appointment is made on a provisional basis only. I feel that Addis Ababa should continue as the Provisional Headquarters of our Organisation.

Mr. Chairman,

I would like to express on behalf of Ghana our sincere thanks to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and to the Ethiopian Government for maintaining the Provisional Secretariat up to now. I feel, however, that before we rise we should make appropriate contributions from our various States for the upkeep of this Organisation. The burden should not be Ethiopia's alone.

I would like to state in this connection that Ghana is not interested in either the Headquarters or the Secretary-Generalship of the Organisation.

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What Took Place

THE main feature of the recent conference of Commonwealth Premiers in London during July 8-15 was neither its successes nor its failures. Rather, it was the sharp divisions which exist among the members which make up this unique institution. Among the member states there is no economic unity, vast differences in living standards, no united political outlook, no agreement on military strategy, different conceptions of racial equality, and conflicting attitudes to imperialism.

Earlier in 1964 there was no intention of convening another conference before the General Election in Britain. At the 1961 Conference South Africa was forced out of the Commonwealth. In 1962 the majority of member states were against Britain joining the European Common Market. There was growing opinion that British ruling circles were more concerned about Europe, and that the Labour Party in Britain was more enthusiastic about the Commonwealth.

This growing trend seriously disturbed British ruling circles. It was this that prompted Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Prime Minister, to convene a new conference before the General Election, due in October 1964. His main aim was to propose a Commonwealth "new deal" to assist the "poor" nations of the Commonwealth. It was certainly far from his intention to have prolonged discussions on Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and British Guiana. It was only the pressure of the new member states of the Commonwealth which forced these issues to the forefront.

RHODESIA FIRST ISSUE

Even before the conference commenced, Ghana put the spotlight on this problem by circulating its attitude in a printed pamphlet entitled *Britain's responsibility in Southern Rhodesia*. Its main theme was to contest the argument that Britain had no power to intervene. It emphasised that Britain had its own Governor in Southern Rhodesia for forty years, that it was not self-governing in respect of the African majority, and that it was Britain's responsibility to ensure majority rule before independence was achieved.

Sir Albert Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, used these arguments on the first day of the conference, and started the ball rolling. Jomo Kenyatta, President Nkrumah, Dr. Milton Obote and others, joined in the debate. Dr. Eric Williams of Trinidad, sharply contrasted the intervention of Britain in British Guiana against the Dr. Jagan government which had won the majority of seats in elections based on universal suffrage, as distinct from the refusal of Britain to intervene in Southern Rhodesia, where the government had been elected by a small white minority.

The first three days of the conference were fully occupied with strong criticism against British policy in relation to Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, British Guiana, and Cyprus. This was a setback for Sir Alec Douglas-Home, whose main concern in his opening address on the first day was to combine "cold war" propaganda with the strategy of extending so-called economic aid to the newer members of the Commonwealth.

THE "COLD WAR"

Next day President Nkrumah made strong objections to this aspect of Sir Alec's speech, and started off his own speech with these words:

"Mr. Prime Minister: I am sorry that so much of our time yesterday was taken up by a discussion about communism, as if

this was an important issue in Commonwealth affairs. On the contrary, the troubles of the developing world are more often caused by attempts to introduce cold war politics into parts of the world which are not concerned with these issues. To introduce the cold war into the politics of developing nations is to do them the greatest disservice. Perhaps the greatest enemy of the Commonwealth is the cold war, which I believe must at all costs be kept out of Commonwealth politics."

Sir Alec's cold war strategy was designed to divert attention from the crucial issue of Southern Rhodesia. But it did not succeed. This issue was raised time and time again during the first three days, and could not be ignored. Many hours were spent in preparing the final statement put before the members on the last day of the conference. Its language betrays the frantic efforts made to find the most subtle phrases which give the appearance of giving in to the pressure on this problem, but which in fact commits the British Government to nothing.

FINAL STATEMENT

The relevant part of the final conference statement adopted, reads as follows:

"Britain said that Southern Rhodesia would attain full sovereignty as soon as her Governmental institutions were sufficiently representative.

"They recognised that the authority and responsibility for leading her remaining Colonies to independence must continue to rest with Britain.

"At the same time, Prime Ministers of other Commonwealth countries expressed their views to the Prime Minister of Britain on the question of the progress of Southern Rhodesia towards independence within the Commonwealth.

"They also noted with approval the statement already made by the British Government that they would not recognise any unilateral declaration of independence; and the other Prime Ministers made it clear that they would be unable to recognise any such declaration.

"The view was also expressed that an Independence Conference should be convened which the leaders of all parties in Southern Rhodesia should be free to attend.

"The object would be to seek agreement on the steps by which Southern Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth at the earliest practicable time on the basis of majority rule. With a view to diminishing tensions and preparing the way for such a conference, an appeal was made for the release of

all the detained African leaders.

"The Prime Ministers called upon all leaders and their supporters to exercise moderation and to abstain from violence; and they affirmed their belief that the best interest of all sections of the population lay in developing confidence and co-operation, on the basis of tolerance, mutual understanding and justice.

"In this connection they recognised the necessity for giving confidence to the minority community in Southern Rhodesia that their interests would be protected.

"The Prime Minister of Britain said that he would give careful consideration to all the views expressed by other Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

"At the same time he emphasized that the Government of Southern Rhodesia was constitutionally responsible for the internal affairs of that territory and that the question of the granting of independence was a matter of decision by the British Parliament."

(Daily Mail 16/7/64)

Even in face of the, strongly expressed views of the majority of the member states, there is still no guarantee that the British Government will insist upon African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, and upon a new constitutional conference to "decide" the date for independence. Still less is there any prospect that Britain will stop sending arms to South Africa, and operate a trade boycott.

The member states can only express their views. They cannot impose majority decisions upon Britain. The British Government alone will decide whether or not it will translate into practice the majority viewpoint expressed at the conference. So the struggle for African democracy in Southern Rhodesia, and the end of apartheid rule in South Africa is not ended. It will possibly be carried a stage further at the Cairo Conference of independent African States on July 17. But the real struggle for victory is still to come.

THE COMMONWEALTH

What is this British Commonwealth?

It is a unique institution which has grown and developed from the victories of national liberation and the winning of political independence in so many former British colonies since the end of the second world war. On the surface, all its members are equal. But in reality, British imperialism is still at the centre, and in key control.

Formerly it was the British Empire. Of its original members, only four remain. They are Britain and the "White Dominions"—Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. After political independence in 1947, India, Pakistan and Ceylon became members, and the name the "British Empire" was changed to the "British Commonwealth". After 1954, Ghana became a member and was joined by all the other former British colonies which have since won their political independence.

Apart from the four ori-

ginal members, there are now fourteen other members. The population of the original four is only 80 million. The population of the fourteen new members is over 660 million, all of them non-white peoples. They also happen to be the "poor" nations, which Sir Alec Douglas-Home pretends to be so anxious to assist. In reality the British imperialist aim is to maintain the Commonwealth as a channel for continued economic exploitation of the new member states, while trying to conceal this with talk of "equal rights" and phoney schemes of "economic aid".

Even stalwart supporters of the Commonwealth have to admit that it is incapable of united action by all its member states on any important international issue. There is little in common among its member states. A well-known Labour journalist, John Hatch, writing in the *New Statesman* on the eve of the conference pointed out that:

"The only common foundation which this association has ever possessed is its descent from the British Empire."

(3/7/64)

Until now all the machinery of the Commonwealth has been in the hands of the British Government. It controls the Commonwealth Relations Office from London; decides all matters for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; and directs the activities of all the special committees of the Commonwealth—economic, agriculture, science, air transport, shipping, tele-

communications, and many others.

It was possibly with this in mind that President Nkrumah proposed the formation of a "Commonwealth Secretariat", so that other Commonwealth members would be able to exercise control over its affairs. It is quite likely that the British Government will accept this proposal in principle, but it is extremely doubtful whether this will mean a great deal in practice.

The real position is that Britain is the only imperialist country among all the eighteen members of the Commonwealth. Canada, Australia and New Zealand have the closest relations with Britain because they are also capitalist countries. But capitalism has not found deep roots in any of the countries of the other fourteen members, although there are varying degrees of capitalist development in India, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Jamaica, Cyprus, and Trinidad.

BRITISH "NEW DEAL"

Although these fourteen members have won political independence they still remain as spheres of economic exploitation for British imperialism. The imperialist strategy of neo-colonialism is the basis of Britain's relations with them. Not only is British imperialism anxious to maintain close relation with the white minority in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, in defiance of all United Nations resolutions on these matters, it is also anxious to increase its profits from overseas investment.



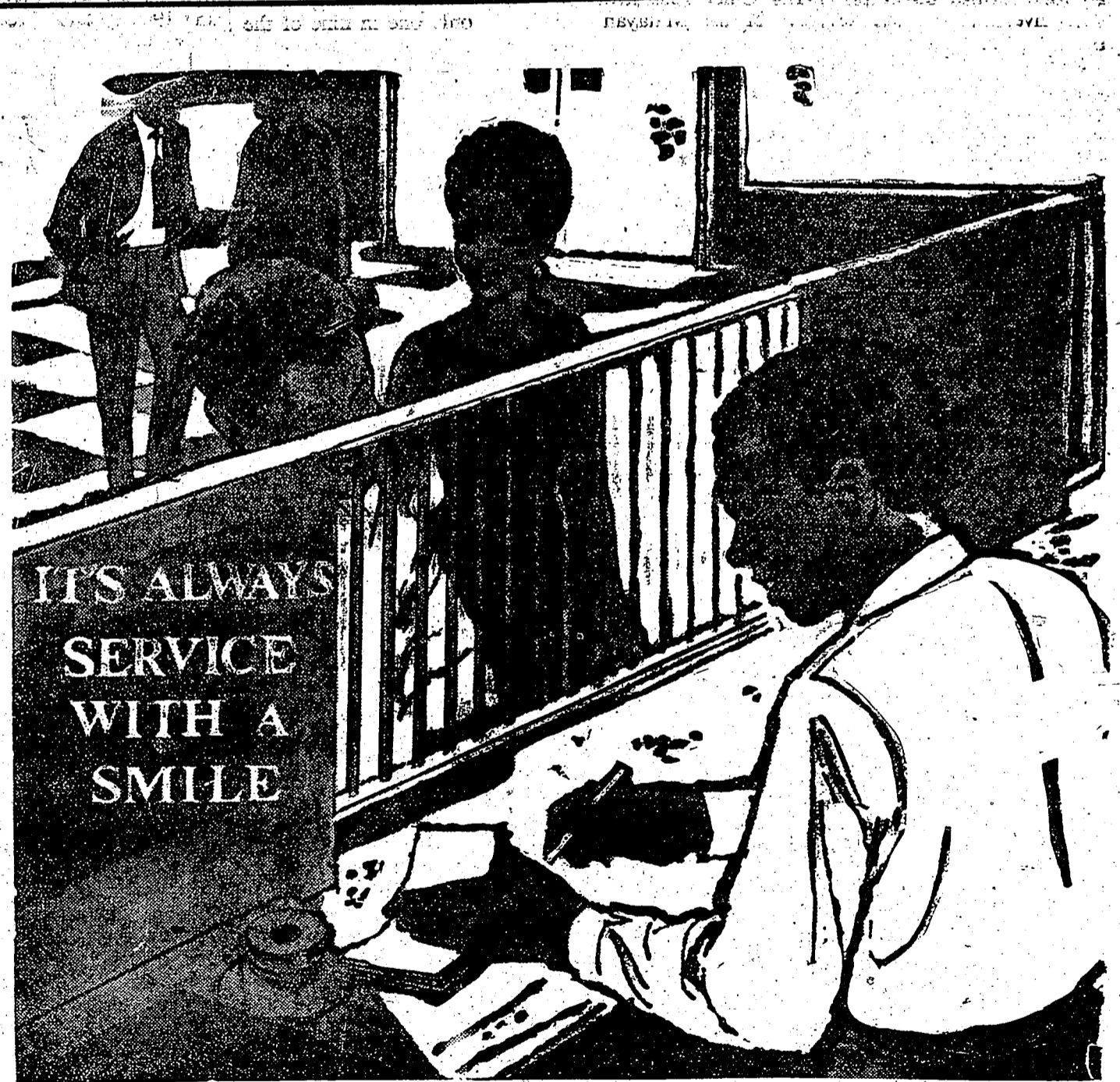
President Nkrumah... "the advance of every individual independent African state depends primarily on driving out colonialism and neo-colonialism from every part of Africa."

For several weeks before the Conference Sir Alec Douglas-Home shed crocodile tears about the sharp contrast between the "rich" and "poor" nations of the Commonwealth. With a great fanfare of trumpets the British press and radio forecast that he would announce a "new deal" for the "poor" nations. When this was announced at the Conference on July 13, the trumpets died down to a whimper. There is nothing in the "new deal" which gives direct aid for economic development. Sir Alec's six-point plan is intended only to provide "personnel" to the newly-independent states—a new, but crude

extension of the whole strategy of neo-colonialism. The essence of the plan is:

1. Commonwealth projects for technical assistance.
2. Capital aid for higher education.
3. Specialised staff to give training in public administration.
4. A "Commonwealth Foundation" to develop professional bodies (law, medicine, education, engineering, accountancy, etc).
5. A Commonwealth medical conference to consider medical services where most needed.

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People in all walks of life in Ghana SAVE with the National Bank, because they are sure of earning more—3½% interest on their savings.

Services include

- * Savings Accounts
- * Current Accounts
- * Letters of Credit
- * Travellers Cheques
- * Documentary Bill Facilities
- * Foreign Transactions

GHANA COMMERCIAL BANK

Branches throughout Ghana

in London by IDRIS COX

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6. Greater assistance for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and more exchanges between Commonwealth leaders, especially the youth.

There is not a single word about development grants and loans; about the huge profits drained by foreign monopoly firms, and certainly nothing on the colossal robbery of African countries by paying lower prices for their exports while pushing up the prices of goods which these countries have to import.

The "new deal" will do nothing to close the gap between the "rich" and "poor" countries of the Commonwealth. Britain still remains an imperialist exploiter. The fact that independent African states have become members of the Commonwealth has not changed the process of imperialist exploitation. In reality many of them are being exploited more than ever before.

OVERSEAS INVESTMENT

Let us take first the direct profits from overseas investment. Government circles in Britain have always tried to conceal the extent of their investments abroad, and the scale of overseas profit. Financial circles interested in overseas investment have long been pressing for more official information. Though complete accounts are not yet available, the official Board of Trade Journal of November 5, 1963, estimated total British direct private investment abroad to be at £3,500 million.

This is only part of the story. Apart from direct investment by monopoly firms in Britain, there are also "portfolio" investments in British firms registered abroad, together with investments in oil, insurance and banking—

which are separate from both the direct and portfolio investments.

The quarterly report of the Bank of England for April 1964, gives a new estimate of total British investments abroad: direct, £3,500 million; portfolio, £3,000 million; oil £1,100 million; insurance £350 million; and official Government investments £2,071 million. The estimate for oil investment is incomplete, insurance estimates are for the United States only, and no estimate is given for banking.

This gives a total British overseas investment figure of over £10,000 million, and even this is far from being complete. The Bank of England report points out that "The total shown is therefore a substantial understatement", and that "...the effect of the incompleteness or unavailability of statistics for several important items is undoubtedly to understate United Kingdom external assets more seriously than the external liabilities".

More than half the British overseas investments are in Canada and the sterling area, with Australia coming close behind Canada, then India, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, New Zealand and Nigeria. No information is available on the total distribution of these overseas investments. The November 5, 1963 issue of the Board of Trade Journal gives only the distribution of the direct private investment in the various countries abroad.

For Malaya, the estimate was £104 million British investment in 1962. The Chief Executive Officer of the Malayan Rubber Growers' Association wrote to the London Financial Times on July 13, 1964, giving conclusive proof that this estimate was far too low. The letter revealed that British investments in Malayan rubber alone that year were £130 million, and that total Bri-

tish investments were no less than £260 million, pointing out that: "In the view of many people, even the figure of £260 million is too low."

HUGE PROFITS

It seems clear from this that even the Bank of England's estimate of £12,000 million for British foreign investment is too low. So it is not surprising that figures given of British profits from foreign investments are also far below the real total. The official 1962 Annual Balance of Payments, reports that new British foreign investments for the four years 1958-61 were £1,271 million, but the total profit for the same period, after payment of tax, was no less than £2,654 million—more than double. In the sterling area, the total profit was three times more than the new investments.

Even this figure is an under-estimate, for the 1963 Annual Report on Balance of Payments gives a total of £5,645 million for "British property income received from abroad" for the five years 1958-62. This does not include oil and insurance profits, or shipping credits. It seems clear that total British profits from overseas investment in 1962 were not far below £2,000 million.

It is the big British monopoly firms who get most of this. The Board of Trade Journal on April 19, 1963, revealed that 73 per cent of British overseas profits in 1961 went to 230 monopoly firms, each getting a minimum profit of £250,000—and these number only one in nine of the 1,720 British monopoly firms engaged in overseas exploitation.

These huge profits are swollen by the process of imperialist robbery going on in the capitalist world market today. The United Nations Economic Commission estimated that the

"primary producing" countries (those who have won political independence since 1945), lost no less than £800 million in 1959, due to the decline in the prices of their exports, and the rise in the prices of their imports. In the report of Mr. Raoul Prebisch, Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held earlier this year, in Geneva, he estimates that by 1970 these countries would lose no less than £7,000 million.

MARKET ROBBERY

The way in which this works out for Ghana and Nigeria is revealed in The Statistical and Economic Review of the United Africa Company Limited (April 1964). Taking 1954 as the basis (equal to 100) it gives the following table:

	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	% change 1957-1962
Ghana							
Value	80	92	99	101	102	102	+ 27.5
Volume	123	102	122	144	171	189	+ 53.7
Price	65	90	82	70	57	52	- 20.0
Nigeria							
Value	85	91	109	110	116	112	+ 37.8
Volume	106	105	126	124	147	156	+ 47.2
Price	84	85	89	90	84	80	- 4.8

In the last decade the volume of Africa's exports has more than doubled, but its value has increased by less than 10 per cent. Primary products are the most seriously affected. Uganda's volume of cotton exports increased by 85 per cent during 1954-60, but its value by only 5 per cent. The volume of Nigeria's cocoa exports rose 120 per cent between 1955-62, but its value declined 3 per cent. In 1962 Ghana received only £70 for the same volume of exports for which it received £100 in 1954; but had to pay £107 for imports which cost £100 in 1954.

At the London Conference on July 14, President Nkrumah pointed out that Ghana had made a big

increase in its cocoa output, but her foreign earnings were static because world prices had fallen. In contrast, big profits were being made in Britain in processing cocoa, and "manufacturing countries exerted a stranglehold through their superior economic power."

The result is that all the independent African States find it more difficult to earn from their exports to pay for their imports. Those African countries which rely a great deal upon loans from Britain and other imperialist countries, are unable to pay the high interest rates, let alone repaying the capital. The Overseas Review, November 1962, (of Barclay's Bank), had to admit that:

"It has been estimated that 34 countries, with populations representing 70

per cent of the underdeveloped world, doubled their external debt between 1956 and 1961, during the same period their total export earnings increased by only 15 per cent."

STRATEGY OF "ECONOMIC AID"

The imperialist strategy is to offer "economic aid" schemes in an attempt to cover-up this gigantic robbery. Even this is cut down to the minimum, for the imperialists even grudge spending money to cover up their system of exploitation. In the twelve years from 1951 to 1963, the total amount of British "economic aid" to all countries was £1,180 mil-

lion—less than one year's profit from overseas exploitation.

This total includes military expenditure in Aden, Cyprus, British Guiana and North Borneo and special grants to serve overseas military air bases—Libya, Maldives Islands, etc. It also includes grants and loans (mainly for military purposes) to foreign countries, including that spent for United Nations military action in the Congo.

The recent grant of £60 million to Kenya was by no means intended for direct economic aid. It was prompted by the fact that the Chinese Peoples' Republic had earlier given an interest-free loan of £5½ million and an outright gift of £1 million, and by the fact that the Soviet Union had offered to construct a textile mill, a fish cannery and processing

factories for sugar and fruit, a new radio station, a 200-bed hospital, and a technical college for 1,000 students.

This is real economic aid. Compare it with the £60 million "grant" to Kenya. Over £13 million of this is a loan to compensate the British civil servants; £10 million is a grant to recruit British technical and professional staff; £12 million is for buying out the white settlers (of which £7½ million is a loan), and £3½ million is for arms equipment. Of the total, no less than £24 million is on loan, to be repaid at high rates of interest.

This is the essence of neo-colonialist strategy. The British aim is to establish closer political rela-

tions with the Kenya Government in the hope that it will serve the interests of British imperialism throughout East Africa. Whether this strategy will succeed will depend primarily upon the attitude of the masses in Kenya and their pressure on the Government to pursue an independent policy against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Nearly half the British "economic aid" was in loans, to be repaid at rates of interest varying from five to seven per cent, with the condition that the money must be spent to buy British goods. Until recently British grants-in-aid could be spent anywhere; but there is now also a condition that the money must be spent in Britain. In a report to the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, in August 1962, it was stated that between 80 and 85 per cent of its "foreign aid" that year, had had to be spent in the United States. This is now a growing feature of Britain's "economic aid" policy.

What is more, total British "economic aid" was less last year than it was the previous year. In 1961-62, it was £160 million, but in 1962-63, it had dropped to £148 million. Less than ten per cent of this was for direct economic development. So much for all the talk about increasing "economic aid"!

Within this total the amount for "technical assistance" rose from £21 million in 1961-62, to £23 million in 1962-63, and is estimated at £30 million for 1963-64. All that is now proposed by Sir Alec, is that the present £2½ million a year for the capital cost of higher education should be increased to £5 million a year for the next five years, and that £125,000 a year should be provided to "develop contacts between professional bodies". Surely a sprat to catch a mackerel!

During 1962-63 "economic aid" for Africa dropped to £52 million from £71½ million the previous year. Loans dropped by £17 million and grants by £2 million, but "technical" assistance expanded with the supply of "experts, teachers and advisers", reaching 364 compared with 285 the previous year. Training courses and facilities were 745 as against 639, and scholarships, fellowships and other awards were 1,367 as against 891. The strategy of this is that from among this trained personnel there will be new recruits who will perform a similar political service of praising Britain's "generosity", as is the aim of the "Peace Corps" for the United States.

True, there may be many amongst this category who may be won over to support the economic and political aims of the independent states in Africa. But this will depend upon the conscious endeavours being made in Africa itself to influence their political outlook, and secure their cooperation in fulfilling the big tasks which lie ahead.

From the standpoint of Africa's future, the Cairo Conference of African Heads of State was far more decisive than the Conference of Commonwealth Premiers in London. As President Nkrumah has emphasised so many times, the advance of every individual independent African State depends primarily on driving out colonialism and neo-colonialism from every part of Africa. It will be in this struggle that Africa will achieve unity.

AFRICA SPEAKS THROUGH KWAME

Continued from page 3

Mr. Chairman, Two-hundred-and-eighty million people in strength with a common destiny and a common goal could give progress and development in Africa a new momentum and an impetus which could go beyond our wildest dreams. Do not let us speak and act as if we are not aware of the revolutionary forces surging through Africa today. Even the industrialised nations outside Africa recognize this now.

This would be a more realistic "step" towards the Unity of Africa.

Two-hundred-and-eighty million people in strength with a common destiny and a common goal could give progress and development in Africa a new momentum and an impetus which could go beyond our wildest dreams.

Today, there may be frustration, doubt and distrust in every part of our Continent, but tomorrow will see a new hope and a new march to glory, under a United Government capable of speaking with one voice for all Africa.

Mr. Chairman, For a few moments, please permit me to refer to the pattern of economic structure which we inherited from the colonialists in Africa. All of us, under colonial rule, were encouraged to produce a limited number of primary commodities, mainly agricultural and mineral, for export overseas. Capital for development was owned by foreigners and profits were vigorously transferred abroad.

A trade pattern of this sort stagnated the rest of our national economy, and our resources remained undeveloped. In consequence, indigenous capital formation was negligible, leaving all our countries in a state of abject poverty.

Since independence, we have been making energetic efforts to reverse and overhaul these unsatisfactory features in our economy. In some of the Independent African States great efforts have been made to relax traditional economic links with the ex-colonial powers, but none of us can say that we have succeeded in breaking those dangerous links completely.

Another handicap which we suffered from colonialism was the restriction of our economies which has hampered economic development in many ways. The very fact that all the Independent African States produce and maintain development plans is an indication of our deep concern for realising nationalist aspirations and improving the conditions of living of our people.

But however deep our concern, however strong our determination, these development plans will avail us nothing if the necessary capital is not available. This capital, as we all know, is everywhere desperately short. The men with the know-how are few and scattered. It is by our coming together and pulling our resources that we can find a solution to this problem. In other words, only by unified economic planning on a continental

basis with a central political direction within a Union Government can we hope to meet the economic challenge of our time.

It takes millions of pounds to build the basic industries, irrigation and power plants which will enable us to escape from our present economic stagnation. Our various individual, separate, balkanized States cannot mobilise the enormous amount of money required for these major projects and industrial complexes. We cannot bargain effectively for the essential funds from foreign sources on the best possible terms. What we are doing now is to compete between ourselves for the little capital available from foreign sources.

In our scramble to get this capital we grant foreign firms extensive and lucrative concessions for the exploitation of our natural resources. These concessions to secure this capital exacerbate the colonial pattern of our economy. We invest more in raw materials output than in industrial development, and the continued drain abroad of profits which should have been re-invested in economic development retards the progress of our industrialisation plans.

In a continental federal union, we can easily mobilise the amount of capital available to the African States by the establishment of a Central Monetary Development Finance Bank. Already, our various States have agreed to form an African Development Bank. This, however, cannot succeed without a continental economic plan and without the necessary political direction which only a Union Government of Africa can provide.

An African Monetary Development Bank of the kind I envisage will enable us to formulate continental agreements concerning the terms of loans and investments by foreign interests. Together, we can bargain far more effectively with foreign firms and governments for investments and loans for the kinds of industries we desire and not those they desire. We can bargain on the terms of these loans and we can ensure that the increased savings which will arise from continental development of Africa's huge resources will enable us to develop even more rapidly. The unnecessary competition amongst us for capital would cease and moreover we can work up continental tariff policies designed to protect newly developing African industries. The great risks involved in investing in our individual countries will be reduced, for in an African economic union our development projects would be backed by all the African States together. But even this healthy sign of development is in grave danger of driving us against one another. As the general conditions of our economy are similar in all the Independent African States, and as our national development plans are not being co-ordinated, this can only lead to a concomitant expansion of our separate productive capacities in excess of the quantity which can be profitably marketed either internally or abroad. The result of this is obviously the certainty of establishing cut-throat competition among us with heavy financial losses to our respective economies.

Continued on page 8

POST-WAR TREND IN U.S. INVESTMENTS ABROAD

SINCE the Second World War, U.S. imperialism has made large-scale exports of capital in the following circumstances:

1. The sphere of capitalist exploitation has become much smaller as a result of the formation and growth of the Socialist Camp.

2. The imperialist-colonial system is rapidly disintegrating, and the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America has seriously weakened imperialist colonial control.

3. Both defeated West Germany and Japan, once retired from the world political arena, as well as weakened Britain and France recovered and increased their economic strength to varying degrees in the late fifties. This has resulted in an acute struggle among the imperialist countries for markets, raw materials and spheres of investment.

HUGE EMPIRE

Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists are "trying to build a huge empire in the capitalist world, such as has never been known before. This huge empire, which the United States is seeking to build, would involve the direct enslavement not only of such vanquished nations as West Germany, Italy and Japan, and of their former colonies and spheres of influence, but also of its own wartime allies, Britain, France, Belgium etc. and their existing and former colonies and spheres of influence."

After the War, tremendous U.S. investments were made abroad in just this complex international situation filled with contradictions.

Let us examine the trend of changes in U.S. investments in foreign countries in the post-war period.

According to incomplete and deliberately watered-down figures released by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the post-war increases in U.S. investments in foreign countries are as follows:

Year-End Figures (in 1,000 million dollars)			
	1939	1946	1962
TOTAL	11.4	18.7	80.1
Private Investments	11.4	13.5	59.8
a) Long-term	10.8	12.3	52.6
1) Direct investments	7.0	7.2	37.1
2) Securities and others	3.8	5.1	15.4
b) Short-term	0.6	1.3	7.2
Government Credits	—	5.2	20.3
a) Long-term	—	5.0	16.0
b) Short-term	—	0.2	4.3

It can be seen from the above figures that post-war U.S. investments in various forms have risen sharply. Investments in 1962 totalled seven times the 1939 figure. The large-scale export of government capital marks an important change in the form of capital export by imperialist countries after the War. This is also a new aspect of U.S. imperialist capital export. Long-term loans granted by U.S. government agencies and banks include loans covered by the 1945 U.S.-U.K. Financial Agreement loans provided by the Import-Export Bank, loans under the "Joint Security Programme", and loans for the purchase of surplus goods.

These loans play a role far beyond the scope of loan

capital itself. Each loan is made for military and political motives with terms that infringe the sovereignty and interfere in the internal affairs and foreign policy of the debtor nation. Without exception, the agreements carry the words "to stimulate private U.S. investors".

MARSHALL PLAN

In the years just after the War, the United States pushed the west European countries on to the path of arms expansion and war preparations by introducing the "Marshall Plan".

In recent years, it has shifted its main attention to Asia, Africa and Latin America, pretending to offer "aid". It has increased its political and economic stranglehold on the developing countries through the export of government capital, carrying out its neo-colonialist policy of aggression.

The figures also show that long-term direct private investment had increased to over 37 thousand million dollars by the end of 1962, that is, more than five times the pre-war figure. It should be pointed out that this is a doctored official figure. The actual figure has been estimated at no less than 75 thousand million dollars.

Since the Second World War, U.S. direct investment abroad has been growing, and accounted for more than 70 per cent of all private investments at the beginning of the sixties. In the first decade after the War, although the United States held absolute sway over the capitalist world in capital export, the increase in securities or bonds was insignificant.

INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL

It was not until 1958 that investment in securities reached the peak level of the pre-war twenties. The composition of U.S. private long-term investment is: in 1962, direct investments accounted for 71 per cent, securities and other investments, 29 per cent; in 1930, the former accounted for 53 per cent and the latter, 47 per cent.

The change in the composition of U.S. private long-term investments abroad shows that the export of loans is comparatively small and the main emphasis has shifted to the export of industrial capital. This means that the U.S. monopolies are no longer content with indirect participation in the economic activity of the enterprises in the countries where they invest, but want to control the ownerships and management of these enterprises, to monopolise commodity production in these countries and to have direct control over their economy.

It also shows that the U.S. monopolists are not satisfied with interest and dividends, but want to rake in higher monopolistic

super-profits, to carry out capitalisation abroad, and to set up "permanent" positions for exploitation.

LATE-PARTNER

In the years following the War, the U.S. exported enormous sums of government capital. Around 1950, government loans accounted for more than 40 per cent of the total accumulated investments. But by 1954 there was an adverse balance in the export of government capital. After that, however, the export of government capital increased year by year. It has shifted mainly to so-called "economic aid" to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The export of huge private capital began only after the fifties. In recent years, the export of private capital to the West European countries has increased notably, while that to the Latin American countries dropped relatively, in sharp contrast to the export of government capital.

U.S. imperialism is a late-partner in the "partitioning of the world." But like other imperialist countries, the greater part of its private capital abroad is invested in colonies and dependent countries. Up to the eve of the Second World War, the main outlet for

imperialism tries to achieve a monopoly over the capitalist world by means of capital export, with state capital and private capital supplementing each other.

The expansion of the sphere of capital export by the United States in the post-war years began in west European countries. The conclusion of the 1945 U.S.-U.K. Financial Agreement, the introduction of the "Marshall Plan" in 1948, and the establishment of NATO laid the foundation for U.S. political and economic control over West European countries and its penetration into their colonies and dependencies in Asia and Africa.

"POINT-FOUR PROGRAMME"

In 1949, Harry S. Truman advanced the "Point-Four Programme". In the name of "economic and technical aid" and in the form of bilateral agreements or treaties, the programme won prerogatives and protection for U.S. capital in penetrating the economic branches of the developing countries in the early fifties.

The export of U.S. private capital then increased considerably. In the 1956-1957 fiscal year the net export of private capital came

to around 3,000 million dollars. This was a turning point in the increase of post-war private investments. In the years following the rate of increase grew remarkably.

At the same time profound changes took place in the capitalist world. Since 1957, in particular, these changes have shaken U.S. imperialist hegemony. On the one hand, the imperialist colonial system was breaking up faster with a large number of independent states coming into being, and U.S. monopoly capital met with opposition by oppressed nations and peoples everywhere.

On the other hand, governed by the law of the uneven political and economic development of capitalism, the west European countries and Japan were engaged in a fierce scramble with U.S. imperialism for markets, raw materials and areas for investment.

To seize west European markets, that of the Common Market countries in particular, U.S. monopolies try to by-pass the tariff barrier by making large-scale investments in west European countries.

CAPITAL INFILTRATION

The concentration of investments in manufacturing by U.S. monopolies in the developed countries is due to the favourable conditions (availability of power, skilled labour, etc). More important to the U.S. monopolies is that they can by-pass tariff barriers, break through such protective measures as import restrictions and foreign exchange control, make use of local cheap labour and compete with local monopolies.

The large-scale infiltration of U.S. capital into the Common Market countries and Britain shows that U.S. capital export is a means not only to expand the export of U.S. commodities, but to edge out competitors in overseas markets and monopolise the sales market.

According to the *Wall-Street Journal*, overseas production by American companies has far exceeded U.S. exports. It is estimated that in 1939 sales products turned out by factories abroad with direct U.S. investments came to 31,000 million dollars, while products exported from the United States were estimated at 23,000 million.

U.S. monopolies depend more and more on direct investments abroad in the competition for monopoly of the capitalist market. This is a new development in international economic relations in the capitalist world.

MAXIMUM SUPER-PROFITS

More important is the fact that U.S. monopolies tend to concentrate their investments abroad in high-profit and expanding manufacturing industries in the developed countries. It is

obvious that only by controlling such industries can U.S. monopolies establish their monopoly in the developed countries, and only by investing in such industries can they rake in maximum super-profits.

In the developing countries, little investment is made in manufacturing and that for the most part only in assembling workshops. This has been a consistent policy of the imperialist countries toward the colonies and dependencies. The United States is no exception.

According to U.S. official figures, investment in manufacturing was around 2,200 million dollars at the end of 1962, or 16 per cent of all investments. In the post-war years, the United States increased investments somewhat in manufacturing industry in some Latin American countries, such as Brazil and Mexico. This is aimed primarily at squeezing out local national capital, which developed during and after the War, and at expanding sales markets for U.S. commodities.

It does not at all alter the U.S. attempt to turn Latin America into a permanent supply base of raw material. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, 78 per cent of the Latin American exports of petroleum and minerals in 1957 came from companies with U.S. investments. This is convincing proof.

A U.S. Congressional report made it quite clear that

industrial enterprises were not to be established in industrially undeveloped areas. With the exception of Japan, it said, help should be given to the Asian and African countries not in the building of big processing plants but in the building of small enterprises.

PLUNDER

Big plants should be built only if they are for production of strategic materials. This clearly reveals that post-war U.S. investments in the developing countries are aimed primarily at plundering strategic materials.

Petroleum and minerals head that list. They are needed by the United States in putting its national economy on a war footing and in the development of the arms and other modern industries. Monopoly of the source of these materials would consolidate the U.S. monopoly position in the capitalist world. What is more, once control were gained over these resources, the economic lifeline of the underdeveloped countries, the road to economic independence for these countries would be blocked, so that they would remain suppliers of raw materials and subject to exploitation and enslavement.

It can thus be seen that in both developed and underdeveloped countries, private-U.S. investments centre on industries which can ensure that U.S. monopolistic control over the capitalist world is increased.

Our Special Correspondent

investment was in the Western Hemisphere, with emphasis on Canada and Latin America. There was very little U.S. investment in Asia and Africa.

After the War the proportion of investments in Canada and Latin America shrank while that in Asia, Africa and Australia increased greatly. Since the late fifties, U.S. private investments have increased at the highest rate in west European countries.

Thus, U.S. monopoly capital has extended its sphere of investment, that is, its sphere for grabbing super-profits, to the entire capitalist world. While retaining traditional areas for investment, it is trying to open up new ones. International financial agencies that appeared after the War play a fairly important role in the U.S. export of capital.

UNEVEN EXPORT OF CAPITAL

Capital export by the imperialist countries has always been uneven. After the 1929-1932 world economic crisis, U.S. investments abroad experienced a sharp decline. But in the post-war years, they have been rising constantly. In recent years, the net export of U.S. government capital has declined with the restoration of the economic strength of west European countries and of the prolonged and serious unfavourable balance in U.S. international payments. But the export of U.S. private capital has remained at a level far above that at the beginning of the fifties.

An analysis of the background against which the increase in post-war U.S. investments abroad has been made shows that the rise and fall in the export of state and private capital at different times and in different areas forms



8th JULY, WEDNESDAY:

U.A.R.: Mr. J. L. Appah Sampang, Ghana's Ambassador to the United Arab Republic and Lebanon, has organised a reception in Beirut in honour of Dr. Karim Azokoul, Lebanese Ambassador to Ghana, Guinea and Mali, who translated Osagyefo the President's latest book, "Consciousness" into Arabic. * United Arab Republic President Nasser has rejected Britain's idea for bases to ensure the safe transport of oil to Europe.

UGANDA: The Uganda mission to the United Nations has expressed its gravest concern at the treatment given to two Uganda students who were beaten up by the American police. The students were charged with felonious assault of a white American policeman.

KENYA: Kenya and Hungary have concluded a trade and technical co-operation agreement after seven days of negotiations in Nairobi. Under the agreement Kenya will export coffee, tea, pyrethrum and other agricultural commodities in return for various industrial commodities from Hungary.

GHANA: Ghana has paid £107,000 as an initial instalment of her subscription to the paid-up capital stock of the African Development Bank.

This is contained in a statement issued by the United Nations Information Centre in Accra.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA:

Preliminary trade talks between the Pretoria regime and officials of the Southern Rhodesian white settler government begins in Salisbury today. The talks between the two fascist regimes are expected to lead to a new trade agreement.

9th JULY, THURSDAY: GHANA: Osagyefo the President today was received in audience by Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace.

MALAWI: Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, has arrived in London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. He declined to make statements to reporters at London airport and drove straight away after landing to join the Commonwealth leaders in their talks.

KENYA: Speaking at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, Premier Jomo Kenyatta, accused the Commonwealth of being guilty of "muddle evasion" and called for a more realistic policy in tackling the constitutional issue of Southern Rhodesia.

U.A.R.: The Algerian-Moroccan Conciliation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity is expected to meet in Cairo today to discuss settlement of the border dispute between the two countries.

ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has sent a message to the four world powers.

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The 'Rich Man's Club' Had to Retreat

THE United Nations Conference on Trade and Development—the biggest of its kind ever held—has ended in Geneva with much more agreement than was forecast for it when it began.

It was a conference which some governments did not want, for it had been convened at the urging of the Soviet Union and enthusiastically supported by the developing countries whom it was designed to help.

The industrialised countries opposed it because they saw in the demand for an international organisation to "oversee" world trade a threat to the arrangements that they had created and which suit them very well.

The attitude of the British, French and U.S. press to the conference at the start was that it would achieve nothing. And the U.S. Government was openly hostile.

The *Daily Express* was loudly rude—"the world's biggest waste of time and money" (30.3.64).

AGREEMENT

But when the conference ended this was certainly not the case. It had even run half-a-day over schedule because there was so much last-minute drafting to be done. And out of twelve weeks of debate has emerged an agreement that goes a considerable way towards fulfilling the demand of the poorer nations for at least a beginning to be made of changing the complicated system which at present denies them firm prices and guaranteed markets for the primary products which account for 85 per cent of their export earnings.

How did this come about? Simply through unity. When the conference had been on for seven weeks, correspondents reported that it was getting nowhere.

But they failed to understand that the developing countries could not afford failure. For they were pursuing the life-or-death question of raising the living standards of their peoples.

A week later, the atmosphere had changed and on May 21st the *Financial*

Times was reporting from Geneva that the developing countries had "decided to organise and negotiate from now on as a political unit in all their dealings with East and West. They will hold a political conference at the end of this year or the beginning of next to formulate a common political platform. This common front of the world's 'have-not' nations... will have wide repercussions far beyond the fields of trade and development... they have realised that only in unity can they hope to achieve their aim of a new order of international trade to aid their development."

On June 8th the same paper commented: "Thanks to the leadership of such key countries as India, Egypt, Mexico and Brazil; the poorer nations now have their own club *de facto*, whatever the *de jure* arrangements finally decided on."

This determination naturally spurred some of the Western countries to wonder whether they had not better do something more constructive than say "No" to every proposal that the developing countries and the socialist countries made.

The climax of the conference came on June 2nd, and left the West in no doubt that it had to do something. On that day the conference voted eighty-three to twenty, with three abstentions, in favour of a resolution sponsored by seventy-two developing countries.

'COMPREHENSIVE ORGANISATION'

It called for the establishment of the U.N. General Assembly of a "comprehensive organisation", universal in character, to provide the central stimulus for all

work relating to trade and development. A permanent U.N. executive council for international trade should be set up, with fifty-two members, distributed geographically, voting by two-thirds majority on matters of substance, and by simple majority on less important subjects.

Naturally the West opposed it, saying that existing bodies were perfectly adequate. The counter-proposal was made for an executive council merely to look at world trade, with the twelve principal trading states having permanent non-elective seats, and a voting formula requiring the inclusion of a majority of the twelve on matters of substance, in addition to a majority of the other members.

The West was standing by GATT, General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade, which has been making the rules for capitalist trade since 1947—"that rich man's club" it is called by outsiders.

GATT underwrites the system by which the prices of coffee and cocoa, barley and jute, sugar and syrup, and a hundred other primary products, are determined by businessmen thousands of miles from the land producing them.

by
Arthur James

The flicker of a market price on a big city stock exchange board frequently spells ruin and hunger to the producer in some far away country.

PAKISTAN'S WARNING

It was noteworthy that it was the Pakistani delegate who moved the vital resolution at Geneva.

On September 11th, 1962, when the Macmillan Government was urging the Commonwealth Premier's Conference to support entry into the Common Market, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan sounded a warning:

"The Western world must decide whether to make a viable place for the developing countries, or whether it intended to turn itself into a 'powerful international cartel, denying access to our manufactures to their markets, and forcing us to remain primary producers to feed their

factories, dictating terms of trade, and compelling us to pay several times more for their finished goods'. This would amount to 're-establishing imperialism of the worst kind', which would never be tolerated by the people of underdeveloped countries."

But as Pakistan is just another poor country the warning was ignored.

Now, at Geneva, the Pakistani delegate was accusing the West not only of staying silent on the issue of a comprehensive international trading organisation, but of trying to rig any future arrangements against the developing countries. The Soviet delegate spoke of the "stubborn resistance" of the West that resulted in no common position materialising from the Conference.

BRITAIN'S COMPROMISE

The British delegation appeared to have been more prescient about the dangers of disregarding the depth of feeling among the developing countries' delegations at Geneva, than some other Western countries. And they worked for a compro-

mise, which went beyond anything Britain had envisaged at the start.

The conference has established a World Trade and Development Board, and made definite proposals for economic aid and aid schemes.

On the question of the Board, the West was defeated—it will have fifty-five members and decisions will be by simple majority. There will be no Western bloc veto. The West, Japan and Australia will have eighteen seats. Afro-Asians twenty-two, Latin-America nine, and socialist countries six.

Matters of substance will be decided by a procedure to be worked out within the United Nations, and the Board will be linked with regional commissions of the U.N. and not, as the West wanted, with the U.N. Economic and Social Council. It will have power to carry out conference decisions.

The conference will meet every three years. The Board's director will be appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General (also opposed by the West).

The first director is likely to be Dr. Raul Prebisch of Argentina who was secretary-general of the Geneva conference.

There is to be a big drive to try to open up markets to the commodities of the

developing countries, and to stop more tariffs being imposed.

CASH COMPENSATION

Aid schemes include a proposal that countries affected by falling prices for their products should be compensated in cash.

The developing countries have two-thirds of the world's population. Since the end of the last war the gap in living standards between the rich and poor countries has widened.

The West blames rising population—but the real reason is the severe restrictions on imports from the developing countries. The West's excuse is the need to protect home markets.

Resentment at this treatment has grown fast among the poor nations. It was strong enough at Geneva to prevent a split about which the West had speculated: instead of dividing, the Latin-American states and the Afro-Asian group on one hand, and the African associates of the Common Market on the other, came together, to confound the know-alls.

Seventy-two countries acting together with the socialist countries represent a tremendous force in world councils—and the seventy-two will not only be attending to trade and development.

THE COMMON MARKET TODAY

by
John Bright

It is still the policy of the British Government to "go into Europe"—that is, to join the European Economic Community, better known as the Common Market. The first attempts to join were frustrated by General de Gaulle. But the Tories and their accomplices abroad are looking for a new opportunity to obtain membership. They think that the pressure of the West Germans and other E.E.C. Governments could force France to accept British participation.

The attitude of the Labour Party to joining the Common Market is far from that of unequivocal

opposition. It must be remembered that many of the leading protagonists of British membership were Labour M.P.'s and trade union leaders.

Therefore, the militant opposition which the workers displayed in 1962 and the beginning of 1963 when the Common Market was a major issue must be maintained. For the threat of being dragged into the E.E.C. is far from over. However, we now have an opportunity of seeing what is happening in the E.E.C., and this is not very inviting.

GERMAN DOMINATION

Perhaps the most significant factor is the rapid domination of the E.E.C. by West Germany. The Germans have been able to take advantage of the reduction of tariffs between the member countries—eventually the tariffs will disappear altogether—to flood the French, Italian and Benelux markets with their exports.

In 1963 German exports rose by 10 per cent on the previous year. In 1964 they should go up by 25 per cent if they maintain the rate they have reached so far. With diminished imports, the German trade surplus (exports minus imports) is expected to rise by 50 per

cent on 1963. Ninety per cent of this increase is from trade within the Common Market.

Whilst Germany exports manufactured goods to the other members of the Community, great reluctance is shown when it comes to Germany importing agricultural products from them. Agricultural products are not affected by tariff reductions, and the Germans maintain support to their farmers, thus keeping out the more efficient French, Italian and Dutch suppliers.

As a consequence of importing from Germany and being unable to export in sufficient quantities, the balance of payments position in these countries has become critical. This year France has only been able to cover 80 per cent of imports, with exports. In Italy the position of the lire reached crisis point, and disaster was only averted by a huge loan from the International Monetary Fund.

The ability of West Germany to improve her position at the expense of her allies is based on lower costs. The German capitalists, by virtue of their stronger monopolistic structure and by their greater political power, have prevented the German workers from reaping the benefits of increased output and exports.

In a recent article in the *Financial Times* (April 30, 1964), the *Economic Correspondent* emphasised the effect of "the number of foreign workers recruited into German factories, which lessens the bargaining power of the unions. There are one million of these 'guest' workers from Italy,

Spain, Turkey, Greece, Jordan and North Africa who have been recruited by German companies...

The scale of this recruitment gives a sidelight on the relative weakness of the German unions, who have been ineffective in stopping the erosion of their bargaining position."

The movement to greater monopolies, an example of which was last month's merger between the two steel giants, Thyssen's and Phoenix Rheinrohr—a merger which incidentally had the blessing of the European Coal and Steel Community also makes it harder for the German workers to fight back. In the words of the same *Financial Times* correspondent: "German employers are tougher in negotiating over wages than employers in the U.K.... on the other side, German unions are far less militant, so negotiating is a much easier task."

The workers in France, Italy and other countries have not been prepared to play the game of undercutting each other. Faced with steeply rising prices—in Italy they went up 10 per cent last year—the workers have fought back to maintain their standards. In the Netherlands, where a system had prevailed for many years of state controlled wage increases, the wage controls were smashed by the workers.

DEFLATIONARY POLICIES

The Common Market Governments are trying to resist the wages movement by the pursuit of deflationary policies. These policies are similar to those adopted frequently in Britain by the Tories, particularly the

notorious Selwyn Lloyd measures. However, in the E.E.C. the policies of the individual governments are reinforced by the unified Community policy. This has come from the Marjolin Commission, which has drawn up an anti-inflationary plan.

Clearly, such countries as France and Italy could best protect their currencies by keeping back the flood of German imports and stopping the flight of capital there. Such measures are, however, forbidden by the rules of the Common Market. Instead, they have been forced to agree to restrict the increase of Government expenditure to 5 per cent a year.

A further proposal by the Marjolin Commission was that any increase in the cost of public services should be met by increased charges, and not come out of taxation, a direct restriction on the development of social welfare. *The Times* in its leading article of April 13, aptly stated: "the action programme is a further deliberate encroachment on national sovereignty."

These happenings should likewise convince those in Britain who thought that British membership of the E.E.C. was compatible with an advance to socialism. For it is clear that the members are being compelled by both the mechanism of the Common Market and its political programmes, to adopt the most reactionary measures.

At the same time the basic economic problems characterised by the growth of monopoly and financial instability persist in the Common Market countries. There is no reason to believe that E.E.C. membership would provide a panacea for the British capitalist economy, any more than it has done for the existing members of the Community.

AFRICAN DAIRY

Continued from page 6

wers, Britain, United States, France and the Soviet Union, urging them to press for the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and his seven colleagues who were sentenced to life imprisonment last month in South Africa.

GHANA: The Ghana Academy of Sciences has been appointed by the Executive Committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions in the United Kingdom to be the sole body in Africa with responsibility for the overall administration of all scientific programmes and projects sponsored by the council.

10th JULY, FRIDAY:

GHANA: Addressing the Commonwealth Prime Minister's conference in London, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said that, "No Commonwealth policy aimed at assisting individual Commonwealth members could effectively help to promote economic development in Africa—only a genuine African unity based on a continental union government could enable Africans to develop

themselves. TUNISIA: Tunisia and the Vatican have exchanged the instruments of ratification for an agreement on the position of the Catholic Church in Tunisia.

It was reported in Tunisia last May that since many French settlers had left Tunisia and many churches were virtually empty, those churches would be turned into museums and libraries.

U.A.R. Sixty-five countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe are expected to attend the second Non-Aligned Conference to be held in Cairo, United Arab Republic, in the first week of October.

GHANA: The Economic Commission for Africa has accepted Ghana Government's invitation to hold a technical conference on problems connected with the economic development of Africa during the period of Ghana's International Trade Fair opening in Accra from February 3 to 21 next year.

11th JULY, SATURDAY:

SOUTH AFRICA: Launching a campaign in London to persuade shareholders of British firms with South African interests, to force their com-

panies to withdraw investments and close down factories in South Africa, Canon Collins, President of Christian Action, revealed that British investments were boosting up Nazi-style regime in South Africa.

Canon Collins mentioned I.C.I., E.M.I. and Fisons companies as having South African interests and thought them responsible contributors to the situation in South Africa.

ANGOLA: The 57-nation Afro-Asian group in New York has asked U. Thant, U.N. Secretary-General, to intervene with Portugal to stop brutal acts being carried out in Angola.

The action was taken following a cable from Mr. Holden Roberto, President of the Angolan Government in exile, stating that the war of extermination launched by Portugal in Angola has reached new proportions.

13th JULY, MONDAY:

U.A.R.: The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity meets in Cairo today to draw up the agenda for the second summit conference of African Heads of State opening in the United Arab capital on Friday.

WHAT HAPPENED AT CAIRO

Continued from page 1

ed in principle and that a commission be established to explore the precise ways that such a government would function to assure the necessary continental economic reconstruction. He suggested that, if all the heads of state could not agree at the conference, some states might begin now to lay the

basis for a Union government which others might join at a later date.

President Sekou Toure, emphasizing that some states are now tied into economic, military and monetary regimes of foreign powers, declared that it is necessary to examine with care the specific role which a union government should play, pointing out that

some states are advancing towards socialism while others are not. President Ben Bella, asserting that no great idea or venture is undertaken without courage, urged a study of the way an all-African Government might be created to defeat neo-colonialism.

The proposal at the Cairo Summit Conference for

Union Government Now has forged a challenge for all Africans seeking an end to neo-colonial domination and reconstruction of the continental economy to assure 20th Century living conditions for all. This concept must be studied, not only by commissions established on governmental levels, but by every mass

organisation of the African people in every country.

Political parties, trade unions, farmers' organisations, and youth and women's groups must study the implications of this challenging proposal and work to create the conditions in their own country as well as throughout the continent which will make possible the realization of its full potential. In every African state, the people will have to find the ways to organise

support for an African Union Government founded on principles of mixed economy with the ultimate goal of building a continental socialist state in which the vast resources of Africa are devoted, not to private profit, but to the welfare of all.

The challenge posed at Cairo, then, appears twofold: It highlights once again the necessity of mobilizing popular support to replace rule by elites linked

to foreign interests with governments truly representative of the needs of the people. It provides, at the same time, the only possible avenue for creating a viable economic-political alternative to balkanization and dependence on neo-colonial powers: creation of a continental Union Government which alone can assure a fully independent modern industrial economy with rising living standards for all Africans.

Editorial Comment

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marionette to behind-the-stage manipulators in the West, we have, overnight as it were, reasserted our personality. The 1964 Cairo Summit of African leaders will go down as a most glorious chapter in the struggles of the African peoples for self-determination and for equality with all peoples in the modern world.

The significance of the Cairo Summit just ended is that Africa has announced to the whole world in a clear and unequivocal voice that she has taken the high road of revolution in her determination to break the shackles of imperialism however subtle and to assert herself as a strong, united, modern and ever-to-be-respected continent.

What is the evidence for this?

First and foremost, Africa has settled down to a concrete consideration of a continental political union as the logical climax to the African Revolution. We have been convinced, by argument or by events, that reliance on ourselves is the only sure road forward. But reliance on ourselves can yield no lasting results if we remain balkanised. Hence we now see continental unity as the only framework within which reliance on ourselves can have real meaning.

We have also seen, again through argument or by experience, that inter-African institutions, useful as they may be, need some unified political direction if they are to serve our emerging continent. To create these institutions without unified political direction could easily mean the erection of highways for the deeper penetration of Africa by imperialism, old and new.

Secondly, we have acknowledged the weakness and ineffectiveness of the Liberation Committee of Nine which had largely fallen under the spell of imperialist intrigues. And we have taken steps to bring the Liberation Committee more firmly under the influence of radical African nationalism.

Thirdly, there has been a greater awareness, on the part of the French-speaking African states, of the potency of African unity as a formula for solving the related problems of political instability, economic stagnation and national security.

Fourthly, Africa has come out even more effectively than hitherto in defence of world peace through a realistic attack on the conditions that breed world insecurity. Apart from a renewed onslaught on imperialism, Africa is determined to liquidate all military ties with foreign countries. And Africa has called on the whole world to respect its territory as a de-nuclearised zone of peace, to stop all nuclear tests, to destroy all stockpiles of nuclear weapons and to use nuclear materials only for peaceful purposes.

Clearly, Africa has come out boldly for the consummation of the African Revolution. We have taken the high road that leads to a continental union government.

These indeed are great events that can shape the destiny of our 280 million people for centuries to come. And for all this we have to thank the progressive nationalist leaders of Africa. The role of men like Gamel Abdul Nasser and Ben Bella at the Cairo Summit will remain an indelible gem in the struggles of our people. But the place of honour must necessarily go to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah whose sagacity, tenacity, analytical insight and force of argument largely contributed to the big new advance made by the African Revolution in Cairo.

The events of the next twelve months will be breath-taking. Imperialism will redouble its efforts in an attempt to blunt our offensive, hold us at bay, and if possible rout our armies. This is to be expected. But the African Revolution must rise to the challenge. We must match wits with imperialism and swop punches at every turn.

We must make sure that the 1965 Accra Summit of African leaders gives us a union government, the complete answer to all our ills. If we succeed, what a fitting 56th birthday gift the 1965 Accra Conference will be to him whose entire life has revolved around the consuming idea of a powerful modern Africa through continental political union.

Gradually the blueprint of the New Africa is being assembled. Let us hope September 1965 will see the cutting of the first sod for this new edifice—the continental union government of Africa.

AFRICA SPEAKS THROUGH KWAME

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The problem of African Unity must therefore be examined against the background of the economic position of the Independent African States, our aspirations for rapid development and the difficulties with which we are confronted in our separate existence. If we examine these problems carefully, we cannot evade the conclusion that the movement towards African political unity will substantially and immediately contribute to the solution of the economic problems of the Independent African States.

Indeed, I will make bold to state that African Unity based on a Continental Union Government is the only, I repeat only, possible framework within which the economic difficulties of Africa can be successfully and satisfactorily settled. The appeal for a Union Government of Africa is therefore not being made merely to satisfy a political end. It is absolutely indispensable for our economic survival in this modern world of ours.

We must remember that just as we had to obtain political independence from colonial rule as a necessary pre-requisite for establishing new and progressive communities for our respective States, so we cannot achieve economic stability in Africa as a whole without the pre-requisite of a Continental Union Government.

Indeed, we cannot hope to sustain the economic development of Africa without first accepting the necessity for a continental division of labour to ensure that particular States specialised in their respective fields for which geographical, economic and social factors make them the most suitable, can develop to their fullest capacity with the best interest of the Continent as a whole in mind.

Take, for example, the steel industry. This could be developed to the highest possible limit in Nigeria, Egypt or Mauritania, or Liberia or Ghana, to mention only a few instances. If we do not unite under a federal government, it is clear that each of the States mentioned will wish in their own national interests to pursue the possibility of establishing and expanding its own steel mill.

Indeed, this is being done already by some of us to the benefit, profit and gain of foreign concerns.

If, however, our resources were combined to set up steel mills on a continental basis, at strategically chosen points in Africa, we would be in a position to make the greatest possible contribution to the industrial progress of the whole continent. Without a conscious effort based on a common governmental programme, we cannot hope to achieve this end. We might even find ourselves using the resources of one area of Africa to retard the progress and development of one or more other areas by cut-throat competition.

How then, at this moment of history, shall we meet this great challenge?

Certainly, we cannot blink at the harsh facts of life which are all too tragically familiar to us. This is especially true when we consider the economic development of Africa, on which all our other aspirations depend.

PRICE OF DISUNITY

The most casual glance at our continent should convince anyone that the price of our disunity is continued exploitation from abroad and foreign interference in our internal matters. No matter where we look in the continent, we will find that, to a greater or lesser degree, the same pattern of exploitation persists.

For example: the economy of the Congo (Leopoldville) is still dominated by three foreign groups which represent Belgian, French, British and American interests. Herein lies the woe and tragedy of our beloved Congo: Two foreign firms—the Rhodesian Anglo-American Corporation and the Rhodesian Selection Trust—control the mining output of Zambia. Copper makes up eighty to ninety per cent of Zambia's exports, yet profits and interest shipped abroad annually often amount to as high as half of Zambia's total export earnings!

Thus you can see that despite political independence, nearly all of us here today are unable to exploit our agricultural and mineral resources in our own interests. Under a strong union government we would have the material resources for rapid industrialization, whereby all of us—big or small—would be benefited. But so long as we are divided, we will, to this extent, remain colonies in an economic sense. We shall remain puppets and agents of neo-colonialism.

The truth of this is even more evident when we examine monetary zones and customs unions. Most African States are still in monetary zones linked to the former colonial power. One-fourth of these States are in the sterling zone and one-half are in the franc zone. Owing to this currency arrangement, trade between the Independent African States is restricted and hampered. Indeed, trade is practically impossible within this financial environment.

An example of our present economic limitations as separate independent Governments, may be cited from our experience in our economic relations with our brothers from Upper Volta, and Togo. Two years ago, in furtherance of our natural desire for closer collaboration in all fields of development with our Sister States, we performed a historic ceremony by breaking down the physical barriers established between Ghana and Upper Volta.

The two Governments signed a long-term Trade and Payments Agreement under which each Government agreed to grant a non-interest bearing "swing" credit of about two-hundred-and-fifty-thousand pounds sterling. The Bank of Ghana on behalf of the Government of Ghana was appointed as the technical Agent to operate the Payments Agreement. In the case of the Upper Volta Government the Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale was nominated by the Upper Volta Government as its Agent. To this day, the Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale in Ouagadougou have refused to execute the banking arrangements drawn up by the Bank of Ghana to implement the Agreement Payment instructions issued by the Bank of Ghana to the Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale have so far not been honoured.

On the other hand, the Bank of Ghana has been requested by the Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale to transfer sterling in their favour before the Payments instructions will be carried out, in spite of the fact that it is expressly laid down in the Agreement

that all payments to or from either country should be effected through the Clearing Account to be maintained by the two banks.

If the Agreement instituted between Ghana and Upper Volta had worked successfully, the operation of the French currency arrangements, which are the medium of commercial undertakings in Upper Volta, would have been seriously undermined. Is it therefore any wonder that the Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale made the operation of an Agreement signed between two Sister African States with the best of intentions unworkable and inoperative? Our difficulties with the Republic of Togo arise from the same limitations.

It will be clear from these examples that until we in Africa are able to establish our own independent currency and financial institutions, we shall continue to be at the mercy of the financial arrangements imposed by foreign Governments in their own, and not, in our interest.

MEN, WILL, RESOURCES

As long as the States of Africa remain divided, as long as we are forced to compete for foreign capital and to accept economic ties to foreign powers because in our separate entities we are too small, weak and unviable to "go it alone", we will be unable to break the economic pattern of exploitation established in the days of outright colonialism.

Only if we can unite and carry out co-ordinated economic planning within the framework of African political unity, will it be possible for us to break the bonds of neo-colonialism and reconstruct our economies for the purpose of achieving real economic independence and higher living standards for all our African States, big or small.

Mr. Chairman, after all these arguments that have been advanced, can it still be maintained that a Union Government for Africa is still premature? Have we not got the men? Have we not got the resources? Have we not got the will? What else are we waiting for? I know, and some of you know, that we can, right now, if we have the will and determination to do. Mere resolutions cannot help us. Not even another Charter. The Ghana-Guinea Union, Casablanca Charter, Monrovia Charter and others, have long completed this Résolution and Charter-writing exercise.

Mr. Chairman, it is therefore with great honour and privilege that I now propose to you, Your Majesties, Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers the framework for a Union Government of Africa.

This Union Government shall consist of an Assembly of Heads of State and Government headed by a President elected from among the Heads of State and Government of the Independent African States. The Executive of the Union Government will be a Cabinet or Council of Ministers with a Chancellor or Prime Minister as its head, and a Federal House consisting of two Chambers—The Senate and a House of Representatives. If you agree, we can appoint our Foreign Ministers assisted by experts to work out a constitution for a Union Government of Africa.

Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers: with our common suffering and aspirations, we should be one and a united people. Our Continent, surrounded on all sides by oceans, is one of the most compact land masses in the world. Nature has endowed us with the richest and best of natural resources. Circumstances and our common experience in history have made all of us a people with one destiny. Let us not belie the great promise of our future or disappoint the great hopes of the masses of our people by taking the wrong turning in this critical and momentous hour of decision.

We cannot save ourselves except through the unity of our continent based on common action through a Continental Union Government. Only a united Africa under a Union Government can cure us of our economic ills and lift us out of our despair and frustration.

I make this sincere and serious appeal in the interest of our common progress, our security and our future well-being. I hope that all of us will accept this appeal with equal sincerity. But I know that, for various reasons, some of us may not be ready or prepared to take this historic and momentous decision now. Nevertheless, I charge those of us who are ready to do so now—even if we are only a few (and how I wish it could be all of us)—firstly, to come away from Cairo having agreed to the establishment of a Union Government of Africa. Secondly, those of us who subscribe to this solemn agreement must designate our Foreign Ministers to constitute a Working Committee to draft the Constitution for the Federal Union Government of Africa.

Thirdly, those who subscribe to this agreement should, within six months, meet at a place to be agreed upon, to adopt and proclaim to the world the Federal Union Government of Africa.

WE DARE NOT WAIT

Mr. Chairman, Brother Presidents and Prime Ministers: It has been said that "great things from little causes spring". How true this saying is, can be judged from the beginning of some of the world's Great Powers of today. The United States started with thirteen weak economically non-viable colonies exposed to serious political and economic hardships. Yet today, the United States of America is a world power with not less than fifty constituent States.

The Soviet Union, whose scientists have astonished the world with their interplanetary exploits, began their Union amid untold hardships and difficulties with but three States. Today, the Soviet Union is composed of sixteen federated States!

We cannot wait, we dare not wait, until we are encompassed by our doom for failing to seize this grand opportunity rising to the call of Africa's finest hour.

This is the challenge which history has thrust upon us. This is the mandate we have received from our people, that we set about to create a Union Government for Africa now; and this is also the challenge which Providence and destiny has thrust upon us. We cannot, we must not, we dare not fail or falter.