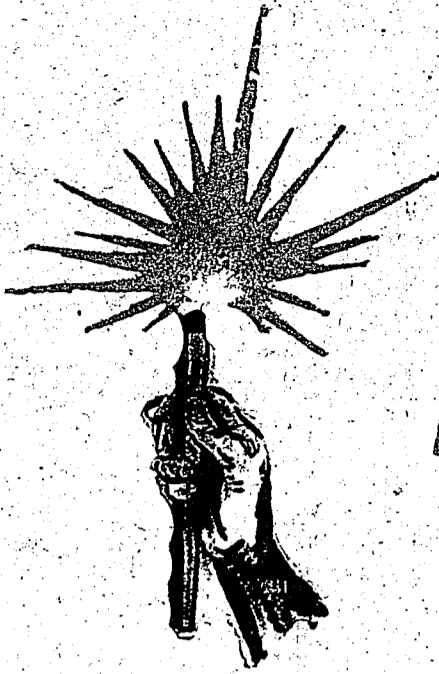


# THE SPARK



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## THE COMMON MARKET— A neo-colonialist web

### EDITORIAL

#### OLD WINE IN NEW CASK

A LONDON public relations company is peddling the view that the convention associating the eighteen African States with the European Common Market which was signed at Yaounde, Cameroons in 1963 has "in fact strengthened, not weakened, their newly-acquired political independence." We are told that four fully independent Commonwealth countries of Africa—Nigeria, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda—have expressed interest in concluding with the Common Market an agreement similar, in its main points, to the existing Association Convention.

The leading article in this issue of the SPARK has fully examined the provisions of the Association Convention and the brochures issued by the public relations company.

In content the Association Convention does not alter the important factors that prompted the representatives of Western monopolies to gather in Rome to sign the 1957 treaty, providing for the establishment of the Common Market.

One of the aims pursued by the organisers was to retain the economic fetters binding a number of African States to the Six of "Little Europe". The treaty of Rome proposed to grant the African States "associated status" which would enable the European Community to shape freely their destinies.

One year after the signing of the Yaounde Convention the operations of the Common Market have clearly revealed the profound contradictions which have always existed between the young African States and the "Six" of the E.C. The rich Six have become richer and the poor eighteen have become poorer.

Under the guise of increasing "aid" to the African countries the Six of "Little Europe" have actually tightened their grips on the economies of the African countries. At the same time it has become obvious that the baneful influence being exerted by the European Community is directly jeopardising the economic interests of countries outside the customs boundaries of the Common Market.

What some of our African leaders must appreciate is that what has become obvious is that through the Association Convention their countries have continued to perform precisely the same economic functions vis-a-vis Western European imperialism as they performed in the era of open colonialism.

Economic exploitation is the essence of imperialism. A stage is reached when the building of an empire in the political sense is abandoned. Instead, political power is handed over to the former colony while economic and other privileges remain in the hands of the imperialist powers. This stage is neo-colonialism which Kwame Nkrumah aptly describes as "empire building without the flag".

The essence of neo-colonialism is the economic exploitation of the weaker country in the interest of monopoly groups and financial circles in the imperialist countries. This is exactly what the Six of "Little Europe" are doing to the eighteen "associated" African States.

The lesson which many African States must learn by now is clear-cut, namely: it is not in the interest of a developing country to surrender its development and security to an economically advanced imperialist country. This is the evidence of history.

Neither the Monroe Doctrine nor membership of the Pan-American Union prevented the United States of America from turning Puerto Rico into an outright colony.

One fact stands out clearly: the signatories of the Association Convention and those who are exploring the opportunity of signing it are currently moving further away instead of nearer to the goal of economic co-operation between African countries as envisaged by the O.A.U. Charter.

THE new Convention of Association between 18 African States and the European Community (better known as European Common Market) was signed in July 1963. The agreement covers the five year period up to July 1968. It replaces the old agreement which was in force from 1958-1962. The 18 African States involved are Burundi, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, and Upper Volta. Through this agreement, the economies of these African States have continued to be structurally linked to those of the six European Common Market countries viz. France, West-Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

The interests behind the European Common Market are eager to persuade world opinion, more especially African opinion, that the new agreement on associate status is not a neo-colonialist web. After refusing Britain's entry into the Common Market, these same interests have now seen it fit to engage a public relations firm in London to handle the publicity of the Common Market in English-speaking Africa.

In its efforts to depict the Association Convention as the road to economic independence for the 18 associated African States, this British public relations firm makes use of two arguments. The first assertion is that the African States signed this agreement or association "because they felt that the aid to economic, social and cultural development which they would receive would in fact strengthen, not weaken, their newly-acquired political independence." This argument is simply naive, for it loses sight of the basic law of capitalist evolution viz. that competition between unequal economic units invariably leads to the growth of the stronger unit at the expense of the weaker one.

#### ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The second argument seeks to depict the Association as in Africa's interest because "four fully independent Commonwealth countries in Africa—Nigeria, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda—expressed interest in concluding with the Community an agreement similar, in its main points, to the existing Association Convention." Little did the public relations firm realise that it was doing the four Commonwealth Countries no credit at all. For in the same document which is being freely distributed by this firm, we are told that "the Community has specifically stated that the association is open to all countries whose economic structure is similar to that of the existing associated countries". I don't think the leaders of Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika would like to admit that their economic structure is akin to that of the French-speaking African States.

The new Association Convention introduces a few new gadgets of control. It has to be said that the old agreement bound the Common Market Countries to politically dependent states whereas the new agreement has to deal with politically independent states. This notwithstanding, the present Association Convention is old wine in new wine skin.

Let's examine its provisions.

by  
JULIUS SAGO

materials and served as protected markets for the manufactured goods of these same metropolitan industries.

To channel the products of the associated countries into its markets, the European Economic Community has agreed on the "progressive abolition of customs duties

and charges having an effect equivalent to such duties" on goods from the Associated States. All import duties on pineapples, coconut, coffee, tea, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, cocoa have been abolished. At the same time the European States agree to impose "the common customs tariff duties of the Community to all imports, (of the products listed above) from third countries (i.e. non-associated countries)".

#### TARIFF TREATMENT

In return, the Associated States agree on "identical tariff treatment" of all goods from the European member states and on a cut of 15 per cent each year on their import duties on goods for the Common Market. In addition, they agree to impose duties on goods from the Common Market only for development, industrialisation and revenue purposes and such duties must

be notified to and agreed upon by the European member states.

Export duties imposed by Associated states on products going to the Common Market must not be greater than those imposed on the same products going to the most favoured third country.

These arrangements enable the European states to get Africa's raw materials at favourable prices while dumping their manufactured goods in Africa under a protective cover that shields them from the competition of other industrial nations.

But this is not all. All quotas or quantitative restrictions on goods entering the Associated African states from European member states must be swept away within four years of the agreement coming into force. All existing quotas must be held at their present levels. No new ones must be introduced in the four year period before the total abolition of all quotas. All these measures must be communicated to the Association Council, the ruling body under the Association Convention.

In order to safeguard their own farmer from the competition of products from Associated African states, Article 11 of the Association Convention lays it down that the "Community and the Associated states command shall consult together" when the time comes for drawing up the "common agricultural policy" of the Community. But to show how one-sided such consultation shall be, paragraph two of the same Article 11 states that "the treatment applicable to imports into the Community of these products, if they have originated in the Associated States, shall be determined by the Community".

#### COMPULSORY CONSULTATION

The spirit of the colonial preference system in trade is embodied in Article 9 which allows Associated states to trade with one or more third countries (i.e. countries outside the Common Market) only "insofar as they neither are nor prove to be incompatible with the principles and provisions of the said Convention."

Article 12 compels the Associated states to consult the European states "on matters of commercial policy" and specifically demands such consultation on:

- the suspensions, alterations or abolitions of custom duties;
- the granting of tariff quotas at reduced or zero duties;
- the introduction, reduction, or abolition of quantitative restrictions.

As is well known, domestic financial policy serves as a lever for foreign trade policy. Conversely, a shift in foreign



The Community's African partners

Country	Capital	Area (sq. miles)	Population million	Imports \$million 1962	Exports \$million 1962
Burundi	Bujumbura	11,000	2.2	—	—
Cameroun	Yaounde	183,000	4.1	101.8	103.4
Central African Republic	Bangui	237,000	1.2	25.2	14.2
Chad	Fort Lamy	486,000	2.6	29.1	16.5
Congo (Brazzaville)	Brazzaville	131,000	0.9	67.8	35.1
Congo (Leopoldville)	Leopoldville	902,000	13.9	170.8	120.6
Dahomey	Porto-Novo	45,000	2.0	26.8	10.9
Gabon	Libreville	80,000	0.5	38.8	58.7
Ivory Coast	Abidjan	112,000	3.1	146.5	181.2
Madagascar	Tananarivo	226,000	5.2	121.6	94.3
Mali	Bamako	475,000	4.1	45.8	10.0
Mauritania	Nouakchott	419,000	0.7	35.7	2.8
Niger	Niamey	460,000	2.9	27.5	14.5
Rwanda	Kigali	11,000	2.6	—	—
Senegal	Dakar	76,000	3.1	154.8	124.2
Somalia	Mogadishu	245,000	2.0	32.2 (1961)	26.3 (1961)
Togo	Lome	22,000	1.4	27.1	17.2
Upper Volta	Wagadougou	104,000	4.5	34.7	2.9

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# Our Cultural Renaissance

(Speech delivered by KWAME NKURUMAH at the Meeting of the Editorial Board of the Encyclopaedia Africana - Thursday, September 24, 1964)

IT IS a great pleasure and privilege for me to inaugurate this first meeting of the Editorial Board of the Encyclopaedia Africana. The presence on this Board here today of representatives from all parts of the continent of Africa is yet another token of the African cultural renaissance which is manifesting itself side by side with the political resurgence of the African continent.

I must also confess, distinguished guests, that today I feel a great sense of relief and joy to think that at long last a first significant step has been taken towards the positive realisation and consummation of a long cherished dream. Years ago, I felt that Africa needs to buttress her unimpeachable claim to political independence with parallel efforts to expose to the world the bases of her rich culture and civilisation through the medium of a scholarly encyclopaedia. I therefore invited Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois of blessed memory to come to Ghana to help us establish the framework for this great national heritage.

Dr. Du Bois, was happy to come to Ghana in the very evening of his life to embark upon this task; he took Ghanaian citizenship, and immediately plunged headlong into the stupendous work of setting out the general aims of this project and securing the interest and support of eminent scholars throughout Africa for its realisation. To him this was an exciting assignment, for he had many years before planned unsuccessfully in the United States to produce such an encyclopaedia. It is perhaps not without significance that Du Bois should have had to wait until the very sunset of his life to find and receive encouragement and support for this project, not in the abundance of the United States, but rather in an Africa liberated from the cramping and oppressive conditions of colonial rule.

In taking upon ourselves this great responsibility for Africa, we are reminded of an old Roman saying: "Semper aliquid novi ex Africa". Africa had a noble past which astounded even the ancient Roman world with its great surpluses. Yet, it was only much later, after a millennium and a half of African history, that we are now busily engaged in reconstructing for all the world to know that racial exploitation and imperialist domination deliberately fostered a new and monstrous mythology of race which nourished the popular but unfounded image of Africa as the "Dark Continent". In other words, a continent whose inhabitants were without any past history, any contribution to world civilization, or any hope of future development—except by the grace of foreign tutelage!

## BLACK MAN—NOT NEGRO

It is unfortunate that men of learning and men of affairs in Europe and America from a century ago down to yesterday, have spent much valuable time to establish this unscientific and ridiculous notion of African inferiority. A European author declared that "the history of civilization on the continent begins, as concerns its inhabitants, with Mohammedan invasion" and that Africa is poorer in recorded history than can be imagined. Even the Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica also declared: "Africa, with the exception of the lower Nile Valley and what is known as Roman Africa is, so far as its native inhabitants are concerned, a continent practically without history and possessing no records from which such history may be conducted... the Negro (referring to the blackman) is essentially the child of the moment and his memory, both tribal and individual, is very short." And "if Ancient Egypt and Ethiopia be excluded, the story of Africa is largely a record of the doings of its Asiatic and European conquerors and colonizers".

And here I want to sound a note of caution about the term "Negro". I hope that in the revised edition of the Encyclopaedia

Africana the term "Negro", whatever meaning or connotation has been given to it, will not find a place, except perhaps in a specific article proving its abhorrent origin and redundancy. I would like that people of African descent and Africans in general should be described as black men, or Africans. I personally would like to be referred to as a black man, African or Ghanaian and not referred to as a "Negro".

## RACIAL MYTH

It would be long to attempt to survey this field of malicious distortion against Africa. But this would be a useless and unprofitable venture, and I am sure that your Editorial Board would not suffer this pointless waste of valuable time. But listen a while to Leo-Frobenius in his Voice of Africa: "The ruins of the mighty past lie slumbering within the bosom of the earth but are glorified in the memory of men who live beneath the sun". He dwells on the "god-like strength of memory in those who lived before the advent of the written word" and he continues: "Every archaeologist can quote examples from the nations of the North. But who would imagine that the Negro Race (here again referring to the black race) of Africa possessed an equally retentive mind for its store of ancient monuments?"

It may be argued, however, that this sort of view about Africa is dying out, and we may be accused of whipping a dying horse. It is also true, that particularly in the years since World War II, there has been a marked improvement in much of the writing by non-Africans on Africa and there are today a number of writers and scholars who have made signal contributions to African historiography. Nevertheless, it is to be doubted if the popular image of the so-called Dark Continent has been much affected by the widening horizon of knowledge of Africa.

The fact is that the powerful forces which seek to block the advance of the 280 millions of Africans to a place of full equality in the world community and which strive to maintain neo-colonialist or even overt colonial domination and white supremacy in Africa, find it in their interest to perpetuate the mythology of racial inferiority. Thus it is not simple ignorance of Africa, but deliberate disparagement of the continent and its peoples, that Africanists and the Encyclopaedia Africana must contend with. The foulest intellectual rubbish ever invented by man is that of racial superiority and inferiority. We know now, of course, that this distortion and fabrication of the image of man was invented by the apostles of imperialism to save their conscience and justify their political, cultural and economic domination of Africa.

I understand that through the medium of the *Information Report* published periodically by the Encyclopaedia

Africana Secretariat have appeared expressions of support and pledges of co-operation in the work of this great project from numerous eminent scholars. And I am particularly happy that among those who have expressed their endorsement of our work are distinguished scholars in the United States, the Soviet



Kwame Nkrumah whose vision has inspired the ardent search into Africa's past.

Union, China, India, Britain and other countries outside Africa.

I am sure the members of the Editorial Board share my appreciation of this worldwide support of the idea of an Encyclopaedia Africana. However, it is of course only logical that an encyclopaedic work on Africa should be produced in Africa, under the direction and editorship of Africans, and with the maximum participation of African scholars in all countries.

While I believe that no contribution to the projected encyclopaedia should be rejected solely and simply because the author happens to be non-African, there are surely valid reasons why the maximum participation of African scholars themselves should be aimed at. Let me illustrate this point with an example from a book published just fifty years ago by George W. Ellis, an Afro-American who served from 1901 to 1910 as Secretary of the United States diplomatic mission in Liberia. During that time he made a close study of West African life, particularly of the language and culture of the Vai people of Liberia. From this study came his book: *Negro Culture in West Africa*, published in 1914.

## DISTORTIONS

In the Preface to this work Ellis tells how he had sought to widen his knowledge of Africa, before coming to Liberia, by the diligent study of encyclopaedia, geographies, and works of ethnology and anthropology, only to find that much of this information was "unsupported by the facts" and gave a picture "substantially different" from the character of African life which he himself found in West Africa. Acknowledging the services of European authors such as Harry Johnston, Lady Lugard and others; Ellis stated that to him "it seems more necessary and imperative that the African should explain his own culture and interpret his own thought and soul life, if the complete truth is to be given to the other races of the earth".

But there were already men in West Africa who had bla-

zed a significant trail in this direction: Edward Wilmot Blyden, Joseph Casely Hayford and John Mensah Sarbah. Many other Africans in preceding generations helped to lay the basis of our present efforts to project a new African image of Africa. One thinks of such figures as James Africanus B. Horton and his *A Vindication of the African Race* (1868) and of Carl Reindorf, Attah Ahumah, Anthony William Amu, Samuel Johnson of Oyo, Blaize Diagne, Herbert Macaulay, and others in West

Editorial Board, that in no sense my conception of what the Encyclopaedia Africana should be. Most certainly it must and will set the record straight on many points of African history and culture. But it will do this not simply on the basis of assertion backed by nothing more than emotion but rather on the foundation of first-class scholarship linked with the passion for scientific truth.

## GLORIOUS PAST

It will not romanticize or idealize the African past; it will not gloss over African failings, weaknesses and foibles, or endeavour to demonstrate that Africans are endowed with either greater virtues or lesser vices than the rest of mankind. There is undoubtedly considerable evidence of much that is noble and glorious in our African past; there is no need to gild the lily nor to try to hide that which is ignoble. But here again it is a question of whose standards and values you are applying in assessing something as noble or ignoble, and I maintain that the Encyclopaedia Africana must reject non-African value-judgments of things African.

It is true that despite the great advances made during the last twenty years in the various disciplines of African studies, so much of Africa's history has yet to be unearthed, scientifically analysed, and fully comprehended. This sometimes gives rise to the question whether enough is yet known to undertake at this time the compilation of an encyclopaedia of the sort envisaged. Those who entertain such hesitation and doubt only expose the extent of their ignorance about Africa's great past.

Before the colonial era in Africa, Europeans had had many encounters with Africans on the cross-roads of history. They had married into African royal families, received

ging on a continental scale, borrowed crops from other lands, introduced soil conservation, discovered the medicinal value of a host of herbs and plants, and worked out their own explanations of mankind and the universe. All this had happened before the first ships set forth from Europe".

Let me give another quotation even at the risk of boring you, this time from Leo Frobenius again, a well-known historian, who made 17 expeditions into Africa: North, East, West and South, in order to learn at first hand of the culture of the African peoples. Frobenius makes a basic statement in his book, "African Civilisation" which unfortunately has not yet been translated into English. Doubtless, there is reason why no complete translation has yet been made. From a limited translation made by Anna Malise Graves, I quote: "When they, European navigators, arrived in the Gulf of Guinea and landed at Ouidah in Dahomey, the captains were greatly astonished to find streets well laid out, bordered on either side for several leagues with two rows of trees, and men clad in richly coloured garments, of their own weaving. Further, south in the Kingdom of the Congo a swarming crowd dressed in silk and velvet, great states well ordered and down to the most minute details, powerful rulers, flourishing industries, civilised to the manner of their bones and the condition of the countries on the eastern coast. Mozambique, for instance, was quite the same. The revelations of the navigators from 15th to the 17th century gave incontrovertible proofs that Africa stretching south from the edge of the Sahara desert was still in full flower—the flower of harmonious and well-ordered civilisations. And this fine flowering the European conquistadors or conquerors annihilated as far as they penetrated into the country".

Indeed, the history of Africa goes back into the dim recesses of time and antiquity. There are even scientists in our time who are beginning to claim that Africa was the very cradle of mankind. The fossil remains of man discovered by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in Tanganyika has been dated by scientific processes as one and three-quarter million (1,750,000) years old. From the head waters of the Nile in Tanganyika let us move west-

ly to its mouth on the Mediterranean Sea and the Isthmus of Suez where the great civilization of Egypt was fostered for thousands of years down to the Christian era. There, as we all know, man rose to the phenomenal heights of statecraft, science and religion and the excellence of the arts. Evidence from language, religion, astronomy, folklore and divine kinship as well as geographical and physical proximity confirms the basic African origin of this Egyptian cultural eminence.

## SCORCHED FLOWERING

This great flowering of the mind in Africa was unfortunately scorched by the ravages of the slave trade which encouraged extensive destruction through tribal warfare. Close upon this, set in the evil of colonisation and the deliberate effort, to which I have already referred, of painting the African black and backward as a valid justification for colonial rule.

I have endeavoured to touch on some of these questions only as a means of making a clear case for justifying our attempts to provide Africa with an encyclopaedia portraying vividly the glory of Africa's great past.

I should now like to say just a few words on the vital question of how this great undertaking is to be carried through to completion. I must say at the outset that a broad policy having been laid down, the precise plans for achieving it must be left to the Editorial Board and its staff of competent experts. My purpose is only to call attention to the underlying principle—the principle of Pan-African co-operation—which I believe to be indispensable in any concrete plans of work on the Encyclopaedia.

## CO-OPERATION

As you are aware, the preparatory work on this project has been carried forward for a little more than two years by a Secretariat here in Accra functioning under the aegis of the Ghana Academy of Sciences. This Secretariat has not been content to work in isolation; it has been continually active in establishing contacts with scholars and institutions throughout Africa and abroad. A motion declaring "that all African countries should contribute to the work of the Secretariat" was unanimously adopted at a Conference on the Encyclopaedia Africana attended by some 150 persons from Africa and elsewhere in December 1962. Soon thereafter, the Secretariat undertook the establishment of Co-operating Committees of scholars in various African countries. The Secretary of the Secretariat Dr. W. A. Hunton, met with several of these Committees during a tour which he made in East and North Africa some months ago. Following this came the nominations by the Co-operating Committees of their respective representatives to serve on the Editorial Board of the Encyclopaedia. In this way the basis, at least, of Pan-African co-operation in this work has been established.

The members of the Editorial Board now have before them the Secretariat's detailed prospectus of what the Encyclopaedia Africana should contain and how the material should be presented. This is merely a blueprint of what is to be constructed. The Editorial Board members are asked to examine this blueprint with great care, proposing whatever alterations they consider would result in a more perfect plan for the Encyclopaedia.

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Dr. W. E. B. du Bois... his dream came true.

Africans into their courts as ambassadors and social equals, and their writers had depicted African characters as great heroes in their literature. In common with the rest of mankind Africans made extensive use of cereals; they learnt the art of raising cattle; adapted metal tools and weapons to their own use, and to quote Basil Davidson "undertook mining and smelting and for-

time and antiquity. There are even scientists in our time who are beginning to claim that Africa was the very cradle of mankind. The fossil remains of man discovered by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in Tanganyika has been dated by scientific processes as one and three-quarter million (1,750,000) years old. From the head waters of the Nile in Tanganyika let us move west-

# THE IDEOLOGY FOR THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

FOR some historical reasons, the term 'ideology' has come to be associated with indoctrination, which has also acquired a perjorative, derogatory association owing to the use to which it has been put by some lunatics who have managed to become the leaders of some human beings. I have in mind demagogues like Hitler and Mussolini, and the content and methods of their Nazi and Fascist ideologies. The mention of ideology has therefore become an anathema even for well-informed people who accept the values inherent in a particular ideology.

As such, it is necessary at the outset to define the concept and make clear what we mean by it and why it is not necessary to run away from it, like some monstrous beast that has suddenly confronted us in the wilderness.

If we despised ideology because of how it has been used, we should be repeating the illogicality of those who discuss the untenability of Christianity, for example, not by considering its basic theological position, but by immediately raising the question of whether these views were consistent with Christian practice; whether the iniquities of Pope Borgia or the immoral practice of monks and nuns, or the atrocities of the inquisition, for instance, were in conformity with Christian Ethics. It would be the same mistake as those who criticise Socialism because socialist practice does not come up to theory, or because some of those who shout about the virtues of Socialism are themselves seriously practising the vices of money-grabbing and castle-building. This is to equate sincerity with sophism, theory with practice, and position with a sense of responsibility.

All human efforts everywhere, however noble the aim, are marred by man's imperfection, ambition, cruelty and injustice. Where practice falls short of theory, we do not call upon Socialists to abandon their faith in socialism, but to be better socialists. The concept of ideology, whether it serves socialism or capitalism, and its necessity and usefulness, does not in any way diminish or become despicable merely because Hitler misused it for racialism and for world war.

## IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGY

Conscientism teaches that an ideology is used to describe the common values and common interests of a people, the attitudes and reactions of a given society to a given set of ideas and ranges of behaviour that flow from them. Kwame Nkrumah defines it as that principle or body of principles which aims at uniting millions towards a specific and definite goal; and which 'seeks to bring a specific order into the total life of its society.'

Understood in this way, an ideology may show itself either in explicit or implicit forms. That is, it may engage in intellectual discussion of the origin of certain ideas, find rational justification for them, articulate and formulate them in cogent principles and consciously disseminate them among the community through education and propaganda; or it may remain tacit and be reflected only in its society's religious concepts, attitude to fellow individuals and to the totality of society.

Hence, for an ideology to be an ideology, it is not necessary that it should be articulate and outspoken. In fact, in as much as a people react one way or other to certain concepts and activities, it does not make sense to speak of human society without an ideology. The United States and West Europe, despite the fact that they are at pains to show that they have no ideology, have an ideology because they have a way of life—the capitalist, exploitative way of life.

For the mere reason that human society will have an ideology whether it likes it or

not, it becomes necessary for those who wield power in the society, especially in a revolutionary epoch like ours, to make clear, what components of the existing ideology will be maintained and what not to maintain. Hence the insistence of real revolutionaries like Karl Marx, Lenin and Kwame Nkrumah on an articulate, explicit ideology for the kind of societies they had in mind. Marxism-Leninism and Nkrumaism are good examples of this category of ideology.

It is here that philosophy takes over from ideology; for philosophy, when it is true to its purpose, gives, states, and elucidates the theoretical basis of the ideology; to be more precise, it provides the defence of a given ideology in intellectual circles; it is thus the tool, the handmaiden of ideology.

## PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIETY

If philosophy is the discussion in theoretical terms of an ideology, and if an ideology is but a description of a social milieu, then philosophy should always be related to this social milieu; it should be able to explain the society in which it finds itself. One cannot, for instance, tolerate a philosophy like liberalism or idealism that glorifies capitalism and atrophies human beings, and classifies the intrinsic worth of men on the basis of birth or money.

From the foregoing discussion of ideology and philosophy, and its relation to society, we conclude that the African Revolution in which we are presently engaged should have an ideology and a philosophy. For it is only when we are armed with an ideology that we shall know which actions and decisions of our leaders are opportune and which are not; which foreign ideas to reject and which to embrace; it will be a guide, a blueprint for all our behaviour, the sole criterion, the only yardstick with which we shall decide which behaviour is passable and which is not. In the final analysis, it is only an ideology that provides the solid basis for constructive criticism—not the jejune and neurotic criticism of individuals in office and the Party and Government in power without the slightest respect for truth and reality, but the criticism of the actions of individuals and institutions to the extent to which they deviate from the agreed principles of the Revolution—in this case, the socialist Revolution and African Freedom and Unity.

It has therefore been the task of various African leaders to postulate ideologies and philosophies that they hope will lead to the materialization of those ascertainable aims of the Revolution. Of these, Arab Socialism, African Socialism, Negritude, and Nkrumaism—are the most pronounced.

Now, the usefulness, the efficacy of an instrument is determined by the extent to which it is able to serve the purpose for which it is made; and if we accept that these ideological and philosophical formulations are conceived of as tools of this Glorious Revolution, then we should conclude that the usefulness, the

correctness, and the validity of the various ideologies are to be assured by the extent to which it provides answers and solutions to the problems facing Africa.

Negritude, the greatest proponents of which are Aime Ce'saire, the West Indian Poet, and Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal, is, by its very premises, a neo-colonialist arrangement between Europe and Africa. Negritude, perhaps unconsciously, conceives Europe as the land of Reason and Africa as the land of Emotions. In the African there is more emotion than rationality; in the European, less emotion, more rationality. Let us reduce this to its logical conclusion: If Europe is the land of Reason, and Africa the land of Emotions, and if reason, by definition, is more rational than emotion, it follows that the land of reasonable, rational men should control the land inhabited by the personifications of emotion—unless, of course, we make it clear that we do not put Reason above Emotion. But if we do, then Europe, the more reasonable, should rule Africa, the less reasonable, even after independence.

With Negritude, we see the righteous nostalgic outbursts of a people cut off from their ancestry and subjected to abysmal indignities by the white race. The African asserts himself, and finds expression in poetry; and this is where negritude should stop, at poetry; for when it plunges into the realm of political philosophy, the shoe begins to pinch, its romantic and nebulous nature divorces it from any practical political activity. Negritude gives us the pathetic image of the Negro wailing about his plight and shouting insults at an oppressive white race, but it fights shy of those steps necessary for the elimination and abolition of those forces that seek to perpetuate the Negro's plight and deprivation.

Moreover, Negritude is sectarian and parochial and therefore inappropriate for African Unity. Negritude, by

definition refers only to Negroid Africa, and Africa is not all negroid.

We shall dismiss Arab Socialism and so-called African Socialism in a few sentences. The former suffers from the same acute illness that we have diagnosed in Negritude; namely, sectarianism, chauvinism, and micro-nationalism. There are Africans other than 'Arab Africa'. Even the economic basis of this Socialism is suspect, for—judging from the past experiences of some of the Arab countries—it tends to be the economic domination of the middle class made up mostly of the army officials and financial speculators who helped the overthrow of the corrupt feudalist-monarchical regimes in their land. True Socialism does not aim at the middle class; for if there are no classes, only the achievement of the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

## STATURE OF NKRUMAISM

'African Socialism' is neither Africanist nor Socialist. A concept that was introduced at a congress organised under neo-colonialist puppets by a group of Western European and American political and public figures representing capitalist and liberalist opinion (among whom were Mender-France, ex-Premier of France, and Mollet, an architect of the European Common Market, and Fenner Brockway, an example of British Labour Party's pretensions to Socialism) cannot be African; a concept that sanctions the training of local entrepreneurs (the conscious bourgeoisie of an indigenous bourgeoisie by means of state loans) and enjoins a partnership between state and foreign enterprises that titillates in favour of the foreigners cannot seriously be called socialist. It is nothing more than timid, mitigated Capitalism, a philosophy of self-cancelling propositions.

Nkrumaism is the ideology and philosophy that cures, more than any of the other philosophies, the gaping wounds from which Africa is suffering. For its principles are antithetical to colonialism, and to neo-colonialism; it does not countenance any political and economic relationship between Africa and Europe or America that smacks of slavery, or of slavery tinged with racialism, as in the case

of apartheid. It is Marxist Socialist in content; it does not therefore tolerate class distinctions (if we use the term class to describe the economic relationship between two or more groups in society) AND the inequalities and iniquities that flow logically from them. Its moral tenets are egalitarianism, humanism, and the responsibility of the group to the individual, and the limitations on the individual imposed by the welfare of the entire people. It is truly dialectic in approach to problems, because it is not dogmatic and shows a commendable ability for flexibility to suit our conditions. It concerns the totality of the African Continent. For 'Conscientism', distinctions like 'Arab Africa', 'Black Africa', or 'English-Speaking African' and 'Portuguese-Speaking Africa'; or Islamic and Euro-Christian Africa are of no consequence.

The important thing is that we are all Africans; we remain the same people with one

destiny, one goal. Our needs and aspirations are identical, and our outlook must be the same. Our revolutionary ideology must be capable of uniting all Africa—such an ideology is NKRUMAISM—an ideology that makes the free development of each the condition for the free development of all, and which makes it possible for the individual to realise in co-operation with his fellows, his personality and human-ness which capitalism idealises, but does not guarantee. It is this ideology that every African must imbibe for the Revolution, if we are to succeed.

"Every true revolution, says Mazzini, 'is a program, general, positive, and organic principle: The first thing necessary is to accept the principle. Its development must then be confined to men who are believers in it, and emancipated from every tie or connection with any principle of an opposite nature.'

The truth of this statement is manifest; and it must guide us in our choice of cadres for the Ghanaian and African Revolution.

—MODIBO OCRAN,  
Student of Legon.

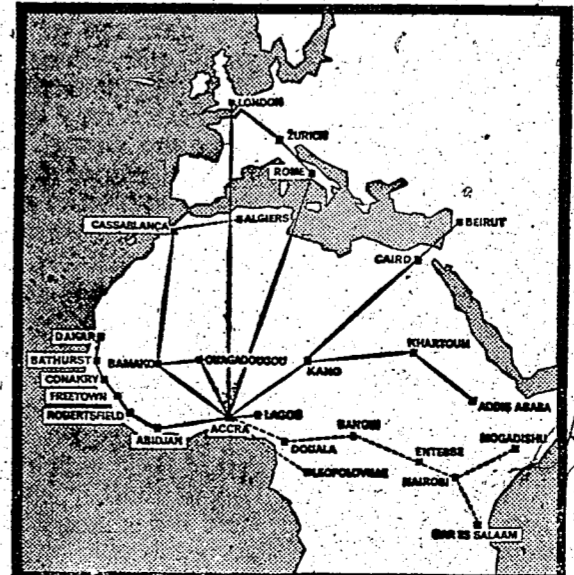
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# Chinese People's achievements in Socialist Construction by Self-Reliance

CHINA'S national economy has undergone a tremendous, profound change since the founding of the People's Republic 15 years ago. Her agriculture has been transformed into a socialist collective economy from a backward, scattered individual economy. A marked progress has also been made in the technical transformation of agriculture. The productive capacity of modern industry has grown several times and many new industrial branches have been built. The country's scientific and technical force has also been growing rapidly with each passing day. The Chinese people have laid a preliminary foundation for an independent, comprehensive modern national economy. This has been achieved by the Chinese people through their determination to overcome difficulties and make their country strong and prosperous by uniting themselves closely, relying on their own efforts and working hard.

## from THE INSIDE.

initiative of the broad masses of the commune members for production. In the meantime, the state has stepped up the support to agriculture from all sides. First of all, the construction of field irrigation has been stepped up. By relying on the collective strength, the broad masses of peasants have launched gigantic drives to build irrigation projects. By the end of 1963, the projects built and put into use provided irrigation or drainage for over 30 per cent of the total farmland, thus increasing the country's ability to withstand drought and waterlogging. Secondly, the number of agricultural machines in use has multiplied. In 1963, compared with 1957, the number of tractors used in farming increased 4.6 times, the capacity of electric pumping equipment 31 times, and the supply of electricity to the countryside 22 times. Big increases have also been recorded in the use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides: 24 times as much chemical fertilizers and about two times as much insecticides were supplied to agriculture in 1963

ing low-alloy high-strength steel plates for big bridges, alloy steel tubes for big high-pressure boilers for ocean-going steamers, steel tyres for train wheels, and fine rolled steel for the watch-making industry. The "Eight-Point Charter" constitutes the eight basic measures for increasing agricultural production summed up by the People's Government on the basis of the Chinese peasants' experience. They are: deep ploughing and soil improvement; rational application of fertilizer and manure; irrigation construction; popularization of good strain seed; reasonable close planting; plant protection; field management and renovation of farm implements. To put it simply, it is the "Eight-Point Charter" of soil, fertilizer, water, seed, close-planting, plant protection, management and implements. By increases in the variety and specifications of steel products, China has greatly raised the level of self-sufficiency in the rolled steel for industrial equipment.

Imperialism once alleged

by Ho Tzu

machines. At present, such big items as thermo-electric generators each with a unit capacity of 50,000 kilowatts and hydro-electric generators each with a unit capacity of 72,500 kilowatts can be built. As for the equipment for the chemical and petroleum industries, the industry can make complete equipment for chemical fertilizer plant producing 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia a year, and mass-produce the major equipment for prospecting, drilling, extracting and refining in the petroleum industry. As for mining equipment, it can produce complete sets of equipment for vertical coal mines with an annual capacity of 1,200,000 tons of coal, for coal dressing plants each with annual capacity of 1,500,000 tons and for iron-ore dressing plants each with an annual capacity of 3,000,000 tons. It successfully trial-produced a 6.3-metre heavy vertical lathe last year. Today, the country can produce about 90 per cent of the major machines and equipments it needs as against only around 60 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan period.

### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Alongside the development of industrial production, the country's technological level in the spheres of culture, education and public health has risen considerably. China now has power transmitters for radio stations designed by her own engineers. She has also successfully trial-produced news telephotographic machines. The medical apparatus and instruments made in China are approaching the advanced world level. The country's level of self-sufficiency in the variety of drugs rose from 60 per cent in 1957 to 97 per cent in 1963.

After 15 years of endeavour, China has brought up a strong army of technicians. College graduates total more than 1.3 million between 1949 and 1964, the number in 1964 being more than 200,000, or 3.6 times as many as in 1957. As colleges and universities

and technical middle schools in China all open their doors to workers and peasants, the percentage of workers and peasants and their children in the student body has been growing steadily. A number of model workers, including the nationally-known advanced weaver Hao Chien-hsiu, have graduated from colleges and become a new force in the ranks of engineers and technicians in China.

Through years of hard work, the Chinese scientists and technicians have made big advances in the latest branches of science and technology, such as computation technique, semi-conductor technique, geo-chemistry, element organic chemistry, radio-biology, micro-wave technique and high-temperature alloy technique. There are scientists and experts who have attained a considerable level of knowledge. On the other hand, the broad masses of workers and technicians have made large numbers of successful innovations and inventions in the mass technical innovation campaign.

### CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

In the course of construction in the past 15 years, China has accumulated a big amount of capital for construction by developing production and practising economy.

The principal source for the country's accumulation is the state enterprises owned by the whole people. The workers in the state enterprises hand to the state in the form of profits and taxes part of the value they create for state accumulation. Peasants, too, give a small portion of their produce to the state in the form of taxes. In 1964, the portion contributed to the state revenue by the state enterprises in the form of profits and taxes will rise from around 50 per cent in 1962 to around 90 per cent and that from the peasants will drop from 15 per cent in 1952 to around six per cent.

The livelihood of the people has conspicuously improved alongside the expansion of the state accumulation. The ave-



Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party.

rage wage of the Chinese factory and office workers has increased 50 per cent since 1952.

China has not only accumulated more and more capital for construction, but will soon clear up her debts incurred to the Soviet Union. (She plans to repay in 1964 the bulk of the debts due in 1965.) Before long, China will become a nation free of foreign debts.

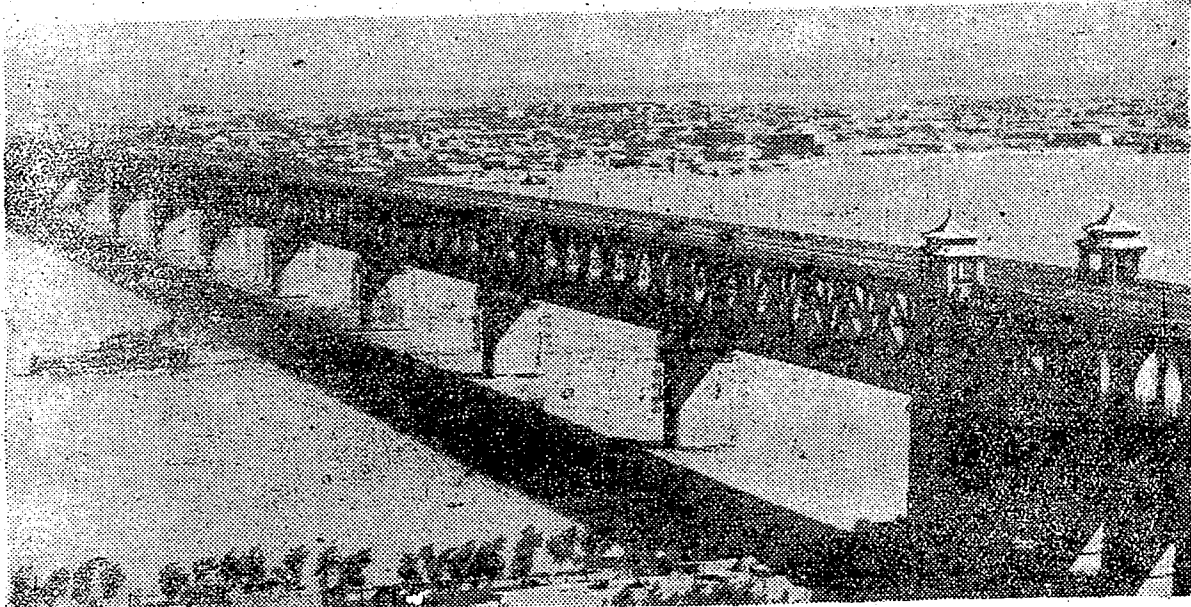
### NO "CLOSE DOOR" POLICY

The achievements made by the Chinese people in the past 15 years are great. China's economic strength has grown considerably. This is a convincing proof of the correctness of China's general line for socialist construction and the correctness of the Chinese people's persistence in carrying out the policy of building socialism by relying on their own efforts.

Naturally, self-reliance in building socialism does not mean a "close door" policy or preclude aids from abroad. The development of economic ties among different countries, particularly among the socialist countries, is not in contradiction to, but in line with the

policy of self-reliance. The socialist countries should conduct mutual aid, co-operation and mutual support in accordance with their own needs and potentialities and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Such are the correct economic relations among the socialist countries. China has received economic and technical aids from other socialist countries and in return has done her best to support them.

China has rendered aids within her power to many newly independent countries. The aids China gives are intended to help those countries develop their independent economies. China has never considered her aid to other countries as "a kind of alms"; but as her bounden international obligation. The Chinese people believe that the development of the construction in the other socialist countries, the development of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in the world and the development of the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations all serve as a support to the revolution and construction of the Chinese people.



The great Yangtze River Bridge at Wehuan, a vital link between north and south China.

In the First Five-year Plan period (1953-1957), the Chinese people already laid a solid foundation for an independent industrial system. During the Second Five-Year Plan period (1958-1962), they met with tremendous difficulties. For three successive years between 1959 and 1961, the country's agriculture was hit by severe natural calamities. Each year, about 56.6 million hectares, or half the total cultivated area, was affected. As a result, the output of grain and industrial crops dropped sharply.

In order to overcome the difficulties encountered in the course of construction by self-reliance, the People's Government has since 1961 carried out for the national economy a policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards", centering on readjustment. After three years of large-scale readjustment, the national economy has been getting better year by year. It is taking an all-round turn for the better in 1964. Indeed, the Chinese People's strength in building socialism independently and by self-reliance is now greater than ever before.

### OVERCOMING CALAMITIES

China is a country with a rural population of over 500 million. Agriculture is the foundation for the development of the national economy. Various measures have been taken in recent years to further consolidate the collective economy of the people's communes and mobilize the

as in 1957. The "Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture" has been carried out earnestly and research in agricultural science strengthened throughout the country.

In 1963, parts of the country were again hit by severe droughts or floods, so severe as have been rarely seen in Chinese history. However, thanks to the improved technical conditions for the agricultural productions, the Chinese peasants by relying on the collective strength of the people's communes won over the natural calamities and reaped an even better harvest than in the previous year. Compared with the previous year, while grain output registered a further increase, the output of cotton, sugar crops, tobacco and other crops all rose by a big margin.

### ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Significant achievements have been made by the country's industry as a result of the implementation of the general line for the socialist construction and the policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards".

China's iron and steel industry, for instance, has made new successes in improving the quality and increasing the variety of products. In 1963, compared with 1957, the variety of steel increased 3.3 times and that of rolled steel, 3.1 times. Nearly 500 new varieties and specifications of steel products were successfully trial-produced, includ-

that China was an oil-poor country. But in the Second Five-Year Plan period, the Chinese people opened up a very rich oil-field. The whole construction work of this oil-field, from geological prospecting to the designing and construction of the gas-field and refineries, was done by China itself. Today, China has virtually become self-sufficient not only in the quantity but also in the variety of oil products she needs.

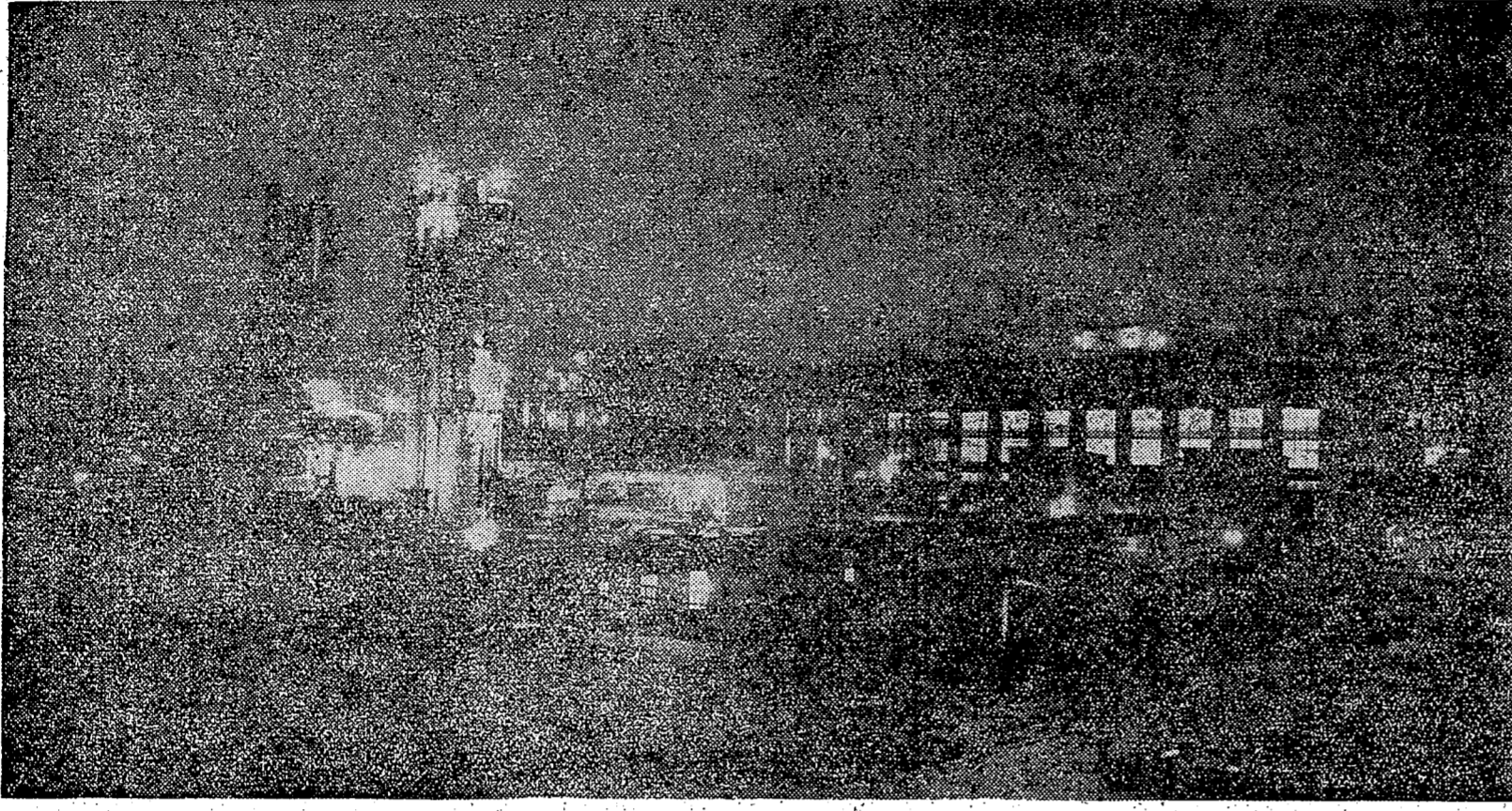
The country's chemical industry, too, has grown rapidly. After the construction under the two Five-Year Plans, China has built modern nitrogenous fertilizer plants each with an annual capacity of over 100,000 tons in Kirin, Lachow, Taiyuan, Szechuan, Shanghai and Canton. In addition, there are scores of small and medium-sized synthetic ammonia plants. The output of chemical fertilizers in 1963 was several hundred times that in the early post-liberation years. Over a dozen varieties of chemical fertilizers were produced in 1963, compared with three in 1957. China began to produce chemical fibre only in 1957, but today the annual output has reached tens of thousands of tons. The plastics and synthetic rubber industries have also developed rapidly.

In old China, the so-called machine-building industry could merely do repairs. It could make only small and medium-size equipment during the First Five-Year Plan period. But with the completion of the Second Five-Year Plan, it has been able to make many heavy and precision



A happy group of Chinese youth. Their faith in China's future shows clearly on their faces.

# China's Friendly and Good-neighbourly Relations with other Afro-Asian Countries



SCENE OF A CHEMICAL WORKS

FIFTEEN years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China. These fifteen years have seen the Chinese people advancing from victory to greater victory in their revolution and national construction; and they have also witnessed the expansion and strengthening of China's friendly and good-neighbourly relations with other Asian-African countries.

## PROFOUND FRIENDSHIP

There is a long-standing and profound friendship between the Chinese and other Afro-Asian peoples. Our friendly contacts and economic and cultural exchanges with other Asian and African countries can be traced back to the remote past. It was only in modern times after the Western colonialists had invaded the East that the friendly ties between China and other Afro-Asian countries were severed. However, since after World War II, the victorious struggle of the Asian-African peoples for independence and freedom has fundamentally changed, and is further changing the political scene of Asia and Africa. The Chinese people overthrew Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule, drove away imperialism and founded the People's Republic of China. Many other Asian-African countries achieved independence one after another. This change has injected new vitality into the traditional friendship between the Chinese and other Asian-African peoples. As a result of imperialist aggression and oppression, brotherly amity has grown up between us in our common sufferings. The common continued struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence has bound us closely together again.

The Chinese people are a peace-loving people. The socialist system determines the peace-loving nature of the People's Republic of China. We Chinese want to undertake the unprecedented gigantic work of building socialism on our land inhabited by 650 million people, with a view to changing its state of poverty and backwardness. Therefore, the Chinese people need an international environment of perpetual peace. In the past fifteen years, China has striven for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems, and consistently worked for the strengthening of friendly and good-neighbourly relations with other Asian and African countries.

The People's Republic of China has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace. China is the chief initiator and a faithful executor of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China is a participant of the Bandung Conference; it persists in upholding the Bandung spirit and strengthening Asian-African solidarity. "To strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war" has become an important component of the general line of China's foreign policy.

During his visit to Africa, Premier Chou En-lai set forth the following five principles guiding China's relations with the African and Arab Countries:

1. China supports the African and Arab peoples in their struggle to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence.
2. China supports the pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the governments of African and Arab countries.
3. China supports the desire of the African and Arab peoples to achieve unity and solidarity in the manner of their own choice.
4. China supports the African and Arab countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation.
5. China holds that the sovereignty of African and Arab countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed.

## PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

These principles represent a concrete application and further development of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. They are in full accord with the common interests of the Chinese and the African and Arab peoples. They are also the principles which the Chinese Government has consistently observed in its relations with the new emerging countries in Asia. The Chinese people fully support these principles and have put them into practice.

During the past fifteen years, the friendly relations between China and other Asian and African countries have increasingly developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. China has successively established diplomatic relations with more than thirty Asian and African countries

and its friendly contacts and economic and cultural exchanges with many Asian and African countries are becoming more and more frequent. There has been a continuous exchange of visits between Chinese leaders and those of other Asian-African countries. In 1963, Chairman Liu Shao-chi paid a visit to five of our neighbouring Asian countries upon invitation, and at the end of 1963 and at the beginning of 1964, Premier Chou En-lai visited on invitation thirteen Asian and African countries. These visits have further strengthened the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and other Asian-African countries and promoted the comradeship-in-arms and solidarity among the Asian-African peoples.

## BOUNDARY QUESTIONS

China has settled in a friendly way its boundary questions left over by history with its neighbours Burma, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan successively through consultations on an equal footing. China has concluded treaties of friendship or of friendship and mutual non-aggression with the Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana respectively. The daily developing friendly and good neighbourly relations between China and other Asian-African countries have set a brilliant example for the peaceful co-existence and the establishment of good international relations between countries with different social systems.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference are common principles guiding relations between Asian-African countries. The Chinese people have always held that in their mutual relations, all countries, in the world, big or small, must respect each other and not impose one's will on others, treat each other as equals and not regard oneself as superior to others, benefit and help each other and not seek advantage at the expense of others. In order to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism, we Asian and African countries have every reason to live in amity and not a single one to be hostile to one another. It is in this spirit that China conducts its relations with the other Asian and African countries. Many Friendly Asian and African countries also conduct their relations with China in the same spirit.

As a result, a satisfactory all-round development has taken place in the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and many Asian-African countries. We are ready

to continue to work together with them to consolidate and strengthen these friendly relations. The facts over the past fifteen years fully demonstrate that the friendly co-operation between China and other Asian-African countries on the basis of the Five Principles and the Bandung spirit can stand the test of time and is unshakable. The attacks and slanders hurled by imperia-

by  
**Chang  
Ya-mu**

lism and its followers at China's foreign policy of peace and its friendly and good-neighbourly relations with other countries are utterly of no avail.

## NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION

While working hard to build up their country, the Chinese people heartily rejoice at the successes achieved by the people of the new emerging Asian-African countries in developing their national economy and carrying out national construction. The establishment of an independent national economy constitutes an inseparable important part of the struggle of the Asian-African countries to safeguard and strengthen their national independence. The Chinese people are convinced that the Asian and African countries are fully capable of removing the poverty and backwardness left over by colonialism and building themselves into prosperous and strong countries step by step by mainly relying on the strength of their own people and making full use of their domestic resources while carrying out mutual assistance and co-operation with friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

In providing economic and technical aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly observes the following eight principles:

1. The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principles of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.
2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.
3. The Chinese Government provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the times limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.
4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.
5. The Chinese Government

tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.

6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.

7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique.

8. The experts dispatched by the Chinese Government to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

These eight principles fully demonstrate China's sincere

Continued on page 6

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# Zanzibar and Tanganyika

SINCE the first announcement of the formation of the Union Republic of TANZAN on April 23 British capitalist journals and newspapers (including those in East Africa) have been indulging themselves in an orgy of speculation as to what will happen in Zanzibar. To them the only purpose of the merger was to "halt the advance of Communism in Zanzibar", and the fervent hope was expressed that President Nyerere would take "firm action" to ensure this was done.

There's no doubt this was the hope of ruling capitalist circles in Britain, the United States and Western Germany. On the other hand, it seems clear the African leaders had a sincere belief in the need to create the Union Republic, though among African leaders in Tanganyika and Zanzibar it was equally obvious there were differences in political aims, and the methods needed to achieve them.

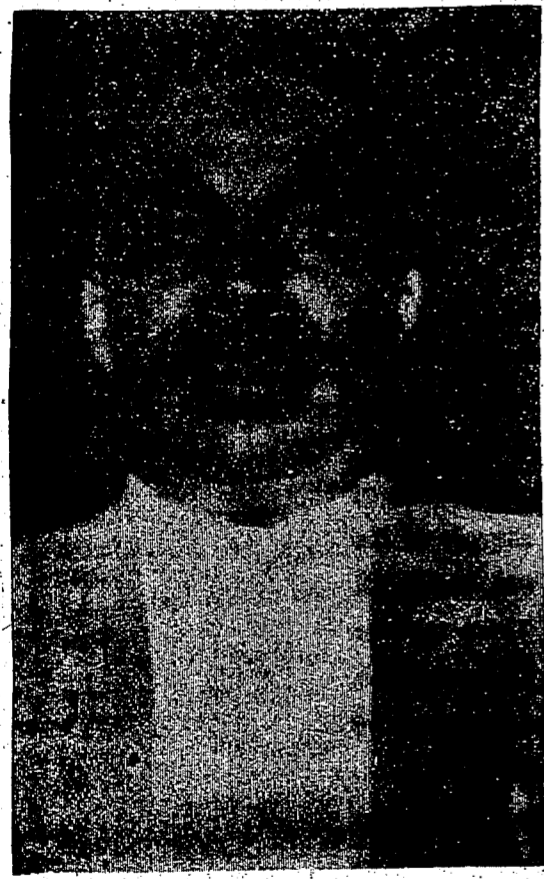
Since then it is apparent that increasing political pressure has been exerted from imperialist circles upon President Nyerere and Oscar Kamabona (Minister for External Affairs) to take more decisive steps to change the diplomatic relations which Zanzibar had established after the January 12 revolution with the socialist countries, and more particularly with the German Democratic Republic.

Zanzibar's relations with the GDR are complicated by Tanganyika's diplomatic recognition (and close economic and political relations) with Western Germany, which in turn refuses to recognise any state which extends diplomatic recognition to the GDR. Tanganyika has succumbed to this form of political blackmail, but Zanzibar refuses to do so.

### DEADLOCK UNSOLVED

On this issue the deadlock between Tanganyika and Zanzibar still remains. (August 10) despite the fact that the TANZAN ministers (President Nyerere and Mr. Oscar Kamabona) fixed June 30 as the deadline to change the GDR embassy in Zanzibar into a consulate.

There is still no sign that President Karume of Zanzibar (also first Vice-President of the TANZAN Republic) and the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council has any intention of carrying out this step. There is only one condition on which this change could possibly be made, and that is, if the TANZAN Republic itself would extend diplomatic recognition to the GDR and an embassy in Dar-es-Salaam, the capital.



Mr. Karume, First Vice-President of TANZAN Republic and President of Zanzibar

So in reality the stumbling block is the government of the TANZAN Union Republic, and the failure of President Nyerere to stand up against dictation from Western Germany. Bearing in mind President Nyerere's strong condemnation of injecting "cold war" politics into Africa, and the constant emphasis on non-alignment and no discrimination, the real challenge is to translate this principle into practice.

In this respect Zanzibar gives a splendid lead to Tanganyika. It was prepared to recognise Western Germany on the same terms as the GDR, but not to accept dictation

from Germany as to its relations with the GDR or any other country. If TANZAN is prepared to take a similar stand, and recognise the GDR as well as Western Germany and other countries, there is every likelihood that Zanzibar would agree that its existing embassies would be transformed into consulates.

This is only one side of the relations between Zanzibar and

constructing new flats and houses as part of a modern estate. New houses are being built for the old people.

Early in June the Government declared illegal the employment of children and juveniles aged between 6 and 17 years (many of whom were still being employed) and took measures to ensure they were provided with suitable educational facilities.

Formerly dependent almost entirely on cloves and coconuts, Zanzibar is now busy diversifying its agricultural production. For the first time in history it has 25 new tractors to assist in this transformation. The land is being redistributed among the peasants, who are also being

*ident of Tanganyika, managed half the work of a python: he swallowed Zanzibar alright. But he did not crush its fighting force first. The live animal is a long time digesting, and its kicks are being felt hurtfully, and possibly even fatally, deep inside Tanganyika's body politic.* ("ECONOMIST" 13.6.64)

Only four weeks later the same journal published a report "from a correspondent who had just come out of Zanzibar" which gave an entirely different picture:

*"Plenty of Zanzibaris are visibly enthusiastic for the new order. Many of the educated have seized on their new opportunities; the uneducated sense the chance of a better life ahead. On the outskirts of Zanzibar town they are building homes for old people and any Sunday will see several thousand Africans singing,*

Recently, under the heading of "The Perils of Nyerere" the British weekly journal, THE ECONOMIST, bemoaned the fact that after the January revolution in Zanzibar there was some alarm in the West at the thought of "another Cuba off the coast of Africa". It went on to explain that despatches from Dar-es-Salaam said though Dr. Julius Nyerere swallowed Zanzibar all right he did not crush its fighting force first. The live animal is a long time digesting, and its kicks are being felt hurtfully, and possibly even fatally, deep inside Tanganyika's body politic.

A political observer, Idris Cox, who has been following developments in Tanganyika and Zanzibar tells us that "it may well be that instead of Tanganyika 'swallowing' Zanzibar, it will be the rapid forward march in Zanzibar which will have big repercussions in Tanganyika".

Tanganyika in the TANZAN Republic. The other side is the big economic and political changes taking place in Zanzibar—in contrast to the slow pace of the changes within Tanganyika. In this respect Zanzibar also provides a striking example to Tanganyika, which had achieved its independence more than two years before the 1964 Zanzibar revolution. In relation to its size and population the rapid pace of its advance serves to emphasise the slow pace of advance in Tanganyika.

True, the economic and political pattern in Zanzibar at the time of the January revolution was somewhat different in many respects. Tanganyika had its system of communal

encouraged to develop co-operative farms. In June a fish-canning process was started, as well as an experimental farm to try out new agricultural products. And on July 3 the Revolutionary Council decided to offer all peasants and fishermen interest-free loans.

At the time of the January revolution there were 9,000 unemployed. At the end of May there were only 26. From June 1 all those still unemployed were granted £5 to enable them to tide over until August 1 when it was expected there would be no longer any unemployment.

### NEW MEASURES

Early in June the Electricity Board was taken over from the control of foreigners, and is now a co-operative enterprise. Measures are being taken to tighten the control of foreign trade and enterprise. The aim of the Revolutionary Council was put crystal clear by President Karume, when explaining why this step was taken:

*"Everything in Zanzibar must be in the hands of the people and be run by the people themselves. If everything remains in the hands of foreigners, we shall not be independent but only ruled by neo-colonialism"* (June 5, 1964).

Alongside these measures, an intensive campaign is being waged to wipe out adult illiteracy. Adult classes are being held almost everywhere, in the available schools and other buildings, and in the open-air. All private and Catholic schools have been nationalised, and the Revolutionary Council has made it clear its determination to change the "colonial type of education." The Afro-Shirazi Youth League and the Revolutionary Students' Union are fully co-operating in this work, and in practice provide the main cadres.

Under the heading of "The Perils of Nyerere" a well-known British weekly journal bemoaned the fact that after the January revolution "conditions on the island stayed chaotic, however, and there was some alarm in the West at the thought of 'another Cuba off the coast of Africa'." It went on to explain:

*"Since April 23 the despatches from Dar-es-Salaam have been depressing; those from Zanzibar this week have been downright disheartening. Their gist is that Dr. Julius Nyerere, Pre-*

*dancing, talking, snoozing—and doing a little building into the bargain. On Pemba Island, the villagers have in two months constructed a 15-mile coral-paved road to the isolated Micheweni peninsula. But probably the most ambitious self-help*

(Continued from page 5)

desire for mutual economic assistance and co-operation between itself and the new emerging Afro-Asian countries.

The Chinese Government and people always regard aid as something mutual. The achievement of prosperity and strength by the new emerging Asian-African countries will augment the forces of the Asian-African peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence as well as the forces of the people of the whole world against imperialism and in defence of world peace. This represents a tremendous support and assistance to the Chinese people.

The Afro-Asian countries shared the same experiences and are in similar conditions. Our mutual assistance is that between poor friends who stand together in fair weather or foul and not one in which the big and strong bullies the small and weak. This kind of mutual assistance, though limited in scale at present, is reliable and practicable and helpful to the independent development and common prosperity of the countries concerned. Along with the progress of national construction in our Asian and African countries, it is certain that this kind of mutual aid and economic co-operation will continuously expand in scope and increase in amount and play an increasingly important role.

In the common struggle against imperialism, the Asian and African peoples have always given each other sympathy and support. The victory of the Chinese revolution is inseparable from the



Dr. Julius Nyerere, President of the Republic of TANZAN

*scheme is the mass literacy campaign. In the evenings, on the sea-shore or under the clove trees, people are being taught to read, write and do simple sums.* ("ECONOMIST", 11.7.64).

Early in July the TANZAN Finance Minister, Mr. Paul Bomani, visited Zanzibar for discussions and toured the island. Before leaving he expressed his view that "Zanzibar was very well organised, stable, and every person gay and ready to sacrifice for national reconstruction, and determined to uplift their living standards."

This is certainly a refreshing contrast to the earlier hair-raising stories of the so-called "Islamic of Terror" which appeared so frequently in the capitalist press in Britain and

in East Africa. This report makes clear that what the people of Zanzibar are doing is building up a new life for themselves.

It is in fact this clear aim which creates consternation among their former rulers. Tory rulers in Britain still hope the deposed Sultan may return one day. In June they decided to grant the ex-Sultan no less than £100,000 of which £10,000 was to meet his immediate obligations. This action was condemned by President Karume, who declared that those responsible were "enemies of the Zanzibar people."

British financial circles are especially alarmed about the situation in Zanzibar. One of

their daily newspapers, the "Financial Times", did not hesitate to urge the need for "outside action" to change the situation:

*"President Karume is firmly under the dominance of the Communists, be they of the Russian or the Chinese orthodox... The drift towards utter anarchy or a consolidated Communist rule can be halted, it now appears, only by firm action from outside."* (23.6.64)

It is obvious that it is not the spectacle of "utter anarchy" which worries the "Financial Times", but the fact that the people of Zanzibar are taking things into their own hands. It is equally concerned that the big economic and social advances in Zanzibar make a sharp contrast with Tanganyika, where the economic and social advances are extremely slow.

### BIG CHANGES

The underlying fear is that these big changes are possibly also making a strong political impact in Tanganyika itself. It is noticeable that President Karume and the five Zanzibar Ministers in the TANZAN Cabinet are extremely popular when they appear in meetings and processions in Tanganyika. This is not to say that President Nyerere and other Tanganyikan leaders are unpopular, but it is obvious that their popularity is not growing.

It is significant that Abdul Rahman Mohammed (BABU) was included in the TANZAN delegation which went to China, and achieved such good results; and that Babu's speech in the July debate in the TANZAN Assembly was the most outspoken one against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and won the biggest applause.

It may well be that instead of Tanganyika "swallowing" Zanzibar, it will be the rapid forward march in Zanzibar which will have big repercussions in Tanganyika.

## China's Friendly Relations with other Afro-Asian Countries

support of the Afro-Asian peoples and it in turn has encouraged the other Afro-Asian peoples in their liberation struggle. We Chinese people will never forget the support given us by the other Afro-Asian peoples, nor will we ever forget to support the just cause of other Afro-Asian peoples by our own efforts.

The Chinese Government and people firmly support other Asian-African peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence. China firmly supports the peoples of southern Korea and southern Vietnam in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national liberation and the reunification of their motherlands; it firmly supports the Laotian and Cambodian peoples in their struggle to oppose U.S. aggression and intervention and persevere on the road of peace and neutrality and it firmly supports the Japanese peoples in their patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism.

### SUPPORT FOR ARAB PEOPLES

China firmly supports the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialist aggression and interference, the struggle of the Palestinian people for the recovery of their legitimate rights and return to their homeland and the struggle of the people of the occupied areas of South Yemen against colonial rule. China firmly supports the new emerging African countries in their struggle against the colonial, interference, subversion and aggression by imperialism and old new colonialism, it firmly supports the struggles for national independence and

the people of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Gambia, French Somaliland, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland and South-West Africa; and it firmly supports the South African people's struggle for national liberation and against racial discrimination.

In the past fifteen years, the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese people and other Afro-Asian people have been strengthening and developing. The 1,700 million people of Asia and Africa, united in the persistent struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, have become a mighty force in our times striving for human progress and defending world peace. Great victories have already been won by Afro-Asian peoples, but the tasks confronting them are still arduous. Those Asian and African peoples who have not attained independence are still suffering from the havoc and tribulation of colonial rule, while those who have become independent are still being subjected to imperialist aggression and interference. The imperialists will not quit Asia and Africa of their own accord. Despite their repeated defeats, they are still bestirring themselves and trying by hook or by crook to retain their colonial rule and grab colonial interest. Innumerable facts show that to fight imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence remain the most urgent common tasks for us Asian and African peoples.

The Chinese Government and people will further strengthen our unity and co-operation with the governments and peoples of other Afro-Asian countries. The Chinese people

are glad to see that the preparatory meeting for the Second Afro-Asian Conference held in Djakarta in April 1964 achieved important successes through the joint efforts of the participating nations which adhered to the principles of unity against imperialism, seeking common ground while leaving aside the differences, treating each other as equals and reaching unanimity through consultation. We are convinced that guided by the same principles the Second Afro-Asian Conference to be held in March 1965 will hold still higher the banner of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, further develop the Bandung spirit and achieve more important successes.

### FAITHFUL BROTHERS

The Chinese people and the Afro-Asian peoples have stood up. The era when we Afro-Asian countries were bullied and ordered about by others has gone forever. No people or forces on earth can frustrate or forestall the victorious advance of the Afro-Asian peoples cause of friendly co-operation and unity against imperialism. In this noble common cause, the Chinese people have in the past 15 years remained the most faithful brothers and comrades-in-arms of the Afro-Asian peoples. In future, we will, as always, make joint efforts and advance hand in hand with the other Afro-Asian peoples to further consolidate and develop the friendly and good-neighbourly relations among us, further strengthen Afro-Asian unity, promote human progress and defend world peace.

# PUERTO RICO (2)

## An analysis of neo-colonialist tactics in an American Colony

PUERTO Rico is an island in the Caribbean with a population of about 3½ million people. (I say 3½ million knowing that the 1960 Census said 2½ million. This will be explained later). It is the third of the greater Antilles (Cuba/Haiti-Sto Domingo/Puerto Rico). Racially it is a REALLY MIXED mixture of Spanish, African and Indian blood. Culturally, it is basically hispanic. Its colonial nature is not debatable even though it has been called everything from a territory to a commonwealth. It has been a DIRECT COLONY for 66 years and remains a colony in spite of a 66-year struggle.

At this moment there are 37 Puerto Rican political prisoners in United States jails serving sentences which add up to 485 years. YES political prisoners in a colony of the United States. They belong to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, one of the Parties in the struggle for National Liberation, and have been in jail since 1950, after an abortive revolt.

Puerto Rico is directly controlled by the United States Congress (The U.S. has no colonial office).

Congress has KINDLY granted us a measure of local autonomy. But foreign trade,

per cent of the labour force was totally unemployed. (This does not include seasonal unemployment). FOUR American Corporations owned 80 per cent of the sugar land. It was a CLASSICAL colonial monocrop economy.

per capita income, has risen from 121 dollars in 1940 to 622 dollars in 1961. A very impressive result. Puerto Rico is said to have the most rapidly growing economy of the non-socialist world.

Let us examine this picture. 78 per cent of all investments in Puerto Rico are owned by North Americans; that is, there has been very little development of a truly national economy. Of the 710 new factories, 82 per cent are North American. Not true economic development,

By Dr. Ana Livia Cordero

### WHAT THEN REMAINS?

THE WAGES PAID? Let us see. These 710 factories pay 17 million dollars in workers' wages each year. These wages are used by the Puerto Rican workers to pay their debts to the North American Bank, and to purchase North American goods in North American stores.

But employment remains? Let us see. ABSOLUTE non-seasonal unemployment is STILL 14 per cent of the labour force but in certain areas it is as high as 24 per cent. This in spite of the fact that almost a million Puerto Ricans have migrated in the last 20 years looking for work. This is why I said that our population was 3½ million. That is, almost A THIRD of our population have had to leave their country. The human suffering and social CATASTROPHE that this involves is unmeasurable.

### MIGRATION

Puerto Ricans migrate to the United States, to a racist society where they bear the multiple burdens of racial, economic and social discrimination in a country whose culture and language are totally alien.

But the fantastic increase in per capita income? If we look at the distribution of income, a much better measure, there HAS BEEN a rise in the real income of the families. Almost half of the families had incomes under 500 dollars a year in 1946. These families now have incomes of under 1,000/year. Even if this is corrected for OVER ONE-THIRD rise in the cost of living in this same period things ARE BETTER for the people who remain in Puerto Rico. Better jobs HAVE BEEN substituted for bad jobs and growing governmental expenditure has created a rapidly growing middle class. A small privileged group with a very high income has also arisen.

We have then a country which has NOT really developed its own economy but where a higher standard of living has resulted from the increased exploitation of the labour of its workers by North American investors and from unlimited credit.

Let us look further. Ownership of land has become concentrated further. Agriculture has stagnated as have large segments of the country where starvation still occurs and in some areas, almost two-thirds of the population are receiving welfare aid.

We continue to import most of our food. Almost all of our trade is with the U.S. and has to be carried in U.S. ships imposing a penalty of 4 dollars per ton on the Puerto Rican people. Our trade imbalance was 139 million dollars in 1960.

### DISTORTED DEVELOPMENT

In other words, in spite of SEEMING great strides in development, the same old story has to be told: distorted development, escape of profits, ownership of the wealth by the imperialists and unfavourable trade. There has been a partial shift in emphasis from sugar to small manufacture, with the creation of a

privileged working class and a large bureaucracy. Not true national development but neo-colonialist "development" in a colony.

Why is Puerto Rico relevant if it is just another example of imperialism?

Because in 1940, the party that came into power, the Popular Democratic Party was social reformist and side by side with its SUICIDAL economic policies it has carried out impressive social reforms. Look at Table

Puerto Rico	(P.R. Gov't Sources)	1940	1961
Crude Death rate		18.2	6.7
Life expectancy		46	67
Literacy		68	85

(The Crude death rate cannot be utilised to compare with different countries as it is dependent on the age of the population, but a marked decrease in the same country is definite evidence of improved health).

There has been a remarkable improvement in these social indices in Puerto Rico.

If we now add these indices to our table comparing United States/Venezuela/Guatemala.

### INADEQUATE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT (U.N. STATISTICAL REPORT)

Country	Per Capita GNP 1958	Infant Mortality 1,000 live births	Life Expectancy in years
U.S.	2,324	25.4	67 years ('61)
Venezuela	715	51.4	Brazil 39 years ('59)
Guatemala	164	84.8	44 years ('58)
Puerto Rico	581	41.3	67

We see that Puerto Rico in spite of a lower per capita GNP has a position in these social indices that is much better than that of Venezuela. Why were these Reforms possible?

1. The Local "Compradore" bourgeoisie was not powerful enough to provide effective opposition.

2. A true desire for social improvement on the part of the Puerto Rico leaders. One-third of the budget for health, one-third for education; efficient public administration; and No GRAFT.

The popular Party was able to truly MOTIVATE and actively mobilize the professional and technical class in a devoted programme of social development. Puerto Rico has shown how far a country with limited resources for social development can progress if these limited resources are utilised efficiently and honestly by motivated technical-professional personnel. In spite of the limitations inspired by a colonial situation.

3. These reforms occurred right after the great depression of the 30's which shook the foundations of capitalism. As a result of the depression, capitalism saw the need for internal reforms and for external concessions in order to survive. The resulting policies were called the NEW DEAL. Puerto Rico in 1940 was in

a state of turmoil. The depression had persisted. The Popular Party came into power on a platform of Land, Bread and Liberty, i.e. independence from the United States; land reform; workers' rights and social reforms. It directly attacked U.S. absentee ownership.

The NEW DEAL was belatedly applied to Puerto Rico. Rexford Guy Tugwell, one of Roosevelt's Brain Trusters and a confirmed New Dealer was appointed Governor. Puerto Rico was included (for the first time) in Federal State Aid for Education, Health etc.

### AGENTS OF N. AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

A potentially revolutionary situation was easily transformed into a social reform movement. Its anti-imperialist economic programme became a programme for development through foreign investments. Its reformist leaders became agents of North American imperialism. The United States thus not only permitted but actually encouraged and aided social reforms in order to protect United States private investors, the Government giving subsidy for private enterprises and instituting a pat-

tern for foreign aid. As a result of the depression, Latin America was also in Turmoil and concessions were also made. There, the policies were called the "Good Neighbour" Policy. (I am sorry that we have no time to discuss these policies here).

I SHALL FINISH by saying about my country that we have been engaged in a long and at times violent struggle against North American domination for 66 years and that this struggle has been recently strengthened internally by two factors, the Cuban revolution, and the increasing economic exploitation of the country.

The case of Puerto Rico will be reviewed by the United Nations at the next session: In 1953, the United Nations approved a United States request that it be relieved from reporting on Puerto Rico to the United Nations Commission on Dependent Territories. The United States claimed that Puerto Rico had achieved self-government.

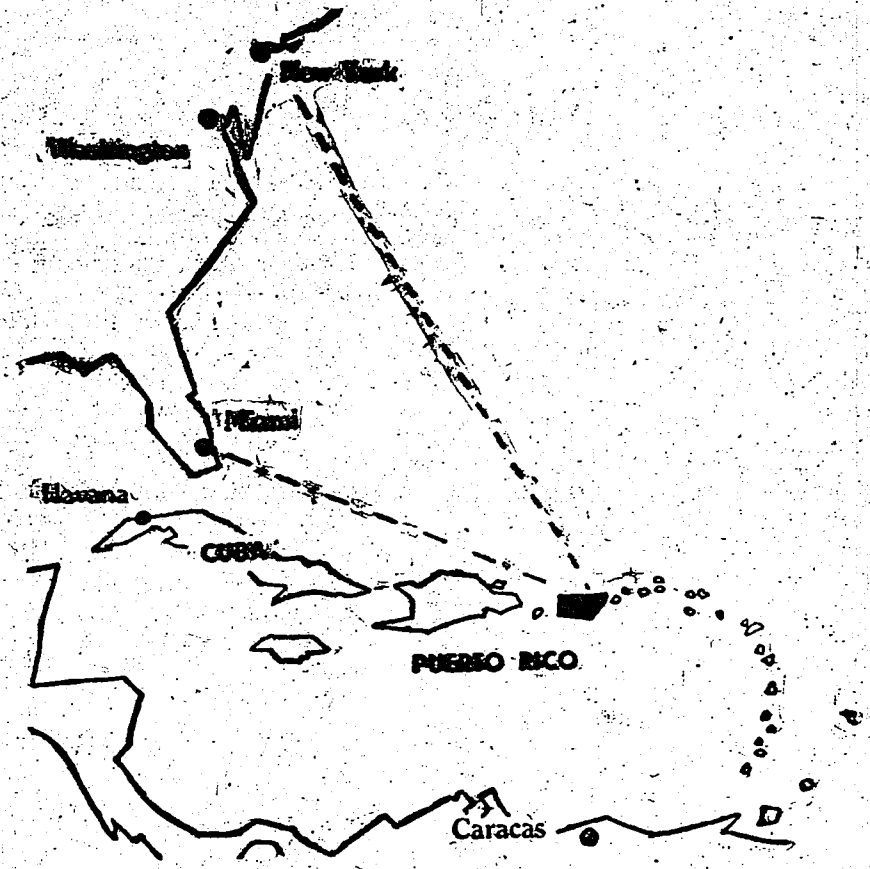
### SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Besides the socialist countries, six Latin American countries and ten Asian and Arab countries participated in the debate on the side of the Puerto Rican independence movement. The final vote was 22 for, 18 against, and 19 abstentions.

In 1960, Resolution number 1514, was approved by the XV Assembly of the United Nations. "A DECLARATION FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES FROM COLONIALISM IN ALL ITS FORMS AND MANIFESTATIONS".

A new Commission was appointed to implement the above resolution which will examine all cases, one by one and report to the Assembly.

In 1961, in Belgrade, the 25 non-aligned nations expressed full support for the above resolution and agreed to support and encourage all peoples fighting for their independence. In addition, neo-colonialism in all its forms was condemned. We are hoping at the next United Nations session to obtain the support of the New Nations of Africa and Asia in order to become an independent state. It is only the first, but a necessary step in the struggle against imperialist domination.



customs and foreign relations are completely controlled by the U.S. Over our legislative and judiciary system stands the legislative and judiciary system of the U.S. Our young men are drafted into the U.S. army without our having any say in it. They are used as cannon fodder in North American imperialist wars (The proportion of Puerto Rican casualties in Korea was over 100 per cent higher than that of white Americans—Afro-American and Puerto Rican troops always held the hills while the white Americans retreated).

Since 1948, an attempt has been made to develop and to industrialise by encouraging foreign investors. The local government established a Planning Board and an Economic Development Corporation; granted 10-year tax exemptions; invested in factory buildings; trained skilled labour and destroyed the labour movement to keep wages attractive. 1-year, 5-year and 10-year development plans were drawn with the best technical advice.

The results? 710 factories directly employing about 50,000 workers had been established by 1961. (With indirect employment, estimates are of 88,000 jobs).

The G.N.P. has risen from 287 million dollars in 1940 to about 1,300 million dollars in 1961. (In Puerto Rico, the G.N.P. includes U.S. investments and other products). The

ECONOMICALLY, the picture of economic "development" that we have drawn for Latin America is also ours. In 1940 about 60 per cent of our exports were in sugar, approximately 60 per cent of our employed workers were engaged in agriculture and 13

# COMMON MARKET

Continued from page 1

trade policy implies a corresponding shift in domestic financial policy. To protect European economy against hostile financial policies in the Associated African states, Article 14 of the agreement covers that "each Contracting Party shall refrain from any measure or practice of an internal fiscal nature that directly or indirectly sets up any discrimination between its own products and similar products originating in the territories of the other Contracting Parties". By this, not only is the African state unable to protect its young industries against competition from outside and more powerful economic interests, but it is also quite clear that her internal financial autonomy has been severely undermined.

The same result of integrating the economies of the Associated African states into those of the European Common Market is evident when we consider the provisions of the Association Convention on financial and technical cooperation.

The sum of 730 million dollars is provided to cover loans and grants of all sorts to the associated countries over a period of 51 years. This amount is made up of 666 million dollars in the European Development Fund raised by the six European Member states and 64 million dollars planned to come from the European Investment Bank, an institution of the European Common Market.

This amount will be spent as follows:—

- i. outright grants: 620 million dollars
- ii. loans on commercial terms: 64 million dollars
- iii. loans on special terms (long amortisation and low interest of 3%): 46 million dollars.

It should be noted that the 620 million dollars for grants will not all be found. For it is planned to divert a maximum of 50 million dollars of this amount into commodity price stabilisation schemes.

The entire projected investment and grants under the Association Convention (730 million dollars in five years) in 18 countries with a total population of 60 million works out at one pound per head of population per annum. In contrast, and without such over-dependence on foreign sources, Ghana's Seven-Year Development Plan allows for an investment rate of £21 per head of population per annum.

The guiding concepts behind the Development Fund of the Association Convention are fourfold. The first is to convert single crop economies in the Associated states into multi-crop economies but leaving the economy still overwhelmingly agricultural. The second concept is to focus public (i.e. state) economic effort on the provision of the infrastructure of economic growth. In consequence, the productive sector of the national economy is left entirely to private enterprise. Thirdly, both nationals of the Associated states and firms (including individuals) of the European

Member states are given the same opportunities in the field of direct economic production to the detriment of the nationals of the Associated states. Fourthly, a good deal of the activities of the 730 million dollars fund is done directly by the fund itself with the governments of the Associated states playing the role of intermediate and supervising agencies.

Both the formulation of economic programmes and the execution of these schemes are largely beyond the control of the Associated states. In other words, the governments of the Associated states have lost economic autonomy. Thus under Article 21 of the Convention every Associated state is obliged to "open a file for each scheme or programme for which it requires financial assistance. It shall send this file to the Community" i.e. the European Economic Community. The European Member States will decide which scheme to finance. And after, the European Economic Community "shall maintain such contacts with the Associated states concerned as it may require in order that its decisions on the schemes or programmes submitted to it may be formulated in full knowledge of the facts. The Associated state or group of Associated states concerned shall be informed of the decision taken regarding its request" (Article 22).

Even the disbursement of the grants and loans from the European Development Fund is undertaken by the Fund itself. Those who qualify for these grants are governments of the Associated states, specialised bodies and institutions, producer groups "approved by the Community" and even producers themselves (Article 24). The loans are disbursed the same way but this time the recipients include "private enterprises by special decision of the Community" (i.e. European Economic Community). Even financial aid for diversification of agriculture will, in addition to the government concerned, also go to "producer groups or similar bodies approved by the Community". And to put the financial aid under even stricter control, Article 24, section 2 states that "financial aids may not be used to cover current administrative, maintenance and operating expenses".

The companies of the European countries are also favoured in the award of contracts. In all operations financed by the European Development Fund or the European Investment Bank, "participation in the letting out of contracts, invitations for tenders, purchasing and other contracts shall be open, on equal terms, to all natural and legal persons who are nationals of the member states or the Associated states" (Article 25).

Protocol 5 that governs the administration of financial aid under the Association Convention is even now forthright in its visiting of effective control in the European Member states. Article 13 of this Protocol states: "The Community

shall lay down the terms under which loans are to be granted and the procedure for effecting and recovering them." Article 28 states: "The Community shall examine, together with each Associated state, whether that state's programme conforms to the principles laid down in Article 27 above. After this scrutiny and, when appropriate, after the programme has been adjusted, the Community shall note it and decide upon the amount of the first yearly instalment of its contribution". Article 32 calls on all Associate states "to submit (annually) a detailed report on the use of the sums received under the head of aids to production." The European members, of course may wish to see things for themselves. In which case, "the Associated state shall co-operate in any inspection considered desirable by the Community".

Lastly, the right of establishment and payments. The Associated states are made free zones for the operation of enterprises owned by nationals of the European member states. Article 29 states that in each Associated state nationals and companies of every member state shall be placed on an equal footing as regards the right of establishment and provision of services, progressively and not later than three years after the entry into force of this Convention". The proceeds of these foreign enterprises could leave the Associated states freely: for each signatory state undertakes "to authorise payments relating to trade in goods, services and capital and to wages, as also the transfer of such payments to the member state or Associate state in which the creditor or the beneficiary is resident" (Article 35).

The new Association Convention of the European Common Market is new only in its invention of gadgets for maintaining neo-colonialism. It underwrites the master-servant relationship existing between the Common Market and its African associates in the field of commerce and economic activity generally.

This fact was vividly conveyed in a speech made by M. Heindrich Hindus, Director General for Overseas Development. Addressing ambassadors of the French-speaking African states on 4th January 1963, this top executive of the Association Convention said: "we (the European Common Market) have increased our prosperity, our wealth, our power. In consequence, we have a responsibility, a duty to allocate part of this prosperity to help those who, far from experiencing as dynamic a development, tend... to grow rich much less quickly than we do. This responsibility, this duty, is moreover in accordance with our own interests, and it would be naive, if not dishonest, to deny it.... I have always thought it was in Europe's own interest to contribute to the development of backward countries."

M. Heindrick Hindus is an honest and forthright executive. What excuse have African leaders for holding a different view on this issue? In the interest of their coun-

# U.S. and the O.A.U.

THE Leader of the "unholy alliance" of the imperialist powers, the United States of America, has unmasked its mailed fist.

The last moment refusal of the United States to meet and confer with the Reconciliation Commission of the O.A.U. which was due to leave for the United States within the next twenty-four hours, constitutes one of the best object lessons for the whole of Africa and indeed, for the whole of the descent world.

We are neither surprised nor impressed. Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, who knows imperialism for what it is, we have never been taken in by the double talk, and hollow claims on the part of the United States. The claim that their country stands for world peace!

There can hardly be any leader in Africa today, having observed the activities of the United States in the Congo, who will still remain uncovered about the dangers which imperialism holds over our heads in Africa and the world. Which African leader, seeing the manner in which the United States has presented one affront after another to Africa over the question of the Congo, can hold back the wrath of the people of this

our continent? He will be a brave man indeed who will continue to pretend that the interests of the people of Africa coincide with those of the United States.

With the ruling class in a country like the United States which is without conscience, and without scruple, the interests of the people of the Congo can go hang, so long as the puppet Government does the imperial bidding, and opens the door wide for capitalist exploitation. What does the United States care for the welfare of the people of Latin America and nations like the Congo, so long as the resources of these countries are exposed to foreign investment.

Had the interests of our people in the Congo not been our concern, we should have liked to sit back, and permit the United States to reveal its selfish designs some more. We should have let the arch imperialist nation, the United States, to invite by its actions the intervention of the only powers which are its match.

But, alas, the people of the Congo are our own people. Their misery is our misery. This being so, we can not stand idle while the United States spins Tshombe and Kasavubu around as if they were so

many tops in the hands of children at play.

Now that there can be no doubt as to the intentions of the United States on the Congo; viz., to foment trouble in the area, and prevent the much needed reconciliation. Let all the African peoples rally together in unity and throw off the evil influence.

In a spirit of compromise, African leaders have admitted M. Tshombe

to the meeting of African Foreign Ministers. We will not regret the decision. But, M. Tshombe has yet to prove that the hands which have been outstretched to him are not repulsed.

We see that power, a heady stuff, can get into the heads of people. Thus, the United States has dared to flout the will of a whole continent. OUR power in Africa lies in our morality and in our unity.

# Our view

State Department Press Officer Robert McCloskey issued the following statement late Wednesday:

"The United States has been informed that a delegation representing the Congo Reconciliation Commission of the Organization of African Unity intends to come to the United States to discuss American military assistance to the Congo.

"We have instructed our Ambassador in Nairobi to make clear to the OAU Commission that we are anxious to co-operate with the OAU in every appropriate way. We attach great importance to the success of its efforts to contribute to a solution of the Congo problem.

"However, we could not agree to discuss our aid to the Congo without participation of the Congo Government, at

whose request our aid is given.

"We have, therefore, asked our Ambassador to indicate to the Commission that if the Government of the Congo is willing to participate in such discussions, U.S. representatives will be prepared to meet with representatives of the Congo and the OAU Commission at a mutually agreed time and place and on the basis of a previously agreed agenda.

"Limited U.S. military assistance to the Congo is at the request of the sovereign Government of the Congo to assist it in maintaining law and order. For a number of years we have been providing aid to the Congo through the United Nations and also on a bilateral basis. The United States has given similar assistance to other African nations at their request."

# Our Cultural Renaissance

Continued from page 2

Once this has been agreed upon, the stage will have been set for the play to begin—that is to say, for the work of preparing and assembling the Encyclopaedia articles to commence. I sincerely trust that the deliberations of the Editorial Board at this first meeting will successfully hit that mark.

The progress of the work from that point on will depend in the first instance, as I see it, on the degree of whole-hearted and effectively organised support that can be procured from African scholars in all countries, from the many institutes of African studies

and research agencies of various kinds which are to be found today throughout our continent, and from the various independent African governments which are ready to provide the fullest measure of financial support for this work. So far, the financial burden has been borne by the Government of Ghana alone.

As I have already stated, I have no specific proposals to present with regard to these matters. But I am convinced that the task is not insuperable. The fact that we have advanced this far in accomplishing almost single-handedly, the formation of a Pan-African Editorial Board of the Encyclopaedia Africana


augurs success in the further stages of the work.

I trust this project will be welcomed by all the African Heads of State, and will have the full support of the Organisation of African Unity. We must now think in terms of continental political unity in everything we do for Africa. Without such cohesion and unity none of us can survive the intrigues and divisive forces of the imperialists and neo-colonialists. The work of this Encyclopaedia Africana will take us one further step towards the great objective to which we are dedicated—a Continental Union Government of Africa.

Speaking on behalf of the Government of the Republic

of Ghana and as Chancellor of our Universities, I can assure the members of the Editorial Board that work on this Encyclopaedia will have the fullest co-operation of our Universities, learned societies and research institutions in Ghana, as well as the financial support of the Government of Ghana.

Distinguished scholars and members of the Editorial Board of the Encyclopaedia Africana, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana and on my own behalf, I extend a warm welcome to you. May this your first meeting mark the auspicious beginning of your work in a great undertaking for the benefit of mankind.



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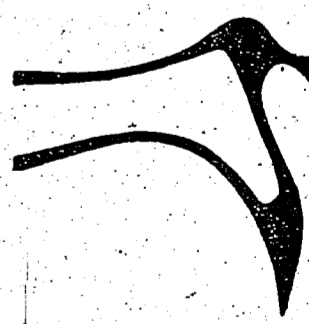
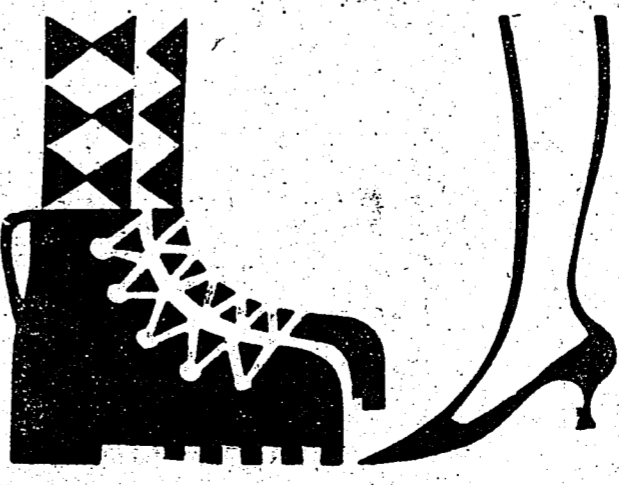
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