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BUILD A
BETTER LIFE
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THE SPARK



Impoverished
Continent 3

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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

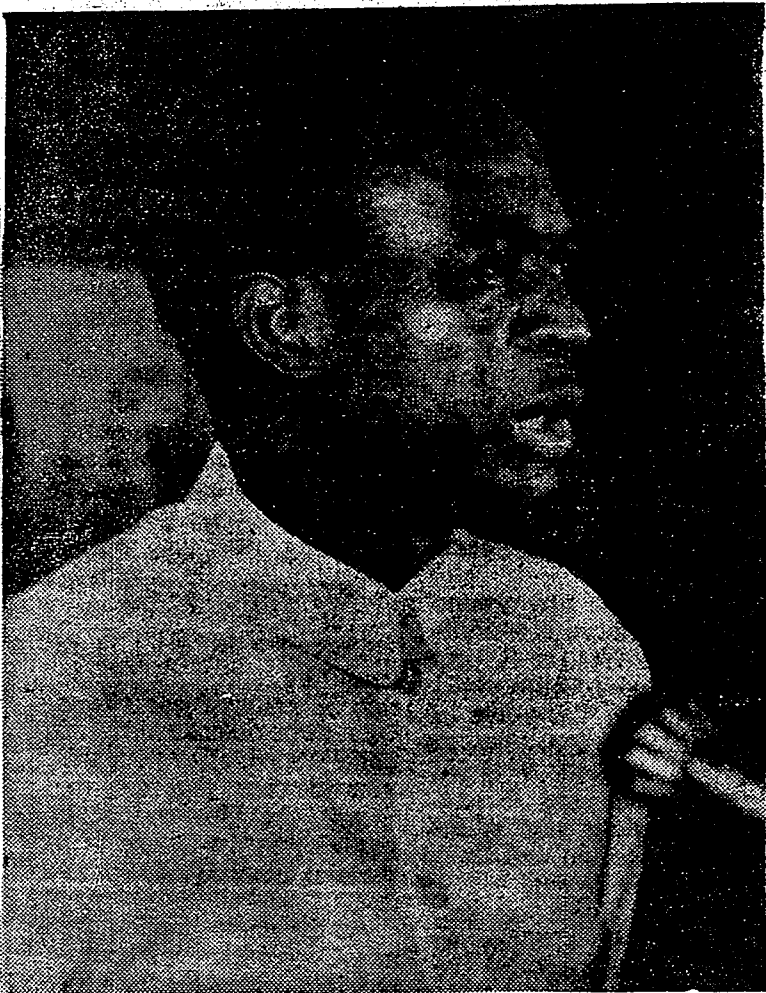
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COMMENT:

Continental Unity: If not now then when?



'None can stand alone'

"HISTORY is made only by bold ventures and not by retreating in the face of difficulties.
"Those who argue that the time is not ripe or that the difficulties are too great for the establishment of a Continental Union Government are not recognising the imperative needs of the African continent know the overwhelming wishes or desires of the masses of the people of Africa.
"We can delay no longer in taking the economic destiny of Africa into our own hands. Since the founding of the Organisation of African Unity at Addis Ababa, world trade has moved further and faster into the channels prepared by neo-colonialism.
"The increased productivity of our wealthy continent has benefited not us, but the industrial nations. By depressing the prices of our raw materials and metals, they have stunted our economic progress.
"By raising the prices of their manufactured goods they have drained away any surpluses we might have acquired.
"The deliberate policy of neo-colonialism emerges, not only to rob us of our wealth, but to prevent us from acquiring capital for our own development...
"Everywhere in Africa, our economies are crumbling, our treasuries are getting empty, we are becoming client states, none of us can stand alone.
"We will remain in that condition until we take the economic and political destiny of Africa into our own hands.
"An African Common Market of 300 million producers and consumers should have productivity, a purchasing and bargaining power equal to any of those trading and currency blocs which now rule the commerce of the world.
"Who is there to oppose or frustrate us, if we only have the courage to form an all-African Union Government?
"Can the industrialised nations do without our copper, our uranium, our iron ore, our bauxite our coffee, cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, palm oil—or will they come running to us, as we have been running to them for trade on equitable terms?
"It is courage that we lack, not wealth...
"The O.A.U. must face such a choice now—we can either move forward to progress through an effective African Union or stop backward into stagnation, instability and confusion—an easy prey for foreign intervention, interferences and subversion."

—KWAME NKURUMAH

WHILE the Heads of State and Government were assembled at Accra, a newsagency message reports that one of the Presidents who is absent has made a cynical remark about Continental Government of Africa.

Commenting on the absence of any "continental government" in America, Europe or Asia, he is reported to have said that he did not see "why some people wanted to create a Continental Government in Africa at the present stage of our economic development."

It is a pity that he should have made such a statement from a distance, instead of joining his brothers and colleagues in Accra in order to discuss such matters soberly and objectively with them.

First of all, of course, Africa is not America, nor Europe, nor even Asia.

NOT A COPY

And if one were simply to suggest, as that President seems to have done, that Africa's future is bound by the past examples of America, Europe or Asia, then where indeed lies the uniqueness of Africa's future?

No, Africa is not, nor can it be, a carbon copy of any other continent. But that is not all.

Let us regard the subject of "continental government" in more detail.

Let us take the continent of America and the U.S.A.

It should not be forgotten that what is now the United States of America was once separate States. Even today their State laws differ considerably.

These American States declared their independence of British imperialism. They were the first ever to do so. They were successful.

In the experience of struggle they found it expedient to unite their forces on a permanent basis, despite internal contradictions and despite the fact that they were once rent by a cruel civil war on the issue of slavery.

True, they did not form one government for the entire American continent, not officially.

But their union was on a "continental scale", it formed one large territory where many separate State territories had existed previously.

INVISIBLE

Moreover, if officially their government covered only the United States, invisibly, in the course of time, their economic rulers have taken possession of almost the entire territory of North and South America.

Even Canada is not today immune from American capitalist control.

Nor is a single country in Central or South America with the exception of Cuba.

So, in fact, an invisible "continental government" of U.S. monopoly capital now rules both the Americas.

But, even formally, the United States were a "continental government" in embryo from the very beginning. And union was a direct move of self-defence against the British imperialism against which they had revolted.

Does anyone really believe that without such unification the U.S.A. would ever have come to be the greatest economic power in the world today?

Next, let us consider the world's second most important economic power today, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This, too, is not literally a "continental" government, for it occupies a large part of each of two continents. It covers more of Europe than all the other European countries together, and at the same time it constitutes the largest land mass under a single government in Asia.

It is thus "continental" in scale if not strictly in geographical outline.

Now the U.S.S.R. like the U.S.A. was formed by the uniting of separate Soviet Republics formed out of the wreckage of the Tsarist Russian Empire.

They had fought together in self-defence against more than a dozen foreign armies, from the major imperialist powers to their weaker satellites.

In the process they came to realise, as the Americans had done before them, that in defence against imperialism "unity is strength".

The economic effects of union, the possibilities of Socialist planning which it made possible, are an example of what a large-scale economic plan can achieve in a once backward and undeveloped territory.

In Europe, it is true, there has so far been no united government. But in the 1914-1918 war such a project was seriously canvassed.

CONTRADICTIONS

But, as Lenin then pointed out, so great were the contradictions within the capitalist system that such a "United States of Europe" would never be possible so long as capitalism continued.

Lenin's prophecy regarding this developed part of the world has proved to have been correct. But is Europe's fate to be that of Africa?

If we look at the map of the world today one of the features which strikes the eye is Africa. Nowhere else on the globe is there such a

large land mass so divided into separate States. Europe, a much smaller area, is highly "balkanised", but the area covered by these small states is far smaller than Africa.

Latin America too is divided, but the frontiers have a certain geographical rationality compared to those of Africa.

Africa is unique in that its state frontiers have almost entirely been designed to suit the former conflicting interests of rival imperialist powers, often as compromises to settle their own internal differences, and drawn with no regard to the geography, traditions or interests of the African people.

UNDO CRIMES

Hence independence confronts new African governments with the task of administering as independent units areas which were originally cut out of the "African cake" as appendages of this or that European colonial power with no consideration whatsoever of their viability as independent units.

So unification in Africa, to undo the crimes of colonialism in selfishly partitioning the continent between them, is a necessary and a rational step in the undoing of the wrongs of colonialism.

If, both militarily and economically, it was in the interests of the American States and the Soviet Republics to unite in self-defence against foreign imperialism, then far more so today is it in the interests of the African people to unite in self-defence against the entire imperialist world and its predatory policy of neo-colonialism.

This is not to imply, however, that at the beginning a Continental Government of Africa would at once cover every inch of the Continent.

South Africa, until the Africans there have carried through a successful revolution, would obviously remain outside.

Rhodesia, so long as it remains a white dictatorship, would do likewise.

These two regimes would be an alien cancer on the soil of Africa which only time, and the combined forces of their oppressed peoples and free Africa, will end.

FAR STRONGER

But, given a Continental Government, Africa as a whole would be in a far stronger position to aid its oppressed brothers still suffering under white suppression.

The absent President said that he could not see any point in Continental Government "at the present stage of our economic development", according to the news report.

If not now, then at what stage?

Every year that passes allows more time for separate plans to be generated and executed in each of Africa's small newly independent national states.

Every such plan, if not co-ordinated with the needs of Africa as a whole, is in danger of becoming a burden on the Continent because it becomes a national vested interests and may well overlap parallel schemes in other independent states where only one joint enterprise would have sufficed if there had been an all-African plan.

As such national vested interests grow, the possibility of ultimate co-ordination becomes more difficult. As the Council for Mutual Economic Aid in Europe has shown, the more developed each Socialist country of Europe has become, the more difficult it has been to ensure proper co-ordination and joint planning

Continued on page 3

Helping to Build a Better Life

POLITICAL independence brings in its trail new responsibilities. But above all, the welfare of the people becomes the supreme law. It is against this background that my Ministry, the Ministry of Works, which has under its wing the Ghana National Construction Corporation, the Electricity Division and the Water Supplies Division, has since independence planned its activities to ensure that the basic and fundamental needs of the people are provided for them.

With a work force of over 32,000 strong, the Ghana National Construction Corporation is today the largest single employer in Ghana. Among its responsibilities is the maintenance of all existing major roads and public buildings. But as the name implies, the Corporation also undertakes the construction of all new development works such as factories, hospitals,

And workers now have stable employment, since they are no longer laid off on completion of a project. Since its establishment, the Ghana National Construction Corporation has handled well over 600 jobs, involving several millions of cedis.

An example of the Corporation's undertakings is the newly-built complex of buildings in which the summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity is being held.

POWER

The Ghana National Construction Corporation has fulfilled the aims set before it namely

(a) to ensure ever-growing and steady employment for the people,

(b) to increase national income and revenues of the State in order to raise the living standards of the people and to expand and im-

prove both educational and health services, and

country's electricity supply within about three years after attainment of independence, electric supply had increased five-fold. But Osagyefo the President saw the need for further improvement. With great faith in the potentialities of the Volta River, he pushed forward the Volta Hydro-Electric Scheme, with the result that Ghana now has abundant hydro-electric power, sufficient to meet her needs and that of her neighbours.

The position to-day, is that Ghana can boast of abundant power to meet its industrial and domestic requirements. It is proposed to transfer to the rural areas redundant generating sets from existing stations which will now receive power from the Volta grid.

In this way every town, village or hamlet will benefit. By this means also the Government's intention to enhance our rural industries will be helped towards reali-

by **E. K. BENSAH**
(Minister of Works)

and 58 ponds to provide water for the rural areas, and by the end of 1963, the number of piped supplies had been increased to 84.

The number of wells rose to 3,774, boreholes to 696, ponds, 98, dams of weirs 19 and the number of other sources of supply such as direct pumping from streams went up to 10.

RURAL SUPPLIES

In spite of these achievements, the provision of adequate and wholesome drinking water to meet the requirements of the rural population, as well as those in the rapidly expanding cities and municipalities and the numerous industries currently springing up throughout the country, has compelled the Government to view the water situation with extra seriousness. Vast sums of money are being spent yearly in this direction.

During the period of the Seven-Year Development Plan, an amount of £G2 million will be spent on rural water supplies, £G1.9 million for extensions on existing city supplies and £G5.8 million has been ear-

supply is 18 million gallons per day. We are thankful to the World Health Organisation and the Special Fund who have given us immense help.

In his sessional address to Parliament in October, 1963, Osagyefo the President said

"We shall supplement this attack on the mosquito by an equally determined assault on the problems of water. I have directed that a special programme should be prepared for providing our towns and villages with clean and adequate water supplies as soon as possible, in an effort to free our people from water-borne disease. If we can eradicate malaria and bring clean and wholesome water to our people everywhere, we shall have freed them from about eighty per cent of the diseases which plague them."

The seriousness of the President's statement can be found in the following statistics relating to water-borne disease treated at five hospitals during the period 1956 to 1959: Guinea worm 3,017, bilharzia 3,290 and



lages in the rural areas where water diseases are common.

To ensure that even more towns and villages throughout the country obtain further piped water supplies, the Water Supplies Division is already finalising a new programme, which will provide nearly every remaining important town and village with wholesome water by the end of the Seven-Year Development Plan period.

Under this programme thirteen more towns and villages in the Western Region will be provided with piped water supply; thirty-five in the Central Region, nineteen in the Ashanti Region; seventeen in the Brong-Ahafo Region; nine in the Northern Region and three in the Upper Region.

While at some centres, boreholes will continue to be drilled for supplying the people with water at others, surface water, in the form of rivers, streams or ponds—will be utilized as sources of water supply.

PACKAGE

Treatment plants to be used under this scheme would be mainly "package" units which are robust and transportable complete water treatment plants. This type of equipment is so arranged as to withstand rough handling and operation even by semi-skilled labour.

In most cases, not more than two persons would be required as operational staff to run a unit. Already twelve such package units

are operating satisfactorily in various parts of the country.

Before the end of the year, the Division will have more water tankers and mobile water treatment plants. It is hoped that the fleet will be capable of arresting any emergency situation, particularly in the north where there are occasional droughts, during the dry season.

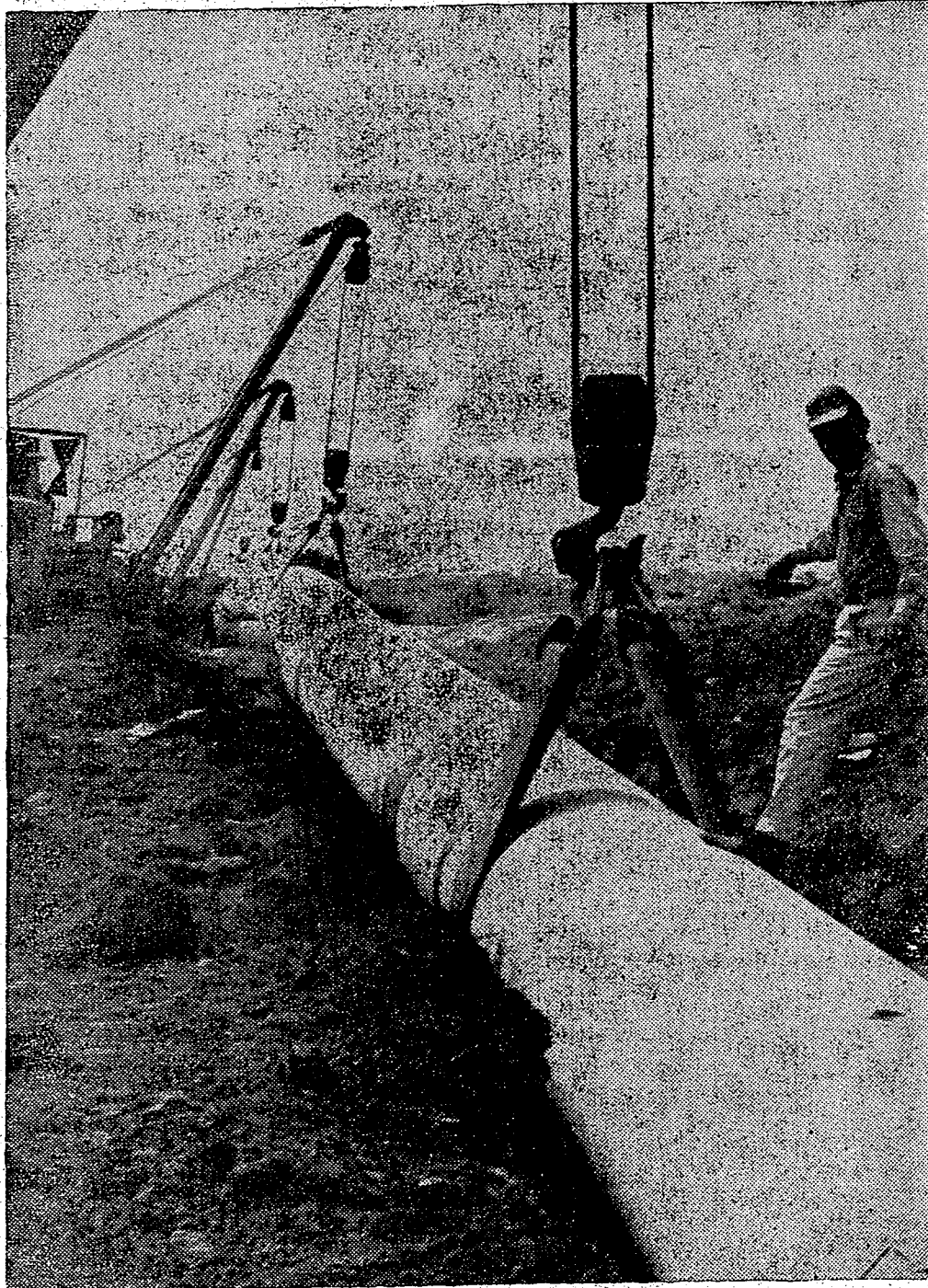
CO-ORDINATION

Undoubtedly, a lot more could be accomplished in this direction if our efforts were to be co-ordinated and consolidated. It is with this aim in view that for the future, the Government is establishing the Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation.

As the name implies, the new Corporation will be responsible chiefly for the provision, distribution and conservation of the supply of water for the country; and to operate and control the nation's sewerage systems.

The development of Ghana's water resources is indicative of the determination of the Government to provide adequate and wholesome drinking water to serve all purposes in this country domestic, commercial and industrial.

These activities, further demonstrate the very important role my Ministry and its integral wings are playing in the economic and social reconstruction of Ghana, through successful implementation of the Government's development schemes.



Water from the new Kpong waterworks will reach Accra through a 55-mile long 42-inch pipeline which is already laid.

**THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING... (7)**

marked for new urban supplies.

An important project now under implementation is the first phase of the Accra-Tema Metropolitan Area Water Supply Extensions Scheme, estimated to cost £G12 million.

When completed, Accra-Tema will have an additional water supply of 40 million gallons per day. This means that Accra-Tema will have enough water to meet its domestic, commercial and industrial water requirements up to the year 1972.

The first part of this project, known as the new Kpong Water Works, comprising the laying of 55-mile, 42-inch diameter pipeline from Kpong through Tema to Accra, has so far been completed.

The city's present water

dysenteries 11,606.

Another survey conducted in 1958 revealed that total deaths for all ages due to dysentery and typhoid totalled 246. Of the number 145 were children under four years.

It will, therefore, be realised that Ghana's water development is aimed at serving two ends, firstly to provide pure drinking water and secondly to help eliminate water-borne diseases.

Since the President made this statement nearly two-years ago, the Water Supplies Division has intensified its activities with the ultimate aim of meeting the challenge.

Within this comparatively short period, the Water Supplies Division has been able to extend its services to more than 60 towns and vil-

schools and colleges, hotels, roads, bridges and other public buildings.

Before independence, most of these construction jobs were undertaken by private contracting firms and companies.

The result was that jobs were usually delayed to the advantage of the contracting firms, and to the disadvantage of the Government. What is more, profits accruing from such activities went into the coffers of foreign concerns.

Another difficulty which confronted the country was a high degree of uncertainty for artisans and skilled men.

These workers were laid off on completion of a particular contract and had to stay for months without work until they found jobs with other contracting concerns—only to be laid off again after the execution of another contract.

With the establishment of the Corporation, the picture is different. Jobs are completed in good time and whatever money the Corporation may acquire by way of profits, goes back into the Government chest, for the implementation of further development projects.

provision of an abundant electricity supply, without which industries cannot thrive, had no place in their plans.

But now we have a people's own Government determined to expand domestic production. As a result, the need for an abundant supply of electricity became vital.

The Electricity Supply Division of my Ministry has intensified its activities. New supplies were established in accordance with the industrial development programme of the country.

This resulted in an appreciable improvement of the

Another field of activity which Ghana has spared no effort to develop is the provision of adequate and wholesome water to meet the country's ever-increasing domestic, commercial and industrial requirements.

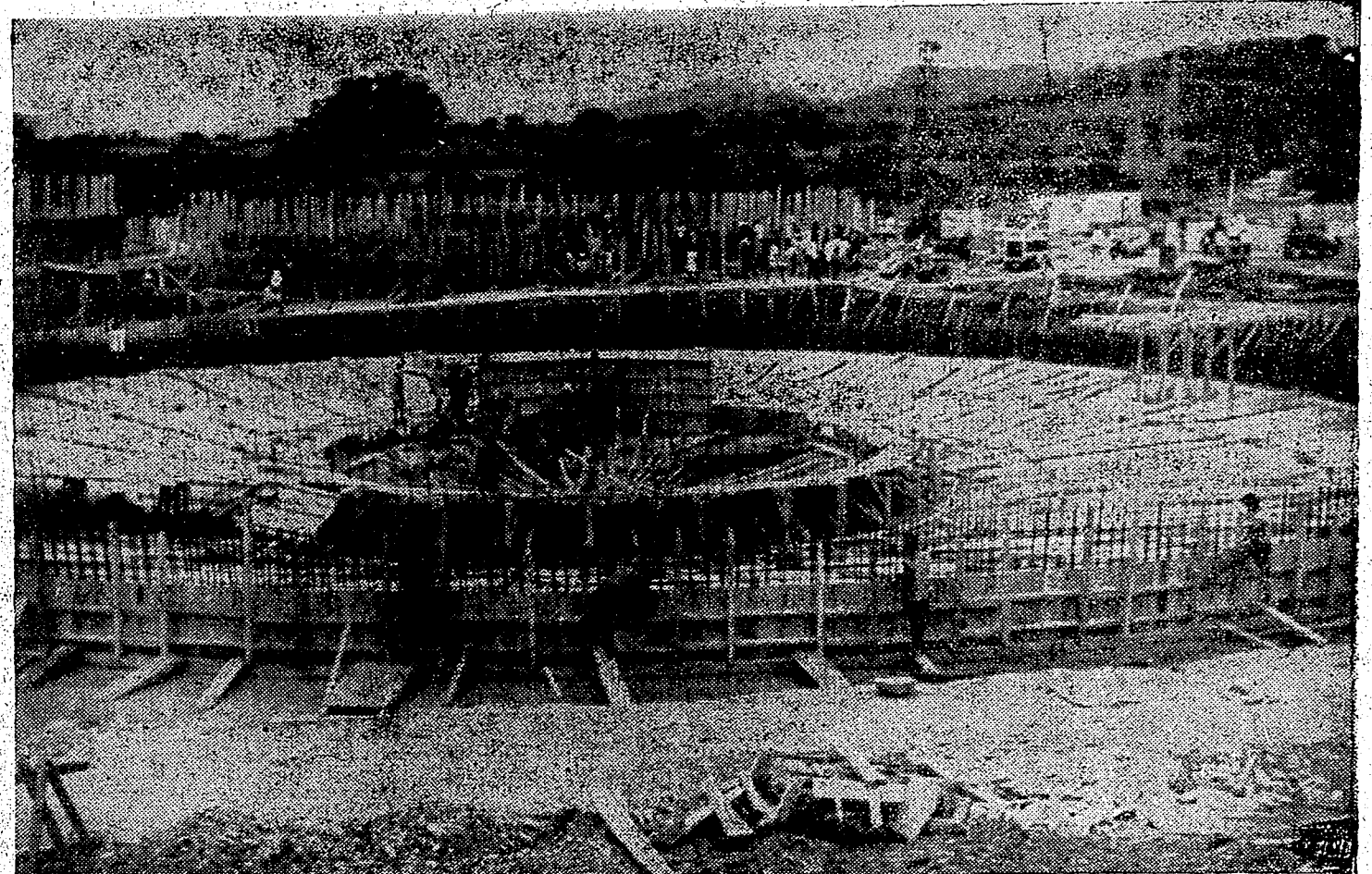
The need for it does not demand any emphasis, since it is generally agreed that water is as indispensable as the air we breathe.

ACHIEVEMENTS

But here again, it must be mentioned that the colonial government did very little to provide the people with this essential service. Records show that on the attainment of independence, there were only seven towns with piped water supplies, and only eighteen boreholes in the country.

Two years after the C.P.P. had assumed control under the leadership of Osagyefo the President, the Water Supplies Division of my Ministry increased the number of piped supplies facilities to 69 cities and towns.

In addition, the Division commissioned 588 boreholes, 3,294 protected wells



Work is progressing steadily on the treatment plant at the new Kpong waterworks.

'The Impoverished Continent'

By A Spark Correspondent

"THE naked fact, alas, is that Africa is still an impoverished continent, immobilised by the lack of political cohesion, harassed by imperialism and ransacked by neo-colonialism." With the above words the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, warned the other Heads of State at the opening of the O.A.U. Summit.

THE REMEDY

And again, later in his speech, in reply to "those who argue that the time is not ripe", he pointed to the machinations of neo-colonialism and commented: "Everywhere in Africa, our economies are crumbling, our treasuries are getting empty, we are becoming client States, none of us can stand alone." And as if in reply to his own depressing account of this present situation in Africa he went on to point the remedy:

"An African Common Market of 300 million producers and consumers should have a productivity, a purchasing and bargaining power equal to any of those trading and currency blocs which now rule the commerce of the world..."

"Can the industrialised nations do without our copper, our uranium, our iron ore, our bauxite, our coffee, cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, palm-oil—or will they come running to us, as we have been running to them, for trade on equitable terms."

"It is courage that we lack, not wealth." Those of the Heads of State who had already read *Neo-Colonialism—the Last Stage of Imperialism* would have at once recognised that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speech was in fact in very concentrated form the essence of his new book.

His analysis of African impoverishment on the one hand, his confidence in a United Africa as the way out of the continent's difficulties on the other, are based on massive evidence which is contained in the book.

COCOA

The people of Ghana have often enough heard about the problem of cocoa. But the story always can bear re-telling, and in *Neo-Colonialism* the essential points are made clear once again. The story is simple enough for anyone to understand: (All further page references are to *Neo-Colonialism*):

"A continent like Africa, however much it increases its agricultural output, will not benefit unless it is sufficiently politically and economically united to force the developed world to pay it a fair price for its cash crops." (p.9)

This point, it will be noted, is precisely what was said in the speech to the Heads of State, when the prospect was held out of being able, on the basis of unity, to bargain from strength with those who consume Africa's copper, uranium, bauxite, coffee, cocoa and other products.

Neo-Colonialism continues:

"Both Ghana and Nigeria have in the post-war independence period enormously developed their production of cocoa..."

"What advantage has Nigeria or Ghana gained through this stupendous increase in agricultural productivity? In 1954/5 when Ghana's production was 210,000 tons, her 1954 earnings from the

cocoa crop were £85 million. This year (1964/5) with an estimated crop of 590,000 tons, the estimated external earnings will be around £77 million. Nigeria has suffered a similar experience... In other words Ghana and Nigeria have trebled their production of this particular agricultural product but their gross earnings from it have fallen from £125 million to £117 million." (pp 9-10)

The impoverishment of the producers of cocoa by the imperialist consumers is well enough known. It is not perhaps as well known a fact that in Britain, for example, where chocolate production is now a tightly controlled monopoly, the falling prices paid to the producers have in no way been reflected in the price of chocolate to consumers.

MONOPOLISTS

On the contrary, only the monopolists have gained, for they have paid less for the cocoa and at the same time have continued their home policy of charging the maximum possible price for chocolate products.

What is true of cocoa is equally true of all the other main agricultural products of Africa.

Moreover, it has been imperialist policy to retain Africa as an agricultural source of supply.

Hence, "in the countries of the highest settler populations, and therefore the most exploited so far in Africa (Algeria, Congo, Kenya, Morocco, Rhodesia, Malawi, South Africa, Tanganyika), agriculture is predominant."

Even in South Africa, the most industrialised area in Africa, "the contribution of agriculture and mining is together equal to that of industry, manufacture and construction." (p.11)

NIGERIA

In Nigeria, to take the case of an undeveloped country,

"in 1960 agriculture, forestry and fishing accounted for 63 per cent of the economic activity; mining one per cent. The imbalance is emphasised by the extremely low ratio of two per cent from industry and manufacture..."

In Nigeria it connotes simply a total disregard under colonialism of Nigeria's potentialities. The reason for this lies not in the fact that Nigeria is devoid of natural industrial resources, as recent findings of oil and iron confirm. It was that Nigeria's agriculture provided greater profitability for European investment than the risks that were involved in the larger capital provisions called for by mining exploration and exploitation.

"In 1962 petroleum and petroleum products contributed 9.9 per cent to Nigeria's exports, but it is Shell-BP that hopes to reap most of the benefit." (p.13)

The other side of the picture is as follows: "When the countries of their origin are obliged to buy back the minerals and other raw products in the form of finished goods, they do so at grossly inflated prices."

An advertisement in the March/April issue of *Modern Government* described how "deep in the tropical jungle of Central Africa lies one of the world's richest deposits of manganese ore."

This ore deposits is "being developed by the French concern, Compagnie Minière de l'Ogooué... for shipment to the world's steel mills." As Kwame Nkrumah comments: "for 'the world' read the United States first and France second." (p.14)

In the post-war period much has been said and written about so-called "aid" to underdeveloped countries. Examining an actual example of the workings of such "aid" Kwame Nkrumah studies the case of France and Guinea (pp.16-19).

He shows how, in fact, French "aid" simply returned to France in the form of profits so that the entire operation "was in effect a levy on French taxpayers for the benefit of French individuals and firms."

France secured in Guinea supplies of African primary products while, in exchange, it was able to dispose of certain goods "which were then uncompetitive in price or surplus in Europe."

Nowadays the European Common Market "enables other States, hitherto outside the French preserve, to profit by the system."

It rationalises the division of Africa into economic zones based upon Europe, in which countries like Belgium and Italy also take part" (p.19).

Whatever can be said, however, of the profits made out of Africa's agricultural riches, there is nothing to compare with the history of the mining monopolies that have been sucking Africa dry for many years, having first obtained, and still preserving, their domination by open fraud.

RHODES

In the 1890s agents of Cecil Rhodes defrauded Chief Lo' Benguela of all mining rights in Rhodesia. And in 1965 the most fraudulent deals were made with Tshombe of the Congo by which countries which had exploited the Congo to the tune of over £3,000 million then persuaded the Congolese Government that it had a "debt" of \$900,000,000 to be met.

Then, as a gesture of "aid" the monopolies decided that of this invented debt of \$900 million, only \$250 million has to be paid. "How generous, indeed!" comments Kwame Nkrumah (p.199)

Quite apart from fraudulent agreements imposed on Africa throughout the colonial period, fantastic incomes and profits have been and are being made by capitalist monopolies and their personnel in Africa.

"Over 50 per cent of the Congo's national income went regularly to European residents and foreign firms... In Gabon one-third of the income goes

to the non-African population. Two-fifths of Liberia's total income accrues to foreign firms..." (p.237)

In 1964 it was shown by a London City journal that Ghana Government taxation "had cut Ashanti Goldfields 1962/3 profits from £1,111,162 to £609,142. Nevertheless the company was still able to declare a total dividend of 37 1/2 per cent, a fall obviously from the 50 per cent and over that had been kept up for several previous years... a whacking return on an original capital of £250,000 which had been built up to its present £3 million from reserves out of past and present profits." (pp. 237-8)

"Further profits are forced out of Africa in the form of the inflated cost of finished goods, equipment and services she is forced to buy from the monopoly sources that extract the prime materials..." It was estimated by United Nations experts that the dependent countries had to pay \$2.5 to \$3 billion more for their imports of manufactured goods in 1947 than they would have had to pay if price ratios were the same as in 1913."

According to F.A.O. the prices of primary materials fell from 97 to 91 between 1950 and 1961, while the prices of manufactured goods rose from 86 to 110, with steel reaching 134.

In Congo (Brazzaville), while 1962 saw an increase of 77 per cent in exports while 1962 "saw an increase lined by 15 per cent, the value of the exports hardly covered half the value of the imports." (p.238)

This depressing picture of the continuing policy of monopoly capital to squeeze the terms of trade ever more cruelly against the peoples of Africa could be embellished endlessly with more and more detail.

In *Neo-Colonialism* Kwame Nkrumah gathers together enough information to make his case invulnerable, but even he does not claim to be able completely to expose the network of capitalist monopolies that are sucking Africa dry of its natural wealth.

UNITY

Against the interlocking octopus-like tentacles of world monopoly capital, there is only one possible remedy. If "divide and rule" has always been the motto of imperialists, then "unity is strength" is the only possible reply.

The longer this unity is delayed, the longer will imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism continue in their dangerous and destructive course.

Hence the pessimistic picture of contemporary Africa which the Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana placed before the Heads of State was no exaggeration.

But, at the same time, Kwame Nkrumah pointed the only way to overcome the danger: "a new and unified society without which the peoples of Africa cannot independently survive and prosper."

His proposed amendments to the Charter of the O.A.U. are but one step in the right direction. He himself would have gone much further at this stage, but in deference to certain "Brothers and Colleagues", who are more tomorrow, and in the cause of maximum unity now, he has held back.

But the basic fact remains, in mere self-defence, Africa must unite.



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

FOR FREEDOM

The Summit Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 22-25, 1963:

HAVING considered all aspects of the questions of decolonisation: Unanimously convinced of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to accelerate the unconditional attainment of national independence by all African territories still under foreign domination:

Reaffirming that it is the duty of all African Independent States to support dependent peoples in Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence;

Noting with deep concern that most of the remaining dependent territories in Africa are dominated by foreign settlers;

Convinced that the colonial powers, by their forcible imposition of the settlers to control the governments and administrations of those territories, are thus establishing colonial bases in the heart of Africa.

Have agreed unanimously to concert and co-ordinate their efforts and action in this field, and to this end have decided on the following measures:

1. Declares that the forcible imposition by the colonial powers of the settlers to control the governments and administrations of the dependent territories is a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the legitimate inhabitants of the territories concerned;
2. Invites the colonial powers to take the necessary measures for the immediate application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and insists that their determination to maintain colonies or semi-colonies in Africa constitutes a menace to the peace of the continent;
3. Invites further, the colonial powers, particularly the United Kingdom with regard to Southern Rhodesia, not to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to foreign minority governments imposed on African peoples by the use of force and under cover of racial legislation; and the transfer of power to settler minorities would amount to a violation of the provisions of United Nations Resolution 1514 (XV) on Independence.

4. Reaffirms its support of African nationalists of Southern Rhodesia and solemnly declares, that if power in Southern Rhodesia were to be usurped by a racial white minority government, State Members of the Conference would lend their effective moral and practical support to any legitimate measures which the African nationalist leaders may devise for the purpose of recovering such power and restoring it to the African majority; the Conference also undertakes henceforth to concert the efforts of its members to take such measures as the situation demands against any State according to recognition to the minority Government;

FOR UNITY

BELIEVING that the United Nations is an important instrument for the maintenance of peace and security among nations and for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

Reiterating that the United Nations is an important instrument for the maintenance of peace and security among the nations and for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

Reiterating its desire to strengthen and support the United Nations; Noting with regret that Africa as a region is not equitably represented in the principal organs of the United Nations:

Convinced of the need for closer co-operation and co-ordination among the African States Member of the United Nations:

1. Reaffirms its dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations' Charter and its acceptance of all obligations contained in the Charter, including financial obligations;
2. Insists that Africa as a geographical region should have equitable representation in the principal organs of the United Nations, particularly in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and its Specialized Agencies;
3. Invites African Governments to instruct their representatives in the United Nations to take all possible steps to achieve a more equitable representation of the African region;
4. Further Invites African Governments to instruct their representatives in the United Nations, without prejudice to their membership in and collaboration with the Afro-Asian Group to constitute a more effective African Group with a permanent secretariat so as to bring about closer co-operation and better co-ordination in matters of common concern.

FOR PEACE

Having considered all aspects of the questions of general disarmament; Unanimously convinced of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to contribute to the achievement of a realistic disarmament programme through the signing by all States concerned, of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

Have agreed unanimously to concert and co-ordinate their efforts and actions in this field, and to this end have decided on the following measures:

1. To affirm and respect the principle of declaring Africa a Denuclearised Zone: to oppose all nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, as well as the manufacture of nuclear weapons; and to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy;
2. The destruction of existing nuclear weapons;
3. To undertake to bring about, by means of negotiation, the end of military occupation of the African continent and the elimination of military bases and nuclear tests, which elimination constitutes a basic element of African Independence and Unity;
4. To appeal to the great powers to:
 - (a) reduce conventional weapons;
 - (b) put an end to the arms race; and
 - (c) sign a general and complete disarmament agreement under strict and effective international control;
5. To appeal to the Great powers, in particular, to the Soviet Union and the United States of America, to use their best endeavours to secure the objectives stated above.

Neo-Colonialist Device
 AS will be seen from the chapters which follow, modern neo-colonialism is based upon the control of nominally independent States by giant financial interests. These interests often act through or on behalf of a particular capitalist State, but they are quite capable of acting on their own and forcing those imperial countries in which they have a dominant interest to follow their lead.
KWAME NKUMAH
Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism

THE EXPLOITERS OF AFRICA

TO give anything like a complete account of the complicated network of foreign companies which at present governs so much of Africa's economic life, would be impossible within the space of a single book,"—thus wrote Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in opening Chapter 12 of "Neo-Colonialism—the Last Stage of Imperialism" (p. 162).

While technically true, these words are misleading because from them it is quite impossible to guess the enormous amount of factual material on the imperialist exploiters of Africa which Dr. Nkrumah has collected in this book.

Maybe the evidence is not complete, but it is more than sufficient to achieve its task, the provision of an unanswerable indictment of imperialism's past and present record in Africa.

If in a whole book it is impossible to give a "complete" picture of the foreign exploitation of Africa, in a single article this task is even more difficult. Whole pages of Spark would be necessary to reproduce a complete list, even without any comment, of all the foreign companies which today are sucking profits and super-profits out of Africa.

Therefore we shall not attempt this fantastic task. We shall, in this article, draw attention to the situation in two territories in particular, South Africa and Rhodesia, since it is in these territories today that the main menace to African liberation and unity exists, a menace against which every patriotic African should never cease to be vigilant.

Again let us repeat a warning: South Africa and Rhodesia are not selected because they are the only examples of imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation of Africa; but because they are the most menacing examples.

Plenty of others could be cited, from the Congo to one extreme to imperialist attempts to undermine and influence affairs in independent Ghana on the other.

In what follows, our indebtedness to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, for his rich documentation of the subject to be found in Neo-Colonialism, will be at once recognised by all who have read that great book. In what follows, all our page references are to that work.

SOUTH AFRICA

The economic importance of the Union of South Africa today may be gauged from the fact that "it has been estimated that over 50 per cent of the foreign capital invested in Africa has been poured into South Africa. British investments probably total nearly \$2,800 million, and American investments closer to \$840 million." (p. 120)

According to a U.S. Government Survey of 1957, South African "mining and smelting" was the most profitable sector, while the US Statistical Abstract for 1962 pointed out that "US miners earn an average of \$2.70 an hour, which is twenty-seven times the amount earned by South African miners." (Ibid.)

Bordering on the Union of South Africa lies Rhodesia where racialist Smith pursues his policy in close parallel to that of racialist Verwoerd. Behind both of these white dictators stands Anglo-American capital, which dominates the world while, within it, "the City of London is... slowly giving way to Wall Street as the symbol of world money power." (p. 46)

"Rhodesia, while theoretically a colony, is really a

fossilised form of the earliest type of neo-colonialism which was practised in Southern Africa until the formation of the Union of South Africa... The majority of the European ruling class of Rhodesia only came to the Colony after the second world war but it is they and not the African inhabitants, who outnumber them 16 to 1, that Britain regards as 'the Government'" (pp. 21-22).

By 1959, South Africa was producing half the world's supplies of gold, was third only after Congo and Ghana in diamond mining, was first in chromium production and second in lead.

In uranium, with 7,000 tons, she was far ahead of the Congo's 1,761 tons.

In S. Rhodesia, between 1945 and 1959, coal production was more than doubled reaching over 3.7 million tons, and between 1938 and 1959 chrome production increased from 91.3 to 236.5 thousand tons.

There is a close relationship between mining in South Africa, Rhodesia and Canada, all linked through American capital, even the names of mines in many cases being identical (pp. 88-89).

"The king of mining in South Africa, indeed in Africa, is Harry Frederick Oppenheimer. One might almost call him the king of South Africa, even the emperor, with an ever extending empire... Mr. Harry Frederick Oppenheimer is director, chairman or president of some seventy companies..."

"Dominating this complex of companies are the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Ltd. and Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa Ltd. from which radiate affiliates, subsidiaries, associates, immediately or more tenuously connected, which would provide in themselves a most interesting trade, investment and banking directory" (p. 110).

An incomplete list includes 28 companies, two of which are Rhodesian.

An examination of the network of interests controlled by Consolidated Gold Fields shows that while the Board of Directors sits in London, there are close inter-connections with South African white capitalists, as well as American, French, Canadian and Australian concerns, so that the "empire" of Oppenheimer closely interlocks with interests on a world scale. (p. 113).

Consolidated Gold Fields also has, as one of its interests, a share in Bancroft Mines Ltd. in Rhodesia. (p. 118).

While this concern is but a single example, the extent to which the labour of Africa is exploited is sharply illustrated by the fact that while the capital of Consolidated Gold Fields amounts to £15 million, "dividends and interest exceeded £5 million for the first time" in 1962, according to the chairman.

This meant an average rate of interest on capital of 33 per cent, for that single year (pp. 118-119). No wonder that the chairman prided himself on reporting this "satisfactory feature" to his shareholders! (pp. 118-119).

Part of the Oppenheimer Empire is the Anglo-American De Beers group which has struck lucky in the discovery that uranium can be extracted from residues and slimes from gold mines. (p. 120).

It would, of course, be quite wrong to treat the Oppenheimer Empire as if were quite independent and self-sufficient.

For very many years the economies of capitalist "free competition" have been

by A Spark Correspondent

slowly altering their picture of the economic system to allow for monopoly in its various forms, among which a typical example has been that of "interlocking directorates" by which former rivals, competing firms, prolong their original "independent" trade names while, by an exchange of directorships, they proceed to pursue a simply agreed monopolistic policy.

So with "emperor" Oppenheimer. Just as dynastic marriages were planned to link the empires of the past in the political field, so economic "marriages" today link economic empires.

In the U.S.A. a certain Democrat, Mr. C. W. Engelhard, seeking steady supplies of metals to keep his refineries of precious metals working, linked up with Oppenheimer in South Africa and later branched out into baser metals as well. He has also established himself in Canadian, Australian and Columbian mining, and sells his finished products through companies in Paris, Rome and London.

A FRACTION

He has indirect financial links with the house of Morgan, and Morgan has a substantial interest in Kennecott Copper which, in turn, holds a 50 per cent interest in Anglovaal Rhodesian (pp. 122-3).

This same Kennecott "is a foremost copper producer in the United States" with interests in U.S.A. Canada, Mexico, Peru, Australia, Nicaragua and back in Africa, in South Africa. (p. 124).

To follow all the inter-connections, all the interlocking directorates and inter-locking financial interests, of the world-wide operations of an Oppenheimer or an Engelhard or the many lesser fry in their inter-twined solar systems, would be quite impossible in an article. What has here been written is but a fraction of the information which is already known.

A few words should be said, however, on what Dr. Nkrumah has described as the "biggest octopus in the Oppenheimer sea of operations... the Anglo American Corporation Ltd."

This "octopus" is involved in "mining... processing, transport and communications, landholdings and estate, forestry and timber, industry [and] hydro-electrical power schemes..."

"Gold, uranium, iron, asbestos and coal mines are among the corporation's most notable undertakings in South Africa... Copper mining is its principal occupation in the Rhodesias, though it exploits also lead, zinc and cadmium, and has the distinction of being the only producer of coal in Rhodesia, where it controls the Wankie Colliery. Through associated companies, its interests spread out into Tanganyika, Uganda, the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, West Africa, and even into the Sahara and North Africa" (p. 127).

Among the companies it controls, are two which have been specially formed for enlisting "native labour", the Anglo Collieries Recruiting Organisation and Hansens Native Labour Organisation.

These firms exist for the express purpose of "importing workers not only from the reserves of South Africa itself, but also from the protectorates, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

There are long-standing arrangements with the authorities of the Portuguese colonies, particularly Mozambique, for the recruitment of African labour for work in the mines of South Africa.

"Enforcement of apartheid through the establishment of Bantustans, such as that recently gone through in the Transkei, will force the chiefs, under inducement, to supply increasing numbers of local men for the mines" (pp. 131-2).

It is a well-known fact of history that Cecil Rhodes was a "genius in empire building". The British South Africa Company was a direct result of his work.

In the scramble of the 1890s he decided to get in before other "European adventurers would take up large tracts of valuable country ruled by savage native chiefs in the interior of Africa."

Therefore he set his agents to provoke war between the Matabeles and their chief Lo Benguela. British troops were sent under the guise of aiding the chief and secured a concession for the Company to work the mineral rights of what is now called Rhodesia.

The chief had been tricked. He, being illiterate, had been persuaded to sign a document which, as he later said in a petition to Queen Victoria, "had signed away the mineral rights of my whole country." The chief demanded the return of the paper, but it was never returned to him. (pp. 153-4)

Thus the exploitation of Rhodesia began by trickery. This was no new thing for the British ruling class, for, in the preceding centuries, at home, they had used precisely similar methods against their own peasantry to deprive them of their common rights in the land of Britain.

By deception of the illiterate, often after "softening up" the victims with the aid of alcohol and paltry gifts, peasants in large numbers were persuaded to give up their traditional common rights to the land.

The horrors of the period, when the impoverished country folk were driven off the land to make room for the earliest capitalist sheep-farming, caused that enlightened man, Sir Thomas More (whose Utopia was one of the earliest English books containing elements of the Socialist ideas that were to mature in the following centuries) to refer to the sheep of England as having started to devour men.

The technique of the British ruling class against its own peasantry several centuries ago, and the technique of Rhodes' agents against the Africans less than a hundred years ago, were strikingly similar.

Both the working people, of British and the ancient peoples of Africa have, each in turn, been deprived of their native lands by the same race of exploiters, the capitalist class of Britain, with its ever growing monopolistic alliance, on a world scale, with its conferences in the U.S.A. and Canada, in France and West Germany, in Australia, South Africa, Rhodesia, and the African continent as a whole.

Against the ever-present menace of international monopoly the working people of the world have only one remedy: against the unity of monopoly they must counterpose the unity of the peoples.

And in this unity of the

peoples the unity of the African people against all exploitation is today one of its most urgent forms.

The "invisible kingdom" of world monopoly capital, with all its internal contradictions based on the old motto "dog eat dog", can only effectively be overthrown and ended forever by world unity of all oppressed working people and all oppressed nations, who in the world as it is today can draw upon the support of that one-third of the world which has already successfully freed itself from capitalism and imperialism and is building Socialism.

In Europe in 1848 Karl Marx launched the slogan "Workers of all lands, unite."

In Moscow in 1921 Lenin gave his personal support

to those who wished to modify this slogan into: "Workers of all lands, and all oppressed peoples, unite!"

At the African Peoples Solidarity Conference at Winneba, Ghana, in 1965, Kwame Nkrumah underlined the simultaneous need for African unity, Afro-Asian solidarity, Afro-Asian-Latin American solidarity, and alliance with all progressive forces throughout the world.

We have seen from this article, though it only draws upon a fraction of the available material, how the world system of monopoly capitalism succeeds in exploiting the majority of mankind. For centuries the imperialists have found that by applying the slogan

"divide and rule" they were able to succeed.

Their day is drawing to a close. The peoples of the world are learning to unite in self-defence. Against the empires of an Oppenheimer, and Engelhard and many others there is only one force that can prevail: the united force of the still oppressed peoples of world, supported by the liberated nations which are already developing along the Socialist road.

The exploiters of Africa see the red light. They know that the last stage of imperialism has been reached. But they will not abdicate willingly. Hence the urgency of African unity now, so that the peoples of Africa may, at last, jointly reclaim their continent for their own.

CONTINENTAL UNITY

Continued from page 1

with the right amount of specialisation and co-operation.

Africa has no interest in such separate national developments on its soil, each of which may, at a later stage, hamper the achievement of all-African planning.

Again, given economic unity, the bargaining power of Africa can be enlarged a thousand-fold. At the moment, every small state is liable to be buffeted and bullied by great world monopolies which can pursue, even today, their traditional policy of "divide and rule".

But once united, as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah asked the Heads of State and Government in Accra:

"Can the industrialised nations do with-

out our copper, our uranium, our iron ore, our bauxite, our cocoa, cotton groundnuts, palmoil—or will they come running to us, as we have been running to them for trade on equitable terms?"

In the world today there are two territorial giants. The imperialist U.S.A., the most powerful economic unit in the world.

Secondly there is the U.S.S.R. the second most powerful economic unit and the world's first Socialist State. Then, linking the capitalist of the imperialist world, there is the "invisible government" of monopoly capitalism cutting across all state frontiers outside the Socialist world.

If the people of Africa

are to be truly served, then only unity against the powerful forces of imperialism can save them.

"Divided we fall, united we stand" is one of the many slogans that the theme of unity has conjured up. At present Africa is divided, yet almost every one of its independent states is too weak to progress adequately on its own. It is tragic that the absent President does not yet understand this basic feature of Africa's present position.

But history teaches lessons and it is to be hoped that in the sobering aftermath this "great" (?) President will read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the essence of Neo-Colonialism—The Last Stage of Imperialism.

He will then surely realise that, in its own interest, Africa must unite.

We wish you success

The Director of the Soviet Institute of African Studies, V. G. SOLODOVNIKOV, greets the participants of the Accra Conference

IN speaking about the African continent, we cannot but note that imperialism and its supporters in Africa have of later been making considerable efforts to undermine the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and to discredit the great idea of African solidarity.

It is not surprising that the imperialist circles are trying to do away with the O.A.U. It is vigorously resisting the realization of neo-colonialist plans in Africa and it has more than once frustrated attempts at interference in internal affairs of independent African states.

The subversive activities of U.S. imperialism have of late become especially intensive. It now openly acts as an aggressor and the chief international gangster; it is trying to suppress the national liberation movement throughout the world.

The interference in the internal affairs of the Congo (Leopoldville), the direct armed aggression in Vietnam, the intervention in the Dominican Republic are all links of one chain of imperialist policy.

If we add to this the United States' active co-operation with the racialist regimes in the Republic

of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and its various aid to Portugal in the attempts to suppress the Africans' striving for freedom and independence, it will be clear that U.S. imperialism is today the bitterest enemy of the African peoples.

Under such circumstances the convocation of the conference of the African Heads of State and Governments in Accra is of tremendous importance. This meeting can be an important factor in further consolidations of the anti-imperialist front, of the unity and cohesion of the African countries confronted by the imperialist continued intrigues.

The conference, in my opinion, can in such a situation be a big step in increasing the effectiveness of this important international organization.

The appearance of the Organization of African Unity was a realization of the old striving of the African peoples for forming a single African family, united and friendly.

The O.A.U. at once became a powerful weapon of the African countries for the defence of

their national sovereignty and the abolition of the shameful remnants of colonialism on the African continent.

There can be no doubt that if not for the disagreement between individual members of the O.A.U. that makes itself felt now and then, the effectiveness of this organization would be much greater.

The 36 independent African states are members of the United Nations Organization and of many other important organizations.

Their role in the international arena is becoming ever more authoritative and significant in the matters of promotion of friendship among the nations, in the relaxation of tension and consolidation of peace throughout the world.

Clearly the role and influence of the African states in the world to a considerable degree depends on their unity and cohesion, on the co-ordination of their foreign policies on major international issues.

This summit conference will undoubtedly contribute to the unity of African states, which is vital for doing away as soon as possible with the bitter legacy of colonialism and for further progress in the economic, social and cultural life of the African peoples.