

FIGHTEERING

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

Vol. 15. No. 10.

Price: 5 cents (6d.)

NOVEMBER, 1961

TALK



SPECIAL ISSUE

**THE INDEPENDENT
STATES OF
NEW AFRICA**

**Inside Ghana
and Guinea
To-day**



SEKOU TOURE
OF GUINEA

KWAME
NKRUMAH
OF GHANA

CHIEF LUTULI: MAN OF AFRICA

The Independent States of Africa

In two decades, from 1941 to 1961, the number of independent African states has risen from three to twenty nine, this tally including Tanganyika due to attain independence on December 9.

These states battle no longer for sovereignty. This they have won. But new problems confront them, and this issue discusses some of these:

THE UNITY OF THE AFRICAN STATES. Is this unity only a dream? Policy divergencies between the African States have become most complex since the spate of independence days of 1960. Ghana advocates a **POLITICAL UNION**; the Monrovia States '**UNITY WITHOUT UNIFICATION.**' Which road?

Do you know your way around the policies of the **CASA-BLANCA POWERS**, the **BRAZZAVILLE 12**, the **MONROVIA GROUP**? From Accra in Ghana, **TENNYSON MAKIWANE** writes a guide to the unity schemes for **AFRICA** and the foreign policies of the Independent States. page 3

AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS. The African group is the largest single bloc in the United Nations. How do the African States vote? How does the Africa lobby work? Does the Cold War divide Africa?

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AFRICA'S ECONOMIC ADVANCE: FINDING THE MONEY TO PAY FOR IT . The imperialist countries say Africa is doomed without western aid, but this is aid with strings. Is there another way?

JACK WODDIS says. 1: Africa can accumulate internal capital and 2: Aid from Socialist countries is of a special kind, to build true African independence and ensure rapid advance. page 6

GHANA AND GUINEA are two of Africa's leading states setting the pace in the building of the new Africa.

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Left: **KWAME NKRUMAH**, Prime Minister of Ghana.

Right: **SEKOU TOURE**, President of Guinea.

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Vol. 15.

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Published by the
FIGHTING TALK COMMITTEE
P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg.

Price per copy 5 cents (6d.)
Annual subscription 75 cents (7s.6d.)
Overseas subscription: 15s.

Registered at the G.P.O.

Pan African Unity: But Which Way?

In 1960 and 1961, Africa's great years of independence, the Continent has been criss-crossed with conferences of the independent African states.

There have been the Casablanca and Monrovia conferences, the Brazzaville Twelve meeting in Tanarive, and several conferences of Commissions of experts of both the Casablanca powers and the Monrovia States.

Then there has been the formation of the "Union of African States" (by Ghana-Guinea-Mali) and the "African-Malagasy Union" by the African French Community of States and the Malagasy Republic (this group of States is also known as the Brazzaville Group).

All this seems to be greatly confusing. Yet the sponsors of all these conferences claim to be acting in the name of African unity.

"But why don't all the African States unite and act together?" many people all over the continent, dismayed by the turn of events, have asked.

And Africa's enemies watching the situation with glee have sneered "They'll never unite, it's all a dream".

Dream of Africa

The idea of African unity has always been the cherished dream of African political leaders in all the four corners of the continent.

In North Africa the Arab Maghreb dreamt of uniting the North African Arab States following the expulsion of the French, Italian and Spanish forces that dominate the area.

In Southern Africa the African National Congress has preached the idea of continental-wide unity from its inception in 1912.

In West Africa the idea was canvassed by such leaders as Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. Azikiwe; and in East Africa by such leaders as Jomo Kenyatta. And under the chairmanship of the veteran Negro scholar and freedom fighter Dr. Du Bois, Pan-African conferences had been held in Paris, Manchester and London.

1958 saw a leap forward in the struggle for African unity. In that year, at the invitation of the Ghana Government, two All-African Conferences took place for the first time on African soil. There was the conference of the heads of Independent African States which met in Accra on April 15th, attended by eight states — Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. Then there was the historic All African People's Conference which met in Accra in December. The demand for African unity was high on the agenda of both conferences. No details were gone into and no definition of what unity would entail was adopted.

Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana said on Ghana's

by

TENNYSON MAKIWANE

na's Independence Day, "Ghana's Independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with that of the rest of Africa." Since then, in almost all his speeches, he has urged the unity of Africa.

Colonel Nasser of the U.A.R. in his pamphlet "The Philosophy of the Revolution", said "I should say that we cannot under any conditions, even if we wanted to, stand aloof from the terrible and terrifying battle now raging in the heart of that continent (Africa) between the five million whites and the two hundred million Africans."

Carved Up

The arbitrary carving up of Africa by the imperialist and colonial powers has been another cause for passionate appeals for unity, by various leaders in Africa.

As a result of colonialist partition artificial borders were created. The same tribes were divided and dominated by different masters.

Although Accra, capital of Ghana, for instance, is about 120 miles away from Lome (capital of former French Togoland), it is impossible to put a direct call by telephone from one place to the other. Yet one can easily telephone London from Accra and Paris from Lome.

Two Roads

There is, however, no unanimous concept of unity and the way to achieve it among the African leaders.

Dr. Nkrumah has said "To suggest that the time is not yet ripe for considering a political union of Africa is to evade the facts and ignore realities in Africa today." (Preface of his book: "I SPEAK OF FREEDOM") and again:

"There is a tide in the affairs of every people when the moment strikes for political action. Such was the moment in the history of the United States of America when the Founding Fathers saw beyond the petty wranglings of the separate states and created a Union. This is our chance. We must act now . . ."

On the other hand President Bourguiba of Tunisia addressing the second All-African People's Conference in Tunis said:

". . . So many obstacles are to be taken into consideration to make the African unity tomorrow. That is why I advise you to show realism. The road to African unity is still long and full of traps. Our experience has taught us that it is useful to proceed by stages, stages which, very often, happen to be short cuts."

And Leopold Senghor of Senegal in his speech to the Constituent Congress of the Party of African Federation, in June 1959, said:

". . . The horizontal inter-African solidarities will establish themselves little by little, beginning at the beginning, with economic and cultural relations . . ."

Hence there arose these two roads to unity. On the one hand, the position taken by Dr. Nkrumah that "We must act now." And form a political union.

On the other hand the view that African unity will take place gradually, starting with economic and cultural co-operation.

Expanding this latter view Emperor Haile Selassie, said at the Second Conference of Independent African states, held in Addis Ababa in June 1960,

"We must link our roads, we must connect and associate our airlines and indeed think of merging our international services. We, would, in fact, propose the establishment, through subscription participation, of an African Development Bank for promoting the expansion of our trade, commerce, communications and international services; we must exchange agricultural and technical information, we must, in all fields of human endeavour, attain to highly developed relations . . ."

While Ghana has advocated a Political Union, the Monrovia States have raised the slogan "Unity without Unification."

The Ghana-Guinea Way

Dr. Nkrumah has said that "a loose confederation designed only for economic co-operation would not provide the necessary unity of purpose.

Ghana and Guinea have a clause in their constitutions which declare their readiness to "surrender their sovereignty, in whole or in part, in the interest of a Union of African States."

All this clearly confirms that these states have in mind the creation of an Africa-wide Union of States or a Federation.

How have these views worked out in practice?

In November, 1958, President Sekou Toure and Dr. Nkrumah signed a declaration in Accra announcing their intention to constitute their states into a Union. The declaration was subsequently ratified by the Parliaments of both countries and the Ghana-Guinea Union came into being.

Then in November 1960, after a visit of Ghana's President to the Mali Republic, a communique was issued announcing the intention of these two states to unite. On December 5, 1960, Mali and Guinea in turn decided on a union and that they should strengthen their "ties of co-operation binding them

to the Republic of Ghana." Hence the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union.

In April 1961, the three Presidents of Ghana, Guinea and Mali, meeting at a Summit conference in Accra decided to establish a Union of African States. And they declared that the Union of African States would be regarded as the nucleus of a United States of Africa.

As to what type of Union has been achieved (by Ghana, Guinea and Mali) the answer is to be found in the Charter for the Union of African States issued by this summit conference. Article 3 states, that the aims of the Union of African States would be "to strengthen and develop ties of friendship and fraternal co-operation between the Member States, politically, diplomatically, culturally and economically."

Since no mention has been made anywhere in the Charter, about their surrendering of sovereignty, the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union is still a loose confederation. However, various activities of the Union and the commissions that have been set up are to work out measures to bind these States closer together.

The main asset of the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union has been its militant anti-colonialist stand.

The French Community States

Another movement for unity of African States has culminated in the creation of what is called the "African-Malagasy Union" which was launched in March this year at Yaounde, capital of the Cameroun Republic. This Union embraces the bulk of the French speaking states of Black Africa, with Guinea and Mali the exceptions.

After the Second World War, France, realising her inability to maintain her colonies by brute force, had conceded some measure of constitutional reform. The former French Empire was renamed the Union of France and Overseas Nations (French Union). The national liberation movements in French Africa battled on and under their powerful blows the French in 1956 and 1957 were forced to grant their overseas territories the beginnings of autonomy with the creation of government councils drawn from locally elected assemblies. Ultimately, the idea of the French Union having become discredited, de Gaulle in 1958 launched his plebiscite which paved the way for the founding of the "French Community."

Guinea threw a spanner in the works and voted "No" in the referendum, and thus opted for independence — facing up to the blackmail, financial and economic sabotage engineered by France. The other French speaking African States clung to the French Community but Guinea's bold stand had doomed it. Independence was to become the order of the day even for the other states.

But the move towards independence by the French Community African countries met with stern resistance from France all the way. The more progres-

sive of these States, Sudan (now Mali Republic), Senegal, Upper Volta, and Dahomey met in 1958, in Bamako, capital of Sudan, to found the Mali Federation. France has greatly disapproved of this move and pressured Upper Volta and Dahomey to leave the Federation. Only Sudan and Senegal remained. In December 1959, Mali successfully negotiated for independence but within the Community. At the end of prolonged negotiations France signed agreements granting independence to the Mali Federation as well as to the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar). But France saw to it that she maintained her military bases in these territories thus retaining her strategic control over them, and also her monetary and economic privileges.

When shortly after the proclamation of Mali's independence, Modibo Keita, the then President of the Mali Federation made it clear that the Federation would not remain indifferent to the struggle of the Algerian people, and would moreover strive for economic independence, France disrupted the Mali Federation. Senegal and Sudan, the latter retaining the name Mali, became separate states. The Mali Republic broke away from the Community, embarked on the road of uncompromising anti-imperialism and closed down French military bases in its territory.

Upper Volta and Dahomey, having left the Mali Federation earlier, came together with the right-wing states of Ivory Coast and Niger and formed the Council of Understanding (Sahel Benin Entente). But even this group of states could not resist the pull to independence. Ultimately the four states of Equatorial Africa, Gabon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville) and the Central African Republic achieved their independence in 1960.

The Brazzaville Twelve

In December 1960, twelve former French Community African States and Malagasy: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Niger, Gabon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Central African Republic, Mauritania, Cameroun and Malagasy met at Brazzaville, capital of the Congo Republic, and decided to cooperate amongst themselves. The twelve has since been known as the Brazzaville Group.

These conferences have set up commissions to work out details of all-round co-operation like harmonising the judicial systems, the civil service, setting up a postal and communications union, the exchange of radio programmes and so on.

Their major decisions have been the launching of the African-Malagasy Union, the setting up of an organisation for economic co-operation. And in their meeting in Tananarive at the end of August this year, the Brazzaville Group decided to set up a "military pact of mutual defence". The conference also decided that these states should vote as a bloc at the United Nations.

Festivities Disturbed

But even as the African States clicked their glasses, toasting their newly won independence, last year, the imperialists rudely disturbed the festivities, challenging Africa on three vital fronts.

In the Congo the imperialists sabotaged the legal government of Lumumba; in the Sahara France exploded her atomic bombs and in Algeria the war of extermination waged by France against the Algerian people continued unabated.

The peoples of Africa had expected that the African states would stand united and resolutely beat back the enemy. This did not happen.

First, in the Congo Lumumba's stand was seriously undermined by the public repudiation of him by the Tunisian President Bourguiba, after Lumumba had exposed the double faced policy of the late U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld.

Amongst the African States three groupings emerged. The U.A.R., Ghana, Guinea, Morocco and Mali stood firmly in support of Lumumba. Ethiopia, Somali Republic, Libya, Liberia, Tunisia and Sudan abstained at the United Nations on the crucial voting on which delegation was to be seated in the Assembly: Lumumba's or Kasavubu's. This group adopted the so-called "neutral" stand on the issue. Sudan became so "neutral" that she even blockaded the passage of urgently needed medical and other supplies destined for Oriental Province, the Lumumbist stronghold. Finally the Brazzaville group voted solidly for the seating of the unlawful Kasavubu delegation.

On the Sahara tests which were conducted by France in the face of Africa-wide protests, the Brazzaville Group remained silent.

And at the fifteenth session of U.N. the Brazzaville Group watered down the resolution for an Algerian referendum, enabling France to wangle out of an embarrassing situation.

The reasons for this deplorable state of affairs were not difficult to find. The freedom "granted" to some of the African States was not real freedom.

Or "they were paying too high a price for the economic aid they were receiving from the Metropolitan countries", as the Tunisian Information Minister Mohammed Masmoudi put it, when he found during the Bizerta crisis that not sufficient support for Tunisia's cause, was forthcoming from some of the Africa States.

Some of these states like Congo (Brazzaville), are serving as a springboard of colonialist intrigues. Brazzaville put its radio facilities at the disposal of Kasavubu when Lumumba had been prevented by the United Nations from broadcasting to his people. In the Cameroun Republic a nuclear base is being set up in the town of Bamaleke by the NATO powers. The members of the Brazzaville Group have preserved the economic privileges of France in their countries. Of late France and her partners in the European Economic Community (Common Market) have hatched the

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AFRICA in the United Nations

by JARIRETUNDU KOZONGUIZI

At the time of writing there are 26 States from Africa represented in the United Nations.

Of these the United Arab Republic (then Egypt), Ethiopia and Liberia are original, foundation members. The rest were admitted in the years between 1955 and 1961, all newly-independent states of Africa. (See table alongside).

The 'African Group' is today the biggest single bloc in the United Nations.

This position has basically changed the character of the United Nations. It has also had a pronounced influence on the outcome of many of the debates.

To understand the way in which this has happened we can divide the issues coming up before the United Nations into three groups:

- (a) Issues in which the Cold War asserts itself;
- (b) Problems of an administrative nature;
- (c) Problems of Colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Cold War

On the Cold War issues, the United States, which could count on overwhelming support in the past, can no longer be sure of a favourable outcome. On questions of Tibet or Hungary she can still get the votes of Liberia and Tunisia. It still remains to be seen which way the other 24 African States are going to vote. Those which have had a chance to cast their vote have abstained. In 1960 the question of Hungary was deferred.

On the "representation of China in the United Nations" only Liberia voted with the U.S.A. in 1960. Almost all the other African States except those in the French Community voted against the U.S.A. stand. This year the issue was voted onto the agenda. On the basic resolution on Cuba last year, only five States from the French Community voted against Cuba whilst Upper Volta was amongst those that voted with Cuba.

Whilst it seems that the bias on the Cold War issues is less in favour of the United States, it has not necessarily been in the Soviet Union's favour.

U.N.'s Constitution

The position of the African States on problems of Administration has clearly been against the Soviet Union, though not in support of the U.S.A. In 1960 they voted en bloc against a Soviet motion of no confidence in the Secretary-General but did not support the U.S. stand on the Congo. Almost all of them have rejected the Soviet 'troika' proposal which aims to replace the Secretary-General with 3 heads of the organisation from each of the Power blocs. But they are not in favour of the status quo either. It seems certain that some structural changes in the constitution of the United Nations will be made this year.

Colonialism

It is on the issues in the third group that the African States have asserted themselves effectively. Their solid position on the question of South West Africa has caused the United States to shift its position from abstaining to voting against South Africa.

The U.S. was further made to support the African view on Angola and Ruanda-Urundi by the force of African unanimity on these questions, though she was not happy about the imputing to Portugal of "repressive measures". It still remains to be seen whether the solid African front can change the U.S. negative vote on sanctions against South Africa into a positive one. But the greatest single achievement of African unity was the acceptance of the 'Declaration on the granting of Independence to Colonial countries and Peoples' by the United Nations.

Unity or Division?

It seems that, even on colonial questions, the African States are effective only as long as they present a united front.

On some of the questions on which they were divided the outcome has been ineffective, and even disastrous, e.g. in the case of Algeria and the Congo.

Before 1960, the 9 African States took a common stand on Algeria, but in 1960 some of the African countries from the French Community voted against the resolution which was sponsored by the Algerian Provisional government. Congo (Brazzaville) and Dahomey joined the older African States in voting for the resolution whilst Niger, Senegal and Congo (Leopoldville) joined the United Kingdom and U.S. in abstaining.

The representative of Upper Volta had this to say in explaining his stand against Algeria:

"When we are told 'we wish to receive arms but we do not wish to be shown how to use them' as our Algerian brothers say, we should like to reply — 'We do not bring you arms, we present ourselves with our own capacities and weapons. Do you wish us to hold the rifle while you pull the trigger?' Such a combat cannot be effective."

This year all the African States except those of the French Community have sponsored the question of Algeria being placed on the Agenda.

Another colonial issue on which the Africans were divided was the application of Mauretania to be admitted to the United Nations. Morocco claimed that Mauretania was part of her territory. Tunisia supported the independence of Mauretania granted by France. Four African States (Libya, Sudan, UAR and Guinea) supported the position of Morocco while Mali and Ghana abstained.

AFRICAN STATES AT UNO

- 1946—United Arab Republic.
Ethiopia.
Liberia.
- 1955—Libya (former Italian mandated territory).
- 1956—Sudan (former British colony).
Morocco (former French colony).
Tunisia (former French colony).
- 1957—Ghana (former British colony)..
- 1958—Guinea (former French colony).
- 1960—Congo (Leopoldville) (former Belgian colony).
Somalia (former Italian trust territory).
Nigeria (former British colony).
Cameroun (former French trust territory).
Togo (former French trust territory).
Central African Republic (former French colony).
Chad (former French colony).
Congo (Brazzaville) (former French colony).
Dahomey (former French colony).
Gabon (former French colony).
Ivory Coast (former French colony).
Madagascar (former French colony).
Niger (former French colony).
Upper Volta (former French colony).
Mali (former French colony).
Senegal (former French colony).
- 1961—Sierra Leone (former British colony).

Whilst on issues such as China and Hungary it could be said that the cold war has divided the African States, in the case of Mauretania it seems that the disunity of the African States has caused the cold war to enter into the question.

The Twelve and the Five

Until the Congo issue one could talk of blocs amongst the African States from a purely linguistic point of view — English and French.

The Congo issue produced a very interesting situation. The first bloc to take a stand on this issue was the Brazzaville Twelve, who strongly supported President Kasavubu, which in the U.N. lobby manoeuvres presupposed opposition to the legal Premier Lumumba. Right from the beginning Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Guinea and the UAR supported the legal government of the Congo under Pre-

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AFRICA'S ECONOMIC ADVANCE:

1: AFRICA'S CAPITAL MUST STAY IN AFRICA

says JACK WODDIS

Africa is one of the world's greatest under-developed regions. Her average annual income per head ranges from about £10 in Ethiopia to about £45 in Central Africa. Millions live below these levels. Illiteracy ranges from 60 per cent in some territories to as high as 99 percent in others. Disease is widespread and squalid slums are the normal accommodation for most African workers.

Everywhere, on the land, in building, in transport, forestry, even frequently in the mines the most common 'machine' is the human body — hands, feet, shoulders, back and sometimes head being pressed into service to carry or move goods or to mould raw materials with the most primitive tools.

For decades, imperialist economic might and military occupation compelled Africa to serve as a raw material appendage to Western industry and Western food consumption. Africa's valuable mineral wealth — oil, gold, diamonds, copper, iron ore, manganese, tin, bauxite, cobalt and so on — as well as her food and industrial crops were shipped to the West for consumption by Western industry and trade. Usually — and this continues to this day in most African territories — only the preliminary processing of raw materials were done on the spot, while the final industrial use of the material was reserved for the metropolitan countries.

Thus African countries were prevented from producing for themselves the manufactured goods they needed, but had to buy from imperialist sources. Africa was forced to give up her riches to the imperialists at the lowest possible price, but had to pay correspondingly higher prices for the goods which the imperialist powers dumped on them. Imperialist ownership of trade, shipping, banking and insurance helped to preserve this economic relationship.

This picture is generally true of all African countries which have won their political independence in recent years.

No Milch-Cow

How to break this pattern, how to end a situation in which Africa is merely a milch-cow for the West, producing raw materials for export with a limited circulation of commodities within the territories, the economy left lop-sided and distorted, and the people in consequence ill-paid, ill-fed, and ill-housed?

Africa needs to stop the drain of her wealth, to end her reliance on one or two cash crops and minerals for export, to build her own industries, diversify her production and especially her agriculture so as to produce her own basic foodstuffs, and to win through to economic independence as a necessary counterpart to the gaining of political independence.

Economic assistance, from whatever quarter it comes, can only help Africa's economic development if it helps to bring about these changes.

White Know-How . . . or Doom?

One of the arguments spread in the West and accepted in some government circles in the new African states, is that African economy cannot be developed without Western capital and Western advice.

"The newly-emerging nations of Africa" argues the New York Herald Tribune "have the choice of accepting the white man's financial help and know-how or dooming themselves to economic stagnation . . . They lack the capital, the experience and the skills to go ahead rapidly on their own."

Accordingly, some African states conclude that they must make concessions and offer inducements (low profits tax, no limits on repatriation of capital, pledges of 'no-nationalisation' etc.) in order to attract Western investment. In fact, investments from the West are often looked on by some African leaders as the main, if not sole, way by which to secure capital for development. Of course, one should not expect the African states to sever all economic relations with the West. Providing that African interests are safeguarded, such relations are essential. But to obtain the necessary capital for development Africa has other sources — sources, moreover, which enable her to end her one-sided dependence on the West.

There is the question of internal accumulation. The African people are poor, but Africa has immense riches — and potentially could be richer still.

Capital is being accumulated in Africa all the time, but it is being pumped out of Africa to the West. Valuable mineral resources, such as iron ore, which could lay the basis for an iron and steel base and thus for African heavy industry, are still being shipped away, and Africa left un-industrialised. Thus, one major source of capital of which Africa is robbed daily could be secured by the simple process of Africa taking back into possession her own resources at present in foreign hands.

The African states also lose valuable sources of accumulation through the unequal exchange of trade that takes place between them and the Western powers. The amount lost to Africa through the

unfavourable terms of trade in the last two or three years would be more than sufficient to build a dozen complete Volta Dam schemes.

The distorted economies of Africa are another source of loss of capital. In 1957 for example, Ghana had to devote 18 per cent of her import expenditure on food, and is only now in a position to diversify her agriculture, step up the production of foodstuffs and make possible the import of more machinery for building her industry. In 1960 Ghana spent £5 million importing sacks for her cocoa. Now Ghana is to make her own sacks.

Aid Which Doesn't Help

By making an energetic challenge to the foreign monopolies on their soil and by reducing and eventually taking away their economic power, the new African states can begin to tackle their economic backwardness. Through such steps, accompanied by the utmost democratic mobilisation of the whole people and the establishment of a state sector of the economy, Africa can diversify and increase her production, develop her industry and break the imperialist stranglehold on her trade.

Does Western 'aid' help this process? On the contrary. It is mainly directed to prevent this fundamental change in Africa's economy taking place. True, the Western powers talk about 'aid' to Africa, but under this single heading they lump together loans (at high rates of interest), investments (which usually are channelled to those enterprises yielding the biggest profits, especially minerals), the supply of military equipment (with reactionary aims in mind), the dumping of the West's surplus goods (often shoddy or even mouldy), and the provision of highly-paid technicians and advisers whose advice is seldom in the real interests of Africa.

Throughout Africa the imperialists are sinking millions of pounds into developing transport and communications. But this is not to 'aid' Africa. On the contrary, it is intended to make it easier to transport the wealth of Africa to the metropolitan centres of manufacture in Europe and the United States.

Heavy Western investments are being made to increase the output of minerals in Africa. This, too, is not to 'aid' Africa but to rob her and aid the imperialists. In many parts of Africa, the railways run straight from mineral-bearing mountains down to the seaports, so that millions of tons of wealth can be shipped away — and the African landscape left flattened and derelict. The new proposals to ship Swaziland's iron ore to Japan is but the most recent example of such robbery.

Where Will the Money Come From?

2: AID FROM THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Socialist aid, by contrast, is directed quite purposely to assist the underdeveloped countries to build up their economies, to become industrialised and to secure their economic independence. The experience of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, and now of Cuba, too, shows that the quickest and most successful way out of underdevelopment is to leap over into socialism. The new African states have not yet taken this step. They are only just emerging from colonialism and have yet to determine whether their future path will be capitalist or non-capitalist.

During this transition period, though it is essential that they rely mainly on the accumulation of capital from their own internal resources of manpower and materials, socialist aid can be of considerable importance.

Socialist aid to under-developed countries takes many forms—trade and navigation agreements; the construction of whole plants; the granting of long-term, low-interest credits (usually 2 to 2½ per cent as against the usual 4 to 7 per cent charged by Western monopolies and in-

stitutions); trade and payment agreements by which the underdeveloped countries pay in their own currencies and the socialist country purchases from the country in question the goods it wishes to export; and large-scale technical help, including the carrying out of surveys, designing projects, the provision of patents, blue-prints, scientific advice and equipment, and the training of technicians and skilled workers.

To assist the training of technical cadres for Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Soviet Union has set up the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, which already has 600 students from these regions. Similar provision is made by other socialist countries, in which a number of Africans are receiving education and technical training.

When Guinea declared its independence, the French imperialists took a number of unprecedented steps to bring her to her knees. They removed practically everything from the country which could dislocate Guinea's administration and economy. They even took criminal records from police stations and health

records from hospitals. The socialist countries, when approached, responded to every request to assist the young republic, providing loans and equipment and making trade agreements which enabled Guinea to face up to her hour of need. The new trade relations which Guinea has been able to build up with the socialist countries have been exceptionally beneficial to her.

In 1958, the year in which Guinea declared for independence, she had an unfavourable balance of trade, imports costing £17,800,000 and her exports earning only £8,700,000. The main reason for this imbalance was the high cost Guinea had to pay for imports from France, and the artificial over-valuation of the French African franc. Guinea's new trade agreements with socialist countries are changing all this. Sugar imports from the German Democratic Republic, for example, have reduced the price of sugar in Conakry by no less than 75 per cent.

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DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

American Millionaires in Africa

Judging the United States by Mr. "Soapy" Williams, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, you would think that it has now become an unconditional supporter of African Liberation. When he first visited Africa officially, he made his famous 'Africa for the Africans' speech. Now, after his third visit, he has called for full support for African independence and equality. He has gone even further, and urged vastly increased "aid" for Africa. This "aid", he says, should be poured into Africa without hesitation — even if the recipients regard the U.S. as imperialists, even if they maintain their relations with Socialist countries, and even if they do not emulate the American way of life.

Can one take Mr. Williams' professed support for African nationalism at its face value?

Anyone who takes a closer look at U.S. dollar diplomacy will see quite a different picture.

U.S. "aid" for African states has already been at work for some time, but somehow, it has not quite come off. In the first place, while Africa is crying out for money to build up its natural re-

by
BEN TUROK

sources and basic industries, U.S. cash has been directed at secondary, less important works. President Kennedy, in his first "aid" message said, "a large infusion of development capital cannot now be absorbed by many nations newly emerging from wholly underdeveloped conditions."

Secondly, money that has been appropriated for "aid", has not fully reached its intended destination, but, rather like the money allocated for the development of South Africa's Bantustans, it has been eaten up by the hordes of American administrators that go with it. ". . . all the results we see are high salaried Americans driving through Addis Ababa in long, sleek cars, and living in our best homes." Quoted in the *New York Times*, February 7, 1960.

Yet, it is clear that both U.S. foreign policy and economic self-interest demand that "aid" be increased rapidly. Wall

Street has already invested 900 million dollars in Africa, and more is on the way.

One Hand Washes the Other

There must be few countries in the world where the link up between those who carry out the foreign policy operations, and those whom this policy serves, is more blatant. In the U.S. the tie-up between the foreign affairs administration and the Financiers of Wall Street is as obvious as the fact that its President is a millionaire, speaking for the millionaires.

Take the case of Mr. Dillon, the Secretary of the Treasury. Although an ardent Republican, he was drawn in by Democrat Kennedy to take on one of the two highest cabinet positions, and he now has more authority over "foreign aid" than any other cabinet member.

Dillon's family owns most of the voting shares in Dillon, Read & Co., the big international banking house which has close ties with both Rocke-

(Continued on page 10)

CHIEF ALBERT LUTULI

NOBEL PRIZE WINNER 1960

It was perhaps inevitable that, sooner or later in our time, the Nobel Prize should be awarded to a man of Africa. This is the age of Africa's regeneration, an age which throws up the men of heroic stature, great thinkers, great statesmen, great peacemakers.

Of them all, except in his own country, Albert John Lutuli is the least publicised and the least known.

Partly the reasons for this lie in the social system of South Africa — in the fact that the Nationalist government has kept Lutuli confined to the rural reserve of Grootvlei, off the main beat of press reporters, broadcasters and television cameramen; in the imposition of arbitrary bans on Lutuli's right to address public gatherings which have been imposed under the Suppression of Communism Act. Partly the reasons lie in the iron-clad traditions of the South African press—English and Afrikaans—that the doings and thinkings of Africans are not news, and that pictures of Africans are not fit for printing in the 'white-man's press.'

But partly, the reasons for Lutuli's comparative obscurity outside his own country is to be found in the character of the man himself.

Amongst the leading men of contemporary Africa, 'Chief' is in many ways unique. Unlike many of them, he commands no golden-tongued oratory which can sway thousands by its skill and passion. He has no flair for the dramatic gesture which sets the press and news-reel cameras clicking, and becomes part of the folk-lore of a national movement. In speech, dress and mannerism, he has none of the flamboyance or extravagance of the popular figurehead. It is typical of his personality that he does not draw to himself the extravagant titles of other leaders in Africa — 'redeemer', 'father of the people'. In South Africa, a land of many chiefs, he is simply 'Chief'. The title itself has a unique history.

Defiance

From 1936 to 1952, Lutuli was chief of the Umvoti Reserve. Unlike most lesser and greater South African chiefs, his title derived neither from birth into a ruling dynasty, nor from government patronage. He was elected by his tribespeople, and held office until removed by the Nationalist government.

Sixteen years spent in dealing with and seeking to solve the affairs of his people, drew Lutuli steadily out of the confines of the tribal system, with all the limitations and restrictions placed upon it by white authority, drew him steadily into the forefront of the arena of South African national political life.

From 1936 onwards, he exercised the collective vote of his five thousand peo-

ple in the elections of members of the Native Representative Council, and in the election of white Senators to represent Africans in Parliament.

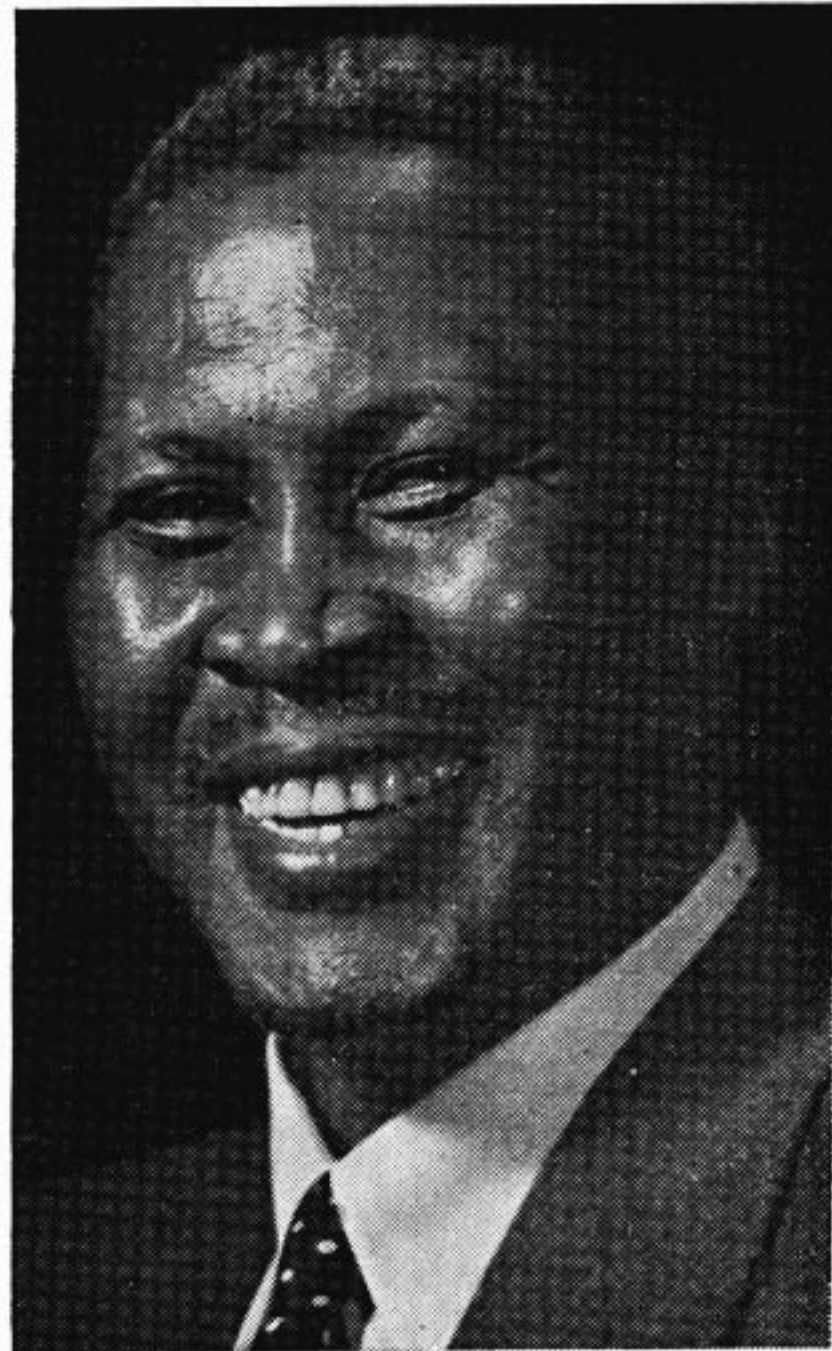
From 1945 to 1948, he himself served on the Native Representative Council; in 1945 he joined the African National Congress, and was almost immediately elected to its Natal Provincial Executive; he helped draft the 1949 Programme of Action, which transformed the policy of the African National Congress from an ineffectual concentration on parliamentary methods to a modern and mass-supported movement based mainly on extra-parliamentary struggle and agitation; in 1952 he became Natal President of the ANC, helped to plan the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, and by 1952 was in the forefront of the organising drive to recruit "Defiance Volunteers" to break unjust laws and go to prison by way of protest.

In November 1952, the Nationalist government delivered its ultimatum; resign from the Congress and the Defiance Campaign, or from the chieftainship.

It was not an easy decision. Lutuli had been raised in a Christian tradition of respect for authority, of rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. A lesser man might have wavered. On the one side lay personal advantage, economic security, a measure of personal power, a title; on the other, looming persecution. Lutuli chose the path of conscience and of principle, and was summarily dismissed from the chieftainship.

"Who will deny" he wrote at that time, "that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all"

"It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that I have joined my people . . . in the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner."



A month later, at the annual national conference of the African National Congress, Lutuli was elected to the position of President-General. A tribal chief had disappeared, and the new national figure, 'Chief', had arrived.

These were not easy times for the ANC or its leaders.

The Defiance Campaign, which had flared up fiercely across the country, had been extinguished by two of South Africa's newest and most vicious pieces of legislation, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act. The one empowered the government to proclaim States of Emergency, suspend all established law and rule by decree; the other created a new crime — "an offence by way of imprisonment" — with long-term imprisonment and savage whippings as the penalty.

In the courts, the top-level leaders of the ANC stood indicted on charges of "Communism" for their leadership of the Defiance Campaign.

Inside the ANC itself, things were no easier. The former President General had been tested by the Defiance Campaign and found wanting, his defection had shaken confidence amongst the rank and file. The Defiance Campaign had brought thousands of new ANC members flocking to the ranks, outnumbering the 'old' members; but would their convictions and their understanding prove adequate for the testing times ahead? The younger members of the ANC, alive with a new militant national

awareness, fretted against the restraining hand of what they conceived to be the 'old guard', itched for action, moved leftwards towards the ideology of Communism.

At the same time, the old, the tried and tempered heads of Congress were being lopped off by government bans imposed in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

This was one of the critical moments in ANC history. The Defiance Campaign had inspired an atmosphere of fear and panic in government circles; it had inspired a new national pride and consciousness amongst the African people. Perhaps for the first time in South Africa's history the real contending giants of white supremacy and African liberation stood starkly revealed.

It was not easy to come new to the helm in a situation like this. There were many conflicting ideas of how Chief would manage. There were those who thought that, with his experience predominantly amongst the rural peoples, he would be out of his depth in the ANC, predominantly an organisation of the towns and of the town workers and the town 'white-collars'. There were others who imagined he would become an unimportant figurehead, cut off in the reserves of Lower Tugela when the headquarters of Congress lay in Johannesburg and its main strength on the Reef and in the Eastern Cape. How wrong they proved to be!

Golden Years

Chief presided over the ANC through its most difficult years — the years of vicious personal persecution of its leaders under the Suppression of Communism Act, the years of the trial of its leaders on charges of high treason, the years of the decline in civil liberties leading to and culminating in the final outlawing of the ANC in March of 1960.

But these were also the ANC's golden years, the years when it set its impress firmly on the page of South Africa's history — the years of the Congress of the People and of the formulating of the Freedom Charter, of the Alexandra Bus Boycott and the Potato Boycott, of the great demonstrations outside the treason trial Drill Hall, of the June 26th general strike of 1957, of the national protest strike over Sharpeville and the great pass-burning campaign and the 1960 Emergency.

The ANC grew, in this period, from a minority sect to the main opposition — the majority opposition — to white supremacist South Africa.

Chief's part in that growth is tremendous; his personality and his policy have left their mark on the whole period. But equally, Chief has grown in that period with the ANC and as part of the ANC growth. He entered the ANC a country chief, but grew with it to the stature of national leader and the country's foremost statesman.

FIGHTING TALK, NOVEMBER, 1961.

In portraying him as "the man of moderation", as an Uncle-Tom figure of conservatism, caution and respectability, the press have tried to reduce him from his real stature to a pygmy.

In truth, Chief fits none of these formal categories.

In South Africa, the conservatives — those who could not move and grow and develop with the changing situation about them — have long since been swept aside by history, along with the cautious and the seekers after respectability.

The last ten years, especially in the liberation movement, have been years of growth and rapid change, of radically expanding horizons; they have called for boldness and courage, for the sacrifice of respectability and comfort. Chief Lutuli has come through these times because the motives that impel him are far stronger and grander than the shabby timidity and conservatism with which he is now being branded.

He believes, passionately, in a way simple faiths; in the brotherhood of men, regardless of their colour; in the right of men to live in freedom; in the possibility of the kingdom of righteousness being created here on earth, even here in South Africa, in our own lifetime. With these beliefs as his guide, he makes up his mind — slowly, careful to consider the other side — but nonetheless firmly. Once his mind is made up, then his course is clear. Chief pursues the right course as he sees it, regardless of the consequences for himself.

No Fear of Change

To speak of such a man as a "conservative" is an injustice. Conservatives resist change, fear change. But Chief's whole life shows that he is not afraid of change. He comes to new ideas, new policies slowly, carefully, without recklessness. To this extent his has been a sobering influence on what might otherwise have been excessive recklessness on the part of the younger men of Congress. But having once come to see the justification for something new, Chief's acceptance and support comes forth boldly and fully. His ability to change, to move with the times, has dismayed many of his former followers.

The Africanists, hide-bound in their national chauvinism, abused Chief for his developing multi-racial horizons which crystallised finally in the Freedom Charter. His one-time colleague, Jordan Ngubane, poured bitter vituperation on him, when he moved forward to support the quasi-socialist ideas of nationalisation of some major industries, which is contained in the Freedom Charter.

White liberals saw in his Christian lay-preacher background the hope of a new crusader against the left-wing in the African liberation movement; their hopes have been dashed. Chief has stood steadfastly, often against the wind, for the right of Communists to belong to Congress, and of Congress to promote them to leading positions.

Foreign diplomats saw in his American-orientated education, a hope of a powerful recruit to their cold-war diplomacy; their hopes have been dashed. Chief has spoken out for peace, regardless of whose diplomatic interests get hurt, against colonialism as a source of war, and against the colonial adventures of all the imperial powers.

Chief has always moved forward with the times, forward with his people. This is part of his greatness.

To the outside world, he has become a symbol. Few abroad have seen him, heard him speak, read his writings.

For them he is a symbol of the forward thrusting forces in South Africa — of the building of African nationhood in place of tribalism; of non-white unity against white domination; of multi-racial co-operation for a democratic future. Perhaps it is as much to the symbol as to the man that the world has paid homage in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960.

But to South Africans, Chief is more than a symbol. He is a leader, a crusader, a builder. Inside the ANC, he has held left and right-wings together in a close, co-operative unity. He has led the campaign for Congress unity, for multi-racial co-operation. When the need was there — as it was in March, 1960 — he was the first to burn his pass, and thus give a lead to the country. Since then, for over a year, the ANC has been outlawed. But Chief, its leader, has continued to grow in stature, till today his giant shadow dominates the whole future of South Africa.

Gathering Forces

We are moving into new times. The old days of legal ANC organisation and campaigns have gone; the prospects of peaceful mass pressure exerting its will on the government have been whittled down by the growing weight of military preparations which the government assembles against it. The menace of violence hangs heavy in the air.

Chief has worked for peaceful solutions, fought for them and suffered for them. So have his Congress followers. If they fail to maintain the peace, it will be because the government desire for peace is not as strong as theirs.

But it could be that the very imminence of violence in South Africa, the very obvious gathering of forces for violent clash, will serve to cut the Gordian knot that all the non-violent crusading of Congress has failed to cut.

No one has striven more earnestly to avert a violent clash than Chief and his followers. But peaceful solutions become impossible where one of the contending giants resorts continually to brutal violence. Chief will move with his people and the times. Significantly, it is now, when the conclusion is inescapable that the future of South African peace hangs in the balance, that the Nobel Prize Committee has made its award to South Africa's greatest son, Albert John Lutuli.

L.B.

SOCIALIST AID TO AFRICA

(Continued from page 7)

Key to all the economic relations being built up between the socialist countries and the politically independent states of Africa is the readiness of the former to help Africa industrialise. The Western powers look with disfavour on the attempts of the African states to become industrialised. They would prefer them to remain as sources of raw materials. This explains why, for sixty odd years since the commencement of this century, the imperialists did nothing to establish iron and steel bases in Africa, or create centres of modern engineering, except in territories of substantial white settlement as South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Congo.

Scientifically speaking, industrialisation means the construction of machines which can produce the means of production. In other words, machines which can make machines and machine tools, thus enabling a country to manufacture its own main requirements. Such a modern engineering industry must have its base in an iron and steel industry, electric power and chemicals. It is precisely this kind of industrial development which the socialist countries are willing to assist. One has only to examine the various

economic agreements made between African states and the socialist countries to appreciate the character of the aid being provided.

In the United Arab Republic, the Soviet Union is assisting in the construction of over 80 projects, including five metallurgical establishments, eleven engineering plants, five chemical and pharmaceutical factories, textile mills, and a ship-building yard. All this is in addition to the huge Aswan Dam.

To Mali, the Soviet Union has granted a £16 million long-term credit which will be used for technical assistance in geological prospecting, to improve the navigation of the River Niger, to survey and design a railway line from Bamako to Kan Kan in Guinea (thus giving Mali an outlet to replace Dakar in Senegal), and to set up a training centre for Mali technicians. Similar agreements have been reached between Mali and China and Czechoslovakia, the last named providing Mali with equipment for a textile mill and a hospital.

A recent agreement between Tunisia and the Soviet Union provides for a £10 million loan to assist Tunisia's ten-year plan. The loan will be used for building dams on five rivers and for erecting a national technological institute.

Under an agreement between the Soviet Union and Somalia, work has begun in planning a number of enterprises and institutions for the republic, including harbour works, a fishery, meat-canning

plant, hydro-electric stations and a radio station as well as assistance in agriculture, geology and architecture.

A new agreement with Sudan provides for Soviet assistance in constructing several industrial projects and in training technicians and skilled workers.

Socialist aid to Africa means that the West has lost its monopoly of capital equipment in the world market, as well as its virtual monopoly in the fields of trade, credit and the training of technicians.

The effect of the character and weight of the aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been to modify imperialist economic policies towards underdeveloped countries, even compelling the imperialists, as Khrushchov has said, "to make certain concessions in dealing with these countries."

Joseph S. Berliner, an American publicist and economist has admitted that Soviet aid "strengthens the bargaining power of recipient countries in their negotiations with the older sources of aid."

If peace can be safeguarded and world disarmament achieved, then the socialist camp, which will account for half the world's total production within a decade, will be able to offer increasing economic assistance to the new African states—assistance, moreover, which such leaders as Sekou Toure, Kwame Nkrumah and Nasser have publicly declared to be without any strings.

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

(Continued from page 7)

feller and Morgan interests. The bank's African profits come from oil concessions, from Congo transport, from mines in the Rhodesias and South Africa, and from South African bank commissions.

Dillon Oil in Africa

Oil is Dillon's biggest African venture, and his firm has set up a special operating company in Africa for this purpose. Together with other companies controlled by Rockefeller and Morgan, these giants of international finance have acquired 60,000,000 acres in Libya since 1952, for oil prospecting. They also have exploration rights over 58,000,000 acres in the Somali Republic, and a great deal more in other North African territories.

Dillon, Read & Co. also have investments in the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, which is pumping Algerian oil in partnership with French companies. It is a substantial shareholder in the Newmont Mining Corporation, a large Morgan bankers firm which is the U.S. partner of the French Societe Algerienne du Nord, and the Societe Algerienne du Zinc. It is therefore not surprising

that politician Dillon should say, "The French . . . can be proud of their efforts in North Africa." (New York Times, May 21, 1956.)

Of special interest to us is the fact that Dillon, Read & Co. is the official investment banker — the American fiscal agent — for South Africa. It is believed that this bank has granted South Africa up to 100 million dollars in credits since 1955.

U.S. Money for Armies

Mr. Soapy Williams, swept away by his enthusiasm for African liberation, has omitted to mention that the U.S. also "aids" certain countries in Europe. Some of these countries have colonies in Africa, for whose benefit this "aid" is used. Benefit? Well, not exactly. The bulk of the "aid" happens to be of a military nature. Portugal, for example, received 376 million dollars in "aid" of which 286 million dollars was for "military assistance". France received the staggering figure of 9,786 million dollars since the war, of which half was also for military assistance — against, not for, Algerian independence!

Under the Kennedy Administration, the figures for military assistance are on the increase. The enormous sums are jointly administered by Defence Secre-

tary Robert McNamara, the former President of the Ford Motor Co., and Secretary of State Mr. Dean Rusk, the former President of Rockefeller Foundation.

It seems that the most powerful trusts in America are always ready to spare their top men to assist in the Government of the country. But their sacrifices in personnel is more than made up in financial gain.

The International Bank, for example, is officially owned by 68 member states, but the U.S. subscribes 35% of its capital, the bulk of which is supplied by the largest American banks. The International Bank's allocations of "aid" therefore are not as disinterested as may seem. For instance, a 20 million dollar bank loan to Portugal for a railroad to haul Rhodesian copper was very useful to American business which owns at least half of the Rhodesian copper companies. A further 50 million dollar loan to French interests for an oil pipeline from the Algerian Sahara was very useful for Rockefeller. Standard Oil Co. is the French company's chief American partner in Algeria.

And so it goes on. Politics, economics and military needs are all combined under the control of the same people, working under different guises but serving only one cause — U.S. Finance Capital.

FIGHTING TALK, NOVEMBER, 1961.

Inside Guinea Today

by
ALPHAËUS HUNTON

Trucks loaded with tree cutters and singing Guinean youth deployed through the streets of Conakry on the morning of July 1st, 1960. Along all the main thoroughfares of the Guinean capital which did not yet enjoy the cooling shade of the spreading mango and majestic fromager trees, thousands of the three-foot cuttings were planted. Bare, straight sticks in the hard, brown earth — one wondered if they could take root and grow. They did. By October, at the end of the long rainy season, they were sprouting branches of young leaves. It was a good omen.

The tree-planting in Conakry was one small example of the manifold tasks of reconstruction all over the countryside and in every town and village undertaken by the three million inhabitants of Guinea in accordance with the country's three-year plan of Economic and Social Development, launched that July 1st.

True, most of the newly independent and many other African countries have or are drafting their development programmes. Such programmes indeed, were first drafted for the Africans by their English and French colonial rulers immediately after World War II.

Their central objective was to increase the export of African resources in accordance with European and American interests and for the further enrichment of non-Africans. This still remains the central aim, explicit or implicit, of Western proposals for "aiding" in the "development" of the new African states. Guinea rejects that kind of help.

"We can no longer accept investments which impoverish our countries and which compromise our political and social stability." Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea, told the United Nations General Assembly.

Except for \$11 million from Western Germany, virtually all of the \$180 million required for the financing of the Three Year Plan in Guinea has been assured by backing from the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries. Why? Simply because it was the Eastern countries, not the Western ones, which came forward with offers of help to independent Guinea in a spirit of friendly cooperation — without strings.

The People's Hands

"The important lesson for us," says Keita N'Famara, present Minister of Commerce, "is essentially that of China: they have learned that however much help you get from abroad, it's your own efforts that count in the end. In China I've seen them build hundreds of kilometers of a canal in a few days by popular effort — voluntary and unpaid; and that's what we've done here in Guinea. Since independence we have constructed thousands of kilometers of roads. The local people do the job with

their hands, without waiting for the tractors and bulldozers."

And not only roads. Up and down the land, the campaign which everyone speaks of as "human investment," the principles of which were formulated and put into practice by the Democratic Party of Guinea even before independence, has enlisted workers and farmers, women and youth, in the construction of hundreds of new schools, new health centres, markets and other structures, and in the clearing and cultivation of vast new areas of land.

Even before the start of the Three Year Plan, the value of the social equipment provided by this voluntary, co-operative labour, according to Sekou Toure, amounted to more than R14 million in a single year. Hardly less important than the tangible material benefits that have been accrued from this work are the lessons in planning and working together it has brought the people, giving them a concrete understanding of the meaning of collective responsibility.

Although the population of Conakry has jumped 43 per cent to 113,000 in the past two years, reflecting the movement city-ward visible in varying degrees everywhere in Africa, Guineans remain a rural, agricultural people. The present concentration is therefore on raising the level of life and productivity in the countryside, where ninety per cent of the people live and work.

Chieftainship Ended

An important preliminary step in this direction as well as eliminating a feudal barrier to the development of political democracy was taken by the Democratic Party of Guinea even before the French left when it succeeded in having the institution of chiefs, themselves vassals of the colonial rulers, officially abolished — another respect in which Guinea is unique among African states. The land formerly held by the chiefs has become state property. It cannot be bought or sold or converted into hired-labour plantations; cultivation is either by the family or by co-operatives and collectives. Encouragement of the latter forms to supplant the uneconomical small family plots is now being pressed.

Improvement of farming techniques receives much attention. Experts from China and elsewhere are demonstrating better methods of growing rice and other crops, and modern tools are being brought in to replace the ancient *dabas* (a sort of hoe), although large-scale mechanisation of agriculture is not considered expedient at present. Irrigation projects for increasing production, and co-operative rice mills, oil extraction plants, canneries and other works for the local processing of products for domestic use, form an important part of the Three Year Plan.

One sees evidence of how the peasantry feels about this programme in the fact that whereas under the colonial regime their payment of taxes was always two or three years in arrears, since independence they have paid up all their arrears and met current payments without waiting to be asked. This year their taxes were drastically reduced while those on monthly incomes of more than 30,000 Guinean francs (R80) were increased.

The Government has concerned itself likewise with the welfare of the non-agricultural wage-workers, who are estimated at about 300,000. Guaranteed minimum wages and family allowances were greatly increased and improved conditions of labour effected soon after independence. At the same time prices of the people's basic foods were reduced and kept low.

New Money

Probably the most important of the many economic reforms enacted by the Guinean Government to give solid substance to its political independence occurred on March 1, 1960, when the old French colonial currency was replaced by Guinean currency not linked to the French franc or any other foreign currency, and not exportable or exchangeable for foreign currency without authorisation of the Guinean state bank. This act abruptly and decisively ended French control over Guinea's finances.

In Paris and elsewhere there were predictions that the brash young state would soon drown in its own folly. There had been similar predictions when the country said "No!" to De Gaulle and chose independence in 1958. One can well understand why there is anger and exasperation in those circles where predictions based on wishes have twice gone awry. Guinea today is in a much stronger economic position than it was a year ago when it declared its economic independence.

There is the colonial legacy of poverty, disease, and illiteracy in Guinea as in the rest of Africa; you can see in the streets of Conakry as elsewhere the effects of the criminal waste and degradation of human life. But one important difference can hardly escape anyone who walks along Conakry's business streets and compares them with those of Dakar, Abidjan, Accra or Lagos. In the Guinean capital there is none of the ludicrous and shocking contrast of opulence and misery so prevalent in other cities. There are no fancy luxury-goods shops catering exclusively to a wealthy bourgeoisie, for no such class of either foreigners or Africans exist in Guinea.

Capital and Capitalism

The single important foreign investment operation that still continues in the country is not commercial but industrial — the Fria aluminium plant, own-

ed by an international consortium with the Olin Mathieson Corporation of the United States holding controlling interest of 49.5 per cent. It is exploiting part of Guinea's extraordinarily large bauxite deposits and processing the mineral into alumina, the first shipments of which were exported in April, 1960.

The Government has plans — and the money is said to be available — for harnessing the water power of the Konkoure River so that the aluminium fabrication industry can be developed. This dam project, similar to Ghana's Volta River scheme, would make possible fulfilment of one of the major aims of the Three Year Plan, a big step-up in of electric power for agriculture as well as industrial production.

Guinea is rich in many minerals besides bauxite, among them iron ore in the Nimba Mountains, copper, manganese, gold and diamonds. These resources are barely in the initial stage of development, yet since the country became independent minerals have advanced from less than 30 per cent of the total value of exports (mainly pineapples, bananas, citrus fruits, coffee, palm products) to over 50 per cent. The State recently assumed full and exclusive control of the exploitation, transport and export of diamonds, gold and other precious minerals.

Fria was exempted from the currency exchange restrictions aimed at liberating Guinea's finances from foreign domination. Government officials point to this industrial concern as proof that foreign investment capital from any source is welcome in the country provided it is employed toward ends that are in harmony with Guinea's programme of development.

"We have never excluded co-operation with capital," Sekou Toure has said: "we have only rejected capitalism as a form of social organisation because it does not suit our stage of development."

His country, he affirms, will not attempt to imitate or copy the economic system of any other country, either capitalist or socialist, because, in his opinion, the present conditions of life and problems of development in Guinea are not the same as those of any other country. Rather, it will employ all means, take advantage of all possibilities, and borrow from all experiences, in so far as they are adaptable to and contribute toward Guinean advancement.

President Toure has gone looking for himself at what other nations are doing all over the world. He was the first African head of state to have visited the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba. His official visits have also taken him to the United States, England, Western Germany, India, Indonesia and other Asian countries. At the same time, varied economic and cultural missions are constantly visiting Guinea. Trade agreements have been signed in Washington, London, and Bonn, as well as with the socialist states, although it is common knowledge that the latter far outweigh the former in value and importance.

Keita N'Famara points out that all

material for the country's development is obtained "strictly where it is best for our needs. If the quality is the same, we choose by price; if quality and price are equal, we give preference to countries where we have credit facilities."

During its independent existence the Republic of Guinea has survived heavy political, diplomatic, and economic pressures to isolate and wreck it. And more, in Guinea, as in Cuba, there have been foreign-directed efforts to foment the sort of internal conflict which descended on the Congo, and to launch counter-revolutionary invasions from outside. These conspiracies were exposed and thwarted thanks to the vigilance and unity of the people, led by the Democratic Party of Guinea (Parti Democratique de Guinee).

One United Party

In the aims, organisation, and functioning of the P.D.G. one finds the mainspring of the Guineans' political consciousness and united action. There is a one-party government and nation, and it has been so since the decisive 97 per cent vote for independence in October, 1958, when the opposition party was routed and absorbed in the P.D.G., led by Sekou Toure as its secretary-general since 1952.

The single-party political system is another familiar target of Guinea's enemies, who exploit the widely held belief that the two-party or multi-party state is *ipso facto* virtuous and democratic while the one-party state must necessarily be undemocratic. When asked about this, Guineans reply, "Why do we need more than one party when we have no divergent class interests, no one who wants to stand up for anything less than full political independence for Guinea and all Africa, no one who opposes the most rapid economic and social advancement by all possible means?" And they add, "The test of democracy is whether the state truly represents the will of all the people. See how our party functions and judge for yourself."

In the remote countryside, in every village no matter how small, in each part of a town throughout the country you will find that the P.D.G. — together with its strong allied organisations of trade unionists, youth, and women — is an integral part of the daily existence of the people.

It is at the cercle or council meetings at this base level that they discuss and decide their attitude toward the Party's recommendations on matters of national and foreign policy, their specific relation to and role in the country's development programme.

In place of the former councils of elders, presided over by district chiefs, the council meetings have been transformed into democratic assemblies with elected officers and the full participation of women and youth as well as men.

Representatives of these councils participate in the periodic district meetings, and the districts are in turn represented in the twenty-five regional units of the country.

At the same time, it is incumbent upon Party leaders of the districts and regions to visit the village councils at frequent and regular intervals, and for the various governments ministers and members of the top-level National Political Bureau, including President Toure himself, to travel about the country at two months intervals (with relative ease now, thanks to the recently established national air service).

Conakry is the administrative seat of government, but national party conferences are usually held in various outlying towns, as in November, 1960, at far-away Kissidougou in the forest region. Moreover, teachers and technicians from abroad are working in all parts of the country, and foreign personalities and artists invited to Guinea are seen and welcomed not only in Conakry but in towns across the land.

Democracy in the political life of the country is not a remote ideal but an immediate necessity. As Sekou Toure has explained, "The most progressive, most revolutionary law will remain impotent if it has not been understood by the people, if the mentality and customs of the people are opposed to the spirit and letter of that law."

UGANDA

Uganda is to become independent on October 9, 1962, provided the necessary legal arrangements can be made by that time. Full internal self-government will come into force on March 1, 1962. Elections will be held by the middle of April.

These dates were announced by the Colonial Office after the final session of the Uganda constitution conference at Lancaster House, London.

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IS GHANA GOING SOCIALIST?

by KAY
BEAUCHAMP

Nothing pleases a Ghanaian more than to be told that he is "dynamic" (dictionary definition: having energy, force and strength of character), and both Ghanaians as individuals and Ghana as a nation are certainly justified in claiming dynamism.

The desire to change their country rapidly is a basic tenet in President Nkrumah's outlook: "What other countries have taken three hundred years or more to achieve, a once dependent territory must try to accomplish in a generation if it is to survive. Unless it is, as it were, 'jet-propelled', it will lag behind and thus risk everything for which it has fought."

Considering this sense of urgency it is not the recent exciting events in Ghana that are surprising but the fact that they did not take place earlier.

A visitor to Ghana finds the Kingsway Stores of the United Africa Company (subsidiary of Unilever) together with other expatriate firms, doing flourishing business in every sizeable town. It was recently estimated that 85% of imports into Ghana are controlled by European firms, 15% by Asians and only 5% by Africans. President Nkrumah has continuously stressed his desire for further investments by Western monopolies. He re-emphasised this only last year (October 9, 1960) after the *News Chronicle* had printed a scare story under the headline "Ghana Seizing all Foreign Firms."

He then stressed the four different sectors of Ghana's economic structure: state-owned, joint state private, co-operative, and purely private, and added "I wish to leave no doubt in anybody's mind that the Ghana Government accepts these facts, needs capital investment from all sources and welcomes it . . . Overseas capital, invested in companies in Ghana, provides buildings, plant and machinery which remain permanently in Ghana and become immediate assets of Ghana."

This, together with the retention of British personnel at the head of the armed forces, caused many people to think that talk about "a socialist pattern of society" was mere rhetoric.

Nkrumah on Tour

Although the imperialists have never fully trusted Kwame Nkrumah, they nevertheless thought that changes were likely to be made slowly. This explains why recent developments have been a great shock to them.

President Nkrumah's Budget Speech on July 4 of this year signalled important changes in policy — the big increase in use of internal resources for develop-

ment, the stricter control over currency and investments and the foreshadowing of considerably more planning by the State.

Then at the end of July President Nkrumah set off on his long tour of the socialist countries in which forty or more leading Ghanaians participated. This resulted in extremely important agreements for trade and co-operation between Ghana and the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, and China.

The tour also revealed the very large measure of political agreement between the Socialist States and Ghana — on the question of peace, on the fight against imperialism, on the admission of China to the United Nations and on the re-organisation of the United Nations so that the three main groups in the world would be equally represented in its personnel.

Shortly after President Nkrumah's return to Ghana in September came the abrupt dismissal of General Alexander and other British officers and their replacement by Ghanaians. This was followed only six days later by the dismissal of six Ministers and the demand that six others should hand to the State all property in excess of the limits laid down. Thus the very wealthiest men in the CPP leadership were either removed or curbed. The removal of Gbedemah was most significant because he has always been the leader of the right-wing in the CPP. So also was President Nkrumah's statement that: "it is undesirable that men with varied business interests should be members of a Government which must from now on be increasingly animated by socialist ideas."

Yardstick

The accumulative effect of these events gave rise to the most unbridled attacks on Ghana and the Ghanaian "*Evening News*" commented: "We are not in the least disturbed by the attacks. In fact, to us the attacks are a tonic for they provide a yardstick by which to judge whether we are on the right road or not."

It added: "When the monopolist imperialist press praise the actions of our Government, then we have to re-examine our policies, because their praises mean in effect that in some way our Government has probably surrendered to them directly or indirectly. When they attack us bitterly, this should be interpreted to mean that we are on the right road because we have hit our class enemies at home and abroad. Their interests and our interests do not coincide."

Not So Sudden

Those who have followed developments in Ghana can see that the changes have not been as sudden as they might

appear. To understand what has happened it is necessary to examine more closely not only the developments since Independence in 1957 but the aims of President Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party.

Some people criticise President Nkrumah for being dictatorial and resenting criticism or advice. However, the same people often in almost the same breath assert that he has no mind of his own and is strongly influenced by those around him.

He may sometimes be unduly impatient of criticism. His judgement also may be unduly influenced by those around him. However, these criticisms, even if they are to any extent justified, overlook two main features which should determine our estimation of him.

The first is that he is certainly one of the two or three most outstanding men that the African liberation movement has brought to the forefront and that he has won his leadership through his persistence, brilliance, foresight and above all by his closeness to the people and his understanding of their needs and desires.

The second is that for the last 16 or 20 years he has held to and consistently pursued certain fundamental aims. These are not only the liberation of Ghana but the whole of Africa and the achievement of a Federation or a United States of Africa with a socialist pattern of society.

Certainly since 1945 he has set his face against the development of capitalism in Africa which he writes in his biography "is too complicated a system for a newly independent nation."

No-one will dispute the fact that he and the Ghana Government have tenaciously pursued the aim of independence and unity for the whole of Africa. Ghana had been independent for only one year when the Conference of the eight independent African States was held in Accra, and in this and other ways Ghana has made a bigger contribution than any other African country to the struggle of the still dependent territories and to the newly independent States.

When Guinea, in 1958, so heroically opted out of the French Community and the French imperialists retaliated by taking away everything they could remove, Ghana immediately came to her aid with offer of a £10 million loan (only £3 million of which Guinea has needed to call on because of aid given by the socialist countries). Mali has also been assisted by Ghana; a Customs Union has been formed with Upper Volta and the plans for the new port at Tema, twelve miles from Accra, have been enlarged so that Tema can become a free port for Africa.

What About Socialism?

It is not so easy to say how President Nkrumah and his government have pursued the aim of achieving a socialist pattern of society in Africa. However, it is clear that Ghana has co-operated most closely with Guinea and Mali, two other States with Socialist aims.

Within Ghana itself it certainly appeared at least until this year that the rate of transformation of the old colonial economy into one independent of imperialism, was far slower than, for instance, in Guinea. This led many people to believe that President Nkrumah was only paying lip service to socialism.

I believe that the slower rate of change in Ghana was due to several factors. These include the fact that British imperialism, having learnt a lesson from the days of positive action, agreed to independence with a relatively good grace while the French completely severed relations with Guinea, hoping to leave her stranded. This meant that the people of Ghana would not have been prepared to accept the drastic changes which were necessary in Guinea.

There was also the fact that, largely due to the influence of George Padmore, President Nkrumah, unlike President Sekou Toure of Guinea, did not immediately welcome aid and trade from the socialist countries and therefore could see no alternative to large investments of private monopoly capital in the West if Ghana was to become industrialised.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that President Nkrumah ever abandoned his aim of building a socialist Ghana or that he had (as some said) only a hazy notion of what socialism is.

Confused, misleading and hazy ideas about socialism are often expressed in Ghana but not by Nkrumah. It is worth having a look at exactly what he has said on this subject. Writing of the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester which took place in 1945, he declared "its ideology became African-nationalism — a revolt by African nationalism against colonialism, racialism and imperialism in Africa — and it adopted Marxist socialism as its philosophy." He also wrote that by 1945 he had lost any faith in the British Labour Party type of "socialism."

At the 10th anniversary celebrations of the CPP on June 12, 1959 he declared: "Our party must be disciplined and well led and fortified with an African socialist ideology . . ." He explained that by African socialism he meant socialism adapted to suit the conditions in Africa and added:— ". . . in which all citizens, regardless of class, tribe, colour or creed shall have equal opportunity, and where there shall be no exploitation of man by man, tribe by tribe, or class by class."

Addressing the CPP Study Group in Accra on April 22, 1961, he said:

"As our party has proclaimed, and as I have asserted time and again, socialism is the only pattern that can within the shortest possible time bring

the good life to the people. For socialism assumes the public ownership of the means of production — the land and its resources—and the use of those means for production that will bring benefit to the people. Socialist production is production of goods and services in fulfilment of the people's needs. It is not production for individual private profit, which deprives such a large section of the people of the goods and services produced, while their needs and wants remain unsatisfied.

"One point, however, we have to get clear. At this juncture, Ghana is not a socialist state. Not only do the people as yet not own all the major means of production and distribution, but we have still to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialisation of our country."

Towards the end of the speech he declared: "We cannot build socialism without socialists and we must take positive steps to ensure that the party and the country produce the men and women who can handle a socialist programme."

So much for the Convention Peoples' Party ideas of socialism. Now let us look at the actions of the Government. What steps have been taken to achieve the aim so eloquently enunciated?

Forging Ahead

I have already explained the reasons why changes did not take place so rapidly in Ghana as in Guinea. However, there have been very remarkable changes — a vast improvement in the social services and significant developments towards a non-capitalist economy. There have been considerable developments in education at all levels and elementary and secondary education has been made free and compulsory since September of this year. There have also been very big developments in publicly owned means of transport and communications, roads, railways, airways, shipping and the magnificent new port at Tema.

The Agricultural Development Corporation has been set up to develop a public sector in agriculture and large palm and rubber plantations are being developed. Farmers' Marketing Co-operatives are being encouraged and from this Season will collect the whole of the cocoa crop. The Ministry of Agriculture has started some Co-operative Farms, which are highly mechanised, with the object of showing the farmers how co-operation can transform their lives.

The Builders' Brigade has over 12,000 who are engaged in clearing large tracts of land and planting corn and vegetables for local consumption. The Industrial Development Board already has 44 factories in production

and another 40 either under construction or awaiting planning approval. The Second Development Plan (1959-1964) provides for this number to be increased to 600. These are mainly secondary industries but the Ghana Government is already discussing with the Soviet Union the establishment of an iron and steel industry.

The project dearest to Nkrumah's heart — the Volta Dam and aluminium smelter — has been held up for twelve years by the Western Powers who were asked to finance it. After the Soviet trade delegation in October 1960 had agreed to provide £14 million to finance the Bui Dam, a smaller dam on the Black Volta, the United States and British Governments and the World Bank agreed to provide £35 million for the Volta Dam and power station subject to agreement being reached with private monopolies to build the smelter. Negotiations were again protracted until President Nkrumah and his party went to the Soviet Union in July of this year. Then, suddenly, it was announced that the United States Government had agreed to guarantee the money for the smelter. Now, once again, the United States Government is hedging and President Nkrumah has demanded a definite answer one way or another within 60 days.

Most of Ghana's mineral resources are exploited by foreign capitalist concerns but when certain British Companies threatened to close the gold mines after the Government had imposed an all-round wage increase of 20% by law, Ghana decided to nationalise five of the main mines.

All these measures do not yet constitute any great transformation in Ghana's economy, but they do show the direction in which the Government is moving.

The Budget

I have already referred to some of the changes made by this year's Budget but not to those which have made the struggle so much sharper in Ghana. When planning the Budget the Government was faced with the problem of how to provide funds for rapid development, in view of the drastic fall in world prices of primary products since 1957.

This is the problem which has affected all the under-developed countries and the United Nations estimates that all forms of "aid" provided by Governments and international bodies have only amounted to half of what the primary producing countries have lost in the last four years through the drop in the prices of primary products, while the prices of manufactured goods have remained high.

Despite the difficulties, the Ghana Government was determined not to slow down, but on the contrary, to speed up its development plans.

In his Budget speech, on July 4th this year, President Nkrumah said that gov-

FIGHTING TALK, NOVEMBER, 1961.

ernment had decided that all internal government expenditure, whether recurrent or for development, must be financed by taxation or from other internal resources. Foreign loans must only be used to import goods not available in Ghana and required for development projects. This, together with increased government expenditure on education and other services, entails an increase in the revenue to be raised from the people of £31 million, nearly 50 per cent more than last year.

18-Day Strike

Although according to President Nkrumah's Budget Speech the income of wage and salary earners had risen by 49% since 1947 (including a 20% increase in wages imposed by the Government on public and private concerns in October, 1960) the sacrifices demanded by the Budget came not only as a severe blow but as a great shock to many sections of the people. Following the example of Western capitalist countries the proposals had been kept secret until Budget Day. Thus, for instance, the 5% compulsory savings to be made by all workers earning over £10 a month, had not been discussed in mass meetings of trade unionists. Had there been such discussions, together with full explanations of the need for these measures, the reaction of the workers to them might have been very different.

As it was the first pay deductions took place while President Nkrumah and many leading and influential Ghanaians were out of the country. The deep resentment felt by some of the most militant sections of the working class expressed itself in the eighteen-day strike and the opposition did its utmost to profit from the situation. Then followed the arrests of fifty people who were mostly opposition leaders but including 19 trade unionists and some market-women leaders.

One thing needs to be remembered. The opposition in Ghana has never been a progressive one but has always been a reactionary one, relying for support on the most wealthy and formerly powerful tribal chiefs and encouraged by the imperialists.

It is disturbing though that it was felt necessary to arrest these trade unionists since, however misguided their actions may have been, it is necessary to distinguish between the reactionary opposition and working class leaders. The dockers and railwaymen of Takoradi-Sekondi have been the most loyal supporters of Nkrumah and the CPP and at least one of those arrested was imprisoned with Nkrumah during the days of positive action. We shall know more about this when the White Paper is issued, but it is clear that this unfortunate situation arose because of the lack of open mass public discussion and explanation of the proposals before they were put into operation. It is to be hoped that the CPP and the trade unions will learn a lesson from this mistake.

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Accusations of dictatorship have often been levelled at Nkrumah, but one of the most positive features of the situation in Ghana is the liveliness, militancy and initiative shown by the mass organisations and the wide degree of popular participation in them.

I visited Ghana for ten days in October 1960 and again for six weeks in June and July of this year. I could give hundreds of examples of the vitality of the mass organisations, but have space only to give one or two. The Headquarters of the CPP, the TUC, the Farmers' Council, Co-operative Council and the Young Pioneers in Accra are buzzing with activity and hundreds of workers and farmers go in and out of the buildings every day to discuss their plans, their problems, and the progress they are making.

In Kumasi, capital of Ashanti, and the former stronghold of the opposition I was impressed by the fact that the CPP Regional Secretary spent only one hour (from 8 a.m. to 9 a.m.) a day in his office and the rest of the 14 or so hours that he was awake he spent with the people, not only in Kumasi, but all over the region, listening to their problems, discussing questions with them and attending local meetings and study groups. He is often stopped at least a dozen times while walking along one street by people who want to raise some problem or other with him and he takes great pains to know not only what Ghanaians are thinking, but also the outlook and attitude of the Lebanese, Syrians and other national minorities in Ashanti.

When I was in Tamale (capital of the Northern Region) a meeting was held to establish the regional organisation of the National Council of Ghana Women. There were more than two thousand women present. I spent only one night in Kororidua (the capital of the Eastern Region) but that night a training class of over 30 young pioneer instructors was being held, the National Council of Ghana Women were meeting (I attended both these meetings and at the latter a spirited discussion arose on the merits and demerits of polygamy) and there was a mass meeting of health employees.

A very important new development is the establishment of CPP Study Groups and these are springing up all over the

country and in Accra already exist in practically every institution, whether it is a party or a trade union office, a bank, a commercial undertaking or a ministry.

The achievement of the CPP's declared aim of building a Socialist State will depend on the development of tens of thousands of men and women who understand the principles of scientific socialism and are prepared to devote their lives to building socialism in Ghana.

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PAN-AFRICAN UNITY

(Continued from page 4)

plan of Eurafrica in which they hope to embrace France's former colonial possessions and ensure the old colonial economic relationship between Europe and these countries.

But the acid test was still to be the attitude of African States to open colonialist aggression against a brother African state, as was the case in the Congo.

Conference of Heads of States

The late King Mohammed V of Morocco, summoned to Casablanca a conference of the heads of African States on the Congo situation and various other issues affecting them. Seven heads of African states and Ceylon attended the conference, these were from Morocco, U.A.R., Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Libya and the Algerian Provisional Government. That conference adopted a resolution on the Congo laying down several steps which these states intended to take in support of the legitimate Congolese Government. In addition the Conference adopted the "African Charter of Casablanca" which affirmed the will of these states "to preserve and consolidate their identity of views and unity of actions in international affairs." The Conference also issued an unequivocal

statement of support for the national liberation struggle in Africa. The conference also visualised, "as soon as conditions permit", the creation of an African Consultative Assembly holding periodical sessions.

Finally the Casablanca Conference decided to set up various commissions to deal with political, economic and cultural matters and to co-ordinate the policies of the member states in these fields. Another commission to set up a joint African High Command was also set up.

During the course of the year these commissions have held meetings in the various capitals of the member states.

On the other hand the two West African states Liberia and Nigeria which had kept out of both the Casablanca and the Brazzaville Group convened another All African Conference of the heads of States. This took place in May in Monrovia, Liberia. The Casablanca powers declined to attend the conference and they proposed the postponement of the Conference to make better preparations for it on the basis of settling the vital problems of the day such as putting an end to the Congo aggression and support for the general anti-imperialist struggle.

The Monrovia conference took place all the same. It attracted the Brazzaville Group and also Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Somali Republic.

Two Power Groups

Thus two power blocs were created in Africa.

The comments in the western press concerning these two conferences made interesting reading. The Casablanca conference was referred to as a "plot" and a meeting of extremists. Of the Monrovia conference the New York Times said "The meeting was quiet, dignified. Those who took part were moderate, reasonable, responsible statesmen."

The Monrovia conference set up commissions to co-ordinate and unite the activities of the member states in the economic, educational and cultural, transport and communications and health and social spheres. Meetings of experts in these fields from the member states of the Monrovia Powers have been held and thrashed out even such details as common tests for motorcar driving.

The most remarkable outcome of these recent meetings of experts of the Monrovia and Casablanca powers has been the similarity of the decisions reached on such matters as co-ordination and unification of policy on trade, education, health, social welfare, communications, etc. Hence there has been renewed talk of reconciliation of the Monrovia and Casablanca Powers.

A comment by a West African Newspaper, however has underlined a snag that might appear in the path of rapprochement. It has suggested that agreement and unity could be reached between the two groups if differences on political issues between them could be overlooked. But is this possible?

The Secretary-General of the All African People's Conference, Mr. Abdoulaye Diallo, has reminded Africa about the purpose of African unity. "We need to achieve unity to enable us to be free, and we must be free so as to be able to raise the standards of living of our people."

The African States will have to hurry to solve all these problems. Otherwise the hungry African masses will not sit and wait whilst prolonged deliberations go on about the connecting of telephone wires between the Casablanças and the Monrovias.

AFRICA AT UNO

(Continued from page 5)

mier Lumumba and President Kasavubu and sponsored its admission to the United Nations. Later when Premier Lumumba was under house arrest in Leopoldville they pressed for the Congo's Parliament to meet.

But it is then that the U.S. exploited the situation and forced a vote in favour of the admission of the Kasavubu government without the Congo's Parliament being recalled. For the first time in this session which they had dominated, the African States seemed subdued.

Even those who had voted for Kasavubu's admission to the United Nations knew that they had scored no victory. African unity seemed shattered.

After that the Five met at Casablanca in January this year and are now known as the Casablanca Powers.

Those countries which were outside this group could not be said to have formed a bloc. But after Casablanca a combination of these and the Brazzaville Twelve met in Liberia and this group is known as the Monrovia Group.

Now that the Congo issue has taken new forms, it remains to be seen whether these "blocs" will find expression on other issues as well.

The current session may show whether these blocs are based on any genuine differences or are merely convenient formations at a given time on a given issue. My view is that the latter is the case.

Apart from their role in the General Assembly the African States also participate in the work of the Councils and Specialised Agencies of the United Nations.

UAR has served on the Security Council several times: in 1946 and 1949/50 as Egypt and at present as the UAR. At present the UAR is represented on the International Law Commission. Tunisia was on the Security Council in 1959/60 whilst Liberia is currently a member. The seat which Liberia occupied would have gone to Portugal as a 'traditional' Western European seat vacated by Italy, but the African States would not have Portugal in the Security Council.

A Committee on "the arrangements for the purpose of reviewing the Charter" appointed under a resolution of 1955 will report this year. The role of the African States in review of the Charter should be very interesting.

In conclusion one should point out to the appointment this year of Mongi Slim of Tunisia as President of the General Assembly and of Miss Angie Brooks of Liberia as Chairman of the Trusteeship Committee (fourth Committee) of the General Assembly. Whilst Mongi Slim becomes the first African President of the General Assembly, Miss Brooks is not only the first African to be Chairman of that Committee, but the first woman as well. Miss Brooks is particularly impressive. Not only is she a good debater, but she is enemy No. 1 of Eric Louw in the fourth Committee. He should know her very well.

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