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for existing production. It does not automatically ensure the speedy, balanced and coherent execution of this necessary process of industrialisation.

Latin America cannot continue to regard functional integration alone as the most essential instrument of industrial progress. If this aim is to be reached, co-operation within institutional integration must follow. It will enable the Latin American countries to conceive and carry out a joint development policy and accelerated industrialisation on the subcontinent.

Joint economic policy, involving supra-national planning, must assume the functions for which the market-mechanism has proved to be unsuitable. And these functions are:

- ☐ to carry out the process of industrialisation for removing poverty despite the tremendous population-growth;
- ☐ to remove—in the economy as a whole—imbalances resulting from the different rates of growth in the various economic sectors;
- ☐ to prevent excesses of agglomerations which not only cause additional social cost but impede the best-possible development in the various regions and countries, respectively.

Then, too, some considerable difficulties will, of course, arise. Institutional integration is in no way lacking in risks and problems. But once the priority of the aims has been recognised, policy and science will be able to solve the emerging problems.

A French-speaking Commonwealth?

By Dr. Christian Uhlig, Hamburg

Once again the dictum "ex Africa semper aliquid novi" has come true. The Conference of Tananarive, where the Heads of State of the members of the "Organisation commune africaine et malgache" (OCAM)¹ met at the end of June, produced a surprise. For this conference made it clear that some of the African states seriously intend to cooperate more closely in solving their political and economic problems. For a long time international circles have been calling for greater readiness among African countries to step up regional cooperation in economic and social matters, which is considered essential if they want to attain their ambitious development goals. The OCAM group seems to have understood what is needed. President Tsiranana of the Malagasy Republic made it quite clear that African unity cannot be reached by a big push, decreed by authority, but only step by step, starting from the grass-root level. He said: "Greater Africa will proceed from the symbiosis of several little Africas, or else it will not come into existence. Let us be realistic and start African unity from the beginning and not from the end." This statement certainly is more in line with the political realities in Africa than are the various types of revolutionary utopias of Great Africa. After all, which state will and can be prepared to abandon the political independence gained only a short while ago at such great effort in favour of supra-national sovereignty? After various unsuccessful attempts the OCAM members are now evidently trying to embark upon a realistic path of cooperation which could lead from a relatively loosely organised group of states with more or less identical interests to the gradual formation of a closely knit community of independent countries.

Intensification of Self-Aid

In these conditions several important concrete results in both the economic and the political sphere were achieved at Tananarive. Trade problems, in particular

questions of marketing agricultural raw materials, predominated among the economic issues. Joint efforts are planned to sell tropical raw materials, which form the backbone of the countries' exports, in the world market at prices which will cover production costs. One significant step towards closer cooperation is the foundation of a common sugar market to protect indigenous output. This first partial common market is intended to be followed by others, e.g. for cotton. In addition, the possibilities of setting up a multi-national insurance organisation, an inter-African commission for civil aviation and a common shipping association were discussed. The remarks of President Senghor of Senegal indicated that these countries are under some pressure to solve their economic problems. He pointed out that trade relations between the African countries and the industrial states were getting worse, that subsidies from developed countries were declining and the terms of loans becoming ever more costly. There was, therefore, no other solution but to get together and try to find a joint way out of this precarious position of the developing countries. Cooperation on a regional level suggests itself as the handiest form of joint action. Noteworthy, too, is the unanimous view of the Tananarive conference that in the last resort development can be advanced only by greater efforts of OCAM's members and by intensifying self-aid.

If special economic issues only had been under discussion the conference would certainly not have received such worldwide attention in the press. In fact the meeting also yielded concrete political results. The conference approved a charter for OCAM which does not limit its terms of reference to economic and cultural matters but envisages, above all, harmonisation of the member countries' foreign policies in general and their Africa policy in particular; it also decided to admit Togo as a member. But apart from this the Heads of State produced a political bombshell: on the last day the conference council approved a project for a "Communauté francophone"—previously outlined by President Senghor,—and commissioned

¹ Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Gabon, Upper Volta, Malagasy Republic, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Chad, Togo.

the Council Chairman, President Hamani Diori of Niger, to submit this project to the French government and to other interested states.

A "Communauté francophone"

A political idea which several African politicians had been nurturing for a long time has thus become topical. Once before, on the occasion of the visit to Dakar by President Bourguiba of Tunisia the project had been considered unofficially and a remark by the President was the first public reference to it. The idea met with great understanding on the part of President Senghor who had long been thinking along similar lines. The success of the Negro Festival at Dakar may have encouraged M. Senghor to present the francophone plan officially. The Negro Festival not only reinforced the concepts of "négritude" and "art nègre" but also made people realise what strong ties there are between the French-speaking countries of Black Africa and between them and France.

President Senghor proposes a grouping of French-speaking countries or countries which are at least under strong influence of French culture, to comprise e.g. the countries of Black Africa, Madagascar and the Maghreb states and also France, Canada, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Belgium, Switzerland and others. According to M. Senghor this "Communauté francophone" is to play a decisive part in improving collaboration in the cultural sphere, in particular as regards their common problem of training and general education. Thus M. Senghor proposes the establishment of an African Council for Higher Education to which not only OCAM members but also Guinea, Mali, Burundi, the Maghreb states and finally France would belong. In particular, he suggests the joint foundation of a Veterinary School in Dakar and a Rural Engineering School in Ouagadougou. Ultimately, such an organisation could also lead to closer economic and financial relations among the member states.

The project is still rather vague. For one thing it does not yet seem clear what role France would play in such a community. President Bourguiba of Tunisia—who certainly favours the project because he hopes to improve relations with France which had been badly strained in the previous years—has emphasized that a francophone scheme of this kind stands a chance of success and makes sense only if French cooperation is assured.

M. Bourguiba underlines the importance of such an organisation mainly in the cultural field. He says that even today many now independent countries use the French language and that their history has left them with many cultural ties in common. What matters now, according to the President, is that these links shall be expanded and put to practical use. There was no question, however, of abandoning the policy of Arabisation, for instance in the case of the Maghreb states, or of neglecting the development of an indigenous culture. But it was a fact that even the countries where Arabisation was being pushed ahead were still needing and using French on a large scale. President Bourguiba suggests that any further deliberations should start from this status quo.

The observations of the Tunisian President also reveal the practical background to the efforts for a common policy. The countries which are using French are indeed compelled to ask for more teachers, lecturers, teaching material etc. from France every year anew. And under the existing bi-lateral treaties there are frequent tensions and difficulties. If a community were created in which these problems could be solved on a multi-lateral basis, better general cooperation, and, in time, more effective self-aid could follow.

The "Communauté francophone"—an Instrument of Neo-colonialism?

There has been an interesting reaction to these ideas from outside the narrow circle of OCAM. France, having been officially informed of them during the visit of the Council Chairman, M. Hamani Diori, has so far conspicuously refrained from comment. Obviously Paris does not intend to cause speculation about a revival of colonialism. Algeria, which had been approached directly, has already refused to join on the grounds that despite its respect for some cultural and historical assets of the previous colonial power it is Algeria's aim to revive and develop its own original Arab culture. Morocco also has shown reserve. Mauretania, too, is unlikely at present to lend support to the activities of the French-speaking groups in Africa.

Mauretania is contending with great internal political tensions between her Arab Moors and non-Arab southern tribes, and it had previously withdrawn from OCAM because of the stronger influence of the Arab groups. Guinea is reported to regard the project as merely a new cover for French imperialism striving to realise, in this form, the degrading concepts of the former "Union française".

President Bourguiba, incidentally, has sharply repudiated the view that the planned organisation is an instrument of neo-colonialism. He says there can be no question of a relapse into colonialism, for the decision to engage in such cooperation was taken at a time when the participants enjoyed full independence. And no surrender of sovereignty was under discussion. He points out that OCAM is very conscious of the concept of a "francophone commonwealth", in which each country retains its full sovereignty as is clearly the case in the British Commonwealth. Many critics of such a form of cooperation, President Bourguiba argues, are in fact still carrying with them the complexes of the colonial era and are basing their judgement of the proposal on these. The only question must surely be whether such a community would benefit its participants, and the answer to this must be in the affirmative.

M. Senghor, too, made it clear that no revival of the French Union was involved and that it was not intended to set up a new organisation at the expense of others. Nor could a new grouping have the ambition of representing Pan-African interests at a political level. That, he said, was a matter for the Organisation of African Unity. During a visit to Kenya after the Tananarive Conference, President Senghor accordingly seems to have indicated to his Kenyan hosts that he would not recommend Kenya to move nearer to OCAM and to leave the British Commonwealth.

Overcoming the African "Independence Complex"

So far the fate of the proposals has not been decided and the final shape of the organisation is as yet utterly uncertain. Even so, the unusual activity of the African countries is worthy of note. Obviously the "Independence Complex" is being overcome much more rapidly than many had expected. This complex understandably stressed national identity and independence and often frustrated any—however sensible—collaboration with the former Motherland. The new proposals, moreover, demonstrate that these countries have acquired considerable national self-confidence which enables them to enter new paths of cooperation. It is certainly a surprise to many people that the Africans dare to take up old relations and ties. On the other hand, this may just prove that these countries today feel sufficiently independent to remember certain more or less uniform fundamentals established during France's colonial era and to use them as a basis for a future common policy.

In some places the project is, however, regarded as a desperate move by the African countries to counteract the noticeable tendency of France gradually to loosen its still close links with its former colonies

and to expand its interests in the field of international cooperation with the developing countries.

Thus the somewhat paradoxical situation has arisen of the former Motherland reacting with extraordinary reserve to appeals for collaboration with the African countries, perhaps partly out of fear that this might lead to new financial and political obligations. But there may be other reasons, too, why the project is a two-edged sword for France. Even if the idea is certain to meet the secret ambitions of many Frenchmen and although it shows what important influence France still or again has in many countries, official circles will hardly want to grant a certain group of countries priority in cultural and economic cooperation and then be charged with promoting a policy of imperialism or neo-colonialism. Besides, by acceding to these proposals France runs the risk of splitting the powers which on a less firmly fixed political basis might maintain closer relations with it than could ever be achieved by a new and open declaration of collaboration. France can scarcely be enthusiastic about that. It therefore clearly needs all its renowned diplomatic skill to handle this proposal for a rapprochement among the countries concerned—a proposal which is basically to be welcomed.

New Approaches to Financing Development Aid

By Klaus Bolz, Hamburg

It will depend on our methods of dealing with the problems of development aid in the years to come whether Gunnar Myrdal's statement will maintain its deplorable topicality also for the last years of this decade: "On the late President Kennedy's proposal the sixties were declared to be the Development Decade. Half of that decade has now passed into history. It has been the history rather of a slowing down than of speeding up of development in most underdeveloped countries. Some of the most important of them seem to be heading for economic stagnation, some are actually falling backward."

In 1964 (1963) the developing countries' total capital receipts, i.e. subsidies and credits from public and private sources as well as from multilateral institutions, amounted to altogether \$ 9,700 million (9,300 million). About 90 % of all financial contributions are originating directly from OECD countries or from funds which these states have placed at the disposal of multilateral agencies. From 1961 to 1964 the OECD countries' public net contributions amounted to about \$ 6,000 million annually. If the developing countries' total receipts for 1964 have grown nevertheless, this is above all a result of the considerable increase of private capital contributions and the rise of net payments made by some multilateral agencies, who still have unused funds at their disposal.

The aid programmes of the Eastern bloc including China started in 1954 and including 1963 reached a

volume of \$ 5,300 million in the form of promises (mainly credits, but only \$ 1,900 million in cash).¹

Future Demands for Development Aid

Even assuming that the estimates of the well-known economist and expert on development problems, Fritz Baade, may show wide margins of error, the figure of \$ 20,000 million of annual capital aid for the objective of a 4 % increase of the national products per head of the population is indicating how far remote from sufficient aid we still are, or, respectively, to what dimensions we have to adapt ourselves in the next years. These \$ 20,000 million of capital aid or, including food and fertilizer aid, of \$ 25,000 to 30,000 million annually in about 10 years have to be contrasted with our present aids totalling approx. \$ 9,700 million per annum. According to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) total Western aid would have to be increased by about 50 % in order to cover the developing countries' present requirements. Ever recurring fluctuations of raw material prices in the world market are to be emphasised as causes for the but comparatively minor success of development aid as carried through up to now—apart from planning failures, too unfavourable credit terms, corruption, and a rapid population

¹ OECD, Entwicklungshilfe — Politik und Leistungen, Jahresprüfung 1965, German edition (OECD, Development Aid Policy and Contributions, Annual Audit, 1965.)