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EDITORIAL

Julius Sago on

WHOSE FACE IS SLAPPED?

THE contention by some of the Western press that, by the decisions of Addis Ababa, President Kwame Nkrumah is "slapped in the face" is a deliberate distortion of facts. It is a pathetic demonstration of naivete worthy of pity rather than scornful rejection.

A thorough examination of the Charter should reveal to all reasonable people that imperialism is slapped in the face. The decisions taken against neo-colonialism cannot be a slap in the face for Kwame.

The unanimous conviction of the leaders at Addis Ababa of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to accelerate the unconditional attainment of national independence by all African territories still under foreign domination, is a resounding victory for Kwame Nkrumah. On the vexed question of African unity, which is his brain child, no single leader raised a finger against it.

The present reaction of the Western imperialist press against Kwame Nkrumah is not unexpected. Right on the eve of Ghana's independence when he sounded the battle cry that: "the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of Africa", these imperialists have not ceased for a day, by slander and every means they could lay their hands upon, fair or foul, to destroy him.

Addis Ababa has not only made them regard him with fear, it has aroused their unconcealed envy and snarling jealousy. They quite appreciate the weighty consequences of the Addis Ababa Charter.

Their vile propaganda is aimed at concealing the phenomenal progress made by the African revolution at

NKRUMAH VERSUS IMPERIALISM

THE Addis Ababa African Summit has made a tremendous impact on the whole world. Its decisions have been carried on the pages of the world's leading newspapers. They have provoked lively editorial and inspired comments. They have given the "foreign policy makers", particularly in the imperialist nations, anxious moments in their frantic search for new guide lines for their policy of continued domination of Africa.

Inside Africa, a new wave of brotherliness and optimism is already visible. While the African governments are gearing up to a new phase of improved inter-state relations, the African people are rallying even more strongly around the concept of continental unity as Africa's main hope of total redemption and independent existence.

Both Africa and those countries that depend on the exploitation of Africa are passing through a period of diplomatic fluidity. What will come out of this state of affairs remains to be seen. However, two

things are even now abundantly clear. Imperialism is visibly rattled by the Addis Ababa Conference; and she blames her discomfiture on Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana.

'TIME' SLANDER

Despite the carefully considered comments by imperialist Leaders—mostly in the wait-and-see tune—the Western press has fail-

temptuous of Senegal's Poet-President Leopold Senghor". In the same article Emperor Haile Selassie is depicted as one "who dreams of making his ramshackle capital Africa's capital as well." Obviously unhappy, the writer admits that "Africa's summiters did manage to put together an agreement of sorts."

Imperialism's discomfiture even extends to factual reports of the conference. According to the London *Sunday Times* (May 26) "when Nkrumah's own ranting speech came on Friday it fell like a stone." But the *Paris Le Monde* (May 28) which is the organ of French imperialism states that "the applause went to Nkrumah."

DIPLOMACY AND VACCILLATION

Several facts contribute to the present state of quandry in which imperialism finds itself in Africa. In the first place, imperialist diplomacy of vaccination and procrastination was roundly defeated at Addis Ababa. Working on the assumption that African Foreign Ministers, whose decisions on an agenda will largely pre-determine the Summit, must be manoeuvred to play their game, the agents of imperialism concentrated on the Foreign Ministers. They scored a temporary victory when the Foreign Ministers' Conference that preceded the Summit decided that all draft charters and other proposals be referred to experts who will prepare a final draft for adoption by the Heads of State and Government by December 1963.

This turned out to be a transient victory. For the Summit was only two days old when the view emerged that a Charter and a body of principles must be agreed upon before the conference rose. The Heads of State and Government had roundly rejected the go-slow tactics of the Foreign Ministers.

Secondly, imperialism is worried by the apparent unanimity of African leaders on the need for unity embracing all African states. It is true these leaders differed on approach

and timing, but imperialism is upset by the fact that no African leader can now challenge the idea of African unity.

IMPERIALIST INFLUENCES

Thirdly, the Addis Ababa decisions are directed at the very heart of imperialism. For they include an early end to colonialism and apartheid, a resolve to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms, the demilitarisation and denuclearisation of Africa, and the non-alignment of Africa with outside powers or power blocs. The imperialists know that the faithful implementation of these decisions is tantamount to a total elimination of imperialist influences from all Africa.

Fourthly, a source of real anxiety for the Western powers is the independent role played by some elder African statesmen at the African Summit. Up to the eve of the Summit, the belief existed that some African leaders could be made to follow the imperialist line whatever it happens to be. This notion was exploded, and most significantly by men like Emperor Haile Selassie, the proud ruler whose kingdom dates back to the time when America was unknown and a good part of Europe was still without any civilization; President Tubman of Liberia who knows what humiliations arise from over-dependence and now sees vast new possibilities for a united Africa; and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, a man who made good on his own account and whose desire to see Africa reborn drove him to the founding of the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (RDA) nearly



Kwame, regarded with fear, unconcealed envy and snarling jealousy by the western Imperialist Press.

Addis Ababa. They must destroy the source of the heavy attack on imperialism and they must do their best to regain their grounds. But the clock cannot be put back. History has always broken those who have attempted to put back the clock.

What the Western imperialist press must appreciate is that no force can destroy, by blackmail and propa-

ganda, the victory of the masses of Africa. All their insults and dirty manoeuvres will pale into insignificance beside the sublime horizons which are opening to Africa.

The people of Africa know that the new starlet in the heavens has a message of hope and promise to all who are oppressed and heavy laden.

ed to conceal the utter dejection of imperialism at the events that took place at the African Summit. The American weekly magazine *Time* pooh-poohs the brotherliness among African leaders in its May 31st issue when it writes: "For all their camaraderie at Haile Selassie's party, not all the delegates... were pals. Tunisia's Habib Bourguiba loathes Ghana's power-seeking Kwame Nkrumah who is jealous of Egypt's Gamel Abdel Nasser who despises the Ivory Coast's Felix Houphouet-Boigny who in turn is con-

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twenty years ago. This new frame of mind so clearly shown by these "elder statesmen" at Addis Ababa is likely to grow as more African leaders come to realise that African unity gives their countries a faster rate and a vaster scope of development than the imperialist formula of dependence on Europe and America.

MOOD OF PERPLEXITY

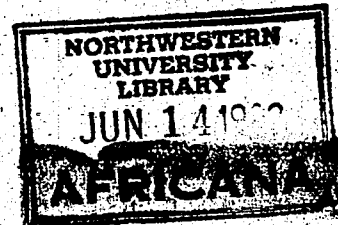
The above facts explain the mood of uncertainty and perplexity that has reigned in imperialist circles since the Addis Ababa conference. It is also a valuable—and accurate—index of the amount of success achieved by Nkrumah's stand at the Summit—that of absolute opposition to imperialism with Africa depending on herself.

The violence of their reactions and the immoderate language of their press show the extent to which the imperialists are hurt. And, quite naturally, the butt of their attack—or is it counter attack?—has been Kwame Nkrumah.

The London *Sunday Times* (May 26) claims that of all that happened at the Ethiopian capital "the most absorbing is the sullen isolation of Kwame Nkrumah". One would have thought that an "isolated Kwame Nkrumah" meant victory for imperialism. But, lo and behold, the same paper complains of "some of the Commonwealth leaders, hag-ridden with inferiority and fears." *U.S. Time* magazine (May 31) shouts of "black imperialism" and describes Nkrumah as "Ghana's self-styled Redeemer". *The Commonwealth* (May 23) thinks he is "as dangerous as an adder", while an editorial of the London *Daily Telegraph* (May 25) holds that Nkrumah's plea for a union of African states is "still a dream" and "a bad dream at that".

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LOOK OUT IN NEXT ISSUE SPARK SERIES ON THE TEACHINGS OF KWAME NKRUMAH



On AATUF:

The Fight for African Working Class Unity

By Amassej Salah-Bey

AT the base of Africa's development is the immense capacity of its masses, their desire to destroy the inhuman conditions of their lives.

In itself, the mass is something anonymous. It reveals itself through organized structures which, by their representatives, are capable of expressing the desire of the base. These struc-

area of 11,596,000 square miles. The annual rate of increase in 1950-59 was 1.9 per cent. The density of the population is 8 persons per square kilometer, varying from 0.6 persons per square kilometer in Mauritania to 84.2 in Rwanda-Urundi.

Nomads sometimes represent a very important percentage of the population, such as in ex-Italian Somalia where they make up 67.5 per cent of all the population. By ages, the

persed, often nomadic mass, nearly illiterate and with inferior professional qualifications. The distribution of the mass different economic sectors is abnormal, with an artificial inflation of the tertiary sector—48.4 per cent, against 25.6 per cent in the primary sector and 26 per cent in

pendent countries of Africa come from this group. The former Belgian Congo is the most typical example.

The first problem that arises is unemployment. Unemployment may be seasonal, especially in agriculture, or may be due to forms of urban under-employment. The city, or the site of a new source of demand for labour—a new factory—are the centres of attraction for the rural unemployed. Very rapidly the supply of labourers exceeds the demand. In these conditions, the new arrival lives from day to day, thanks to the assistance of family and friends and from small part-time jobs.

RISK OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Women normally work in the fields; for example, in the Southern Cameroun and the former Belgian Congo, women growing crops run the risk of unemployment during the period when one cannot work in the fields. The cultivator of groundnuts can only count on having 110 days of work each year, and he will be without work two-thirds of the year.

This immense mass of semi-unemployed often provokes seasonal type migrations swelling the ranks of the urban unemployed. With the formation of the administrative bourgeoisie corresponds, in the other strata of the population, the formation of an urban and agricultural sub-proletariat.

To this must be added a work about the evolution of wages and the cost of living in order to have a correct idea of the real condition of African workers.

If, for example, in July 1945 the index of prices for food and other items was 100 in Dakar, in January 1958 this index would be 466 for prices in general and 457 for food. The index of average wages has been multiplied by 16.75 for the same period, which apparently means an increase in the standard of living, but which, because of the change in necessities during this period, and particularly the increase of burdens on the worker (it must not be forgotten that he is more obliged to support his relatives who have been forced to emigrate to the city, the standard of living, instead of increasing, has gone down to such a point that the worker is obliged today to emigrate to France or Germany.

In order to measure exactly this pauperization, it would be necessary to compare the increase in offers and demands for work and to determine the number of unemployed living with the aid of their relatives.

BRUSQUE RISE

No real increase of the standard of living can be envisaged without an increase of national production and productivity. A simple increase in wages implies a brusque rise of the demand for goods,

which the national production is not capable of satisfying. In these conditions the result will always be inflation which is not at all useful to the workers in an underdeveloped country.

TECHNICAL TRAINING

The evolution of productivity depends upon better technical training of the worker and, above all, on a policy of mechanization. But the private firms, which have very cheap man-power, find themselves in competitive production for the international market. In these conditions, the capitalist has no interest in making the investments necessary for a machine when the 50 workers it would replace permit him a large margin of profit.

Capital, therefore, is interested in maintaining the low technical level of man-power and mechanization of underdeveloped countries, because it realises at least the same profits as its partners in the industrial countries without nevertheless being obliged to invest the same amounts.

Making this point, we see two conclusions. Unemployment and Pauperization.

FRENCH CAP

They are caused by a policy of economic Malthusianism, by the interests of big capital invested in Africa. Unemployment is produced by the low agricultural yields, and among the causes of this are poor techniques and the unstable prices of raw materials.

This low agricultural yield obliges the rural population to move to the new centres of demand for labour, that is, the cities of Europe. In the cities, this mass of unemployed acts as an element of pauperization of the wage-earning population in so far as they become a burden upon the others.

The movement to France is desired by French capitalism (the free movement of African workers to France is proof of this and it should be noted that other members of the European Common Market await the moment to be able to profit from this mass of labour) because African workers, constitute a docile and undemanding man-power reserve because of their miserable situation. Moreover, capitalism can always try to use the Africans to hold back the demands of its national working class, which is less duped.

On the other hand, unemployment is also caused by the low productivity of labour. Capitalism, which makes big profits because of the low cost of the worker, is not at all eager to mechanize or improve the technical level of labour. If this were done, it would be necessary to raise wages and to invest in machinery. Certainly, capitalism has been forced to mechanize in Europe and America, but that was in order to meet competition, whereas in Africa the capitalists monopolize entire regions and countries.

Nearly all African constitutions recognise the rights of unions, the unions benefit from a broad "civil capacity", as well as having a certain number of legal privileges. It can be said that according to the wording of the law, there is no serious obstacle to trade union activity. In theory, trade unions can develop freely in all African countries, with the exception of the Portuguese colonies, where the exercise of union rights depends upon obtaining the status of an "assimilated person" and governmental authorization for the constitution of a union. In fact, only the Portuguese government unions are authorized.

But apart from this, the right to form unions exists legally in Africa. Nevertheless, a glance at the press and on-the-spot observation show that this right is most often empty of meaning.

Colonialism sowed division in Africa. During the colonial period, the unions of the colonial powers fought among themselves for domination of the colonial country. After the acquisition of independence, the heritage of colonial division was maintained.

The former Belgian Congo maintains the luxury of three rival trade union organizations corresponding with the division of the Belgian working class movement. The Belgian Government only authorized the accepted association—the General Federation of Labour of Belgium (F.G.T.B.) the Confederation of Christian Trades Unions (C.S.C.) and the "Syndicat Liberal".

Defending the principle that only trade union pluralism is a guarantee of democracy, capitalism created disunion in the mass of African unionists. The French unions brought to the African territories dominated by France their internal division, betraying the working class.

MISTRUST OF POLITICAL MOVEMENT

After the war in "French" Africa, the "free" trade unions multiplied, the offspring of the F.O. (the "Workers Force"), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), as well as the "Christian Unions", sponsored by the C.F.T.C. (French Confederation of Christian Trade Unions) and the I.C.F.T.U. British trade unions had taught mistrust of any political movement, and the defence of corporatism.

In the name of working class unity, Jouhaux in the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) opposed the emancipation of the African trade unions, thus aiding the dividers of the working class and supplying justification for the

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WORKERS OF AFRICA

tures can represent a common cultural ideal, and we will have a cultural association, or the organized expression of a class aiming by legal means to obtain political power, and we have a political party, or, and this is what interests us, the needs of a professional group.

A union or association is, first of all, the organization grouping those who exercise a profession, in order to better defend the interests that group. There are associations of employers, such as the Centre National des Jeunes Patrons in France, associations of farmers, intellectuals, students, workers etc. Every profession can have its association.

TACTICAL ERRORS

Nevertheless, in our revolutionary perspectives, we are interested in the associations which are the expression of the oppressed social classes or which represent a line of the advance guard in the struggle, for example, the student associations.

African trade unionism, because it exists in underdeveloped countries which have known or still know colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation, finds itself in specific conditions. These conditions must be analyzed in order to avoid serious tactical errors that threaten the effectiveness of action undertaken. The first analysis to be made is that of the conditions of existence, of the life of the masses.

Africa has a population of about 226 million inhabitants distributed over an

population is composed of 75 adults between 20 and 59 years against 24 children of less than 20 years and one elderly person among males and 36 children, 62 adults and 2 elderly persons among females. Birth rate is 5-6 per cent and infant mortality 14-40 per cent; in Angola this figure rises to 85 per cent.

The percentage of children in schools does not exceed 54.5 per cent of children of school age in any country. Thus, Mozambique has 99.8 per cent illiteracy with less than 1 per cent of African children in schools. Girls represent about 20 per cent of the children in school, that is, about 10 per cent of the girls of school age.

Education after primary school is almost unknown in Africa. There were 23,982 students in secondary schools in 1958-59 in former French West Africa, against 496,227 students who had finished their primary studies. In the same year, 4,535 students attended technical and professional schools.

NATIONAL INCOME

Real per capita national income was 175 U.S. dollars in 1957; an approximate figure, varying from 690 U.S. dollars in Tangier to 95 dollars in Sierra Leone. On the basis of the world's per capita income: 100, Africa has an index of 38 for countries already liberated from colonialism, compared with 33 for those still under the colonial yoke.

A first series of conclusions arises from these facts. The human mass among whom African trade unionism must work is a dis-

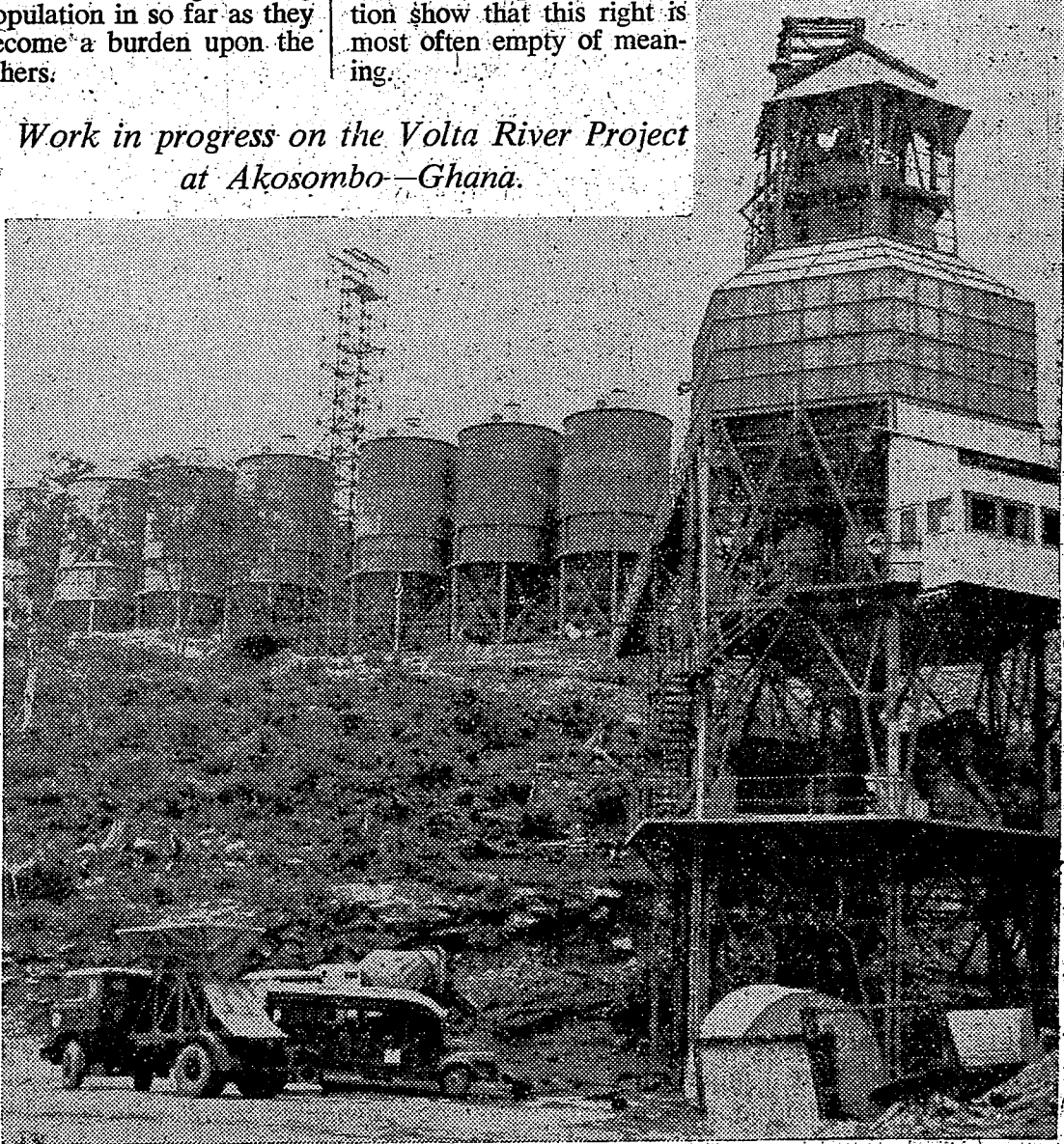
secondary sector. For the entirety of the European Common Market, the distribution is the following—7.9 per cent for the primary, 51.5 per cent for the secondary and 40.6 per cent for the tertiary.

SECURITY OF EMPLOYMENT

Because of inferior professional qualification the consequence of the limited range of education, these countries are led to import skilled man-power—3,865 non-indigenous workers against 79,800 indigenous workers in 1957 in former French West Africa, nearly 5 per cent. On the other hand, the mass of African man-power, represented 198,000 units against 60 non-indigenous units. At the level of cadres, former French West Africa had 4,000 national cadres against 9,290 foreigners. Unemployment affects, above all, the unskilled workers, so that 75 per cent of the unemployed in Dakar are unskilled workers.

Due to the lack of professional training and the competition of skilled workers from abroad, the literate population tends to turn to the administration for employment, making up 22 per cent of the mass of wage earners.

The mass of the employees in the administration, because of the conditions of security of employment, the prestige and higher wages, have every possibility of forming the embryo of a bourgeois class, with material interests in contradiction with those of the mass of peasants and workers. And it should be noted that the majority of the inde-



Work in progress on the Volta River Project at Akosombo—Ghana.

Fear Behind the Force of South Africa's Rulers

by Steve Lawrence

MAD with fear, the racist tyrants of South Africa are rushing the country headlong to a holocaust—and their own destruction.

The Verwoerd Government, frantically arming itself to the teeth—with the help of armoured cars, planes and teargas from Britain—has already turned South Africa into a police State.

To its thick volumes of repressive laws it is rushing to add yet another this week: the General Law Amendment Bill, or "No Trial" Bill as it has been dubbed.

The Nationalist Government, several members of whom were disciples of Hitler in his heyday, already possess powers to muzzle, jail and murder its opponents rivaling those of the Nazi Reich.

ENDLESS

The new law will enable it to thrust anyone into prison for endlessly repeated periods of three months—without benefit of even a mockery of a trial.

It is a sign that Premier Verwoerd, Justice Minister Vorster, Defence Minister Fouché and their band live in deadly fear.

Fear of the 11 million Africans whom they are trying to keep as virtual economic slaves, herded as cheap labour reserves into so-called "Bantustans."

Fear of the 500,000 Indians and the 1,500,000 Coloureds (of mixed parentage) who are denied the rights of even second-class citizens.

Fear of that courageous number among the three million Europeans who dare to join with the majority of the people against the Verwoerd regime.

AT ANY COST

For among all these the determination born of desperation is spreading fast: "Apartheid must go—at any cost."

"As, one after another, the Government stops legal and peaceful channels of protest and resistance, the oppressed masses are turning to methods that are illegal and non-peaceful.

"They are looking to illegal organisations like the African National Congress and the Communist Party for leadership."

So said the South African Communist Party, which was banned and forced underground 13 years ago, in a recent call for revolutionary action to overthrow white domination and win people's rule in a united, free South Africa.

Since the Sharpeville massacre three years ago, which sharply aroused the conscience of the world about the apartheid scourge, the Verwoerd gang have seen in the rule of the gun the only hope of continuing their domination—and their profits.

Their "master plan is to herd most of the Africans into starvation-level native reserves, glorified by the name of "Bantustans", of which Verwoerd plans eight.

Already over 100,000 people have been forcibly removed from their homes and herded into other areas; another half-million are under immediate threat of being shifted.

To stifle the ever-growing flood of resistance, the whole gamut of police-State laws has been rushed through and implemented.

The African National Congress and the small, breakaway Pan-Africanist Congress and a host of other organisations have been prohibited.

The notorious "Sabotage" Bill made the smallest act of protest, including strikes, a crime punishable by death.

The Press has been gagged and virtually censored. One of the last remaining voices of liberty, the brave weekly "New Age", was banned; its successor, "Spark", forced to shut up because its staff was barred from functioning.

House arrests, 24 hours a day in lots of cases, have condemned many to years of a particularly vicious form of incarceration, without being found guilty of any crime whatsoever.

BANNED

Hundreds have been "listed" by the Government and banned from speaking, writing or meeting with their fellow-citizens.

But despite all the machinery of repression built up by Verwoerd, the resistance of the people has become sharper.

The underground fighting organisation Umkonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) has carried out a number of attacks on Government offices and key economic targets, to the rage of the ruling gang.

The first "Bantustan" in the Transkei is being set up against the forcible resistance of the people.

Now Verwoerd and Co. to prepare for yet more repressive laws and further swoops and arrests, have worked up a big scare about the activities of another underground organisation, Poqo, which has

claimed the credit for a number of violent outbursts which were in fact virtually spontaneous actions by people driven beyond endurance.

Trying desperately to close all doors to his prison-house, Verwoerd has now threatened action against the British-held territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.

For through them some of the opponents of his regime have evaded his clutches.

BRITISH-RUN

The British-run police in these territories, trying to appease Verwoerd, have acted against some of these refugees.

The British Government, presumably mindful of British "Big Business" £1,000 million investment in South Africa, has continued to succour the South African Government.

That is one reason why the people of Britain bear a special responsibility urgently to help the majority in South Africa.

Mr Harold Wilson has already pledged that a Labour Government would put an end to the sale of British arms to the apartheid regime.

U.N. MOVE

Now the whole Labour movement should campaign for immediate steps to implement the United Nations General Assembly



Arrest and jail have become the daily lot of African women, as well as men.

resolution demanding sanctions against South Africa. For at stake is not only the future of the people of that country, but the peace

of the whole African continent possibly of the world. The heirs of Hitler in South Africa, and their associates in neighbouring

Southern Rhodesia, would rather engulf the continent in a bloodbath than yield their place to an elected majority Government.

THE FIGHT AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM (1)

NEO-COLONIALISM as a form of imperialism is a relatively new term in the political vocabulary. Of course, as a system, it has existed for many years, the only point was that it had not been noticed by many people.

For example, one Ethiopian said that after their country's delivery from Italian fascist imperialists, and the restoration of their monarchy and national independence, all Ethiopians thought that all was now well and many decided to go to sleep.

It was only later that they began to realise that although they were politically independent, their independence was meaningless as long as they were economically dependent.

This realisation has put His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia among the leading African champions of economic freedom, and exponents of African unity.

However, this and many other examples which could be cited, prove just one thing: that many people in the colonial countries had not appreciated that a people could be politically free and yet continue to be a colonial country through foreign economic domination—this latter type of domination is what today we call neo-colonialism.

From the African point of view, the meaning of Neo-colonialism

was clearly defined at the Third All-African People's Conference held in Cairo in March, 1961. It was defined as:—

"The survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition by political independence in the emerging countries which become the victims of an indirect, and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical means".

THE NEW MASKS

As we all know, this appreciation and attack on the new type of colonialism which is threatening Africa's independence, freedom, integrity and progress, was a shock to the imperialists. All along they had thought that Africans

would never discover their new masks.

But today, brothers and sisters, we are awake—and no matter what mask the imperialists might wear, we shall certainly unmask them. We are capable of distinguishing between the wolf which comes to us in a sheep's skin, and the genuine sheep.

Nevertheless, as the Cairo Conference pointed out, Neo-colonialism "is the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence or those approaching this status".

Although basically Neo-colonialism is exactly the same thing as old colonialism, the only absence of direct political domination as under the

latter, the realisation that an imperialist country could achieve all it requires by the exploitation of another country without direct colonisation in the classical sense, is a new concept.

This new type of imperialism owes its discovery to the U.S.A. The latter's experience with the Philippines, which she colonised after ousting the Spanish imperialists, led them to think of a much more disguised domination and yet as profitable a form as direct colonialism.

OPPRESSIVE MACHINERY

After the seizure of the Philippines, the U.S.A. employed all the imperialist oppressive machinery to suppress the liberation movements in these South-East Asia islands. They, however, discovered that they could avoid the blame and responsibility of many innocent lives, and yet secure their dominance "by buying native rulers and paying the cost of native governments", under terms which were acceptable to them.

For the imperialists this was as great a discovery as the discovery of the Nile or the new Gold Reef in the Rand. One could imagine them toasting fully convinced that this subtle form of imperialism could not be unmasked by the liberation forces. We could, therefore, rightly conclude by stating that Neo-colonialism is a higher order of colonialism.

Let us now try and briefly describe the various forms Neo-colonialism takes. These include political "influence and guidance, economic domination, spiritual domination, the deliberate dislocation of indigenous social structure, and the destruction of native cultures.

The neo-colonialist motive of all the colonial powers and their allies, are epitomised in statements made by some leading personalities in the imperialist camp. Writing in the "OPTIMA" of December, 1960, (a magazine owned by the Oppenheimer monopolies in South Africa), Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, the former Governor-General of Ghana, commented and lamented the end of "European's political leadership", and asked whether European

economic leadership would also end.

ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE

Mr. Chester Bowles, once a high official in Mr. Kennedy's Administration and now his adviser on the question of the under-developed countries, wrote in his book, "Africa's Challenge to America", that although before the war the imperialists were able to safeguard their economic interests spread over two thirds of the world by the use of a powerful "navy, a staff of competent, tough-minded colonial administrators, and relatively small number of European-led 'native' troops", today this was no longer possible, and the only alternative which he could think of was that "a sensitive diplomacy and an enlightened use" of their economic advantage could alone enable America and her allies to continue the plunder of two thirds of the world.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the former British Chancellor of Exchequer, regretting the decline of the Empire stated that:

"abroad the British no longer ruled, and they now had something more difficult to do—to influence or guide".

H. V. Hodson, the former Provost of Oxfordshire and now Provost of the Ditchley Foundation, clarifying the British policy towards Africa, stated in the "TIMES" of 12 December, 1961, that it was exactly the same as the U.S.'s policy in the Caribbean and Latin America. Therefore,

"national independence and African majority rule", he wrote, "will be entirely compatible with the presence of a stable white population, many of whom will own land, and mineral rights, run industries and commerce, and hold posts of authority in the armed and civil services".

"THE MODERATES"

Of course, since then high British and American officials and businessmen have met in private at Oxford to discuss the Anglo-American relations in Africa.

However, how is this political "influence and guidance" received? First, there is a new technique of divide and rule. The major concern of every colonial power is to make sure that on their "departure" they leave behind them a type of

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NEO - COLONIALISM

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government that will, for a long time, have to require their "technical and economic aid"—i.e. a government which will continue to be dependent.

They have first of all to make sure that on their so-called departure, political controls pass into the hands of "moderates"—or as we know them, puppets and stooges like Tshombe and others. It would be very interesting to go into detailed examination of how Tshombes are got, but since time is limited, it suffices to say that the normal and major method is, of course, outright bribery.

This is what the Americans have employed both in the Congo and wherever they have imposed their neo-colonialist rule. In addition, they exploit personal egotism, and weaknesses in character. We have had our leaders played against one another.

Some are classified as moderates, others as European educated! The educated are made to despise the uneducated, the graduates look down upon the non-graduates etc. The use of drink and women is not unknown. Then there is the exploitation of tribal sentiments, religious and racial differences, where they exist.

OUR CHIEFS AND THE IMPERIALISTS

Where nationalism is likely to be strong force, every effort is taken to divide it by the use of the above tactics. Also, it is now apparent that they have found it very useful to exalt the chiefs and the old feudal overlords! The British Conservative Group called "THE MONDAY CLUB" recommended the enhancement of the Chief's powers as a means of a safeguarding their colonial interests!

A typical example of this is in Uganda, where the feudal Kingdom of Buganda has overnight been strengthened to the point of threatening that country's independence and integrity. We also see that it is the same weapon being employed in dividing up Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) by the exaltation of the feudal overlord Luwanka.

It is very important to mention that in Africa's history, the behaviour of African Chiefs (with a few exceptions) has been the key to our conquest and exploitation. They sold us as slaves, they helped in the alienation of our land, and they collaborated with the imperialists in imposing and perpetuating colonialism.

When it comes to the struggle for independence, again, most of them will side with our masters from beyond the seas, and we can see that the imperialists are now counting upon them

as a means of securing neo-colonialism.

Let us therefore hope that from this Conference a strong appeal will be made to the African chiefs to reconsider their stand vis-a-vis the national struggle against economic domination under neo-colonialism.

The use of tribalism is being effectively employed in Kenya today. There independence has been delayed because the nationalists are so tribally minded that they have shut their eyes to Kenya's national interests, and have gone to the extent of demanding what some of them call Regionalism—in order to safeguard their own tribal interests.

TRIBALISM AND IMPERIALISM

In this, they have just played into the hands of the imperialists, who for a long time have endeavoured to split the nationalist front in Kenya. This they have now succeeded in achieving.

Of course, Congo is a well-known example of how tribalism could be used to recolonise a potentially rich area.

Racialism is being exploited in Zanzibar, where we have the so-called Africans fighting the so-called Arabs. Again, Zanzibar's independence has been delayed and many people have lost their lives.

An attempt to use religion was made in Uganda, but despite the big sums of money which poured in from America and West Germany to reinforce this, the situation was luckily saved, although other negative forces are now being created and consolidated.

The creation of these divisions is, of course, aimed at ensuring that no nation is left united and therefore strong enough to demand complete independence. The imperialists have always fed on a house divided unto itself. Where this fails, then they encourage secessionism and partitions.

Another important manoeuvre is the manner in which the imperialists try to consolidate and strengthen European rule where they consider the European element to be strong enough, as in the case of the discredited Federation of Central Africa and even South Africa. There they encourage unity of states under one strong Government.

AFRICANS IN AWKWARD POSITION

But where European influence is weak, as in Uganda, Kenya and Congo, they encourage balkanisation—a strange mathematical exercise of permutation and combination in order to ensure the success of neo-colonialism.

Least we forget at this stage, let us again mention the efforts the imperialists make in ensuring that on their departure at least some of them are left

in key positions and in many cases as either cabinet ministers of high officials, the police, the army, etc., as Hodson pointed out.

In the case of countries like Uganda or Tanganyika, these pretend to be working in the interest of the nation just as the nationalists do. But that is not their real aim. Their duty is to influence every cabinet deliberation and to make sure that no secret exists between the Cabinet and the former colonial government.

Then some go into the Civil Service. Imagine a yesterday's colonial servant managing your finance, foreign affairs, education and the like! What good can you expect from such a person? Yet everything is done to persuade the newly independent countries to retain such people.

Let us also add that the imperialists having deliberately refused to train Africans to take over position of responsibility in those days when they never even dreamt of granting independence, they have now put us in a very awkward position which they can easily exploit by simply resorting to blackmailing.

Of course, where they fail in all these subversive activities, they have no alternative but to resort to murders—as in the case of Lumumba—to assassinations, terrorism, intimidation, and blackmailing; financing and equipping counter-revolutionaries—as for example, in Ghana and Cuba. In short, it is a question of CASH and VIOLENCE.

ECONOMIC DOMINATION

The primary cause of imperialism is to secure new sources of raw materials, new markets for manufactured goods, and an opening for capital investments in those fields where the marginal efficiency of capital (as Kenya called it) is the highest—i.e. where they expect the biggest return on their investments.

From this we can see that the major characteristics of a colonial type of economy are the dependence on the production of raw materials, the reliance on one commodity, i.e. lack of diversification of the economy; foreigners domination all economic sectors including wholesale and retail trade; banking and insurance, transport and communications — which lead from the sources of the raw materials to the nearest coastal port.

Uneven developments which concentrate upon the so-called areas "of high potentiality", while the rest of the country is left backward; and the bilateral trade which exists between the metropolitan country and the colony. In short, the economy of the colonies is merely meant to complement the economy of the metropolitan countries.

We find it unnecessary to cite examples of this type of economic domination; but Cuba is a good example of what American neo-colonialism is, while the rest of Africa and Asia are undeniably examples of Western economic imperialism.

To perpetuate this type of economy is the avowed aim of Neo-colonialism. Today, in Africa, the imperialist monopolies are now engaged in what is called "Africanisation". Overnight you hear of African company directors, managers and salesmen.

For example, in East Africa, a British T.V. company took precautions of securing the approval of the rival nationalist parties for its proposal and both Africans and Asians will be on the Board of this Company, right from the start.

EGALITERIAN SOCIETY

The idea is to camouflage their activities by a type of window-dressing which they hope will deceive Africans into thinking that these enterprises belong to them. Hence you also find a concerted effort of re-baptising their companies as "Y" (Nigeria) Ltd., or "Y" (Ghana) Ltd.

Here we must also mention the creation of landlordism and the persistent emphasis put on property ownership—i.e. the deliberate imposition of capitalism on the African primarily egalitarian society.

To strengthen their economic position, they depend on the so-called technical advisers and "aid" whose sole intension is to make sure that whatever economic measures are taken, they do not jeopardise their colonial interests.

Hence, we find that all the so-called economic reports and recommendations made by, for example, the WORLD BANK and other Western Economists, emphasise the need for foreign private investments, the improvement in agricultural production, and private land ownership, increase in the taxation of the indigenous population (while at the same time recommending less taxation on foreign companies and guaranteeing them freedom to export their profits and capital whenever they feel like it). Hardly do they recommend industrialisation as well.

In this field "economic aid" plays a very important part in consolidating neo-colonialism. First and foremost we will observe that their economic aid is primarily meant for infrastructure projects—schools, roads, hospitals, etc., but they can hardly give aid to build manufacturing industries. Because, as Dillons (the U.S. Secretary of Finance) put it:

THE TWO SENTIMENTS

"he will take a strong stand against the use of U.S. Aid money to build factories abroad, when those factories are designed to produce for the American market" ("NEWS WEEK", 30th January, 1961). And let us remember that this American market means the whole of so-called "free world".

Dr. A. H. Hanson, a well-known British economist, has also quoted in his book "Public Enterprise and Economic Development", a French Minister who stated that French investments in their colonies:

"need cause no alarm among metropolitan industrialists, because most of them have been established by French businessmen whose main concern is merely to organise initial processing near the point of primary production".

These two sentiments govern and determine the

policy of economic and technical "aid" given by the imperialist countries.

It is also important to understand that although we hear a lot about this "aid", we are not told that what makes it look relatively fabulous is that to the imperialists "aid" includes military aid, private investments, military bases, short term loans and the like.

But we all know that Africa has no need for military bases, we know that lending money at current market interest rates or even over, is business rather than "aid". From this we conclude that genuine economic aid from the imperialists has never existed.

Furthermore, whereas there is so much publicity about aid, we never hear about the fabulous profits made from this so-called "aid". You can see that when you give this "aid" at 16% rate of interest, it is only a fool who will believe that rather than helping yourself you are helping him!

WEAPON OF NEO-COLONIALISM

However, the imperialist aid is meant to strengthen and not to weaken the bilateral relationship.

Let us also mention in passing one other manifestation of neo-colonialism. This is the way in which the imperialists insist on keeping their former colonies within the same monetary zone as their own.

One of the weapons of neo-colonialism is the struggle to dominate the African spiritually. The whole world knows that the forerunners of African colonisation were explorers and missionaries. Their job was to placate the African and make him submissive to the colonial dictates.

We certainly know of priests who prayed for imprisoned African national-

ists to change their hearts and obey their rulers. The Bible was used to justify colonialism hence the colonial powers regarded themselves as having been sent by Providence to convert Africans to Christianity and to civilise them.

The African was taught to keep his wealth in Heaven. He was taught that it was God's will for him to be ruled, for him to be poor, for his children to die for want of proper medical care, etc. To us, white was righteous, while black was evil.

Having discovered the disgusting hypocrisy of the Missionaries, the African fought and still fight against those who have always claimed the right to rule him. Therefore in the majority of cases political freedom has been won—of course against the will of the missionary—while in places like Angola, the Rhodesias etc., despite the various religious endeavours to retard the liberation movement, the struggle has intensified.

However, although the though-minded colonial administrators have virtually ceased to exercise any direct powers, the clergy and priests still wield a great deal of power in our continent.

To prove how much power they think they have in influencing our affairs was the instance of the attitude of the Catholic Bishop in Guinea and the Anglican Bishop in Ghana.

The important fact is that the neo-colonialists had banked and still count on Christianity to continue serving as an opium for the people, and thereby enable them to continue their exploitation of us unhindered. The Sudans know of a former District Commissioner who after retiring from the Colonial Service, returned as a Missionary.

In Nyasaland, we all remember well how the

Anglican Bishop there swore that he had seen a list of people to be killed, which Dr. Banda and his former party had prepared.

THE CHURCH AND IMPERIALISM

We know the part missionaries played in the Congo fiasco, we also know what the Church has done in Mozambique. All these examples prove that Missionaries still intend to serve under the guise of religion the interests of their capitalist masters and financiers beyond the seas—the neo-colonialists.

But let us warn them. Until the Church learns to respect the interests of the poor, the downtrodden, and to understand that as long as there continues to be the exploitation of man by man, there can never be true religion—and the struggle against spiritual domination will have to continue with the same vigour with which we have fought and continue to fight political domination. Any God whose sole interest is to perpetuate the exploitation and disunity of Africa is no God at all! Any God who believes in colonialism and neo-colonialism has no place in Africa. His proper place is Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, Rome and the rest of imperialist capitals.

The primary aim of the missionary educator was to destroy our social and cultural values with a hope of turning us into black Europeans. One might wonder why this was necessary; why did they want to destroy our social institutions? Why did they discourage the development of Africa's indigenous culture?

Of course the answer to such a question could not be clear cut. But we suggest that one of the motives was to foster foreign economic interests. The discrediting of our social institutions made it necessary to despise our own and seek to learn that of other people.

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BEFORE UNITED NATIONS:

PORTUGUESE ATROCITIES IN AFRICA EXPOSED (1)

IN the year 1962, we had opportunity of presenting our case before the United Nations Organisation. I led the freedom fighters delegation sent by the oppressed masses of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands.

We honoured the opportunity very much, for we have an unqualified confidence in this august international organisation of our time.

We made it clear to the United Nations that our presence before it was not for the sake of propaganda nor were we there to have resolutions adopted deploring Portuguese colonialism but we were there to seek its help in order to secure concrete solution to the problem which confronts both our people and all the peace loving people of the world, namely: the immediate liberation of our people from colonial yoke.

We did not go there to condemn in words Portuguese colonialism. For the persistent condemnation from both within and outside our countries had not had any repercussion on Portuguese stubborn colonialism whose characteristics are tricks and whose methods of atrocities against our people are well known throughout the world.

We appealed to the United Nations and Portuguese Representative for assistance which would enable us to find out the shortest and most efficient way to liquidate Portuguese colonialism from Guinea and Cape Verde Islands.

FRUIT OF FREEDOM

"For us, that is for our people and our party, the time has come to put an end to fumbings and fake promises. Our people now believe in action. Yes the time to take definite and concrete decisions and steps to liberate our countries from colonial bondage has come.

"We are tired of living like captured men in our own countries. We are tired of force labour. Yes the time has come for us, too to live like men of our own and enjoy the fruit of freedom." We declared.

We told the august organisation of the world forum boldly that it should advise Salazar and his clique in Portugal to leave our countries alone. For we had had enough of their suppression, oppression and exploitation and would not accept any more.

It was true, we said, that since our people began, some few years ago, to fight for their freedom and human dignity, Portugal had been using modern weapons mainly supplied by her NATO allies against our people and already more than 40,000 of our people—men, women and children had been murdered in cold blood for no crime other than asking for their bona fide rights, we would still fight on until victory was achieved.

We explained that our aim of appearing before the United Nations was to assist it by giving the facts of the situation in our countries and proposals of our plan for solution of the problem.

"These are the objectives of our presence here and we shall be with you until our task is accomplished; for our people will anxiously

expect something concrete from us when we are back home. We can only take back to them guarantees and assurances that United Nations has undertaken to give the necessary assistance and its resolutions on the issue will be adhered to.

"Or that United Nations is not going to help us and that we should reinforce and develop our own efforts to continue our struggle in order to conquer or to be defeated by Portuguese colo-



Amil Car Cabral

nialism in our countries". We stated.

THE FACTS

Through communiques public declarations and also through various correspondence we were sure that the United Nations had had sufficient information as to what the problem was in our countries and the conditions under which peoples in Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands were living. Before we had the opportunity of presenting our case personally to the United Nations, we had already done our best to place at its disposal a considerable number of facts through the special committee set up to investigate the conditions in the territories administered by Portugal.

As much as we accepted and agreed to all the findings presented by the committee, we still felt duty bound to give the Assembly at least a summary of the conditions which were and still are prevailing in our countries. The events were conveniently summed up as follows:—

Since June 1961 the Portuguese colonialists have increased the numerical strength of their white troops in Guinea to about eight thousand men and have unleashed the most violent repression against our people. It is possible that such measures were taken as a way to prove once more, the total disregard of the Portuguese Government as far as the United Nations is concerned and in this particular case as far as the arduous task of the special committee of seven was concerned but we must add that such an attitude also aims at liquidating our resistance, the cadres of our party: it aims at terrorising our population and curbing our struggle.

VILLAGES RAZED DOWN

Many peaceful villages have been attacked by these Portuguese

thugs and their populations subjected to the most atrocious tortures and massacres. Villages like Mores, Antuane, Salancoeur and many others in "Portuguese" Guinea shall ever be remembered in the history of our struggle as the martyred villages of our resistance.

In desperation and anger which characterises their impotence and their failure to shake the strong determination of our people, the Portuguese colonialists have arrested, tortured and assassinated political prisoners: they have massacred entirely the defenceless populations of some villages in our countries, burnt down these villages and houses of nationalists, thrown many patriots, some in the sea, burnt some of them alive after having sprinkled them with petrol, mutilated their corpses and exposed them in public. They have besieged and burnt many of the party strategic points in the forests, and had recourse to all baneful machinations in order to break down our resistance.

Comrades like late Bernado Soares, a 28-year-old school teacher, a husband and a responsible member of our party in Empada, was arrested and subjected to awful tortures for a week and as he refused in spite of all these tortures, to betray his comrades-in-arms the Portuguese thugs threw petrol on him and burnt him alive before a horrified gathering.

CORPSES MUTILATED

People like late comrade Vitorino Costa, a 24-year-old student and member of the Central Committee of our party was assassinated on the 15th July by the Portuguese troops at Tite after a strong and firm resistance against Portuguese siege as he was leading a number of responsible and party activists. His corpse was mutilated by the Portuguese soldiers, his heart pulled out and his head exposed at public places from village to village so as to show the people that their leader had been done with.

The village of Mores, a very important strategic point, in our struggle situated in the forest of Oio has been attacked by the Portuguese troops and practically destroyed.

About 2,000 patriots were arrested in the country between 15th of June and 31st of July 1962 as a prevention against possible uprising scheduled to take place on the 3rd of August—the anniversary day of the massacre at the harbour of Pijiguiti during which 50 African workers on strike were mowed down by the repressive forces and armed European civilians.

Three hundred and fifty were deported during the month of September into concentration camps on Sal island. Among these is a prominent member of our central committee, Mamadou Toure (momo) 28-year-old married man. At S. Domingos, Forim, Oio, Bafata, Gabu, Bissao and Bolama and in particular in the southern region of the country, these repressive measures have taken new proportions and have become as barbarous as anyone can imagine, resulting in thousands of victims, and in the destruction of many families. Such pressure gives cause to starvation and terror among the people. Bissao, the capital town of Guinea has been transformed into a gateless prison—the colonial authorities have proclaimed a dawn-to-dusk curfew there.

REPRESSIVE MEASURES

In Cape Verde Islands and particularly in the islands of Santiago and Vicente, the repressive measures have been equally stepped up. During October for instance, 14 patriots were arrested and deported into concentration camps at Tarrafal.

That is not all. The Portuguese colonialists are equally using other methods in their bid to liquidate our resistance. They have for instance stared up old tribal conflicts and maintained, on large sums of money, a few ambitious tribal chiefs. The Portuguese colonialists have armed a number of mercenaries of the peulh tribe and have incited these elements against their fellow men and in particular those belonging to the Balenti and Besfada tribes.

We exposed the Portuguese colonialists tricks of fake reforms and propaganda to blindfold the world.

After the violent repression exercised by them in our countries and particularly in "Portuguese" Guinea last year, the Portuguese colonialists continued to shout their heads off to proclaim "reforms" and intensified their propaganda with the aim of demobilising our people.

PAPER REFORMS

As regards these "reforms" they are nothing but what our people term "paper reforms". We presented to the United Nations a few pamphlets and some receipts of dues paid by African populations. We submitted these documents to the United Nations scrutiny and appreciation so that its members might thereby find for themselves what type or types of "reforms" were going on in our countries and whether these justified the claims of the Portuguese colonialists.

We however, mentioned that the documents were post-dated and also were issued according to

By Amil Car Cabral
Secretary-General, P.A.I.G.C.,
Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde

laws which had been in use before September 1961 during which month the new "reforms" were supposed to have been entered into use. About these "reforms", we have more than once, had the opportunity to give our comments on them, what we thought of them, to the special committee of seven appointed by the United Nations to investigate the conditions in Portuguese territories.

THE MANOEUVRES FAILED

We referred to the Portuguese authorities announcement that the conference of colonial governors which had earlier been transformed into extraordinary session of Overseas Council, would recommend new "reforms" and explained that the Portuguese authorities were trying to use this deceitful announcement to convince our peoples that it was of no use struggling because the Portuguese government would, on its own initiative, solve the problem of their independence.

Indeed this conference of colonial governors was held from the 12th to the 30th October 1962. But their manoeuvres failed to achieve their aim for our party started immediately to denounce openly that such a conference was in contradiction with our in-

to self-determination and independence and therefore should reject it. Although we were informed that the Minister for Overseas Affairs who took the initiative of this meeting of the Overseas Council was dismissed immediately after the conference, and to express their disapproval at the government's action in this matter, the governor of Mozambique and the Vice-President of the Overseas Council had resigned their posts, our people felt all was part of the manoeuvre to deceive them.

THE PROPAGANDA

In spite of the reinforcement of the repressive measures, in spite of all the machinations and propaganda by the Portuguese colonialists, our struggle has been intensified, day in and day out. Our people, encouraged by the friendly attitude of the United Nations, expressed in the appointment of the special committee of seven, have organised and mobilised themselves and being directed by our Party, are courageously resisting this repression, and will continue to resist heroically all crimes committed against them by the Portuguese colonialist forces.

Our people have gone further than that in any case. They have taken up the challenge of the colonia-

able to preserve our forces and to eat into those of the enemy. We have been able to come out successfully from the hard test to which we have been subjected.

OUR VERY BLOOD

Presently with the experience we have so far acquired and backed by the struggle itself, to which we are compelled to partake, we have become strong and firm in our position and are ready to sacrifice our very blood in order to liquidate colonial domination from our soil. The crimes committed against our people by the colonial forces: considering the victims and martyrs of such crimes and the isolation in which we find ourselves face to face with a strong enemy decided to liquidate us and the poor condition and the passivity in which we are forced to live, all this as a matter of fact, has reinforced our conscience and accentuated, in a decisive way, the hatred of our people against foreign domination and has shown us clearly our position as far as this liberation struggle is concerned.

In the context of this new awareness about our situation and in view of the victory already recorded by our people under rather odd conditions, our people have thoroughly come out to consider objectively the problems of legality and illegality of our struggle.

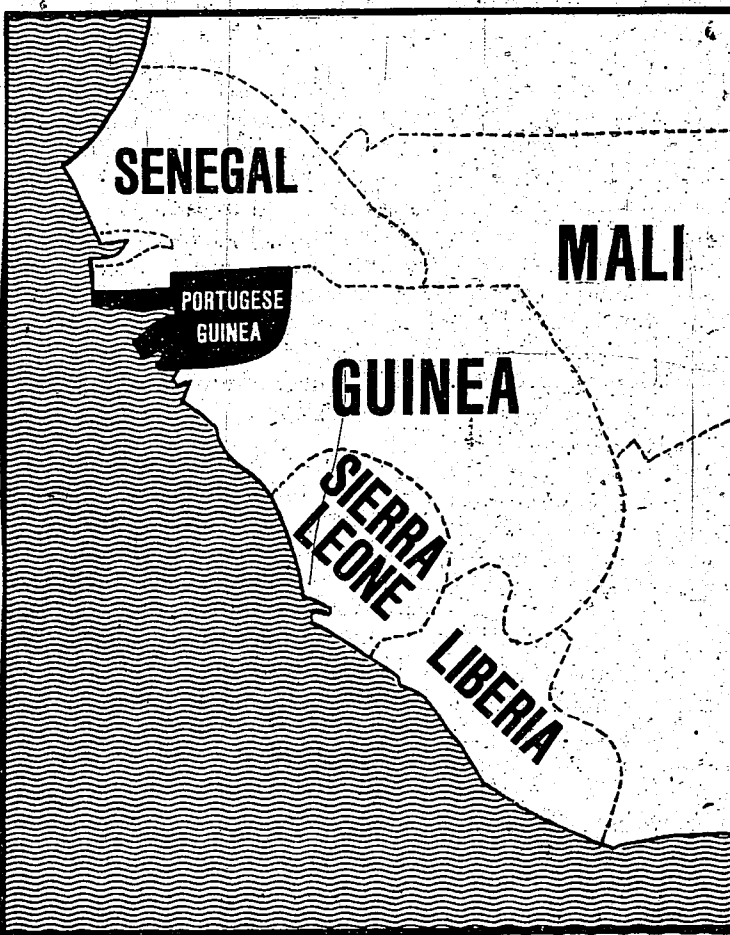
Prior to the Resolution on decolonisation adopted at the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (December 1960) our struggle was considered strictly in the national context. Whereas in fact even a judicial analysis of the glaring situation in our country could reveal that in "Portuguese" Guinea as well as in the Cape Verde Islands, our people are deprived of their own personality and subjected to Portuguese "sovereignty" and foreign domination.

We are therefore struggling to gain our own personality as Africans, completely different from the Portuguese personality, we are struggling to liberate our country from foreign subjugation, we are struggling for our right to self-determination and for our right to nationhood and independence.

Internationally, our struggle, therefore, has taken advantage of the right of any people to rebel against foreign domination, our struggle has taken advantage of fundamental rights that is everybody's and of the rights of peoples to self-determination as stipulated in the United Nations Charter which unreservedly condemns the colonial system and calls for its immediate liquidation.

INTERNATIONAL CRIME

The Portuguese colonialists are precisely seeking through all sorts of tricks while silently tracking down our struggle, to evade the principles of the United Nations Charter of which Portugal is a signatory.



terest since our legitimate representatives were not invited to take part. The conference, however, unanimously adopted a resolution which was to be sent to the Portuguese National Assembly with propositions as to the reshuffling of the various organic laws governing overseas territories and to find new political status for the colonies.

We stated before the National Assembly of the United Nations that our people had already been told by our Party leaders that these diabolical propositions presented to them by the Portuguese colonialists did not constitute any answer to their aspirations

lists' violence and shown their firm determination to struggle for victory, they have intensified their struggle to such an extent that the colonialist forces based in our countries are beginning to shiver. Late in June, 1962 various acts of sabotage were recorded. Our people have been able to isolate the capital town from almost one-third of the country, they have opposed the Portuguese soldiers in the defence of our population and organisation, and they have reinforced the political awareness of our people.

In spite of the overwhelming material superiority of the Portuguese troops over our people, we have been

NKRUMAH VS IMPERIALISM

Continued from page 1

NKRUMAH— FORMIDABLE ANTI-IMPERIALIST

The assault of the West on Kwame Nkrumah shows clearly that he is seen as the most formidable enemy of imperialism on the African continent. The Paris mouthpiece of the Quai d'Orsay, *Le Monde* (May 28), put it graphically when it speaks of the two trends at the Addis Ababa conference. The first view, headed by Kwame Nkrumah, advocates "politics first" and sets out "to force the pace of unification". The second view was "the embodiment of co-operation with Europe". Although, quite understandably, the French Foreign Office organ suggests that the second view won the day, it admits that "the applause went to Nkrumah" whom it describes as "of tremendous stature".

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

The imperialist line thus becomes abundantly clear. It is to destroy what Nkrumah stands for and is championing, namely the total triumph of the African Revolution. But this state of affairs reinforces the view that Nkrumah is acknowledged as the foremost leader of the African crusade against all forms of imperialist oppression and exploitation. It is the logic of history—not a personal desire to lead—that has thrust the leadership of the African Revolution on

Nkrumah. And it is in this context that it has been rightly said that the ideology of the African Revolution draws heavily on his teachings.

In the post-Addis Ababa period, the strategy and tactics of imperialism must be closely watched and carefully analysed. The African Summit has upset the monster who can now see powerful weapons being assembled for its final destruction. We must expect imperialism to fight back ferociously. That is the verdict of history. And in this effort imperialism will use any and every method that promises some success.

What tactics is imperialism now resorting to?

In the first place, imperialism is working hard to create trouble for Nkrumah both outside and inside Ghana.

CHARGE OF ASSASSINATION

In the realm of inter-African relations, the Western imperialist press accuses the Ghana President of seeking to impose his personal rule over all Africa and of master-minding political assassinations.

The charge of trying to rule Africa is debunked by Nkrumah's own proposals for a Union Government of Africa. Ghana will have only 3 per cent of the seats in the Upper House and 2½ per cent of those in the Lower House. Should Nkrumah emerge as the head of an African government under such a set-up, it will be the result not of self-imposition but of the

free choice of the entire African people.

The assassination bogey is hollow, hypocritical, and quite unrelated to facts. Did not the French and Dahomey Governments state openly that the Togo coup d'état had no external connections? Who directed the attempts at coup d'état in the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Tunisia, Ethiopia, etc.? It has been conclusively shown that imperialism has been behind the murder of Patrice Lumumba, Felix Moumie, the prince of Ruanda-Urundi, and the various attempts on President Nasser's life. Imperialist propagandists are obviously working on the Gobbelian technique of charging the opponent with crimes of which one is guilty.

Inside Ghana, imperialist propaganda effort is directed towards stirring up resistance to President Nkrumah's policies. The London *Sunday Times* (May 26) writes of an Nkrumah who "must have discovered already in a context nearer home, (that) nothing is lonelier than leadership when the following flags." Playing a variant of the same tune, the London *Daily Telegraph* (May 25) editorially comments: "Dr. Nkrumah should postpone leading a crusade against 'colonialism'—elsewhere in Africa and concentrate on creating true conditions of democratic life at home. His country started as the best equipped of all the new states in men and money. These resources have not been

wholly wasted, but there has been too much prestige expenditure".

INTERNAL REACTION

These shafts of discontent miss their mark when it is realised that Ghana enjoys the highest standard of living and the highest per capita national income in black Africa; when it is recalled that Ghana's constitution is one of the few African constitutions created by way of a plebiscite of the entire people.

The next tactic of imperialism is to play down the Addis Ababa decisions. It is to minimise the conference's acceptance of unity and stand against colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism. It is to turn a blind eye to Africa's new policy of non-alignment with power blocs and to pretend that Africa has not condemned the existence of Western military bases and nuclear test sites on African soil.

Side by side with playing down the Addis Ababa decision, the imperialist press is determined to fan differences among African states. It plays on frontier disputes (incidentally of their own creation!) between Morocco and Mauritania, Ethiopia and Somali, Ghana and Togo, etc. It uses the idea of Arab unity to annoy non-Arab leaders in the hope that black Africa will be permanently severed from our northern brothers. It boosts the concept of regional grouping of states, outwardly as a stepping stone to African unity, but in reality as an

obstacle to that unity. However, as the imperialist press harps on these differences, so it unwittingly helps the cause of African unity by bringing it home to the masses that only in a continental political union will these irritating differences and fissiparous tendencies melt away into nothingness.

INVENTED ARGUMENTS

A third line by the imperialists is to invent arguments to show that African unity is undesirable. They say that African unity is impossible because Europe has not attained it in 2,000 years. But should Africa be guided by Europe's experience? And doesn't history record two shining examples of political union—U.S.S.R. and U.S.A.—both embracing populations roughly the same as Africa's?

The "brotherly advice" of the "Scotsman" (May 23) is against political union for Africa because such a union "would have only a single representative at the United Nations, which would be the logical result of a real political unity." Here we are face to face with the usual imperialist arrogance of trying to think for Africa. The U.S.S.R. and two of its member republics—Byelorussia and the Ukraine—are all members of the U.N. Surely, that experience could be repeated in the case of Africa. It is interesting to note here that Nkrumah's proposals for all Africa allows

each participating state to keep all the "paraphernalia of the modern state."

And to complete their argument imperialists maintain that Africa's only hope lies in co-operation with Europe. The official organ of the ruling British Conservative Party, *Daily Telegraph* (May 25), asserts: "The conference of the African States would do well to begin with economic co-operation. Even that has its limitations, and partnerships with Europe remain a reality that none can forgo". This is the imperialist formula in all its nakedness. It speaks for itself, particularly when in the context we give 'partnership' its correct meaning of 'dependence'.

VICIOUS PROPAGANDA

While the Western imperialist press is busy spreading its vicious propaganda reviewed above, the strategists of imperialism in Paris, London and Washington are working out ways and means of using the newly drawn-up African Unity Charter to apply the brakes on the march of the African Revolution. Their only hope now is that the implementation of the Charter will work out in the interest of imperialism and not of the African Revolution.

The London *Times* (May 27) writes: "What is still to be discovered is whether all the signatories (to the Charter—Ed.) will adhere to the principles solemnly affirmed when these conflict with national inter-

ests." What are these "national interests"? No doubt they are military arrangements with Europe and America, economic and financial ties with imperialist countries, etc.

BEHIND-THE- SCENE MANOEUVRES

"Le Monde" of Paris thinks we have to wait till the Dakar Conference of African Foreign Ministers to see in what direction—anti-imperialist or anti-African Revolution—the African Charter will be used. Most certainly the policy-makers at the French Foreign Office hope to complete some behind-the-scene manoeuvres with some African governments before the Dakar Conference takes place.

In the light of all this, Africa's future depends on two factors. African states must make a re-appraisal of their connections with the imperialist powers. They must see to it that their policies and actions from now on are not influenced or teleguided by the imperialist powers.

Secondly, the masses of Africa have it as a duty to demand the implementation of all Addis Ababa decisions in the interest of the African Revolution. They must demand this of their respective governments.

If we regard imperialism in Africa as the thesis, then Nkrumah and radical African nationalism constitute the anti-thesis. It is to be hoped that the resultant synthesis will be a mighty leap forward for the African Revolution. And in this regard, the stand of the common people all over Africa will be decisive.

The Fight for African Working Class Unity

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In the struggle for the national liberation of the African countries all strata of the colonized population were called upon to unite in a single front in order to break the chains of colonialism. The mass of African workers was one of the most important sectors in this battle. Many political leaders came from the trade union movement; Sekou Toure, Tom M'boya and Houphouët-Boigny can be cited as examples. One cannot say that these movements were led by the workers.

The colonial situation had prevented the technical and cultural formation of the workers and left the national bourgeoisies alone capable of supplying cadres for the leadership.

In these conditions, it is obvious that at the moment of independence the interests of all the national mass (united by the fundamental contradiction of colonialist interests) were going to become divided. Once in power, the bourgeoisie had in the State the instrument it needed for its interests. It was ready to make a pact with international capitalism, from now on its ally. Immediately, there was the neo-colonialist opening.

Recently Agostinho Neto declared that the leadership of the Angolan Revolution must be "entrusted to the most exploited classes." This is what African trade unionism has forgotten.

Other problems remain to be analysed before one is able to define the perspectives and the tactics of the African trade union movement. But we will

come to that later. Our victory, which is sure, will come through a clear vision of these problems.

One can begin by discussing the very expression "African trade unionism." Do the different forms of trade unionism found in African countries come from the same mould? There can be no doubt as to the answer. The phenomenon of African trade unionism is a single entity. It has been marked by social, economic and political factors inherent to the situation of the continent; a world politically dominated and exploited economically by Europe.

The reply to this first question—the unity of the African trade union phenomenon—leads to a second: Is African trade unionism the continuation of an experience whose roots are in Africa? Has it not been introduced by the colonial powers who, at the same time that they created the diseases, suggested the remedies? Here also there can be no doubt about the answer. African trade unionism has the same explanation as the reaction of the exploited proletariat in the 18th or 19th century or that of the South American worker or that of the Asian worker.

Moreover, trade unionism appeared first of all where class consciousness (defined as antagonism in regards to an oppressor) was sharpest. And its roots went deeper in so far as capitalist exploitation was more intense.

It was these characteristics, inherent in the situation of the continent, that

permitted African trade unionism to pass from the stage of initial groupings to that of the search for unity.

The first series of influences exerted upon African trade unionism was the work of the colonial administration. In keeping with their habits, British colonial authorities bowed before the appearance of the first forms of trades unions and on certain occasions even aided the birth of workers' organisations.

Above all, this was to channel the demands of the workers, to interest them in the creation of a climate of good relations in their professions rather than in demands concerning wages. The British colonial administration hoped by this to sidetrack the workers from what could not fail to become nationalist protests.

The French authorities acted no differently in Morocco, creating the Moroccan work offices which they hoped, would separate the workers from trade union temptations. In the rest of the Maghreb and in Black Africa where union rights were granted—relatively with Morocco—rather soon, the colonial power attempted by different means and especially by using the trades union confederations in the metropolitan country to block the evolution of national trades unions.

The Belgians denied union rights for a long time to the workers of the Congo. The Congolese trades union movement really began only a few years ago. And that was only accomplished under the double surveillance of

the capitalist society and the Catholic hierarchy.

As well as the first obstacles raised by the colonial powers must be added the difficulties created by the metropolitan trade union organisation. These, at least in the countries under French and Belgian domination, had created branches which were designed in the beginning to defend the interests of the European workers in Africa. In the first stage—trades union rights were granted only to Europeans—the trade unions of the colonial powers did not concern themselves with African workers. But when they did obtain union rights, the problem of co-existence within local sections of the metropolitan organisations was created.

On the other hand, the problem was somewhat different in the countries occupied by Britain. The British T.U.C. (Trades Unions Congress), stuck in its insularity, only rarely took an interest in African trades unions and often only in so far as American interest made itself felt (Kenya, Nigeria).

However, throughout Africa, the first forms of African trade unionism had to rid themselves of the defects and inconveniences of the French, Belgian or British systems. In Morocco and Tunisia, the national confederations had to fight both against the colonial power and the local sections of the C.G.T.

In Black Africa, the heritage was particularly heavy because the French trade unions divisions had repercussions in the African

organisations. The situation was the same in the former Belgian Congo, where the trade unions were divided according to criteria foreign to the situation of the country.

In the countries under British domination, the dangers were quite different. The few British leaders sent by the T.U.C. to the African continent had preached the virtues of British trade unionism to the African workers, a trade unionism limited to professional demands. Often also the representatives of the T.U.C. took part in the setting up of British style mechanisms by the structure of the T.U.C. itself, in which the powers of the leadership of the confederation and their role were greatly reduced in regards to the affiliated unions.

Thus the participation of the African unions in the national struggle had a double meaning: affirmation of the primacy of political demands over professional demands; desire to be rid of the imported cadres and structures and above all, to achieve unity among the trade unions of the same country.

There were hardly any difficulties in the Maghreb, but it was—and continues to be—more arduous in tropical Africa. On the other hand, the intervention of the international trade union confederations in most cases only aggravated the difficulties which, once again, had hardly any local basis.

The merit of laying out the path belongs to Sekou Toure. And especially the policy chosen based on an

ideological basis which from 1955 on aided the growth of trade unionism in Africa under French domination. Indeed, in that year, Sekou Toure raised the question of African trade union autonomy in regards to the movements foreign to the continent. In January 1956, the General Confederation of African Workers (C.G.T.A.) was created.

The idea of an African organisation independent of the metropolitan and international confederations was launched. The constitution of the General Union of Workers of Black Africa (U.G.T.A.N.) in January 1957 and its first congress, two years later, marked the most serious attempts to resolve the contradictions inherited from the colonial system, both on the national and international level. This is the meaning of the joining in the U.G.T.A.N. by independent unions and the trade union confederation of Ghana.

However, the political problem facing Black Africa at that time did not permit the experiment to succeed. The objectives of African trade unionism were nevertheless defined: to achieve the unity of the movement on a continent-wide level. The enterprise could not fail to bring forth opposition from various sides. The most ferocious came from the international confederations. The sole means of foiling them was to build up an African organisation independent of the international confederations, which would not permit its affiliated unions to belong to them. But on this point, the African unions were

opposed, having slight desire to break their ties with organisations foreign to the continent.

Thus, in May 1961, when the All-African Trade Union Federation (A.A.T.U.F.) was formed at Casablanca, it only grouped those organisations which had decided to suspend their affiliation with the international confederations: Algeria, Morocco, Guinea, Ghana, Mali and Egypt. The other organisations replied by creating at Dakar in January 1962, the African Trades Union Confederation (C.S.A.), whose essential decision was to permit double affiliation, to the C.S.A. and to an international confederation.

In this, Pan-Africanism, which had sought to achieve unity, ended in the crystallisation of oppositions.

National sovereignty reconquered, every African country still has to achieve its economic independence. Hence, national organisations have been led for a time to abandon external problems. Each of them has to consider its action within the framework of national structures, to rid itself of colonial habits, to work genuinely in the path of progress.

The problems are numerous: trade union organisations and structures must be solidly established; a programme of action must be drawn up; the relations with political parties must be defined; finally, the choice between action in opposition or co-operation must be made.

African unity will be created neither by conferences nor by sententious proclamations. It will be the work of a daily action of elaborating a doctrine and consolidating structures.