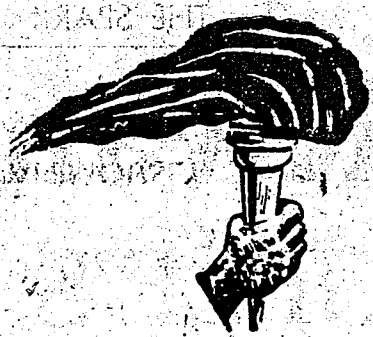


# THE SPARK



(28)

2d.

A WEEKLY OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1963

(Registered at the G. P. O. as a newspaper)

## EDITORIAL

### THE RIGHT ACTION

THE decision of all the African delegates to the current meeting of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva, not to participate in the meeting side by side with representatives of the racist Republic of South Africa, is a correct action in keeping with the spirit of the African Revolution and the Charter of Addis Ababa.

The decision was backed by the delegations of Cuba, the socialist countries and the Arab nations.

There are enough grounds which justify any action aimed at ostracising the present regime of South Africa from any decent group of people. This regime is not only fighting stubbornly against the conscience of mankind, it is also stained with the blood of the murdered dead. The blood of the unjustly murdered at Sharpeville and Langa is flowing like an ever-widening river through the sombre history of South Africa. Even now it keeps in its death chambers hundreds of Africans whose only guilt is that they stand for justice and freedom.

The South African regime is thriving on the ashes of the dead and the frustration of the living.

It is right to keep an abominable bird of prey which feeds upon the corpses of Africans of bay.

We must mention that two highly important facts come out of the ILO incident:—

1. The African countries presented a united front.

It is an indication that they are determined to present a united action in the face of the persistent threats of apartheid backed by imperialism.

2. Cuba and the socialist countries and the Arab nations gave the African delegates full backing.

Without their help there would have been

# DARK CLOUDS OVER SOUTH AFRICA

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS UNLEASHED A GENOCIDE. VERWOERD IS SET ON THE ROAD TO INCREASING VIOLENCE AND GREATER SUPPRESSION. THE LIGHTS ARE GOING OUT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE LEADERS OF AFRICA WERE UNANIMOUSLY CONVINCED AT ADDIS ABABA OF THE IMPERIOUS AND URGENT NECESSITY OF INTENSIFYING THEIR EFFORTS TO PUT AN END TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S CRIMINAL POLICY OF APARTHEID.

They appealed to all states and more particularly to those which have traditional relations and co-operate with the government of South Africa, strictly to apply U.N. resolutions 1791 of 6th November 1962 by breaking off diplomatic, consular and economic relations with South Africa.

But since Addis Ababa several things have been happening in South Africa. 26 Africans have been sentenced to a total of 404 years imprisonment for sabotage. Scores more are in prison awaiting trial and sentence.

#### WHITE ARMY

The permanent white army has been vastly expanded and white civilians are being organised on military lines as an auxiliary force.

Repressive bans and restrictions have reached maniacal proportions. No gatherings—political or social are allowed. A gathering is defined as two or more persons who come together. Wedding and funeral processions are prohibited.

Three sets of bannings, two which took effect on April 1, 1963, have made it absolutely impossible for any progressive newspaper.

### Famine in Natal

In Natal, as in the Transval, famine stalks the countryside. The killer disease—kwashiorkor—caused through malnutrition, is rampant amongst large sections of the African population in Natal, as in the where.

a quorum to warrant the conference to continue. They have demonstrated that they are our allies in the anti-imperialist struggle.

We look to more actions of this nature.

magazine, pamphlet, book, handbill or poster to be published.

#### BAN ON "SPARK"

Under this ban, "Spark", the progressive journal of South Africa, was banned in March this year. In February the South African Minister of "Justice", Mr. B. J. Vorster, served orders on Mr. B. P. Bunting as editor, on Miss Ruth First, as Johannesburg editor, on

Fred Carneson, as managing director of Real Printing and Publishing Co. which publishes "Spark", on Mr. W. Kodesh, the Director of Real Printing and Publishing Co., and on Mrs. Rica Hodgson, Johannesburg finance organiser of "Spark" prohibiting them from being in any place which "constitutes the premises on which any publication as defined in Section 1 of the Suppression of Communism Act 1950, is prepared, compiled, printed or published."

A publication is defined in Suppression of Communism Act as "any newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, book, handbill or poster."

In addition the notices

prohibited the recipients from "preparing, compiling, printing, publishing or disseminating in any manner whatsoever any publication as defined in the Act, or from preparing any matter for publication, or assisting in any way in bringing out a publication.

The notices took effect from April 1, 1963. Failure to comply with any such notice is punishable with imprisonment for between one and ten years. There is no option of a fine.

#### POLICE ARRESTS

Accompanied by never-ending police raids, heavy sentences for political offences, and systematic intimidation of any one who

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Walter Sisulu, former Secretary-General of the A.N.C. He is being chased by the South African police to be persecuted. His wife is under detention.

opposes the inhuman policies of Verwoerd, these bans are dealing serious blow to the progressive cause in South Africa and

we do not wish to hide the fact.

It is a sign of the increasing drift to outright fascism. £100,000 for security fencing and floodlighting for harbours and railway depots in South Africa, taken together with expenditure on defence which has reached enormous proportions, reveal the country as facing an ever turbulent future. For the first time in about 30 years a South African Government is faced with a budget deficit because of an expenditure of £65 million on defence.

#### MORE MONEY ON PRISONERS

The 1963 budget vote for the maintenance of people under arrest and those awaiting entry to prison has gone up to R370,600. In 1962 the figure was R294,000.

Continued on Page 6

The last issue of the militant "Spark".

## Directive No. 2

"THE youth of Ghana should stand together in singleness of purpose in order to meet loyally and boldly this supreme challenge of our time.

"We can no longer afford to see the energies of our youth dissipated, and their loyalties confused, as a result of protracted membership of a variety of organisations, the aims and policies of which, however worthy they may be, are not always in our national or cultural interest.

"For this reason, the programmes and training schemes of all such youth organisations established in Ghana should be harmonised so that our young men and women can keep faith with African nationalism and grow up in comradeship, honesty, integrity and devoted service in keeping with our African traditions.

"In this way, we can be sure that they will uphold the dignity of Africa and the African personality, cultivate a proper spirit of service, love for work and adventure, and aspire to the highest standards of responsibility and discipline.

"I have directed accordingly that it be made compulsory for all youth organisations throughout Ghana to participate fully in the leadership courses and other training schemes organised by the Young Pioneer Movement throughout the country.

"This, I am sure, will yield immense benefits to all concerned. May the Young Pioneers and all the youth organisations in Ghana continue to prosper with each succeeding year."

—Kwame Nkrumah to the Youth of Ghana.



# The Teachings of Kwame Nkrumah (2)

## CONSOLIDATION OF PEOPLE'S POWER

by Julius Sago

**THE general law with imperialism is to resist the advance of the national liberation movement described in my first article. Every effort is made to undermine and break-up the struggle of the colonial peoples for political freedom. The methods used include inducement, detention, imprisonment of the leaders, the banning of organisations, the proscription of literature, the denial of basic human rights of freedom of speech, of assembly and of demonstration.**

The methods also include moves to divide the national liberation movement. And this resort to the division of the colonial struggle becomes the major weapon of imperialism the stronger the demand for independence grows. Nkrumah puts it clearly in his book *Africa Must Unite* (the source book for this article):

"As the nationalist struggle deepens in the colonial territories and independence appears on the horizon, the imperialist powers, fishing in the muddy waters of communalism, tribalism and sectional interests, endeavour to create fissions in the national front, in order to achieve fragmentation." (P.173).

### IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

The state of affairs inside the national liberation movement creates the objective conditions for the operation of this imperialist strategy. Making up the national liberation movement are usually two groups of people—the moderates of the professional and "aristocratic" class and the so-called extremists of the mass movement" (p.180).

The 'moderates' want "some share in their government" but they are afraid to shoulder the full responsibility of self-government. Accordingly they are "prepared to

leave the main areas of sovereignty to the colonial power in return for a promise of economic aid."

The "extremists" want no partnership with the colonial power and demand full responsibility for the fate of their country" in the belief that even good government is no substitute for self-government."

Naturally, imperialism backs the 'moderates' against the 'extremists' in the colonial struggle. And the outcome of this struggle is are of the greatest importance to the national liberation movement.

### REGIME OF NEO-COLONIALISM

If the 'moderates' and their imperialist allies win, the end product is a regime of neo-colonialism. On the other hand, victory for the 'extremists' opens the way to full independence.

How does imperialism manipulate the national liberation movement in order to produce a regime of neo-colonialism? "Its mechanics are simple. In the dynamics of national revolution there are usually two local elements: the moderates of the professional and 'aristocratic' class and the so-called extremists of the mass movement."

Having learnt from experience that the greater and more bitter their

resistance to 'extremist' demands for independence the more extreme and more powerful they become, certain colonial powers began to respond more positively to signs of nationalist stirrings in some of their territories.

The understanding dawned that in the absence of a bitter struggle, there is a chance of treating with the moderate leaders... The colonial power, experienced in the ways of diplomacy, seeks to curb the efforts of the extremists by ostentatiously polishing the silver platter on which they promise to hand over independence.

Underneath the shining surface is the dross. Only the outward form is changed the intrinsic relationship is maintained." (p.179-180).

If this manoeuvre succeeds, neo-colonialism takes the place of colonialism.

### SEMI-INDEPENDENT STATES

The teachings of Kwame Nkrumah show that such a regime, outwardly independent but inwardly based on the old colonial economic relationships, cannot be described as being independent. He refers to such states as "semi-independent states" (p.180); as "apparently independent states who serve the interests of the new imperia-

lism, which seeks to salvage something from the wreck of the old imperialism" (p.181); as "patron-client relationship" (p.176).

In these states of neo-colonialism, the struggle for freedom is still very much alive. It has to be. For the main contradictions of imperialism still exist. The problem here is not the consolidation of independence but of winning independence.

Neo-colonialism, Nkrumah writes, is a phenomenon against which all African freedom fighters must be on their guard and resist to the utmost" (P.181). And the recipe put out in the last article about organising and leading a national liberation movement applies to such states.

### POLITICAL UNION

In addition, a weapon against neo-colonialism is political union of Africa which will enable these states to overcome their economic, financial and military dependence on the imperialist powers.

It is useful to ask the question: Why do the 'moderates' win in some countries while the 'extremists' win in others? No doubt many factors are involved including the soundness and effectiveness of those directing the imperialist strategy in the country concerned.

But the most important factor is to be found inside the national liberation movement itself. Its structure and composition, its leadership, its motive forces, its ideological content are decisive.

The more it draws on the workers, peasants and youths for its leadership and motive force the greater the chances of winning through to real independence. Conversely, to entrust the leadership of the national liberation movement wholly or principally to "professional and aristocratic class" and to keep the waves out of active participation in the struggle is to prepare the way for the betrayal of the national liberation movement and to sow the seeds of neo-colonialism.

### CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

As soon as the 'extremists' lead the national liberation movement to victory, the next stage is the consolidation of the political power of the people. The rest of this article is devoted to Nkrumah's teachings on the problems connected with the consolidation of the people's power.

The starting point in this process of consolidation is the constitutional legacy handed over by imperialism as a condition for the grant of independence. "It is becoming axiomatic that colonial powers do not willingly retire from political control over any given land.

Before they go they make superhuman efforts to create schisms and rivalries which they hope to exploit after they have gone" (p. 57). These

"schisms" are usually built into the constitution and their purpose is to help out "the strategy of divide and rule wielded from afar" (p. 57).

The exact nature of these schisms embedded in the constitution for independence will vary from one country to another. But, broadly, they aim at three separate objectives which taken together mean the preservation of imperialist interests in the newly emergent state.

These objectives are constitutional rigidity which will hamper speedy development, political separatism which will hinder the process of evolving an organic and United Nation, and a frankenstein civil service insulated from the new political power in the young state and holding it to ransom at will.

In the period of consolidation, every change is directed towards securing the interests of the masses; and the support of the people must be obtained for every new advance.

This well-nigh defecation of the masses is an important element in Nkrumah's teachings. It guarantees every advance because the people, who welcome it, are prepared to defend it against saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries. Again, it creates a favourable impression outside the country concerned thus satisfying an important condition for securing much-needed assistance for rapid economic development.

The process of consolidation must aim at attaining the following objectives:

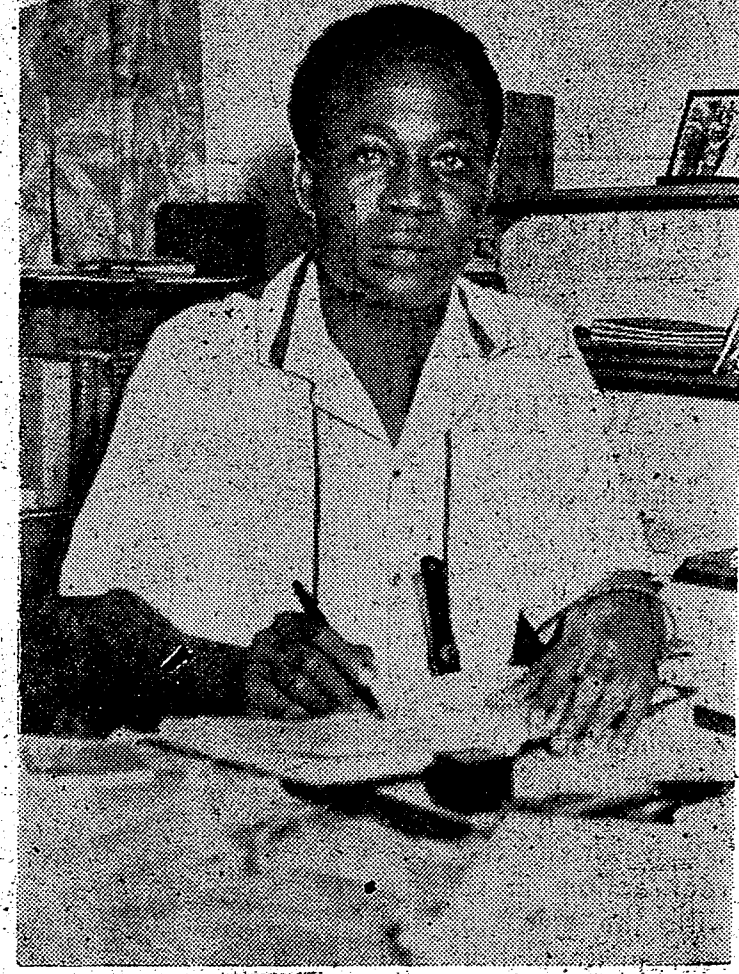
- Supremacy of the people;
- national unity and stability;
- traditional institutions should be made to serve the people;
- the civil service must become a vehicle of the revolution;
- the pattern of foreign aid must help the onward march.

The first four objectives are met by a new people's constitution supplemented with a few laws. The fifth is attained through sound economic and foreign policies by the government.

### PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

The supremacy of the people is achieved through what Nkrumah terms a "People's Parliamentary Democracy". The system is based on a constitution approved by the entire people in a national referendum. The constitution creates a parliament which is "sovereign and unlimited in its enactment of laws" (p.66) and gives the franchise for electing members of parliament to every man and woman of voting age.

"The laws enacted by Parliament are binding upon the people and the government." (P.66). By this arrangement Parliament is supreme; but parliament itself is



Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

the creation of the entire people who enjoy free franchise without any discrimination of any sort.

### NATIONAL UNITY

National unity and stability are needed in order to eliminate the conditions favourable to continued imperialist machination and influence. "In fledgling states, imperialist interests flourish where there is an atmosphere of dissension. They are endangered in an atmosphere of national unity and stability" (P.76).

The crux of Nkrumah's teachings on achieving national unity and stability is the creation of national political institutions. Under this formula, sectional politics (based on religion or tribe) is proscribed. The Ghana Avoidance of Discrimination Law is a case in point. And to compel all aspirants to political power to think in terms of the nation and not of tribe or region, the supremacy of the Centre (parliament and national government) over the regions is upheld at every turn. It is this that has led Nkrumah to the view that a unitary form of constitution is ideal when a young nation is struggling to establish itself and to cover in a few decades the backwardness created by centuries of colonial rule.

It must be pointed out, however, that Nkrumah does not oppose absolutely all forms of regional development of powers. He can see the need for some regional authorities. But he insists that regional authority must act in accordance with directives emanating from the centre.

"A new country needs to initiate central nationwide planning fitting the required activities of each region into an over-all programme" (p. 64).

This centralised power structure cuts the ground from under the feet of "vested interests" which usually "come to the aid of minority separatist groups" (p. 75). It permits the most efficient use

to be made of the scant resources of trained manpower—a handicap which every state emerging from colonial rule invariably suffers.

A new constitution is essential in order "to create an environment in which to proceed more positively with national reconstruction" (p.85). It is also necessary as an outward expression of a nation's coming of age for "people who are independent, free and sovereign make their own constitution" (P.59).

The new constitution is based on five main principles:—

- the elimination of 'entrenched clauses' which hinder the young nation's free development; an executive head of state;
- effective executive control over the civil service;
- the bending of traditional institutions to the service of the people; and

laying the foundation for a smooth advance to a continental government for all-Africa.

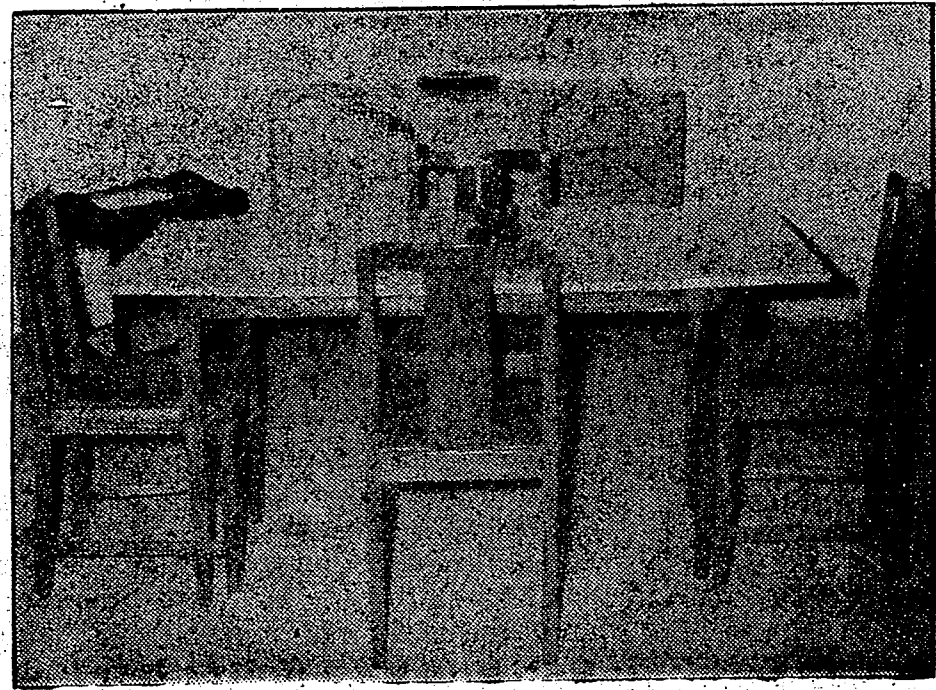
The obnoxious "entrenched clauses" must go because their retention means acquiescing in a constitutional arrangement that favours the continued existence of imperialist interests and influences. A republican constitution is desirable because a monarchy is "out of keeping with the full meaning of independence" (P.80) and "it symbolized a hierarchical pinnacle that no longer had reality in the Ghana-Britain relationship".

An executive president is ideal because it permits the exercise of the "positive leadership that is so vital to a country seeking to pull itself up by its bootstraps" (p.82). It accords with the African's understanding. For Africans "associate primacy with power" (p.82) and a "titular president" has no real meaning to a student of democracy.

Perhaps the strongest argument against a "titular president" is that young nations, in the process of nation building, have need for a rallying personality who personifies the aspirations of the people. This

Continued on page 6

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# NEO-COLONIALISM IN ACTION: ALGERIAN TEST CASE

RECENTLY in an important article captioned "NEO-COLONIALIST TRUMPS" the Algerian newspaper 'African Revolution' painted the following word-picture of neo-colonialism.

"Neo-colonialism is not merely a slogan, a paper tiger or a streamer (knick-knack) in the existing structural pattern of Algeria. It is an ever-present enemy, a permanent danger, which secures friends and allies in divers places. Above all it finds the ground prepared where it is at home, and men and institutions at hand ready to promote its expansion."

The newspaper then referred to the basic tenet of revolutionary strategy, and proceeded to define Algeria's real enemy which, as it rightly states, is "the group of oil companies which openly intervenes in the domestic policy of producer countries."

## OIL MAGNATES

It goes on to say that "there is no basic difference between the direct pilfering in which the monopolistic oil magnates of the Middle East indulge and the pilfering to which Algeria is subjected through individuals or groups." 'African Revolution' calls for the setting-up of "an anti-imperialist bloc of all the oil-producing countries."

As was to be expected, this article, which hit the neo-colonialist nail in Algeria on the head, did not escape the notice of the ruling class in Paris. In fact the French newspaper *Le Monde*, the discreet mouthpiece of the Gaullist thinkers, makes the following statement which echoes the reactions of the French:

"Questions are being asked in Algiers (please note the mention of Algiers) about the significance of a virulent article against the French oil companies which appeared in the last issue of *African Revolution*". The article was signed by Mr. Claude Sixon who used to be an Algerian representative on the Sahara Board of Directors.

The newspaper added that it is not clear whether the article referred to was, as a number of Algerian leaders claimed, merely a warning note meant to sound the 'offensive' for the nationalisation of the Sahara oil-fields or an attempt to exert 'pressure' on the eve of the resumption of financial talks.

## UNDER STATEMENT

We are in duty bound to pin-point the clever understatement in the *Le Monde*, which declares that "questions are being asked in Algiers...", when in fact the persons really interested (those who have every reason to question themselves about the attitude of revolt implicit in the article in question) are in Paris.

Moreover, a few lines further on, *Le Monde* adds this: "Since *African Revolution* was recently taken over by the Algerian government, it is not unlikely that the article received Mr. Ben Bella's blessing".

In other words, *Le Monde* admits that it is not really the Algerian authorities who are putting the questions. Well then, who are actually doing the questioning in Algiers? It would appear that the semblance of an answer is supplied when *African Revolution* states that "Neo-colonialism has men and institutions ready to promote its expansion".

Or would *Le Monde* have us believe that it is these men who are doing the questioning? In any case the understatement, through which it endeavoured to substitute Algiers for Paris, clearly reveals two essen-

tial factors in de Gaulle's strategy in Africa.

The first is France's presence through "men and institutions ready to promote her expansion". And the second is long-range or teleguided action.

## AGENTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Though it is true that neo-colonialism makes use of "cats paw" among whom, so far as the French are concerned, are to be found the settlers as well as the assimilated local intelligentsia and even a few ex-servicemen, it draws its strongest support from the "institutions" of a commercial, industrial, agricultural and financial character imposed upon the country by the colonialists, and kept alive by them after the country has attained independence.

No less than 75 per cent of Africa's foreign trade is monopolised by strangers. The few industries that exist are in their hands as a rule, and by monopolising the most productive sectors, they make their presence painfully and permanently felt in agriculture. Moreover, the profits they derive from all these branches of the economy and the currency control exercised by their governments make these strangers absolute masters of the financial machinery in African countries.

We can appreciate Claude Sixon's statement when, writing about Algeria, he says that "neo-colonialism is an ever-present enemy and a permanent danger."

## FRENCH NEO-COLONIALISM

We can see just how dangerous French neo-colonialism in Algeria is, when we look at this corroborative statement from *Le Monde*:

"It is a fact that the deficit in Algeria's finances is not being reduced. This is due to the small returns from taxation. The revenue from taxation is made up essentially of indirect taxes, more particularly in customs duties. But in certain financial circles in Algiers the collections made are actually duties levied on goods ordered during the early months of the year, at a time when it seemed that the economic situation was about to improve.

It is likely that the revenue from taxation will be smaller next month, because following certain measures for nationalisation and strike action, the industrialists and agriculturists

by A Special Correspondent

(?) have substantially reduced their orders."

Consequently, as far as the Algerian leaders are concerned, "their main problem is to secure a fresh

that the Algerian leaders were incapable of managing their country's affairs, without the active participation of European industrialists and agriculturists



Premier Ben Bella

advance from the treasury to pay for recurrent expenditure" (*Le Monde* 8-9/6/63).

The process, that has produced this state of things in Algeria reveals the cunning ruses of the French neo-colonialists to keep any African state, which refuses to remain subordinate, in a vicious circle. In the first place, this game requires that the old structural economic patterns set-up in the colonial days should remain intact.

Behind these structural patterns the men who make common cause with the imperialists remain solidly entrenched, ready at the slightest sign from the metropolitan country to set the teleguided controls in motion. The mechanism is quite simple, and you have only to grasp the realities of the Algerian situation, since that country became independent, to see how it works.

## NATIONALISATION

The first stage in long-range action, immediately after Algeria's independence, occurred when morally as well as politically the conditions existed for fruitful and effective co-operation. It was then that the men who keep the 'French presence' alive thought it fit to close down factories, stores and farms, leaving thousands of workers to roam the streets, in order to make it appear

terms of an industrial, commercial, agricultural and financial character which subserve the purpose of neo-colonialism in Algeria.

It is just this that needs uprooting, lock, stock and barrel, and thorough overhauling. Certainly "an anti-imperialist bloc of all the oil-producing countries" such as Claude Sixon calls for in his article can greatly help to end the direct or indirect pilfering carried on by the monopolists petrol magnates.

However such an approach to the problem looked at objectively has the disadvantage, which is implicitly recognised by the writer, of creating a substantial discrepancy in the extent of the will to fight imperialism in oil-producing countries. This explains the fact that in some countries the monopolistic oil magnates make no bones about it and go in for "pilfering plain and simple", whereas in other countries, in Algeria for instance, they do it more subtly in an "indirect" way.

## IMPERIALIST BOGEY

The problem of a group of oil companies is certainly one of those problems the imperialists are using nowadays more than ever to create a breach in the struggle of the peoples of Africa and the Arab Middle East. And it was precisely in this connection that President Houphouet-Boigny, in an interview with a correspondent of the French Press after the Addis Ababa Conference, said:

"Where will our Arab brothers turn? That will depend on us, on the success and therefore attractiveness of our organisation. If it stands the test, and is a real instrument for development, they will feel that they belong to it. If not, they will turn to the other sphere of attraction."

Looked at objectively, this is the problem of "dualism" so often flaunted by the imperialists as a bogey liable to halt the peoples of Africa and the Arab Middle East respectively in their forward surge towards unity.

They know from experience that such unity alone is the only means of furnishing them, in their own interests, with the true instrument for development so rightly emphasised by President Houphouet-Boigny in the passage quoted above. It was the inconsistency in the behaviour of the imperialist bogey as well as the inevitable interaction of the unity of the peoples of Africa and the Arab Middle East that Dr. Nkrumah put his finger on when he spoke as follows to a Reuter's correspondent.

"The promotion on the one hand of a close-knit unity as a geographical entity of the Arab Middle Eastern countries and the promotion, on the other hand, of continental African unity would be a most important contribution towards securing world peace and raising the standard of living of the people in the areas concerned."

## ANTI-IMPERIALIST BLOC

Can it not be said that it was this same desire to give the oil-producing countries an effective instrument for their development, which induced *African Revolution* to call for an anti-imperialist bloc of all the oil-pro-

ducing countries?"

The tragedy is that our concern about decolonisation and our need for development are constantly thwarted by imperialism which, like a serpent, regularly sheds its skin whenever our people reach a decisive stage in the struggle for liberation. The various attempts made by the French imperialists to appropriate the Sahara, for instance, are typical examples.

At the height of the Algerian war, at the very moment when the clear, inescapable vision of independence for the people of Algeria caused a breach in the French empire in Africa, the French leaders thought of no better expedient than to declare the Algerian portion of the Sahara to be legally part of France, and actually made it a department of France.

They thought that by so doing they could use it as a spring-board from which a neo-colonialist organisation that went by the name of the Joint Organisation for the Development of the Sahara (in French OCSR) could exploit the Sahara oil-fields in a large unit including in addition to Algeria, Mauritania, Chad, the Niger and Mali.

This plan was brought to nought through the stubborn determination of the people of the Sahara basin and, in particular, through the leading part played by the Algerian Revolution.

## CASE OF MALI

The independence of Mali in circumstances well-known to all, followed fairly closely by the independence of other territories in the Sahara basin and above all, the independence of the whole of Algeria in 1962, made the French plan for organising a Joint Sahara Development Plan obsolete.

This victory by the African peoples against this first attempt at regional economic grouping under the umbrella of French neo-colonialism in Africa, incontrovertibly points to the fact that the second African Revolution, the economic battle, if it is to succeed, requires a simultaneous approach by all the African States, and the overall mobilisation of its peoples.

We put this question because French imperialism is as wise as a serpent, and appears already to have shed its skin, in this new phase of Africa's evolution.

with a view to readjusting itself to the new conditions created in Africa by the Addis Ababa Conference.

Surely the proof lies in the fact that the same France which only a short while ago sought to associate Algeria while yet a colony with the other African territories of the Sahara basin in the organisation known as OCSR, is now after the dissolution of the first instrument of exploitation she conceived, thinking of Mali and Mauritania as separate units in a possible West African regional federation, while independent Algeria would form part of a Maghreb federation.

## INTERESTS

The apparent discrepancy which one might be inclined to see in the new Gaullist plan for a "federalism" of African regional groupings as compared with the former plan of the OCSR, is not really a contradiction in terms. It stems from the experience the French imperialists have gained in Africa, and their conviction that their economic interests would be better secured and consolidated if the African states had joint political institutions within definite geographical units.

In point of fact it is easy to say what a splendid time Paris would have if the two federations of the Maghreb and West Africa were to become a reality. Certainly the influence of Paris in such an event would be proportionate to the extent of her colonisation in those African groupings. De Gaulle would obviously use it to kill two birds with one stone.

## MAGHREB

The first would be the competition now going on in Africa between the American and French imperialists. The existence of the two federations of the Maghreb and West Africa would certainly render Uncle Sam's chances of entry into this part of Africa at least rather precarious. Further, de Gaulle would have the unprecedented opportunity of using the Sahara and its fabulous wealth to keep Africa alive between West Africa and North Africa, and thus become the Great Referee on African soil.

All the evidence proves that at every stage in Africa's evolution the imperialists learn lessons and

Continued on Page 6



Neo-colonialism



Tshombe is looking for glasses.



Après Addis Abeba . . .

# NEO-COLONIALISME EN ACTION: LE CAS ALGERIEN

par un correspondant special

**RECEMMENT**, dans un important article intitulé "Les atouts du néo-colonialisme" le journal algérien REVOLUTION AFRICAINE dépeint le néo-colonialisme dans les termes suivants :

"Le néo-colonialisme n'est pas seulement un slogan, un titre en papier ou un article de banderolle dans les structures actuelles de l'Algérie, c'est l'ennemi toujours présent, un danger permanent. Il trouve en maints endroits des alliés et des amis; il trouve surtout un terrain préparé qu'il connaît bien; il a ses hommes et des structures prêts à assurer son expansion".

Rappelant ensuite la règle fondamentale de la stratégie révolutionnaire, REVOLUTION AFRICAINE en arrive à définir l'ennemi qui, en Algérie, comme le dit si justement le journal, est "le groupe des compagnies pétrolières" (qui intervient) ouvertement dans la politique intérieure des pays producteurs...

"Il n'existe aucune différence fondamentale, ajoute le journal algérien; entre le pillage direct auquel s'adonnent les monopoles pétroliers au Moyen Orient et le pillage par personnes ou groupes interposés que subit l'Algérie".

Et REVOLUTION AFRICAINE de faire appel, pour résoudre le problème, à un "bloc anti-impérialiste de tous les pays producteurs de pétrole".

Comme il fallait s'y attendre, cet article qui saisit le phénomène néo-colonial dans sa réalité cruelle en Algérie n'a pas échappé aux cercles dirigeants de Paris et le journal français LE MONDE, porte-parole discret du gaullisme pensant, se fait l'écho des réactions françaises en ces termes :

"On s'interroge à Alger (noter bien Alger) sur la signification d'un article véhément contre les sociétés pétrolières françaises paru dans le dernier numéro de REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, sous la signature de M. Claude Sixou qui fut l'un des représentants algériens au conseil d'administration de l'organisme saharien. On ignore, ajoute le quotidien français, s'il s'agit d'un ballon d'essai — comme le disent plusieurs dirigeants algériens — de la première "offensive" en vue d'une nationalisation des pétroles sahariens, ou d'une simple "pression" à la veille de la reprise des conversations financières".

## UN EPHEMISME INGENIEUX

On se doit de relever d'abord cet éphémisme ingénieux qui fait dire au jour-

nal LE MONDE: "On s'interroge à Alger...", alors que les véritables intéressés, ceux qui ont toutes les raisons de s'interroger sur cette révolte qu'est l'article de REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, sont à Paris; d'autant plus d'ailleurs que le quotidien français ajoute quelques lignes plus loin: "Revolution Africaine ayant été tout récemment repris en main par le gouvernement algérien, il est vraisemblable que l'article en question a reçu l'imprimature de M. Ben Bella".

Autrement dit, de l'aveu même du journal français, ce ne sont pas les Autorités Algériennes qui s'interrogent. Mais alors, se doit-on de demander, qui donc s'interroge à Alger? La réponse à cette question semble transparaître de ces quelques mots de REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: "Il (le néo-colonialisme) a ses hommes et des structures prêts à assurer son expansion". Le journal français LE MONDE voudrait-il faire accroire que ce sont ces hommes qui s'interrogent? En tout cas, cet éphémisme sous lequel il a cru pouvoir substituer Alger à Paris révèle bien au contraire, au grand jour, deux éléments essentiels de la stratégie du gaullisme en Afrique: en premier lieu, la présence française à travers "ses hommes et des structures prêts à assurer son expansion"; en second lieu, l'action téléguisée.

## PRESENCE FRANCAISE

"Si le néo-colonialisme met à contribution "ses hommes" parmi lesquels se retrouvent (dans le cas français) aussi bien des colons que l'intelligentsia autochtone assimilée et même une partie des anciens combattants, ses assises les plus solides se trouvent cependant dans les "structures" commerciales, industrielles, agricoles et financières imposées par le colonialisme et qui se perpétuent après l'accession à l'indépendance. Pas moins de 75 pour cent du commerce extérieur africain sont monopolisés par les étrangers; le peu d'industrie est, généralement, concentré entre leurs mains; et par l'accaparement des secteurs les plus productifs, ils maintiennent une présence douloureuse dans l'agriculture. Au surplus, les profits qu'ils tirent de toutes ces branches de l'économie et la gestion de fait de la monnaie par leurs gouvernements font de ces étrangers les maîtres absolus de l'appareil financier dans les pays africains. Et l'on comprend Claude Sixou lorsque traitant du cas algérien, il affirme: "le néo-colonialisme, c'est l'ennemi toujours présent, un danger permanent".

Combien dangereux est le néo-colonialisme français en Algérie, voici comment le journal LE MONDE le confirme.

"Il est certain que le déficit des finances algériennes ne diminue pas. Cela est dû aux faibles rentrées fiscales

Ces rentrées consistent essentiellement en impôts indirects, particulièrement en droits de douane. Mais souligne-t-on dans certains milieux financiers d'Alger, il s'agit de droits perçus sur des marchandises commandées au cours des premiers mois de l'année, à une époque où il semblait que la situation économique allait s'améliorer. Il est probable, ajoute le journal français, que les rentrées fiscales seront moins élevées le mois prochain, car à la suite des nationalisations et des mouvements de grève, les industriels et agriculteurs (?) ont sensiblement diminué leurs commandes".

De ce fait, pour les dirigeants algériens, "le principal problème consiste à obtenir une nouvelle avance de trésorerie destinée au budget de fonctionnement" (LE MONDE 8-9/6/63).

## ACTION TELEGUISEE

Le processus qui a conduit à cet état de fait en Algérie, est révélateur de l'astuce dont use le néo-colonialisme français pour enfermer dans un cercle vicieux tout Etat africain rebelle à la subordination. En tout premier lieu, le jeu réquiert, presque intactes, des anciennes structures économiques de l'époque coloniale, aux leviers desquelles demeurent solidement campés des hommes faisant cause commune avec l'impérialisme, prêts au moindre signal de la métropole à déclencher l'action téléguisée. Le mécanisme en est simple et l'on en perçoit les rouages pour peu que l'on pénètre dans les réalités algériennes depuis l'accession de ces pays à l'indépendance.

Premier temps de l'action téléguisée, dès le lendemain même de l'indépendance algérienne, alors que les conditions morales et politiques existaient pour une fructueuse collaboration, les hommes de la présence française ne décident pas moins de fermer usines magasins et fermes, jetant des milliers de travailleurs à la rue, dans le but de faire accrédi-ter l'impossibilité pour les dirigeants algériens de gérer les affaires de leur pays à l'exclusion des industriels et agriculteurs européens installés en Algérie. Réaction immédiate, dès grèves et des manifestations, suivies des nationalisations, par le gouvernement et le peuple algériens.

Contre-offensive immédiate, industriels et agriculteurs de la présence française diminueront sensiblement leurs commandes, ce qui se traduit par de faibles rentrées fiscales et un accroissement du déficit des finances algériennes en

même temps que l'obligation pour le gouvernement algérien de recourir à une avance de la trésorerie française en vue d'alimenter le budget de fonctionnement: ainsi se fit sentir l'action téléguisée en Algérie dans le deuxième temps.

Dans un troisième temps, bien que l'on ait admis à Paris le principe de l'octroi d'une avance, même sous forme de crédit "marshalisé", l'action téléguisée se fit le mandataire des hommes de la présence française et décida le prélèvement d'une bonne portion des crédits octroyés pour le dédommagement des soi-disant victimes des nationalisations.

Ici explose alors la révolte du peuple algérien et l'article de REVOLUTION AFRICAINE semble en être le cri d'alarme en même temps qu'une tentative de briser le cercle infernal dans lequel le néo-colonialisme français s'acharne à faire tourner en rond l'Algérie indépendante. A travers cette suite d'actions et de réactions, ce qui ressort clairement, c'est l'ingénuité pour la Révolution algérienne de reprendre l'initiative à l'ennemi.

## DE LA REVOLTE A LA SECONDE REVOLUTION

L'ennemi, écrit Claude Sixou, c'est le "groupe des compagnies pétrolières". L'on se doit d'y ajouter cependant l'ensemble des autres structures industrielles, commerciales, agricoles et financières au service du néo-colonialisme en Algérie. C'est donc tout l'ensemble dans lequel s'enracine le néo-colonialisme qu'il faut extirper, transformer. Certes, un "bloc anti-impérialiste de tous les pays producteurs de pétrole", comme en appelle Claude Sixou dans son article, peut grandement aider à mettre fin au pillage direct et indirect des monopoles pétroliers. Cependant, une telle approche du problème comporte objectivement l'inconvénient, d'ailleurs reconnu implicitement par notre confrère, d'un décalage notable dans le degré de détermination anti-impérialiste des pays producteurs de pétrole, qui explique que dans certains d'entre eux les monopoles pétroliers ne s'affublent pas de gants et "s'adonnent au pillage direct", tandis que dans d'autres, l'Algérie par exemple, ils y mettent la forme en pratiquant un "pillage indirect".

Le problème du groupe des compagnies pétrolières est un de ceux par lesquels, indubitablement, les impérialistes tentent aujourd'hui plus que jamais de faire une entaille dans la lutte des peuples africains et du Moyen Orient Arabe. Et précisément, c'est à ce sujet qu'au cours d'un entretien

avec un correspondant de la presse française à l'issue de la conférence d'Addis Ababa, le président Houphouët-Boigny a déclaré ce qui suit :

"Vers où se tourneront nos frères arabes? Cela dépendra de nous, de la réussite et donc de la force d'attraction de notre organisation. Si elle résiste aux épreuves, si elle est un véritable instrument de développement, ils s'en sentiront membres. Sinon ils se tourneront vers l'autre zone d'attraction. . ."

C'est là, objectivement abordée, la question de la "double appartenance" si souvent brandie par les impérialistes comme un épouvantail susceptible de stopper l'élan des peuples africains et du Moyen Orient Arabe vers leur unité respective; cette unité qui constitue, de l'expérience même de ces peuples, le seul moyen de les doter, pour leurs propres besoins, du véritable instrument de développement si justement souligné ici par le président Houphouët-Boigny. C'est l'inconsistance même de l'épouvantail impérialiste, de même que l'interaction inévitable de l'unité respective des peuples africains et du Moyen Orient Arabe que le Dr. Nkrumah faisait toucher du doigt lorsqu'il déclarait à l'agence Reuter:

"D'une part la réalisation d'une solide unité en tant qu'entité géographique des pays du Moyen Orient Arabe et d'autre part la réalisation de l'unité continentale africaine apporteraient une contribution de poids à la consolidation de la paix dans le monde, et au relèvement du niveau de vie des peuples de ces régions."

Ne peut-on dire que c'est ce même souci de doter les peuples des "pays producteurs de pétrole" du véritable instrument de développement qui amène REVOLUTION AFRICAINE à en appeler à un "bloc anti-impérialiste de tous les pays producteurs de pétrole"?

Le malheur, cependant, c'est que notre souci de décolonisation, notre besoin de développement se trouvent constamment contrariés par l'impérialisme qui, tel le serpent, mue régulièrement à chaque phase décisive de la lutte de nos peuples: Les diverses tentatives de l'impérialisme français, pour s'appropriier, par exemple, le Sahara sont typiques. Au plus fort de la guerre d'Algérie en effet, au moment même où l'inévitabilité de l'indépendance du peuple algérien faisait craquer tout l'empire colonial français en Afrique, les dirigeants français ne trouvaient mieux que de décréter le Sahara algérien partie intégrante de la France et de le constituer en un département français, croyant par là-même pouvoir en faire le tremplin d'un

organisme néo-colonialiste appelé Organisation Commune des Régions Sahariennes (O.C.R.S.) dont le plan ne visait à rien moins qu'à l'exploitation des pétroles africains dans un ensemble incluant aussi bien la Mauritanie, le Tchad, le Niger, le Mali que l'Algérie. Ce plan fut mis en échec en raison de la détermination farouche de tous les peuples du Bassin saharien, et en particulier, du fait du rôle d'avant-garde qu'y a joué la Révolution Algérienne. L'indépendance du Mali, dans les conditions que l'on sait, suivie d'assez près de celle des autres territoires du Bassin saharien, et par-dessus tout, la propre indépendance du peuple algérien reconnue en 1962 dans l'intégrité de son territoire national, achevèrent de rendre caduque le plan français d'organisation commune des régions sahariennes. La victoire ainsi remportée par les peuples africains contre cette première tentative de regroupement économique régional sous l'égide du néo-colonialisme français en Afrique souligne irréfutablement que la deuxième révolution africaine, celle de la bataille économique, réquiert, pour avoir des chances certaines de succès, une approche simultanée de tous les pays africains, une mobilisation globale de tous nos peuples.

## COMMENT ?

Car, ce serpent intelligent qu'est l'impérialisme français semble déjà, à cette nouvelle phase de l'évolution africaine, avoir mué pour sa réadaptation aux conditions créées sur notre continent par la Conférence d'Addis Ababa. La preuve n'en est-elle pas que cette même France qui, hier, s'acharnait à lier l'Algérie colonisée aux autres pays africains du Bassin saharien dans l'O.C.R.S., est la même qui, aujourd'hui, après avoir liquidé son premier organisme d'exploitation, envisage séparément le Mali et la Mauritanie dans une éventuelle fédération régionale ouest-africaine et l'Algérie indépendante dans une fédération maghrébine? L'apparence de contradiction que l'on n'inclinerait à déceler dans ce nouveau plan gaulliste de "fédéralisme" des ensembles régionaux africains, par rapport à l'ancien plan de l'Organisation Commune des Régions Sahariennes, n'en est pas une en réalité. Elle procède de l'expérience même de l'impérialisme français sur notre continent et de sa conviction que ses intérêts économiques seraient mieux assurés et consolidés si les pays africains étaient dotés d'institutions politiques communes dans des ensembles géographiques donnés. Et de fait, l'on peut percevoir assez aisément combien Paris aurait beau jeu dans l'éventualité de deux

fédérations maghrébine et ouest-africaine. A coup sûr, son influence y serait en proportion de l'importance même de sa colonisation dans ces ensembles régionaux africains. De Gaulle en userait évidemment pour faire d'une pierre deux coups. Tout d'abord, dans la concurrence qui oppose actuellement en Afrique les impérialismes américain et français, l'existence de deux fédérations maghrébine et ouest-africaine affaiblirait très certainement les chances de pénétration d'Oncle Sam dans cette partie du continent, tout au moins. De plus s'offrirait à de Gaulle l'occasion sans précédent de se servir du Sahara et de ses fabuleuses ressources pour susciter de constants affrontements entre l'Afrique Occidentale et l'Afrique du Nord, et par là-même de devenir le Grand-Arbitre sur le sol africain.

C'est l'évidence même que l'impérialisme, d'une étape à l'autre de l'évolution africaine, tire des enseignements et réajuste en conséquence sa stratégie pour mieux consolider ses positions et poursuivre l'exploitation. Dans toute bataille, seul s'assure la victoire celui qui s'assure toujours et partout l'autorité majeure de l'initiative. La Révolution Africaine et chacune de ses organisations de lutte se doivent donc de ne jamais être en retard sur les plans de l'impérialisme, de manière à l'acculer jusque dans son dernier retranchement, et l'éjecter de notre continent.

Comment, sinon par une approche simultanée de tous les pays africains, par une mobilisation globale de tous nos peuples, pourrions-nous triompher de ce nouveau plan de balkanisation au second degré, comme l'effort conjoint des pays africains du Bassin saharien a pu triompher de l'ancien plan français d'O.C.R.S.?

Comment, sinon par une union politique de tout notre continent, pourrions-nous aujourd'hui satisfaire à l'exigence de décolonisation, à notre besoin de développement?

Comment, sinon par un Gouvernement continental, pourrions-nous d'ôter l'Afrique d'un véritable instrument de développement?

Comment, sinon par des institutions continentales telles que zone monétaire pan-africaine, marché commun africain etc, pourrions-nous nous attaquer avec des chances certaines de succès aux structures industrielles, commerciales, agricoles et financières au service du néo-colonialisme?

Comment, autrement arracher les "atouts" du néo-colonialisme" aussi bien en Algérie que partout ailleurs en Afrique?



# Socio - Economic Aspects in Africa

**BOTH** the colonization of African countries and the penetration of their economy by large capitalist monopolies were carried out chiefly by means of violence. Being a product of the natural development of capitalism in the imperialist countries, the large foreign monopolies drew the colonial countries into world capitalist relations in their own, predatory way. Not for nothing did Lenin call the export of capital to the Eastern countries "parasitism raised to the second power".

It is not the requirements of development of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which till recently were populated by the overwhelming majority of mankind, but the requirements of a few imperialist countries, their ruling classes, their industry and trade that determined the main trend and main content of the so-called effective demand in the world capitalist market.

The narrowness of this market was as much a natural consequence of the poor economic development of the Asian and African countries, their backwardness, lack of rights and poverty, as the narrowness of the home market in certain capitalist countries is frequently a result of the preservation of feudal forms and survivals there and also of the particularly hard material conditions of the toiling people, the workers and peasants.

## UNFAVOURABLE MARKET

The colonies rich in natural resources may be called a "geological miracle" in scientific terms. It is "disadvantageous" to undertake the large-scale working of their mineral wealth, owing to the "unfavourable market situation" and the lack of "sufficient demand" on world markets, or because some other deposits, already being exploited, works, as the Katanga area in the Belgian Congo has been called, but for all that, they remain backward and ignorant, with their peoples doomed to starvation and poverty.

The reason is that the monopolies may consider, bringing in somewhat bigger profits, or because a "reserve" is needed for the future, or from political, military and strategic, and other considerations.

The development of local industry is thus retarded and choked. All this is "in the nature of things" in present-day capitalism, in which affairs are administered by a few dozen large monopolies.

## SUPPLIERS OF RAW MATERIALS

By preventing the all-round and harmonious economic development of the African colonial countries, imperialism dooms them to the role of suppliers of various raw materials or farm produce. Thus, Senegal and Gambia "specialise" in the export of ground-nuts; the Ivory Coast, cocoa; Nigeria, tin ore and palm products; Uganda, cotton (40.8 per cent of all exports, statistics for 1955); the Belgian Congo, ores and metals (66 per cent of the total value of all export, including copper, which accounted for 40 per cent,

statistics for 1956), etc. At present the economy of most African countries wholly depends on the production of two or three export items, and at times even of one.

The economic recession in the United States and other capitalist countries in 1957-1958 and the drop in world prices on colonial raw materials again showed the grave consequences for the African colonies from such a situation. A considerable part of the funds of the colonies that had been accumulated in the banks of the metropolitan countries during the years with a more favourable market situation "vanished like smoke", as a French newspaper put it.

The demand for, and prices of African goods declined sharply in the world market and as a consequence unemployment rose and the conditions of the peasants and workers grew worse, which was largely responsible for the recent disturbances, for example, in the Belgian Congo, Nyasaland and other African countries.

Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, stressed in the American Foreign Affairs in October, 1958 that the elimination of Ghana's dangerous dependence upon a single export crop, "cocoa" is the country's chief economic problem.

## INCREASE OF STARVATION

Naturally, the conversion of the colonies into one-crop countries means that their economy is also one-sided and is deprived of the opportunity for normal independent development. The ground-nut plantations in Gambia or Senegal are ousting the traditional food crops, and this increases starvation and makes the colonies more dependent on imported food, which could be produced on the spot.

Looking at the situation from the angle of colonial production of definite raw material and farm produce for the world market, economists speak of the colonies as "agrarian and raw material appendages" of the imperialist Powers.

This definition rightly covers one of the characteristic features of the world division of labour under imperialism. On the other hand, events of recent years (particularly during the Suez crisis in the autumn of 1956) have demonstrated that the imperialist states have become much more dependent on the so-called underdeveloped Asian and African countries.

Their dependence on the deliveries of major

mineral raw materials from Africa is characterised by the diagrams on the next page showing

of the commodities for consumption outside the colonies, they do not correspond to the actual re-

## by A Correspondent

Africa's share in world mineral production and in Britain's imports of major mineral raw materials.

It is clear that if we were to take not only Africa, but also the other underdeveloped countries of Asia and Latin America the dependence of the Western imperialist Powers on them would be even more striking.

## MAXIMUM PROFIT FOR MONOPOLIES

The main aim of capitalist production is not to produce certain use values but to produce surplus value. Correspondingly, the aim of the large monopolies in the colonies is to exploit the colonies to the maximum, to squeeze out the highest profits. In conditions of imperialism the entire life of the African colonial countries is subordinated to this main aim of colonial production to extract the maximum profits for the large foreign monopolies.

requirements of the economy and the indigenous population of the colonies.

On this point the French researcher, A. Ayache, has presented a wealth of data related to colonial Morocco, which can be considered a more or less developed country as compared with the African colonies south of the Sahara.

Ayache shows that the modern ports in Morocco, built under the colonial regime, were used primarily for the handling of imported goods and the concentration of local raw material designated for exports and also for the movement of European colonists and troops of the expeditionary corps; motor roads were used by foreign automobiles to the extent of 80 per cent; four-fifths of the freight carried by railways built to places where phosphorites, iron, manganese and other metal ores are

brutally exploiting their population. Thus the rate of profits on direct U.S. investments in colonies of the West European countries in 1947-1954 amounted to 33 per cent annually, whereas on investments in the United States it was 11.4-13.6 per cent. In other words, American capital invested in these colonies was repaid in three years.

The Rokana Corp., a British copper mining joint-stock company in Rhodesia, paid annually dividends from 200 to 250 per cent on the invested joint-stock capital in 1950-1954. During the first ten post-war years (1945-1954) it paid total dividends which were 14 times greater than the entire capital invested in 1945.

## "DECISION OF AFRICA"

The profits received by Belgium in 1955 on the exports of strategic raw material alone from the Belgian-Congo comprise more than half of all the profits made by enterprises in Belgium itself. Very many similar examples could be cited.

In this book "Decision in Africa" the well known U.S. student of Africa, W. A. Hutton, gives data showing that the value of the minerals mined and exported from South Africa

non-equivalent exchange, which is one of the primary forms of robbing the colonial and underdeveloped countries.

The monopolies buy up raw material and agricultural produce in the colonies at monopoly low prices, frequently taking advantage of the desperate position of the peasants during harvesting, who are rendered helpless by unbearable taxes and debts.

On the other hand, capitalising on their privileged position in the colonies, the large monopolies seek to strangle any competition and to sell their goods at maximum high monopoly prices. For example, U.S. oil companies get big profits, thanks to the monopoly right to market oil products in the African colonial countries.

The gap in prices between the goods exported from the colonies and the goods they import is growing all the time, to the disadvantage of the colonies. To buy a loin-cloth of average quality a peasant in the Belgian Congo had to sell 15 kilograms of shikwang (local manioc grain) in 1911, while in 1945 he had to sell from 70 to 100 kilograms.

## AT THE EXPENSE OF PEASANTS

This channel for the traction of additional huge profits operates directly at the expense of the small peasants and urban population in the colonies. "Give to those who have and take from those who have not"—such is the jungle law of capitalism, which operates in relations between the highly developed and the underdeveloped countries.

Large additional profits are also made by the colonialists on the transportation of goods within the colonies and to other countries, since the merchant ships, railways, airlines, ports, and other facilities are in the monopoly possession of the big companies or the metropolitan countries.

It is not accidental that the British colonial authorities in a number of territories of the Arabian Peninsula have for a long time resisted by every means possible, including the use of naval forces, to the building of a seaport in Hodeida (the Yemen), because it undermined the monopoly position of the port of Aden, which was under their control. It was only thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union that the construction of the Hodeida port was possible and is now nearing completion.

The pumping out of huge funds from the colonies is also facilitated by the fact that the entire currency and credit system and all insurance operations are concentrated in the hands of the colonial Powers or the monopolies.

Deposits and credit operations and also operations for realising profits give the banks the

opportunity, through credits and the discount of bills to gain power over many small and middle commodity producers. The granting of credits to peasants against future crops is widespread in the colonies. The peasant (or tenant farmer) who receives a bank credit undertakes to plant definite crops and to deliver by a certain date all or nearly all of the harvest.

## LIFE-BLOOD OF THE PEOPLE

These credits frequently lead to peonage. Local (native) usurers, who extort huge interests from the peasants, often act as go-betweens in these banking operations. In principle, however, the colonialists prefer to such all the life-blood of the people themselves, without any local intermediaries.

Other methods are employed as well. A colony, for instance, is given "loans" for the maintenance of the colonial administration or for military expenses, etc., on which it has to pay a high interest. The upshot of it is that the colonies, already fleeced in every way imaginable, are also saddled with a heavy "debt" to the metropolitan countries.

The foreign monopolies also use the budget of a colony as an instrument for additional plunder. The expenditure of budget funds for the building of roads and means of communication, power stations, dams, etc., is little short of a disguised way of subsidising the large monopolies, since all these developments as a rule are needed primarily for pumping goods out of the colonies, while their construction is frequently a source of enrichment for the monopolies. Moreover, of late the colonies are increasingly drawn into financing the "needs of defence", or the maintenance of the army of the metropolitan countries for the protection of the "colonial empire" and the so-called free world.

## MILITARY ORDERS

The proclamation of a colony's "autonomy" or of its "equality" with the metropolitan country within the framework of some "community" often leads to an increase in expenses of its kind. To this are added the shifting funds from the budget of colony to the metropolitan country through the placing of military and other orders of a colony with enterprises in the metropolitan country, the allotment of funds from the colonial budget to the budget of a metropolitan country for "general imperial expenses", for subsidies to foreign businessmen, etc.

Membership of the colonies in the so-called pound area or franc area imposes fresh onerous obligations on the colonies, since their money must then be deposited in the banks of the metropolitan country. These

Continued on Page 6

## Brutal and Arbitrary Discrimination

On the other hand, it is clear that the concentration of the main means of production in the hands of large foreign monopolies entails a corresponding distribution and consumption of the goods produced in the colonies. Since in the colonial countries of Africa, the main means of production belong to the large foreign monopolies, these monopolies grab almost all the goods these countries produce and obtain particularly high profits and superprofits.

## THE APOLOGISTS OF COLONIALISM

The output of the mining industry, plantations and also the marketable agricultural commodities of the small producers who work for the big merchants and are held in a tight grip by the banks and local usurers, are shipped almost entirely abroad. Moreover, bourgeois economists and geographers quite seriously identify the "welfare" and "economic development" of the colonies with the volume of the exports of colonial output.

The apologists of colonialism regard the increase of such exports as "progress" achieved by the colonial countries under capitalism, although in reality it is merely a case of progress in the plunder of the colonies, from which the latter only lose in every respect.

It is natural that since almost the entire industry and plantations, transport facilities, trading network and ports in the colonies are subordinated chiefly to the production and shipment of the bulk

mined, consisted of goods belonging to European companies and colonists: 77 per cent of the electric power went to the foreign-owned mines, plants, railways and foreign plantations, while the Moroccans consumed not more than one-eighth of the generated electricity, etc.

The situation in the African south of the Sahara is even more unfavourable for the indigenous population; the colour of a person's skin is almost an insurmountable barrier and is the basis for the most brutal and arbitrary discrimination.

The hard lot of the mass of the population in the colonies is determined first of all by the fact that extremely cheap labour, i.e., the desperate, beggarly living conditions of the local peasants and workers, is considered by the monopolies a prime condition for obtaining superprofits. We quoted earlier some illustrations of the very low wages of African workers as compared with Europeans.

## NO PAY FOR AFRICAN WORKERS

But in Black Africa forced labour and peonage are also widely practised. Sometimes a sort of corvée is practised in industrial establishments and plantations run by monopolies. In French Guinea until recently, Africans forcibly mobilised in the villages often were paid nothing for their work.

Even official, i.e., deliberately underestimated statistics, shows what inordinately high profits big capital makes on investments in the colonies



## SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECT

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funds are used at the discretion of the banks, which not frequently utilize such deposits for bringing economic or political pressure to bear on a "recalcitrant" colony, as was the case with regard to Guinean deposits in French banks after the proclamation of the independence of the Guinean Republic.

On top of all this comes the function of the big foreign banks as agencies for the mobilisation of any capital which may accumulate in the colonies in the hands of the local nobility, rich peasants or intellectuals. These banks divert the free capital of a colony and lend it first of all to the industry of the metropolitan country.

The payment of high salaries and pensions to specialists "advisers" and officials of the colonial administration, etc., represents a big source of revenue for the metropolitan country. Remuneration of the service of these "specialists" (who, as a rule, possess lower qualifications) in the colonies is higher than in the metropolitan countries and several times greater than the remuneration of specialists from among the local (native) intelligentsia.

A Belgian official with a higher education who has two children received in 1955 an annual salary of 132,500 francs in Belgium and 414,500 francs in the Belgian Congo; an official with a secondary education receive 74,500 francs and 337,000 francs respectively.

In places where the colonialists lack the funds and the ability to utilize the fertile land or other natural resources of a colonial country, they do not disdain to make big profits on providing labour "on contract" to other neighbouring countries. Thus, the Portuguese colonialists send annually over 100,000 workers "on contract" from Mozambique to Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo and other neighbouring countries.

### CHEAP LABOUR

The colonial authorities manage to get a commission fee from both the "contracted" (actually in most cases forcibly mobilized) workers and from the monopolies which employ this fabulously cheap labour power.

Lastly, the metropolitan countries (to be more exact, the monopolies which produce armaments) receive increasing incomes from the colonies in post-war years as a result of militarization of the economy, the building of military bases, strategic roads, etc.

Such in general outline are the ways and means of the ultra-parasitic exploitation of the enslaved African countries by present-day colonialism.

The anti-colonial, national-liberation struggle of the peoples which is developing under the mighty impact of Communist construction in the Soviet Union, and Socialist construction in the People's Democracies, and also under the influence of the successes scored by the liberated countries of Asia and the Arab East, is shaking the foundation of the obsolete colonial system in African countries south of the Sahara as well. The big monopolies are still raking in huge profits there, but it is becoming increasingly harder to do so. The colonialists increasingly find themselves in isolation in the United Nations when colonial problems are discussed.

What is more, within the imperialist Powers themselves the number of people directly interested in colonial plunder is also growing smaller. The reverses sustained by France in the colonial war in Algeria, for example, are arousing in the French press (even in bourgeois publications) ever sharper criticism of colonial policy.

### BOURGEOIS OBSERVERS

The French working people are forced to pay for the crimes and super-profits of the large monopolies in the colonies not only in the form of taxes, but also with the lives of tens of thousands of soldiers who are perishing in the unjust Algerian war.

Even bourgeois observers who sympathise with colonialism, such as the American journalist Gunther or the West German publicist Wirsing, admit that the days of colonialism in Africa are numbered. The imperialist Powers are being compelled to retreat in face of the onslaught of the Negro peoples of Africa, who are eagerly reaching out for light and national freedom.

It is perfectly clear that colonialism has outlived itself not only in the East but also in the West, that it is a brake on further political and economic progress for the peoples of the highly developed capitalist countries as well.

It goes without saying that the position of the peoples in the colonies is different. Degraded and enslaved, they confronted by the entire course of events with the dilemma: to perish or win freedom.

# Dark Clouds over South Africa



These two boys have been living alone for the last three months since the arrest of their father and mother by the South African police. Each morning they wander from house to house in Alexandra township, looking for food.

Continued from Page 1.

More and more the South African Government is taking on the appearance of an occupational army—something ruthless.

The Verwoerd Government cannot bear to see Africans living in homes they own. When it hears the word 'freehold' it reaches for the Group Areas Act. Then the bull-dozers are called in, decent houses are reduced to rubble, families ordered to move from home they have occupied for half a century.

### TENT CAMPS

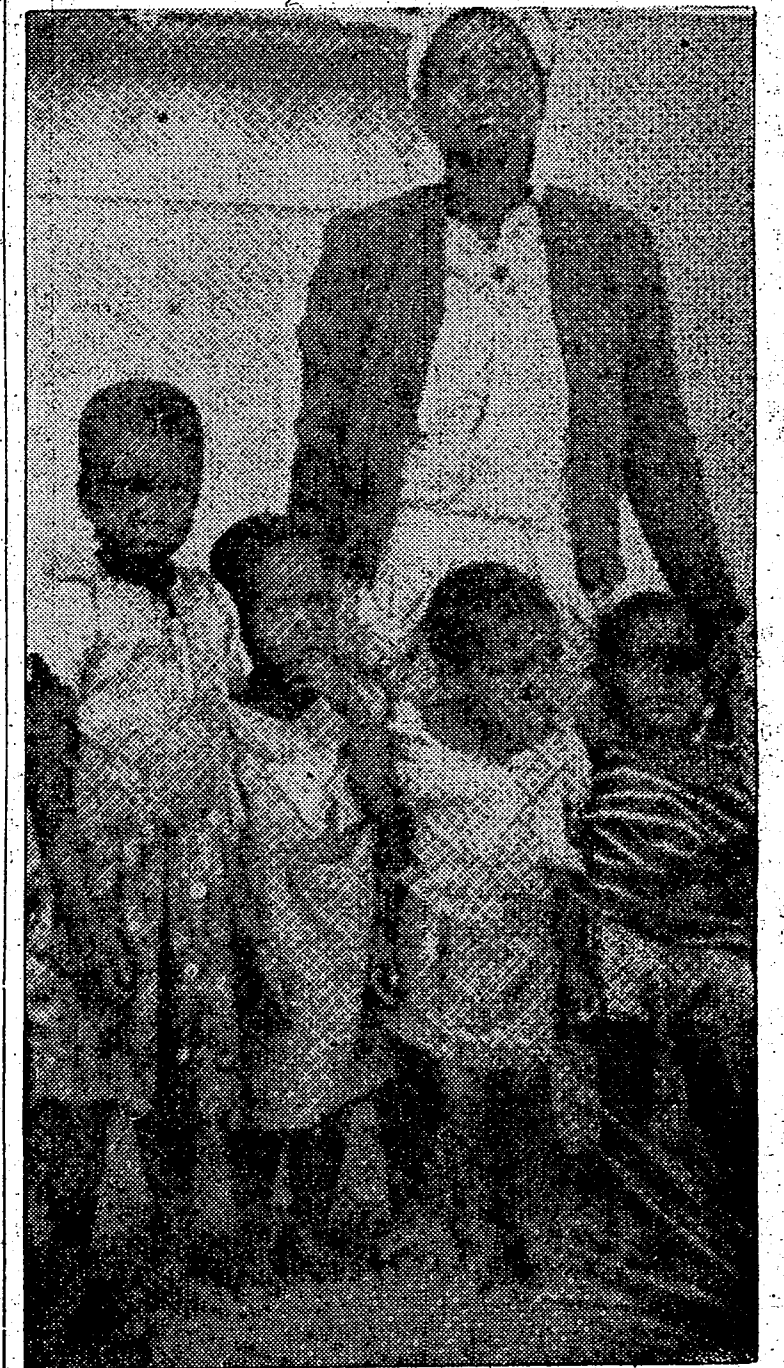
In Vryheid, 3,000 Africans have been moved from freehold land in Besterspruit Location to two-tent camps. In these camps the simplest acts of living and raising a family have become a punishment. Thirst has to be quenched for once a day.

The tents are too small, fiercely hot and stuffy under the sun. Children have

nowhere to shelter during the day. One woman said: "This place is our grave. By day the tents are hot; and at night cold. We would like to make fires to keep warm, but how can we in these little tents? When it rains we have to use primus stoves to cook, and

those who have no stoves must go hungry."

South Africa is a challenge to humanity. The position is dreadful and the dark clouds are gathering. The situation must be solved in dead earnest lest the lights go off altogether.



This isn't a mother with four children, but a friendly neighbour with someone's else's children. The kids were found alone in the house one morning, hungry and crying. Their mother had been arrested during an early morning South African police raid. Their father was deported from Alexandra where they live in February this year.

## Algerian test case

Continued from Page 3

adjust their strategy accordingly in order to strengthen their position and continue to exploit. In a battle, victory is always on the side of the army which at all times and in all places has the whip hand. The African revolution and each of its fighting organisations are in duty bound to avoid being outstripped by imperialist planning. In this way the imperialists will be pushed to the wall and thrown out of Africa.

How else can the peoples of Africa frustrate this second degree balkanisation except by simultaneous action on the part of all the African States and the overall mobilisation of its peoples, in the same way as the united efforts of the African States in the Sahara basin got the better of the

to capitalism which the people have already rejected.

In the alternative, the second party will confine its claims to its ability to perform more efficiently tasks being carried out by the first party. But this is a

French OCRS project?

How else can we meet the present need to decolonise Africa and satisfy our obligation in the matter of development unless we form a continental political union?

How else can we endow Africa with an effective instrument for growth and development, except by creating a Continental Government?

How else can we assault the industrial, commercial, agricultural and financial patterns which serve the interests of the neo-colonialists, unless we set-up continental institutions, such as a Pan-African Monetary Zone, an African Common Market, etc.?

How else can we filch the "neo-colonialist trumps" in Algeria as elsewhere in Africa?

function which could quite easily be performed inside the first party. Thus the two-party system, given Nkrumah's conditions, becomes either a retrograde nuisance or an expensive luxury. In either case it meets no social need.

## THE TEACHINGS OF NKRUMAH

Continued from Page 2.

distinguished from dictatorship. The dictator sets himself up against the people; while the "rallying personality" needed by emerging nations must be the free choice of the people.

Effective executive control over the civil service is achieved through vesting the president with powers of posting, appointment and dismissal particularly in the policy-making levels. This is an important lever in converting the old colonial civil service built to suit the needs of colonialism into an effective instrument of dynamic change and national reconstruction.

The steady transformation of the human content of the civil service is achieved through a post-graduate-institute of public administration which trains new entrants to higher posts in the service.

### CHIEFTAINCY

Traditional institutions, especially chieftaincy, were used in the colonial era to buttress colonial rule. They formed part of the colonial administrative machinery. Under independence, these institutions must acquire a new orientation. Their existence must be in accord with the will of the people who are supreme.

Nkrumah's prescription is clear-cut: chieftaincy can continue as a transient phenomenon if it "can be used to encourage popular effort." However, he draws attention to "the natural attenuation of chieftaincy under the impact of social progress" (p.84).

The constitution of people's power must make provision for the surrender of some of the nation's sovereignty "to the total sovereignty of Africa if this should even be required" (p.85). This opens the way to an Africa political union which, in turn, is a condition for the total liberation of Africa and her existence as a powerful and progressive continent free of dependence upon outside forces.

Foreign aid, particularly when it comes from the imperialist powers, is an important element to be patched in the process of consolidation of the people's power. The sort of aid received could even restrict the unfettered advance of the new state towards economic independence which is an important objective of the national liberation movement.

It is becoming well-known that foreign aid could be administered in a way to give foreign investors great control and even direction over a nation's economy. Nkrumah warns against this and assets: "The pattern of imperialist aid to Africa is set not only to draw the unwary back into neo-colonialist relationship but to tie them into cold-war politics" (P.183).

Finally, the one-party system. Nkrumah sees the emergence of the one-party system as quite natural under certain circumstances. The first condition is that independence should bring into power the "extremists" of course must be carefully

wing of the national liberation movement (the people's party) which demands political freedom as the key to social reconstruction and the creation of a socialist society.

If the 'moderates' of the intellectual and aristocratic class get into power, a neo-colonialist regime comes into being and a second party must come into being to push the national liberation movement to complete victory.

The second condition is that the Government of the people's party should achieve "improvements in economic and social conditions" (p.70) of the masses.

The third condition is that the constitution should give effective power to the people in their generality. If these conditions are fulfilled, the popularity of the party that brings "freedom" (in the sense of political freedom and social reconstruction leading to socialism) is enhanced and its majority in parliament grows. The opposition on the other hand continues to dwindle and soon ceases to be a political force of any consequence. A resort to terrorism is in effect a death gasp, for such tactics can only achieve positive and lasting results where the people generally support the party using it.

It must be pointed out that if the three conditions given by Nkrumah are fulfilled, there can be no room for a two party system under existing African conditions. For the second party must demand a return