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EDITORIAL

AT ADDIS ABABA SUMMIT...

OUR COMMON WEAPON

THE Conference of African Foreign Ministers is still in progress in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to prepare the way for the African heads of state summit which opens on May 22, 1963.

"The Spark" is optimistic (we can't help being) that the deliberations will place Africa firmly on the road to an anti-imperialist united continent.

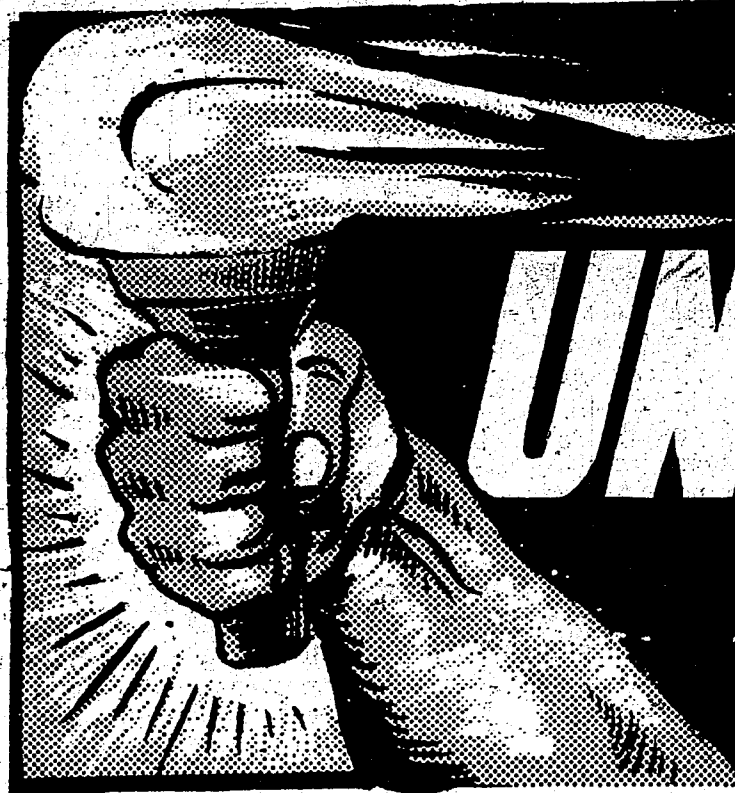
Since the inception of the movement for a united Africa in Accra in 1958, the anti-colonialist forces have made remarkable gains and the imperialist alliance has shown signs of falling apart. The inner conflicts of the imperialist world—within nations and between them—has become sharper.

The decline of the British Empire alone, given greater impetus by the African revolution, has produced a crisis of imperialism on a world scale. This vast conglomeration, convulsed from within and battered from without, has reached its advanced stage of decay. A British ruling class, accustomed to centuries of world power, today finds itself in the undignified posture of begging dollars, nuclear rockets, polaris, and even political sustenance from multi-billionaire America, in return for which it offers the know-how of world domination and a somewhat easier access to its own uncertain preserves.

The United States of America which suffered least in the last war and gained much from it has become the mainstay of imperialism but it assumes this role when the fundamental crisis of imperialism has become sharper.

If imperialism must be fully restored, American economic and military power must seek to sustain the old ruling classes in a dozen leading countries simultaneously. It must attempt either to bolster those powers seeking directly to stem the colonial system or

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ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED AFRICA IS THE GOAL

by Julius Sago

FROM the 22nd—25th, political leaders of 32 independent African States including Heads of State, Heads of Government, and Foreign Ministers will confer at Addis Ababa. Without doubt, this is the biggest ever 'summit' of African leaders. But will its decisions quicken or retard the tempo of the African revolution? Can it forge a new and potent anti-imperialist weapon in the form of a continental union of African states? Or will it merely re-echo threadbare platitudes and adopt resolutions full of moralisings but devoid of punch? Will it unfurl bold new plans for eliminating imperialist influences from Africa? Or will it seek to define a modus vivendi with imperialism?

Answers to these questions will not be available until the decisions and speeches at Addis Ababa are carefully analysed. But let it be said right away that no greater disservice could be done to the cause of the African Revolution than to leave fundamental issues unresolved.

CENTRAL ISSUE

The central issue at the Addis Ababa 'summit' is African unity. Strong views will be expressed on its meaning, its content, its scope and its purpose. One view is that all that is needed is closer 'association' between African states. Such association will be helped by improved communication links, frequent exchanges and increased trade between African states. The other view is that Africa's greatest weapon in dealing with the problems of the present revolutionary era is organic unity on a continental scale directed against imperialism in all its forms and towards rebuilding a great Africa free from all subordinating ties to non-African states and power blocs.

While the concept of 'association' is based on continued collaboration with the former imperial powers and their allies, the concept of organic unity starts from the premise that Africa must be totally free and independent of all forms of foreign control.

These two diametrically opposed views have their history. They are advocated by clearly defined groupings of African states. What is more, the former imperial powers have openly thrown

their weight behind one of these views and have used diplomatic, economic, military and other pressures to chain African states down to the view they consider least hostile to imperialism.

The struggle between "association" and "unity" is a reflection on the ideological plane of the grim battle between African nationalism and imperialist interests. The Addis Ababa summit sets out to find a synthesis between these two

views. But can it? Is it possible to find a real synthesis between imperialism and African nationalism without defeating the latter?

Although it was strongly advocated in African intellectual circles largely through the work of the Pan-African Congress which was active in the early forties, the idea of African unity as a practical line for the African Revolution was born at the First Conference of Independent African States held in Accra in April 1958. Five Cardinal principles of African unity were defined and unanimously accepted at the 1958 Accra Conference. These are:—

1. a common foreign policy of positive non-alignment based on respect for the Charter of the United Nations, adherence to the Bandung principles of peaceful co-existence and the maintenance of world peace. This policy is to be given effect through joint action of representatives of African states in the U.N.
2. co-ordinated development in independent African states. This principle covers co-ordinated economic development and planning, co-ordinated development of our culture, a co-ordinated approach to the matter of foreign capital, and co-ordination of Africa's trade union movement.
3. the immediate termination of colonialism everywhere in Africa. This principle lays it down as a duty for all independent African states to assist the national liberation movements in the colonial territories in every possible way.
4. the liquidation of racialism in South Africa and in all countries with mixed populations.
5. Africa must be kept free of the military and nuclear schemes of non-African powers.

Eight months later, in December 1958, the All-African People Conference, linking political movements in both dependent and independent Africa, took place in Accra. It translated into reality the principle of independent African states playing a positive role in the emancipation of the entire African continent.

This three-pronged onslaught on imperialism—solidarity among independent African states, joint action in the U.N. and firm support for the national liberation movements—produced rich dividends. In less than 4 years the number of independent African states has grown from eight to thirty-two.

THE METHODS

However, imperialism is desperately engaged in stemming the tide of African nationalism set in motion by the 1958 Accra Conferences. In its desperate rear guard action, imperialism is using four main methods.

Firstly, and principally, it has hurriedly struck a bargain with the upper classes in some African countries. By this, political power is given to those upper classes while economic and military power and, to some extent, administrative control are left in the hands of the former colonial power. The result is a state outwardly independent but with its life directed from Paris, London, or Washington. This is the classic arrangement known as neo-colonialism.

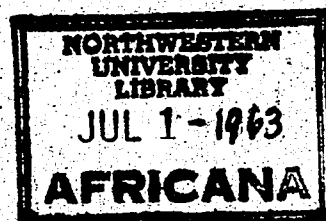
Secondly, these African states of neo-colonialism are being grouped together into a bloc opposed to radical African nationalism and counselling 'gradualism' in the fight for an immediate termination of colonial rule. These client states now serve as the mouthpiece of imperialism.

Thirdly, imperialism is fighting the African continent building the southern por-

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UNITY PUNCH:



DANGER OF NEO-

THE GREATEST danger at present facing Africa is neo-colonialism and its major instrument, balkanization. The latter term is particularly appropriate to describe the breaking up of Africa into small, weak states since it arose from the action of the great powers when they divided up the European part of the old Turkish Empire, and created a number of dependent and competing states in the Balkan peninsula.

The effect was to produce a political tinderbox which any spark could set alight. In fact, the explosion, came in 1914 when an Austrian archduke was murdered at Sarajevo. Because the Balkan countries were so closely tied up with the great powers and their rivalries, the murder resulted in the First World War, the greatest war which had been fought up to that time.

has some of these features. It acts covertly, manoeuvring men and governments, free of the stigma attached to the political rule. It creates client states, independent in name but in point of fact pawns of the very colonial power which is supposed to have given

by
**Kwame
Nkrumah**

her overseas territories. These were F.I.D.E.S. (*Fonds d'Investissement et Développement Economique et Social*) and the C.C.O.M. (*Caisse Centrale de la France d'Outre-mer*.)

Subventions from C.C.O.M. went to the budgets of the former French maintenance of French forces in the territories. Investment in the social and economic development of colonial territories to help meet the cost of public administration and the France's overseas territories was largely an euphemism for the siphoning of funds through F.I.D.E.S. into these former French colonies and back again to France.

It has been estimated that as much as 80 per cent of such so-called investment returned to France in the form of payments for materials, services, commissions, bank charges and salaries of French staffs and agents.

Projects undertaken were mainly in the sphere of public services and agriculture. They were woefully inadequate and improperly planned, with little or no regard for local conditions of needs. No attempt was made to lay the foundations for industrial growth or a diversification of agriculture which would assist true development.

PROVIDERS OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS

F.I.D.E.S. and C.C.O.M. have given place to the F.A.C. (*Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération*) and C.C.C.E. (*Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique*).

The newly named agencies, however, perform the same functions as the old ones on exactly the same terms. Investment continues to support the production of exportable community crops and the trading enterprises of French commercial houses and contracting firms who secure their supplies from French factories and industrial centres.

French bankers and financial concerns linked with some of the biggest raw material converters are being encouraged to extend the exploitation of minerals in the former colonial territories for exportation in their primary form.

Thus, even though independent in name, these countries continue the classical relationship of a colonial economy to its metropolitan patron, i.e. providers of primary products and exclusive markets for the latter's goods. Only now the relationship is covered up under the guise of aid and protective solicitude, one of the more subtle forms of neo-colonialism.

Since France sees her continued growth and development in the maintenance

of the present neo-colonialist relationship with the less developed nations within her orbit, this can only mean the widening of the gap between herself and them. If the gap is ever to be narrowed, not to say closed, it can only be done by a complete break with the present patron-client relationship.

When neo-colonialism can make such effective penetrations by other means, there seems a certain illogicality, viewed from their standpoint, in clinging bitterly to political control of the remaining territories in Africa. Unless, of course, it is to use time to increase the differences and deepen the schisms, and to allow South Africa to build up her military forces, to use, in alliance with the Rhodesias and Portugal, against fighters for freedom and the new African independence.

CLAMOUR FOR DISSOLUTION

It is in this context that the former insistence on the inviolability of the Central African Federation in the teeth of African opposition must be understood and met. There is discernible a curious variance of purpose when one compares the British concurrence to the demand for regionalism in Nigeria and their refusal for so long to concede to African clamour for the dissolution of the Central African Federation.

It was claimed for the continuance of Central African Federation that it made for economic cohesion and progress. If a larger aggregate is good for one part of Africa, the settler-controlled part, then surely it must contain the same beneficent seed for the independent parts.

The conversion of Africa into a series of small states is leaving some of them with neither the resources nor the manpower to provide for their own integrity and viability. Without the means to establish their own economic growth, they are compelled to continue within the old colonial trading framework.

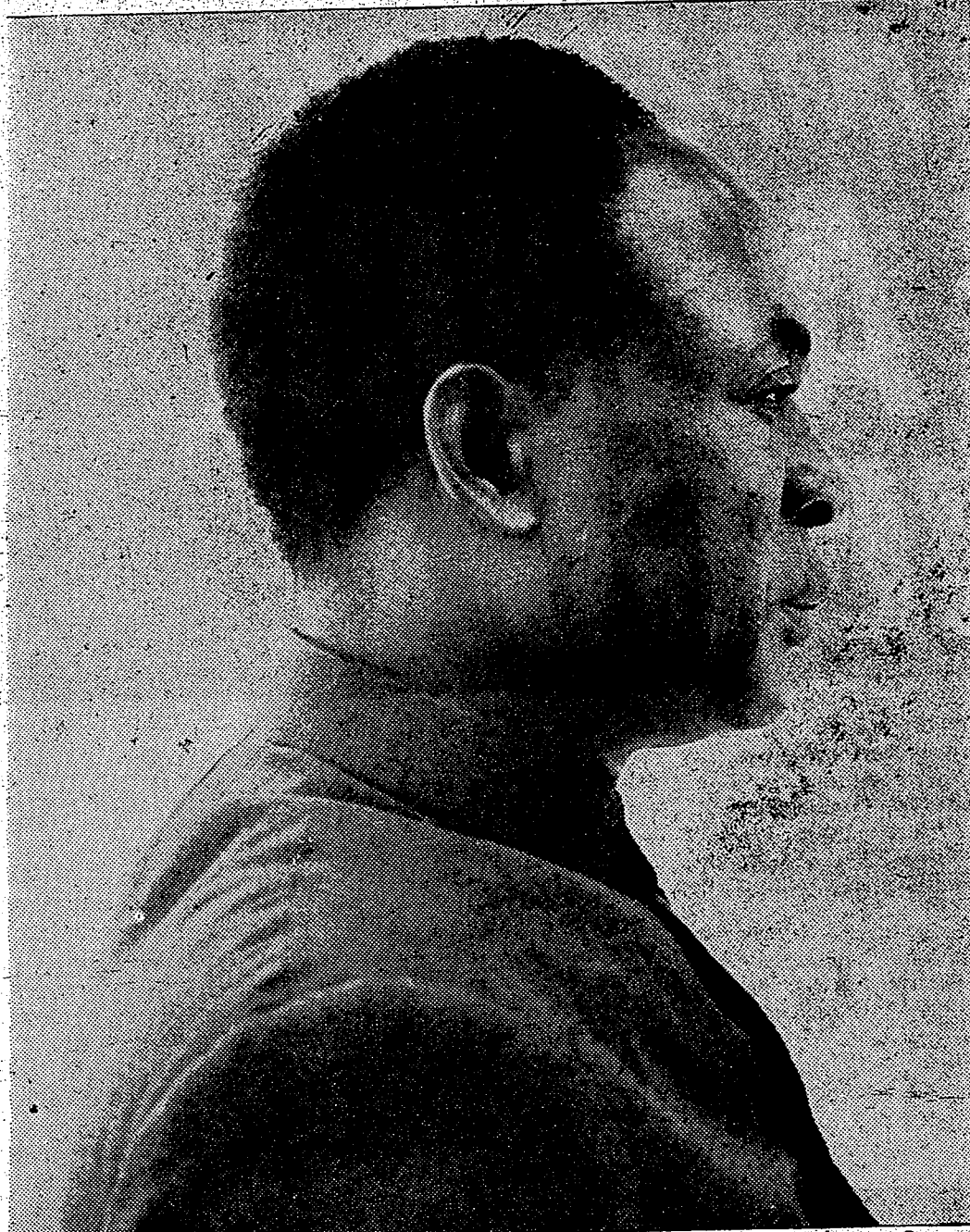
Hence they are seeking alliances in Europe, which deprive them of an independent foreign policy and perpetuate their economic dependency. But this is a solution that can only lead backwards, not forwards. The forward solution is for the African states to stand together politically, to have a united foreign policy, a common defence plan, and a fully integrated economic programme for the development of the whole continent.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Only then can the dangers of neo-colonialism and its handmaiden balkanisation be overcome. When that has been accomplished, our relations with Europe can enter upon a new phase. Although the end of

European rule in Africa is in sight, European economic interests are ascendant and its political and cultural influences strong. In a number of territories, 'mother country' ideology and cultural identity have strongly affected certain political leaders. Paul-Marc Henry, designated French 'official expert' on African affairs, has argued that the story of nationalism in French Africa is basically different from that in British territories. He says:

African deputies and senators have learned their politics not in the narrow confines of territorial problems, but in the strange and stimulating world of the French parliament... One could argue that the world as seen from Paris is rather distorted. French deputies themselves were not always aware of the real factors in power politics. The continuous presence of friendly and able African colleagues led them to believe that there was no such thing as African nationalism in French areas, that the idea was a foreign import and, in some cases, one of those notorious plots against Franco-African community and its spiritual achievements. On the other hand, there was no better school for intellectual and political sophistication than that of the French Parliament of the Fourth Republic.



Kwame Nkrumah—I have often been accused of pursuing a policy of the impossible. But I cannot believe in the impossibility of achieving African Union any more than I would ever have thought of the impossibility of attaining African freedom.

In the same way as alliances by the Balkan states with rival powers outside the Balkans resulted in world war, so a world war could easily originate on our continent if African states make political, economic and military alliances with rival powers outside Africa. Already political commentators have referred to Africa as a vast new battleground for the cold war.

FRAGMENTATION

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. Ireland is the classic example, India another.

The French dismembered the Federation of West Africa and that of Equatorial Africa. Nigeria was broken into regions and is anticipating further partitions. Ruanda-Urundi has been fragmented with independence. Because we in Ghana survived pre-independence attempts to split us, the British foisted on us a constitution that aimed at disintegrating our national unity.

The Congo, hastily invested with independence, with malice aforethought,

immediately became the battleground of imperialist-fragmented division. These are all part of the policy of international balkanization of Africa for manipulation by neo-colonialism, which in effectiveness can be more dangerous to our legitimate aspirations of freedom and economic independence than outright political control. For instance, Lenin maintained that:

A form of financial and diplomatic dependence, accompanied by political independence, is presented by Portugal. Portugal is an independent, sovereign state, but actually, for more than two hundred years, since the war of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), it has been a British protectorate.

Great Britain has protected Portugal and its colonies in order to fortify her own positions in the fight against her rivals, Spain and France. In return, Great Britain has received commercial privileges, preferential conditions for importing goods and especially capital into Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, the right to use the ports and island of Portugal, its telegraph cables, etc.

CLIENT STATES

The form taken by neo-colonialism in Africa today

them independence.

This is one of the diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, are formally independent, but in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence. The European power forces the conclusion of pacts with the balkanised states which give control of their foreign policy to the former. Often, too, they provide for military bases and standing armies of the alien power on the territories of the new states. The independence of those states in name only, for their liberty of action is gone.

SUPPLIERS OF RAW MATERIALS

France never subscribed to the thesis of ultimate independence for the colonial territories. She had always maintained her colonies as tightly closed preserves. When it became obvious that national sovereignty could no longer be withheld, the ground was prepared for maintaining the emerging independent nations within the French orbit. They were to remain suppliers of cheap raw materials and tropical food-stuffs while continuing to serve as closed markets for French products.

Soon after the Second World War, France set up two financial organisations for the purpose of 'aiding economic development' in



LATE PATRICE LUMUMBA

COLONIALISM

Henry's remarks serve to underline the myopia which seems to have become endemic to the French ruling class since the days of the Bourbons. The transmission of the affliction to Africans whose attitudes have been conditioned by sophisticated flatteries away from an African orientation towards a 'Franco-African community' can only be regarded as sinister and inimical to African interests.

Mesmerized by the strange and stimulating world of the French parliament, issues as seen at Abidjan can be quite as distorted for African politicians as they can for French deputies in Paris.

Viewed thus, it is small wonder that General de Gaulle's referendum of 28 September 1958, on the constitution of the French Community, should have triumphed with the single dissentient vote of Guinea. The weight of the General's promise of largess for those who remembered the intertwined destiny and common cultural heritage of the Community and the threat of excommunication for those who rejected this destiny, and forswore their noble inheritance, was irresistible.

While the long-standing politicians of the rest of French Africa were dismayed at the prospect of a future severed from the embracing arms of France, Sekou Toure rallied his countrymen round him for a 'NO' vote, and Guinea was rudely ejected from the Community.

The French Community was evolved by General de Gaulle to replace the French Union, devised by the statesmen of the Fourth Republic within LA LOI CADRE, the outline law. The French Union was an attempt to contain the rising tide of African consciousness by the cover of a spurious autonomy, in certain departments of administration.

COUNTERFEIT CHARACTER

Events in Ghana and our steady progress to full independence revealed the counterfeit character of the French Union, and with the near civil war precipitated by the attempted military seizure of power in Algeria, General de Gaulle, endorsed in power in Paris, formulated the French Community to replace the sham pretensions of the Union.

When promulgated, the provisions of the constitution of the Community in respect of the powers they allotted to the African territories were seen to fall short of those regarded as too constricted under the Union. The breaking down into separate entities before the referendum of the Federation of West Africa and that of Equatorial Africa was the key to the new political policy of France.

It was balkanisation in practice. It reinforced the ambitions of political personalities and deepened schisms which were on the way to being closed. A new rift was opened in African politics between Republicans and Federalists, that is, between those who felt they would advance their careers within the strict limits of autonomy and those who, responding to popular clamour, sought

Felix Roland Moumie, a victim of neo-colonialist plot. He died of rat poison in Geneva, Switzerland.



association with other units. This popular pressure in the African lands has achieved several modifications in the working of the Community constitution and has even succeeded in making some of the clauses inoperative.

The coming together of Senegal and Sudan in the Mali Federation, secured them a joint independence within the Community, subject to the French retention of a military base. The Mali Federation, because of the difference in the political attitudes of the leaders, Mr Leopold Senghor and Mr Modibo Keita, has since divided once more into its national parts, Senegal and Mali.

Houphouet-Boigny followed by demanding independence for the countries of the Conseil de l'Entente, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger and Dahomey, without preceding agreements. Sovereignty has since been conferred on Togo, the Congo Republic (Brazzaville), Chad, Gabon, Cameroon, the Central African Republic (formerly Ubangui Shari), and Madagascar. And at last, Algeria has wrested independence after seven years of bitter fighting.

Now that African freedom is accepted by all except the die-hard racialists as an inescapable fact, there are efforts in certain quarters to make arrangements whereby the local populations are given a token freedom while cords attaching them to the 'mother country' remain as firm as ever.

This arrangement gives the appearance of nationhood to the African territory but leaves the substance of sovereignty with the metropolitan power. A certain token aid is pumped in by the 'colonialist power in order to mislead the people and give the impression that something is being done for them.

POSITIVE PROGRAMME

It is meant to divert the nascent demand for a change of government involving more positive independence and a programme envisaging popular welfare. The intention is to use the new African states, so circumscribed, as puppets through whom influence can be extended over states which maintain an independence in keeping with their sovereignty.

The creation of several weak and unstable states

of this kind in Africa, it is hoped, will ensure the continued dependence on the former colonial powers for economic aid, and impede African unity. This policy of balkanisation is the new imperialism, the new danger to Africa.

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. The moderates would like some share in their government but are afraid of immediate responsibility because they lack experience and skill.

They are prepared to leave the main areas of sovereignty to the colonial power, in return for a promise of economic aid. The so-called extremists are men who do not necessarily believe in violence but who demand immediate self-government and complete independence. They are men who are concerned with the interests of their people and who know that those interests can be served only by their own local leaders and not by the colonial power.

MODERATE LEADERS

They know that the tasks of independence are onerous and that without colonialist help they may make mistakes. But they prefer to make their own mistakes in freedom rather than to be denied the opportunity of responsibility, in the belief that even good government is no substitute for self-government.

Having learned 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, who may be tempted to show their followers that the masters are 'being reasonable' and are open to persuasion, that quiet and peaceful negotiation can produce an advance towards freedom. 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.

IMPACT OF SEMI INDEPENDENCE

Underneath the shining surface is the dross. Only the outward form will have changed, the intrinsic relationship is maintained. Foreign imports are still protected, local development clamped down, fiscal policy controlled from the metropolitan capital.

The impact of such semi-independent states on the liberation of Africa has been unfortunate, even dangerous. Bound up as these countries are with the policies of their sponsors, they try to shun the issues involving colonialists and the still enslaved peoples on the African continent, where they do not directly align themselves on the colonialist side.

Some of their leaders, it must be confessed, do not see the struggle of their brother Africans as part of their struggle. Even if they did, they would not be free to express their solidarity. The imperialists can thus sit back and regard with sly satisfaction the rift between Africans.

The results can only be to retard the independence of countries not yet free and to cause friction and disunion among the peoples of Africa. Here is a phenomenon against which all African freedom fighters must be on their guard and resist to the utmost.

OLD IMPERIALISM

In Africa today there are several apparently independent states who, consciously or not, accept this pattern and serve the interests of the new imperialism, which seeks to salvage something from the wreck of the old imperialism. The European Common Market is an outstanding example. The new threat this organisation offers to African unity is no less ominous for being unobtrusive.

As far as Ghana is concerned, we do not oppose any arrangement which the nations of Europe may wish to make among themselves to seek greater freedom of trade within Europe; but we are most decidedly and strongly opposed to any arrangement which uses the unification of Western Europe as a cloak for perpetuating colonial privileges in Africa.

We therefore naturally protest against any economic or political grouping of European powers which seeks to exert political and economic pressures upon

the newly emergent countries of Africa, or which discriminates against the trade of those countries which are not willing to participate in these exclusive and unfair arrangements.

The operation of the European Economic Community, as at present conceived, will not only discriminate against Ghana and other independent states of Africa economically, but what is more important, it will perpetuate by economic means the many artificial barriers which were imposed on Africa by the European colonial powers.

Any form of economic union negotiated singly between the fully industrialised states of Europe and the newly emergent countries of Africa is bound to retard the industrialisation, and therefore, the prosperity and the general economic and cultural development, of these countries. For it will mean that those African states which may be inveigled into joining this union will continue to serve as protected overseas markets for the manufactured goods of their industrialised partners, and sources of cheap raw materials.

The subsidy which they will receive in return for assuming these obligations will be small compared with the losses which they will suffer from perpetuating their colonial status, losses which are to be measured not only in terms of their own retarded economic, technical and cultural development, but in the harm which they do the peoples of Africa as a whole.

ALTRUISTIC CONTRIBUTION

The question must be raised as to where this subsidy comes from. It is difficult to believe that it is a purely altruistic contribution made by the European members of the Market to the cause of African well-being. Such subsidy must, in fact, come out of the trading profits made from forcing down the prices of primary products bought from the African countries and raising the cost of the finished goods they are obliged to take in exchange.

It is also included in the

cost of the projects which constitute the subsidy, a good part of which returns to the European contributors in the form of payments for materials, services, salaries and banking commissions and interest.

It is true that by joining they obtain a preferential profit for their cash crops and minerals in the territories of European economic union. But the disadvantage in bargaining is illusory since most of the commodities which they export are goods which the European partners would in any case have to buy from them.

On the other hand, they deprive themselves of the advantages of meeting their own requirements in the world market and will be bound to have to pay considerably more for everything they buy, quite apart from the hindrances which the Common Market is bound to impose on their own internal industrial development.

Admittedly, the Rome Treaty introduces explicit safeguards concerning tariff protection by the overseas territories of the European Economic Union. But in the circumstances, I am by no means confident that these safeguards will prove effective. The ex-French colonies of Africa have plenty of direct experience of the difficulties they have encountered in setting up manufacturing industries in those cases where these safeguards operate to the disadvantage of industries in France.

It is true, of course, that the producers of primary materials are always at a disadvantage in bargaining with powerful manufacturers in industrial countries. This naturally follows from their economic weakness, a weakness which can be corrected through unity of action between the different raw material producing countries, and not through exclusive trading arrangements between the strong and the weak. The case of Daniel and the lions may occasionally come out right, but it is not a safe basis for economic planning.

The pattern of imperialist aid to Africa is set not only

to draw the unwary back into the neo-colonialist relationship but to tie them into cold-war politics. This has been amply explained by Mr. Walt Whitman Rostow, Counsellor and Chairman of the Policy Planning Council of the U.S. State Department, in an interview given to the weekly journal, *U.S. News and World Report*.

Asked what America is doing about the underdeveloped areas, Mr. Rostow refers to the 'gradual creation of a pattern to succeed the colonial period. We helped pioneer this pattern in our relationship with the Philippines.'

After commenting upon the new relationships established with their former colonies by Britain, France and Belgium, who is making an important continuing contribution to the Congo, he states that: 'As the residual problems are solved on the common interests of we look, as I say, to a new partnership based the northern and southern parts of the free world.'

This Mr. Rostow admits is a long-term process. 'In playing the game in the underdeveloped areas you must be prepared to play for a long time,' and hence, in some of the underdeveloped countries, 'as in most of Africa, we have to start from a very low level—with specific projects, not national plans of a sophisticated kind.'

For, says Mr. Rostow, using the examples of Italy and Greece in the Marshall Plan period, 'we are buying time to protect crucial pieces of real estates—and the possibility of human freedom for those who lived there. And in the end we sweated it out and won... Buying time is one of the most expensive and thankless things we do with our money—as in South Korea.'

This is perhaps one of the most cynical but clear-cut summings up that has ever appeared in print of the approach of a rich power—to the needs and hopes of the new nations of the world. There is no need to underscore the intention it so blatantly exposes in 'playing the game of buying time'.

GHANA'S CASE, NO DIFFERENT

It should be an object lesson for all those African statesmen who think that associations with non-African powers will foster their true interests and give them the opportunity to prosper their nations within continuing independence of action. This objective can only be achieved by close economic association between the African states themselves, which in turn presupposes close political co-operation between them.

It is on account of its retrograde consequences for the cause of African unity and economic independence that the government of Ghana is so completely opposed to the European Community in its present form.

That many of the leaders of the new African states find themselves in a perplexing position, there is no doubt. They are strongly dependent on foreign contributions simply to maintain the machinery of their governments. Many of them have deliberately been made so weak economically, by being carved up into many separate



Nelson Mandela lingers behind prison bars in the fascist state of South Africa.

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Neo-Colonialism

Continued from page 3.

rate countries, that they are not able to sustain out of their own resources the machinery of independent government, the cost of which cannot be reduced beyond a certain minimum.

I recognize the impossible position in which they were placed when the transfer of power took place. Their frontiers were not of their own choosing, and they were left with an economic, administrative and educational system which, each in its own way, was designed to perpetuate the colonial relationship.

PAWNS TO DIVIDE AFRICA

Ghana's case was no different, but we are making decisive efforts to change the pattern and are determined to retain our independence of policy and action. I regard as culpable the insidious reluctance of these states to formulate an independent policy even though it may involve the loss of the contributions which were offered in exchange for continued conformity to the policies of the colonial powers.

Equally reprehensible is the refusal to give recognition to the nature of the new imperialism that is using them as pawns in keeping Africa divided, as a means of aborting total independence and maintaining neo-colonial hegemony. Worse still are the deceits in the pretended willingness of some leaders to co-operate on certain levels of African affairs, while actually conniving with the colonial powers to mislead the efforts at mutual African assistance and unity.

The perfidy of these artifices cannot be too strongly denounced for their fatal implications in the betrayal of African freedom. They bring in question the patriotism of the leaders employing them and give rise to suspicions of their sincerity and honesty. If they had had to fight a stern battle for their independence, they might have valued it more.

A point in our history has been reached where Africa's interests must be the prime concern of Africa's leaders. The safety and progress of every one of our states can be safeguarded only by the acceptance of this precept, which can best be promoted by our unalloyed unity. This means that where associations linking African countries with European powers cut across basic African interests at any level and offer impediments to the goal of union, they must be discarded, and rejected where they are offered.

OBLIGATION TO AFRICA

In all relations with the world overseas, the key consideration must be not merely the superficial or even intrinsic advantage of such relationship for the given African country but the obligation to the African continent as a whole. However much we may protest our loyalty to the cause of African freedom and our united destiny, our affirmations will be without value unless we accept this approach as the cardinal guide to our actions.

States emerging from the tutelage of other colo-

nial powers have not always understood Ghana's attachment to the Commonwealth and the sterling area. That is because the loose, *ad hoc* nature of the structure is not correctly comprehended by those who have been or are members of a more formal association. It is difficult for those not accustomed to a free connection with Europe to appreciate that the Commonwealth is an association of sovereign states, each of which is free from interference from the others, including the United Kingdom.

Each decides for itself its own foreign and domestic policies and the pattern of its government, as provided in the Westminster Statute of 1931, which laid down that: 'Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in their domestic or external affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.'

Some of the nomenclature is outmoded but the principle of sovereign identity of the members of the Commonwealth is more meaningful than ever. Members, however, have the right to criticize each other, and do. For example, events in the Union of South Africa and the whole subject of *apartheid* came under heavy fire at the Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in May 1960, and in 1961 South Africa left the Commonwealth.

THE COMMONWEALTH

There is no compulsion to remain within the Commonwealth, or even to become a member. Burma exercised the right to sever her relations with the Commonwealth on becoming free in 1947. Other states, like Canada and Australia, acknowledge the British Crown as Head of State; India, Pakistan, Ceylon and now Ghana, choose to maintain Republics.

There are mistaken claims that the French Community, by virtue of the changes that have been wrought in its original intentions through the greater panoply of powers vested in the new African states (which are the result of popular pressures), is taking on the character of the Commonwealth.

The resolution from the recent meeting of the Brazzaville Group at Bangui, calling for the transformation of the Community into a French-speaking association patterned on the Commonwealth, does not comprehend the essential uniqueness of the Commonwealth. The fact is that, in the circumstances of having to dissolve an existing association to replace it with a new one, constitution-making will have to be invoked.

This will at once instil a principle which is entirely out of keeping with the whole idea of the Commonwealth, which is not governed by any constitution. It grew out of the association of the white dominions within the British Empire and has adapted itself, with

customary British flexibility, to the continuing evolution of political independence among the non-European members.

Nevertheless, if the United Kingdom opts into a close European federation by attaching to the European Common Market, the position of Ghana, as a member of the sterling area, would be prejudiced, and we might be forced to withdraw from the Commonwealth to safeguard our trading position.

It seems anomalous, therefore, that the new African states at this time, when the French Community is in decline and the unity of the Commonwealth in question, should seek to bind themselves once more into a European political association which can only intensify their economic dependence on France.

E.C.M. AND AFRICA

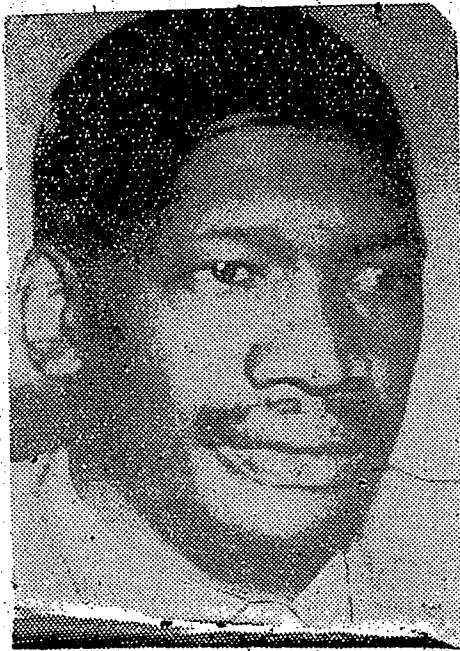
It is significant that the word 'Eurafrica' has come into use in connection with the European Common Market negotiations. It sums up the dangerous conception of a close, continuing link between Europe and Africa on neo-colonialist terms, which must be cemented in any political formation such as that envisaged in the Bangui resolution. The newly emergent states do not make it a principle to break off all relations with

ment of the many countries comprising the continent just as we are alive to the dangers of a world which is half-slave, half-free, so we are alert to the perils of an African continent split between states that are wholly sovereign and states that are only half-independent. Such a pattern can only impede the real independence of Africa and its transformation into an industrialized continent exercising its rightful influence upon world affairs.

None of us should be under any illusion about the difficulties that lie ahead in the forging of continental government. Enemies of African unity will multiply their endeavours to deflect us from our course. Their device is the creation of discord and distrust in order to keep a wedge between us.

Besides the open methods of division, the impact of rising nationalism and independence has encouraged the more subtle velvet-glove weapon of flattery of our national egos. Play is made upon our vanities, the importance of each of us is magnified at the expense of others.

We are subjected to the insidious suggestion that a certain African state is anxious to exalt itself to the place of the retired colonial power; that some African states have a large mouth, open and ready to



Mangaliso Sobukwe, after serving three years jail sentence is detained indefinitely under South Africa's new law.

their former colonial masters.

In the context of a united Africa these relations would take on new and more dignified forms. Even at this time, there may be certain advantages in maintaining a link which history has forged. No question of dictation, however, must arise. The new states must ensure that such relations are the result of a free choice freely negotiated, in which they can treat with the European power just as with any other state in the world with whom they may wish to promote friendship.

Nonetheless, however loose such a relationship may be, if it should tend in the slightest degree to impinge upon the African state's relations with other African states, its retention becomes indefensible. Pan-Africa and not Eurafrica should be our watchword, and the guide to our policies.

What is at stake is not the destiny of a single country but the freedom and destiny of the African continent, the unalterable prelude to African Union and the fullest develop-

ment of their neighbours. Appeal is directed to our personal ambitions and we are reminded that in a union of African states there will be room for only one Prime Minister, a single cabinet and a sole representation at the United Nations.

FICTICIOUS ZONES

Hints are spread around that some states, on account of their size and magnitude of population, are more qualified than others to play the role of leadership in Africa and to be its 'mouthpiece.' There is a tendency to divide Africa into fictitious zones north and south of the Sahara which emphasizes racial, religious and cultural differences.

The basic fallacy of these persuasions, dangerous to the independence of Africa in their shrewd exploitation of our pride and vanities, is the deliberate distortion of our vision of African Union. We do not intend a relationship of unequal partners. We envisage the African Union as a free merging together of peoples with a common

history and a common destiny.

As with other existing unions, the size and resources of countries joining the African Union will be irrelevant to the choice of union leadership. In America, the President is not chosen from the largest of the states. Both President Eisenhower and President Truman came from among the smaller states.

In the early nineteenth century Simon Bolivar, the great liberator of the South American colonies from Spain, had a vision of a Union of South American States as the precursor to the economic development of the South American continent.

Unfortunately for the subsequent history of these lands, he was not able to bring his farsighted idea to triumph over the personal ambitions and jealousies of contending individuals and forces. We have seen the unhappy results of this failure in the dissidence and sloth in which the South American countries were sunk for so many decades. It is only today, against the pressures of popular discontent and welfare aspirations, that they are making some headway on the road to development. Unless, however, they can come together in a union such as Bolivar envisaged, their rate of development can never reach anywhere near those of the integrated, planned economies of the U.S.S.R. and China.

SPECTACLE OF POLITICAL JUGGLERY

The United States of America, but for the firm resolve of Abraham Lincoln to maintain the union of the states, might well have fallen into a disintegration which would have barred the way to the tremendous acceleration of development that an enormous agglomeration of land, resources and people made possible.

Lincoln plunged into a civil war to maintain the union as the only logical base of viability. Slavery and its abolition was a secondary, subservient consideration, though the advantage of free labour in a growing industrial economy, making for lower working costs and greater productivity, were impressing their reasoning upon the entrepreneurs of the North.

Here, then, is the lesson for Africa, and our choice. Are we to take the road of national exclusivism or the road of union?

In the British West Indies at this time we are witnessing a sorry spectacle of political juggling which refuses to subordinate selfish 'big island' interests to total West Indian welfare within Federation.

Inter-island rivalries and jealousies, adroitly stirred by designing politicians, local racial dissensions which have been deliberately fostered to break down a one-time at least superficial cosmopolitanism in such multi-racial islands as Trinidad and Jamaica, the skilfully exploited fears of the predominant East Indian population of the South American mainland territory of British Guiana of being swamped within federation by the total African-descended population, the complacency of island leaders, have all played their several parts

in interring the still-born federation.

Federation of the British West Indian territories, leading eventually to a wider unity with those under other suzerainties, is the only answer to the present poverty and stagnant agricultural societies of the Caribbean world. The islands are less numerous and scattered than those of Indonesia, where the central government is reaching out to bring them all within a centrally directed states.

BANANA REPUBLICS

Unless they succeed in coming together within a federation more strongly knit under a firmer central authority than the first attempt, the islands of the West Indies can have a future no different from that of the 'banana republics' of Central America, notwithstanding Trinidad's oil and asphalt industries and Jamaica's bauxite extraction and secondary manufactures.

For these are, anyway, all foreign-owned and controlled, and the illusion they give of 'industrialization' must disintegrate before the perennial problems of over-population in islands like Jamaica and Barbados, unemployment in all of them, and the steadily rising inflation which has become a noticeable feature of West Indian economies.

Meantime, separate and inwardly split into minuteness by political faction and group animosities, they are unable to give support to the African struggle for freedom and unity, in spite of the bonds of race and sympathy that exist.

Vanity and narrowness of outlook were what kept the leaders of the original states of North America from uniting for a long time. They were finally overwhelmed by the exertions of the people and the emergence of leaders of stature, maturity and far-sightedness.

No one today doubts that the welfare and prosperity of the United States would never have been achieved if each state still cherished its petty sovereignty in splendid isolation. Yet in those days there was perhaps less obvious reason for South Carolina to join New Hampshire as members of a continental union than there is today for Ghana and Nigeria, Guinea and Dahomey, Togo and Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Mali, and others, to form themselves into a Union as a first step to the creation of a union of all the states of the African continent.

That is why any effort at association between the states of Africa, however limited its immediate horizons, is to be welcomed as a step in the right direction: the eventual political unification of Africa.

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

The Central African Federation was never to be confused with these free associations of Africans expressing their own desire to come together. The Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was forced upon the Africans of those territories, by the white settler minorities, with the consent of the United Kingdom Government, in the hope that they would be able to extend their combined hegemony over a dominion freed from the supervision of Whitehall and to spread the intensive

racial practises of Southern Rhodesia to the other parts.

There is a strong financial and ideological connection between South Africa and the Rhodesias which extends through Portuguese Angola and Mozambique. There is talk of a secret military pact between Portugal and the Union of South Africa.

The military machine that is being built up by South Africa presents a most threatening danger, not only to the struggle for independence in Central, East and South Africa, but to the safety of the already independent African states.

It is unfortunate that the United Kingdom, even though South Africa has withdrawn from the Commonwealth following the heavy censure of her *apartheid* policy from the majority of the members continues to give support to the Union's policy of military preparedness.

We cannot afford either to ignore the sinister chain of interests which unites events in the Congo and Angola to East and South Africa. These interests are also connected with the East-West battle for world supremacy and the frenzied efforts being made to drag the newly emerging countries of Africa into the orbit of the cold war.

The contest for ideological influence over the new states of Africa is throwing into confusion and complicating even more what is already a complex enough struggle for freedom from imperialist political and economic dominance and the unification of the continent.

THE CONGO

Any difference, any kind of fissure among Africans is seized and turned to the imperialist and cold-war interests. The Congo offers perhaps the most striking example of how tribal dissensions and political careerism are exploited in order to fragment united territories and exacerbate divisions. The aim of the imperialist and cold-war interests is to cut across the African determination to secure continental unity in full independence.

It was unfortunate that the United Nations was manoeuvred into a position where at one time it appeared to be weighting its influence against the legitimate Congolese Government on the side of those who were responsible for throwing the country into upheaval and for the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

We must be forgiven, I think, if we also see some connection between events in the Congo and Angola and N.A.T.O. The dominating powers joined in this organisation—Britain, France, the United States—are all influenced by financial, industrial and military considerations in maintaining in Africa regimes that will support their interests.

The means used for doing so are, if the evidence is to be believed, dubious in the extreme. It would be difficult to convince most people of what can only be described as the criminal intent behind certain actions that are employed to upset the stability of states trying to sustain their national

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The African Struggle

It is just over twelve years ago that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was released from prison to take over the post of Leader of Government Business in what was then known as the Gold Coast. In the succeeding six years the Convention Peoples' Party was preparing the way to advance towards independence and in March, 1957 a new epoch was reached in Africa with the establishment of an independent Ghana.

In the past six years even greater advances have been achieved not only in Ghana, but throughout the continent of Africa. The seed which was sown by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah twelve years ago is rapidly bearing fruit. The whole continent of Africa is in revolt. Africa is now in the centre of the stage of world affairs. This has been the situation for the past four years.

Not long ago an important British newspaper had an editorial which remarked that "Once upon a time months could pass without African news earning more than occasional paragraph in the newspapers. Now Africa demands the headlines day after day." (*Daily Telegraph* 11. 11. 59)

In the past six years Ghana's independence has become a symbol for the rest of Africa. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah himself has emphasised over

and over again that Ghana's future depends not only on its own internal measures to transform its backward economy, but on the speed of the advance towards independence throughout the whole of Africa.

Since that time none can deny that the freedom struggle in Africa has developed at a rapid pace in every corner of this vast continent. Fierce struggles have been waged (and are still going on) in Kenya, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and in South Africa. During the past three years a bitter fight has been waged to rid the Congo of imperialist domination, and to make its independence a reality. In the course of this process Patrice Lumumba was murdered, and his memory will always remain fresh in the minds of millions of Africans.

For eight years the liberation war had been raging in Algeria, and the French imperialists, realising that sooner or later they will have to negotiate a settlement, have at long last granted them independence. In Angola the Portuguese imperialists are committing the most inhuman massacres to keep their hold on that colony, as also in Mozambique and elsewhere.

Even in face of all these ruthless measures of the imperialist powers,

the African liberation movements have made great strides. In June 1960 Somalia won its independence. Nigeria achieved this in October, 1960, Sierra Leone in April 1961, and in October 1961 the former British Cameroons united within the Republic of the Cameroons. Early in December 1961 Tanganyika achieved independence, and quite recently Uganda achieved hers.

At the same time, all the former French colonies in West and in equatorial Africa won their independence in 1960, and Mauritania and Malagasy in 1960. True they are still within the "French community" and strongly under the influence of French imperialist policy. But the Republic of Guinea chose to become completely independent and now the Republic of Mali is also completely independent, allying itself closely with Ghana and Guinea, forming the Ghana - Guinea - Mali Union of African States.

The result of all these developments is that more than two-thirds of the continent and peoples of Africa are now free from direct colonial rule. Early in 1960 there were only ten independent African States. At the end of this year there will be no less than thirty-

by Kwame Atuapem

one of them. If one takes the British colonial empire in Africa it covered an area before 1957 of nearly two million square miles, nearly twenty times the size of Britain, and a population of more than 72 million. At the end of this year Britain's colonial empire will have been reduced by 40 per cent and the African peoples under direct British colonial rule by over 80 per cent.

There will still remain in Africa eight British colonies covering an area ten times as big as Britain, and an African population of over 18 million. These territories are: Gambia, Kenya, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, and the so-called "self-governing" colony of Southern Rhodesia. It may well be that even some of these will be independent before the end of 1963 for the pace of advance is so swift that it is extremely difficult for British imperialism to hold back the African liberation movement.

At the moment there are several explosive points in the African struggle for political freedom. There is the war for liberation in Tunisia to get rid of the French military base in Bizerta. In Angola the fight for liberation has reached an acute stage. In South Africa the heroic resistance to the vile system of apartheid is still going on.

Extremely sharp is the struggle in Southern Rhodesia against the phoney constitution which makes a mockery of African democracy. And in Northern Rhodesia the Macleod-Welensky alliance produced franchise proposals which defied the ingenuity of the most skilful mathematician. In the present discussions in London on the future of Gambia, it is also clear that provision will be made for early independence.

In relation to all these struggles the big change in the situation is that the African in these territories are no longer fighting alone. Since Ghana's independence in 1957 there has been a remarkable advance towards African Unity, and Dr. Nkrumah has been the spearhead in the activities to achieve this objective.

It was Ghana that took the initiative in convening the first All-African Peoples' Conference at Accra in December 1958. This was a new milestone in the history of the African peoples. It brought together 200 delegates from 28 African countries, together with 100 fraternal delegates and

observers from other countries, including the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. The opening speech of Dr. Nkrumah echoed the slogans over the platform:

*Peoples of Africa Unite
We have nothing to lose but our chains
We have a continent to regain
We have freedom and human dignity to attain.*

The theme of all the resolutions were the political liberation of the whole African continent, and the advance towards a free and united Africa. It gave a powerful stimulus to the struggle for freedom in the remaining colonies, and marked a big step forward towards achieving the victories which have since been won.

The second All-African Peoples' Conference was held in Tunis in January 1960, but this time there was a new emphasis in the resolution adopted. It was now recognised that political independence was not enough, for imperialism was still able to maintain its economic domination, and even to extend its political influence and military penetration. One of the resolutions pointed out that the backward economies in Africa was the result of "the colonial system and foreign domination" and that the colonial Powers were still trying to "substitute economic for political domination and thus rob the newly-won independence of African States of its true content."

After the Tunis Conference came the bitter experience of the struggle in the Congo. What this revealed was the determination of the Belgian imperialists to maintain their economic and military domination even after the Congo had won the political independence. Moreover, other imperialist powers (particularly Britain and the United States) had their fingers in the pie; with the United States doing its utmost to impose its own dominion to replace Belgian rule. All this had a profound influence of the political outlook most of the liberation movements in Africa.

As a result the third All-African Peoples' Conference held at Cairo in March, 1961 was more far-reaching in its political aspects than the first two. This time there were over 200 delegates from 69 political parties and organisations in 37 African countries. But what was most revealing was the political character of the resolutions. The first and main resolution was on the subject of "neo-colonialism", and this was defined in these words:

... the survival of the

colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries which become the victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical measures, and which is the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence or those approaching this status...

"Whenever such machinations appear insufficient to hamper the combativity and determination of popular liberation movement, dying colonialism tries, under the cover of neo-colonialism or through the guided intervention of the United Nation, the balkanisation of newly-independent states or the systematic division of political movements and trade unions, and in desperate cases like the Congo, to go as far as plots, repressive measures by army and police, and murder in cold blood."

"... Conference considers that such countries as the United States, Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Holland and South Africa and France are the main perpetrators of Neo-Colonialism"

This resolution goes on to make a more specific analysis of various forms of neo-colonialism, emphasises particularly the danger of the Moral Re-Armament movement, and puppet governments in Africa which are the tools of neo-colonialism. It laid great stress on the need to struggle against "all forms of opportunism, which is the mask of the imperialist accomplices".

This term "opportunism" was used by Lenin over 50 years ago to describe the so-called Socialists who put the interest of the minority against the majority, and advocated short-term and immediate objectives at the expense of the long-term aims of socialism.

While this danger still exists in the working class movement of all the European capitalist countries, it is also a growing danger in the present struggle in Africa. The fact that political independence has been won by 32 African States is a gigantic step forward—but it is not the end of the struggle. Political independence is only the first stage. It provides the African peoples with the political power to transform their backward economies, to end all forms of imperialist domination, and to advance on the road to socialism. Unless these steps are taken we are in danger of losing even the political independence which we have won.

I believe it is a serious blunder to believe that foreign imperialism is no longer aiming to maintain its domination of the African continent. Although the greater part of Africa has now won the constitutional right to elect their own governments and to decide their own policies, imperialism has increased its penetration of the African continent in other ways.

Foreign investments in Africa are now bigger than ever before, and the scale of imperialist economic exploitation and profits is higher than ever. It is not only the old colonial powers which are now engaged in exploiting Africa, but these imperialist powers like the United States and West Germany which have no direct colonies of their own. The achievement of political independence by so many African States, has, in fact, provided them with an opportunity which previously did not exist. As long as there was direct British colonial rule over Ghana, Nigeria, Somalia, Sierra Leone, and Tanganyika, the British Government was able to exercise almost an economic monopoly in these African countries. Before political independence the French Government was also able to exercise similar monopoly over its own colonial territories.

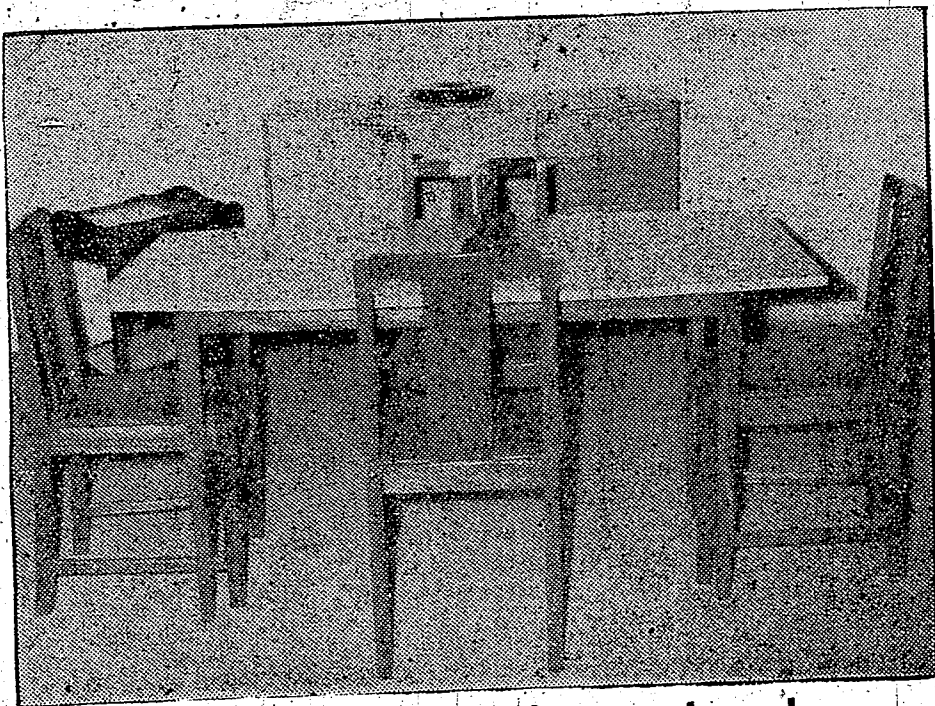
When political independence has been achieved it is then open for the non-colonial powers to engage in economic, political and military penetration. It's true that any independent African States has the right to decide whether this is in the interest of its people, but not every African State adopts the same attitude as Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and the United Arab Republic. The tragic truth is that imperialist penetration has advanced in recent years in most of the independent African States.

Taking only the direct investments of United States monopolies in Africa, they have gone up from 287 million dollars in 1959 to 846 million (three times) in 1959, and is now even more. Total Britain's investments in 1959 were \$6,300 million. France \$6,900 million, Belgium \$3,500 million, and West Germany had an investment of 153 million marks, which is nearly double that of 1957. Japan's trade with Africa has increased threefold, and between 1954 and 1959 West German trade with Africa went up seven times—mainly with South Africa. At the same time, West Germany is the main partner within the European Common Market, and to which 40 per cent of Nigeria's exports went in 1959.

Alongside this develop-

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FREEDOM SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA

IN the fight against segregation in the American South, Negro folk music, old and new, has been playing a vital part in the struggle.

A survey of these freedom songs was made recently by a correspondent of the *New York Times*, who says this is "the greatest mass topical song—writing rage

since the days of the organising drive of the Labour movement in the '30s". "The freedom songs are playing a strong and vital role in our struggle," says

Martin Luther King, Jr. President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "They give the people new courage and a sense of unity."

In the same way, even though on a lesser scale, out of the anti-Polaris struggles and C.N.D. marches young people in this country have adapted old songs and melodies and created new ones.

These songs are used not only to march to, but to get the message over to everyone within hearing distance.

In a society less articulate and sophisticated to play. Especially is this so when the tradition of revivalist singing, the West-African ritual tradition of call and response, let alone long-standing Labour movement habits are deeply intertwined with the powerful movement for racial equality.

Everyone knows the old spiritual:

Go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt's land,
Tell old Pharaoh,
To let my people go.
Now the words are changed: Pharaoh becomes someone more tangible and real. Laurie Pritchett, Albany's Chief of Police:

Go down, Kennedy,
Way down in Georgia land,
Tell old Pritchett
To let my people go.

The theme song of the movement is "We shall overcome," and the confidence and sense of purpose which mass singing of this adaptation from an old Baptist hymn will impart can well be imagined:

We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
We shall overcome, some day,
Deep in my heart,
I do believe,
We shall overcome some day.

'INCITEMENT'

Even Police-Chief Pritchett, according to the *New York Times*, says that though the songs are used to "incite" people, he finds his jailers singing and humming them when he is

engaged in locking up 260 people.

When 50 Negroes were jailed for picketing stores and for entering segregated cafes in one area, 1,500 people turned up at the jail, singing to the tune of "America" and "We shall Overcome", until they were dispersed by teargas.

When any Negro is suspected of betraying the movement, "Which side are you on?" is sung and new lines such as these appear:

Will you be an Uncle Tom or
Will you be a man?
Black folks haven't got a chance unless they organise.

Most of the new songs are of course, set to religious melodies, but in Little Rock you could hear this to the tune of "Yankee Doodle."

Orval Faubus closed it up Tighter than a beanie;
Orval Faubus closed it up Because he is a meanie.

The new songs were picked up by young and old alike with very great rapidity, the older Negroes being well accustomed to the evangelising role of music in the Negro churches.

A rare glimpse of the power of this sort of music was seen and heard in London recently when a Negro group in "Black Nativity" retold the Christmas story in songs and music, and conducted what was almost a revivalist meeting in a West End theatre.

FERVOUR:

Even the sophisticated, not to say blasé, first-night audience found itself responding to the music, stamping feet and joining in the singing. (This group can be seen by the way on commercial television on Christmas Day.)

However, even in the Churches such fervour is

not always present, but when the protest element is introduced the apathy vanishes.

This helps to give the whole movement a breadth which is far wider merely than the younger people involved.

Black and white together,
We shall overcome,
We are not afraid,
We shall overcome.

"We want to say to the good people here," said the Rev. B. E. Cox, one of the leaders of the anti-segregation movement at a demonstration outside a segregationist restaurant, "that we're not mad at anyone. We're mad at segregation."

And so long as there is cause for American Negroes to get mad, it seems certain that one of their chief weapons in their fight will be music and song, so deeply entrenched is the habit of singing in their lives.

The Song of the New Africa

Rise up my friends,
O Brother Africans, rise!
All rise and forward go;
Worker, peasant or scholar
All one to face the foe.
His name?

COLONIALISM!
Forward to meet the future
Hand in hand,
With hearts beating as one,
Singing one song:
How Africa shall rise
again

From the ruins of colonialism!
Tremble, you vile exploiters!
Tremble, accursed agents of imperialism!
And you too!

All you stooges and traitors
Who have espoused the criminal cause.
The time draws near, yea,
it is on our side.
The bell tolls, and its swelling notes
Will soon reverberate
above your heads.

Doomed to destruction.
The hour is at hand
The hour of doom, of doom inexorable,
When Justice shall be done.

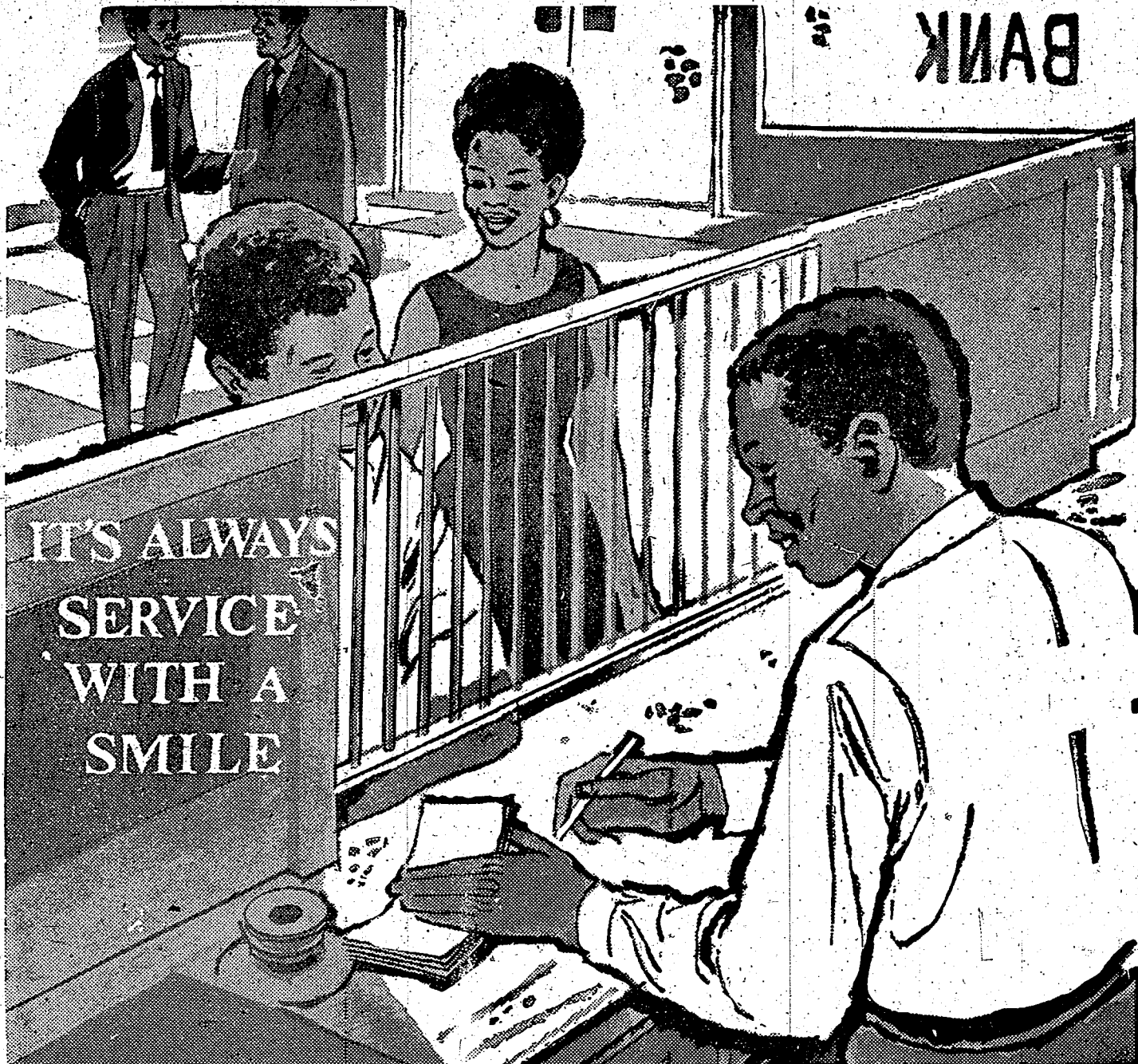
The knell of Judgment sounds
For the colonialists and their errand-boys.
Hark! Listen to the knell!
Hear how it swells!
Oh, you vile race of men!

What have you done to Africa?
You've turned her into a vast Prison House
Whence groans have risen
From a race oppressed,
Oppressed from end to end;

But you heeded not the groans.
The race of whom I speak has learnt
That tears move not the executioner,
Nor yet hard hearts wedded to filthy lucre.

So let us dry our tears
And to the fight!
Fight on and on and on,
And yet once more!
Fight for to live,
Fight for to conquer,
Conquer that we may live!

(The author of this poem, Ray Autra, a former Director of Radio Guinea.)



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Oppression and Revolt

"INDUSTRIAL and commercial aspirations and growth on the part of the colonial subjects is thus arrested; wages drop, and the

colonial subject finds it impossible to acquire capital of any sort for any business enterprise; and worse than this, whether as a wage earn-

er or as peasant, he is always in debt due to the fact that when he buys manufactured goods he loses, and when he sells his pro-

duce he loses; and the colonial government sees that he remains in perpetual debt; by further taxing him. "Since the advent of ca-

pitalism into the colonies, colonial peoples have been reduced to the level of labourers and contract bondsmen, and are unable to organise effectively due to government and monopolist combine interference.

The philosophy of European capitalism in the colonies is that colonial subjects should labour under any foreign government with uncomplaining satisfaction.

They are supposedly 'incapable' of developing the resources of their own country, and are taught to labour and appreciate 'good' customers. The meagre stipend given to them as a wage by the European capitalists is spent on spurious imported manufactured goods, the only kind they get. Curiously enough, the same coin that is given to the 'native' as a wage by his exploiter eventually return as to the pocket of that wily exploiter.

This truly exasperating type of oppression does not spare the civil servants, who are as a rule subjected to severe toil for which they are paid starvation wages. It does not spare the feudal elements either, who in the majority of cases are humiliated and work as prison

warders or tax collectors, with just a pittance in return. Moreover, it groups all the "natives" together as political outcasts and subjects to the greatest humiliations, socially and culturally.

Oppression is so general that all the members of every class are drawn into the great, all-embracing struggle. And, of course, the result is repression of a general nature. Then the National Liberation Movement ceases to function on a sporadic basis, without definite organisation.

It manages to enlist large masses of the people with the rising working class in the vanguard, on a more or less permanent footing. Thus endowed with new characteristics, the Liberation Movement no longer expressed itself primarily in terms of uprisings hastily staged, but by a new type of offensive—a mass struggle in which workers and peasants held demonstrations and advance claims. This type of offensive constantly forces the enemy on the defensive, and he is compelled to go out into the streets and take the battle among the crowd.

Nowadays the type of battle the imperialists carry among the crowd, is determined by the nature of the terrain on which they operate.

THE AIMS OF COLONIALISM

WITHIN the frame work of the New Imperialist Strategy, the colonial type of repression practised in countries still under direct colonial rule, has a dual aim. It would appear that some colonial powers in Africa are bent on perpetuating colonial domination, but the imperialists, generally speaking, are less concerned with trying to prevent such countries from attaining to independence in a formal sense.

What they are anxious to ensure is that these countries attain "independence", in a state of penury and exhaustion; morally, materially and from the population point of view. In such circumstances, the solution proposed by the neo-colonialists seems inevitable, and ever in the eyes of some nationalists; as the biggest victory they could possibly secure.

Thus—and this is the important point—the prospect of continuing or resuming the struggle against neo-colonialism would be either eliminated for good, or else discontinued for a long time yet after the attainment of a neo-colonialist type of independence.

There would be no point in repeating here the cruel measures the imperialists adopt in their fight against the masses still under colonial domination. All one need do is take a good look at the press. As a matter of fact, even the imperialist information services and their agents denounce these odious crimes, while at the same time taking great care to disguise the sort of repression that takes place in countries under the hell of the colonialists.

The cruel measures to which we refer, give a sav-

age picture of the imperialist tactics of repression as practised by them in the colonies. These take the form of shooting demonstrators and strikers, hunting down political leaders, imprisoning and torturing them and openly attacking harmless crowds.

Although the general wave of oppression and repression tends in the colonies bring practically every section of society and every class of person into active participation in the struggle against imperialism, it does not follow automatically that, in the neo-colonialist period, the inhabitants of colonised territories face the imperialists with a united opposition front.

From now on, in the countries that are still under colonial domination, the imperialists, in order to carry out their new strate-

gy, will be forced to act as follows, bearing in mind the aims outlined above:—

a) try by all means to find candidates for neo-colonialism within the ranks of the very people fighting against oppression:

b) get their neo-colonialist candidates or agents to act as saboteurs in the anti-colonialist struggle, so as to disorganise or permanently divide the nationalist ranks, or even embroil them in a fratricidal conflict, the object being to hasten the process whereby the whole Nation lies prostrate, morally, materially and demographically speaking for this process is found to be necessary if neo-colonialism is to make a cosy home for itself.

AFRICA Continent of the Future

"THE great stream of history casts up on to the shores of reality, one after another, its hard facts of life and human relationships. And one of the outstanding facts of our times is the impact of awakening Africa on the contemporary world."

"We are advancing a just and positive demand; our voice rings out across the oceans, over the mountains and hills, in the valleys, deserts and in the vast populated expanses, insisting on freedom for Africa. Africa wants to be free; Africa shall be free." These words were spoken by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana and a prominent African Statesman.

THE CALENDAR OF FREEDOM

For centuries Africa had been, in the words of Karl Marx, "a warren for the commercial hunting of blackskins." By the end of the Second World War

there were but four formally-independent countries: Egypt, Liberia, the Union of South Africa and Ethiopia. The rest of the continent languished under the colonial yoke.

The imperialists hoped

that Africa would remain a colonial warren for ever.

"It must be made clear to the Africans... that it will be several generations before they will have sufficient experience to take a real part in the adminis-

tration of the country, and that in these days no one is fit to govern."

So wrote Colonel Ponsonby, a Tory M.P. in *The Times*. But history has decided in a different way. The Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the triumph of socialist revolutions in many countries in Europe and Asia and the rise of the socialist world system have changed the balance of forces in the world and greatly accelerated the process of liberation from colonialism. This process was ushered in by the Great Socialist Revolution, and Africa did not remain outside it.

INDEPENDENCE IS BUT FIRST STEP

Political independence is an important but certainly not the last stage in the struggle for freedom. The liberated countries of Africa now face the task of overcoming the socio-economic and cultural backwardness—the grim heritage of colonial rule.

The economic potential of Africa is stupendous. Yet today it is the poorest of all the continent.

Throughout the post-war period the annual income per head of population in Africa has averaged \$75. This is less than one-

fifth of the average annual income of West Europeans. These are but average figures.

In reality, the greater part of the income is appropriated by the colonialists. It takes an African worker a year to earn as much as a West European worker earns in a month. The African peasant income is still less.

But this is only part of the colonialist legacy. No less tragic is another consequence of colonial rule: The average span of life of Africans ranges from twenty-three to thirty years.

In most of the countries medical services is practically non-existent; before gaining independence Nigeria had one doctor for every 52,985 people, Togo for every 33,000, the countries of West and Equatorial Africa for 30,000 and 25,000 respectively, and Cameroon one for every 23,000. Compare these figures with Britain and France, which have one doctor for every 700 to 1,100 people.

Cultural backwardness is another feature of the colonial legacy.

Today Africa is almost completely illiterate. Between 95 and 99 per cent of all African adults are illiterate in Somali, Equatorial and West Africa. In other countries illiterates constitute 60 to 80 per cent of the adult population.

What is needed in order to wipe out this grim heritage of the colonialist past? President Sekou Toure of Guinea said:

"We have no grounds for saying that the imperialist states intend to relinquish voluntarily their economic, political and military power. Africa, despised and deprived of rights, now occupies the main place in their expansionist plans.

Colonialism tends to acquire an international form which permits the banners and anthems of African nationalism but forbids any infringing of colonial interests. Political independence does not in itself signify complete national liberation. It is, of course, an important and decisive state.

Nevertheless, we must recognise that national independence presupposes not only political liberation but, and this is the main thing, complete economic liberation. Social progress is impossible without these two essential factors."

COLONIALISM IS STILL ALIVE

It is still a long way to the complete economic liberation of Africa. At present foreign capital controls practically all the industry and agriculture of the independent African countries.

The fruits of the African workers' labour are reaped as before by foreign imperialists. The peasantry continues to slave for foreign oppressors.

According to a United Nations report, most of the minerals extracted in Africa (92 per cent) are still exported, and only

eight percent are left for internal consumption. Africa's agriculture is still a one-crop enterprise.

Thus, though direct colonial rule has been abolished on the greater part of the continent, Colonialism still exists. It relies mainly on the economic positions of the imperialist powers in Africa.

As we see, along with the capital of the "classical" colonial powers, U.S. capital has seized strong positions in Africa. U.S. imperialism is determined to cash-in on the favourable situation caused as a result of the collapse of the European colonial empires.

After his African tour in 1957 Richard Nixon noted, in a confidential report, that the crisis of colonial policy in Africa was an opportunity for the United States to extend its direct influence there.

Taking advantage of the dependence of Britain, France and Belgium on the United States, the latter was able to establish military bases in Africa.

At the same time U.S. capital is fast penetrating into the African economy. In the past twenty years U.S. capital investments in Africa have risen twenty-fold.

In effect, U.S. imperialism is becoming the main force of neo-colonialism in Africa, the main danger to the free African countries. In this part of the world, too, it is doing its dirty job as the biggest exploiter and the gendarme of the capitalist world.

In recent years West German capital, too, has increasingly flowed into Africa. Its total investment is not very great, at the moment than 100 million dollars. But its expansion is a grave potential threat to the peoples of Africa. The Japanese monopolies are also active in Africa.

As long as foreign capital wields such an influence in Africa there can be no talk of overcoming the economic backwardness and raising living standards.

But this is not all. A feature of the situation at the present stage is the absence of fully fledged nations. African nations either have not yet taken shape or they are in the making. In most of the free countries of Africa there are numerous tribes, and inter-tribal strife is a frequent occurrence.

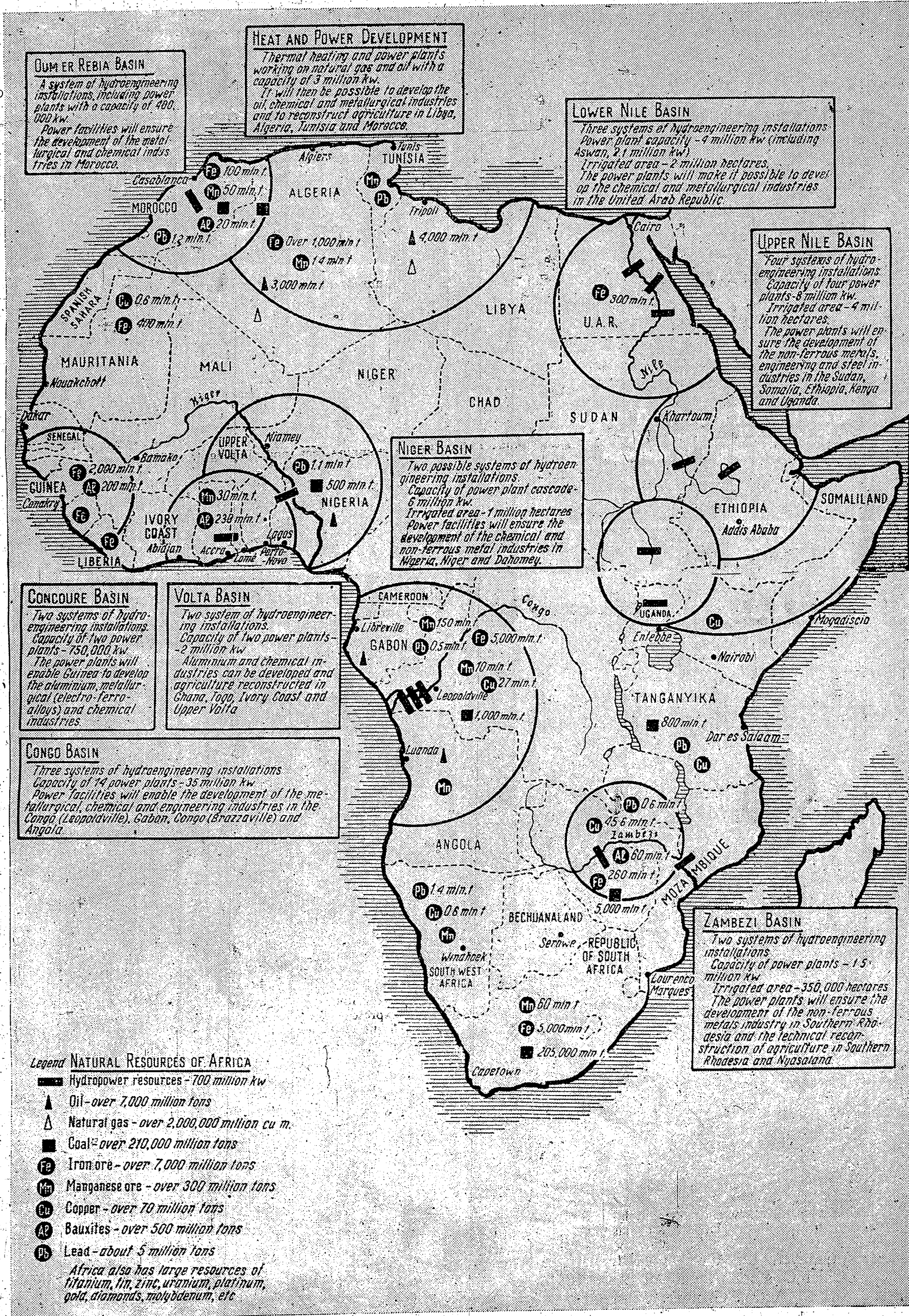
Tribalism is conducive to the economic backwardness. On the other hand, economic backwardness is fertile soil for perpetuating tribalism and for the emergence of separatist trends which bring grist to the mills of the imperialists.

Strijdom, former Premier of the Union of South Africa, cynically said that tribal life under the leadership of chiefs supported by the Government was a bulwark against the spread of communism.

THE OPPOSING FORCES

Economic backwardness, an extreme paucity of in-

Continued on page 11



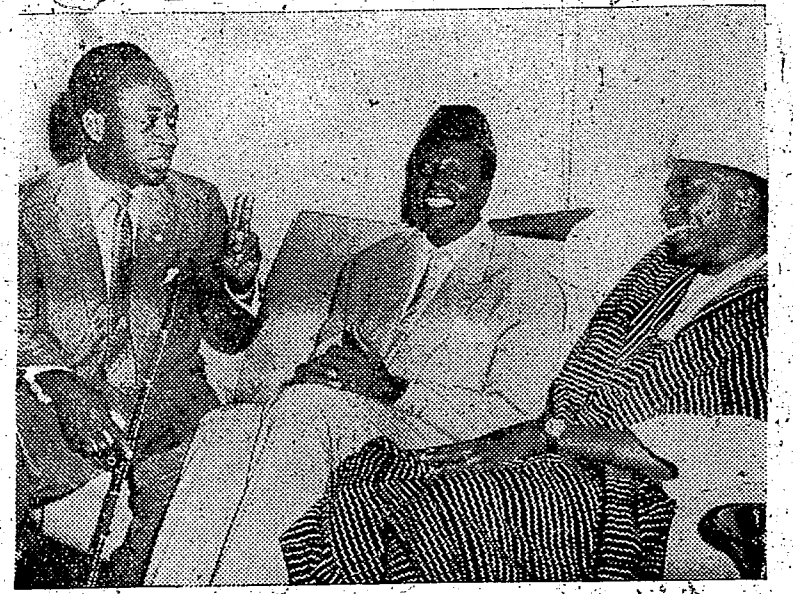
KWAME NKRUMAH AND



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and His Imperial Majesty Haile Salessie, Emperor of Ethiopia.



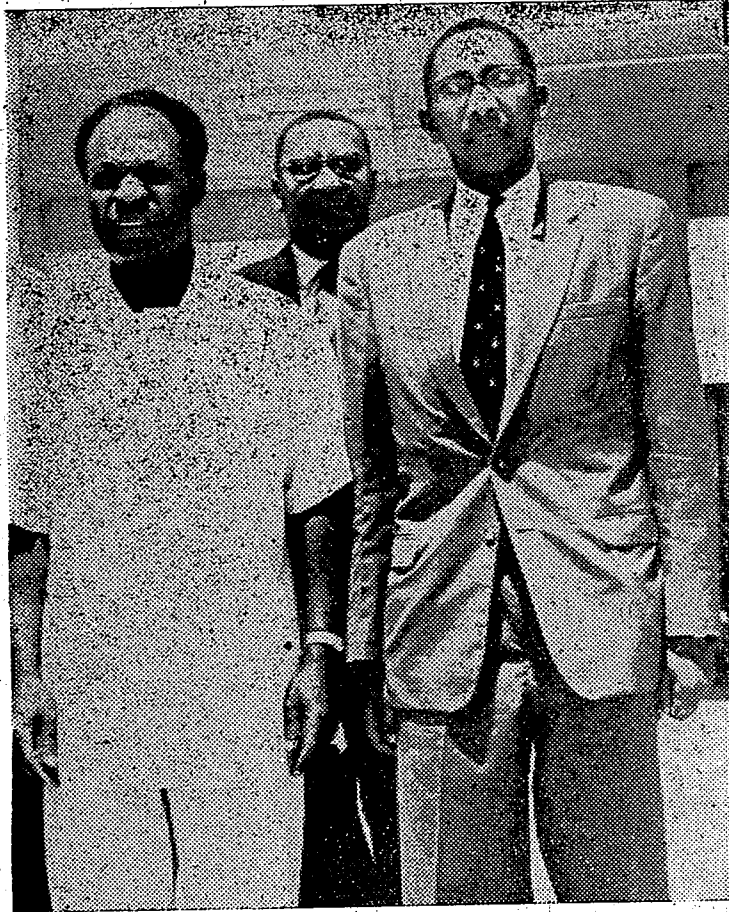
Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and (in kente) H.E. Dr. Julius Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanganyika.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, H.E. Modibo Keita and H.E. Sekou Toure, Heads of State of Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union--Nucleus of African Unity.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser, President of the U.A.R. (Egypt)



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and His Royal Highness Moshoeshoe II of Basutoland (right)



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and H.E. Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with H. E. Mohamed Ben Othman, President of Libya.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Leader of the Action Group of Nigeria.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with H.E. Hamani Diori, President of the Republic of Niger.

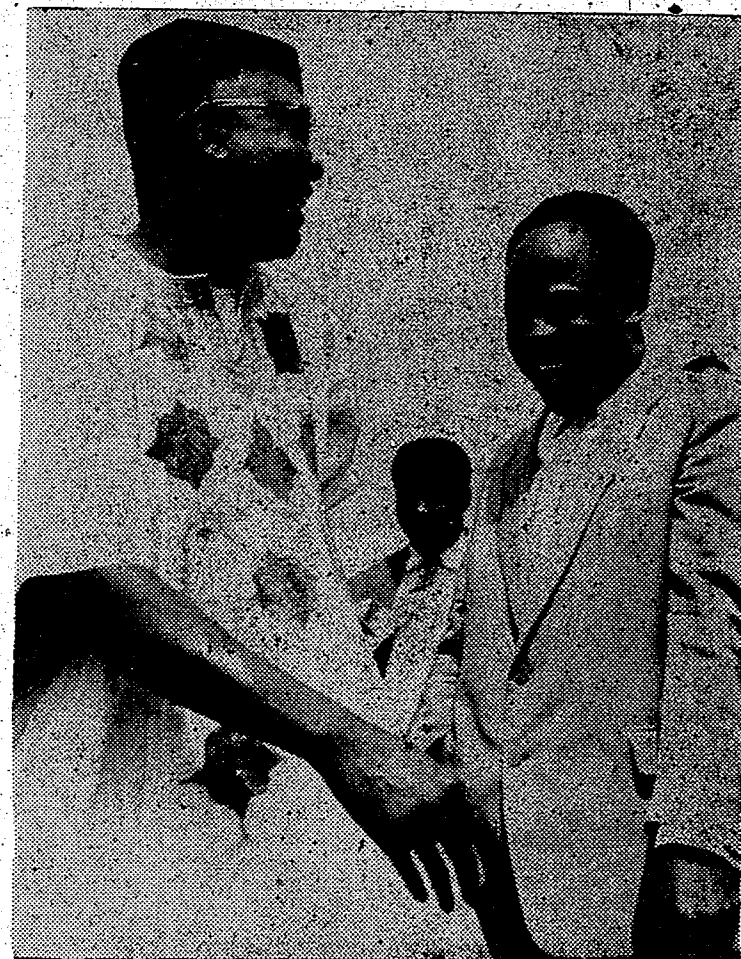
SOME AFRICAN LEADERS



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with H.E. Aden Abdullah Osmann President of Somali.



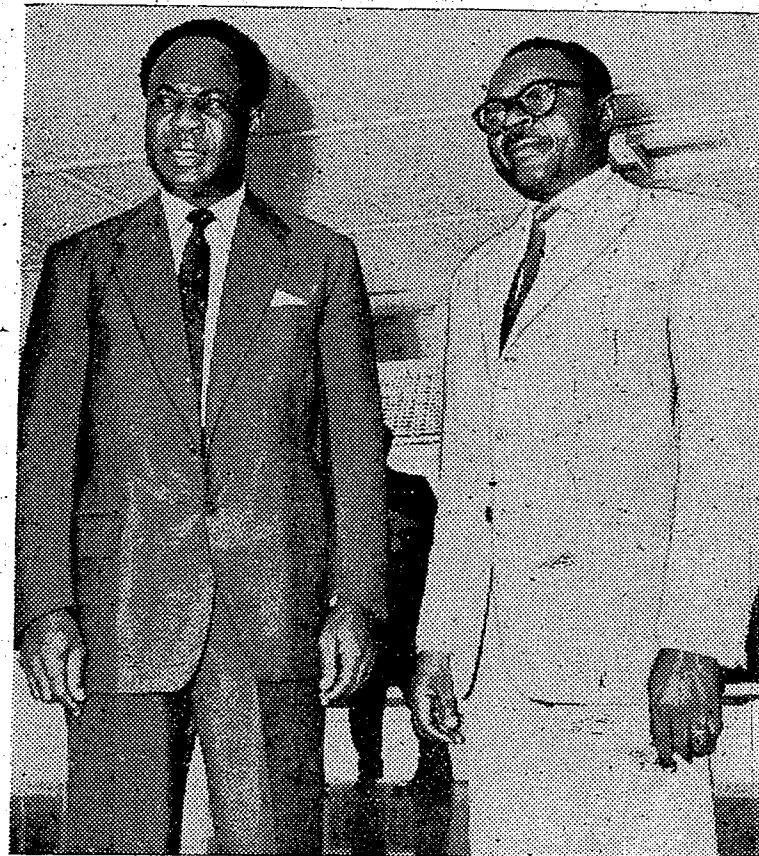
H.E. Sekou Toure, W. V. S. Tubman and Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the Saniquielle Conference in July, 1959.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and H.E. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Governor-General of Nigeria.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and H.E. Habib Bourguiba President of Tunisia.



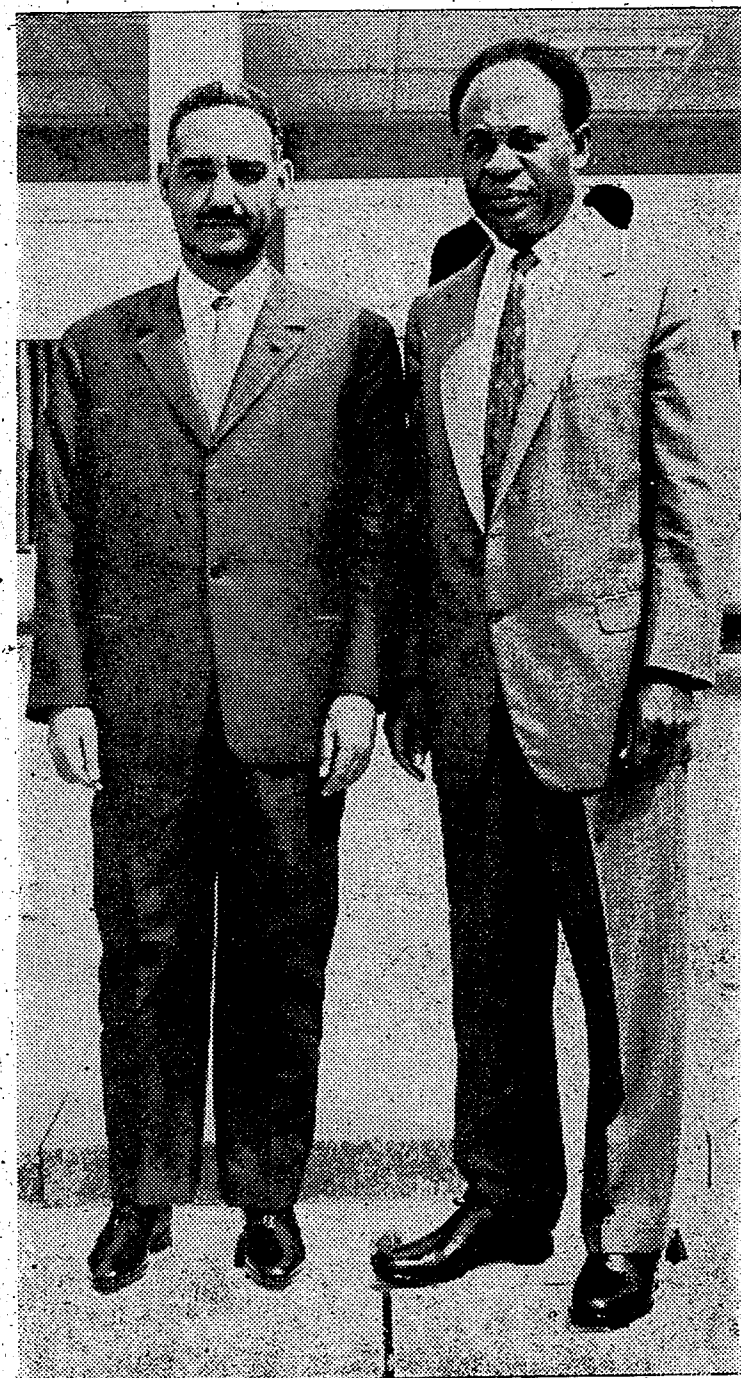
Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and H.E. Maurice Yameogo, President of the Republic of Upper Volta.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with H.E. W.V.S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with H.E. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Federal Prime Minister of Nigeria.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah with H.E. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of Mauritania



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco.

INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

No.	State	Area in 1,000s of sq. miles	Capital	Former Status	POPULATION IN 1,000s		Head of Government	Head of State	Date of Independence
					Total	Non-African			
1	Algeria	855	Algiers	Former Overseas Province of Republic of France	10,930	1,250	Ben Bella	Ferhat Abbas	July 1, 1962
2	Burundi	7.2	Usumbura	Former Belgium ruled U.N. Trust Territory	2,300	3	Andre Ndirimiwa	Iwambutsa IV	July 1, 1962
3	Cameroun	183	Yaounde	Former French and British Trust Territories of Cameroun and Southern Cameroons	4,846	16	Charles Assale	Amadou Ahidjo	Jan. 1, 1962
4	Central African Republic	238	Bangui	Former French Colony	1,185	6	David Dacko	David Dacko	August 13, 1960
5	Chad	514	Fort Lamy	Former French Colony	2,730	5	Francois Tombalbaye	Francois Tombalbaye	August 11, 1960
6	Congo (Bra.)	132	Brazzaville	Former French Colony	795	11	Fulbert Youlou	Fulbert Youlou	August 15, 1960
7	Congo (Leo.)	905	Leopoldville	Former Belgian Colony	15,000	120	Cyrille Adoula	Joseph Kasavubu	June 30, 1960
8	Dahomey	44	Port Novo	Former French Colony	2,000	5	Hubert Maga	Hubert Maga	August 1, 1960
9	Egypt (U.A.R.)	363	Cairo	Ancient African Kingdom since 3000 B.C., and former British Protectorate	27,000	250	Gamel Abdel Nasser	Gamel Abdel Nasser	Feb. 28, 1922
10	Ethiopia	400	Addis	Ancient African Kingdom	21,800	40	Amilou Hapte-Wolde	Haile Selassie I	1000 B.C.
11	Gabon	102	Libreville	Former French Colony	421	5	Leon M'ba	Leon M'ba	Aug. 17, 1960
12	Ghana	92	Accra	Former British Colony	6,691	7	Kwame Nkrumah	Kwame Nkrumah	March 6, 1957
13	Guinea	95	Conakry	Former French Colony	3,000	9	Sekou Toure	Sekou Toure	Oct. 2, 1958
14	Ivory Coast	128	Abidjan	Former French Colony	3,200	25	Felix Houphouet-Boigny	Felix Houphouet-Boigny	Aug. 7, 1960
15	Liberia	43	Monrovia	Independent Republic since 1847	2,500	1	W.V.S. Tubman	W.V.S. Tubman	July 26, 1847
16	Libya	679	Tripoli	Former Italian colony and British French Trust Territory	1,250	50	Mohamed Ben Othman	Idris El-Senussi I	Dec. 24, 1951
17	Malagasy	228	Tananarive	Former French Colony	5,239	70	Philibert Tsiranana	Philibert Tsiranana	June 26, 1960
18	Mali	465	Bamako	Former French Colony	4,900	7	Modibo Keita	Modibo Keita	June 20, 1960
19	Mauritania	419	Nouakchott	Former French Colony	730	2	Moktar Ould Daddah	Moktar Ould Daddah	Nov. 28, 1960
20	Morocco	170	Rabat	Former French Protectorate	11,598	350	Hassan II	Hassan II	March 2, 1956
21	Niger	490	Niamey	Former French Colony	2,850	3	Hamani Diori	Hamani Diori	August 3, 1960
22	Nigeria	373	Lagos	Former British Colony of Nigeria and British Trust Territory of N. Cameroons	40,000	17	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Elizabeth II (Dr. Azikwe)	October 1, 1960
23	Rwanda	13.7	Kigali	Former Belgian ruled U.N. Trust Territory	2,700	7	Gregoire Kayibanda	Kigeri V	July 1, 1962
24	Senegal	76	Dakar	Former French Territory	2,550	50	Leopold Sedar Senghor	Leopold Sedar Senghor	June 20, 1960
25	Sierra Leone	28	Freetown	Former British Colony	2,500	2	Milton Margai	Elizabeth II	April 27, 1961
26	Somali	266	Mogadishu	Former Italian Colony and British Protectorate	2,374	44	Abdi Raschid Ali Shermarke	Aden Abdullah Osman	July 1, 1960
27	Sudan	968	Khertoum	Former Anglo-Egyptian Condominium	11,615	7	Ibrahim Abboud	Ibrahim Abboud	Jan. 1, 1956
28	Tanganyika	362	Dar-es-Salaam	Former British ruled Trust Territory	9,238	123	Julius Nyerere	Julius Nyerere	Dec. 9, 1961
29	Republic of Togo	22	Lome	Former French ruled Trust Territory	1,642	2	Grundy	Grundy	April 27, 1960
30	Tunisia	48	Tunis	Former French Protectorate	3,965	250	Habib Bourguiba	Habib Bourguiba	March 20, 1960
31	Upper Volta	106	Ouagadougou	Former French Colony	4,000	6	Maurice Yameogo	Maurice Yameogo	Aug. 5, 1960
32	Uganda	94	Kampala	Former British Colony	6,682	92	Milton Obote	Elizabeth II	Oct. 9, 1962

CORRIGENDA:

(1) Line 29 (Republic of Togo) Columns 7 and 8, Nicholas Grundy (2) Line 30 (Tunisia) last Column, for March 20, 1960, read March 20, 1956.

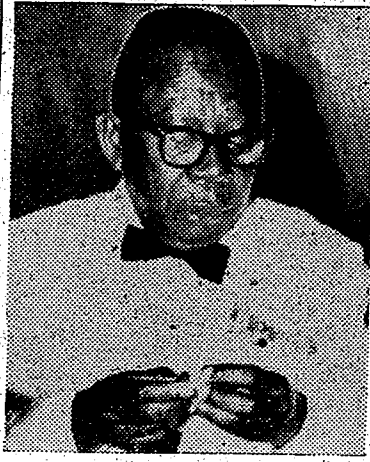
SOME OF THE LEADERS OF AFRICA



H.E. Milton Magai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone.



H.E. Aden Abdullah Osman, President of Somalia.



H.E. W. V. S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia.



H.E. Ibrahim Aboud, President of Sudan.



H.E. Hamani Diori, President of the Republic of Niger.



H.E. Modibo Keita, President of the Republic of Mali.



H.E. Colonel Gamel Abdel Nasser, President of U.A.R.



Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana.



His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco.



H.E. Mohamed Ben Othman, President of Libya.



H.E. Dr Julius Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanganyika.



H.E. Leopold Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal.



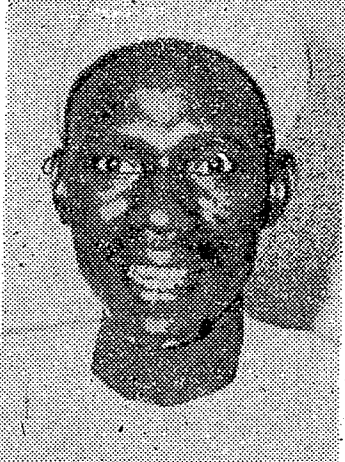
H.E. Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea.



H. E. Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia.



H.E. Hubert Maga, President of the Republic of Dahomey.



H.E. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Federal Prime Minister of Nigeria.



H.E. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of Mauritania.



H.E. Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Republic of Ivory Coast.



His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia.



H.E. Ben Bella, President of Algeria.



H. E. Maurice Yameogo, President of the Republic of Upper Volta.

Africa, Continent of the Future

Continued from page 5

dustry and tribalism all have left their imprint on the anti-colonial revolutions in Africa. Who are the conflicting forces in the struggle for independence?

On one side of the barricade we find the foreign colonialist imperialists. These elements, not very great in number, are the white settlers, landowners and the colonial administration. The colonialists find support among the upper-strata Africans "allowed" to participate in the administration. They, too, are not numerous and include, as a rule, the tribal and feudal chiefs and, sometimes, representatives of the local bourgeoisie.

Lacking strong social foothold in Africa, the colonialists on the one hand, seek to capitalise on the tribal strife and, on the other, resort to brutal repressions and war against the people.

On the other side of the barricade we find practically the entire population. These are, first of all, peasants. The peasant question is one of the fundamental issues of the national-liberation revolution in Africa.

"When the whites came they had the Gospel and we had the land, now we have the Gospel and they have the land," the Africans say.

Having appropriated the land the European settlers concentrated on one or two crops for export, whereas the peasants had either to leave their villages or become semi-slaves, semi-proletarians on the plantations of their white masters.

The African peasantry is rigorously oppressed and, as a rule, is not organised. In recent times, however, peasant unions, often of a semi-religious character, have appeared in Kenya, in the republics of Equatorial Africa and elsewhere on the continent; some of them are active in the struggle.

In the colonial countries another important force in the national movement, one that does not yet play the decisive role but which undoubtedly soon will, is the working class.

The numerical strength of this working class, just as is the case with Africa's population generally, is not known. According to rough estimates, it ranges up to eleven Million.

Union of South Africa	2,240,000
Southern Rhodesia	488,450
Northern Rhodesia	258,340
Nyasaland	106,900
Tanganyika	439,094
Kenya	359,000
Uganda	224,500

(Other estimates say 300,000)

Zanzibar	107,800
Nigeria and British Cameroons	500,000
Sierra Leone	90,000
Gambia	5,400
Former French Equatorial Africa	232,000
Former Belgium Congo	1,030,900
Ruanda-Urundi	110,000
Angola	800,000
Mozambique	110,000
Liberia	25,000

(On rubber plantations only)

Total 7,343,884

To this should be added approximately three to 3.5 million wage workers in the countries of North Africa.

This table shows that the distribution of wage workers is extremely uneven. In North and South Africa industrially the most developed—we find considerable numbers of workers. The working class there is concentrated in large enterprises, primarily in mining, and is more developed politically.

Large numbers of African workers are migrants. These are peasants evicted from their land. Migrant labour suits the European companies in Africa. And not only because it can be exploited freely and without restrictions, but also

because migration is an obstacle to the formation of class solidarity and class consciousness.

The colonialists, conscious that the proletariat is the more consistent, most active fighter against colonialism, have a deadly fear of it. The French writer, R. Delavignette quotes in his "The Peoples of Overseas Territories and Western Civilisation" a French colonialist as saying: "The price we have to pay socially for the African worker is exceedingly high."

His proletarianisation, his instability (!) as a proletarian are more dangerous than the proletarianisation of Europeans because the class struggle in the overseas territories is accompanied by the national struggle.

A feature of political life in Africa is the absence of an influential national bourgeoisie. True, the situation is not the same everywhere. But most of the countries that are now independent, the arbitrary rule of the colonialists, the absence of a national industry together with the economic stagnation have produced a situation in which the national bourgeoisie is either non-existent or extremely weak. Wherever there is a national bourgeoisie it takes

part in the anti-colonial struggle.

AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

Number of trade union members in the countries south of the Sahara:

The countries of former French West Africa	250,000
Nigeria (together with British Cameroons)	150,000
Kenya	50,000
Northern Rhodesia	50,000
Cameroons	50,000
The Union of South Africa	40,000
Tanganyika	15,000
Sierra Leone	15,000
Uganda	10,000
Nyasaland	5,000
The countries of former French Equatorial Africa	5,000

All in all in the countries south of the Sahara there are more than a million trade union members. Such in general outline are the complicated and rather specific conditions of the political struggle in the young countries of Africa.

The picture would not be complete without mentioning another salient feature of the times—the growing solidarity of the African peoples in the struggle against colonialism. The imperialists, closing their ranks to crush

the national-liberation movement, have opted for a "collective colonialism," for a colonialist united front of sorts: To this the Africans are responding, by consolidating their ranks.

Since 1958 important conferences of independent African countries and conferences of African peoples have been held in Accra, Conakry, Tunis, Addis-Ababa, Leopoldville and Casablanca. At these the foundations were laid of a united anti-colonial front and various aspects of economic and political development examined.

SLAVERY

Nearly 180 million Africans are now politically independent. But another 65 million are still under colonial rule in its most detested forms. The anti-colonial movement is gaining momentum and assuming the form of armed struggle (Algeria), strikes (Angola) etc.

On December 14th, 1960, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Granting Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples which says: "This General Assembly," "recalling the resolve proclaimed by the nations in the Charter of the United Nations Organisation" to reaffirm faith in the fun-

damental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large small" and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger liberty" "being convinced that all peoples have the inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the territorial integrity of their national territory," "solemnly proclaims the need of immediately and unconditionally putting an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

Thus, the liberation of the countries still suffering under colonial yoke has become a practical issue of the day. For the colonialists Africa was the "continent of the future". They dreamed of the fabulous profit they would pocket from the ruthless exploitation of its peoples. Alas, these were but pipe-dreams.

Africa is truly the continent of the future. For in the years to come, when its people will have rid themselves of the last vestiges of colonialism, they will be prosperous. They will have a rich economy and culture and a decent standard of living.

SAHARA AND AFRICA

AMONG the many terms and phrases that are very much in vogue now is that of 'Africa South of the Sahara'. This is seen in many a U.N. publication; it features in diplomatic exchanges and international meetings and even now history books are appearing under the title 'The History of Africa South of the Sahara.'

This title could be allowed to go unchallenged but for its implications. The title implies, to most people, that the Sahara serves or should serve as an iron-curtain between the so-called 'Arab and Black Africa.'

Many friends of mine, British, American and especially Israeli, have often asked me what there is in common between the West African independent states and the North African states. Indeed most of them argue that the Sahara has always been a barrier. Even those who are not prepared to go so far have described it as a 'bridge.'

WORLD'S LARGEST DESERT

And International Conciliation publication has just appeared under the title, "The Sahara—bridge or barrier." Does the Sahara really divide Africa into two such rigid zones? Has it in fact ever proved a barrier between North or Arab and Western or so-called Black Africa? Can the Sahara be really spoken of as a bridge?

These are the questions that I shall try to answer. Let me dispose of the last one first. I do admit that those who talk of the Sahara in terms of a bridge do so metaphorically. But I want to submit that it is a very misleading metaphor. A bridge implies a narrow link over a gap of some sort between two areas, districts, banks, etc. Secondly, a bridge is not usually the permanent abode of human beings.

The Sahara is the world's largest desert. It extends 2,500 miles from east to west along the Tropic of Cancer and varies in breadth between 800 and 1,200 miles from north to south. It occupies an area, then, roughly of 3 million square miles (over twice as big as all Europe West of the Russian border including Great Britain and Denmark). Furthermore, the Sahara is not just a monotonously flat landscape of sand and sanddunes incapable of supporting human habitation. Indeed, it is the home today of at least 2,500,000 people.

Considering the area of the Sahara and the population it permanently harbours, it is exceedingly misleading—if not indeed wrong—to talk of it even figuratively in terms of a bridge.

And now to the first two questions. Does the Sahara in fact divide Africa into two?

Those who answer this question affirmatively imply that culturally, ethnically and linguistically, the two parts of the continent are entirely different while each of the two forms a whole.

By An Eminent Historian

But this is, surely, not borne out by the available evidence. 8,109,000 of the total population of 16,913,000 of the former French West Africa (now Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Niger, Dahomey) 11,661,000 of the 16,835,000 people of Northern Nigeria, about 200,000 of 6.7 million people of Ghana, like about 80 per cent of the inhabitants of North Africa and the Sahara, subscribe to the Mohammedan faith. And it must be emphasised that this faith was disseminated from North Africa and across the Sahara into West Africa and the Guinea Coast, a process which began in about the ninth century and has been continuing ever since.

SONGHAÏ EMPIRE

Linguistically, Arabic, is as much of a literacy and religious language in North Africa as it is among the Muslims of West and East Africa. And in any case, Africa, South of the Sahara, does not form a linguistic unit that can be separated from North Africa.

Hamitic, Semitic, and Nilo-Hamitic, Semiticised and Hamiticised, Negro and Non-Negro and even European languages are spoken in Africa, South of the Sahara, and some of the languages of North Africa e.g. Arabic belong to some of these groups (Semitic). Hausa, a very widespread West African language, is spoken as far north in the Sahara as Ghat, Ghadames and Fezzan.

Ethnically the Sahara is not divided. Most of the agricultural centres of the southern half of the Sahara are still peopled by Negroid peoples collectively called the Haratin. In the same, some Arab tribes e.g. the Shuwa Arabs have been living in Bornu throughout the centuries while the Armas, the descendants of the Moroccan forces sent in 1,590 to conquer the Songhai Empire as well as some Tharag peoples live in the regions of Timbuctu and the Niger bend. It is clear then that culturally, ethnically and linguistically, West Africa, the Sahara and North Africa do form a single unit.

The evidence of Clio, one of the nine daughters of Zeus and, of course, the Muse of History, even further completely demonstrates that the term 'Africa South of the Sahara' is essentially a 20th century term and has absolutely no historical justification. For according to Clio, at no time in history has the Sahara been a barrier to intercourse, political, cultural and commercial, between North Africa and Western and Southern Africa. Let us examine her weighty evidence.

In the first place, Clio is fully convinced that about 10,000 years ago the Sahara did not exist. The whole area was a jungle with rivers and lakes. Archaeological finds such as stone implements scattered in great profusion all over the desert, fish hooks and harpoons near dumb but clear testimony not only to this but also to the fact that the area was very thickly populated and fishing was quite a widespread occupation.

CHARIOTS

Indeed, recent excavations have proved that perhaps as recently as 3,000 to 4,000 years ago, much of the area was still fertile and well-watered. It was not until about 2,500 years ago that, mainly as a result of geographical factors, the Sahara came into existence. And there is evidence that contact between the Sahara and the Sudan began as early as about 5,000 years ago when the neolithic culture, i.e. a culture characterised by the domestication of animals, sedentary agriculture and the use of pottery, was introduced into the southern and central Sahara by Negroes who came from the Sudan.

As the desert became dried, the Negroes some of whom had intermingled with the non-Negro peoples they met in these areas, retreated into the steadily shrinking fertile areas, the oases of today.

It was to facilitate movement in these increasingly drying-up areas that chariots drawn by horses were introduced into the Sahara probably from Egypt about 2,500 years ago. Herodotus, writing in the fifth century before Christ, describes how the Garamantes of Fezzan used to chase the Troglodytes, the inhabitants further south in

chariots similar to those of his day.

All this is proved beyond all reasonable doubt by the rock paintings and engravings that have been discovered in the Sahara. These paintings depict horse-drawn or cattle-drawn chariots and people with clear Negro features.

Indeed, plotting these paintings and engravings of horse-drawn chariots on the map, both Mauny and Dhote have come to the conclusion that as early as 1,000 B.C. chariots were being drawn across the Sahara to the Sudan along two main routes: a western route from Morocco through Zemmour and Adrar to the banks of the Senegal and the Niger, and a central route from Tripoli through Ghadames (Cydamus of the Romans) Ghat and Hoggar to Gao on the Niger.

BEAST OF BURDEN

The Carthaginians appear to have developed this trade and by the fifth century, they are said to have been doing lucrative business with the Sudan regions of the lake Chad via the old Garamanian route mainly in animals such as monkeys and lions, in slaves, and in precious stones like caruncles, emeralds and chalcidony.

However, as the Sahara became drier and slowly but steadily assumed the features that typify it today, the traffic across it became increasingly difficult and it probably would have ceased altogether but for the introduction of the camel into Tripoli by the Romans probably in the first century A.D. This singularly endowed beast of burden is capable of coping with the aridity of the desert.

The spread of the camel throughout Barbary and into the Sahara and beyond was begun by the Arabs during their swift sweep across north Africa in the eighth century. The process seemed to have gathered momentum and reached its climax during the Hilalian invasions in the second half of the eleventh century.

As a result of the use of this beast of burden, a complicated network of caravan routes across the Sahara had come into existence by the end of the eleventh century. By means of these routes, commercial, religious and cultural contacts were established and maintained between the Mediterranean and the Guinea Coasts right till the period when colonialism reared its ugly head in Africa signified by the reckless partition of the continent by these European powers.

THE ROUTES

Let us take a brief look at the main routes across the Sahara, and the commodities involved in the traffic. There were seven of principal routes. The most western routes ran from Fez and Mogador in Morocco through Toghaza, Wadan and Tishit in Mauritania into Arguin in Senegal and Bamako, Segu

and Jenne in modern Mali. The main routes started from the Oasis of Taflet (with its capital Sijilmasa) through Adrar in Algeria and Tecodeni to Timbuctu in Mali. The third was from Laghouat and Wargle through Tuat, all in Algeria and through Mabrak and Arawa to Timbuctu and Gao in Mali.

The fourth was from Tunisia through Ghadames and Ghat in Libya, to Agadez and Zinder in Niger to Katsina and Kano in Northern Nigeria. The fifth ran from Tripoli through Fezzan in Libya, Bilma in Niger to Birni in Northern Nigeria and Ngoru in the Cameroons.

The sixth commenced from Cyrenaica in Libya, through Aujiya and Tibesti in Libya, to Wara and Abeche in Chad. And finally, the seventh route started part from Egypt, up the Nile into the Sudan.

It must be pointed out that from the southern termini of these routes—Jenne, Timbuctu, Gao, Kano, Ngoru, Wara and Abeche,—beyond which the camel never went for geographical reasons, further routes radiated southwards into the states of the Guinea forests and the Atlantic Ocean.

IMPORTS

For example, from Bamako, a route ran southwards to Tangrela in Guinea; from Jenne and Segou radiated the important route through Kong in Ivory Coast to Wa and Kintampo in northern Ghana. From Timbuctu and Gao ran a route which passed through Ouagadougou in Upper Volta to Bawku and Yendi in Northern Ghana. Finally, Kano and Katsina were connected with Salaga, Kumasi, Elmina and Cape Coast in Ghana, and with Abomey and Whydah and Badagry in Dahomey by a route which went through Bussa and Nikki.

The commodities that were involved in the traffic are, thanks to Arabic scholars and travellers like Ibn Battuta and El Hassan Ibn Mohammed (better known as Leo Africanus) both of whom actually used the second route in 1352-3 and 1510 respectively to visit Timbuctu and Gao and to European explorers like Lyon and Barth, very well known.

Exports from the Mediterranean states into the Sahara and western Africa included bleached and unbleached calicoes and cotton prints of various colours mainly from Britain, silk used for embroidery, muslin and linen from France; beads mainly from Italy; sword blades from England and Germany, writing paper, looking-glasses, needles, razors, snuff boxes, scissors, knives and trinkets from most of the European countries.

Exports from Barbary and Egypt were shirts and bonuses from Morocco; red caps, sashes and trousers from Egypt and Tunis, long striped carpets from Turkey, coarse silk and horses from Tripoli; religious books, spices, perfumes and cowries.

It is clear from Leo Africanus' evidence, that books were in particularly great demand. "There is a big

demand for goods in manuscript, imported from Barbary"; he wrote of Timbuctu, "more profit is made from the book trade than from any other line of business." Cowries were used as currency throughout western Sudan excluding the kingdom Bornu and it is interesting to note, throughout the Guinea Coast.

The Sahara also sent its own exports into the Sudan. These included tobacco from Tuat and Wadi Dra, dates and horses from Fezzan, and the most important and most traditional of all the exports into western Africa, salt from Taodeni and Taghaza in the west and Bilma in the east.

EXPORTS

The importance of salt to the western Africans is evident from the fact that it was worth its own weight in gold! Thousands of camels were sent every year from Timbuctu, Jenne and Agadez to convey this invaluable commodity for sale in the regions as far south as Ashanti in Ghana and Kong in Ivory Coast. It is interesting to note that the Sahara salt mines are being worked.

In return western Sudan and western Africa exported to the Sahara, Barbary and Europe cloth from Kano and Nupe, hides and leather goods such as saddles, bags and sandals, ostrich feathers ivory, gum, and above all gold, slaves and kola nuts.

It is important to note that most of these exports came from the regions to the south of the termini of the trans-Saharan routes. Gold, the celebrated mainstay of the caravan trade until the eighteenth century was obtained mainly from Bambo and Bure in southern Mali and Guinea.

Kola nuts, which by the nineteenth century had probably become the second important export from western Sudan came mainly from Ashanti. Described by the nineteenth century European travellers as the 'coffee of the negroes' and considered as a great delicacy by the western Sudanese as well as the inhabitants of the Sahara, it was and still is in very great demand. In 1818, Lyon saw 4 kola nuts being sold in the market of Muruk, the capital of Fezzan, for five shillings!

This trade across the Sahara continued through the centuries and reached its peak in the sixteenth century when the Songhai Empire under the Askias and the Bornu Empire under the Sefuwas established peace and order in the regions of southern Sahara and the western Sudan that has been never known ever since.

After that century, however, mainly as a result of the anarchy and instability that followed the overthrow of the Songhai Empire by the forces of the Sultan of Morocco in the 1590's, the trade began to dwindle. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, traffic had become concentrated on four main routes—Moroc-

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The Working Class and the African Revolution

(Culled from the "Africa Worker")

IN the fight for independence and freedom of Africa, the working class and the peasant masses are most vitally concerned. Colonialism and its resulting poverty and backwardness subjects us to a double yoke—of political oppression and economic exploitation. In this fight, the most important weapon is national unity of all sections of the oppressed, joining their forces against the common enemy. It follows that the national united front is a basic policy of the working class in the struggle for national independence, and in the period after formal political independence to defeat the efforts of the imperialists to reimpose slavery in new forms; and to liquidate the colonialist heritage and its aftermath.

The victories won by the working people and their political parties against imperialism, the collapse of the colonial system in Africa and the emergence of independent states are due to the powerful unity forged between all social strata in the course of the liberation struggle.

To maintain these victories of the African revolution against imperialist intrigues, and to develop to the full the forces which have been released by the achievement of National Independence, that unity must be jealously guarded and extended.

ILLITERACY AND IGNORANCE

But in order to maintain and consolidate our unity, it is essential to understand and grasp fully the basis upon which it rests; what strata and classes have come together, and for what purpose; where their interests lie in common and where they are divergent, which tendencies strengthen, and which threaten, the united front.

Colonialism ruthlessly robbed us of our land and our natural resources. It subjected us to foreign domination, destroyed our political and economic institutions, compelled us by force of superior arms or by artificially created starvation to labour at extracting the wealth of Africa for shipment to Europe. It enforced the most humiliating system of race discrimination ever known on Africans. The burden of illiteracy and ignorance which Africa now has to overcome is a vivid proof of the cynical hypocrisy of their promises to bring education and civilisation to the "dark continent." Instead, they inculcated into generations of Africans a systematic contempt for their own achievements, their own history and their own culture, based on lies and reflecting nothing but the ignorance and racial arrogance of the invaders.

TOWARDS CONTINENTAL UNITY

The African revolution is a vast, continent-wide, patriotic upsurge against the invaders, against colonialism, white domination and racial discrimination. It aims at restoring the government and wealth of Africa into the hands of its rightful owners, the African people; to win na-

tional independence and democratic rights for our people throughout the continent; to liquidate rapidly every vestige of the ravages which the imperialists have wrought in Africa—ignorance, poverty, lack of economic development, mental enslavement, isolation and narrowness culminating in artificially preserved tribal and regional barriers.

AFRICAN REVOLUTION

This great African resurgence is more than a national liberation movement—for nations as they are defined are yet to be formed in many parts, and the tide of liberation sweeps across frontiers, across differences of region, language, culture, religion, and class, drawing Africans from North to South and from East to West into a single super-national stream of patriotic struggle and endeavour. Johannesburg rejoices at the liberation of Algeria as its very own victory; and from Tanganyika, Sudan, Somalia, from the working people and their heads of governments, come wrathful shouts of anger when Verwoerd lays his hands on patriotic Africans in the South.

A notable feature of our African revolution, the source of its greatest strength, is that it unites in the national liberation movements the various classes and social strata of our societies.

Colonialism, white domination and racial humiliation affected every section of our people. Those who resisted colonialism were broken and destroyed;

those who did not were converted into servant of colonial governments. Tribal institutions, which had meaning and value in the context of a simple, non-class, non-commodity economy, were cunningly manipulated by the colonialists to divide the people and perpetuate their own enslavement. Although the workers and rural masses bore the main brunt of colonialist slavery and were the foremost fighters for freedom no class of Africans—worker, peasant, feudal or capitalist—could escape from the innumerable disadvantages, humiliations, frustrations and evils of colonialism.

THE SOURCES OF UNITY

Naturally, there are differences of approach and also conflicts of class interests between the various strata of the population. But these internal differences and conflicts are largely overshadowed by and subordinated to the central conflict of Africa—the struggle of the whole people, of all classes, on the one hand; and on the other the colonialists and that relatively insignificant and unrepresentative handful of African lackeys and traitors in the pay of imperialism.

The particularly rapacious exploitation and inhuman degradation by imperialism of practically all the people of Africa has laid the basis for the unity of all sections of our people. The colonial oppression and humiliation which made no exceptions, kindled the flame of national consciousness and African

patriotism which is characteristic of our continental liberation movements. The colonialists made ours a continent of paupers—and of implacable enemies of imperialism.

ENORMOUS SUPER PROFITS

In the more advanced capitalist countries it proved possible for the monopoly bourgeoisie to win over a section of the middle class, the working intelligentsia, and even an upper stratum of the workers ("the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class" as Lenin brilliantly described the tame heads of the British and American labour movements). They were able to do this precisely because of the enormous super-profits stolen from the wealth and the labour of Africa and other colonial areas; because they could, out of this fabulous wealth afford certain bribes, privileges and concessions for a section of the metropolitan population, in return for their support for the imperialist system.

From this flows the fact that, in the advanced capitalist countries, there are two views among trade union about Africa. One sees Africa as the preserve of capitalism; the other sees it as the home of people with every right to be free. The ICFTU reprehence is an implacable enemy of the African revolution.

SAHARA AND AFRICA

Continued from page 10

co-Taodeni-Timbuclu, the Ghadames Air Kano, the Tripoli-Fezzan—B o r n u and the Cyrenaica—Kufra-Wadai routes.

Along these routes, the time hallowed camel caravans continued to move as the nineteenth century European explorers discovered until the German, British, French and Italian occupation of western Africa the Sahara and North Africa by 1910 completely brought the caravan traffic to a standstill.

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA

It should be obvious from this account then that even before the Christian era and certainly with the introduction of the camel, the Mediterranean Guinea Coasts were bound together by a complicated network of channels through which not only commercial but also cultural (Islamic religion and learning) currents followed.

I do not want to leave the impression that contacts between northern and western Africa were confined only to the commercial and cultural fields. Clio again does provide clear evidence of empires that had stretched right across the western Sudan and the Sahara.

The first three Sudanese empires—Ghana, Guinea and Mali—owed their birth partly to their being accessible to the gold and kola caravans from the south and the salt and textile caravans from the north.

Indeed, in areas, all these empires were as much Saharan as they were western Sudanese

empire. The capital of old Ghana, assuming it was Kumbi Saleh, was situated in the desert—in Mauritania of today. And the important Sahara salt districts of Taghaza and Taodeni were all part of the Songhai Empire.

The people that dealt the first stunning blow to the Ghana Empire, the Almoravids, founded another one which stretched from modern Senegal to Morocco and even across the Mediterranean to Spain. For a relatively brief spell of time, between 1590 and 1660, this Almoravid Empire excluding Spain was revived by Ahmed Al Mansur, the Sultan of Morocco.

BORNU EMPIRE

To the east, the Bornu Empire stretched as far north as Fezzan and as far west as Kano and Katsina during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, the Empire of the Jihad leader Seku Ahmadu extended from Bamako to Timbuclu.

And finally, during the first half of the twentieth century, large sections of western Africa, the Sahara and north Africa were all painted green, the colour symbol of the French colonial empire in Africa.

From the evidence of Clio, then, as well as from a survey of present-day cultural, linguistic and ethra-


gophical evidence, it should be palpably clear that the concept of 'Africa South of the Sahara' cannot be justified on any grounds.

At no time in history, has the Sahara been a barrier either to the movement of ideas, to trade or to political activities. At no time in history, has the Sahara been just an endless stretch of bareness devoid of human habitation.

If ever the Sahara is going to loose its inhabitants, the Tibu, the Tuareg, the the Moors, the Berbers and the Haratin numbering about 2½ million, it will be the result mainly of the stupid French atomic tests. On the other hand, if the French would give up these inhuman and scientifically useless tests, and if the huge mineral deposits now discovered in many parts of the Sahara—phosphates, oil, gas—can be exploited, railways and motor roads will replace the ancient caravan routes and the Sahara will once more rise to occupy the place it did in neothic times.

* * *

But whether this hope materialises or not, Sahara even with its desiccated and rugged look has never been a barrier nor a bridge. It has been the home of thousands of people, and a composite part of the continent of Africa, part of the continent's geography, its history, and its culture.



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Nkrumah: The Apostle of Peace

Continued from Page 5

ment is the growth of international monopolies to exploit the resources of Africa. The position of the Union Minière in the Congo is well-known, for it is a combination of monopoly interests in Belgium, France, West Germany, Britain, and the United States. A similar international trust is now engaged in exploiting the iron-ore resources of Gabon in Central Africa, and Mauritania in West Africa, and also others which are exerting their monopoly grip on the oil and natural gas of the Sahara.

All these developments make clear that political independence has not halted the exploitation of the African peoples. On the contrary, this exploitation is increasing. In face of the growing pressure of the African liberation movements the imperialists are forced to concede political independence in some cases, but they do not give up their domination. Their direct political rule is replaced by an intensified exploitation of the African peoples.

They are not even satisfied with this. Both in the independent States and in the remaining colonies foreign military bases still exist. Britain has air bases in Nairobi and Kisumu (Kenya) at Benghazi and El Adam (Libya) and one each in Tanganyika and Uganda. It has naval bases in Mombasa (Kenya) Dar-es-Salaam (Tanganyika) and the use of the Simonstown base in South Africa. It has a "defence" agreement with Nigeria, and the use of Freetown as a military base was a condition of independence for Sierra Leone in April, 1961.

The United States has military and air bases in Morocco, Libya, Zanzibar and Liberia. Belgium has a military base at Kamina in the Congo; and France in Tunis, Algeria and Morocco. All these military and air bases are linked up through the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and are therefore used by the individual imperialist powers as part of the over-all strategy directed against the liberation movements of the Middle East and Asia, and against the Socialist countries.

Alongside these measures all the imperialist powers are setting up missions and "information centres" in many parts of Africa to exercise political influence on the minds of the African peoples. The big British press monopolies have bought up most of the newspapers in Nigeria, Kenya, and Central Africa, and the United States is circulating magazines and journals, together with films, on a big scale.

Even this is not the whole story. The international Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) is trying to bribe the leaders of African trade unions from

taking part in the African liberation struggle. The American Committee of Industrial Organisations (C.I.O.) is competing with the British T.U.C. for the same purpose, and desperate efforts are being made to prevent African trade unions from building up the All-African Trade Unions Federation which was launched at Casablanca in May, 1961.

All this serves to emphasise that the main struggle against imperialist influence and domination has now reached a new stage. It is one in which the conflict is sharper than ever, and which call for greater clarity and unity among the African liberation movements. This has been the swan song of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah day in day out.

It is precisely in this situation that rival political trends are expressing themselves among the independent African States. In January 1961 they were invited to a conference at Casablanca. The six independent states represented were Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Libya, Morocco, and the United Arab Republic (UAR), together with the Algerian government-in-exile, and Ceylon as an observer.

All their decisions were in line with the resolutions of the three All-African Peoples' Conference. They stood for (1) All-African Unity; (2) opposition to all forms of colonialism; (3) withdrawal of all foreign troops; (4) against nuclear tests in Africa; (5) for mutual African defence and an African Military Command; (6) independence for Algeria; (7) immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta, and (8) solidarity with the struggle in South Africa against apartheid.

Soon after there was another conference of independent African States held at Brazzaville (in the former French Congo), the majority of whom were the former French colonies, now

unity and integrity against subversive forces

It has been left, however, to a publication linked with N.A.T.O. to reveal the strategy of the *coup d'état*, which is recommended for use out of the 'search for alternative methods of violence'. This publication, the *General Military Review*, published in its October 1957 issue article by a Captain Goodspeed, on this subject, in which he advised that:

Insurgent leaders should endeavour to ensure that public opinion is inflamed against the government prior to the coup. Carefully selected acts should be performed which will provoke official reaction, and this reaction should be presented to the public in the worst possible light. There is probably no better way of achieving this than by a judicious assassination or two.

"independent" States. In May 1961 they held a second conference at Monrovia (Liberia) and this time they were joined by Nigeria and Sierra Leone. No less than 20 independent African States were represented at this conference, but the political tone of their resolutions differed greatly from those adopted at the Casablanca Conference in January 1961. There was no condemnation of French nuclear tests in the Sahara. The conference refused to recognise the F.L.N. as the expression of the Liberation struggle in Algeria; and it expressed support for Kasavubu in the Congo as against the Gizenga Government.

It's not surprising that the British capitalist press showered its praise on the Monrovia Conference. "The Times" declared that the African States present "appreciated the advantages of co-operation with the former colonial powers through the present process of decolonisation".

(The times, 15:5:61) It also declared that: "The immediate significance of the Monrovia conference is that it marks the beginning of the end of Ghana's leadership in Africa". (The Times, 12:5:61)

There is no doubt that British ruling circles would like to weaken Ghana's influence in Africa. But what is involved here is not whether it is Ghana, Nigeria or the independent States still within the "French community" which takes the lead. The real issue is whether the independent African States travel on the road towards full and complete independence from imperialism, or whether they become victims to the policy of neo-colonialism.

One of the chief features of neo-colonialism is its anti-Communist campaign, the whole aim of which is to prevent newly-independent States from having friendly relations with the socialist coun-

tries. When Dr. Nkrumah made his forthright speech against colonialism on October 10, 1960 at the General Assembly of the United Nations (on similar lines as Khrushchev's speech the same day) Mr. Christian Herter, then Assistant American Secretary of State, publicly expressed the view that Ghana was already in the "Soviet camp".

The independent States within the "French community" have already committed themselves to the European Common Market, which means that the big European monopolies (especially West Germany) will be able to tighten their grip on the economy and markets of these countries. Ghana has declared against the Common Market, and so has Nigeria. If the Common Market extends its operations to the independent African States it will mean greater exploitation of the African peoples and a formidable barrier in the way of building up their own independent economies.

That's why it seems to me so vital to emphasise the need for greater unity than ever, together with complete political clarity, in the struggle to transform political independence into complete independence from imperialism. This will only be achieved to the extent it is understood that the basic character of the struggle for African liberation is no different from that which was waged to overthrow Czarism in Russia, to end the reactionary regime in China, and to achieve victory in the Cuban revolution.

It's true that it is possible to avoid the path of armed struggle to achieve these aims in Africa. The world today is very different from that of fourteen years ago when the Chinese people won their great victory in October 1949, or even compared with nearly five years ago when the Cuban revolu-

tion was victorious. Despite the appearance of strength among the imperialist powers, their position has been seriously undermined. The Socialist world has grown so strong and powerful, and the liberation struggle throughout the world has become so extensive, that the imperialists are bound to be defeated.

The possibility now exists to achieve complete national liberation and to advance to socialism without civil war. This is due to the fact that imperialism has lost the initiative. The declaration which emerged from the Moscow talks between representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, on behalf of 36 million organised Communists, expressed this change in these words:

"Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society."

The path towards socialism in Africa may be different in many respects to that of the existing socialist countries. But it is clear that the working class in Africa must advance to the leadership of the liberation movements before political movements who do not desire to advance to socialism. Many of them have strong economic and foreign ties with foreign imperialism, and others are influenced by feudal and tribal interests.

This is why 70 per cent of Africa's trade is still with foreign countries, and not with their brother countries within the African continent. This is why there is extreme reluctance to trade with the socialist countries and to negotiate for socialist economic aid — which would assist industrialisation to transform their backward economics, and help to make them independent

from imperialist economic domination.

The list of independent African States which now benefit from socialist economic aid and increased trade with the socialist countries is growing every day. They include Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Ethiopia, and the U.A.R. Even Nigeria, which since independence in October 1960 has been extremely reluctant to do so, has now entered into trading relations with socialist countries. True, the Nigerian leaders may be taking this step in order to frighten the imperialist countries into extending them more loans and credits. If this is the result it will (as Premier Khrushchev pointed out in the case of India) in reality constitute a form of "indirect Soviet aid".

Closer trading relations with the socialist countries can be one of the biggest factors in transforming Africa's backward economy and in raising living standards.

Above all, the liberation struggle in Africa cannot be separated from the world-wide struggle for peace, the growing liberation struggle in Asia and Latin America, and the advance of the socialist world. If it had not been for the growing strength of socialism there would have been no prospect of 32 independent States in Africa. It is mainly the victory of socialism which has so seriously weakened imperialism, and so made it easier to win victories for national liberation. This is recognised by Dr. Nkrumah who declared "Had it not been for Russia the African liberation movement would have suffered the most brutal persecution." (*Daily Telegraph*, 26.7.61).

At the same, the victories achieved have involved great suffering and sacrifices by the people of Africa. It is clear that far greater

struggles still lie ahead. But complete and final victory is certain if the African people are united, if we stand together against all the old and new forms of colonialism, and if we move forward into closer relations with the socialist countries in the great united fight against the common enemy.

Ghana is providing new lessons for the enrichment of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, based on Nkrumahism and aimed at ensuring work and happiness for all. There is no single, specific path on which all countries must advance towards socialism, but the main principle which applies to all countries is that the domination of imperialism must be destroyed, that political power must be won under the leadership of the workers and peasants, that the means of production must come under common ownership, and that the exploitation of man by man must be abolished.

The achievement of victory for a free and united Africa will be a gigantic step forward on the road to socialism, and there is no doubt that Ghana is a powerful force in stimulating the advance towards this glorious aim, under the dynamic leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

With the impending Addis Ababa Conference agitating the minds of African Nationalist Leaders and being yet a mile stone in African contemporary history, the youth of Africa, conscious of the responsibility reposed in this August conference, look to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to demonstrate once again his foresight in ensuring that concrete proposals are made towards the achievement of African Unity. This conference which promises to bring together the "Casablanca Group" and the "Monrovia Group" is expected to effect a proposal on complete "decolonisation" and African Unity.

Danger of Neo-Colonialism

Continued from Page 4

The general public, form the very inception of the coup, should be kept informed, not necessarily of what is actually going on, but at least of what the rebels wish them to believe.

The object of this is to influence the public in those courses of action desired by the insurgents, and it is not necessary therefore that the broadcasts correspond to the real situation.

This exposure must surely give credence to the publication of plots that governments in Africa have uncovered from time to time, aimed at assassinating the

leaders and overturning the state.

As we examine the multifarious dangers to which the new states and the freedom fighters of Africa are exposed, the more it becomes certain that our best, indeed our one, protection is in unity. For it is that very unity which all the imperialist designs and actions are intended to prevent.

It should, therefore, be glaringly obvious that these designs can only be circumvented by achieving the end they are planned to frustrate. At present an apparent diversity of view among the leaders of some of the African territories draws a facade of disharmony across the fervent will to unity that pervades the

rank and file of the large nationalist movements throughout the continent.

It is the idea of the universality of freedom that has impelled the struggle for independence. And just as the vast masses of the peoples of Africa instinctively absorbed the notion of freedom's indivisibility, so, in contradistinction to those unpatriotic leaders who ally themselves with foreign interests rather than support Africa's continental cohesion, they spontaneously understand and uphold the need for African union.

Their Africanism is a more solid reality, for they have not been seduced by the sophistries of assimilation into an alien culture and foreign ideological

identity. There is a bond of unity here that cannot be disregarded. It must be used to mould the cause of African Union and carry us forward to its attainment and the exorcism of every vestige of imperialism from our continent.

Our course is clear. We must beware of the gift of fictitious independence and refuse the falsities of encumbered foreign alliances. We must examine carefully praise from questionable sources and give to the people guarantees of our sincerity in every way. We must stand firmly together against the imperialist forces which are engineering our division Africa a war-ground of contending interests.

For it is only in the African association of unity and not in a rider-horse relationship with the very powers that are planning our balkanization that we can counteract and surmount this machiavellian danger.

A Union of African States must strengthen our influence on the international scene, as all Africa will speak with one concerted voice. With union, our example of a multiple of peoples living and working for mutual development in amity and peace will point the way for the smashing of the inter-territorial barriers existing elsewhere and give a meaning to the concept of human brotherhood.

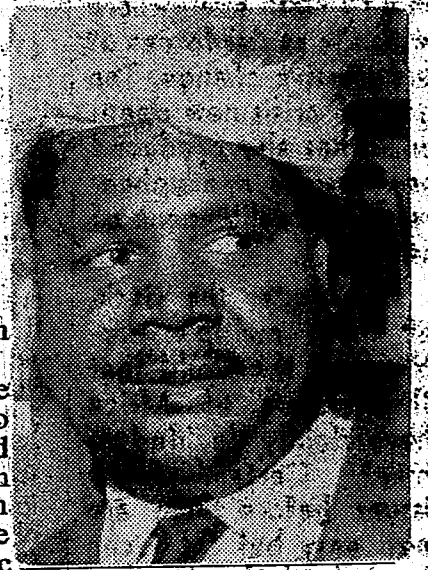
A Union of African States will raise the dignity of Africa and strengthen its impact on world affairs. It will make possible the full expression of the African personality.

THE REAL ISSUE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

by Idris Cox

THOSE are not my words. They were spoken by Sir Hugh Foot on B.B.C. TV ("Panorama" 10.11.62). From such a source, a statement of this kind is most significant in view of the tense situation now existing in Southern Rhodesia and the whole of Central Africa.

"I believe that the future outlook in Africa is terrifying. There is a prospect of ten years of the most terrible bloodshed. There is no realisation in this country that the skirmish, such as that in Southern Rhodesia, is the beginning of terrible conflict in which the whole of Africa will be involved. There is no realisation that we are on the edge of a commotion; bloodshed and violence, not only in Southern Africa, but in East and West Africa, because once violence starts it spreads, and you will find that you have no moderate leaders in Africa."



Joshua Nkomo

THURSDAY 25th APRIL:
NIGERIA: In London, the Lord Chief Justice denies to Chief Enehoro the benefit of habeas corpus. The Nigerian leader is reported to plan to make appeal before the House of Lords against that arbitrary decision.
CAMEROON: President Ahidjo, on his way to Addis Ababa, arrives at Paris. He intends to stop also at Bonn and Tel-Aviv, still on his way to Addis Ababa.
ANGOLA: A Catholic priest, Mr. Pinto de Andrade, brother of the M.P.L.A. nationalist leader Mario de Andrade, is arrested by the Portuguese fascist for the second time.
NORTHERN RHODESIA: Thugs of Sir Roy Welensky are molesting African patriots, disclose a communique from the nationalist party UNIP.
NIGERIA: President Sekou Toure arrives for a 4-day official visit.
FRIDAY 26th APRIL:
ALGERIA-EGYPT: An official communique announces that an agreement has been concluded for creating a joint Algerian-U.A.R. Bank.
SOUTHERN RHODESIA: In London, the talks between UNO Special Committee and British ministers have ended.
SATURDAY 27th APRIL:
ALGERIA: President Ben Bella declares that the F.L.N. should be "purged of all bad elements."
MONDAY 29th APRIL:
MALI-SENEGAL: It is officially announced that agreement has been signed for the re-establishment of commercial relations between Mali and Senegal (they were interrupted since August 1960).
NIGERIA: Nigeria is to become a Republic on the 1st October 1963, states the Federal Prime Minister.
CONGO (Leopoldville): Taxes are to be increased by 50 per cent announces the Central Government.

TUESDAY 7th MAY:
SENEGAL: Opening of the treason trial in which former Premier Mamadou Dia and 4 former ministers are charged with having plotted to overthrow the President. French Education Minister Fouchet arrives in Dakar.
LIBERIA: President Tubman is re-elected for his 5th term; he was unopposed.
IVORY COAST: A new Ivorian-Israelian agreement is signed: Israeli officers are to train Ivorian youths.
NIGERIA: In London, the House of Lords rejects a request from Chief Enehoro, still threatened with extradition.
CAMEROON: President Ahidjo is in London.
SOUTH AFRICA: More African patriots under house arrest have escaped. Meanwhile, the Nazi government prepares a new fascist law, aimed at expelling the Africans from the towns.
MALAGASY REPUBLIC: Addressing Soviet tourists, President said Malagasy interests are linked with Western powers.
SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The racist white leader Welensky says: I despise Macmillan and he meets Tshombe.
TUNISIA: Teachers are dismissed, for having expounded progressive approaches of some matters to their students.
ALGERIA: Unexpectedly, it is announced that President Nasser shall leave Algeria on Wednesday, 4 days ahead of the schedule. In Paris, the French Minister de Broglie states that he has got "assurance" from Algerian government about the oil fields (meaning that they are not to be seized by the Algerians).
WEDNESDAY 8th MAY:
GUINEA: It is learnt from Paris, that a Guinean mission led by the National Assembly Chairman Saifoulaye Diallo including Development Minister Ismael Toure, will have talks with the French government in Paris, starting from the 14th May.

Sir Hugh Foot was the British Government representative on the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations. He had the difficult task of defending British policy against heavy attack in the Special Committee on Colonialism.

Sir Hugh claimed he had made proposals last summer to the British Government on African advancement in Southern Rhodesia, and that when these were rejected "I reluctantly came to the conclusion that I could no longer speak as an advocate of a policy which I didn't agree with."

The result was that Sir Hugh resigned on October 11 last year. Sir Edgar Whitehead was still Premier in Southern Rhodesia, and it was during his term of office that the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Z.A.P.U.) led by Joshua Nkomo was banned and new repressive legislation introduced.

Whitehead's United Federal Party (U.F.P.) was defeated in the elections of December 1962, and the Rhodesian Front led by Winston Field, took over with an even more repre-

sive programme of legislation directed against the Africans.

Sir Hugh felt obliged to protest and resign his position six months ago—but the situation is far more serious today.

After imposing Federation on the three African territories (Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) for nearly ten years, Macmillan and Butler have been forced by the growing African pressure to concede the right of secession to all three.

The Federation is now dead. Within a few months both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia (both having achieved African majority rule) will win their independence.

So now the struggle is being waged on the issue of independence for Southern Rhodesia, and on the future relations between the three territories.

The stock Tory argument is that if these two territories are allowed to advance to independence, why not Southern Rhodesia?

The answer is quite simple. Southern Rhodesia is still under European minority domination.

Its total population is 3,616,000 of which only 250,000 are Europeans but in the Legislative Assembly the "upper roll" of voters (mainly Europeans) return fifty members, and the "lower roll" (mainly Africans) only fifteen.

Z.A.P.U. refused to recognise this phoney constitution and boycotted the elections.

Only 60,000 were eligible to vote. Only 13,000 thought it worth while to register—but more than 90,000 adult Europeans were registered.

Only 70,000 Europeans and less than 3,000 Africans actually voted. The Rhodesian Front won thirty-five seats with less than 40,000 votes—equal to one constituency in Britain! Winston Field represents only one-sixth even of the European population!

The small rump of Europeans now demands "independence" to rule over 3,250,000 Africans. For them, the collapse of the Federation is a new opportunity to intensify their domination and exploitation.

Together with the apartheid rulers of South Africa (which whom they have only minor tactical differences, but no basic conflict) they hope to bolster up European rule against what they call the "African

threat of domination" in Southern Africa.

The sharpest battles are still to come in the two Rhodesias. Macmillan and Butler, together with Welensky and Winston Field, hope to frame some kind of an "economic association" which will still enable the Europeans and the big overseas monopoly firms to pile up their huge profits at the expense of the Africans.

During the ten years of Federation the vast copper resources of Northern Rhodesia were milked to prop up the economy of Southern Rhodesia. Macmillan, Butler, and the European leaders plan to perpetuate this situation even after the Federation is dead.

Forty per cent of Northern Rhodesia's gross domestic product comes from copper. In 1961 copper and cobalt accounted for 67 per cent of the total exports of the Federation, and for a large proportion of the Federation budget.

This is what lies behind the talk of a new "economic association".

With the two northern territories (Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) under African majority rule, and soon to achieve their independence, the British Tories and European settlers want

an independent European Southern Rhodesia as a base to stem the advance of African liberation.

This will be resisted not only by Africans in Southern Rhodesia, but in the whole of Africa.

Sooner or later Southern Rhodesia will become independent—but not under European minority rule.

Independence is not an empty shell. It must be democratic independence under African majority rule.

This is the real issue, and this is the challenge which must be put to the British Government. Until this is won there will be many more sharp battles to be waged in Africa, and the greater the solidarity in Britain to achieve this aim, the sooner, also, will it be possible to end Tory rule in Britain.

THE ROAD AHEAD

by A. K. Barden

(Director, Bureau of African Affairs)

HOW is the African Revolution to be pushed forward? Along what lines will it unfold? Broadly, the African revolution will move forward along four clearly discernible but closely interwoven lines.

FIRSTLY, the remaining colonial territories will achieve freedom through the development of their national liberation movements backed by moral material and diplomatic support of independent African states.

SECONDLY, the independent states of the "Monrovia" Group will combat neo-colonialism and move towards complete independence in the political as well as the economical administrative and military spheres. In this fight, the main driving force shall be the radical, popular movements within these states.

THIRDLY, the independent states of the "Casablanca" Group will further consolidate their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity by destroying the socio-economic base of counter-revolution within their nation and the total reconstruction of their national economy and national life in the general direction of socialism.

FOURTHLY, all independent African states shall move towards continental political union:

The Addis Ababa rapprochement between the Casablanca and Monrovia states should be achieved. But it must be achieved on the basis of the total liquidation of colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination. To achieve it on any other basis means the defeat of the African revolution.

Anti-Imperialist United Africa

Continued from Page 1

into an armed camp for military action against the sweep of African nationalism.

Fourthly, imperialism stage-manages assassinations of African leaders as part of its scheme to organise counter-revolution in those African states that have taken the path of complete independence and socialist development.

Using all four techniques, imperialism has gradually built up a body of opinion in Africa openly and covertly opposed to the principles unanimously adopted at the 1958 Accra Conference of Independent African States. This body of opinion first made itself felt at the second Addis Ababa Conference of Independent African States (June 1960). Four examples will suffice.

In the first place, the concept of African unity was challenged and the notion of association of African states was invented. It was spearheaded by both Ethiopia and Liberia who took part in the First Accra Conference of Independent African States and by

Nigeria which became independent in 1960.

While Ethiopia called for "bold decisions for inter-African institutions," Nigeria was even more forthright. The leader of the Nigerian delegation said: "...we would like to point out that at this moment the idea of forming a Union of African States is premature... President Tubman's idea of association of states is therefore more acceptable."

The second principle of African unity challenged at the 1960 Addis Ababa Conference was that of a common foreign policy based on positive non-alignment. The leader of the Nigerian delegation said: "The idea of neutrality in international affairs should be ruled out... As I was saying each country should formulate its own foreign policy..."

The Accra decision that the problem of artificial political boundaries should be settled by direct negotiations between states concerned or by using the good offices of a third African state was challenged. The Liberian delegation at Addis Ababa in 1960 put out the new view. It said: "The

Liberian Government suggests that the African states agree to the principle of generally accepting the present boundaries after the various countries become independent as the boundaries between their respective states."

Again, there was a significant loss of fervour in the support for Algeria, at that time still fighting for her independence from French colonialism. Since the 1958 Accra Conference the policy of independent African states was to stand solidly behind Algeria against France. At Addis Ababa in 1960 however the view was expressed that African states should act as a third force in an attempt to reconcile France and Algeria. This change in attitude reflected a change in the whole concept of what should be the attitude of independent Africa towards the territories still under colonial rule.

There was no surprise therefore that the 1960 Addis Ababa Conference made no significant contribution to the revolutionary principles adopted at the 1958 Accra Conference. It did Africa a great disservice. For Africa, which had hitherto spoken with one

voice, developed a second and discordant voice to the immense gratification of imperialism.

Nonetheless, the store of principles constituting the doctrine of African unity has been steadily enriched. In January 1961 the Casablanca Group of African States was born. Its Charter accepted all the principles agreed upon at the 1958 First Conference of Independent African States. In addition, it made two significant contributions.

It agreed that co-ordinated development of African states should extend to the military sphere. It set up machinery for giving effect to the co-ordinated development of African states. These are the African Political Committee (a miniature African Council of Ministers), the African Economic Committee, the African Cultural Committee, and the Joint African High Command.

In March 1961 another contribution to the principles of African unity was made by the Third All-African Peoples' Conference

held in Cairo. This Conference exposed the aims and working of neo-colonialism and called for an uncompromising fight against it.

The second so-called "voice of moderation" which made itself heard at the 1960 Addis Ababa Conference, was crystallised in the Monrovia Conference in May 1961. This conference was inconclusive. Generally it ignored the decisions of the 1958 First Conference of Independent African States. The Governments attending seemed most concerned with maintaining their grip in their own countries. Their resolutions on the colonial territories portrayed moral condemnation of imperialism and nothing more.

The inconclusive Monrovia Conference again met in Lagos in January 1962. It set up a committee to draft a Charter. This Charter was considered in Lagos in December 1962. It still has to come into force since not all member states have yet signed it.

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Editorial

itself undertake the task. Even now it seeks to take over all the colonial preserves of the colonial powers in Africa. It must be active on all continents, for the crisis is universal. It must clash everywhere with the social forces of progressive change. The general crisis now deepening has also produced new fissions and upheavals and realignment of nations.

It is under the strain of these multiple problems of the world that the leaders of Africa have rightly decided to meet. Certainly, the issues before them are not easy but they can be solved if only they realise that the main source of their strength, and the invincibility of Africa in this struggle, is organic unity on a continental scale touching on all matters political, economic, military and ideological. Every African country is duty bound to cherish **UNITY OF AFRICA** as the apple of the eye.

The triumph of our great cause to give a new dignity to Africa depends on the solidarity of the African states and on the degree to which our leaders are conscious of their responsibilities to Africa. Evasion of these responsibilities and giving preference to narrow national, egoistic interests can only seriously harm the common cause of African Unity. The touchstone of a country's awareness of its responsibility is its attitude to joint decisions, primarily to such fundamental documents as what the Addis Ababa summit is expected to produce (provided they are anti-imperialist in content from start to finish).

Africa stands at the cross-roads of great change and conflict, of sharp struggle between those forces which seek to drag Africa backward and those which strive to lead it forward. The struggle proceeds simultaneously along many lines, and on different planes, and it assumes multiple forms. What we demand of our leaders at this stage is **VIGILANCE**. They must subject their individual interests to the general good of Africa. The united voice of Africa demands that they must organise into a solid phalanx and steer ahead the African revolution to its solid goal.

The masses of Africa are alert. They are waiting and they are watching.

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The Monrovia Group of States have been slow and inconclusive in their efforts because of the interplay of imperialist interests. For within that group a struggle goes on between French imperialism (reflected in the Brazzaville Group), British and U.S. imperialisms. While French interests seek alliance with Belgian interests, West German and Italian monopolies (which lost their possessions in Africa as a result of the First and Second World Wars) are striving hard to re-establish a foothold in Africa. Their instrument is the European Common Market.

The above review of events since the history-making 1958 Accra Conference of Independent African States shows that the Addis Ababa summit has got to find effective solutions to the fundamental problems of the African resurgence. Specifically, it must provide complete answers to the following matters:—

- Colonialism
- Neo-colonialism
- Apartheid in South Africa and racial discrimination generally
- Africa's relation with the outside world
- How to build a new Africa free from outside control, serving the interests of her peoples, and playing an effective role for peace in the comity of nations.

In brief, the problem is how to push the African revolution to speedy and complete victory.

In this exercise our most potent weapon is African Unity. Hence the Addis Ababa "summit" must make a positive contribution to African Unity. It must build upon the foundation erected at the 1958 First Conference of Independent African States and since enriched by various conferences of African leaders.

The optimists express the hope that there will be unanimity on a concept of African Unity which is thoroughly anti-imperialist in content and orientation. The pessimists think Addis Ababa will be yet another occasion for flamboyant speeches with many African leaders doing no more than pay lip-service to the idea of African Unity. In between these two extremes we have various shades of opinion.

My forecast is that unanimous agreement on a revolutionary concept of African Unity will be difficult to achieve, because many of the governments represented at Addis Ababa are not masters of their own affairs. Isn't it significant that many leaders have had to travel to Addis Ababa via Paris?

When open condemnation of African Unity is found difficult, resort will be had to the tactics of delay and procrastination. The tendency will be to advocate the setting up of committees to "work out details" for discussion in a future conference or through diploma-

tic channels. The reckoning is that a long delay might even serve to kill the drive for African Unity. It is important to note that the Monrovia Group first met

in May 1961 but till today—twenty five months after—a Charter signed by all member states still has not emerged.

The time gained through

this tactics of delay will be used in concluding agreements that will further tie African states to Western Europe and America for a considerable period of

time. Significantly, a new 'Agreement on Associate Status' between many African States and the European Economic Community is now almost ready

for signing. It will bind these African states to the European Common Market up to 1968.

A second tactic to be adopted by enemies of African Unity is to declare support for the concept while draining it of all dynamism and its anti-imperialist content.

If these two tactics are defeated or contained, the Addis Ababa conference will record two victories—one positive, the other negative. The positive victory will be the triumph of the revolutionary concept of continental African unity anti-imperialist in content and directed towards building a great new Africa. The mere fact that a majority of delegations might oppose this concept will not constitute a defeat for it. For the most important judges in the long-run are not the 32 delegations inside "Africa Hall" in Addis Ababa but the 264 million people who inhabit the African continent.

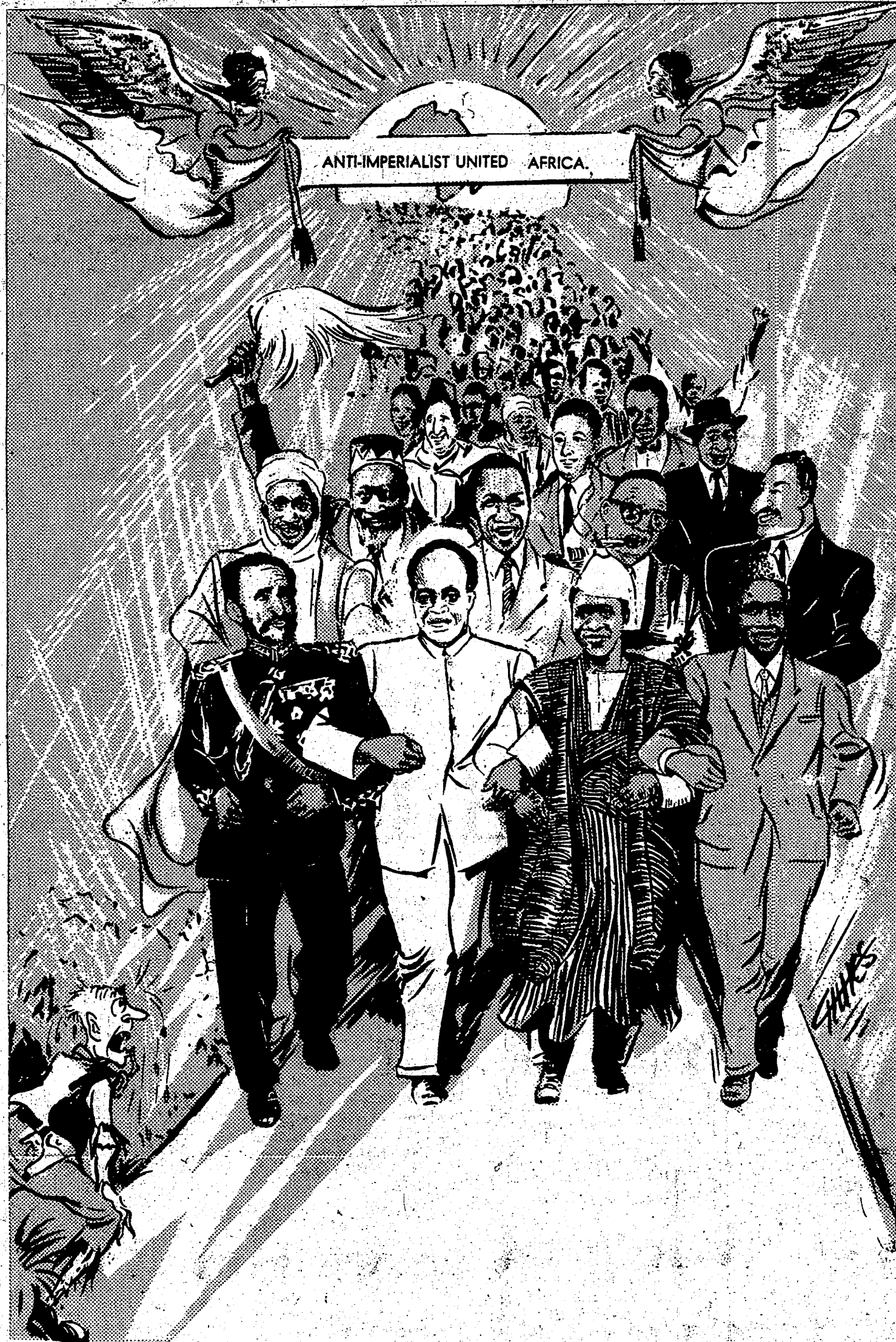
The second (and negative) victory at Addis Ababa will be the realisation that states with fundamentally different social, economic and political basis and orientation can hardly achieve organic unity. We would learn, if we have not already learnt this, that organic unity "from the top" is impracticable or hazardous.

The post-Addis Ababa period will demand the formulation of a continental strategy for quickening the tempo of the African Revolution. The states of radical nationalism which have chosen the path of socialist development will become "the vanguard of the complete emancipation of Africa" as envisaged in the Declaration of the 1958 Accra Conference of Independent African States. Linking up with the movements for complete independence in the states of neo-colonialism and animating the national liberation movements throughout colonial Africa and in South Africa, the states of radical African nationalism will lead a mighty continental movement for the elimination of imperialism in all its forms and manifestations.

And to prepare themselves for the this task, the states of radical African nationalism must quickly eliminate or bring under firm control the socio-economic basis, of counter-revolution within their society.

The prospects of victory are good. For on the international scene, the African revolution, defined in these terms, will be helped on by the world socialist system, the national liberation movements in Asia and Latin America, the revolutionary working class movements in the imperialist countries and the deepening contradictions between the imperialists themselves.

Africa can look to the future with confidence. If we take a resolutely anti-imperialist stand, there is victory for us.

THE VOICE OF AFRICA

In the early flush of independence, some of the new African states are jealous of their sovereignty and tend to exaggerate their separatism in a historical period that demands Africa's unity in order that their independence may be safeguarded. I cannot envisage an African union in which all the members, large or small, heavily or thinly populated, do not enjoy legal equality under a constitution to which all have laid their hand.

But the insistence on not wanting to cede certain functions to a central unifying political authority in which all the members will have an equal voice is unrealistic and unfounded. On the other hand, an association of a confederate or even looser nature, which does not give effective powers to a central authority and determine those to be left to the sovereign states, can leave the way open for the domination of the smaller and weaker members by larger and stronger ones.

Ghana has declared her stand in no uncertain terms. We have provided in our republican constitution for the surrender of our sovereignty, in whole or in part, in the wider-interests of African unity. Guinea has made the same provision. So have Mali, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. Every African must judge for himself which view is more progressive and realistic, which is dedicated fully to the practical needs and interests of Africa, unrestrained by fear of external pressures; and which reflects the true voice of Africa.

—KWAME NKRUMAH