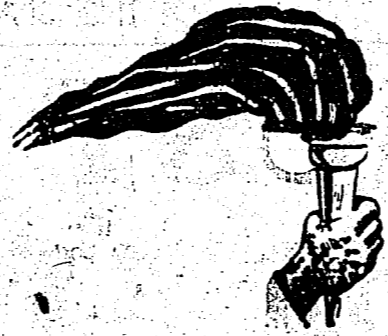


# THE SPARK



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2d.

A WEEKLY OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

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## EDITORIAL

### THE DANGERS OF REGIONAL GROUPINGS

MANY matters of the most throbbing importance were discussed at the Addis Ababa Summit. The focus of attention was the question of "strengthening the unity of the African States." It was quite patent to all African leaders gathered at Addis Ababa that on the solution of this vital problem depended both the progress of the anti-colonial movements and the outcome of the struggle in the countries already independent for economic and social emancipation. Everybody realised that there was a real possibility of overcoming the colonial legacy of division and disunity.

Now it appears certain difficulties have become apparent. For the imperialists have been able to imbue some African leaders with a conception of unity which will do little to further the aims of the African revolution. The conception is that African unity must be based on the division of Africa into regions and economic sectors.

Immediately after Addis Ababa, the head of the French government, in welcoming the summit charter, described the Organisation of African Unity as "a federalism between the various African regional groupings." He cynically referred to these groupings as micro-unions.

There are open proposals for two federations, one in the north of Africa and other in East Africa.

Despite the fact that the U.A.M. often referred to as the Brazzaville group of French speaking African states has demonstrated the precarious character of regional co-operation and its inviability, even on the triple basis of an economic, technical and cultural arrangement, France is determined to widen its scope.

No, these are hardly a foundation on which the edifice of African unity can be solidly erected. A stronger foundation is needed for that: a solid one based on a community of inter-

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## EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET AND AFRICAN UNITY

THE Convention Associating eighteen Africans with the European Common Market was signed at Youande, Camerons, five days ago. According to a French Radio Station, the Convention creates a number of political institutions which will bind the partners in loose community of states. A ministerial council of Association, which will meet once a year, has powers to make binding decisions for all members.

This new move replaces the Rome treaty which established the Common Market in 1957. The six of "Little Europe" have decided to give increased financial "aid" to the African states and continue to "aid" their economic development.

Professor Walter Hallstein, West German President of the Common Market executive commission says "the Convention is not closed to more countries with economic structures comparable to those of the associated states".

The Nigerian Government has since appointed an Ambassador Extraordinary to the Common Market in Brussels.

Speaking before European and African delegates at his court house where the convention signing ceremonies took place, President Ahmadou Ahidjo said "the Convention has far-reaching psychological, economic and political consequences." No doubt on Africa.

The important things about the Common Market issue are, in our view, two:

- the Common Market is a political and economic association of the main European monopolies in pursuit of certain common aims, including, in particular, a cloak for neo-colonialism in the economically under-developed countries with Africa as the first objective;
- the Common Market is a political counterpart to NATO, that is a step in the cold-war policy.

### WHY COMMON MARKET

One of the important factors that prompted representatives of West-European monopolies to gather in Rome and sign the 1957 treaty providing for the establishment of the Common Market was the progressive disintegration of the colonial empires.

The triumph of national-liberation revolutions in Asia and Africa confronted the imperialist circles of Western Europe with the threat of completely losing their positions in former colonies.

One of the aims pursued by the organisers of the Common Market was to retain the economic fetters binding a number of African states to the metropolitan countries. The treaty of Rome envisaged to grant these countries the status of "associated" territories. At that time the complete political dependence of the 16 "associated" African countries en-

abled the bosses of the European Economic Community (EEC) freely to shape their destinies.

But three years later this compact, which determined the international economic status of African states, proved to be a decision taken without the master.

The "Europe of the Trusts" was compelled to reckon with the unpleasant fact that even the ruling circles of many newly-liberated African countries were far from unconditionally accepting the idea of the alleged "community of interests" between the former colonies and the imperialist exploiters.

### THE BASIC CONTRADICTION

The Common Market mechanism still further aggravated the basic contradictions between imperialism and the national-liberation movement. International monopoly capital is making persistent efforts to use European integration as an instrument for launching an offensive against the economic and political interests of the young sovereign states.

The first years of the Common Market operations have clearly revealed the profound contradictions between the young African states and the Six West-European imperialist members of EEC.

At the same time it became obvious that the baneful influence exerted by EEC on imperialism's former colonial periphery was not confined to the customs boundaries of the Common Market, but directly jeopardised the economic interests of the majority of under-developed Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries.

The West-European monopoly onslaught on the vital interests of the newly-liberated countries is developing in several directions. First, the EEC economic policy towards its African partners tends to perpetuate the typically colonial, lopsided pattern of their national economy.

Second, the customs tariff measures introduced by the "Six" are undermining the prospect of furthering the economic progress of under-developed countries with the aid of foreign currency obtained from their exports. Third, under the guise of extending "aid" to under-developed countries the EEC is actually striving to tighten its grip on their economies.

### COMPETITIVE STRUGGLE

Fourth, the Common Market policy in the sphere of customs tariffs intensifies the competitive struggle between the countries exporting raw materials,

(Brazzaville), the Congo (Leopoldville), Somalia, the Malagasy Republic, Rwanda, Burundi and the Dutch colony of Surinam.

### LOPSIDED ONE-CROP ECONOMY

All these countries are distinguished for the lopsided one-crop pattern of their economy—the result of the colonialists' efforts. All of them are producers of one or two commodities, predominating in their exports, on the sale of which depends the entire balance of their national economy.

The Common Market organisers claim that by offering preferential tariff rates to the "associated"

under-developed countries "association" with the Common Market if the medal did not have its reverse side. In actual fact, the EEC tariff policy, far from promoting the economic progress of the "associated" countries leads to aggravating their economic dependence on imperialism.

### PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS

This is due to the following two factors: first, preferential tariffs stimulate the output of goods that impart the one-crop pattern to the African economy second—and that is the main thing—the present reduction of customs duties and their contemplated abolition in the future is carried out within the Common Market on a reciprocal basis, i.e. the "associated" members

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must in turn, reduce their own tariffs on industrial goods they import from the European 'Six'.

### COLONIAL ECONOMIC PATTERN

In combination, these two factors tend to harden and still further aggravate the colonial economic pattern of the "associated" states. The EEC trade policy, for instance, has made for substantial increases in the output of groundnuts and their by-products in Senegal, tropical wood in Gabon and the Congo (Brazzaville), and oil palm products in Dahomey. It might be recalled that these commodities have always accounted for 60-95 per cent of the export revenue in the above-mentioned countries.

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...the dynamic and propelling force of the unitarian consciousness of the African peoples...

especially tropical products. In this way the imperialists hope to undermine the growing solidarity of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American peoples.

Fifth, as the economic affiliate of NATO the Common Market binds the "associated" states to the military-political machine of West-European and American imperialists.

At the present time 19 countries and territories are listed as "associated" Common Market members—Dahomey, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad, Senegal, Mali, Mauritania, the Central African Republic, Gabon, the Camerons, Togoland, the Congo

states" the EEC makes it much easier for them to sell the basic products, thereby contributing to their general economic progress. Indeed, the lower customs duties on imports introduced by the "Six" have enabled many of the "associated" African states to increase the volume of their exports.

For instance, in the first three years of EEC operation the "associated" states, which arose on the ruins of the French colonial empire in Africa, attained a 33 per cent increase in their exports, chiefly by selling more goods on EEC markets.

This could be regarded as a fighting reward for the

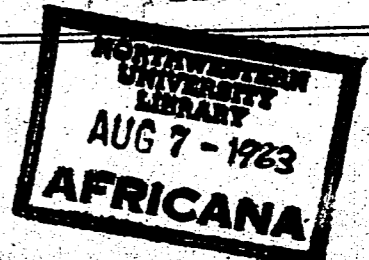
## NKRUMAISM

WE published in Nos. 27, 28, 29, 31 and 32 issues of the SPARK, series on the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah.

We believe, we have embraced every aspect of the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah as far as the African revolution is concerned. We intend publishing the series into a pamphlet in order to stimulate discussion on what, to our mind, is Nkrumaism.

We appeal to our readers and all who are interested in the subject to send their views to us. The pages of "The Spark" are open to all contributors on this subject.

—EDITOR.



# "AFRICA MUST UNITE" Throws Light on African Unity

R. Palme  
by  
Dutt

THE Addis Ababa Conference of thirty African Heads of State establishing the Organisation of African Unity is an event of historic importance in the advance of African and world liberation.

Only two years ago President Nkrumah of Ghana wrote in our issue of July, 1961 in his Message welcoming the fortieth anniversary of "Labour Monthly":

*"The imperialist colours of the political map of Africa are radically fading away, and soon the artificial boundaries which divide Africa will be completely obliterated.*

culties and differences, on which all the 'well-informed' imperialist press commentators had so confidently counted at the outset to predict an inevitable deadlock, found the way to overcome these obstacles and

day with the butchers of the Congo, the Nazi torturers in Algeria or the Apartheid Legions of South Africa. The resultant wreckage of life and society has then been termed by the disdainful bandits a region of natural darkness and backwardness.

## Distribution of Land.

Nkrumah vividly describes the heritage of generations of colonial rule when the national leadership took over Ghana:

*The destitution of the land after long years of colonial rule was brought sharply home to us. All over the country great tracts of open land lay unutilised and uninhabited. Our roads were meagre, our railways short. Over eighty per cent of our people were illiterate... Trade and commerce were controlled, directed and run almost entirely by Europeans. Of industries, we had none except those extracting gold and diamonds. We made not a pin, not handkerchief, not a match... Though there had been geological surveys of our sub-soil, the reports had been scrupulously withheld.*

When the new rulers took over the residence of the former British Governor,

*we were struck by the general emptiness. Not a rag, not a book was to*

imperialists anywhere, but has always only been won by the struggle and sacrifice of the people.

Justly he also stresses that independence from imperialism is not yet complete with the establishment of sovereign states, but that the imperialists still strive by every means to maintain their domination and exploitation, and even to extend their economic penetration through all devices of neo-colonialism, and that therefore the struggle for independence from imperialism has still to be carried forward also in the newly independent states, as well as in the still subject territories of Africa.

This is the background against which need to be seen the problems of the newly independent African states meeting at Addis Ababa, and which makes so important the achievement of African unity, not as a distant dream of the future, but as an urgent practical need of the present.

## Greedy Bargainers

The living body of Africa has been torn and carved up by the imperialists as by vultures quarrelling over carrion. The artificial frontiers scrawled by rival greedy bargainers at European conference tables for the partition of the spoils of Africa bear no relation to history, tradition, popular sentiment or ethnological or national groupings of the people.

But the national independence struggle has necessarily had to be conducted first within the existing state boundaries against the given imperialist power ruling a particular segment.

Only within such a context, following victory over imperialism, could the frontier and regional or national questions or possible realignments of states be peacefully settled, without offering advantage to imperialism. Hence the urgency of advancing towards this goal already today. It is this situation that makes the achievement of Addis Ababa so important.

Within the short space of the past six years the speed of advance has been amazing. When Ghana won independence in 1957, this was the first African colonial territory south of the Sahara to win independence. Within four years eighteen more had won independence.

## C. P. P.

From the outset Ghana has made the pace in insisting that the victory of independence in any given territory should be regarded, not as a narrow national victory, but as a stage in the battle of African liberation. Nkrumah writes:

*When I returned to West Africa in 1947, it was with the intention of using the Gold Coast as a starting-off point for African independence and unity. With the mass movement I was able to build up in the Convention People's Party, the Gold Coast secured its freedom and emerged as the sovereign state of Ghana in 1957. I at once made it clear that there would be no meaning to the national independence of Ghana unless it was linked with the total liberation of the African*

becoming a reality.

These comments only revealed ignorance of the strategic plan. This Union was intended, as Nkrumah points out, not as a supposedly self-sufficient answer to the inadequacy of small states, but as 'the first step towards African political union... a nucleus for a Union of African States.'

When the first Conference of Independent African States met in Accra in April, 1958, there were only eight, of which five were North African Arab States (including Sudan) alongside Ethiopia, Liberia and Ghana.

The first All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra in December of the same year united the delegates of 62 African national movements. In 1959 the representatives of African trade unions meeting in Accra formed the All-African Trade Union Federation. By mid-1960 the second Conference of Independent African States meeting at Addis Ababa, represented twelve States.

## Grounds of Division

Imperialism took alarm in face of this rapid development of African unity for liberation. Every calculation was not openly made to seek to find grounds of division between varying political trends of different African States. In 1960 the organisation of the 'French Community' was constituted to include the majority of the former French colonial territories in West and Equatorial Africa as twelve sovereign independent republics, in practice closely linked economically, diplomatically and in respect of the initial political apparatus, with France.

Nkrumah, while supporting the British Commonwealth and sterling area as 'an association of sovereign states, each of which is free from interference from the others', sharply criticises the 'mistaken claims that the French Community... is taking on the character of the Commonwealth'.

In the autumn of 1960

Nigeria, the largest state in Africa, in whose constitution the relatively conservative Northern People's Congress holds at present the predominant position, became independent; and the anticipations of British imperialist commentators were eagerly expressed that this should serve as a counterweight to check the upstart pretensions of Ghana and the more militant national elements in Africa.

These hopes of imperialism to foment division between the African States found expression in 1961 in the attempt to counterpose and incite rivalry between the so-called 'Casablanca group' and 'Monrovia group' of African powers.

## The Resolutions

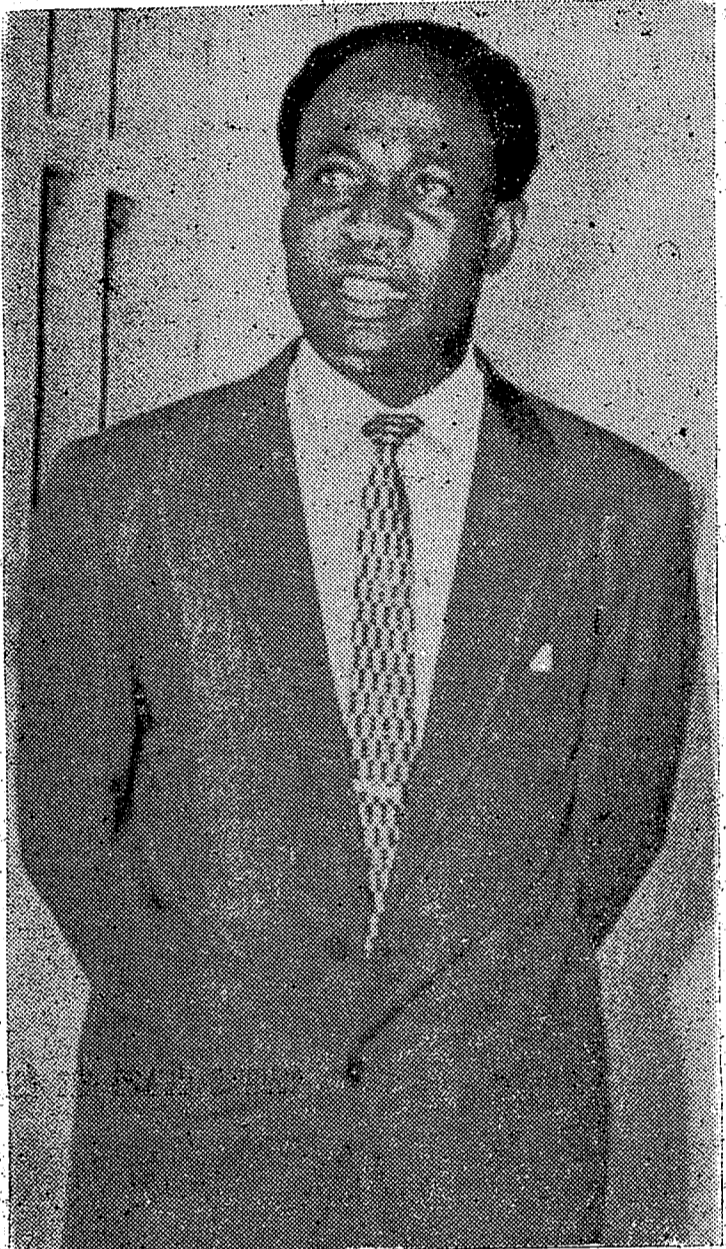
At Casablanca in January 1961, seven States (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Libya, Egypt, Morocco and the Algerian Provisional Government) adopted an African Charter to establish joint institutions of independent African States, including an Assembly, functional committees and a joint African High Command.

The French Community States were not invited; and seven other States, including Nigeria, Liberia, Ethiopia, Tunis and Sudan, though invited, did not attend.

At Monrovia in May, 1961, twenty African States, including the eleven French Community States other than Mali; met under the chairmanship of the President of Liberia. The close links of Liberia with the United States are familiar. Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Egypt and Sudan, though invited, did not participate.

In practice the resolution of the two Conferences expressed considerable common aims for African unity and liberation. The stress of Monrovia was on more gradual measures by way of economic co-operation in the first place. The stress of Casablanca was on the necessity for political union as the indispensable starting point.

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*Kwame Nkrumah...the moving force in the Pan-African struggle*

*In this melting pot of change only one sublime result will emanate from the political forge: the effective political union of African States.*

## Agreed Constitution

Today at Addis Ababa the Heads of thirty of the thirty-two independent African States meeting in the first All-African Summit Conference, have signed (with full concurrence of the other two not represented by Heads of State at the Conference) the Charter establishing the Organisation of African Unity with an agreed Constitution providing for an Assembly, a Council, a permanent Secretariat, special Commissions, a financial budget, and a programme of action, including for the liberation of the remaining minority sector of territories of Africa still to win freedom.

This is a tremendous development; not only in the age-old history of Africa and the lightning advance of Africa in the modern age, but in the advance of the national liberation movement and anti-imperialism throughout the world.

May 25, the day of the signing of this Charter, is to be celebrated henceforth as Africa Solidarity Day. It may be recalled that May 24 used to be proclaimed Empire Day (now dimly renamed Commonwealth Day, and passing with scarcely an echo of the old fanfare this year). The celebration of May 25 is likely to last longer.

Tribute must be paid to the statesmanship of the African Heads of State who, despite all the diffi-

reach this common positive outcome.

It is appropriate that at the moment should be published Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's new book *Africa Must Unite* (Heinemann, 21s.), which throws a flood of light on all the problems and the aims of African unity. Since the pioneering labours of Dr. Du Bois few African political leaders have given such untiring, devoted and indomitable service and creative leadership, both before and after the victory of independence in Ghana, as Kwame Nkrumah to the cause of African Union. His book can be confidently recommended to all readers who wish to understand the new Africa that is arising.

## European Marauders

No continent has been so ravaged by imperialism as Africa. This range of over one-fifth of the land surface of the earth, so rich in natural resources, so favoured by geography and climate over wide regions, inhabited by peoples so quick and lively in spirit and intelligence, so warm-hearted and creative in artistic impulse, with such ancient civilisations, and indeed, according to some theorists, the cradle of human civilisation, has been plundered and devastated for close on five centuries by the European marauders, and robbed of human and material wealth to provide the foundations of the American capitalist 'miracle' and British family fortunes.

This is not merely the ancient record of the horrors of the slave traders, but has continued to our

*OVER the past week, the Western press have taken the opportunity of reviewing Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's book to ventilate their old prejudices against him. This has not come to us as any surprise; for as far as we know Dr. Nkrumah and the imperialist powers don't operate on the same wave length.*

*Dr. Nkrumah has time without number declared that the African Revolution cannot co-exist with imperialism and as his recent book "Africa Must Unite" gives a dead blow to the old and new colonialism in Africa it would have been strange if such a book receives encomiums from the organs of the imperialist world.*

*However, on this page, we publish the views of a renowned British scholar of international fame, and a theoretician on Socialism and National Liberation Movements, who does not look at Dr. Nkrumah's book from the same lenses that the Western Press choose to perceive him and Africa.*

*be found, not a piece of paper... That complete denudation seemed like a line drawn across our continuity. It was as though there had been a definite intention to cut off all links between the past and the present which could help us in finding our bearings.*

*In the departmental offices they found gaps in the records, connecting links missing which made it difficult for us to get a full picture of certain important matters. We had an inkling of material withheld; of files that had strayed; of reports that had got mislaid. We were to find other gaps and interruptions as we delved deeper into the business of making a going concern of the run-down estate we had inherited.*

## Acts of Petulance

That we understood, was part of the business of dislodging an incumbent who had not been too willing to leave and as expressing a sense of injury in acts of petulance. On the other hand, there may have been things to hide. Justly Nkrumah stresses that freedom has never been given as a gift by the

Hence the newly independent states have necessarily arisen in the first place on the basis of the divisions originally imposed by imperialism.

## Regional Discords

The new rulers have in consequence inherited a terrifying complex of frontier and regional problems, all the more acute as popular consciousness grows in strength. With unconcealed satisfaction the imperialist experts have counted on these complications to disrupt the new Africa, paralyse the new states with internal regional discords, set them at loggerheads with one another, and thus create a happy hunting ground for renewed imperialist influence.

To counter this menace, the wisest leaders of the African freedom struggle, from the great Du Bois onwards, had always insisted that the aim must be an All-African struggle against imperialism. This would need to lead, as Nkrumah was the most active pioneer to emphasise through all the developments since 1945, to the establishment, with the advance of African independence, of a Union of African States.

*continent. While our independence celebrations were actually taking place, I called for a conference of all the sovereign states of Africa, to discuss plans for the future of our continent.*

Hostile critics have sought to find in the characteristically personalised expression, illustrated in this passage, on the problem of African unity nothing by the ambition of Nkrumah to play a role on a larger stage. This petty approach only betrays the smallness of the critics.

## Contemptuous Commentators

Vanity alone can never make history. The battle for All-African liberation and unity is a great political movement of our time, and the courageous and resourceful role of Nkrumah in advancing this battle will always be justly recognised.

The road has not been easy. When Guinea and Ghana proclaimed their union in 1958 (amplified in the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union in 1960), contemptuous commentators pointed out all the practical obstacles, to hinder such a union



*Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois...fondly referred to as father of Pan-Africanism.*

# THE FALLACY OF WHITE SUPREMACY (2)

## AFRICA'S TASK

By  
**Obotan Awuku**

THE first attempt to establish the theory of racial supremacy was made by Aristotle, the famed Greek philosopher.

The Greek Sophists contended that racial differences or inequalities rested solely on convention and that slavery was established by force and was therefore unjust.

Against this view, Aristotle maintained that some men were destined to be masters, while others were ordained by Fate to be slaves. There was therefore no hope of changing racial inequality into equality by education, social improvement or by revolution. It was in the interest of the world, he maintained, for the members of the inferior race to accept the status imposed upon them by nature.

Needless to say this view of humanity has never lacked protagonists throughout history. In fact it has been the predominant practising philosophy of man up to this day. It is a philosophy of convenience, providing the necessary justification for one group of people to enslave another. It is a balm which soothes the conscience of people who claim to be religious and god-fearing. Hence the paradox of Christian Europe and America enslaving heathen Africa.

### CONVENIENT PHILOSOPHY

It was a convenient philosophy for ancient Greece whose civilisation depended upon slave labour. No doubt Aristotle must have been greatly relieved when he arrived at this conclusion regarding the subject of human rights. It gave him time to philosophize!

This condition of affairs had existed since the dawn of civilisation when man began to live in settled communities, towns and cities instead of following the primitive nomadic existence. The Egyptian pyramids were built with slave labour. So were the temples in Babylon, etc.

Now what men must have felt secretly guilty about had been given philosophic justification. Thanks to Aristotle. How popular he must have been in ancient Greece and Rome and in all other empires which depended upon slave labour for their very existence.

For about two thousand years Aristotle continued to dominate the minds of men. As late as the Middle Ages, he was considered the final authority on almost all subjects. The slave-economies of the ancient civilisations decayed, but not the idea of racial or class superiority. It survived in another form—serfdom—which was no better than slavery.

Under the system of serfdom, men were not bought and sold like sheep and goats, but they were slaves all the same. The serfs worked on land which belonged to others without recompense, save the reward of the tiny

strips whose fruits they ate to keep them alive to labour and sweat for the enjoyment of others. Worse still, they were bound to the soil they tilled. That is, they could not go beyond certain specified distances without permission which was never given.

### THE RENAISSANCE

Such was the general condition of men in Europe all through the Middle Ages and up to the dawn of modern civilisation. The dawn broke in the great renaissance, the revival of art and letters under the influence of classical models in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

Greek ideas and Greek ideals were revived. But some only to die as soon as they were brought back to life. Such was their conception of the universe which was shattered by Copernicus' discovery that the earth is round.

It was as if Europeans had suddenly been unchained. They streamed out in teams of explorers to find the seaway to India and stumbled upon vast continents, new civilisations. It was as if the roof of a cell in which men were imprisoned had suddenly been blown up. Men could now see the sky; and with their broadened vision, their ideas changed.

But not all. Not the idea of racial or class superiority. As it was convenient in the Greek times, so it was now to uphold it. Abroad, there was a rival of slavery on an unprecedented scale. At home, the serf was freed from his bondage to the soil, only to bind himself more securely to a machine. It was out of his own volition. But under the prevailing economic system, he had no choice.

### DARWIN'S THEORY

In the midst of these chaos and inhumanities, Charles Darwin published his theory of evolution, the essence of which was that every species of plants and animals contains some individuals which, by their heredity, are better fitted than others to survive and leave a large offspring. The essential principle of principle was wrongly expressed by Herbert Spencer in the phrase: "survival of the fittest." The right expression should have been "survival of the FIT".

But it was the wrong one which caught the imagination of scientist and non-scientist alike. Evolution was misconceived as the result of an endless struggle among all living things. The law of nature was "eat or be eaten."

### SOCIAL DARWINISM

Both the real as well as the misconstrued theory of Darwin were applied to human problems. This is what is known as "social

Darwinism". Many authors, notable among whom was the German philosopher Nietzsche, reasoned that if strife and bloodshed engender progress in nature, they would do so in human society as well. This was only the application of the inexorable laws of nature to the affairs of men.

Darwin had proved by scientific observation, what Aristotle had assumed upon philosophic enquiry. It was the theory of the hour. It could not have come at a more opportune moment. For the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century was the age of imperialism. As Dunn and Dobzhansky say:

*"It was comforting to think that when savages armed with a sling or with bow and arrow were killed or enslaved by cannon and machine gun we were simply witnessing biologically inferior stocks being replaced by biologically superior ones."* Hitler

declared later: "Mankind has grown in eternal wars, it will decay in eternal peace."

Within the same nation too, it was properanel fitting that the "fittest" i.e. members of the upper or privileged classes should dominate and exploit the lower classes. It was the same application of the laws of nature to human society.

The pathetic thing is that the oppressed classes and races more often than not accepted their miserable conditions with docility. And even at times propounded theories in support of their own subjection. Such a theory is the one which is supposed to have been advanced by Booker T. Washington, the Afro-American scientist.

He is alleged to have said that the different races might be likened to the fingers on the hand. All are not equal, but each has

a useful function to fulfil. In effect, Booker agreed that the black man was ordained by God to be a slave.

Against this defeatism, Dr. Du Bois, the father of P n-Africanism, fought gallantly.

Nor has racial equality ever lacked proponents throughout the ages. Alexander the Great, in defiance of Aristotle, his teacher, held strong convictions about the equality of man to man and encouraged the peoples of his vast empire to intermarry. He set the example himself, by marrying a Persian princess.

It is to the credit of the Roman Empire that, although it maintained slavery, its citizenship was not restricted to Latins or Italians alone. History has it that people of African descent occupied the imperial throne.

The philosophy of equality of man to man was formulated by Stoa, while the

early Christians by their unparagoned zeal and dedication translated theory into practice. They accepted into the Christian fold, all who confessed Christ without regard to biological or racial differences and joyfully bore the burdens of one another.

### MESSIANIC HOPE

In more recent times, this philosophy was given palpable expression in two great revolutions i.e. the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917. Both spring from the same soil of the Christian ideology of the messianic hope—the fervent expectation of the second coming of Jesus, the Christ, to vanquish the Devil and his principalities and powers.

This hope in turn is a heritage from Judaism. Docontrodden, expatriated

and ill-used, the Jews found consolation in the ardent hope that Jaweh, their God, would some day raise up a Saviour to defeat the enemies of Israel and re-establish the Kingdom of David.

While the Jewish messianic hope was sectarian and exclusive, limited to the "chosen people of Israel, the seed of Abraham, the Christians extended it to embrace all humanity and idealised it into a consolation of a happy life after death in recompense for the sufferings of man on earth.

### MARX'S VIEW

To the extent that this hope, this faith in human progress and in freedom was universalised by Christianity, it was an improvement upon the judaic version. None the less, like the judaic version, it can be considered as largely escapist for the reason that it idealised suffering which could otherwise be averted or overcome by human efforts. Hence Karl Marx jibe that "religion is the opium of the people."

With characteristic acumen denied the garbed and dogma-soaked theologians of Christianity, Marx discerned the real import of the Gospel of Christ—*"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."* "He that hath two coats, let him impart one to him that hath none." The lilies of the valley are more richly clothed than Solomon ever was. And the birds of the hour who labour not nor gather into barns are fed superabundantly. Why should man who is far more precious than these go a hungering to death?

Marx had not patience to wait for an imaginary joy in Heaven. Nor has the mid-twentieth century black man. We can no more console ourselves and sing with vain longings for a skyey world, while looters and vampires drain the resources of our land and enjoy the fruits of our labours.

"Give me part, at least, of my Heaven here on earth where I am sure of enjoying it", said an Afro-American friend of mine. And how right he is.

The fallacy of white supremacy reached its zenith in Nazism—that monstrous uprising of the subliminal beastiality of the white race.

A cursory review of history will reveal that white race has always grieved in the show of brute force, and violence. The Homeric Greeks, the Huns, the Vandals and the Vikings, for example waged wars for the mere lust for loot and swarmed territories like locust, pillaging, ravaging, killing, destroying, leaving behind them trails of flaming devastation as if the friends of hell had let loose upon the earth.

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### RUMANIAN MADE TRACTORS

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- Full range of speeds
- Good wheel grip
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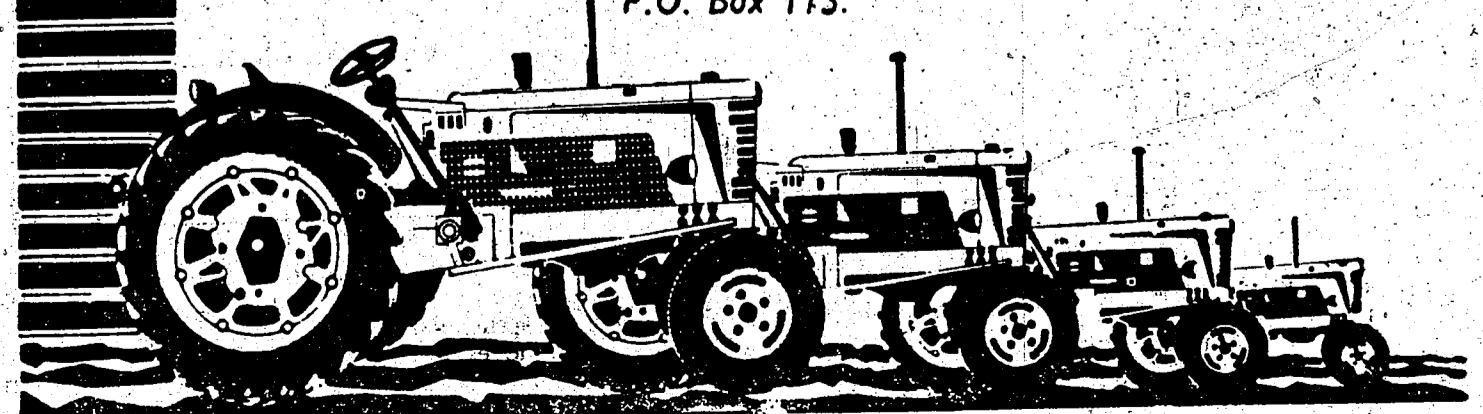
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# THE ARYAN MYTH

Continued from page 3

The philosophic tradition of the Germans provided a singularly fertile soil for the flourishing of this vestige of animalism. Intellectuals have always exercised a strong influence on the German mind, and the nineteenth century, the dawn of the Nazi era, was especially prolific in intellectuals whose theories of romanticism and hero worship were particularly welcome to the German temperament.

Foremost among these philosophers were Schopenhauer and Nietzsche who opposed emotion and irrationality to the rule of reason. Irrationalism had its highest expression in heroism and the hero was idolized as the superman.

Adolf Hitler showed us what that superman was like and his irrationalism was demonstrated in the Nazi nightmare.

## MEIN KAMPF

The basis of the Nazi horror was the "philosophy" embodied in Hitler's Mein Kampf, an emotional work whose "peculiar fascination as R.H.S. Crossman has written "is that elaborates the half-formed ideas of the street into a comprehensive secular religion."

The virtuperations of Adolf Hitler in Mein Kampf were lent a semblance of academic respectability by Alfred Rosenberg who attempted to establish the notion of Aryan superiority on historical and scientific basis in his book *Der Mythos des 20 Jahrhunderts (The Myth of the Twentieth Century)*.

## ARYANS

The farce of Aryans superiority was crucial to the "philosophy" of Nazism because the Germanic people's were identified with this mythical race. This identification of the Germans with the Aryans was built upon the shifting sands of myths, legends and casual expression of opinion as the one attributed to Tacitus, the great Roman historian who wrote: "The Germans themselves, I am inclined to think, are native of the soil and extremely little affected by immigration or friendly intercourse with other nations." It is important to remember that about two thousand years removed Roman Empire of Tacitus from Hitler's Germany.

Aryan doctrinaires asserted that the race consisted of the peoples who speak the Indo-European or Indo-German family of languages. These are Sankrit, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Germanic and the Slavonic languages which are so related that the theorists maintained they must have been derived from a common source. Upon this assumption they postulated that the peoples who speak these languages must have belonged to one race which spoke the parent language.

Thus Friedrich Max Muller maintained that the Hindus, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Celts and the Germans belonged to the same Aryan race which once lived in central Asia. Other Aryan theorists believed that the superior race lived in Southern Europe, while others too held the opinion that they must have originally come from North Africa. But the Nazi philosophers, Rotten-

berg and the Germanized Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, perhaps taking their cue from Tacitus maintained that Germany was the cradleland of that wonderful race.

## CREATORS OF CIVILISATION?

The Aryan race, they claimed, was especially gifted with culture producing capacities and had, indeed, been the creator of all the great civilization; both ancient and modern. Therefore all that constitute human culture—art, science, technology, philosophy etc—have exclusively come out of the creative genius of the Aryan race.

The fallacy of this contention is so obvious that it hardly needs refutation. The Aryan club excludes such of the white races as the French, the Jews and the English whose contributions to the art of government, science, philosophy, literature etc, are beyond question.

## ARYANS TO RULE

Nevertheless, the Nazis maintained that all civili-

sation was the work of the Aryans, the elite of the human race, who are especially gifted with creative capacities. Other races, they asserted were even destructive.

It was therefore in the interest of mankind that highest of the races, the Aryans, should dominate the world and their stock kept as pure as possible. For the Darwinian theory of evolution upon which this fallacy was supposed to have been posited that the purest race was the strongest and it was the fittest that survived.

"The broad mass of the people (i.e. the world)" Hitler declared, "wants the victory of the strong and the annihilation or unconditional submission of the weak."

## THE JEWISH PROBLEM

According to the Nazi racial theory, the Jews and Negroes were at the bottom of the scale. They were of the classes which were only favoured with purely imitative or even destructive capacities and were therefore to be subjugated or annihi-

lated in the interest of mankind.

With the Negroes, there was no problem. All over the world they were already a subject people. Subjugation with them was complete. So were other coloured races.

*The trouble lay with the Jews who were scattered in the four corners of the earth and moved and mixed with the high races. "They were, said Hitler, "the bacillus which is the solvent of human society". The decay of civilisations, the doctrines upheld, was the result of intermarriage of the Aryans with the native races they conquered or ruled.*

*The Jews who lived among the Aryan peoples, therefore, constituted the greatest threat to modern civilisation. To them were traced all the woes and tribulations of the Germans. They were blamed both for capitalism and communism. To the Nazis, therefore, it was an imperative necessity to find a solution to the Jewish problem.*

The final solution of that problem was the calculated extermination of the Jews. Never before had the buried animalism in man been so unrestrainedly unleashed.

## NEW NAZISM

It needed a global war and the toll of millions of lives to vanguard the Nazi monstrosity. The Aryan myth has also, academically at least, been discredited.

First, there is the impossibility of actually locating the homeland of the Aryans. Secondly, with the increasing knowledge of prehistoric cultures, the myth of Aryan singularity has been completely shattered. Thirdly, the possibility of ever learning anything conclusive about the supposed capabilities of the mythical "original Aryans" is very remote.

Lastly, there is the established fact that all historical peoples were very much mixed in blood and that it is impossible to determine the role of any particular race.

## NEW NAZISM

Although Nazism and its parent, Fascism, have been defeated, the germ that grew into these monsters is very much alive. The myth of white supremacy which gave birth to the myth of Aryan superiority is much more alive now than ever before.

We find it all over the world: in Britain where there is a new gestation of the Nazi monster; on the continent of Europe where African students are cudgelled and manhandled, in the United States of America where mad racists chase Afro-Americans with dogs, firehoses and bullets; and above all in South Africa, the home of apartheid, the new brand of Nazism.

## IMPENDING REVOLUTION

In that God-forsaken country of South Africa, each day brings nearer the day of revolution which when it comes, must surely be cataclysmic.

The methods of apartheid are now only one step removed from true Nazism. And the government is set upon employing hideous instruments of Hitler's Germany. Indeed, what is needed is the pretext to employ them and they are daily supplying the causes

which will provide the pretext.

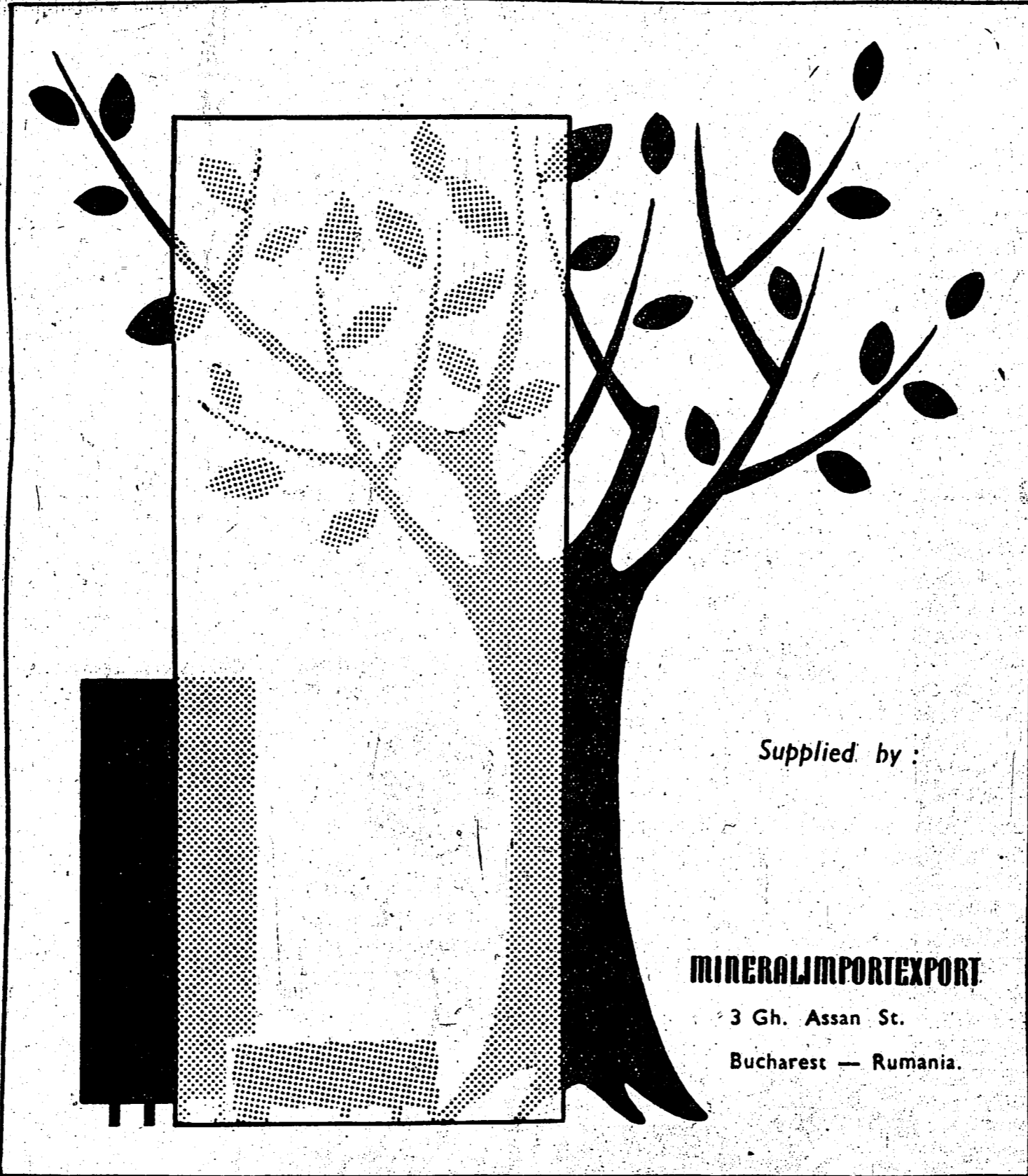
These are in the form of provocations demonstrable inhuman laws and policies such as the Pass Laws, the Sabotage Act and the Bantustan policy by which hundreds of thousands are uprooted from their native soils and planted in reserves or are banished. In either case the inevitable concomitants are deprivation, unemployment, starvation or death to either parent or child or some dear relative.

Writing in the "Observer" on May 5, 1963, Colin Legum said: "In one week Alexandra welfare workers found four small children left alone after both their parents had been arrested, another two little girls whose mother had been taken away at 5.30 in the morning, and two hungry boys whose parents had been removed three weeks before."

Thus the African in his own country is driven against a stone wall. There is no way of escape but to fight. And when death is the only alternative to a miserable life worse than death, how much better is it than to die, and die nobly fighting for the cause of freedom and the rights of man?

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# EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

Continued from page 1

On the other hand, the bigger influx of manufactured goods from Europe prevents the African countries from building up their own national industry, without which their economic independence cannot be assured. Moreover, EEC trade with the "associated" states is marked by a number of factors which, while characteristic of the world capitalist market as a whole are prejudicial to the interests of underdeveloped countries.

## AGRARIAN RAW MATERIAL APPENDAGES

The disparity between prices of industrial goods and raw materials is constantly increasing. Thus, in the third quarter of 1961 the same amount of exports to the Common Market 'Six' fetched the African countries only nine-tenths of the proceeds they obtained at 1958 prices, while the prices of manufactured goods exported by EEC countries to Africa dropped only 2 per cent in the same period.

In other words, the prices of products exported by underdeveloped countries decline five times faster than the prices of goods they imported from industrial states.

The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that the under-developed countries which link their destinies to the Common Market run the risk of remaining in the position of agrarian raw-material appendages in the unequal system of international division of labour which was created by classical colonialism and which the present-day colonialists are so anxious to perpetuate.

No less serious is the threat presented by the Common Market to the interests of under-developed countries that stay out of it. The establishment of an exclusive trade bloc of

European and African countries adversely affects the position of those underdeveloped countries which produce and export the same raw materials and foodstuffs as the "associated" states. This applies, first and foremost, to Latin-American republics—the traditional exports of coffee, cocoa, bananas and other tropical products.

The plans for financing the economic development of these countries are largely dependent on foreign exchange obtained from their exports. The Common Market policy of trade discrimination against the Latin-American countries leads to a considerable reduction of the latter's foreign exchange revenue from this source.

Their losses on the export of coffee alone are estimated at \$130 million. The efforts of the Latin-American trade organisation to reach agreement with the Common Market bosses proved unsuccessful.

## HUGE LOSSES

At the same time EEC is also endeavouring to obstruct the industrialisation of Latin-American countries by its tariff policy in relation to other commodities. Thus, Chilean copper, Bolivian tin, Peruvian cotton and Uruguayan wool are allowed to the Common Market duty-free or at the lowest tariff rate.

However, even semi-products from these raw materials, let alone finished goods, are barred by prohibitive tariffs. This measure shows more eloquently than all the fine talk that EEC regards the Latin-American countries merely as suppliers of raw materials and will do everything in its power to prevent their industrial development.

Continued on page 8

# How African Students View Colonialism

by David Diop

This article gives only a general analysis of the different attitudes of African students to colonialism. All I wished to do was to pinpoint the unanimity of view among African students, as regards the basic problem, namely: The struggle for better living and working conditions.

THOUGH the African student quite rightly attaches a very great importance to his studies, he is nevertheless concerned with everything that has a bearing upon the colonial question, either directly or indirectly.

Before the Second World War, in which as everyone knows hundreds of thousands of Africans took part, there were not many African students studying in France. And though some of them did actually have second thoughts about the colonial problem in the light of their new experiences that problem still remained a matter for a academic discussion, and was not reflected in any practical sense.

However, it would be a mistake to think that those theoretical discussions were completely useless. To a certain extent they paved the way for the tasks upon which the youth of Africa were in due course to embark.

## Repressive Censorship

In point of fact, it was only after the Second World War that the African student really came into the anti-colonial struggle. The great contribution Africa had made to the final victory against fascism, made it incumbent upon the French authorities when Liberation came, to abolish the repressive censorship (at least the most outrageous forms of it), which were in fact the ordinary method of governing Overseas.

Indeed, in 1946, a Constitution was adopted, which among other provisions, gave the colonial peoples a fair range of possibilities for achieving progress. Africans could go to France in fairly large numbers and scholarships were granted them providing for their upkeep throughout the duration of their studies.

And so in France, ordinary young people from different parts of Africa south of the Sahara came together, with the result that certain prejudices of a regional kind which the colonialists do not fail to encourage in order to maintain their domination, were quickly broken down. Students from Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Cameroon, soon realised that over and above the differences of language and customs, there was a bond that united them in their common determination to acquire knowledge and culture, to serve Africa.

This sense of solidarity was not long in taking concrete shape in Paris, through the establishment there of a general African Students Association, which aimed at the outset at safeguarding the purely material interests of students. The ban imposed upon the treat-

ment of any political subject in the course of the Association's meetings resulted in a number of clashes within its ranks, some persons being of the opinion that it was not necessary to display any "corporate" spirit, nor hesitate to take an official stand against the colonial system, others on the other hand refusing "to dabble in politics" at any price.

## Method of Combat

Events were to prove the protagonists of the first attitude right, and to-day the vast majority of African students are convinced of the need to fight colonialism in all its forms. Of course, there is as yet no unanimity regarding the methods of combat to be employed; but between the two great trends in the student movement among Africans south of the Sahara, the trend towards nationalism and the other towards progressive tendencies, there is really no antagonism as some would have us believe for reasons best known to themselves.

In point of fact nationalists and progressists have this in common, that they place an unlimited confidence in the African masses. Nationalist students as well as those who champion progressive attitudes, both despise the academic talk and demagogic acrobatics of certain African parliamentarians. Wedded as they are in solid concord with the peoples of Africa, they are fighting for more schools overseas, the sending of more students to Europe, until such time as the big cities of Africa can have their own universities.

## The Progressists

This said, it must be noted that nationalists and progressists have different views on the general question centred around the colonial problem. These we shall not set out.

In order to combat colonial oppression in a more effective manner, the students who advocate a progressive programme insist that the most part members of the RDA students association, recommend an alliance with the classes exploited by the imperialist powers and the parties representing them. In their view, the choice facing every African is to give support, complacent or otherwise, to the forces of reaction or fight alongside the progressive movements in the world.

So far as the students in particular are concerned, their attachment to the Students International Union is recommended, since this Union has time and again spoken out against cultural oppression in the colonial countries. Finally, the progressive students sound a warning to their fellow-men against illusions they may harbour of getting out of difficulties by sheltering under rivalries that exist among the world imperialist powers.

These rivalries and contradictions are certainly becoming increasingly apparent, but the capitalist gov-

ernment will always come to some agreement in matters of an essential nature, in other words, so far as the need to keep colonial peoples in their grip is concerned. Malasia, Viet-Nam, Tunisia provide striking examples.

Against this argument, the nationalists retort with the assertion that they have no need to take account of any problems other than those that directly concern Africa. Generally speaking, they regard all French parties with misgiving, and sometimes actually assert that racialism, whether conscious or not, exists among all the classes in the imperialist nations, without exception.

As regards the African parliamentarians who sit in the French Assemblies, they declare that they are perfectly useless, and are there just to supply a few more votes to back up the colonialist majority.

## "Parvenu" Spirit

In addition to the nationalists and the progressists, let us mention a third and last group, which is rather restricted in size. It is totally indifferent to the colonial question and has only one aim in view, namely, to return home once their studies are over and there live comfortably. Those are the persons who say: "Good heavens, I don't go in for politics. With politics you always have some problem on your hands. Unexceptionable so far as university work is concerned, and very often likeable as individuals, as soon as it comes to politics they retreat and it is extremely difficult to get them out. However, the "parvenu" spirit is not always the only characteristic of this group. Some students "have nothing to do with politics" simply because they have been browned off in respect of the very persons they elected and brought to power.

These appear to them not like men resolved to fight against oppression to the bitter end, but as demagogues whose primary aim is to secure for themselves personal gain. They feel all the more disappointed because the very persons in which they placed their confidence, who in the past at the very outset of their parliamentary careers had given proof of great courage politically, ended up by being opportunists of the most revolting type.

## The Determination of The People

The disenchantment felt by certain African students can therefore be partly explained, but it should be pointed out to them that the ideal for which they should strive rests upon the will and determination of the peoples of Africa and not upon the good pleasure and spinelessness of a few men who, by cutting themselves off from the masses, represent only themselves.

The ridiculousness of some parliamentary puppet cannot in any real sense halt the need for emancipation felt by millions of men. The enemies of progress would be all too hap-

py if African students, for one reason or another, were to display no interest whatever in their own problems.

## Terrific Fuss

But African students are constantly giving them fresh proof that this is not the case. They know that alongside the all-important question of their studies, there is that further question which embraces the worker in Gabon or the Niger who is exploited to excess, the thousands of Malagasies

either shot dead or imprisoned. And so the African student cannot still his conscience for the simple reason—a good one but inadequate—that he is morally speaking on the side of his oppressed brothers. We mean of course that it is no good making a terrific fuss at the slightest provocation and shouting oneself hoarse, without questioning anything that actually

exists. We must make a lucid attack upon the deep-seated mechanism of colonialism, taking good care that there shall be no misunderstanding as to the aim pursued.

This calls for systematic and unrelenting toil, of the type to which a fair number of students are already dedicated. Whatever the manoeuvres of this or that set, it is now clear that

young Africans have escaped from the mirage of false problems and philosophical "trumpery" and are going straight to the heart of the matter as it affects Africa.

(This article written by David Diop appeared in a publication of "Présence Africaine" entitled "Black Students Speak", which came out towards the end of 1953.)

# "Africa Must Unite" Throws Light on African Unity

Continued from Page 2

But the tactics of imperialism were conspicuously directed to focus attention on these divisions and to express on this basis confident anticipations that any dream of speedy African political unity would founder on these divisions and at the best be relegated to the role of utopian aspirations for the indefinite future.

The outcome of the Addis Ababa Conference had delivered a check to these hopes of imperialism. Thirty of the thirty-two independent African States were represented by Heads of State: Morocco, which was concerned to challenge the position of Mauritania, was represented by its Foreign Secretary; Togoland was temporarily unrepresented owing to the question of the recognition of the new President with requiring agreement.

## National Movement

Certainly the proceedings at the outset revealed the difficulties; and the dispatches of the imperialist press correspondents on the first day betrayed their anticipations of deadlock. But on the second day the Declaration of the twenty-two national movements in the still subject territories, who had met alongside under the chairmanship of Oginga Odinga, exercised a profound influence in stimulating the sense of urgency for united action.

Nkrumah's tactics in presenting the maximum programme for immediate full political union, so far from exposing him to impotent isolation, as the imperialist critics hopefully prophesied, fulfilled its aim of forcing the pace, so that the most moderate felt compelled to table their positive proposals for advancing the aim of unity, rather than take refuge in objections and procrastination.

The result represents the unanimous adoption of a very considerable programme for establishing united African political institutions as soon as ratification has taken place by two-thirds of the States. The Organisation for African Unity replaces the separate grouping of "Casablanca" and "Monrovia".

The ill-favoured example of the Organisation of American States has not been copied, as some American imperialist advisers sought to recommend; in-

deed one of the most effective arguments of Nkrumah for speedy political union has been to emphasise the danger that an Africa of a congeries of weak separate states, each in isolation at the mercy of imperialism, might otherwise share the unhappy fate of Latin America during the past century.

## A Giant Step

A giant step has been taken, although the test will come with practice. It would be unwise to assume that the course will be smooth. But the decisions of Addis Ababa should certainly not be dismissed as a mere paper blueprint for a constitution for African unity.

A practical programme was simultaneously adopted alongside the constitutional decisions; and this practical programme is directly related to the struggle for liberation in the rest of Africa.

The decisions for the diplomatic isolation and trade boycott of Portugal and South Africa will not only be a guide to action for the African Governments, but will be presented to the United Nations and will be an inspiration to the democratic movement everywhere. No less explicit is the warning to Britain against handing over Southern Rhodesia to the dictatorship of the white racist minority in place of granting democratic independence.

Principle 6 of the Charter adopted at Addis Ababa lays down: "Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent". A Liberation Bureau has been established, entrusted to the charge of seven States (Algeria, Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda, United Arab Republic), with headquarters at Dar-es-Salaam, and with an initial fund of one million pounds, to give aid to the national liberation movements in subject Africa, both financially and through military training and the provision of volunteers.

## Necessity of Practical Aid

Premier Ben Bella, fresh from the victory of the Algerian national liberation movement in the bitter seven years war against the half million army of French imperialism, was

the foremost in emphasising the necessity of such practical aid to the national liberation fighters in the rest of Africa. It was Premier Obote of Uganda who declared: "If the Portuguese can try to shoot Africans, the Africans must also shoot the Portuguese."

The cause of All-African Unity against imperialism for the fulfilment of African liberation does not represent, as the imperialist racialists try to pretend, a kind of "black racialism" or "African separatism opposed to internationalism."

It is an integral part of the international anti-imperialist front. The national liberation movements in

Asia and Latin-America or the Caribbean, the socialist peoples and the anti-imperialist fighters in the imperialist countries, support the African national liberation fighters are conscious of their solidarity with all who fight imperialism all over the world.

The fight for All-African Unity is a specific form of the national liberation struggle against imperialism in the conditions of Africa. Nkrumah's book, Africa Must Unite, inspired by a profoundly internationalist outlook, will help to spread enlightenment and understanding of this great aim which is one of the dynamic factors of the great changes of our era.

# Afro-Asian Writers on Peace Corps and Military Pacts

THE Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference held on 20th July, 1963, at Denpasar, Indonesia, adopted two resolutions on the colonialist military pacts with the former colonies in Asia and Africa and the imperialist "so-called "Peace Corps" in the newly independent Afro-Asian countries.

## The Aim of Colonialists

The Executive Committee of the Conference after a thorough examination of the issue, realised that the aim of the colonialists, signing military pacts with their former colonies in Afro-Asian countries, was not in any way to help their former countries stabilise their independence but to curb the national independence movement of the peoples of these countries and for that matter to bring a grave menace to world peace.

The resolution therefore unreservedly condemned

these pacts and called for the immediate removal of all foreign bases in Afro-Asian countries and break-up of the military pacts.

The other resolution adopted on the United States "Peace Corps" states that the "Peace Corps" is one of the United States diabolical methods of spreading neo-colonialism on the continents of Africa and Asia. The U.S. imperialists, wearing the masks of "experts in aid" in cultural, literary and scientific fields, have engaged in military, economic and cultural domains.

The resolution therefore called upon the Governments and the peoples of the Afro-Asian countries to mobilise all their forces to resist the entry of the "Peace Corps" into Africa and Asia. It also called upon the Governments of Afro-Asian countries where the members of the "Peace Corps" had already succeeded in worming their way, to drive them out immediately.

Economie: a propos d'un rapport d'experts financiers sur le Kenya

# LES PETITES VERITES ET LA GRANDE

UN groupe d'experts vient de se réunir à Londres pour discuter de la situation économique au Kenya dans la perspective de l'accession de ce pays à l'indépendance dans l'ordre politique aussi profond que l'accession d'une ancienne colonie à l'indépendance ne peut qu'avoir des conséquences importantes dans l'ordre économique.

Rien de plus utile en outre, car, en effet, il convient de réexaminer tous les problèmes, y compris les problèmes économiques, de ce pays; il importe de les repenser dans le cadre nouveau d'une économie et d'un état se développant désormais ou qui tendra à se développer en fonction de ses propres besoins, de ses propres intérêts et même de ses propres désirs; et non plus en fonction de la stratégie mondiale d'un vaste ensemble économique impérial, l'ex-empire britannique.

### Repenser nos Problèmes Et Changer de Mentalité

Il s'agit même là du problème central de tous les pays qui accèdent à l'indépendance politique et c'est aussi l'un des problèmes les plus difficiles à résoudre; pas seulement, parce que les intérêts bien établis (intérieurs et extérieurs) tentent de minimiser autant que possible les effets économiques de l'indépendance politique, mais aussi parce que l'orientation intellectuelle de la plupart des dirigeants et de ceux qui sont aux commandes, à quelque niveau que ce soit, a été façonnée au temps de la colonisation et dans une certaine mesure est marquée, même après l'indépendance, même parmi les dirigeants les plus opposés au colonialisme, par le colonialisme. C'est d'ailleurs cette "préférence impériale" d'un genre particulier qui explique peut-être que tant d'Africains continuent de prendre l'ex-métropole comme base de tout leur système de référence l'ivoire comme point d'appui. Ainsi dans tant de gestes de la vie quotidienne, dans tant de décisions prises tous les jours en Afrique et qui jouent un rôle important dans la création de l'Afrique moderne, se perpétuent les conceptions, les habitudes et les méthodes de l'Afrique coloniale.

Le G.C.E. et ses exigences ici, le baccalauréat et son "drill" intellectuel là, dans le domaine de l'éducation; le Civil Service hérité des Anglais ici, le lourd système administratif napoléonien là, sur le plan administratif; etc. Les exemples, dans tous les domaines, ne sont que trop abondants et insérés inextricablement dans la vie quotidienne, dans la vie de la nation.

En d'autres termes, c'est à la fois à cause de certains intérêts bien réels, bien matériels, mais aussi à cause d'une série d'habitudes et finalement de tout un système, incluant les méthodes administratives et l'"approche" intellectuelle, que l'indépendance politique a de la peine à se traduire rapidement et effectivement par des changements tout aussi importants et tout

aussi nécessaires sur le plan économique.

Pourtant l'effort à accomplir sur ce plan est énorme et on ne saurait se contenter de simples réajustements. Bien que cela soit nécessaire dans neuf cas sur dix, il ne suffit pas, en effet, de remplacer l'Européen par l'Africain, ou plus précisément le fonctionnaire français par le fonctionnaire ivoirien ou le businessman britannique par le businessman nigérien, pour modifier radicalement les structures économiques dans nos pays. On le sait bien -et même si "l'Afrique noire" n'est pas mal partie", Monsieur Dumont, nous n'ignorons pas que ce problème reste posé, dans toute son ampleur.

On ne passe pas de la colonisation à l'indépendance sans se poser et sans poser certains problèmes. Par conséquent nous devrions nous féliciter de tout effort de réflexion sur ce thème, en ce qui concerne le Kenya comme n'importe quel autre pays de notre continent.

### Les Petites Vérités Des Internationaux

Cependant autant la réflexion est en soi recommandable, autant le résultat des réflexions du comité d'experts internationaux qui s'est réuni à Londres paraît fantastique. Mais voyons rapidement ces conclusions et ces recommandations:

Le groupe d'experts s'est déclaré convaincu que l'essentiel c'est que le gouvernement du Kenya adopte des mesures propres à établir les conditions économiques nécessaires au développement du pays et qu'il s'en tienne fermement à cette politique.

Parmi les mesures particulières qui sont recommandées par le groupe d'experts bancaires, on trouve les "nouveautés" suivantes:

1. maintien de la légalité et de l'ordre;
2. maintien de l'efficacité dans tous les départements gouvernementaux;
3. mise sur pied d'une administration plus souple et mieux intégrée;
4. accroissement du revenu par le moyen de modifications dans le système de taxation;
5. action soutenue pour parvenir à la solvabilité fiscale;
6. déclaration sans équivoque du gouvernement quant à sa politique vis-à-vis des investissements privés afin d'encourager le développement de la production par l'initiative privée.

Les experts avertissent encore, pour la bonne mesure, que si "les gens qualifiés" quittent le pays en grand nombre au cours des prochaines années il sera difficile sinon impossible de maintenir le niveau de productivité et de production dans plusieurs secteurs et branches d'activités économiques dont dépend actuellement le niveau de la production au Kenya".

Voilà. Nous voilà avertis.

Conseils de sagesse, énoncés de vérités, sans doute. Sans doute faut-il concevoir clairement les objectifs, définir une politique économique et s'y tenir autant

que possible. On le sait: gouverner, c'est prévoir et aussi appliquer. Bien sûr. Sans doute aussi est-il recommandable de créer une administration assez souple et intégrée afin d'éviter les goulots d'étranglement et pour éviter aussi d'étouffer les initiatives et les projets intéressants sous la paperasse et les tracasseries chicanes de l'administration.

Peut-être bien même qu'une certaine proportion d'investissements de capitaux étrangers privés peut jouer un rôle favorable, notamment au cours des premières années du redressement économique d'un pays indépendant. Et alors, nous l'accordons aussi, bien entendu, le nouveau gouvernement indépendant se doit-il de définir nettement sa politique vis-à-vis de ces investissements de capitaux privés étrangers.

Il n'est pas impossible même et enfin que le nouvel état indépendant puisse avoir intérêt à assurer aussi soûplement et aussi "normalement" que possible la transition entre une période où toute la technique moderne se trouvait entre les mains des étrangers et une période où elle passe entre les mains des nationaux. En matière agricole, dans les colonies dites de "peuplement", notamment, les changements de propriété ne devraient pas être effectués sans tenir compte des problèmes de productivité, par exemple.

Tout cela est vrai, et bel et bon. Personne d'ailleurs ne songe à le contester; et tout récemment le Dr. Hasting Banda avertissait sévèrement les fonctionnaires de son pays qu'aucun automatisme ne serait appliqué en pareille occurrence, et qu'il faudrait que les fonctionnaires africains fassent preuve de compétences réelles.

### La Grande Vérité: Le Sous-Développement

Mais. Mais ces vérités ne sont finalement que de petites vérités, comme il y a de petites vertus. Et elles ne sont qu'autant d'arbres qui cachent la forêt, c'est-à-dire l'énorme vérité, le sous-développement économique.

Qu'est après tout que le Kenya? Une ex-colonie anglaise, un état taillé dans le continent africain au hasard de la conquête et des rivalités impérialistes, un pays sous-développé de l'immense tiers monde.

Comment se fait-il qu'on donne ces conseils maintenant seulement? Cela signifie-t-il que le précédent gouvernement (colonial) n'en avait pas besoin? Donc que tout allait pour le mieux dans la meilleure des colonies britanniques? Mais si tout allait si bien, comment se fait-il que le Kenya soit un pays sous-développé? Comment se fait-il que son revenu national per capita soit si bas, ses industries quasi inexistantes, son commerce extérieur défavorable, sa population si peu alphabétisée? Questions qui sont tout de même d'un certain poids! Contradiction tout de même difficile à résoudre!

Oubien les recommandations du groupe d'experts internationaux signifient que le statu quo doit être maintenu et alors c'est une sinistre farce, puisque, précisément, le pays est dans une situation économique très difficile. Oubien elles signi-

fié qu'il faut que l'administration du Kenya indépendant fasse confiance à l'initiative privée et à la technique des Européens. Et alors cela mérite quelques commentaires.

1. Cette initiative privée, à laquelle on nous demande de croire et de faire confiance, elle a déjà eu l'occasion, historique, de donner sa mesure et de faire ses preuves. Ce fut le colonialisme et la théorie et la pratique de la division internationale du travail, c'est-à-dire l'exploitation des pays non industrialisés par les puissances industrielles. Les "nations prolétaires", comme Pierre Moussa, cet

autre expert international (directeur régional de la Banque mondiale), les a baptisées, en savent quelque chose, et on se demande bien comment elles pourraient en vouloir encore.

2. Quant à la fameuse et précieuse technique européenne, et bien qu'il ne soit pas possible de s'exprimer brièvement à ce sujet (mais nous y reviendrons bientôt) son principal défaut c'est qu'après parfois cent ans de colonisation, elle n'a pas eu d'effets d'entraînement sur le reste de l'économie du pays colonial. Parce qu'entre les deux secteurs de l'économie, le traditionnel

et le moderne colonial, il n'y a pas de passage, les conditions de l'un n'étant pas appliquées à l'autre. Bref, il ne suffit pas de maintenir les vastes domaines des colons pour résoudre le problème agricole des pays africains. Au contraire.

3. Enfin, un autre point est essentiel et relativement nouveau: les problèmes tendent à s'aggraver, partout. A cause de la pression démographique d'abord, la population s'accroît plus rapidement que la production et donc la situation moyenne relative est moins bonne (ou pire) chaque année. En outre, le fossé technique, et les différences de croissance économique qui en résultent, entre les nations avancées techniquement et les pays sous-développés s'élargit et donc la situation relative des pays sous-développés empire. Sans insister pour le moment on peut faire remarquer au moins ceci: dans ces conditions, les solutions de la petite sagesse bourgeoise sont totalement inadéquates. Quand la maison brûle on ne gronde plus l'enfant qui a joué avec les alumettes, on arrose! Vite et beaucoup.

La vérité c'est que la sagesse internationale, des experts diplomates de Ber-

lin en 1884/85 à ces experts sans doute de bonne volonté, qui se sont réunis à Londres cette année pour parler du Kenya n'a guère réussi à notre continent; et l'Afrique ne veut plus, ne doit plus être le champ d'expérience de la sagesse occidentale.

La vérité c'est que la sagesse dont l'Afrique a besoin aujourd'hui consiste à tout bouleverser, puisque rien ne va suffisamment bien (ou alors qu'est-ce que c'est que le sous-développement, qu'est-ce que c'est que l'analphabétisme, la malnutrition, etc?).

La vérité c'est que la patience est hors de saison, parce qu'il faut faire vite et beaucoup pour battre la démographie par une production qui doit augmenter énormément, et pas seulement un peu.

### Imposer Collectivement Nos Conditions

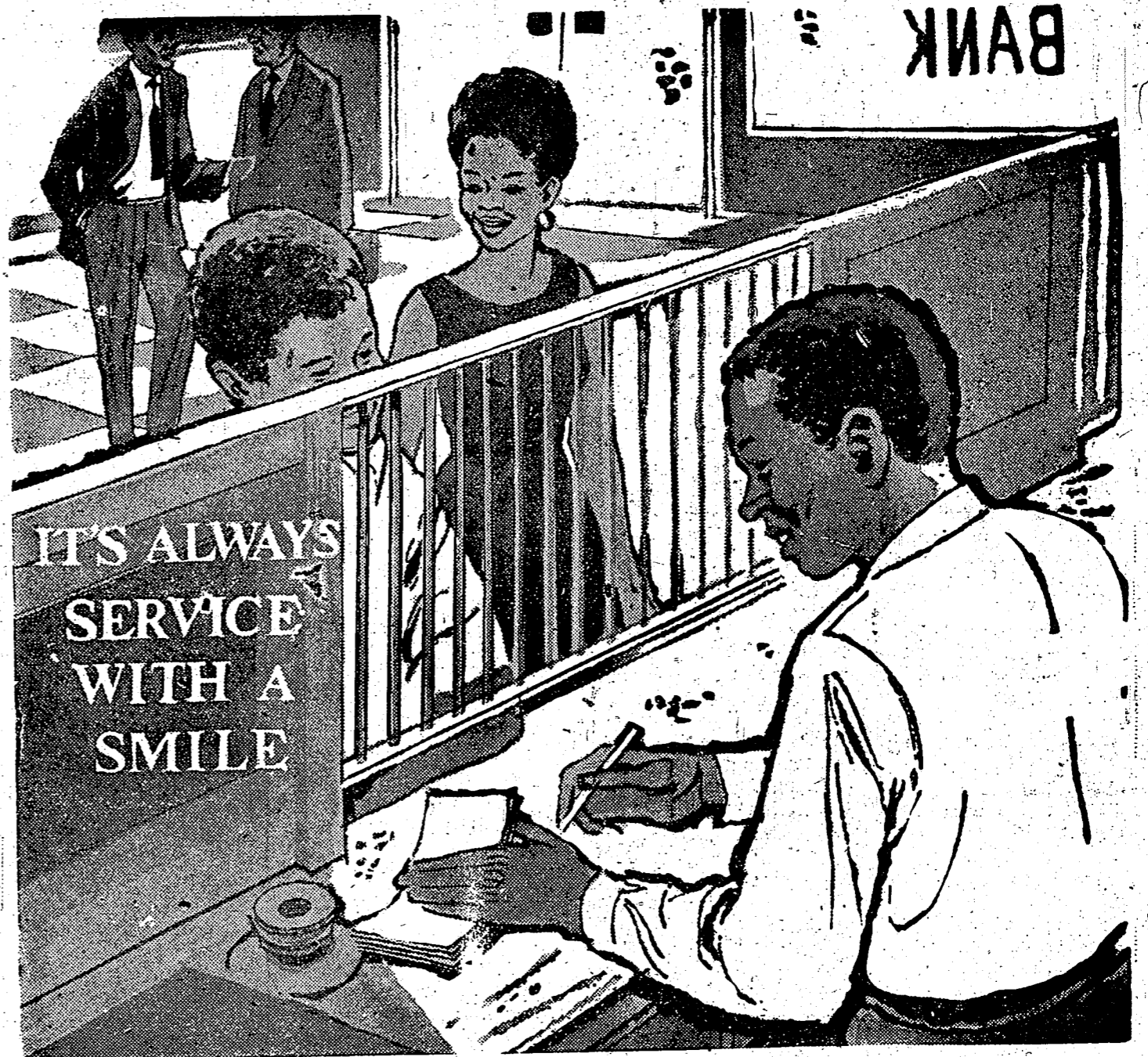
La vérité c'est qu'il faut imposer aux pays industriels les nouvelles conditions commerciales nécessaires au développement de l'Afrique et du tiers monde en général (entre autre la stabilisation du prix des matières premières); et cela est bien plus important que les quelques investissements

privés étrangers tout à fait insuffisants qu'on nous marchandait. A cet égard la comparaison des deux chiffres suivants est significative:

Selon une étude du GATT ("L'évolution du commerce international", Genève, octobre 1958) les capitaux privés investis à long terme dans les pays non industrialisés pendant l'année 1956 représentaient un total de 1,5 milliard de dollars; à la même époque (moyenne annuelle pour la période 1953-1956) le total des investissements publics (y compris les dons) s'élevait à un peu moins de 2 milliards de dollars; soit, avec les prêts soviétiques (qui s'élevaient à la même époque à environ 800 millions par an), un total approximatif de 4 milliards de dollars par an. Peut-être un peu plus.

Entre temps, des chiffres plus récents mais partiels indiquent que cette "aide" des pays industriels a augmenté depuis 1956; elle aurait peut-être presque doublé. Mais 1. les besoins des pays sous-développés ont eux aussi augmenté entre temps, et 2. le rapport, au mieux, entre l'"aide" et les besoins resterait inférieur à 1/4. C'est dire l'insuffisance de cette "aide".

Suite à la Page 7



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# Halte a la Sovs Utilisation de notre Capital!

**C'EST une banalité de rappeler que l'Afrique manque de capitaux, que son développement exige de nouveaux investissements, massifs, sous toutes les formes: investissements "classiques" et aussi investissements humains.**

**Pourtant, de la reconnaissance théorique ou formelle de ce fait à l'application conséquente d'une politique d'utilisation complète du capital déjà investi (bâtiments, etc.) il y a encore loin.**

Ceci est particulièrement visible et particulièrement grave dans le domaine de l'éducation. Les bâtiments (—capital investi, ou infrastructure) sont à disposition, mais ils sont sous-employés; c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne sont pas plus employés que leurs équivalents en Europe où les besoins en matière d'éducation publique sont moins grands, puisque mieux satisfaits depuis plus longtemps. Les écoles en Afrique, comme en Europe, sont fermées environ trois mois par an! Pourquoi? Parce que les habitudes ont été prises, parce que cela s'est toujours fait. Pourtant les besoins en Afrique sont énormes et rien du point de vue des besoins de l'Afrique ne justifie cette sous-utilisation du capital installé. Pourquoi se con-

tenter d'une utilisation à 60 ou 75% du capital alors que le mm pourcentage d'analphabétisme dépasse encore souvent 50% de la population? L'Afrique ne peut pas se payer le luxe d'une sous-utilisation de ses infrastructures scolaires simplement parce que cela se fait en Europe et se faisait en Afrique sous le régime colonial.

Cela ne signifie pas bien entendu que professeurs et élèves devraient travailler 12 mois sur 12; bien entendu les vacances des professeurs et des élèves ont leur pleine justification bio-psychologique. Mais il y a des milliers de jeunes gens hors des écoles, il y a des milliers d'adultes qui n'ont jamais été alphabétisés. Ils devraient, en attendant d'être admis en permanence dans les écoles, pouvoir s'y installer pendant les vacances scolaires. Quant au personnel enseignant nécessaire, on pourrait le trouver dans les contributions volontaires des étudiants (qui par exemple pourraient donner, par rotation, un mois de leurs vacances).

Mesure révolutionnaire? Bien sûr, mais la situation ne l'est-elle pas?

### UNE MODIFICATION SIGNIFICATIVE

Troisièmement, il faut considérer le contenu des programmes scolaires établis par les colonialistes. On admet généralement que ces programmes avaient pour but l'occidentalisation des étudiants. Cette définition, tout en évoquant l'un des traits saillants du système dont nous discu-

tons, ne dit pas toute la vérité. Par ailleurs, les colonialistes, qui manquent absolument d'imagination, ont introduit presque intégralement et sans aucune modification dans les colonies, les programmes d'étudiants de suite, car il fallait à tout prix mépriser ces des et les structures qui africaine, l'art africain et leurs pays. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont écarté l'histoire pour maintenir leur domination, supprimer, pour justifier et matières, voire même les

Une fois l'élément d'occidentalisation évoqué, ainsi que les tendances racistes et soi-disant d'assimilation, il n'est que trop facile d'oublier un autre aspect de la question. L'accidentalisation telle qu'elle fut conçue par les colonialistes, n'a jamais signifié l'exportation globale de toute la culture occidentale, fruit des interminables luttes de classe dans les domaines idéologique et culturel: élabourgeoisie contre la féodalité pendant 2 ou 3 siècles, les classes laborieuses contre la bourgeoisie depuis un siècle et demi.)

L'occident n'a jamais voulu qu'imposer la culture "de sa classe dirigeante", à savoir, une culture fondée sur le capitalisme et qui, fatiguée et usée au moment de la conquête coloniale, s'était déjà engagée dans la voie de la dégénérescence.

### LA REVOLUTION SOVIETIQUE

En somme, le processus d'occidentalisation ne visait

pas seulement à amener les Africains à accepter l'assujettissement vis-à-vis de l'Europe occidentale, mais aussi et plus profondément à se concilier l'approbation d'une petite élite africaine réactionnaire, acquise au capitalisme.

Chose tout à fait naturelle, cette tendance a été sérieusement renforcée depuis la Révolution Soviétique de 1917, et peut-être d'une façon encore plus subtile, depuis la fin de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale.

Si une proportion assez impressionnante de la jeunesse africaine a réussi, contre vents et marée, à se rendre maître d'une culture qu'elle a utilisée comme instrument de lutte pour la libération nationale, c'est précisément parce que cette jeunesse a combattu les carences inhérentes à l'enseignement en vigueur sous le colonialisme.

Enfin, il faut souligner que nous avons insisté, en quelque sorte, sur les aspects les plus positifs de la question. Car si nous devions nous attarder sur la politique d'apartheid telle qu'elle est appliquée à l'enseignement en Afrique du Sud, nous aurions à étudier une situation beaucoup plus grave, sans même mentionner la politique d'obscurantisme systématique que le colonialisme belge a poursuivi Congo.

### AFRICANISATION

Dans ces conditions la révolution à effectuer en matière d'enseignement si on lui prête l'attention qu'elle mérite doit viser trois objectifs primordiaux. D'abord,

elle doit assurer la vulgarisation d'une éducation de base à l'échelle de la nation.

Deuxièmement, elle doit tendre systématiquement vers l'africanisation des programmes d'étude, surtout au niveau de l'enseignement secondaire et universitaire.

L'africanisation ne signifie pas tout simplement quelques heures de plus consacrées à l'étude des coutumes et du folklore africains, mais un sérieux remaniement de tout le contenu des programmes d'étude, en fonction des réalités africaines de nos jours.

Troisièmement, (et ce point découle directement du précédent), tous les programmes d'étude doivent être modernisés, en conformité avec les besoins de l'homme du vingtième siècle à venir, et non pas nécessairement calqués sur des programmes d'étude conçus au premier siècle pour former un savant en latin.

En ce qui concerne la vulgarisation, nul doute que cela réclame un sérieux programme d'édification de nouveaux bâtiments scolaires, et un programme intense en vue du recrutement de nouveaux instituteurs et professeurs. En effet, dans plusieurs jeunes états africains, malgré l'attribution d'un fort pourcentage du budget à l'enseignement, les progrès dans ce domaine ont été beaucoup trop lent, bien que relativement plus rapides dans l'enseignement du second degré.

On fait souvent état de la pénurie des professeurs, et il est vrai que c'est là une donnée authentique de

la situation.

Mais, en même temps, les paysans ainsi que les campagnards se sont montrés tout à fait disposés à édifier leurs propres écoles par des investissements humains. Et bien qu'on n'ait pas encore trouvé de méthode éclair, qui puisse fournir des maîtres d'écoles du jour au lendemain, il semble toutefois possible de prendre des mesures dans l'intervalle, permettant d'utiliser les services des instituteurs à temps partiel.

Dans la présente conjoncture, si l'on tient vraiment à réaliser des améliorations spectaculaires et révolutionnaires dans le domaine de l'éducation de base, alors il faudra jeter par dessus bord les prétentieuses critères d'un académisme rigoureux, et s'en tenir à la mobilisation de personne cultivée disponible. Car, sous ce rapport, ce sont les Africains privilégiés, le problème étant moins technique politique.

Je m'explique: C'est par une formation politique progressiste en premier lieu, que les étudiants universitaires, par exemple, seront amenés à faire des investissements humains, tel que l'enseignement des illettrés pendant les vacances. Il en est de même pour les instituteurs des écoles primaires. Ils doivent, eux aussi, apporter leur contribution en acceptant de faire bénévolement des heures supplémentaires, pour éduquer leurs compatriotes.

Si ces solutions et d'autres similaires n'ont pas encore été mises en application en Afrique à une échelle

le comparable à celle qui a permis à la Chine, au Vietnam et à Cuba de venir presque à bout de l'analphabétisme, dans un temps relativement court, cela ne veut pas dire que les Africains sont moins enthousiastes ou moins disposés à emprunter la voie de leurs camarades chinois ou cubains.

Un effort de cette envergure et qui embrasse toute la nation, doit non seulement être organisé par les dirigeants, mais aussi être inscrit dans le cadre d'un climat politique, démocratique et socialiste. Ici la démocratie signifie la participation et le contrôle des masses, librement consentis, que celles-ci soient lettrés ou illettrés.

Mais encore, il faut insister puisque les vieux préjugés et les vieilles craintes persistent, que la vie démocratique comporte l'organisation dans un sens démocratique, des jeunes élèves et étudiants, leur participation et collaboration actives dans la vie sociale de tous les jours.

Ces dispositions constitueraient également une sauvegarde contre les tendances bureaucratiques, qui malheureusement existent également au sein du personnel enseignant. Le point de vue selon lequel nous pourrions tirer quelques leçons "techniques", disons, de l'expérience chinoise, sans toutefois tenir compte du contexte politique, pêche absolument contre la logique. Et puis, c'est foncièrement erroné, puisque les Chinois ont réussi non pas à orce de supériorité en matière de "technicité", mais bien à cause de leur orientation politique engendrée par l'enthousiasme populaire.

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## AMILCAR CABRAL CABLES UN

I HAVE the honour to confirm the news published by the international Press and Radio about Portuguese Guinea PAIGC Freedom Fighters who are daily defeating the overwhelming colonial troops.

Faced with the negative attitude of the Portuguese Government which is now forced to speak of autonomy for our country with a view to deceive the whole world, we are strongly convinced that our victorious armed struggle assures as much real self-determination of our people as the respect for urgent application of the UNO resolutions to our African continent.

We however, reaffirm the peaceful sentiments of our people, hoping that the council will introduce concrete measures, suggested by all the African countries, to let the Portuguese Government agree to peaceful solution of the decolonisation of the Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands through negotiation with our fighting Party.

The complete African solidarity for our cause increases. Meantime, we continue to fight till we achieve the final victory, complete freedom for Africa, peace, progress and for humanity.

## Les Petites Verites et la Grande

Suite de la page 6

A la même époque, Pierre Moussa déjà cité, considérait que 30 milliards de dollars par an constituaient le minimum d'investissements nécessaires pour faire démarrer sérieusement l'économie des pays sous-développés. Un rapport donc de 4 à 30, moins d'un sixième des besoins en investissements du tiers monde sont fournis annuellement par les pays industriels sous toutes les formes. En une année une baisse du prix des matières premières (principales exportations des pays sous-développés) peut faire perdre aux pays sous-développés bien davantage.  
Alors, les bons conseils des groupes d'experts inter-

nationaux, les économies de bouts de chandelle, les privilèges exorbitants pour les investisseurs privés étrangers, merci bien, mais il y a mieux à faire, et après comme avant Addis Abeba, l'Afrique sait ce que c'est: c'est d'imposer collectivement la stabilisation du prix des matières premières c'est de reconstruire toutes les économies nationales dans le cadre d'arrangements collectifs, c'est de tourner le dos résolument à tout ce qui ressemble aux pratiques d'un passé colonial trop récent pour être déjà oublié.  
Et alors, ceci achevé, l'Afrique et le reste du tiers monde sous-développé seront tout prêts à examiner les bons conseils des experts internationaux.



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# European Common Market and African Unity

can countries by the organisation of and participation in African trade fairs and exhibitions and by the granting of transport and transit facilities;

**27th JUNE, THURSDAY:**  
**GHANA:** Ghana welcomes Nigeria into the fold of Republicanism when she becomes a Republic in October.  
**SOUTH AFRICA:** South African delegates label Mr. Morse's action of expelling them from the Conference Hall as unusual and argue that ILO constitution does not provide for expulsion of any member country from the Organisation or a Conference.  
**CHAD:** Mr. Robert Delsia Sousse, Chad Minister of Defence leaves for Libreville to attend a meeting of the Defence Council of former French Equatorial African States.  
**NIGERIA:** The Federal Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and the Premiers of the Nigeria's three regions meet at Jos for talks, most probably, on the country's becoming a republic next October.  
**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** UNIP sends a telegram demanding approval and announcement of a new Northern Rhodesian constitution.  
**CAMEROON:** President Ahidjo and members of the Government have preview of a display Cameroun will present next month in Paris. The display reflects the cultural tendencies of the havenah in the North, the forest in the South and the plateau of the West.  
 As from next month, it is announced, about 70 per cent of Cameroun radio material will be produced locally.  
**UGANDA:** The Government dispatch seven tons of maize as the first consignment of a £10,000 sterling gift of food for the Congolese Army.  
**28th JUNE, FRIDAY:**  
**TANGANYIKA:** The African Liberation Committee of nine countries meeting will not close today as specified because of increasing number of nationalist organisations submitting memoranda to the committee for study.  
**SOUTH AFRICA:** "Freedom Radio", a new broadcasting service of the African National Congress, goes on the air in South Africa.  
**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Talks on the final destruction of Wellesley's Central African Federation begins at Victoria Falls. The Northern Rhodesian delegation for the talks include Kenneth Kaunda and Harry Nkumbula, leaders of the two main political parties forming the Northern Rhodesia coalition government.  
 Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi (Nyasaland) although ardent fighter against the Federation, does not attend.  
**29th JUNE, SATURDAY:**  
**ALGERIA:** Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, Algerian Prime Minister, signs an agreement with the Soviet Charge d'Affaires Mr. Sergui Kaverian, whereby Soviet technicians will provide for mine sweeping operation on Algiers border areas.  
**GHANA:** Ghana's Nuclear Research Institute opens in October this year.

Dr. R. P. Baffour, Vice-Chancellor of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, declares in Parliament.  
**UGANDA:** Uganda contributes £2,500 towards the cost of continuing the case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia at the Hague International Court of Justice, challenging the Pretoria regime's mandate rights over South West Africa.  
 The other contributing countries include Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia, U.A.R., Senegal, the Malagasy Republic and Somalia.  
**KENYA:** Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya, in a message to Osagyefo the President, assures him that Kenya will do everything possible to realise the ideas of Pan-Africanism and Unity.  
 The Kenya Government has banned the South African delegates from entering Kenya to attend the United Nations Regional Cartographic Conference for Africa.  
**NIGERIA:** The Nigerian Minister of Labour, Chief J. M. Johnson, says African States will break away from the World Labour Organisation if South Africa is allowed to remain in the organisation.  
**30th JUNE, SUNDAY:**  
**NYASALAND:** The Justice Minister of Nyasaland, Mr. Orton Chirwa, leaves by air for Athens to attend a week-long conference of world lawyers.  
**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** A conference of the dissolution of the 10-year-old Federation has begun in Victoria Falls.  
 The countries taking part are Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia.  
**CONGO (Leopoldville):** The third anniversary of Congo Independence begins with a march past by the United Nations Troops around the Congolese National Army quarters.  
**1st JULY, MONDAY:**  
**GHANA:** The third anniversary of Ghana's Independence begins with an armed forces parade at a colourful ceremony, at the Black Star Square.  
 In a short address after lighting the perpetual flame, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, declares that the perpetual flame will not only enshrine the spirit of the Republic of Ghana but will keep alive the faith and courage of the freedom fighters of Africa.  
**2nd JULY, TUESDAY:**  
**KENYA:** An internally Self-Government is ushered on Kenya after the election victory of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) under a new constitution with Jomo Kenyatta as the country's first Prime Minister.  
**MALAGASY:** In a joint communique issued between Ivory Coast President, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, and Malagasy President, Philibert Tsiranana, the two heads of state pledge increase co-operation and wider contacts between their two countries during the former's two-week official tour to Malagasy.

*Continued from Page 4*  
 The prices demanded of Britain for her participation in the Common Market is renunciation of the preferential tariff system which was the underlying foundation of the entire economic structure of the former British Empire for over three decades.  
 For India, Pakistan, Ceylon and certain other countries Britain's membership in the Common Market will mean a serious loss of foreign exchange resources due to the inevitable curtailment of their exports. For instance, higher customs duties will affect 25 per cent of India's total exports, which is bound to have an adverse effect on the fulfilment of her third five-year plan.

**RAW MATERIAL PRODUCERS**  
 British business and political business circles openly admit that Britain's entry into the Common Market signifies an attempt to overcome her own economic difficulties at the expense of underdeveloped members of the Commonwealth.  
 In one of his recent statements, Labour M.P. Alan Fitch frankly admitted that Britain's membership in EEC would improve the position in the textile industry, since Europe would in all probability launch a tariff war against the cheap raw materials exported by Africa.

Hence, the EEC tariff policy aimed at furthering the interests of West-European monopolies is fraught with serious danger not only for the "associated" states but for practically all the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin-America.  
 That underdeveloped countries are bound to sustain losses in foreign trade with industrial nations is acknowledged by Common Market bosses themselves. That explains why EEC leaders are so lavish in their promises to compensate these losses by their economic aid.

The EEC "Development Fund" has already extended its activities to many "associated" African states. Of the total amount of \$580 million at the disposal of the "Fund" in 1957-62, more than half was earmarked for industrial projects in African countries.  
 But so far work has been started only on a few projects whose aggregate construction cost is estimated at approximately \$2 million. Considering the resources needed for the economic development of the African countries, this paltry sum is but a drop in the ocean.

**"AID"**  
 However, it is not only a matter of the insignificant volume of EEC "aid" but also of its pattern and direction. Officially, the "Fund" undertakes in the main the financing of "non-commercial" projects—the building of roads, public-service enterprises and partially, hydroengineering projects, which constitute the so-called infra-structure.  
 But although infra-structure is an indispensable element of the national economy, its significance in the country's economic life is determined by the level of development attained in

other branches of production. In conditions obtaining in the African countries the development of infra-structure with simultaneous restriction of the growth of national industry means strengthening the positions of the foreign monopolies in the African economy.  
 The establishment of infra-structure in the "associated" countries is regarded by the Common Market strategists as a means of furthering the expansion of European private capital in African countries.

For the next five-year period the "Fund" allocates \$730 million, as against \$1,700 million originally requested by the "associated" African countries. Moreover, out of this sum \$230 million are appropriated for developing the traditional branches of the African economy as well as for establishing new ones.  
 Considering the insignificant volume of this "aid" and taking into account that a substantial part of it will be invested precisely in traditional branches, there need be no doubt that the whole scheme will boil down to perpetuating the one-crop pattern of the African economy.

The remaining \$500 million will in the main be directed for the development of infra-structure. At the same time the Six and Britain try to lure the non-integrated Asian and Latin-American countries with promises of "aid" claiming that this "aid" will fully compensate their losses resulting from EEC trade discrimination.  
*The imperialists' calculation is simple enough. In the first place, their "aid" allocations represent only a part of the additional profits they derive from non-equivalent exchange in trade with underdeveloped countries. It is a case of a thief returning part of his loot to the rightful owner.*

*Secondly, as distinct from the export proceeds which are fully controlled by underdeveloped countries, the sums allocated under the "aid" programme are controlled by the "Development Fund" and EEC bosses.*  
 Thus, the practical aim of EEC "aid" to underdeveloped countries is to strengthen imperialism's influence on the economic development of the former colonies and semi-colonies, retard their industrialisation and divert their available resources to the development of branches required by foreign monopoly capital.

**IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA**  
 The EEC economic policy is so detrimental to the interests of the underdeveloped nations that even many leaders of those countries which are tied to imperialism by participation in military and political blocs have been forced to oppose it.

**PROFOUND CONTRADICTION**  
 The President of Pakistan, for example, asked in one of his statements whether the establishment of the Common Market signified the Western Powers' intention "to form a powerful international cartel that would bar access to our manufactured goods, compel us to remain in the position of suppliers of raw ma-

terials to industrial nations and dictate exorbitant prices for industrial goods we have to import."  
 The profound contradictions between imperialism and the underdeveloped countries lie at the basis of many important economic and political developments of our time. Faced with the mounting national-liberation movement, the imperialist reaction is compelled to manoeuvre.

One of the most dangerous manoeuvres resorted to by the old and present-day colonialism is to split the ranks of the national-liberation forces. The Common Market is regarded by imperialism as a convenient instrument for achieving this aim.  
 While harping on Western Europe's alleged "community of interests" with the young states, the EEC leaders conduct an economic policy designed to bring about a clash of interests between various groups of underdeveloped countries on the world market.

Definite sections of the business circles in Latin-American countries are already voicing their resentment at the growing exports of the African countries. The imperialist-fomented rivalry between the "associated" Common Market members and other underdeveloped countries, creates an atmosphere hindering the natural trend towards closer co-operation and solidarity of all former colonies and semi-colonies.  
 Playing on artificially incited contradictions between the underdeveloped countries, the imperialists are endeavouring to re-establish their influence and prestige.

EEC is striving not only to dictate export and import prices to underdeveloped countries but also tell the young states what positions they should take on various international problems. Indicative in this respect is the France Presse report of November 22, 1962, to the effect that the FRG presented EEC African parties with an ultimatum, declaring that it would refuse to ratify the new "association"

EEC is striving not only to dictate export and import prices to underdeveloped countries but also tell the young states what positions they should take on various international problems. Indicative in this respect is the France Presse report of November 22, 1962, to the effect that the FRG presented EEC African partners with an ultimatum, declaring that it would refuse to ratify the new "association" agreement (and, consequently, would deny the African countries preferential tariffs and economic "aid") if any one of the "associated" states would recognise the GDR.

The Common Market, which is depicted by imperialist propaganda as an "innocent" trade association, is thus becoming an instrument for shamelessly infringing the sovereignty and restricting the independence of the young states.  
 Many leaders of the young sovereign states, are fully aware of this and have expressed legitimate concern for the destinies of their hard-won national in-

dependence. The governments of many underdeveloped countries categorically reject EEC proposals to join the Common Market as "associated members".  
 To be sure, the imperialists will persist in their attempts to lure the largest possible number of underdeveloped countries into NATO's economic trap. But even within the Common Market their policy is encountering very serious resistance from many "associated states." The "community of interests" screen cannot conceal the basic contradictions between imperialism and the countries that have won independence in a bitter struggle against it.

- AFRICAN UNITY**
- At Addis Ababa the Summit resolved to
1. Appoint a preparatory economic committee to study, in collaboration with governments and in consultation with the Economic Commission for Africa, inter alia, the following questions and submit their findings to Member States:
- a) their possibility of establishing a free trade area between the various African countries;
  - b) the establishment of a common external tariff to protect the emergent industries and the setting up of a raw material price stabilisation fund;
  - c) the restructuring of international trade;
  - d) means for developing trade between Afri-

- e) the co-ordination of means of transport and the establishment of road, air and maritime companies;
  - f) the establishment of an African Payments and clearing Union;
  - g) a progressive freeing of national currencies for all non-technical external attachments and the establishment of a Pan-African monetary zone;
  - h) ways and means of effecting the harmonization of existing and future national development plans.
- By signing the Convention the African associates of the Common Market are currently moving further away instead of nearer to the goal of economic co-operation between African countries.
- We are opposed to any association with the ECM because we do not find sense in weak nations formulating exclusive economic arrangements with strong nations. As Dr. Kwame Nkrumah puts it, "the case of Daniel and the lions may occasionally come out right but it is not a safe basis for economic planning."  
 The experience of Latin-America has taught us that an association of the weak and the strong ends up with the strong becoming stronger and the weak becoming weaker.

## EDITORIAL

*Continued from Page 1*  
 rest and purpose among all African states in the struggle for Africa's complete and final emancipation, for eradicating the effects of colonialism in every sphere of our peoples life.  
 Regionalisation breeds balkanisation, which in turn promotes rivalries among foreign powers. These powers not only exploit the individual weaknesses of the balkanised states to strengthen their exploitation grip on these states, in addition they use these client states as pawns in their game of making

inroads into each others spheres of influence. For the balkanised client states the inescapable consequence is political instability.  
 The present phase of the African revolution should be seen through the two major forces which are constantly at grips with each other: the dynamic and propelling force of the unitarian consciousness of the African peoples, and the static and retrograde force of artificial states which are largely the creation of colonial powers.

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